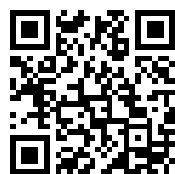


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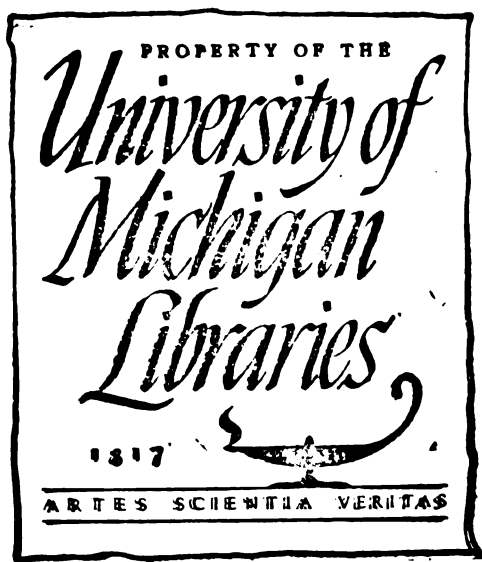
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*Joseph P. Simms*

THE  
FRONTIERSMEN OF NEW YORK

SHOWING

CUSTOMS OF THE INDIANS, VICISSITUDES OF  
THE PIONEER WHITE SETTLERS.

AND

BORDER STRIFE

IN TWO WARS.

WITH A GREAT VARIETY OF ROMANTIC AND THRILLING  
STORIES NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.

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By JEPHTHA R. SIMMS,

AUTHOR OF THE "HISTORY OF SCHENECTADY COUNTY AND BORDER WARS OF  
NEW YORK," "TRAPPERS OF NEW YORK," ETC.

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IN TWO VOLUMES, ILLUSTRATED.

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VOLUME I.

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TO THE  
YOUNG MEN AND YOUNG WOMEN  
OF THE  
STATE OF NEW YORK

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THE AUTHOR.



## PREFACE.

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Readers of a book should commence with the Preface, the better to understand the writer's aims, and learn whether he was influenced in writing it, by a desire to be useful to posterity ; or was prompted by ambitious motives for wealth and fame. The author's introduction to his own work, seems the natural door by which the reader should approach his sanctuary of thought ; therefore by all means read his Preface.

Having had a residence in early life in the Mohawk and Schoharie Valleys, and hearing interesting events told by aged people who had witnessed them ; in the fall of 1837, then a resident of Schoharie, I made it a specialty to collect old papers when I could, and thrilling adventures where I could, from the hoary-headed. Col. Stone remarked in his introduction to the Life of Brant : "There is no section of the United States so rich in historical incident as the valley of the Mohawk and the contiguous territory at the west." He was unacquainted with the Schoharie valley, or he would have embraced that in the sentence.

Says Phillips, in his *Million of Facts*, "Let us garner up our notices of past ages and preserve them in the archives of the country : we shall please and instruct ourselves by so doing, and make posterity lastingly indebted to us for the deed. To transmit the honors of one age to another is our duty ; to neglect the merits of our fathers is a disgrace." Influenced by such motives I began and prosecuted my labors, visiting many revolutionary men and women in their isolated homes—a greater number by far than ever did any other gleaner for similar matter in the same district—and noted from their lips thrilling stories of which they could say—

I performed or I witnessed them.

In 1845, I published a volume entitled—History of Schoharie county and Border Wars of New York. The title, being more



local than the matter, at first operated against the sale ; but it soon established for itself a good reputation. As it has been out of print many years—and not a few have sought in vain to procure it—I have thought proper to revise and publish most of the historic matter of that book, with that of a kindred nature collected since, under a title less local.

The chariot of time has rolled onward, and thirty-seven years have hushed the voice of every living witness of the period of which we mainly write, driving us to our MSS and our memory. I have ever been careful to know the credibility of persons from whom I have obtained facts, and have had their statements corroborated so far as practicable ; giving the narrations as nearly as possible in the language of informants—a course adopted by many good writers. I have endeavored to present incidents so explicitly as to answer as many questions as possible, naturally arising in the mind of the reader. It would have been well if seekers after local truths had moved earlier in the rich field of which this work treats. Campbell and Stone before me had gathered much, but at the period of their investigation they might have gleaned far, far more ; and I entered the field behind them not a moment too soon ; and with means to visit distant sources, I could have secured a much richer harvest.

The State of New York has done much in our generation to aid the future historian, by causing valuable memoranda of its colonial period to be transcribed from European archives—known as the Brodhead Papers—and published for use under the title of “DOCUMENTS relating to the COLONIAL HISTORY of the STATE OF NEW YORK ; procured in HOLLAND, ENGLAND and FRANCE, by *John Romeyn Brodhead, Esq.*” By Legislative request Mr. Brodhead prepared a GENERAL INTRODUCTION to the first volume of the thirteen now published of the work ; and on page 36 of vol. 1, in what appears as a Senate Committee report, is this significant sentence : “The monuments of history, standing aside in the seclusion of by-places and deserted spots, or buried beneath what is generally regarded as the useless rubbish of the remains of antiquity, are passed by with indifference until an enlightened desire is awakened to know something of the early foundations of society, or to explore the sources of national greatness.”

The State also employed an agent to look after her Indian

History, and "*Schoolcraft's Notes on the Iroquois*," issued in 1847, was the result ; but the work was not executed with that thoroughness and correctness the reputation of the author led the public to anticipate. The antiquarian student will here look in vain to find the location of any of the Mohawk Indian castles. Had the State also employed for a time two or three suitable persons to gather in its pioneer history, especially that of its most interesting localities, a vast amount of novel and valuable incident might have been garnered up, the most of which is now irrevocably lost.

In 1850 I issued a *Prospectus*, proposing to give the public a small volume of original matter, under the title of *Historical Gleanings*, to be made up of interesting memoranda collected after the publication of my *Schoharie County*, etc. Seeing this prospectus, B. J. Lossing, Esq., that indefatigable student in American history, who has done so much for posterity, advised a revision of my former work and the incorporation of the new matter with it ; a suggestion I regarded with favor and now carry into effect. The new material was gleaned in several counties, much of it from people who had, as prisoners, traversed the wilderness to Canada.

Although much interesting frontier matter has been gathered into the reader's historical bureau, I am sorrowfully aware that not one-half the interesting events of a private nature which occurred on the frontiers of New York, when liberty was at one end of the scale-beam and tyranny at the other, have survived remembrance until now : thousands of novel scenes of prowess, of blood and suffering, and hair-breadth escapes of families and individuals having, in the lapse of a century, sunk into the grave of forgetfulness. Said Paul Allen, Esq., a good general historian of the Revolution, whose labors were published in 1822, speaking of what remained to be known of our glorious struggle, observed : "Much is irrevocably covered by the ashes of the grave." Vague traditions of some such partially-remembered incidents will, no doubt, in the future make legendary tales, or furnish woof for the pen of some Scott or Cooper.

Facts collected as many of mine have been, are liable to contain errors, but at the end of a generation I have found less to correct than was expected in that portion of the matter first published. Some things may be thought by individuals to be

of too little importance to merit a place here ; and yet the fuller his details the better and more satisfactory are the labors of the general historian, who must depend on the pains-taking of local writers. Tastes differ widely, and what one would reject another would certainly retain. Religious intolerance peopled America, and British imposition made her colonists free : and let the reader remember, every event, though unimportant in itself, that sheds a ray of light on the doings of those days of suffering and trial, which settled the country and established AMERICAN LIBERTY, is worth preserving.

In my first publication I presented some account of the famous Sir William Johnson, with anecdotes showing his character and unbounded influence over the sons of the forest, which will be found more extended in this work. Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan, who has had a long lease from the State in arranging her *Documentary History*, etc., and whose industry is to be commended, attempted to injure the credibility of my history after its publication, and admitted to me, in his office, that he had written to the publishers of a book in Boston, inquiring where they obtained the *preposterous idea* that Sir William Johnson's wife was other than a German lady, and married early in life ? and they quoted my book for authority. Well, said I, the authority is good. "I don't know about that," he replied ; "*do you know, sir [quite emphatically], that you made the children of Sir William illegitimate ?*" Doctor, he saved me that trouble. "*That,*" said he, "*is a pretty bold thing to publish to the world !*", Yes, but it is the truth, nevertheless. "Well," he continued, "I am investigating that matter, and am now making inquiry about it in Canada." Several years later, but now more than twenty years ago, I again asked Dr. O'Callaghan—How about those illegitimate children, were they mine or Sir William's ? "I don't know," said he, "but I shall have to come to the same conclusion you have. I have carried the investigation to England, but get no satisfactory answers ; they either don't know, or won't answer me." They don't know, said I, for it is said there is extant no record of his marriage ; but if there is any one fact more clearly established by tradition than all others in the Mohawk valley, it is that Sir William Johnson was not married to the mother of his three white children until she was on her death-bed, and then only to legitimize the heirship of her

offspring. Now, Doctor, I added, when you become satisfied that my statement is truthful, I shall expect you to take as much pains to do me justice as you did years ago to injure me. He made that promise, but never redeemed it. Why he was so sensitive on this subject I never knew, but inferred that it was because the baronet was a fellow-countryman.

I saw him last in 1870, when he admitted that he got no information from Europe to elucidate the disputed problem, and claimed then to have forgotten his previous conversations with me. The thing is self-evident that if Mrs. Johnson had been a German lady by birth, when her husband became the most notable man in America, her kindred in Germany would have been swift to have made known their relationship: but the case was far otherwise, and in a generation or two she was not even remembered in her father-land. To set myself right before the world, this explanation finds a place here.

Those who would know more of the public life and character of Sir William Johnson than they can find in this work, I would refer to his *Life and Times* by Wm. L. Stone, 2d; a work well written, generally truthful, and containing the best history of the French and English war of 1755, yet published.

Did the enemy in the Revolution pay for American scalps? Until this question was mooted afresh in the *American Historical Record*, edited by B. J. Lossing, Esq., in the summer of 1873, I was not aware that the testimony bearing upon that subject, had so nearly all been given to the public through my own publications. True, Campbell in his *Annals of Tryon County*, presents some documentary proof of the fact, in the affidavit of Dr. Moses Younglove, made a prisoner at Oriskany; and the correspondence of Col. Gansevoort, and of Gen. James Clinton; but beyond a few public records, the fact is scarcely mentioned by any other writer that the British paid a bounty for American scalps. The reticence of early writers upon this theme can only be accounted for as I conceive, by supposing they conversed with few living witnesses, who traveled the northern and western wilderness to Canada at the end of an Indian's tump-line.

Many of the best families in the Mohawk Valley were politically divided in sentiment at the beginning of Revolutionary difficulties; some members of such families ardently es-



pousing the popular strike for liberty, while others with no less zeal favored the cause of the Crown and went to Canada ; or clandestinely aided the royal cause in their own secluded homes. Of this divided number was the old and influential Frey family, Col. Hendrick Frey and his brother Bernard, espousing the cause of the King, while Major John, their brother, gave all his energies to the cause of Freedom. Col. Frey had a son Philip, who followed his uncle Bernard to Canada, where the latter became a captain in the British Canadian service : and in a correspondence with Samuel C. Frey, Esq., a son of Philip, an intelligent gentleman who was a resident of Canada in early life, answering an enquiry on the scalping theme replied as follows : "As to whether the British Government authorized payment of the Indians for *scalps*, I have no doubt it did so. That government wanted the services of the Indians, and it had been the practice of *all* the Indian tribes from time immemorial to take the scalps of their killed enemies : and it was the only way they could pay the Indians for their services. I think it was \$8 for each scalp. How much was paid for prisoners, I never knew. It was a horrid matter at any rate, and a stain upon British civilization. Whether Col. John Butler was an especial agent for paying those bounties or not, I never knew ; but I learned from my father that the officers of the British army had a great aversion to it. It is quite likely that Col. Butler was so commissioned."

In my previous work I published some very important matters relating to the fortifications in the Highlands of Hudson River at and contiguous to West Point. They were mostly from original papers preserved by Capt. Thomas Machin, an Engineer who was sent by Gen. Washington to labor in the erection of those defenses and obstructions, and prominent among the latter, he superintended the construction of the *Great West Point Chain*. I shall now give a fuller account of those obstructions. As the title of my first book operated against its sale, I trust I shall have adopted a safe and characteristic one, in calling this work—*The Frontiersmen of New York*. Instead of dividing the matter of these volumes into chapters, in order to gain space and fill every page, I have chosen to present it in narrative form, with an analytical index for each volume ; the events of periods or years being kept in

chronological order so far as is practicable—especially of the Revolution.

I deem it just that the source of oral as well as written authority should be acknowledged ; hence the reader will find that due credit has generally been given to sources of information. This is for a two-fold purpose, viz., that the reader may judge of the credibility of the matter ; while the names of interested witnesses are thus honorably handed down to posterity.

And now, in sending forth these volumes to seek their share of public favor, I would fain express my grateful thanks to every individual who has in any manner contributed toward making them (and their number is legion) ; but more especially to Dr. A. V. Lesley for sketching original views for the work ; and to Geo. P. Wetmore, William H. Selwod, W. P. Webster and Dr. Eli Fox for sundry drawings ; also to County Clerk, W. P. Johnston and his brother Allen for favors.

J. R. SIMMS.

FORT PLAIN, N. Y.



# THE FRONTIERSMEN OF NEW YORK.

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To write the early history of a people bordering for a length of time upon a wilderness, whose solitudes are not only broken by the howling of wild beasts, but also by the fearful yells of uncivilized Indians, and convey to the reader a true picture of that life—even when distance of time has not cast its sombre shadows around it—is a task of no ordinary labor: but when civil discord has pervaded such community and the hatchet of the forest-son has been defiantly raised against his encroaching neighbor stained with life-blood at midnight—aye, and when the great sun-dial has long been dropping its sands into the bosom of eternity, the burden is vastly augmented.

The author has not intended in this work to give a minute geographical description of the country of which it treats, but barely an outline that would give the reader a better understanding of the general contents of these volumes. The term *border* as often used by the writer, is not to be construed to mean the outer verge of the State—for that extended westward from the territory indicated, in an unbroken wilderness to the great lakes several hundred miles away; but as having especial reference to the outskirts of civilization, or to those scattered settlements jutting out here and there into venturesome clearings, beyond the protection of what were beginning to be known as older settlements.

And yet it seems but fair for the better understanding of the work, that the reader who has not had access to any general history of the early peopling of the colony of which the territory above indicated made a component part, should here find a brief mention of some events going to make up the State's primitive history: on which account some well authenticated facts are here inserted.

The first settlers of the colony of New York emigrated from Holland, although in what precise year cannot be shown. The

Brodhead papers transcribed in Holland it was thought would tell us just when the Dutch settled at New Amsterdam (now the city of New York); when the trading post at Fort Orange, (now Albany) was established, and when the first pioneer Dutchman began his residence at Schenectada,\* Mr. B. found testimony to prove what had long been known, that Henry Hudson, in the employ of the Dutch East India Company, in a ship called the Half Moon of 80 tons burthen, (not half the tonnage of a modern Erie canal boat), with a crew of 20 English and Dutch seamen—on a voyage to find a north west passage to China—crossed the Atlantic and discovered the noble river to which his name attaches, in the autumn of 1609:† but he found no further satisfactory record in the repositories of the Netherlands relating to New Amsterdam until 1614. The hiatus in the record from 1609 to 1614, during which time the colony was planted, was occasioned says Mr. B., by the destruction of the records of that period in 1821. From 1614 to 1664, a period of just fifty years, the Dutch held possession of the colony of New York then called the New Netherlands, when it became an English colony. Between the dates named the records were found quite satisfactory.‡

Capt. Hudson ascended the stream above the present city of Hudson, and from thence sent his mate with four hands in a

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\* This is a primitive Mohawk word and signified with reference to the carrying-place, from the point on the Hudson where Albany now stands, to the Mohawk river—"Over the Pines," or "Beyond the Pines;" pine timber then covering the sandy land between the water communication on the Hudson, and the Mohawk at its most available point. The true meaning of this word was obtained of the celebrated Joseph Brant, at his residence in Canada in 1836, by my late friend Judge Isaac Hall Tiffany. In the General Index to the Brodhead Papers, their bibliographer, O'Callaghan, gives including the French, *Chenectadi*, 59 versions of the spelling of this name. Thirty-five years ago I wrote this name as in the context, and still believe it to be the most euphonious and correct orthography. Sixty years ago Canajoharie and Schoharie were both terminated in Webster's speller with the letter *g*, but a better orthography has since prevailed. Milwaukee, Sandusky, Kentucky, Talahassee and possibly a few other Indian names, I would terminate the same as Oswegatchie, Poughkeepsie and Coxsackie—with the diphthong *ie*. Of the hundreds of Indian names in New York and other States ending with the letter *a*, I would not make Schenectada an exception. Here are some of those to which I refer: Onelda, Cayuga, Montezuma, Garoga, Winona, Tioga, Cayadutta, Unadilla, Minnesota, Saratoga, Canastota, Kenosha, Tonnewanda, Osceola, Mendota, Tuscarora, Oneonta, Chetopa, Chautauqua, Oskaloosa, Wamsutta, Pensacola, Catawba, Wyocena, Chatanooga, Ashtabula, Ticonderoga, Tuscaloosa, Cayahoga, Caughnawaga, Chuctanunda, Niskayuna, Susquehanna, Catauqua, Kasota, Junlata, Sacondaga, Coosa, Towanda, Altoona, Catawissa, etc.

† General Introduction to Brodhead Papers, vol. 1, p. 26; and body of the work p. 94.

‡ Brodhead, Introduction, vol. 1, p. 15.

boat to prosecute the survey, who it is believed ascended the river to the present site of Albany. They were visited along the shores by great numbers of the natives by whom they were kindly treated. After passing through the Highlands, the captain called the stream the Great River of the Mountains. The Indians of the five nations called it *Cu-ho-ha-ta-tea*. It was early designated in colonial documents as the *North* river, to distinguish it from the Delaware—also discovered by Hudson—and sometimes called the *South* river.\* In a journal of New Netherland, dated in 1647, the Hudson river was called the *Mauritius*.†

After the discovery of Capt. Hudson, says an early writer, "The Dutch immediately began to avail themselves of the advantage which his discovery presented to their view. In 1610, it appears that at least one ship was sent hither by the East India Company, for the purpose of trading in furs, which, it is well known, continued for a number of years to be the principal object of commercial attraction to this part of the new world. In 1614, a fort and trading-house were erected on the spot where Albany now stands, and called Fort Orange; and about the same time another fort and trading-house were established on the southeast point of Manhattan Island, and called New Amsterdam. The whole colony received the name of New Netherlands."‡

Dr. Miller, quoted above, gives no authority for naming 1614 as the year in which the Dutch forts were erected at New York and Albany; but he must have given very nearly, if not quite, the true date, and several other writers have adopted his designated time in the matter. Says another early writer§: "The position of Albany was first chosen by a commercial people for a military post, that should extend the trade with the Indians,

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\* Coll. of N. Y. His. Society, vol. 1.

† Doc. His. of N. Y., vol. 4.

‡ See historical discourse delivered by Samuel Miller, D. D., in 1809, before the New York Historical Society, vol. 1 of its collections. In this address Dr. Miller gives the sad end of this early adventurer. In 1610 he discovered Hudson's Bay, where he was compelled to winter. In the spring his discontented crew mutined, and June 22, 1611, they placed Capt. Hudson, his son, and seven others—the most of whom were sick—in an open boat and abandoned them to their fate. They were never again heard from.

§ Horatio Gates Spafford, who published a State Gazetteer in 1824. He had published a smaller work 13 years before. He fails to give any authorities on which he bases his historical facts.

and give to that trade a better security and character. Here seemed the head of the tide and of sloop navigation ; and here the adventurers found a good ship-channel so close in with the shore as to save docking, and a fertile interval of low and rich alluvium, where they erected a stockade to guard against surprise by the Indians. This was about 1614." The same writer says: "About 1623 it was enlarged, better stockaded, and called Fort Orange, according to the best accounts." By 1712 Albany contained nearly 4,000 inhabitants, 450 of whom were Negro or Indian slaves.\*

Among certain papers relating to the first Dutch settlement of the colony of New York, as arranged by Dr. O'Callaghan, are several affidavits of old people, reflecting some light upon this subject. One of them was taken at the Walle Bocht, on Long Island, before William Morris, a justice of the peace, October 17, 1688, and is inserted with the prefix :

*"The First White Woman in Albany."*—It is the statement of Catelyn Trico, a native of Paris, then aged 83 years. She said that in the year 1623, she came to this country in a ship called the Unity, the first ship sent hither by the West India Company, of which Arien Jorise was commander : that on arriving at New York two families and six men went to Hartford river (the Connecticut); two families and eight men went to Delaware river ; eight men they left at New York to take possession ; and the rest of the passengers proceeded with the ship to Albany, then called Fort Orange. That on arriving at Sopus (Kingston)—called half way to Albany—they lightened the ship with some boats which had been left the year before by Dutch traders with the Indians. She further stated that, on arriving at Albany, there were eighteen families on board, which settled themselves at that place and made a small fort ; and that as soon as they had made themselves huts of bark, the River Indians, those of the five nations, and some others came there and made covenants with their commander, Jorise, bringing him presents of beaver and other peltry ; that the Indians came to trade with them in great numbers, and that

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\* Holmes' American Annals, vol. 2, p. 95. Abiel Holmes, D. D., published this work in 1805. It consists mostly of small paragraphs of prominent historical events in chronological order, giving his authority for everything. The work was evidently prepared with great care, and whoever quotes Holmes, is pretty sure to give all then well-authenticated authority on any subject of which he treats.

Jorise stayed with them all winter, sending his son home with the ship. She stated that she resided there three years, in all of which time the said Indians, "as quiet as lambs, came and traded with all the freedom imaginable." In 1626, deponent went from Albany to New York, where she lived for many years, and then removed to her present home on Long Island.

Since the above was written, I find the settlement of several localities alluded to inferentially by Gov. Stuyvesant in his correspondence with Col. Nichols, when the latter demanded the surrender of New Netherland to the British Crown with four British men-of-war in the harbor of New Amsterdam. His letter was dated 2 September, 1664. He says the Dutch had then enjoyed Fort Orange 48 or 50 years, Manhattan 41 or 42 years, the South river—the Delaware—40 years, and the Freshwater river—the Connecticut—about 36 years. This would make the beginning of these settlements arrange about as follows: Fort Orange, 1614; Manhattan, 1622.; Delaware river, 1624; and Connecticut river, 1628.\*

Says William Smith, in his *History of New York*, published 1757, Carteret was commissioned to subdue the Dutch at Fort Orange. The garrison capitulated on the 24th of September, 1664, and he called it Albany in honor of the Duke. "While Carteret was here, he had an interview with the Indians of the five nations, and entered into a league of friendship with them, which remarkably continues to this day" (see page 49). It may be observed that league extended almost unbroken by some of those nations down to the American Revolution.



Fac simile of his autograph.

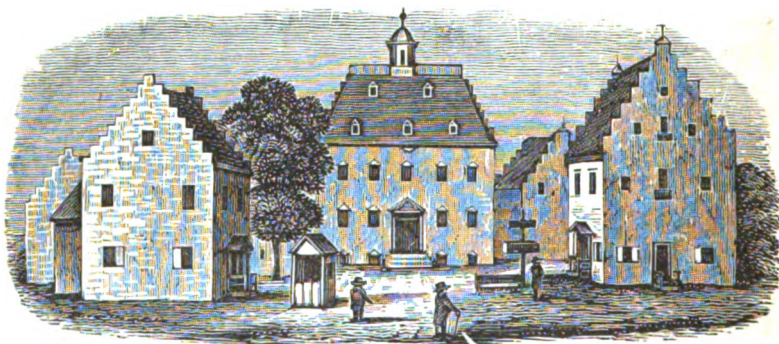
Gov. Stuyvesant was the last Dutch Governor of New Netherland. His administration began in 1648, and ended in 1664, when New Netherland became the English colony of New York; New Amsterdam also taking on the name New York,

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\* Fernow's, vol 12, N. Y. Col. His., 1877.



Richard Nichols becoming the first English Governor of the colony. It was a fortunate circumstance that the Dutch first settled the colony, for, in the fifty years of its nationality, New Amsterdam became a city of refuge against the religious intolerance of the world—a part of New England included—welcoming to her territory the persecuted, no matter what their language, their tenets of faith, or forms of religion were. Thus the Low Dutch stamped the element of true charity upon the colony, which, in time, became engrafted into our own national Constitution and laws.



Stadth. Huys.

This building is inserted to show the style of architecture at that period. It was erected in 1642, and served New Amsterdam as a State House or City Hall, and, after the English conquest, the city of New York for the same purposes, until the structure gave place to a new one about the year 1700. When contrasted with the new Capitol now being erected at Albany, it happily illustrates the progress of the State in wealth and importance in the past 200 years.

*A retrospect.*—I had supposed that the administration of Gov. Stuyvesant, who was a man of spirit and energy, was not marked with much trouble with the natives; but the 13th vol. of our Colonial Doc. His. issued in 1881, exhibits his career at New Amsterdam as a thorny one. His predecessors had had trials with neighboring white settlements; and those with serious difficulties with the Indians surrounding them, were bequeathed to him. Not only was he constantly threatened with serious difficulty by the Indians in his immediate neighborhood;

but he had a world of trouble with those encircling the Pioneer settlement of Esopus—now Kingston, which received his personal attention in June 1658, when he found it necessary to inclose a village plot in palisades, and bring the adventurers from the boweries-farms, to a residence within it for their security. The inclosed town took on the name Wildwyck.

In all his writings, Gov. Stuyvesant invariably called the natives savages. It is a fact worthy of mention that nearly all the serious difficulties between the Dutch and Indians, started in a brandy-bottle, (all liquor seems to have been called brandy at that period); and so well was it known and felt that liquor was the obvious factor in originating trouble, that Sander Toursen and his wife who kept a small tavern in New Amsterdam, for violating a city ordinance by selling the Indians brandy, were arrested, banished the country and sent back to the Fatherland. The great profit derived from such contraband traffic, prevented its being very effectually estopped.

*First recorded visit to the Mohawks and their castles.*—The Mohawks were generally conciliated by the branch of the Dutch administration at Fort Orange—or Beaverwyck, now Albany. The earliest visit made by them into the Mohawk valley, is mentioned in a letter from Arent Van Corlaer (as now written), Director of the colony of Rensselaerwick to the Patroon in Holland in 1643, in which he says; “I have been in the Maquaes (Mohawks) country last year with Labatie and Jacob Janson, of Amsterdam, where three Frenchmen are kept prisoners; among them a Jesuit, a very learned man, whom they treated very badly by cutting off his fingers and thumbs.”\* He spoke of visiting all their *three* castles, but named neither of them or their localities. He and his associates were welcomed by the natives, who went hunting and brought home for them some fine wild turkeys. Such game is subsequently mentioned as having been killed at Esopus. Van Corlaer offered a ransom of 600 florins for the three captives but in vain. He obtained a promise however, that their lives should be spared.

September 6, 1659, the Chiefs of the Mohawks at Fort Orange, met the representatives of the government, and there renewed a treaty of amity with the Dutch, bringing a valuable present

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\* This was Father Isaac Jogues, supposed to have been a prisoner at Caughnawaga, where he was afterwards murdered; as will be shown hereafter.

in peltries and wampum. Sickness prevented Gov. Stuyvesant from being present, but he sent a commission to their country, which "at their first castle, Kaughnuwage [now Fonda], in presence of the Chiefs of the *three* Mohawk castles, September 24, 1659," consummated the unfinished business of their interview at Albany in the gift of wampum, 75 lbs. of powder, 100 lbs. of lead, 15 axes and a quantity of knives. If Mr. Greenhalgh, who visited the Mohawk valley as I have elsewhere shown, in 1677, had not stated that the Maquaes had *four* towns and named them, we might have supposed that Tienonderoga Castle on Tribes Hill had been erected in that period—18 years, and possibly it had been—He named it, and certainly it was half a dozen miles nearer Albany than Caughnawaga, which at his visit would have been the *second* castle. The little that is derived in history respecting the castles of the Mohawk nation until after the year 1700, leaves much to be guessed at.

*Settlement of Schenectada.*—Said Spafford, in his Gazetteer of New York, in 1824, "Some time previous to 1620, 15 or 20 persons—12 of whom came direct from Holland, and the rest from Albany—settled here in the fur trade." He quoted no authority for what he said, and this statement, which was wide of the truth, has misled many early writers. The thirteenth volume of Colonial Documents alluded to, shows the place to have been settled after 1660, or more than 40 years later than the time given by Spafford. In 1661, Arent Van Curler (Corlaer, as since written) obtained permission for himself and six or eight others, of the Governor and Council, to purchase of the natives the "Great Flat back of Fort Orange inland"—the lands at and around Schenectada—for their own occupancy. As soon as this became known at Beaverwyck—Albany—a protest went to the Governor, stating that great damage might be done to that place if the settlers were allowed to trade with the Indians. The probable loss of a portion of their fur trade was, no doubt, where the shoe pinched.

April 6, 1662, Van Curler wrote the Governor that he and his friends had secured the Indian title to the flats, and wanted the surveyor, Jacques Corteljou, sent up to survey and partition the lands. A new obstacle was now interposed: at least twenty families must go upon the lands, while all trade whatever was interdicted between them and the Indians. A few settlers had

gone there, when, May 9, 1663, Surveyor Corteljou came up to partition the land, to be prevented by a protest from the Albanians, charging the settlers with having done some trading with the Indians, thereby inducing the Governor to exact a written stipulation from those settlers that they were to have no dealings whatever with the natives. Against signing this pledge the proprietors remonstrated, desiring to be used as other frontiersmen in the colony were. This remonstrance was signed by A. Van Corlaer, Philip Hendricksen, Sander Leendertsen Glen, Simon Volckertsen, Pieter Sogemacklie, Teunis Cornelissen, William Teller, Gerret Bancker, Bastian De Winter—authorized to sign the name of Cateleyn, the widow of Arent Andrisen—Pieter Jacobson Borsboom, Pieter Danielsen Van Olindee, Jan Barentsen Wemp and Jacques Cornelis. Here are no doubt the names of the pioneer settlers of Schenectada, who had located there in the preceding two years. In September following, Jan B. Wemp and Martin Mauverensen contracted with Hendricksen to do general farm-work at their bouwery at "Schenechte." The latter names were, no doubt, those of two more permanent settlers; and we may suppose that by this time the twenty families required as requisite for the settlement to have been made up. The master-spirit of the place was Arent Van Corlaer.

In April, 1664, S. L. Glen, W. Teller and Harmen Vedder, in behalf of the settlement, renewed the petition for a survey; and Gov. Stuyvesant, in May following, sent Sir Jacques Corteljou to make the same, and justly allot to every one his share. Thus Schenectada became the westernmost town in the colony. In September following the English captured New Netherland, but Albany influence still prevented its becoming a place of trade.

*Settlement of Canada, or New France, etc.*—As early as 1603, 200 ships were engaged in the New Foundland fishery, employing at least 10,000 men. In the same year Samuel Champlain, a French navigator sailed up the St. Lawrence, making discoveries; and in 1608 he planted a colony of his countrymen at Quebec, 300 miles from the sea.\* Other settlements soon began, a permanent occupancy was maintained, and a lasting friendship established between the settlers and the Algonquin and other

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\* Holmes' *Annals*, vol. 2, p. 147.

Canadian Indians along the St. Lawrence and its connecting chain of lakes. The Dutch at New Netherland also formed friendly relations with the Indians in their vicinity, and mainly through the management at Fort Orange with the Mohawks and Senecas at first, and finally with the whole confederacy of the five nations and their allies, extending from central to western New York. After the English captured the Netherlands they were equally careful to conciliate the five nations, to which a sixth was added in 1712, when the Tuscuroras came from North Carolina and joined them, being assigned lands between the Oneidas and Onondagas.

Spafford says—no authority quoted—that Schenectada was built on the site of a large town once occupied by the Mohawks, the original Indian word signifying, literally, *a great multitude collected together*. He says, also, that the same Indian name, Schaugh-naek-taa-da, was applied to Albany, and signified *beyond the pine plains*.\*

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\* I have already shown in a note to Schenectada, that the word *plains* was not in the signification as rendered by Brant to Judge Tiffany in 1806. His interview with this celebrity took place just before noon, and when he casually spoke of leaving, he was politely invited to remain to dinner. He made some trivial excuse about going supposing he would be urged to stay, as of all things he desired to remain, but to his chagrin the invitation was not repeated. He said this learned him a lesson that however hypocritical or pretentious might be the action of the whites, an Indian never said no when he meant yes; and he left the house biting his lips for his polite folly. He had timed his call with especial reference to dining with this celebrated chieftain, but his New England manners debarred him that pleasure.

Isaac Hall Tiffany, Esq., the antiquarian friend to whom I have alluded, deserves a more especial mention. At his death or before his papers were scattered or destroyed, a biography of him could have been made interesting, as his mind was one of superior cultivation, and his correspondence with representative men covered a long period. For some reason he was careful not to tell his age. I had known him refuse to give it to a gentleman taking the census, but a year or two later he met two old gentlemen in my presence, when the subject of their ages came up. They had told theirs, when one of them asked him his age. He replied—"I was born the first year of the Revolution." Then said I, you was born in 1775. "No," said he, "I mean the year in which Independence was proclaimed, which was in 1776." I mention this because at his death his age was published as two years younger than this account made him. He was born at Keene, N. H., October 6, 1776. He was a son of Dr. Gideon Tiffany, and was one of ten children, having two brothers and three sisters older than himself, and four sisters younger. Dr. Tiffany removed with his family to Hanover, the seat of Dartmouth College about the year 1781, mainly to increase the advantages of his children in obtaining an education; and I have heard my friend say that at his father's house, where often assembled, some of the ablest men of New England, to whose conversation on historical and scientific subjects he was a frequent and willing listener. Oliver and George, the older sons of Dr. Tiffany, graduated at Dartmouth in 1786. The former became a physician, and finally settled in Upper Canada, where he died about the year 1840. George chose the legal profession and was one of the first two attorneys that settled in Schoharie county on its organization in 1793, (the other being

There is no allusion made to a castle in this account of a primitive town. The term "castle," in English parlance, when applied to an Indian town, means one with some preparation for defense not enjoyed by their smaller hamlets; and, doubtless, they were more numerous, and more depended upon, after the whites discovered the country, bringing to the natives knives, axes, hatchets, saws and other implements of iron to aid them in the construction of those castles. The first mention made in history of *castles*, is in Numbers 31: 10, in the Bible, where it is recorded that Moses sent a thousand men from each of the twelve tribes of Israel to war against the kings of Midian, whom they utterly routed and slew. "And they burnt all their cities wherein they dwelt, and all their goodly castles, with fire."

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Jacob Gebhard,) where he soon went into a large and lucrative business. He subsequently removed to Ancaster, Canada West where he died in 1842, at the age of 78 years. Early in life and possibly before they had chosen their professions, the Tiffany brothers, Oliver and George, taught a classic school in Albany, the first one said their brother, ever established in that city.

The subject of this notice had from early childhood a thirst for knowledge and a love of books. Here is an extract from a memorandum made by himself: "As soon as I began to articulate distinctly, I was sent to school, and was chiefly prepared for college at Moore's Academy, attached to Dartmouth College. In my earliest infancy I formed a strong passion for study, and when yet a lodger in trundle-bed, my book was always placed under my pillow, and was the first thing in my hands at early dawn before rising. My instructors were partial to my inclinations, and withheld no instruction or aid to my acquisition of knowledge." On examination he was found prepared to enter college at the age of about eleven years, and although kept back a year or two, he assured the writer that he still entered younger than its rules required. I learned from the faculty of Dartmouth college, that he graduated in 1793, and if there four years, he must have entered college at the age of thirteen, and been seventeen on graduating with the degree of A. M. He claimed to have been the youngest graduate that ever came from the walls of old Dartmouth.

After he left college I am unable to follow him through his minority, but on reaching manhood, determining to read law with one of the most distinguished members of the American Bar, he went to New York and sought an interview with Aaron Burr. He received him very courteously but not caring then to take a student, he sent him to Alexander Hamilton, Egbert Benson and Brockholst Livingston, whom he considered his peers and said, "Tell them I sent you to them, but if they decline to receive you come back to me." He returned to Burr and became his student. This was at the zenith of the legal renown of those distinguished rivals, Hamilton and Burr, who were then considered personal friends, no matter how widely they may have differed in their movements upon political chess-boards. Mr. T. said they were nearly of a size, as he had repeatedly seen them arm in arm, were of small stature and more alike then in many respects, than a sympathizing world considered them after 1844.

Mr. Tiffany, from the office of Col. Burr, and the influence of his beautiful daughter Theodocia—who, to say the least, he much admired, if he did not fulfil toward her the seventh commandment—went into the law office of his brother George at Schoharie. Of the latter I may observe that he ran for Congress in the year 1800, but was defeated by Killian K. Van Rensselaer of Albany. On the completion of his legal studies, our hero established himself in his profession at a little hamlet called "The Patent," in Cobelskill. This place became known subsequently as Lawyersville, so called after

But my task is now more especially to follow the pioneer settlers of the colony of New York into homes among the Indian possessors of the lands they went into the wilderness to subdue; and, as true policy indicated, for some consideration they usually purchased of the natives a title to the soil, who still traversed their old hunting grounds in the forests surrounding their white neighbors. For a century those settlements were denominated Western New York, and continued to be so called down to the close of the American Revolution. They were situated near the geographical centre of the colony, and for a long period were embraced in Albany county, until the organization of Tryon county in 1772, which then contained nearly all the ter-

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Gen. Thomas Lawyer, who had married Sally, a sister of the Tiffany brothers in 1805, and located there in 1809 as the successor of I. H. Tiffany. It might well have been so called at a still later period, from the circumstance that three of the most noted lawyers of the county resided there, viz.: Thomas Lawyer, Jedediah Miller, and Thomas Smith. Joseph H. Ramsey, to whose indomitable energy while a State Senator the Susquehanna Railroad is indebted for its existence, was a law student of Mr. Miller. Among the pioneer settlers of this locality was Capt. James Dana, of Bunker Hill notoriety, who emigrated from Ashford, Connecticut. He was the first man to hold the office of Brigadier-General of militia in Schoharie county, obtaining the office through the instrumentality of I. H. Tiffany, Esq., who had learned his war record, as the latter assured the writer—he being Inspector of the brigade. Near to Dana located John Redington, who was a private in Capt. Dana's company of Connecticut troops. He was given the command of a company of cavalry in Schoharie county for his patriotic services in the revolution.

After some years of successful labor at Lawyersville, Mr. Tiffany removed to Esperance, in the same county, and where he finished his legal practice. In the year 1818 he was a candidate for Congress, but was defeated by Harmanus Peek. Had he been an office seeker in the true acceptation of the term, he might perhaps have risen to that distinction for which his mental abilities so well fitted him. He once said to the writer that, when a young man, he would hardly have exchanged future prospects with Martin Van Buren and some others, who were afterwards promoted to the highest honors; but, in his day, if office did not seek the subject, New England modesty would have blushed at the thought of asking for it: merit then usually stood waiting to be placed in the pool of preferment. He was, however, for several years a member of the Common Pleas bench of Schoharie county; but it was a nominal position of which he was not proud, and he much preferred to be called Esquire to Judge. Some years before his death he went to reside at Fultonville, Montgomery county, where the writer intimately knew him. He was never married, and, at the period of our acquaintance, he was keeping "bachelor's hall." He owned a small farm on the Sand Flats, two miles distant, where he kept a flock of sheep, which usually had his daily attention. Indeed, he had a *penchant* earlier in life for the sheep-fold, and speculations in blooded sheep cost him not a little of his professional earnings.

Although a bachelor, Mr. Tiffany's life, like that of the multitude, would be incomplete without a woman in it, or an episode of love. I suspect that had his social position warranted, he would have sued for the hand of the very accomplished Theodocia Burr, whose profile likeness he treasured to the hour of his death. He promised the writer this keepsake, but after his decease his valuable papers were removed to Cobleskill and there scattered and wasted, and this rare little picture was lost or destroyed. I come now to speak of a matter at which, from knowing his high sense of honor in

ritory in the State northward and westward of Schenectada to the Canadian boundaries.

The border territory under consideration was, at that period, mainly embraced in the present counties of Montgomery, Herkimer, Schoharie, Fulton, Otsego, Delaware and Saratoga, several of them having then but a small white population. Oneida county must also be included, if for no other reason than that of having been the thoroughfare or water communication by the Mohawk river from Schenectada to the present site of Rome, which stands at the head of boat navigation as it existed when

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all business transactions, I am surprised. In his younger days he courted Miss Gertrude, a daughter of Johannes I. Lawyer, of Schoharie, a family most respectably connected. What it was I cannot say, but some difficulty arose which prevented their nuptials, and she incontinently became the mother of a bright little boy. He was named John I. Tiffany, and was cared for and educated by his father. I remember meeting him in his early manhood, of which he was a fine specimen, and gifted with quick perception and an eye of remarkable brightness. His education was completed at New York as a miniature painter, a short time after which he was taken sick and died at Schoharie. He was buried in the Lutheran cemetery, and his grave is marked with a head stone, which says he died in 1831, aged 21 years. Miss Gertrude Lawyer became the wife of Wm A. Fletcher, a Schoharie county attorney, who removed to Michigan, where he became a judge, and where he died without issue, leaving his widow—since deceased—worth a handsome property.

I. H. Tiffany was a good student not only in the ancient languages, but he spoke the German and French fluently. He was gifted with remarkably fine conversational powers, with a memory stored with a fund of useful historic maxims and anecdotal pleasantries, which made him a welcome guest at the tables of several good Fultonville families. He often talked of writing upon some theme, for which labor he seemed well fitted, yet procrastination prevented his doing so. He did, however, prepare a chart, which was thus noticed by Solomon Southwick, at the opening of the Apprentices' Library at Albany, January 1, 1821. On the study of the Federal Constitution, he says of a political chart of the United States, exhibiting in one view on tables divided into columns, the simple elements and organization of Republican Constitutions and Governments: "In this branch of your studies you will find an invaluable auxiliary in the charts of the Federal and State Constitutions, by Isaac H. Tiffany, in which that gentleman has brought into a concise and striking, comparative view, all the important features of those different Constitutions." A copy of this chart is preserved by John Gebhard, Jr., Esq., of Schoharie.

He not only had a fine ear for music, of which he was fond, but was a lover of the graver sciences, especially that of astronomy; and often might he have been seen of a star-light evening gazing at the heavens, and wondering if he would ever know any more of Arles, Taurus, Ursa Major, Leo or Capricorn, which he delighted to discourse upon. Any new discovery in art or science was sure to awaken pleasurable emotions in his breast, and afford him new themes for discussion. He took delight in visiting schools and in witnessing the proficiency of the pupils, to whom he was constantly giving good advice, not only about their school studies, but against the formation of bad habits; and especially careful was he to warn the boys against the use of either tobacco or alcohol. He was very punctilious, and seldom failed to fulfil any and every engagement at its maturity. During the latter part of his life, from choice, for years he occupied rooms alone, and boarded himself. He died at Fultonville, Montgomery county, February 23, 1859, and was buried in the new cemetery at Cobleskill, N. Y.



the pioneer white settlers of the valley, as also the business men of Albany and New York, were courting the friendship and securing the fur trade of the Iroquois ; and the colonial authorities sought their favor and co-operation in the construction of early fortifications against the Canadian French. The Mohawks were nearly all indwellers of the present counties of Montgomery and Herkimer, but Rome stands upon the territory of the Oneidas ; and as the other confederacies of the six nations—Tuscaroras, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas—were still to the westward, from the time of its erection, Fort Stanwix seems often to have been a favorite place for the assembling of the representatives of the great Indian confederacy and the British agencies on momentous occasions, except when Sir Wm. Johnson had summoned them to Albany, or to his own home at Fort Johnson, near the lower Mohawk Castle.

Tryon county, to which I have alluded, was so named in honor of William Tryon, the last colonial Governor of New York. Remaining in the British interest, he had to vacate the gubernatorial chair, which he did October 19, 1775, seeking refuge at first on board of the Halifax packet, and subsequently on board of the ship *Duchess*\* of Gordon, at New York city—the State's affairs being managed for the next two years by a PROVINCIAL CONGRESS, or its adjunct COMMITTEE OF SAFETY. In 1777 a State Government was organized, and George Clinton, a patriotic statesman, was the first Governor chosen by the suffrages of the people. Gov. Tryon, during the war, by his servility to the English crown, rendered himself so obnoxious to the Whig's that, in 1784, the name of Tryon county was changed to that of Gen. Montgomery, who fell, crowned with imperishable fame, at Quebec, December 31, 1775. From this anticipation


 A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Br. A. Montgomery". The signature is written in dark ink on a light background.

Autograph of Gen. Montgomery.

of events let us return to the condition of the Mohawk valley, when the tide of immigration slowly entered it.

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\* *Duchess* county is said to have derived its name from a lady, and not because of its Dutch inhabitants; hence, I shall adopt this orthography.

*The Great Indian Confederacy of New York.*—I regret in common with my countrymen that no competent writer has yet assumed to present to the American reader, a full and authentic history of the Aborigines of the United States, and more especially those of the State of New York. The task would be one of no little labor since the material is so widely scattered ; but its accomplishment which industry could circumvent, would call forth the gratitude of the nation : and since it has not been done, that the reader may the better understand my own imposed task, I shall here give some account of the Indian occupancy of Central New York, when our European ancestry first began to subdue its forests. Within it dwelt the FIVE NATIONS, as called by the English ; the IROQUOIS as named by the French ; but as they called themselves, *On-gue-hon-ue*—men-surpassing-all-others ;\* or, as said by a writer nearly an hundred years later, calling themselves *Ag-a-nu-schi-o-ni*—united people.† They had been known and felt to be a power among their own race, long before Europeans came among them, and inured from infancy to fasting and strain upon their physical natures, they were capable of great endurance ; and often in their hunting excursions or war-expeditions, their exploits and wonderful celerity seemed almost incredible.

They were ever noted as a warlike people, and their known bravery and invincible prowess made their strong arm felt and respected over a large area of territory, now embraced in several States and the Canadas. Their women did the drudgery and so far as it was done, cultivated their maize and beans ; while the men made their war-implements, such as bows and arrows, spears, etc., as also their bark canoes : but they had little ambition to gratify in either the construction of their rude huts—which were principally of bark ; or in the display of their wardrobes, for the latter consisted almost entirely of the skins of wild animals secured in the chase, which they

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\* Colden's *History of the Five Nations of Canada*. Why he says of Canada does not appear, but probably because the French early claimed jurisdiction over the territory of Western New York. The second edition of this work published at London in 1750, is the one before me, and is no doubt the most authentic early history of this remarkable people, who, as he said, considered themselves superior by nature to all the rest of mankind. It is a pity Mr. Colden did not then see the importance of designating localities, and of recording the names of early white adventurers among the Indians, more especially among the Mohawks.

† Spafford's *Gazetteer*.

dressed and used for clothing and bedding in the winter, while the summer months often saw them *in puris naturalibus*, until the whites came to barter blankets and cloths for their peltries ; which in a few years wrought quite a change in the general appearance of a clan or tribe. The chiefs, however, for distinguished prowess, were decorated beyond their fellows with ornaments of wampum, shells, rings, beads, etc.

*Fire-arms.*—Soon after the French located in Canada, to render the Indians in their alliance a more formidable adversary for the Iroquois, they placed fire-arms in their hands, a policy which ere long was also adopted by the Dutch colonists of New Netherland toward their allies, a policy that was continued after the colony came under English rule.

The question is often asked why the primitive inhabitants of New York were so uniformly erect, so perfectly formed and so strong in their manhood and womanhood ? for deformity was seldom ever found among them. It is a well established historical fact that, when the white settlers first came among them, no deformed, idiotic or unsound children, such as blind, deaf, or dumb, as believed, were to be seen ; and if any such chanced to appear, as they of course did from time to time—for nature has ever produced its erratic idiosyncrasies—their life was but a “fleeting show,” for the counsels of their sages at once doomed them to die : nor were they the only ones stricken down by the tomahawk of friends, for occasionally their aged, when infirm and feeble, shared (from choice) a similar fate. Inured to fatigue and hardship from the cradle to the grave, they were, however, capable of great endurance and often lived to a great age self-supporting ; that is, not becoming a helpless drag upon their fellows. And while they lived the young were ever taught to respect and honor them.

*Customs of the Five Nations when Europeans first came among them.*—I shall here give some of the Indian customs prevalent at an early day, derived principally from Colden’s History as being the most reliable testimony of as early a date, the first part of which was written prior to 1724.\*

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\* Cadwallader Colden, a son of Rev. Alexander Colden, was born at Dunse, Scotland, February 17, 1688. He graduated at the University of Edinburgh in 1705, and devoted himself to medicine and mathematics. He emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1708, returned to England in 1715, again settled in Pennsylvania in 1716, and in 1718 he came to New York at the request of Gov. Hunter. In 1719 he was appointed first



Fac-simile of Colden's autograph.

The confederacy of the five nations was formed so long before the "Christians"—as the whites were denominated—came among them, that they knew nothing of its beginning.

*Insignia.*—Each of the nations was divided into three families, distinguished by the ensigns of the tortoise, the bear and the wolf, which they traced upon all deeds and contracts. I suppose they had used them in their own covenants long before, painting them on the skins of animals, bark, trees, etc.

*Indian Totems.*—The totems here named are given by Colden, and were in general use among the Mohawks in his day; but other devices are found on their contracts, and another early writer says: "The ensigns of the five nations were the bear, otter, wolf, tortoise and eagle," all of which I have seen on different land titles. These figures, he said, were "pricked and painted on several parts of their bodies," to indicate the nations or tribes to which they belonged.\*

Their sachems or chiefs were usually poor, having no salary or pay for their services, which were freely rendered for the honor of position conferred by the people.

All history gives the Mohawk nation the reputation of standing at the head of the confederacy in bravery, sagacity and in-

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surveyor-general of the colony and master in chancery. In 1720 he became one of the king's council under Gov. Burnet; and while in this position he went several times into the country of the six nations on executive business. He administered the government in 1760, and in 1761 he was appointed its Lieutenant-Governor, which station he occupied during the remainder of his life. In the stormy period just preceding the Revolution, in the absence of the Governor, he was in charge of the colonial affairs, and for his defense of the stamp act papers the populace burnt him in effigy, and destroyed his carriage in his sight. On the return of Gov. Tryon in 1775, Colden returned to his residence on Long Island, where he died September 28, 1776, in the eighty-ninth year of his age. For a long period he was a conspicuous man in the colony, was an intimate friend of Sir William Johnson, and familiar with matters in the Mohawk valley. He was an apt student in science and literature. At the age of 27 he published a work on Animal Secretions, and at the age of 39 he first published his History of the five nations. On the appearance of the Linnaean system of botany, he printed a description of 300 or 400 American plants, and his "Observations on Smith's History of New York," added much to his literary reputation. (See Drake's Biographical Dictionary.)

\* Trumbull's History, p. 97, published at Norwich, Conn., 1811.

fluence, although less in numbers than were several of the other nations. Their very name became a terror to all the New England Indians; and the appearance of only a few of the former was necessary to put many of the latter to flight, compelling them thereafter to pay tribute in "wampum." The tributes paid by one Indian nation to another were usually collected annually by two old representatives of their tribe, who went poorly clad in dirty shirts and old blankets.

"*Wampum*," said Colden, "is the current money among the Indians. It is of two sorts, white and purple. The white is worked out of the inside of the great conchs (shells) into the form of a bead, and perforated, to string on leather. The purple is worked out of the inside of muscle shells. They are wove as broad as one's hand, and about two feet long: these they call belts, which they give and receive at their treaties and seals of friendship: for lesser matters a single string is given. Every bead is of a known value, and a belt of a less number is made equal to one of a greater, by so many as is wanting fastened to the belt by a string." Those belts, says the historian Smith, were four inches wide and thirty inches long.

Says a writer, quoted by Noah Webster,\* "wampum consisted of cylindrical pieces of the shells of testaceous fishes, a quarter of an inch long, and in diameter less than a pipe-stem, drilled lengthwise so as to be strung upon a thread. The beads of a white color—rated at half the value of the black or violet—passed each as the equivalent of a farthing in transactions between the natives and the planters." They were often much larger than here described. In their use upon belts the latter were made of the skins of animals, until the whites introduced cloths among the natives. Many of the shell beads taken from Indian graves once constituted a part of their wealth in wampum.

Small shells were formerly the medium of exchange in almost all the uncivilized and semi-barbarous nations of the world. In Africa and the East Indies it was for centuries their money medium of commerce. Indeed, it is only 40 or 50 years since the money-cowry of Siam, a small univalve shell, began to give place in Bangkok to silver coins, much resembling bullets in shape.

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\* Palfrey.

*General character of the Five Nations.*—In their love of Liberty, their bravery in battle and their endurance in suffering, they equalled the most renowned Romans. Here is also the testimony of an early French writer,\* to the general character of this people. “When we speak of the five nations in France [the French then claimed the territory those nations occupied], they are thought by a common mistake, to be mere barbarians, always thirsting after human blood ; but their true character is very different. They are indeed the finest and most formidable people in North America, and at the same time, are as politic and judicious, as can well be conceived ; and this appears from the management of all the affairs which they transact, not only with the French and English, but likewise with almost all the Indian nations of this continent.”

*The Cruelty*, not only of the five nations, but of all Indians to unresisting women and children, and to their prisoners, was ever held in abhorrence by the civilized world. But they learned those barbarous customs from their ancestors of past ages, who may possibly from tradition have had them handed down from Bible record. In the 31st chap. of Numbers, it is stated that Moses sent Phineas with 12,000 Israelites to war against Midian, and that when he came back and reported all the men slain, but that he had spared the women and the little ones, Moses was wroth and at once commanded all the male children with their mothers to be slain. Again in the 2d chap. of Deuteronomy, is related an account of the children of Israel warring with Sihon king of Heshbon—whose spirit God hardened and whose heart he had made obstinate that he might deliver him over to his enemies—which reads thus ; “And we took all the cities at that time, and utterly destroyed the men, the women and the little ones of every city, we left none to remain.” We call the Indians savages for practicing such cruelties in their day, as God’s chosen people under the gifted Moses indulged ; and yet we are required to believe their action met with Divine sanction. To wage such a war of extermination now, one would suppose the spirit which inculcated it, had emanated from a source of evil.

*Daring Enterprises* were started by a few young men

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\* De la Poterie.

who got up a feast of dog's meat, and all partakers of it were considered as enlisted for the undertaking. In their WAR DANCE their faces are frightfully painted as when they go to war, and on such occasions they work their spirits into a high state of excitement.

*A Scene at Fort Hunter, or Lower Mohawk Castle.*—"An officer of the regular troops told me," says Colden, "that while he was commandant at Fort Hunter [probably Capt. Scott], the Mohawks on one of these occasions [the departure of a war party] told him, that they expected the usual military honors as they passed the garrison. Accordingly he drew out his troops, who presented their pieces as the Indians passed, and the drum beat a march; and with less respect the officer said they would have been dissatisfied. The Indians passed in a single row, one after the other with great gravity and profound silence; and every one of them as he passed the officer, took his gun from his shoulder, and fired into the ground near the officer's foot: they marched in this manner three or four miles from their castle. The women on these occasions always follow them with their old clothes, and by them they send back their finery in which they marched from the castle. But before leaving the place where they exchange their clothes, they always peel a large piece of the bark from some great tree, commonly an oak as most lasting; upon the smooth wood with red paint, they draw one or more canoes going from home, with the number of men in them paddling, which go upon the expedition; and some animal as a deer or fox, an emblem against which the enterprise is designed, is painted at the head of the canoes; for they always travel in canoes along the rivers which lead to the country, against which the expedition is designed so far as they can.

"After the expedition is over, they stop at the same place in their return, and send to their castle, to inform their friends of their arrival; that they may be prepared to give them a solemn reception, suited to the success they have had. In the mean time they represent on the same or some tree near it, the event of the enterprise, and now the canoes are painted with their heads turned toward the castle: the number of the enemy killed is represented by scalps painted in black, and the number of prisoners by as many withes (in their painting not unlike

pot-hooks) with which they usually pinion their captives. These trees are the annals or rather trophies of the five nations. I have seen many of them, and by them and their war-songs they preserve the history of their achievements. The solemn reception of these warriors and the acclamations of applause which they receive on their return, cannot but have on the hearers the same effect in raising an emulation for glory, that a triumph had on the old Romans."

The reader is not to suppose because they represented their departure by the figure of canoes on trees, that they only did it when they could proceed by water; for a communication with their foes by water was a convenience by some of the tribes seldom enjoyed. They moved in every direction from their castles on war and other expeditions, as believed, with similar memorials of such events.

#### REMEMBERED MEMORIALS.

*The Painted Rock.*—Within the remembrance, possibly, of some persons still living, there was a large rock on the north shore of the Mohawk, near Amsterdam, to be seen at low water-mark, that contained Indian memorials, such as the figures of men and animals, and supposed by some to have been traced with red chalk, although they may have been in vermilion, which the whites bartered with the natives for peltry.

*The Warrior Tree.*—Beside the path leading from Fort Hunter to Schoharie, a few miles from the former place, once stood a large white-oak tree, known and designated as the *Warrior Tree*, from the fact that a canoe was painted upon it with Indian warriors in it. The painting was a good representation of the scene intended. It is not known when this tree was first decorated, or for what specific purpose; but for several generations it was kept in vivid colors by frequent repairing, and until the Indians, whose fostered land-mark it was, left the country. About the close of the Revolution it was an object of great curiosity to the young, says one who often saw it.\* With numerous other evidences of the ingenuity and artistic skill of the red man—the warrior tree, which stood in the southeast part of the present town of Glen—has long since passed away. This tree, at an early day, became a boundary between Corry's

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\* The late Peter Putman of Cadaughrita.



and Shuckberg's Patents,\* that of James Delancey and others running along side of it. This warrior tree is mentioned in an early land conveyance which the writer has seen.

*A Painted Tree.*—In 1696 the Canadian French, in great force, invaded the territories of the Onondagas, and Colden says that, in passing the Onondaga river,† they found a tree on which the Indians had, in their manner, painted the French army, by the side of which they had laid two bundles of cut rushes. This signified a defiance after the Indian manner, intended to tell the invaders that 1,434 warriors would meet them—a number intimidated by the rushes.—*Colden.*

*Indian Treatment of Prisoners.*—Says Colden: "After their prisoners are secured, they never offer them the least mal-treatment, but on the contrary will rather starve themselves than suffer them to want; and I have been always assured that there is not one instance of their offering the least violence to the chastity of any woman that was their captive. But notwithstanding this, the poor prisoners afterwards undergo severe punishments before they receive the last doom of life or death."

*The Gantlet.*—"The warriors think it for their glory to lead them through all the villages of the Nations subject to them which lie near the road, and these to show their affection to the five nations and their abhorrence of their enemies, draw up in two lines through which the poor prisoners, stark naked, must run the gantlet; and on this occasion it is always observed the women are much more cruel than the men. The prisoners meet with the same sad reception when they reach their journey's end: and after this they are presented to those that have lost any relation in that or any former enterprise. If the captives be accepted, there is an end of their sorrow from that moment; they are dressed as fine as they can make them, and they are absolutely free (except to return to their own country), and

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\* William Corry, and 12 others, took their patent November 19, 1737 for 25,400 acres of land, mostly in the present town of Charleston. Richard Shuckbergh is said to have got his title from James Delancey, Cadwallader and Archibald Colden, and Archibald Kennedy, April 24, 1734. This was, no doubt, the same 10,000 acres, or the greater part of it, patented November 12, 1737, to James Delancey, John Lindesay, Paschal Nelson and Jacob Glen. It was on both sides of Arle's hill, in the present town of Glen. It bounded Corry's patent northerly and easterly.

† Although there is a stream in that neighborhood called the Onondaga creek, yet I have little doubt this marked tree was on the shore of Oswego river.

enjoy all the privileges the person had, in whose place they are accepted ; but if otherwise, they die in torments, to satiate the revenge of those that refuse them." Prisoners were cruelly and sometimes fatally injured in the gantlet-ordeal.

*The adopted.*—If a young man or a boy is received into an Indian family in the place of a husband killed, all the children of the deceased call the adopted *father* ; so that one may sometimes hear a man of thirty say that a boy of fifteen or twenty is his father.

*The castles* of the Indians, "are generally a square surrounded with palisades, without bastions or out-works : " and he might have added they were sufficiently large usually for the erection of huts, for the indwellers of the locality.

*Implements of war.*—Before the arrival of Europeans, those consisted of bows and arrows, the latter with points or heads wrought from flint and other hard stone, stone hatchets, spears, with stone heads, and war clubs : the latter some two feet long made from heavy wood. On the handle of the latter after they procured knives, they kept a tally of the scalps they had taken. They also had rude flint knives to aid in skinning game, making bark canoes, and scalping foes. The bones of animals also subserved many of their wants. At the time of Colden's writing, or in the early part of the last century, they consisted in muskets, hatchets, and long sharp pointed knives. Bows and arrows were still used by boys for killing fowls and small animals ; and I may add that war clubs were fastened to many an Indian's neck or belt in the Revolution, ready for a hand-to-hand fight.

*An Indian's voice* by practice, could be heard in articulate sounds and words at a great distance, and his shrill terrific yell, boded terror to a far-off foe.

*What's in a name.*—Indian names generally had a meaning whether they were of persons or objects in nature. Some of the latter have very properly attached to their own localities, with a remembered signification ; while the many have fallen into the vortex of oblivion—if not the name certainly its import. Where they can still be reclaimed they should by all means be sacredly bestowed upon their original objects, produced by freaks of nature, rivers, brooks, mountains and towns. The Indians, by a council of chiefs not unfrequently gave their

white friends the name of some departed warrior, and occasionally individuals thus bestowed their own, and were given or assumed another. When Colden first visited the Mohawks, a noted sachem of that nation gave him his own name Cay-en-de-rou-gue, the signification of which he failed to mention. The bestowal of the name gave the right to its new owner, to claim all the benefits resulting from the acts of valor of its former possessor of whatever nature they might be in any, in all the six nations, as called after 1712. He thought but little of the matter at the time, supposing it possibly an artifice to get rum, but ten or twelve years later when there again on business, he learned that the name had for him an importance, the sachem who bestowed it having chosen another, and he having been adopted into the tribe of the Bear, and as a compliment called by its warriors Brother Bear.

*Their Notions of Liberty* were such that they never made slaves of their prisoners.

*Their hospitality* was unbounded. Says Colden: "The hospitality of these Indians is no less remarkable than their other virtues: as soon as any stranger comes they are sure to offer him victuals. If there be several in company, and come from afar, one of their best houses is cleaned and given up for their entertainment. Their complaisance on these occasions goes even further than Christian civility allows of, as they have no other rule for it than their furnishing their guests with everything they think will be agreeable to him: for this reason some of their prettiest girls are always ordered to wash themselves and dress in their best apparel, in order to be presented to the stranger for his choice; and the young lady who has the honor to be preferred on these occasions, performs all the duties of a fond wife during the stranger's stay. But this last piece of hospitality is now rather laid aside by the old Mohawks, or at least they never offer it to a Christian." This statement is corroborated by the historian, Henry Trumbull.

"This nation has now laid aside many of its ancient customs as have also other nations with whom we are best acquainted, and have adopted many of ours; so that it is not easy now to distinguish their original and genuine manners from those they have lately acquired: and for this reason they now seldom offer victuals to persons of any distinction, because they know

that their food and cookery is not agreeable to our delicate palates.

"Their men value themselves in having all kind of food in equal esteem. A Mohawk sachem told me with a pride, that a man eats everything without distinction, bears, cats, dogs, snakes, frogs, etc., intimating that it is womanish to have any delicacy in the choice of food." They were also ready to share their larder with their less fortunate neighbors in hunting and fishing.

Further evidences of Indian hospitality are found in the following mention. When last among the Mohawks—no date—Colden learned that an Englishman who had run away from his master in New York, had found an asylum among them; and told them they did injustice to his owner by not sending him back. No, said they, we never serve a man so who puts himself under our protection; and instead of doing so we would pay the value of the servant to his master. Another instance was as follows: A man had escaped from the Albany jail where he was imprisoned for debt. The Mohawks received and protected him against the sheriff and his officers; but paid the debt he was owing, and gave him land sufficient for a good farm, whereon he was living when that historian was there. The man's name and the locality of his lands are not mentioned.

*If expected hospitality* was not shown them, the Indians were sure to make it known. After the English succeeded the Dutch in the colony of New York, said a Mohawk sachem in a speech: "When the Dutch held this colony long ago, we laid in their houses, but the English have always made us lie out of doors."

*Polygamy; condition of the Women, etc.*—Colden says polygamy was not usual among the six nations; but this statement does not accord with that of most early writers. They certainly had the privilege of discarding one wife and taking another at their pleasure, so that the pedigree of most Indian families at the end of a few generations it would be difficult to trace. They seemed to abhor slavery, and, looking upon wedlock as akin to it, they kept themselves free from its conventionalities; so that when either party became disgusted or dissatisfied, they separated as they had united, without formality or ignominy, unless scandal attached to one or the other of

them. In case of divorce the children usually followed the mother. The women became mothers with almost the ease of brute animals, soon after which they attended their usual employments. They performed not only all the labor of the household and garden, but upon them was imposed the duty of gathering their firewood, and, in removing from place to place, the women were the burden bearers. The active men looked upon labor as degrading, and spent most of their time in hunting and fishing, except when on war-like expeditions. Old men were sometimes seen in numbers in council or in conversation, rehearsing old traditions and their ancestor's, or their own exploits; while the young men were practicing athletic feats, shooting at a mark, throwing the hatchet, wrestling, etc; the women and girls, meanwhile, performing the labor which makes the home of even an Indian one of comfort and cheer.

*Memory, how strengthened.*—The Indians had no written language and no stenographers, but had to rely solely upon memory to receive and answer speeches; and whether in their own councils, or at treaties and conventions with their white neighbors, they adopted this method to aid memory. On such occasions the presiding sachem stood with a bundle of sticks, and when a speaker commenced he handed one to a sachem beside him to indicate that he must remember what was said until another stick was similarly disposed of; and thus, at the close of every important saying, a talisman was given to the end of the speech. In their replies the same rule was adopted, so that they were enabled, by such prompting, very nearly to retain every important period in their own or antagonistic speeches.

*Murder* excited their cruel revenge, but was often expiated by giving presents to surviving relatives.

*God as the Great Supreme.*—They had no radical word in their language to express, but they learned to hold the English word in great reverence. All writers agree that they believed in a future state, and that if they were brave in battle, and evinced fortitude in death, they would go to happy hunting grounds, where game was plenty and existence most enjoyable. To signify the Deity, the Indians used compound words, such as preserver, sustainer, or master of the universe. Trumbull says: "It does not appear that there is any Indian nation that has not some sense of a Deity, and a kind of superstitious re-

ligion." They believed in a good and an evil spirit, and to the latter they paid much devotion, beseeching him to do them no harm—entreating, at the same time, the good spirit to aid them against the machinations of the evil one.

*Fortitude* was a remarkable trait of character among these Indians, and, when doomed to death by their foes, they were accustomed to sing or chant their own exploits, or taunt their enemies with ignorance of the best modes of cruelty in the midst of excruciating tortures. The following incident related by Colden, will give the reader a practical illustration: Count Frontenac, Governor of Canada, with the Indians in his interest, invaded the territory of the Onondagas in 1696, and, from representations made of their numbers, the Onondagas burned their untenable works and retired. The old Governor, preceded by artillery, was carried there in a chair. A centenarian sachem chose this occasion to remain there and die, and he bore with surprising evenness of mind the tortures of his foes. He charged them to remember well his death, when his own countrymen should terribly revenge the act; upon which he was stabbed several times with a knife. He thanked his tormentor, and said: "You had better make me die by fire, that the dogs of Frenchmen may learn to suffer like men. You Indians, their allies, you dogs of dogs, think of me when you shall be in the like state." Thus this old warrior evinced greatness of soul, and a due regard for the honor of his country in his latest breath. Many similar instances are recorded in history. He was the only Indian killed in this costly expedition to the French—costly, because the neglect of their own cultivated fields brought a famine upon them.

*Theft* was looked upon as very scandalous among the six nations.

*Pronunciation* of English words with labials in them was difficult for an Indian; hence, Peter he generally called Queder. He thought it strange that he must shut his mouth to speak.

*The Burial* of their dead was an event of no little importance. Colden says they buried in a sitting posture, and that many of them did so is a fact that is often demonstrated by disinterring their remains. They usually chose a dry and sandy knoll for sepulture, and dressed the corpse in finery if possessed by deceased, putting wampum and war implements into the

grave and often a vessel containing food. They kept the grave free from weeds or grass for a time, and visited it with lamentations and mourning.

*Tokens.*—A *hatchet* with the Indians was an emblem of war ; a *tree* was a metaphor of peace ; a *chain* was the symbol of alliance, as was also a belt of wampum ; the *calumet* was the ratifier of peace, as it was also a flag of truce between contending parties.

*The Calumet* was a large smoking-pipe, the bowl of which was usually wrought from red sand-stone or from steatite, with a stem of reed or of some hollow wood. Sometimes it was wrought in the form of a hatchet, and adorned with feathers of several colors. They were often of nice workmanship, and were in use long before the whites came among them ; and how they could make and pierce them for a stem is a mystery even at this day, since they had no implements of iron. It is believed that each nation had one, only used on State and national occasions. A refusal to ratify a treaty through the calumet, was looked upon as a violation of the compact, or a refusal to ratify it. In some of the colonies they smoked tobacco, while in others they smoked *kinnikinic*, made of different vegetables.

*The Covenant Chain.*—At a treaty held in Albany in September, 1689, between delegates from New York, Massachusetts, New Plymouth and Connecticut, and the chiefs of the five nations, To-ha-ja-do-ris, a noted orator among the Mohawks, said in his speech : “The covenant chain [between them and the English] was no longer of iron, and subject to rust as formerly, but was now of pure silver, and included in it all the king’s subjects from the Seneca country eastward, as far as any of the great king’s subjects live, and southward from New England to Virginia.” Here he gave a beaver skin in token of sincerity. Indeed, in his whole speech, at the end of each significant sentence he gave a beaver skin or a belt of wampum, agreeable to the Indian custom. The tree of amity was considered as planted where peace was concluded, and the speaker said : “Should the French shake the tree, we would feel it by the motion of its roots.”



Indian diploma or treaty.

“**By** the Honorable Sir William Johnson, Bart., his Majesty’s sole Agent and Superintendent of Indian affairs for the Northern Department of **N**orth America, Colonel of the Six United Nations, their Allies and **D**ependants, etc.

“**To** ——— :

“Whereas, I have received repeated proofs of your attachment to his **B**ritannic Majesty’s Interests and Zeal for his service upon sundry occasions, more particularly ——— ; I do therefore give you this public Testimonial thereof, as a proof of his Majesty’s Esteem and Approbation, **D**ec<sup>l</sup>aring you, the said ———, to be a ——— of your ———, and recom<sup>m</sup>ending it to all his Majesty’s Subjects and faithful Indian Allies, to Treat and Consider you, upon all occasions, agreeable to your character, Station and services.

“Given under my hand and seal at Arms, at Johnson Hall the ——— day of ———, 17—.

“By Command of Sir W. Johnson.”

Many of the later evidences of friendship between the whites and the Indians were represented by a chain held in the hands of the parties, or displayed upon significant objects. Sir William Johnson, acting as the general agent of Great Britain for the New York confederacy near the time of its waning glory, gave at his treaties with the Indians a parchment diploma, of which the above was a copy. He was represented as handing to an Indian a seal or medal. On the parchment were also represented a calumet and a council fire.

*A Silver Pipe.*—October 28, 1867, I had a visit from Rev.

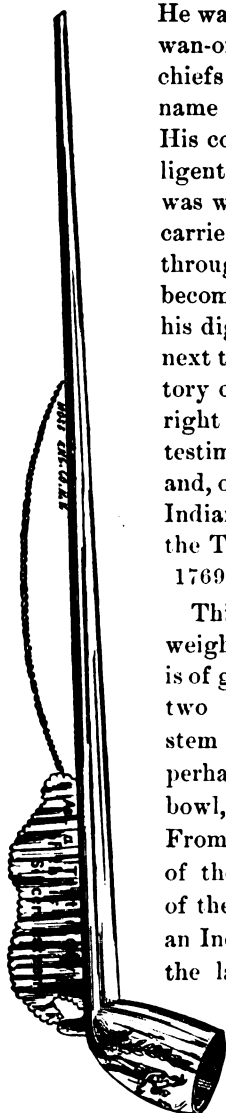


Robert James Roberts, a young English missionary to the "Six Nation Indians," at Newport, Province of Ontario, Canada.

He was accompanied by G. H. M. Johnson—On-wan-on-sy-shon—one of the principal Indian chiefs of that province, who claimed to obtain his name by descent from Sir William Johnson. His companion called him one of the most intelligent men of his race, and I was convinced he was well informed in the Mohawk dialect. He carried with him a pipe which had descended through several generations of sachems, and had become among them an evidence to its bearer of his dignified position. On a plate under its stem next the bowl, was engraved the history of its origin, reading upon the right side, from the mouth, "As a testimony of their sincere esteem;" and, on its reverse, "To the Mohawk Indians, from the Nine Partners of the Tract near Schoharie, granted in 1769."

This pipe is of pure silver, and weighs four ounces avoirdupois. It is of goodly proportions, with a bowl two inches deep, from which the stem measures  $18\frac{1}{2}$  inches. An ornamental plate, perhaps an inch wide, extends 5 inches from the bowl, bearing the inscriptions above named. From this plate to within 4 inches of the end of the stem is a small silver chain. On the front of the bowl stand the figures of a white man and an Indian, holding a chain in their right hands, the latter having in his left hand a pipe from which he is smoking. This relic is sacredly treasured among the Indians, and is, no doubt, one of the most valuable mementoes among them.

*The Nine Partners Tract* was situated, in 1820, in the north-east part of the town of Schoharie. It consisted of 8,000 acres,



Half size of the original.

and was granted by patent, September 30, 1769, to Jacob Sternbergh, George Zimmer, Hendrick Weaver, Jacob Zimmer, John Jost Becker, William Zimmer, John Shaver, and Petrus Zimmer. Who became associated with them as the ninth partner in the purchase, does not appear in the list of patents published in 1822, of lands then subject to quit rents.

*Paint.*—The Indians always painted their faces, as also their arms and chests if bare, when going to war, to make themselves look the more intimidating to their enemies. They generally used vermilion in stripes.

*Soldier*, in their language, was expressed by a word which signified a fighter.

*The seasons* they distinguished as the time when strawberries or chestnuts blossom, or as the time of corn planting and when it is ripe.

*A Remarkable Invasion of the Mohawk valley by the Canadians in 1666.*—The Mohawks had, from time to time, carried successful enterprises into the very heart of the French settlements in Canada, so as to threaten the destruction of the colony, at a period long before the whites had ventured to seek homes among them; and to aid them in retaliating those advantages with terrible effect, and if possible destroy the power of that nation; a regiment of Carignan troops were ordered by the mother country to Canada: and in the winter of 1665-6, M. de Tracy, viceroy, and M. de Courselles, the governor with a body of 28 companies, nearly 600 Frenchmen and Indians—when the rivers and lakes were frozen over, with four feet of snow on the ground—marched from Quebec on the 29th of December, on this wonderful expedition.\* Carrying their arms, a part of their provisions and necessaries were borne upon their backs, and the remainder was drawn upon light sledges by dogs. The journey was made upon snow shoes, and with no other shelter than the “blew canopye of the heavens,” they had to dig holes in the snow to make their lodgings for the night; and so impeded was their journey of some 700 miles, that it was not until the 9th day of February, 1666,—at the end of six weeks—that they found themselves within a few miles of Schenectada, their guides having missed their way, as they evidently intended to strike the Mohawk castle, at Tribes Hill.†

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\* Holmes' Annals.

† Brod. Papers, vol. 3.

There they had an encounter with a party of Mohawks, in which several were killed on both sides, the French having the worst of it; and but for being kindly received and nourished with food by Arent Van Corlaer, a Dutch pioneer settler and his neighbors of the "small village called Schonectade, lying within the woods beyond Fort Albany," it is doubtful if many of the invaders would again have reached Canada. A messenger was hastened to Albany to make known their proximity, and the next day three of her principal citizens called on Mons. de Courselles, to enquire why he brought such an armed body into his British Majesty's dominions, without first making known his intentions. He replied that he came to seek and to destroy his enemies, the Mohawks, but designed no harm to his Majesty's subjects. He desired supplies for his men for which he would pay the money, and protection and care for his wounded men, to which the Albanians at once agreed; making a small present to him in wine and provisions. The wounded, seven in number, being carefully cared for at Schenectada, were sent on to Albany, and the enemy were furnished a goodly supply of bread and peas. This invasion was soon after the colony had passed from the Dutch to the English rule; which change the Frenchmen did not relish, observing that "The English were grasping at all America." He enquired about the garrison at Albany, and learned that it was a small fort with 4 bastions, with 9 pieces of ordinance, and was manned by 60 English soldiers, under the command of Capt. Baker, who had sent for 20 more men at the English garrison at "Sopes"—Kingston.

The Mohawks, who chanced to be near Schenectada on the arrival of the French, at once hastened up the valley to "set their house in order," and arouse their warriors; and on the third day after his arrival M. de Courselles, under the pretence of going to attack the enemy in their homes, marched his army a little distance in that direction, and then suddenly wheeled off to the right, taking the back track for Canada. Whether sudden fear, or the apprehended danger of the breaking up of winter caused this retrograde movement is unknown. Although this enterprise was an abortive one, yet at the time it was considered the boldest one of any age. Learning that their foes had fled, the Mohawk braves pressed them as far as the lake—probably Lake George—but they got off without serious loss:

the pursuers made but three prisoners, one of whom was killed at his own request because unable to keep up with the party ; and besides obtaining his scalp, they got those of five others who had perished by the way : the custom of scalping a fallen foe being one among the sons of the forest from time immemorial.\* Gov. Dongan alluding to this invasion in 1687, says it was made at a time when the New York Indians were gone on the expedition to Cape Florida, that they burnt one Mohawk castle where there were none but old men, women and children—says they were pursued to Sconectade, 20 miles from Albany, where, had they not been succoured by Van Corlaer, a Dutchman, they would all have been cut off.†

*Corlaer's Lake.*—Says Colden : Gov. M. de Courselles felt so grateful to Van Corlaer for his timely hospitality on the occasion mentioned above, that he invited him to come to Canada, that he might there suitably reward him : that on his way thither for that object, Van Corlaer was upset in his boat and drowned in Lake Champlain ; from which circumstance for the next century, this sheet of water was called Corlaer's Lake. Indeed, so did the Canadians revere his memory, that for generations after, they designated the town of Schenectada by his name, as also several of the early governors of New York : which application of name the five nations also adopted, calling the Mohawk, Corlaer's river.

*Fire Arms* wrought wonderful changes in the prospects and condition of the five nations. Fear of them caused the confederacy at an early period, to make a treaty with the governor of Canada ; and when they became supplied with them by the English, they carried their conquests over a great part of North America ; embracing, says Colden, an area of 1200 miles in length by 600 in breadth.

*Individual Exploits.*—Cunning and shrewdness were known characteristics of the red man, enabling him by unlooked for stratagem to circumvent his enemies—such as borrowing the skin of an animal in which to play his role, etc. ; and Colden mentions one of Canada, named Pis-ka-ret, who upon snow-shoes turned backward so as to look as if going the other way, secured many scalps.

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\* Brod. Papers, vol. 3.

† Doc. His. 1, 156.

*Invasion of the Mohawk valley from New England.*—The Mohawks having brought most of the Indians of New England into a state of fear or tribute ; in 1669, the latter resolved to “beard the lion in his den ;” and raising an army of 6 or 700 men, mostly Massachusetts warriors, they marched into the country of the Mohawks, to revenge former injuries. After besieging many of them in one of their forts (probably at Tribes Hill, subsequently known on its removal across the river as the Lower Castle), their provision and amunition failing, they abandoned the siege and retreated toward home. They were pursued, however, and a body of Mohawks having been placed in ambush in a defile on the route, with thick swamps upon each side, the invaders were taken at a great disadvantage ; and although they fought bravely, their leader Josiah—*Chick-a-taw-but*—with about 50 of his bravest men were slain. This was the last great trial of strength between the Mohawks and New England Indians.\*

*An Invasion of Canada.*—The incursion into the Seneca’s country in 1687, by M. de Nonville, governor of Canada, and the erection of a fort on their premises at Niagara ; so provoked the ire of the six nations that, with an army of 1200 warriors they visited the island of Montreal, July 26, 1689, and hurled back with terrible vengeance the injuries done them two years before. They burned their plantations and made a most frightful and indiscriminate slaughter ; killing 1000 inhabitants mostly French, and making 26 prisoners, the greater part of whom were tortured to death by fire. The cruelties practiced about La Chine, were horrible in their details. In this invasion, the attacking party lost but three men, and they were left behind drunk, soon to experience a drunkard’s fate.†

*The Burning of Schenectada.*—A few facts important to be known are here given, of the circumstances connected with the total destruction of the first white settlement of any importance in this colony by the enemy. Early in June, 1688, Gov. Dongan was required by King James II. to resign his administration of the government of New York to Sir Edmund Andros, then Governor of Massachusetts, who, by a commission from King James in the second year of his reign, was, on the

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\* Holmes’ Annals.

† Colden’s Five Nations, and Holmes’ Annals.

third of June of that year, appointed Governor-in-Chief of the provinces of New England, New York and New Jersey, with his place of business at Boston. The movement was designed to unite all those colonies under one head in the interest of Popery: and the great seal of state for New York was directed to be defaced or broken, so that that of New England should only be used. It was during this eventful period that Gov. Andros, with a body guard of soldiers, endeavored to get possession of the charter of Connecticut, that led to its concealment by Capt. Wadsworth in a hollow tree in Hartford, so long known as the Charter Oak.\* By a strange combination of circumstances, we find that on the fourth of October following the above events, Gov. Andros, with several of his council, were seized and imprisoned at Boston, at the instigation of the merchants and gentry of that city.†

June, 1689, found William and Mary upon the English throne; and, during the larval state of the British Government, Jacob Leisler had assumed the Gubernatorial chair of the colony—the populace compelling Lieut.-Gov. Nicholson, who succeeded Dongan, to abandon it. In the midst of the confused state of affairs in Europe and her colonies, Stephen V. Cortlandt, Mayor of New York city, and his friend Fred. Phillips, in a letter to Secretary Blathwayt, dated August 5, 1689, after alluding to “the miserable estate and condition of this province and city [New York] in particular,” they observed: “The Cantons—Indian nations above Albany—hearing of war between England and France, are gone to fight the inhabitants of Canada.”‡ Herein we find the milk of the cocoanut. To revenge the invasion of Canada by the Five Nations, the French Governor sought to strike a more efficient blow by directing it upon their white allies at Albany or Schenectada, and circumstances on the way designated the latter place.

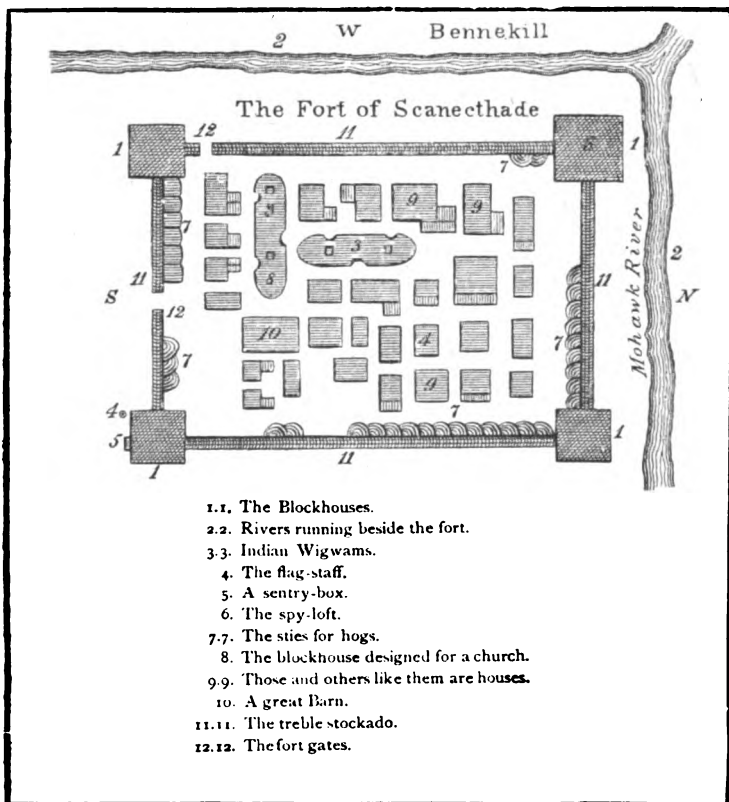
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\* Barber's Historical Collections of Connecticut.

† Brod. Papers, vol. 3.

‡ Brod. Papers, vol. 3.

## ANCIENT MAP OF SCHENECTADA.



"A description of the Province and city of New York, with plans of the city and several forts as they existed in the year 1695, by Rev. John Miller, London. Printed and published for the enlightenment of such as would desire information anent the new-found land of America.

Extract: "Dependent on this city [Albany], and about twenty miles northward from it, is the Fort of Scanectade, quadrangular, with a treble stockado, a new block house at every angle, and in each blockhouse two great guns."

"NOTE.—Rev. John Miller was a chaplain in the British army, stationed at New York city. The original manuscript is now in the British Museum. This is the oldest map known to exist of Schenectady.

"J. W. MAC MURRAY."

The reader will observe that this is a restored view of the town, which was burned in 1690, the block-houses being called new ones.

*Destruction of Schenectada.*—In 1690, Schenectada was yet the only white settlement to the westward of Albany—was situated on the south bank of the Mohawk, and as the road then ran was nearly twenty miles distant from that city. Agreeable to the Canadian account in the Documentary History of the State, the place contained upwards of 80 well built and well furnished houses; *Drake* says it contained 63 dwellings; while *Charlevoix* makes their number 40, which he also says were well built and well furnished. The latter writer is no doubt nearest to the truth in stating the number of its houses: the place also contained a fort with a small garrison. Any one familiar with the primitive Dutch dwellings still standing, fifty years ago in Albany and New York, may know the architecture of this town. The gables of its steep-roofed houses faced the street, if not with a high stoop certainly with a front door sawed in two in the middle, so as to keep the little ones within and afford a place for anxious waiting and sparking, while the lower half was closed.

The town in form, says the French account, was an oblong square extending up and down the river—was impaled and had two entrance gates, one at each end of the inclosure. Its population we may safely estimate at about 200 souls. The number of men destined to destroy this pioneer village is variously stated. The Canadian account which evidently aimed to win favor at the French court, places their number at *about* 210—96 of whom were Indians: *Drake* says, the party consisted of about 200 French and 50 Caughnawaga Mohawks; while *Colden* rates the invaders at 150 French Bush-lopers or Indian traders, and an equal number of Mohawks, commonly called the Praying Indians. The latter were mostly from the Caughnawaga tribe of the Mohawks who had become converts of the French Jesuits, notwithstanding their treatment of Father Jogues, and settled near Montreal. The Canadians were commanded by de Sainte Helene and de Mantet, and the Indians by Agniesz, a crafty Mohawk sachem.

Starting at mid winter, the enterprise was one requiring great energy of purpose, the troops having to carry upon their backs their own subsistence for the journey. The French account says the expedition left Montreal at the beginning of February, but does not state the time of arriving at its desti-



nation. *Charlevoix* says they arrived at Schenectada the beginning of February, not naming any date ; but *Colden* and *Drake* both fix the arrival on the 8th of that month, the latter says after a journey of twenty-two days ; which would place their departure from Montreal on the 17th of January. The last half of the journey was one of almost incredible suffering.

On arriving within a few miles of the doomed village, the French, suffering from cold and hunger, were thinking to surrender themselves prisoners of war ; but the Indians, several of whom entered the place without exciting suspicion—as they spoke the Mohawk dialect, although they were observed to be strangers—learned that its inhabitants were under no anxiety, but, on the contrary, that the gates of the town were not even closed at night, and their favorable report determined the sacking of the place at once. Having crossed the river on the ice, Saint Helene and de Mantet led a detachment to the western gate, followed by the Indians under Agniez ; while two junior officers led another party destined to enter at the eastern gate, but, failing to find it readily, they returned and joined their comrades at the other gate.

Entering the town unobserved, the troops were so disposed that several were stationed at each dwelling, when, by a pre-concerted signal, the midnight stillness was broken by one of the most frightful war whoops that ever greeted human ears, which was the signal for the terrible onslaught to begin. The greeting of the enemy aroused the little garrison at the fort, but de Montigny, aided by Saint Helene with a body of troops, forced an entrance, and either killed or captured its inmates. The former officer, however, received two thrusts from a spear in a dwelling where resistance was made. The works were burned. De Mantet had given orders to spare the minister—a Hollander named *Petrus Tasschemaker*—from whom he hoped to obtain information, but in the confusion he was slain and burned in his house, his papers sharing the same fate. Some writers have stated that the place contained a church which was also burned. We may suppose this church, in form, resembled the first Dutch church erected in Albany. At the end of two hours the destruction of the place was complete. The French account says only two houses were spared, that of a Major Coudre, and the one into which de Montigny was taken

and cared for ; but an account preserved in Albany,\* says the houses and barns were all burnt, except five or six, which were spared at the intercession of Capt. Alexander Glen, a brave man, residing across the river, whose wife had previously treated some French prisoners very humanely. *Drake* says that Adam Vrooman, who was a courageous citizen, made a successful defense of his dwelling, seconded by the aid of a son who loaded guns for him ; but that his wife imprudently set a door ajar to let out the smoke of his firing, taking advantage of which an Indian shot through the aperture and killed her. A daughter fled early from the house with his infant child in her arms and was captured, the brains of the child dashed out, and in the confusion she escaped. His courage and resolution brought a parley with the enemy, and his life and property were spared, but his son Barent and a negro slave were carried into captivity.

The number murdered whose names are given in the record alluded to is footed 60, embracing 11 negro slaves, 7 soldiers of the garrison, 1 Mohawk Indian, and 1 French female prisoner. The captives made were 28, including 5 slaves, 3 soldiers, and an interpreter named Vielie. The little garrison, which would seem to have consisted of only ten men—unless some escaped by flight—were a part of Capt. Jonathan Bull's company of troops, then stationed at Albany. The killed of his men were Lieut. Enos Tallmadge, Sergeant Church, and privates Robert Alexander, Robert Hesseling, Ralph Grant, and Daniel and George Andries ; and the captives were John Webb, David Burt, and Joseph Marks. Just how many escaped by flight to Albany is unknown ; but several writers have stated that some 25 of them were more or less frost-bitten. In the confusion and darkness of the first attack, which was in the midst of a blinding snow-storm, it is probable that 40 or 50 escaped from the gate, toward Albany, scantily clothed ; and as the snow on the ground was then nearly knee-deep—although a road was partially beaten by daily intercourse—the fugitives suffered dreadfully.

The first bearer of Schenectada's doom to Albany was Simon Schemerhorn—whose son Johannes perished in the melee—

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\* Doc. His. of N. Y., vol. 1.

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On arriving within a few miles of the doomed village, the French, suffering from cold and hunger, were thinking to render themselves prisoners of war; but the Indians, some of whom entered the place without exciting suspicion—and spoke the Mohawk dialect, although they were observed by strangers—learned that its inhabitants were under no such impression, but, on the contrary, that the gates of the town were even closed at night, and their favorable report determined the sacking of the place at once. Having crossed the river, Saint Helene and de Mantet led a detachment to the eastern gate, followed by the Indians under Agnieszka; the junior officers led another party destined to enter at the western gate, but, failing to find it readily, they returned to their comrades at the other gate.

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New York. Gov. Kieft supplied his

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Van Epps. At the end of the year he effected  
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an Interpreter and ambassador to the five  
daughter of Johannes Sanderee Glen. He  
Merson's First Settlers of Schenectada.

where he arrived at five o'clock on Sunday morning, having escaped on horseback. Several of the enemy fired upon him, but he escaped with a bullet through his thigh, which also wounded his horse. The news spread quickly through the town, and as it was believed the enemy would also visit the city, the greatest consternation was manifested; alarm guns being fired at the fort—one of which bursting, severely wounded a man named Sharpe—and thither the citizens repaired. Messengers were sent to the towns along the Hudson for succor, and several Mohawks in town were dispatched to Schenectada to urge messengers up to the Mohawk castles for assistance; but, owing to fear, the tardiness was such that it was three days before a pursuit of the retreating enemy began.

On Monday Capt. Bull, with a party of troops, was sent from Albany to bury the dead, protect the remaining citizens, and, if practicable, join the Mohawks in pursuit of the enemy. The French account says the lives of between 50 and 60 persons of Schenectada were spared, consisting of old men, women and children, who escaped the fury of the first attack. Those, added to the numbers already given, will show my estimate of the population to be a reasonable one. The French account says that some 20 Mohawks were spared, to show them that the invasion was against the English. On gaining possession of the town, the French officers took the precaution to destroy all the liquors they found, to prevent any of the troops from getting drunk. On their return march, among the plunder made were 50 good horses, all but 16 being slaughtered for subsistence before reaching Montreal. The enemy claimed, in this invasion, to have destroyed property at Schenectada valued at £400,000.

About 100 Mohawk braves, with some 40 river Indians and about 50 white volunteers from Albany, pursued the enemy to Lake Champlain, where, the ice being favorable, they put their plunder upon sleds, and with the stolen horses, were enabled to escape with it. The pursuers harassed them not a little, and *Colden* says that falling upon their rear they killed or captured 25: the French account admitted a loss of 21. Until the pursuers returned with so favorable a report of their enterprise, with the condolence also of the five nations, the Albanians were so alarmed, that many of them were actually packing up

their effects to remove to New York. Robert Livingston, in his correspondence at the time, attributed the destruction of Schenectada to an overweening influence over the citizens of that place by Leisler, the acting governor at the time of the general confusion, growing out of the brief reign of King James II. upon the English throne.

The names of the principal families which lost members at this time, were Wemp (now Wemple), Van Epps,\* Janse, Brat, Vielie, Teunise, Spoor, Vrooman, Meese, Marcellis, Gerritse de Goyer, Christoffelse, Aertse, Pieterse, Potman, Harmanse, Schaets, Schemerhorn, Teller, Groot, Vedder, Switts, Coon, Turmurent and Bouts. Quite a number of these names, although some are spelled differently, still linger about the homes of their ancestors.

*The fate of a Jesuit and influence of Popery.*—The French through Jesuit missionaries almost coeval with their settlement in Canada, introduced a religious element, which for many years wrought a wonderful effect on the minds and actions of the untutored savages; which in some instances were perhaps improved, but so superstitious were they, that at times they attributed the evils of sickness and calamity which befel them, to their influence or invocation; on which account they visited upon them not only indignities and persecution, but even death. The earliest one that made his way into the Mohawk valley, was Isaac Jogues, who was born at Orleans, France, January 10th, 1607. In 1636, he was ordained a Priest, and in July following, he arrived at Quebec. In August, 1662, he was captured on his way to the Huron Mission, by a party of Mohawks, and hurried to one of their castles, where he had to witness the terrible death of those captured with him.

After suffering much indignity and cruelty, he made his escape down the valley and reached Albany—called Fort Orange, then occupied by the Dutch. Thither the Mohawks pursued him and received a ransom for his person, he being sent to New Amsterdam—New York. Gov. Kieft supplied his

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\* John Baptist Van Epps, son of John Van Epps. At the end of the year he effected his escape and returned home. During his captivity he learned the Indian language, and was subsequently often employed as an interpreter and ambassador to the five nations. July 9, 1699, he married Helena, daughter of Johannes Sanderse Glen. He was a useful and respected citizen. See Pierson's First Settlers of Schenectada.

needs and sent him to France. He was shipwrecked on the coast of England, plundered and reached the French coast in destitution. He was sent back by his superiors in France, to Canada, and was stationed at Montreal. On the conclusion of peace with the Mohawks, he was sent to their country as an ambassador to exchange ratifications. May 16, 1646, he passed through Lakes Champlain and George, and reached Fort Orange, June 4th and proceeded thence to the Mohawk's country. After a few days he returned to Three Rivers, where he arrived August. 29. Again returning to the Mohawk valley as a minister, he arrived at Gan-nu-wa-ge—Caughnawaga, October 17th, the place of his former captivity—where he was received unkindly. On going from thence to Canada, in June, he left a small box containing things of little value in a hut, since which harvest had come ; when it was found that a worm had destroyed much of the Indian's crop of corn. Superstition at once directed their attention to the mysterious box of Father Jogues, as the cause of all the evil they conceived, had befallen them—hence they were ready to sacrifice him to appease the evil spirit ; and on the evening of the day following his arrival, on entering a lodge to which he had been invited, he was felled by a blow on the head with a war club, his head decapitated and raised upon a pole, and his body thrown into the river. Thus ignobly perished the first Catholic missionary among the Mohawks.\*

Notwithstanding the Mohawks sacrificed Father Jogues to their superstition, yet, at the end of a few decades, there were more converts in that than in any nation of the New York confederacy, many of whom were persuaded from time to time to remove to Canada ; and especially was the Caughnawaga tribe thus influenced, so that at the end of a hundred years the converts had become quite a people near Montreal, and their principal settlement—although it had received accessions from all the other four nations—took the name of Caughnawaga, its people becoming known at a later day as the “praying Indians.” It is difficult even at this period to determine whether or not this Canadian Jesuit religious element was productive of more good than evil among the Indians. It was too often

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\* Doc. Hls. of N. Y., vol 4.

used as a cloak by the French to seduce the Indians, friendly to the English colonies, into their interest; caring more to secure the Indian fur-trade and win over the Indians from their English alliance than for their poor souls.

Hence, we find the colonies, from time to time, taking stringent measures to counteract Jesuit influence. In 1647 the Legislature of Massachusetts passed an act against the Jesuits.\* In the year 1700 the Legislature of New York enacted a law to hang every Popish priest who should come voluntarily into the province.† The same year the Legislature of Massachusetts passed an act against Jesuits and Popish priests, requiring them to leave the province by the 10th of September.‡ The New York law was passed because so great a number of French Jesuits were practicing their wiles on the Indians, who were in alliance with the English.¶ The same writer assigns the same reason for the Massachusetts laws, adding that the Popish priests were not only trying to seduce the Indians from their English alliance, but also to excite them to hostilities against the English Government.

*Language among the Indians.*—It may be well, in this connection, to say a word upon this subject. The Indians of New England when Europeans came among them, says *Trumbull*, although they consisted of many tribes, spoke radically the same language. This was, to a very great extent, true of the natives of New York, the Canadas and the great west; for although they could not always tell the significance of some words given as local names to objects in nature by remote tribes, yet they seldom failed to make themselves understood in their general wants. Hence, conferences were held between the five nations and Indians from very remote territories; but considering their language as all unwritten, they seem to have experienced little difficulty in communicating with each other. Jesuit priests, therefore, went successfully from one Indian people to another.

*The Castles of the Mohawks.*—A plurality of castles in the Mohawk valley, in the palmy days of its primitive people, has long been mentioned in history; and yet, strange as it may

\* Holmes' Am. Annals, vol. 1, p. 343.

† Ibid, vol. 2, p. 50.

‡ Holmes' Annals, vol. 2, p. 50.

¶ Smith's, N. Y., vol. 2, p. 50.



seem, no early writer has named them and designated their localities as they existed prior to the year 1700, nor can their sites be determined, if we except those of Tribes Hill and Caughnawaga. It was thought Schoolcraft would ventilate the subject, but its obscurity no doubt prevented his meddling with it; and what was probably clear to Colden in his time—say about 1725—he left so unexplained as to aid the student of to-day very little in his investigations. That writer evidently spoke of some small Indian towns undeserving of the appellation as castles.

The sites of some pre-historic castles—that is, those existing before the whites came hither—have, no doubt, been obliterated in the past 175 years by the husbandman's plow, while here and there one in uncultivated lands may yet be discovered. Such sites are determined by the absence of all articles of European manufacture, such as glass beads, or vessels and implements of copper, brass or iron. The site of one such castle is well known to the writer, who takes the liberty to call it the *Ots-kon-go Castle*. It would seem to have been long occupied, and its site chosen for its beauty and its peculiar adaptability for defense. It was four miles up the Otsquago, which, running northerly, enters the Mohawk at Fort Plain. It is, however, situated on the eastern side of the Otskongo, a small tributary, about half a mile above the junction of that stream with the Otsquago. I had supposed this kill to have been the Otsquene, but find that stream mapped as coming from a more westerly course, and falling into the Otsquago, upon its opposite shore, some distance above.

I visited this "Indian Hill," as long called by people residing in its neighborhood, October 2, 1877, in company with the Indian archæologist, Gen. John S. Clark of Auburn, N. Y. We were kindly piloted to it from the road by Abram Kraik,\* who, although over eighty years of age, had the activity and vi-

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\*Goetlib Kraik, the father of Abram, was one of the Hessian soldiers captured with Burgoyne. For many years he was "fore singer of the Lutheran church at the Gelsenburg, and at a later period of the Canajoharie R. D. church, situated on "Sand Hill," westward of Fort Plain. Two lines were read by him and then sung in long, tremulous tones. His services were rendered in the former for Dominie Wieting, and in the latter for Dominie Wack. He is believed to have died about the year 1840, at the age of 80 years.

NOTE—Abram Kraik, an honest and worthy man, died early in the summer of 1878, at the age of 82 years.

vacuity of a man of 50. He had always lived in its vicinity, and possessed a vague tradition that, in the long ago, some Frenchmen had buried a large treasure—a million or more of dollars—in that neighborhood ; but I failed to find it, and, if any one else does, I shall claim a small interest for this mention. This castle, which must have been occupied more than 250 years ago, was situated upon an elevated plain several rods across, along the western side of which coursed the Ots-kongo, leaving next the plateau a bold front nearly 100 feet high. The eastern side sloped down gradually into a ravine, toward which it was evidently palisaded. This inclosure extended several hundred feet along the bluff, embracing two or three acres, and extending a rod or two into the cleared land of Nathan Bauder, where an original mound several feet high has been obliterated by the plow. Its northerly termination was upon a narrow tongue of land, which sloped as gracefully to the *lough flacht*—low land, as if art had placed it there. At the top of this highway which was scarcely a rod wide, were still visible what we took to be the post holes of the gate, four or five feet apart, which opened into this romantically situated home of the early Mohawks. The site of this old town has never yet been cultivated ; indeed, some of the stumps and trees yet standing upon it are three or four feet in diameter. Digging upon its easterly slope, and probably below its palisades, in the soil made by the decomposition of vegetable matter, the visitor is rewarded with numerous fragments of Indian pottery, occasionally a stone pipe, a flint arrow-head or a bone needle, with an abundance of animal bones and fresh-water clam shells, showing what kind of food supplied much of the citizens larder.

The digging for relics among the roots of the trees has thus far mostly been done along the easterly side of the hill. Of course, no human bones are found there, but they must have had a burying place not far distant that will some day disclose startling secrets. They usually, if possible, buried on sandy land, as the labor of digging a grave without implements of iron was a serious task in any other soil. Visiting this classic spot with my friends of the desk, Roof and Williams, May 9, 1882, I found that late diggers were marring the beauty of the

northern approach alluded to. Gentlemen, please dig further south and find your reward.

The first traveler to speak of and name the castles of the Mohawks was Wentworth Greenhalgh, whose remarks copied from London documents, are found in the Doc. His. of New York, vol. 1. He did not give their localities or relative position—but here is his brief account of them; entitled:

“A journey from Albany to ye Indians, westward; began May 20th, 1677, and ended July ye 14th, following.”

“The Maquaes [Mohawks], have four towns, vizt. Cahaniaga, Canagora, Canajorha, Tionondogue, besides one small village about 110 miles from Albany.

“Cahaniaga is double stockadoed round; has four forts, [probaby ports, places of entrance], about four feet wide a piece, conteyns about 24 houses, and is situate upon the edge of an hill, about a bow shot from the river side.

“Canagora is only singly stockadoed; has four ports [entrances] like the former, conteyns about 16 houses; it is situated upon a flatt, a stone’s throw from ye water side.

“Canajorha is also singly stockadoed, and the like mann’ of ports and quantity of houses as Canagora; the like situacon; only about two miles distant from the water, [meaning the Mohawk.]

“Tionondogue is double stockadoed around; has four ports, four foot wide a piece; contains abt 30 houses; is situated on a hill a bow shot from ye river.

“The small village is without ffence [palisades], and conteyns about 10 houses; lyes close to the river side, *on the north side, as do all the former.*

“The Maquaes pass in all for about 300 fighting men.

“Their corn grows close by the river side.”

We may suppose he spelled those names as they sounded to him from the red man’s lips. Our greatest surprise is that they were all on the north side of the river. *Ti-on-on-do-gue*, was the name of the estuary at the mouth of the Schoharie creek—written in more modern times Tienonderoga. This was on the lower or eastern end of what has ever been known as Tribes Hill; which lies oposite the mouth of Schoharie creek. In a royal patent for 2000 acres of land on the north side of the river, executed at New York, by Gov. Robert Hunter,

July 17th, 1713, for Hendrick Hansen and Hans Hansen his son, this name is written Ti-non-da-ra-go.\* Nearly all Indian names were differently spelled by early writers, hence it is difficult to tell in an unwritten language, which orthography of a name is the most expressive of its meaning. Another pretty Indian word found in this patent; the name of the creek running past the old Visscher-De Graff-place, east of Fonda, is there spelled, Da-da-nas-ka-rie.

How long the Tienonderoga castle had been occupied on that site is unknown, but we may here learn when it was removed across the river. We give the document verbatim et literatim et punctum :

"Att a meeting of the May<sup>r</sup> Alderman and Justices of y<sup>e</sup> Peace of y<sup>e</sup> City and County of Albany y<sup>e</sup> 2d day of Sept. A<sup>o</sup> 1689 Present P. Schuyler Mayr Dirk Wessels Recdr John Wendell Jan Janse Bleeker Albt Ryckman David Schuyler Kilian Van Rensselaer C. Marte Gerritse.

"The Maquase Desyre by arnouts Letter that the Magistrates of Albany and Shinnectady would be pleased to assist them with two or three pare of horses & 5 or 6 men to ride the heaviest Stockaddoes for there new Castle of Tionondage which they remove an English mile higher up and they will pay you in due time

"Which Request y<sup>e</sup> Court are willing to Comply with all to show their good Inclination and true friendship they bear to y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> nation have Consented that three pare of horses & six men goe thither

"Vizt of y<sup>e</sup> Troopers Jacob Lockermans of Capt. Bleekers Company Dirk albertse Bradt & Wm hendrickse who did voluntarily p'sent there service. The Patroon a horse Capt Gerritse a horse. Off Capt Wendells Comp<sup>y</sup> hendrick geritse & Cornelis Slingerlant; & hans Cross w<sup>th</sup> 2 horses."†

"*Ca-ha-ni-a-ga*" castle, mentioned by Greenhalgh, is readily distinguished as the modern Caughnawaga, as the evidences of its site upon elevated ground may yet be determined not a

\* Schoolcraft, in his notes upon the Iroquois in 1847, wrote the word Di on-de-ro-ga. In the Richard Shuckbergh patent of lands in the towns of Glen and Root, dated in 1754, this name is spelled, Ti-en-on-de-ro-ga. The name is there given for the Schoharie. In the same conveyance Auries creek as now written is spelled *Aries* creek, and its Indian name is there given, *Oghrackie*.

† Doc. His. of N. Y., vol 3, 87.

great distance from the Court House in Fonda. This was doubtless for a long period an important and central place of the Mohawk nation, and from it went the nucleus which made the settlement of "Praying Indians" near Montreal. Just when it ceased to be known as a castle cannot probably be determined, but we think it was not far from the year 1700.

The sites of the other three Indian towns named in this connection, conjecture, in the absence of anything better, can hardly locate with any degree of certainty. *Can-a-jor-ha* is, no doubt, meant for the modern name of Canajoharie; and I suppose was situated in some part of the town of Palatine, being then, like Tionondogue, on the opposite side of the river from the local origin of the name; but if so, in what part of the town, two miles or even one mile from the river—distances at that period were guessed at—I cannot now determine. It was probably between Oswegatchie—which is opposite Spraker's Basin—and some point nearly opposite to Fort Plain. Besides, it is represented as on a flat; but as the river flats are, perhaps, nowhere in the town half a mile wide, we must look for the place in some ravine, or on elevated level ground. At this period the territory on both sides of the river was called Canajoharie, and early records of Palatine were dated at Canajoharie.

Were it mentioned as on a hill, I should at once locate it on "Castelebergh," a beautiful and commanding place for such a home; and, though hardly a mile from the river, in a forest would have seemed a much greater distance. This hill, known by the early Germans as Castelebergh, is on the farm of the late Reuben Lipe, about a mile and a half to the northward of Fort Plain, and about one-fourth of a mile from the Smith Creek cheese factory at the turnpike. The reader must remember that, at the period named, there was no road of any kind in the Mohawk Valley. With flint arrow-heads, glass beads and implements of iron of European manufacture are found here, indicating something near the time of its occupancy, but not in quantities sufficient to warrant a belief that this castle was occupied for a great length of time; and circumstances I think seem to favor this site.

*Can-a-go-ra* castle was evidently quite an inclosure, to contain 16 family huts, and is said to have been upon the flats—

meaning below the hilly ground—and a stone's throw from the water; being nearer the water, perhaps, than either of the other three. Where to locate it is now an unsolved problem. Indian relics—especially flint arrow-heads, stone hatchets and chisels—have been disclosed by the plow all along the valley, and little clusters of a few families have been scattered upon both sides of the river. This name, which the same writer gives for a town in the Seneca nation, with only the terminating letter h added, may yet be developed on some old land conveyance, as the Indian local name of a creek or some other object in the valley near its site.

Mr. Greenhalgh also mentions an unpalisaded village of about *ten* houses, as lying near the river 110 miles from Albany. This distance, estimated of course, would carry it by present roads above Utica, and into the territory of the Oneidas. From his naming the distance, I suppose this the most western village of the Mohawks; and if they had one above the Little Falls after the whites came among them, it was this nameless one. At some period they no doubt had a village or castle near St. Johnsville; and conjecture, I think, may be warranted in placing one of the last two named towns there.

At some period, believed near the beginning of the last century, the Mohawks had a castle—so says reliable tradition,\* and so say numerous relics such as glass beads, stone and iron implements, etc., disclosed from time to time by the plow, on the bold eminence in the easterly part of Fort Plain; a sightly and strong place for an Indian town, but a bleak and cold one in the winter. This land-mark, which is known by the citizens as *Prospect Hill*, was called by the Indians *Tu-rough jo-rees*,† which may have been the name by which, in its day, this castle was known. The very names of nearly all the Indian towns have long since gone into oblivion, and the memory of the red man will soon be forgotten, a sad commentary upon human occupancy. It is believed the signification of this Indian word warranted the name given to it at the present day. Tradition says, also, that the Indian name signified the *Hill of Health*.

\* This tradition came from Col. Hendrick Frey to Joseph Wagner, and from him to his son, the Hon. Peter J. Wagner, from whom the writer obtained it, about the year 1840.

† Ibid.

There is a tradition that this castle was called the Canajoharie castle. This is not improbable, if it existed prior to the Canajoharie castle of King Hendrick's life-time, now in the town of Danube, and if, at the same period of that, it was known as the Lower Canajoharie castle; but of its importance nothing is now known, except what is recorded in the few relics disclosed from time to time by cultivation.

*Another invasion of the Mohawk valley.*—The most serious disaster that ever befel the Mohawks known to their white neighbors or to their oldest warriors, was on the invasion of their country by the French and Canadian Indians; an authentic account of which is here given.\* Gov. Frontenac dispatched from Montreal, January 15th, 1693, a body of 625 men, consisting of 100 French soldiers, 200 Indians, and 325 active young Canadians, under the command of de Mantet, and 20 other French and Canadian officers, commissioned to destroy the Mohawks, and commit as great ravages as possible around Orange—Albany. The journey was made on snow-shoes by the men in front, the army dragging their provisions after them on hand sleds, over the frozen rivers and lakes; and so well were they piloted by Indian guides, that they entered the valley above Schenectada, but below all the Indian towns. On the first night of the invasion, John Baptist Van Eps, a young captive made at the sacking of Schenectada, a few years before, made his escape and conveyed the intelligence of the invasion to that place: which was immediately sent on to Albany by an express rider, which brought a company of mounted troops to the assistance of that place the next day.

As neither name or location of either Indian town destroyed is given by any writer, it is difficult to fix upon their localities, beyond a peradventure. *Colden* says: "The French on February 8, reached the first Mohawk castle, where there were only five men and some women and children in great security, their other men being all abroad: these were all taken without opposition. That the next fort which was not far from the first, was in like manner surprised without any opposition, both of them being small, and being next to the English, were not fortified." As this writer gave no distances, and spoke of

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\* From *Colden's Five Nations*. and *Brodhead Papers*, vol. 9, p. 550, *Champligny*.

those two castles as small and the third as large, I should have conjectured the first two surprised to have been small lodges in the vicinity of Cranesville, and the third or principal one to have been the Tionondogue of Greenhalgh, which fifteen years before he named as much their largest town, but the French account we think enables us with a degree of certainty, to determine which were the three castles destroyed.

Says Champigny, "their party arrived near the three [two as appears below] Mohawk Villages, within *fifteen leagues* of Orange, without being discovered. At night-fall, on arriving, our Indians in company with some Frenchmen, went to reconnoitre two of the villages, situate a quarter of a league, the one from the other. On approaching them they heard the enemy sing, which obliged them to wait until the Indians should retire in order to surprise them whilst sleeping. The main body in the mean time advanced in two divisions, so as to be able to make a simultaneous attack on both villages. They were surrounded by strong palisades and closed with gates; our Indians scaled the inclosure to open the gates. A crowd entered and became masters of all the cabins without resistance. The small village after having been burnt, was abandoned at day-break, and the Indians and their families brought prisoners to the large village, where the commanders left a large force to guard them. Early next morning, our party set off for the third village, distant *seven or eight leagues*, where they arrived in the evening and surprised it in the same manner they had the others: set it on fire and brought the prisoners to the principal village."

The inference appears plain that when the Tienonderoga castle was removed in 1689 to its new site across the river, the old one in some condition was left standing, and continued to be occupied by a few families; the distance from that to the new one, as stated by the French account, being, as we have previously shown, about a mile. The other castle captured in this invasion was, doubtless, Greenhalgh's Cahaniaga—Caughnawaga—now Fonda. It was only as many miles from Tienonderoga, as the French called it leagues; but it is not improbable the invaders made a circuitous route thither, to avoid being discovered by any stragglers passing along the valley; besides, they made a slow march so as to arrive in the evening. But the



reader is is not to suppose the old and new Forts Tienonderoga and Caughnawaga were to be taken without a struggle or loss. Says the French record : "Count Frontenac's orders were not to give any quarter to the men who should be found in arms, and to bring away the women and children for the purpose of augmenting our Indian villages. But this order was not strictly executed, because they surrendered at discretion, and expressed themselves pleased at having this opportunity to come and live with our Indians, to whom they were closely related ;\* so that of about 80 fighting men found in those three villages, only 18 or 20 were killed, and others, with the women and children, were made prisoners to the number of 280 persons."

Colden evidently wrote in the belief that there were two small lodges below Tienonderoga, for that had long been known as the largest town of the Mohawks. He says the enemy on coming to the latter heard a noise, and supposed they were discovered ; but it proved to be a war dance of some 40 Indians, who were next day to start on some enterprise. The French approached stealthily, found no one on guard, opened the gate and entered undiscovered. Confusion and a general melee followed, in which the enemy lost 30 of their number, and the Tienonderogas 20 before the latter were subdued. The Praying Indians were the first to give quarter and make captives. Said Colden, 300 prisoners were made, 100 of whom were fighting men.

By the French account we learn that the enemy only burnt the small castle the first night, and the next evening they destroyed the Caughnawaga castle ; and on returning to Tienonderoga, where they had left their prisoners well guarded, they remained but one day. They not only feared to remain longer in an enemy's country, but softer weather warned them that their ice-bridges over the rivers and lakes must be used soon if at all. After burning the principal village, with their prisoners and plunder they took the back track for Canada. We suppose

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\* Here is another fact to prove that Caughnawaga was the western castle destroyed at this time. Many of the invading Indians living near Montreal, and called Praying Indians, had, at an earlier period, been persuaded to go thither by Jesuit priests from this locality—the Caughnawagas in particular ; hence, they were blood relatives. Besides we may add that the enemy would not leave between them and their friends a fortified post in ascending the river.

this invasion to have been by the northern or Sacondaga route. On the first and second days, several hunters from the captured towns on learning that their wives and children were prisoners with the enemy, voluntarily became such and went with them to Canada.

On the third day an Iroquois scout overtook the enemy and had a parley with them, submitting certain peace propositions, and requesting them to halt and await the arrival of a pursuing party. The French looked upon this as a ruse, but their Indians prevailed on them to wait; in the meantime they threw up a breast work to protect them, and secure their prisoners. At this place Maj. Peter Schuyler, of Albany, with 250 whites and 290 Indians from the upper towns, arrived on the 17th; but fearing an ambuscade he approached the enemy by a circuitous route, and was saluted by three loud savage yells, which his Indians sent back with a will. There was little or no parley for peace, and Schuyler's men at once set about felling trees for a temporary defense. While thus engaged the enemy made three attacks upon them, but were each time repulsed with loss; neither party seeming anxious for a very general fight.

At this conjuncture Maj. Schuyler sent an express to Albany for more troops and provisions. The enemy moved forward on the 18th, a cold and stormy day, and a deserter arriving at the American camp said it would not be easy to follow them; but the officers with 60 whites and a body of Mohawks did pursue them until night with some success, and, on coming up with them, they released several prisoners to tell their pursuers that they would kill all their prisoners if compelled to abandon them. On the 19th the needed provisions and 80 men under Capt. Sims of the regular troops arrived at the American encampment, and the whole army moved forward. On the 20th, Major Schuyler was so straitened for food that he gave up the pursuit; and although meeting with some supplies and fresh troops—fearing that the enemy would execute his threat and kill the prisoners, joined to the fact that the ice in the streams was becoming treacherous, further pursuit was abandoned.

In the pursuit of the enemy, Schuyler lost four privates and as many Indians killed, and two officers and twelve Christians and Indians wounded—the whites were called Christians to distinguish them from Indians. The French lost, as was learned

from deserters, 33 killed and 26 wounded: the bodies of 20 were found by Schuyler's men, and so hungered were his Indian followers that they ate the bodies of the dead Frenchmen. Going among his Indian allies at this time, as Maj. Schuyler afterwards assured the Historian, Colden, he found them eating broth, of which he was invited to partake, and did so until he saw one of them with a ladle raise from the kettle a Frenchman's hand, which put an end to his appetite. Between 40 and 50 prisoners were rescued by the pursuers. The French admitted, says Colden, a loss in this expedition of 80 killed and 33 wounded. In their flight the enemy crossed a branch of the Hudson, upon a cake of ice, which had fastened itself from shore to shore, while the river was open above and below, the result of a recent thaw.

On arriving at Lake Champlain to which they were pursued, the ice afforded bad walking, and most of the Indians with the greater part of the prisoners, left the lake shore to cross the country in the woods; only about 50 of the prisoners going with the French. Food secreted on the way down, to be used on their return route, had been spoiled by the rain, so that the party nearly perished of hunger: they were out of food and were still fifty leagues from their nearest settlement—having to carry their wounded. Never was there such distress in any army, which was four days without any food. Four Indians and a white man were sent forward for assistance, reaching Montreal in five days. One hundred and fifty men with provisions upon their backs, were hastened to the relief of the war party. One hundred and twenty were so overcome by fatigue and hunger, that they remained behind, until somewhat improved. Several died of hunger, and many casting aside their arms, says Champigny, "were scarcely able to drag their heels after them." The same writer adds: "What was surprising under such untoward circumstances was, that the enemy did not pursue them; they did not dare to follow over the lakes, as the ice melted under their feet. Certain it is, had it not been for this special interposition of providence, not a solitary Frenchman would have returned."

In their great consternation at Albany, when the news of the invasion reached there, an express messenger was sent to New York to ask aid of Gov. Fletcher, which reached him 150 miles

distant at 10 A.M., on the 12th of February, and so zealously did the governor interest himself in the matter, that by 8 A. M., the next day he had a regiment of volunteers under arms and ready to march. When he asked who were willing to go on this expedition, all threw up their hats in token of their readiness. The Hudson then chanced to be open between New York and Albany, an event seldom happening so early at that period, and by 4 P. M., he embarked 300 men, 150 from the city and an equal number from Long Island, in five sloops, which arrived at Albany at 9 A. M., on the 17th. The governor accompanied the troops, and preceded them to Schenectada, where the final preparation was made to enter the forest, but by the time everything was in readiness to move forward, they learned that Maj. Schuyler was on his return.

When the Mohawks came back from the pursuit of their enemies, Col. Fletcher made a speech to them, commiserating their misfortunes with fair promises of future assistance. The tardiness of the Albanians, when the enemy entered their valley, displeased the Indians, who had so promptly rallied to revenge the burning of Schenectada; but the energetic and prompt action of the governor, did much to reconcile the Indians to their cruel fate; and in their answer to his speech, they called him *Cay-en-gui-ra-go*, signifying a great arrow, on account of his alacrity in coming so far. But for a long time they were greatly disheartened: never since they were a nation having had such a blow dealt them, to the knowledge of any one living. Their chiefs told Col. Fletcher, that the French kept their Indian allies better armed than were the Mohawks, which accounted for the French having escaped in the late invasion.

In July following this incursion of the French, Gov. Fletcher met the sachems of the five nations at Albany, and through a female interpreter had an interesting time with them. Whether the interpretress were a squaw or a white woman, does not appear; but he says the natives gave her three beaver skins to clear her throat. At this meeting, the then best speaker of the Iroquois, *De-can-e-so-ra*, an Oneida, took occasion to say: "*We wish you gave less credit to rum-carriers than you do.*" This appellation, says the historian, shows the contemptible character the Indian traders have among the Indians. They had from bitter experience learned to know that their troubles

and quarrels not only came through the introduction of *fire water* among them, but that for a little of it they were literally robbed of their most valuable peltries—generally without any redress. At a later period, indeed all through the administration of their affairs by Sir Wm. Johnson, they made constant complaints and protests against the introduction of alcohol among them ; which they had long since discovered, demoralized them both physically and mentally, making them fit subjects of plunder by knaves, and for all manner of beastliness and crime by nature.

*Communism among the Indians.*—I may here remark that in the social life and communistic relations of all the North American Indians there was a similarity of living. The gentes or family clans of the Iroquois distinguished, principally, by the totems of Bear, Wolf, and Turtle, had each in their “Long House,” or village castle, all their food in common—that is, the part of a nation distinguished as Bear, and living contiguous, distributed their food when cooked to every member of its clan, and thus was it with the other gens. No one was allowed to go hungry, whether they had contributed toward the supply of food or not. Indeed, such was their law of kindness, that if one family clan was more successful in obtaining food than another, the lucky one was ever ready to divide with the needy.

Lewis H. Morgan, in a work entitled *Contributions to American Ethnology*,\* having taken much pains to investigate the subject of communistic life among the Aborigines of North America, states that the customs prevailing among the Iroquois prevailed not only in all the northern part of America, but also in Mexico and in Central and South America. The practice of hospitality was also universal with the red men.

Says Morgan : “ If a man entered an Indian house, whether a villager, a tribe’s man, or a stranger, and at whatever hour of the day, it was the duty of the women to set food before him ; and, if not hungry, courtesy required that he should taste the food and thank the giver.” This law of hospitality is mentioned as a proof of their having their stores of subsistence in common.

*Coming hither of White Settlers.*—Thus is given the reader

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some idea of the condition of things existing to the westward of Albany ; when near the beginning of the last century, and nearly an hundred years after a Dutch Indian trading post was established at that place, the white settlers began mingling their homes among those of the red men along the water-courses of Central New York, where they pitched their tents for several cogent reasons : they were more fertile, more easily subdued, afforded desirable mill-privileges ; and, lastly, for their piscatorial attraction which had long before brought hither their Indian neighbors, for they had the requisite sagacity to capture a finny contribution to their larder, at a period when no Seth Greene benefactor was required to fresh stock those waters, then teeming with scaly inhabitants. I should, perhaps, add that what had prevented an earlier occupancy of those lands was the great hazard of being interrupted, if not annihilated, by the Canadian French, who aimed to make the colony of New York subject to the French Crown.

The greatest average length of the Mohawk valley settlements by 1740 or 1750 may have been 60 miles, and their greatest breadth 30 ; while those of Schoharie valley—embracing Harpersfield—extended some 40 miles in length by less than 20 in breadth. But, alas, many of the small settlements within those districts were miles and miles apart ; well enough when only friends were abroad, but fearfully isolated in either an aggressive or internecine war.

The little I have thus far sketched of the border territory here considered, implies in its first settlement the world of difficulties, hardships, privations and suffering experienced by those daring settlers ; for, “if those who go down in ships take their lives in their hands,” with how much more certainty may we suppose that those people—not a few of whom have been reared in comparative ease—take their lives into their own hands, when, separated afar from kindred and friends, they locate in rude huts in the woods, with no comforts and few of the necessities of life, surrounded only by savages and wild beasts, equally, at times, to be dreaded. Few persons, even among the aged, have ever seen a genuine *log cabin*, and, if any they have seen, they were of the better class : that is, they were modernized as compared with those of an early day, constructed, as many of them were, without either a floor or a chimney, having

perhaps a single window of four or eight panes of 7x9 glass, and lucky in having a door other than that of a blanket or the skin of a wild beast. As for chairs and tables in those rude homes, they were often of that primitive kind cut from the trunks of trees, their beds being cribs of forest boughs.

The spiritual welfare of the Canadian Indians began to be looked after from holy or sinister motives by the French Jesuits, almost coeval with the settlement of the country, while the Dutch for the first fifty years, and the English for the next succeeding fifty years after their rule began, did very little to influence the Indians in matters of religion. They did not use the gospel as a pretext for extending their territories. The French government aimed from an early period of their Canadian settlements, to possess if possible the greater part of this continent : and Gov. Dongan, of New York, in instructions to Capt. Palmer, for the home government under date of September 8, 1687, makes these pertinent remarks : \* "If the French have all they pretend to have discovered in these parts, the King of England will not have 100 miles from the sea anywhere. And it is very unreasonable," he afterwards adds, "that the French who lie so much to the northward of us, should extend themselves so far to the southward and westward on the back side of his Majesty's plantations, when they have so vast a quantity of land to the northward and northwest as far as the South sea"—meaning, doubtless, the Pacific ocean. "Whether we are to have peace or war," said he, "it is necessary that the forts should be built, and that religious men live amongst the Indians." He had suggested the erection of several forts between Schenectada and the lakes, to protect the New York Indians against the French, and secure the fur trade. This is one of the first hints to bring the Indians of western New York under religious influence by the English.

*First English Fort among the Five Nations.*—We have seen that Gov. Dongan suggested the erection of forts among the Indians as early as 1687, but nothing effectual was done in that direction, until the tenth year of the reign of Queen Anne, 1711, when it was resolved to build two forts, one among the Mohawks, at Tienonderoga, and the other at Onondaga.

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\* Doc. His. of N. Y., vol 1, p. 257.

October 11, of this year, a contract was made at Albany, between Gov. Robert Hunter, and Col. Francis Nicholson, of the province of New York, and Garet Symonce, Barent Vroman, Hendrick Vroman, John Wemp, and Arent Petten of Schenectada, in the county of Albany, carpenters, for their erection. The first constructed, was to be at the first named place, and of the following dimensions, viz: *one hundred and fifty feet square*, the curtains to be made with logs a foot square, laid and pinned one upon another, to the height of twelve feet. At each corner there was to be a block house twenty-four feet square, two stories high, with double loop holes, the roof to be covered with boards and shingles. The ground room to be nine feet high, and the upper eight feet, both to be well floored with boards. The logs of the block houses, were to be nine inches square, with bedsteads and benches in each block house for twenty men; as also a chimney in each. Inside of said forts scaffolds were to be erected, five feet wide along each curtain, from one block house to another. A chapel was to be erected in the middle of the fort, twenty-four feet square, one story ten feet high, with a garret over it, well covered with boards, shingled, and to be well floored. The chapel was to have a cellar under it, fifteen feet square, covered with logs, and then with earth, the whole chapel to be well floored. Query, was not this chapel cellar intended for a magazine? One block house at Fort Hunter was to be completed for service the following July, 1712.

The works constructed at Onondaga, were to be of the same specific character and dimensions, excepting that the chapel and block houses might be shingled upon laths (narrow strips of timber used at that period, for either shingling or plastering upon), and the fort, chapel and block houses, to be made of such logs as might be most conveniently obtained, provided they are good and sufficient for that service, and the floors to be laid with split wood in place of boards. There were then no saw mills in New York, west of Schenectada. If the work of the contractors was at any time interrupted by the enemy, they were to be made whole. They were to receive *one thousand pounds* in New York currency—\$2,500, for the erection of both forts, £100 ten days after the execution of the contract, £400 on the completion of the first fort, and £500 more on the completion of the western fort—both to be completed by the first day of



July, 1713. The contract was witnessed by K. Van Rensselaer, Myndert Schuyler and Robert Livingston, Jun. The erection of this English fort in the Mohawk valley more than anything else, inspired the Dutch with confidence to push their way tardily up the valley from Schenectada, and the Germans to locate above them.\*

*The Schoharie Valley and its Indian occupancy.*—The Schoharie creek, a large tributary of the Mohawk, rises in the town of Hunter, Greene county, flows northerly through Greene and Schoharie counties, and enters the Mohawk at Fort Hunter, a distance from its source of about 70 miles. Schoharie is a Mohawk Indian name, and signifies *drift-wood*, as rendered by Joseph Brant to Isaac H. Tiffany, Esq., in 1806. When this word originated it had reference to a body of drift-wood, which had lodged in the creek about half a mile above the bridge at Middleburgh, where two small streams run into the creek nearly opposite. The one on the west side was formerly called the Linekill, being the northern boundary line of the first Vrooman patent, which instrument embraced that part of Fulton since called Vrooman's Land. The stream coming from a southerly course is known as Stonykill. John M. Brown, Esq., of Carlisle, in a pamphlet history of Schoharie, written at the request of Gov. De Witt Clinton, called the latter stream the Little Schoharie; and said that that stream originated the name of the Schoharie creek. The two kills mentioned, falling into the creek at that place, no doubt aided in causing a lodgment of drift-wood at every high water directly above. The banks of the stream were then studded with heavy timber, which served as abutments for the formation of a natural bridge. I judge so from the fact that about 1840, between that place and the toll-bridge below, might have been seen a row of elm stumps of gigantic growth.

At what period the timber began to accumulate at that place is unknown, but it was at a date anterior to the settlement of the Schoharie valley by the aborigines of whom we have any certain knowledge. At the time the Indians located in the valley—who were owners of the soil when the Germans and Dutch first settled there—tradition says there were thousands of loads

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\* Brod. Papers. vol. 5, 279.

of wood in this pyramid. How far it extended on the flats on either side is not known, they being there quite wide; but across the creek it is said to have been as high as a house of ordinary dimensions, and to have served the natives the purposes of a bridge, who, when crossing, could not see the water through it.

One tradition says Schoharie signifies *to take across or carry over*; while another tradition gives its literal meaning to be, *the meeting of two waters in a third*—both referring, beyond a doubt, to the drift-wood in question, and its locality. This *mausoleum* of the forest sugar-tree, gnarled oak, and lofty pine, was called by the Indians who dwelt in its immediate vicinity *To-wos-scho-hor*,\* the accent falling on the third and fourth syllables. From that word has been derived the present word Schoharie, the first two syllables having been entirely dropped, while another has been added in its Anglicisement. In 1836 I saw an illy shaped glass bottle in Schoharie, said to have been imported from London by John Lawyer, the first merchant among the German settlers. His name and the place of his residence were stamped upon the bottle in English letters, the latter being there spelled *Shoary*. Many of the old German people of that county, used to pronounce it *Shuckary*, which, it will be perceived, differs nearly as much from the sound of the word as now written, as that does from the sound of the word here given as the original.

At what period the aborigines located who were occupying the Schoharie flats when the whites first settled upon them, is unknown.† Judge Brown, in the pamphlet to which I have

\* I give the orthography of this word as it sounded when spoken by Mrs. Susannah, widow of Martin Van Slyck. At an interview in 1837, I found Mrs. Van Slyck quite intelligent, and possessed of a very retentive memory. She formerly dwelt in Vrooman's Land, near where the bridge of drift-wood had been—could once converse with the natives in their own dialect, and still retained many of their words. She gave the word to which the note refers, as the name by which they called the natural bridge—by whom she had often heard it spoken. The author is indebted to the kindness of this lady and her tenacious memory, for several interesting facts tradition has preserved, relating to the early settlement of Vrooman's Land by the whites, she being a granddaughter of the first Vrooman settler; and also for several incidents worthy of record which transpired during the Revolution. Mrs. Van Slyck died in Breakabeen about the first of April, 1850, aged nearly 90 years.

† The old veteran John M. Brown, as he assured the writer in September, 1837, was born at Blue Mountain, Ulster county, N. Y., November 3, 1745. Losing his mother he went to West Camp to live with his mother's father, Matthew Jung—Young in English—his grandmother having the care of him. This Young was a school teacher, and

alluded, informs us that the first Indian settlement was made by Ka-ri-gh-on-don-tee, a French Indian prisoner, who had taken for a wife a Mohawk squaw; that his father-in-law gave him those lands to remove him from the presence of the Mohawk Indians, by whom he had been made prisoner, as they bore a deadly hatred to the Canada Indians, and in a drunken frolic might kill him; that families from the Mohawk, Mohegan,\* Tuscarora, Delaware, and Oneida tribes there joined him, so that a new tribe, of which he was principal chief, was formed, numbering at one time about 300 warriors. This must be entirely too high an estimate of their fighting men.

Karighondontee was a Canadian chief of some celebrity, who had been taken prisoner by the Mohawks in one of their bloody wars.

Schoharie was settled if only for indefinite periods to suit the convenience of the natives for hunting and fishing, long before its settlement by Karighondontee.

*Indian Skill.*—It is astonishing to what perfection the aborigines of the United States had carried the manufacture of their wooden and stone implements for defense and domestic utility, before the Europeans found their way hither; since they were not the possessors of a knife, or any instrument of iron. To look at a flint arrow-head, and see to what delicate proportions it has been wrought from so hard and brittle a substance, it seems incredible that it could have been formed by art, without the aid of other implements than those of stone. One would almost suppose the Indian to have been capable of softening the *flinty rock* by some chemical agent, previous to its being wrought into such beautiful forms. The *cabinet* of the antiquarian will exhibit them of various dimensions and a

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the elements of his education Brown received from him. His own father having gone to Schoharie, again married there in 1732, and became the first wheelwright in the county. At the age of 20 he took his son to Schoharie, where he learned the trade of his father, and worked at it to the age of 24, when he became an agriculturist. He was one of the first settlers in Carlisle. He was twice married, first to a Miss Hager, by whom he had nine children, and then to a Miss Van Arnein who had no issue. He was a Captain of militia in the Revolution. He proved a very useful citizen, filling several important civil stations; and among them that of Justice of the Peace, Commissioner of Highways in laying out roads, and an Associate Judge of the Schoharie county Common Pleas. He died about a year after our interview.

\* A part of the Mohegan and Stockbridge Indians, migrated and joined the five nations before the Revolution.—*Morse's Gazetteer.*

variety of colors : pipes, hatchets, wedges or chisels, and culinary vessels, all ingeniously formed from different kinds of stone, are likewise often found at the present day near the site of ancient Indian villages—giving additional evidence of the perfection to which necessity will carry certain arts.\*

The Mohawks and Delawares, made the Schoharie valley their route of intercommunication.

The Mohegans on coming into the valley, settled not far from the Little Schoharie kill, in the present town of Middleburgh, and were living separate from the main body of the tribe, long after the whites located in their vicinity, having a small castle in the *Clauver-Wy-clover pasture*.

In Virginia, it is said, the Indians had altars of stone whereon they offered a sacrifice of blood, deer's suet and tobacco. I dare not suppose that Karighondontee or any of his tribe, were equally religious ; but I may say, that I have never heard of any people appropriating *tobacco* to any better or more savory use. Certainly it were far better for health and neatness to smell its fumes than taste them.

*Indian villages.*—Besides the village of the Mohegans already located, the Schoharie tribe had several others : one of which was on the west side of the river, above Central Bridge. Nearly opposite that, on the other side of the river, they had another ; and a distance of several miles farther up the valley, a third. The present Schoharie railroad depot, is on the site of this Indian town. At each of the two former they had a small castle ; and at the latter, where they dwelt for many years after the two northern villages were abandoned, they had a burying ground. Those villages were all within four miles of the present site of the court house. About the year 1770, twenty-one wigwams were yet standing upon the site of the third, and a few old apple trees still to have been seen there in 1840, are supposed to have been planted by the natives. Near this orchard many burials are said to have been made at their place of sepulture. It was not only customary for the aborigines of this country to bury the implements of war, and treas-

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\* The Hon. Caleb Lyon, informed the writer, in March, 1850, that the year before, he saw the Indians in California making arrow-heads. They used a piece of native copper, with which they clipped off chips from a piece of silex, producing the desired object in a comparatively short time.

ures of the warrior with his body ; but also a kettle of food, such as beans or venison, to serve him on his journey to the delectable hunting grounds, whither he believed himself going.

The fifth, and most important village of the tribe, where dwelt Karighondontee and his principal chiefs, was in Vrooman's land : where they had a strong castle, and a place of burial. This castle was built by John Becker, who received from Sir William Johnson, as agent for the British government, *eighty pounds* for its erection. It was built at the commencement of the French war, and constructed of hewn timber. The Indians held some four hundred acres of land around it, which they leased for several years. Contiguous to this castle, along both sides of the river, could have been counted at one time seventy huts ; and relics of savage ingenuity are now often plowed up there. An angle of land, occasioned by a bend in the river, on which this castle stood, was called the *Wilder Hook*, by the Dutch who settled near it, and signified *the Indian's Corner*.

The Indians gave names to most of the mountains and prominent hills in the county, among which were the following : On the west side of the creek, directly opposite the brick church in Middleburgh, is a mountain rising several hundred feet, and covered with timber of stunted growth. The traveler will readily notice this as the highest of the surrounding peaks, which hem in the valley. This mountain the natives called *Ou-con-ge-na*, which signified, *Rattle-snake Mountain*, or *Mountain of Snakes*. It was literally covered with rattle-snakes in former times. The next peak above on the same side of the river, which has a very bold termination toward the valley, they called *O-nis-ta-gra-wa*. It signified the *Corn Mountain*. Between that and the river was the Wilder Hook : at which place the flats are well adapted to the cultivation of Indian corn. This consideration gave to this mountain its significant name. The next hill above the Onistagrawa, now known as Spring Hill, the Indians called *To-wok-now-ra*—its signification is unknown ; and the next one south of that they called *Kan-je-a-ra-go-re*.

At Middleburgh, two valleys meet : the one through which the Schoharie wends its way, and the other through which the Little Schoharie kill runs some distance before it empties into the former. Consequently, on the south-east side of the

river as it there courses, the mountain ridge which confines the river to its limits on the eastern side, suddenly terminates, and again appears east of Middleburgh village. The termination of the hill alluded to, which lies southeast of the Onistagrawa, and distant perhaps two miles—was called by the Mohegans who dwelt at its base, the *Mo-he-gon-ter*, and signified *Falling Off*, or *Termination of the Mohegan Hill*. It served to designate the locality, and preserve the name of the Connecticut Indians. A fraction of the Stockbridge tribe of Indians from Massachusetts, also dwelt near the Mohegans.

I have no data by which to estimate the whole number of Schoharie Indians, except the statement in Brown's pamphlet, which sets down the number of warriors at about three hundred. If Judge Brown's estimate was not too large, we may suppose their number approximated 2000. Their habits at times were quite migratory. The coat of arms, or ensign of the Schoharie tribe, was a *turtle* and a *snake*. Figures representing those animals, they placed on all deeds or writings—which were to prove an evidence of *faith*. Nor were they confined to placing them on paper or parchment; for whenever they deeded land, trees serving as bounds or land-marks, bore the characteristic emblem of the tribe.

*Indian paths*.—Brown enumerates the five following foot-paths as being in use by the Schoharie Indians, when the whites first settled among them. The *first* began at Catskill, and followed the kill of that name up to its source at the *Vlaie*, whence it continued down to Middleburgh. Over a part of this path the Loonenburg turnpike was laid. The *second* began at Albany and led over the Helleberg, down Foxes creek valley, and terminated in Schoharie. By this path a part of the Germans traveled, who first settled Schoharie. The *old road*, as now called, from thence to Albany, follows very nearly the route of that path. The *third* commenced at Garlock's dorf, and led to Schenectada through Duanesburgh. By this path, the Dutch who first settled in Vrooman's Land, proceeded from Schenectada, as did also a part of the first Germans. This path was much used for several years by the Schoharie people who went to that village with grists upon their backs to get milling done! The *fourth* led from Kneiskern's dorf, down the Schoharie to Sloansville, thence through the towns of Charleston

and Glen to Cadaughrita, and ended at Fort Hunter. This path was traveled by the natives, who went from the Mohawk to the Susquehanna valley. The *fifth* led from Kneiskern's dorf north-west to Canajoharie. This path, says Brown, was much traveled by the early Germans, who often went to visit relatives at the German Flats. It continued in full use, he adds, until after the year 1762, at which time Sir William Johnson reviewed a brigade of militia, of which he was general—near the upper Indian castle of the Mohawks. Besides those enumerated, the Indians had other paths, of less notoriety, leading in different directions from Schoharie. One traversed not a little by the Indian hunter, led directly up the Schoharie to near its source, and thence to the Susquehanna and Genesee valleys. While another of some importance to the hunter, must have led up the Cobelskill to its source, and thence to Otsego lake.

*An Indian Mound.*—Beside the path mentioned as leading from Schoharie to Fort Hunter, at a little distance from Sloansville, a large mound of stones had been reared by the Indians long before the whites settled this part of the State. A title to the adjoining lands was called the *Stone Heap Patent*. Tradition says that two Mohawk hunters were passing this place—a quarrel arose between them—one murdered the other—and his fellows, to commemorate the event, erected a pile of stones upon the spot. A custom of their nation required every warrior traveling that path to appease the departed spirit by adding a stone to the heap, and thus it grew to one of large dimensions. Not many years ago the land on which it stood was owned by an individual who cared little for the altars of the red man, and the long accumulating record of homicide was converted by him into stone wall, to the unfeigned regret of *pious antiquarians*. The route pursued by Sir John Johnson and his army, from Schoharie to the Mohawk, in October, 1780, led directly past this *monumental pile*.

*A Missionary in Schoharie.*—In the summer of 1753, the Rev. Gideon Hawley and Deacon Timothy Woodbridge, of Massachusetts, when on a missionary tour, visited Fort Hunter, where they dined with the commandant, Lieut. Butler, who, with his family, resided there, and who, as I suppose, was Col. John Butler, of the British Canadian service in the Revolution.

On leaving that post, he furnished those missionaries with an Indian guide, to conduct them across the country to Schoharie. On their way they came to a resting place, when they perceived the Indian looking for a stone, which, having found, he cast upon a heap that for ages had been accumulating by similar contributions. To their inquiry why he observed the rite, he replied that it was practiced by his father, who enjoined the duty upon him; but that he did not like to talk on the subject. This is the monumental "stone heap" mentioned in the preceding paragraph.\*

In Mr. Hawley's narrative, from which the above is derived, he adds: "I have observed in every part of the country, and among every tribe of Indians, and among those where I now am,† in a particular manner, such heaps of stones or sticks collected on the like occasion as the above. The largest heap I ever observed, is that large collection of *small* stones on the mountain between Stockbridge and Great-Barrington. We have a sacrifice rock, as it is termed, between Plymouth and Sandwich, to which stones and sticks are always cast by Indians who pass it. This custom or rite is an acknowledgment of an invisible being. We may style him the *unknown* God, whom this people worship. This heap is his altar. The stone that is collected is the oblation of the traveler, which, if offered with a good mind, may be as acceptable as a consecrated animal."

Although it is somewhat anticipating events, still as Mr. Hawley was going on missionary work to the Indians of Oquago, some of his observations may not prove unprofitable. Mr. Hawley had visited Schoharie in September 1752, some account of which he incorporates in his narrative of the next year's events. He was then attended only by an Indian guide, a Canadian Indian who had been one of his pupils, and we suppose they made the journey on horseback. He expressed his surprise that at that period there were only two houses between Albany and Schenectada (both of which were inns), on a road so much traveled, the distance being 16 miles. He remained over night, and not far from his resting place he said the road parted, that branch to the right leading on to Schenectada, and the other to Scho-

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\* Doc. His. N. Y., vol. 3, p. 1040.

† This narrative was dated at Marshpee, and directed to Rev. Dr. Thacher.



harie, where he arrived in the afternoon of that day, a distance of about twenty miles. The whole valley was then called Schoharie, and where he halted it is difficult to determine; but he there found Jonah, a Canadian Indian, whom he had known at Stockbridge, Mass. This Indian's wife was a Tuscorora squaw, who furnished him refreshment. Speaking of Jonah's good qualities and pedigree, he said: "His mother was a very old person, and of French extract, and full blooded, being captured from Canada when very young. Jonah, therefore, was half blood."

He speaks on this visit of meeting only with Indians, and I am at a loss to know where he first halted: for leaving the hospitable home of Jonah, he says he went six miles further down (meaning, doubtless, up, as the valley south tends upward), to the Mohawk village, so designated, no doubt because most of its inhabitants were of that nation. He must have made his first halt at the Indian town situated near the present Schoharie railroad depot, and went from thence to the Wilder Hook. At the latter place, he speaks of meeting Sharrach, Peter, and other Indians as friends, who had passed the summer in gathering gentian root, destined for a European market; the previous year having been a successful one for its exportation. He said its Indian name was *kalondaggough*.

He tarried over night in the vicinity, visited the Indians in the morning, distributed presents among their children, set out upon his return, and again tarried over night at one of the two houses between Albany and Schenectada. What he desired to accomplish in this hasty visit is undefined: probably it was to feel his way for future events. † Here is his own comment upon the country: "In regard to Schoharie, it is fine land, and settled by Palatines, brought over at the expense of the nation in Queen Anne's reign. It is watered by a stream which tends to the southward, not far from the source of the Delaware, which takes an opposite direction. [This is true, but the Delaware runs south and the Schoharie north; and I suppose a stream tends in the direction it runs.] Here are three decent meeting-houses and two domines. The one a Calvinian and the other a Lutheran [one of the three churches, Calvinistic, was at Middleburgh, and the other two at Schoharie, a mile apart]. The language of this people is German, and they are husbandmen.

The Albanians and people of Schenectada were Hollanders, and employed in trade ; and very few were farmers."

*A Missionary Enterprise.*—Mr. Hawley and Deacon Woodbridge left Stockbridge on Tuesday, May 22, 1753, their mission being, as the former expressed it, the "planting Christianity in the Indian country about an hundred miles beyond any settlement of Christian people." Mr. Woodbridge being familiar with such business, went to introduce Mr. Hawley to the Indians, and Benjamin Ashley and his wife were hired to accompany them, the latter to act as interpreter. She—then Rebecca Kellogg—had been captured at the destruction of Deerfield, February 28, 1704, and with two brothers was taken to Caughnawaga, Canada, when she was only three years old, and where she remained until grown up. She was a proficient in the language of the five nations, and hence well qualified for this mission to Oquago, where she died in August 1757. Her name among the Indians, by whom she was much lamented, was *Wau-sau-nia*. Joseph Kellogg, one of the brothers captured at Deerfield, was, in his day, the best Indian interpreter in New England, and was at the Indian treaty held at Albany in 1754. Accompanying Gen. Shirley as interpreter, on his way to Oswego in 1756, he was taken sick, died, and was buried at Schenectada.

Mr. Hawley, when he set out upon this mission, was furnished with letters of introduction to several important personages on his way, as also a letter of recommendation from the Governor of the Colony of Massachusetts. Crossing the Mohawk by a ferry at Schenectada, he presented a letter of introduction to Major Glen, from his friend Col. Jacob Wendell, of Boston, with whom he took dinner ; proceeding thence with his party on the north side of the Mohawk to Mount Johnson, the residence of Col. William Johnson—afterwards Sir William Johnson—where they were politely met at the gate by the proprietor, and entertained over night. Says Mr. Hawley's journal, "His mansion was stately, and situate a little distance from the river, on rising ground, and adjacent to a stream which turned his mill. This gentleman was well known, in his civil, military and private character. He was the first civil character in the county of Albany at that day ; and after this, by means of the war which commenced in 1755, and his connection with the Indians,

of whom he was appointed sole superintendent for that part of the continent, he arose to great eminence. In 1756 he was made a baronet." In the morning the party rode up to the ford, where they crossed, and proceeded to the Mohawk castle, "near which was a stone chapel [Queen Anne's] and a village of Indians, situate on Schoharry creek, not far from the place where it discharges its waters into the Mohawk." Here, as I have previously shown, he dined with Commandant Butler.

With an Indian guide the party proceeded from Fort Hunter to Schoharie, and after a fatiguing ride through the forest, at dusk on Saturday evening, Hawley and Woodbridge put up at what was called a public house, the rest of the party proceeding farther. The house, as he said, had but one room, and in it they tried to sleep on a straw bed in a bunk, but were annoyed by several old countrymen, who came there and "gamed and drank" most of the night within a few feet of them. Where this primitive tavern stood is now unknown, but it was probably in the vicinity of Fox's creek. On Sunday morning, says the journal, "Having found our interpreter and company at the upper end of the town, we went and had a meeting at the Mohawk village, where I preached and prayed in the forenoon. In the afternoon Mr. Woodbridge and I went to the Dutch meeting in the vicinity." On Monday they collected stores for their journey; and on Tuesday morning, May 29, they set forward on horseback over mountain and valley for Oquago, now in the town of Windsor, Broome county, N. Y., and on the afternoon of the second day they arrived at *To-wano-en-da-laugh*, on the Susquehanna, below Cooperstown. Here were three Indian huts, but where this place was is uncertain.

As Mrs. Ashley and Mr. Woodbridge could not continue the journey on horseback, and they were trying to get a canoe in which to convey them, on Wednesday afternoon George Wine-decker and another man came down from Otsego lake in a small batteau, with goods and rum, going to trade at *Onohoghwaage*—Oquago. It was soon arranged that the interpreter and Mr. Woodbridge should go in the batteau with the travelers, while a wooden or tree canoe was bought to carry their flour and baggage. But I cannot detail the rest of the journey, which was made by some on land and others by water: suffice it to say, Winedecker's rum had nearly cost Mr. Hawley his life, and had

been a source of constant alarms and fears. Once they were separated, and the party did not get together again until they arrived at *Wauteghe*—query, *Otego*—at which place there had been an Indian village, where there were a few fruit trees and considerable cleared land, but no inhabitants. Pallas, an Indian assistant, had of late been so often drunk and refractory that he was left at quite a village, which contained some *Houssautunnuk*—Housatonic—Indians, who spoke the Stockbridge dialect. It being Sabbath day, Winedecker was not permitted to land at this place. Here from the northwest, said Mr. Hawley, a river rolls into the Susquehanna, navigable for canoes a day's journey. He called its name *Teyonadelthough*. This was the present Unadilla, the western branch of the Susquehanna. The retinue of this party seems to have been constantly increasing on the way by Indians; some tempted by the kegs of the Indian traders, and others by the novelty of having a missionary along to instruct them in matters appertaining to their future salvation. On the afternoon of June 5, a delegation of Oquago chiefs met them, to whom, as a condition of their labors, they requested them to prohibit the future use of rum. Of the final success of the mission we are not here advised. The Hawley narrative, upon which we have drawn, is in Doc. His. of N. Y., vol. 3.

I have given the above details from Rev. Mr. Hawley's journal, because they reflect not a little light upon border life. The red man's curse, *alcohol*, which has done so much to exterminate the race, proved a great hindrance in the way of civilizing and christianizing the American Indian. Mr. Woodbridge, who accompanied Mr. Hawley to Oquago, in a letter dated at Albany, June 26, 1753, three weeks after the mission was established, to Col. William Johnson, after alluding to the Colonel's favoring the missionary project, gives what he denominates a speech from the Indians to Mr. Johnson. Here are some extracts going to show that these unlettered nations began to realize that a curse was settling down upon them.

"My brother, Coll. Johnson, hear me. Now we are both nations together under one head at *Onuhhuhquaugh*. My brother, *Whauroh yauchee*, here we are assembled under one head; I say, hear me now. The governor and great men have took pity on us, and come so far to bring us light and religion

that we may go streight. My brother, my dear brother, pity us. Your Batoe is often here at our place, and brings us rum, and that has undone us. Sometimes on Sunday our people drink and cant attend their duty, which makes it extremely difficult. But now we have cut it off, we have put a stop to it.

"You must not think one man or a few men have done it, we, all of us, both old and young, have done it. It is done by the whole. My brother, I would have you tell the great men at Albany, Skenectetee and Skoharry, not to bring us any more rum. I would have you bring us powder, lead and clothing, what we want, and other things what you please, only dont bring us any strong lyquors.

"My uncle [meaning Mr. Woodbridge], you live nearer your brother [Col. Johnson], than I do, and you are more intimate together, I would have you tell him to bring no more rum to my place. He has sent a great deal of it there, and we die, many of us only by strong drink, I would have you take care that no more is brought to us. Now, my brother, pity us, rum is not good, we have had enough of it.

"My brother, we told you we should be glad to have you send us powder, lead, and clothing, what we need, and any thing else what we want, but would send us no rum, no strong drink; and now send you a belt of wompom by our brother; and desire notice may be given to the great men at Albany, Skenactetee and Skoharry, that we would have no more rum sent among us."\* It is not probable that Col. Johnson was personally engaged in the liquor traffic alluded to.

In this connection it may be well to speak of an early movement in the colony of New York to Christianize the Indians, one of the earliest, if we except the French Jesuit enterprise, via Canada, and the unsuccessful effort of the speculator, Rev. Godfrey Dellius, at Albany about ten years before. Gov. Hunter in a letter to the lords of trade, October 31, 1712, said that a very good fort and chapel were built in the Mohawk's country, at Tienonderoga, where he had an English garrison of twenty officers and men. A missionary for the Indians, he said, had departed for his mission. I doubt not, he added, but he

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\* Doc. His., vol. 2, p. 627.

will be kindly received.\* Writing again in the following March, he said the missionary, who was the Rev. William Andrews, had but an indifferent reception owing to a false notion the Indians entertained, that the minister might claim one tenth part of all their lands and goods. When undeceived they treated him kindly. Holmes in his *American Annals*, quoting *Humphrey*, says : "The Indians at first received him with joy ; but they peremptorily refused to let their children learn English. After the missionary had taught them for a time in their own language, the old Mohawks left off coming to his chapel, and the children left off coming to his school ; and in 1718, he closed a fruitless mission." Such was the result of the first attempts by the English, to communicate religious instruction to any of the five nations. Mr. Andrews was an Episcopalian, or of the church of England.

*A Mysterious Pit.*—In 1837 there might have been seen half a mile north of the Schoharie Court House, a deep pit, in which was observed a heavy, upright, wooden frame. Its location was on a knoll, in an old apple orchard upon the farm owned by John L. Swart : which orchard seemed at least in appearance, to merit an existence coeval with, if it did not antedate, the first German settlements. For what purpose that frame was there sunk, or by whom, tradition does not inform us. Judge Brown said he remembered having seen it, but assured the author that persons then living in the vicinity much older than himself, could give no clue to its origin. This artificial cavern, which is said to have been apparently fifteen or twenty feet deep, by those who looked into it, was discovered at the time alluded to, by the accidental caving in of the earth near one corner of it. The opening was closed, without an interior examination of the pit. Its origin must be left entirely to conjecture.

*A Brief Topography of the Mohawk Valley.*—The Mohawk river rises in Oneida county, nearly 20 miles to the northward of Rome, arriving at which place it takes an easterly course, and, at a distance of about 135 miles from its source, enters the Hudson between Troy and Waterford. Its source is near that of Black river, which, running north-westerly, empties into Lake

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\* Brod. Papers, vol 5, p. 349.

Ontario. Wood creek also rises north-westerly from Rome, and at a point two miles distant from the bend of the Mohawk it finds a westerly course into Oneida lake, which discharges in Oswego river, and runs into Lake Ontario at Oswego. The Mohawk has two prominent cascades to interrupt its navigation : the Cohoes Falls not far from its mouth, with 70 feet fall, requiring six deep locks upon the Erie canal to overcome the ascent ; and the Little Falls, so called, as compared with the Cohoes, having a fall of 42 feet, the canal descending 40 feet in a single mile by five locks, averaging about eight feet lift. The mountain barrier at this point through which the water furrowed its way in the long ago, affords some of the most romantic scenery in Central New York. The river in its course through Oneida, Herkimer, Montgomery and Schenectada counties, passes through some of the richest bottom-lands or river-flats to be found in any country.

For nearly two centuries the Mohawk was navigated above Schenectada by small water craft, mostly bateaux, around which danced the red man's bark canoe ; but it was always interrupted by the Little Falls, some 58 miles above, which necessitated a carrying-place of a mile ; and, at a later period, when the waters of Wood creek and Oneida lake were utilized, a carrying place of two miles was established between that creek and the Mohawk, so that boats from Schenectada went to Oswego and back ; at first to convey Indian goods and military stores. For the benefit of young readers I may say that, at carrying places, both cargo and boat had to be taken from the water and conveyed around the obstruction by land—usually by teams and extra hands, quite constantly employed—of course, to be relaunched and reloaded to pursue its onward cruise.

After the Revolution, which had familiarized the whole country with the rich lands of Western New York, from which the Indians had mostly been driven by their sympathy with Britain, many citizens of New England—not a few of whom had been soldiers—removed thither, especially to Ontario county, which was organized several years before any county organization took place between that and Oneida—those two counties having been formed in 1789, only six years after the war. Some of those settlers moved up the Mohawk valley with ox-teams and covered wagons, while others journeyed in boats from Schenec-

tada, their cattle being driven along the river roads. Parties by water were often composed of several families, to aid each other at the carrying places, as also to guard against any and every danger. The valley soon became a thoroughfare for thousands passing through it, and the travel has gone on increasing with improved facilities, until millions by rail are now speeding along where thousands sought their way by river craft and private conveyances, or a little later by canal craft and stages. The world, at times, now seems hurrying to and fro through the valley.

To facilitate business and subserve the increasing wants of the public, the "INLAND LOCK NAVIGATION COMPANY OF NEW YORK" was incorporated in 1792, and under the supervision of Gen. Philip Schuyler their enterprise was completed in 1797. Its object was designed to remove river obstructions for the passage of boats drawing two feet of water, and by the construction of locks at Little Falls, German Flats and Rome—with a canal from the Mohawk to Wood creek—to enable boats of a larger class to go from Schenectada to Oswego without unloading. Bateaux for two, four and six hands, carrying from one to three tons of freight, were long in use on the river prior to this period, scores of families along its banks having their own; but on the completion of the inland locks many of them gave place to the Durham boat, a snug built water-craft, carrying from 10 to 15 tons, and laden to suit the condition of the river. They were built with a small cabin in the stern, and although seldom decked all over, they were always decked several feet along the sides, upon which cleats were nailed to afford boatmen a foothold while propelling their craft up the stream with long setting-poles, with some sort of a head or pad to prevent its bruising the shoulder; and, I may add, the slow propelling of these boats against the current was never a labor of love, as the calloused shoulder of many an old river craftsman could testify.

This Inland Navigation Company constructed two locks on the canal across the old carrying place, between the Mohawk and Wood creek; and Spafford in his *Gazeteer*, published in 1813, says there were four on Wood creek within a distance of five miles of Rome. In his *Gazeteer* of 1824, he says there were eight locks at Little Falls, but he evidently included two



that were at Wolf's Rift—German Flats—five miles above ; as there were only six at the falls, including a guard-lock at the river above.\* This would make fourteen locks in all. Rome is about ninety-four miles from the old Schenectada boat-landing.

*The Improved Navigation of the Mohawk*, was looked upon at the beginning of this century as a wonderful achievement, and indeed it was, as compared with the condition of things fifty years earlier. The ancestors of Edward Huntington, Esq., of Rome, had much to do with the lock-navigation of the Mohawk, and here is the copy of a paper in his possession, showing the rates of toll upon boats and freight at that period.

“ Rates of tolls in 1814, for passing the canal locks at the German Flats and Little Falls, on the Mohawk river, viz :

|  |        |
|--|--------|
| For a six-handed bateau.....   | \$2 31 |
| For a large, new constructed boat or scow.....   | 2 62   |
| On all other boats or crafts of a large, or small size, the charges of toll to be regulated by the toll-gatherer, agreeable to the above.  |        |
| For every 2 bbls. pot or pearl-ashes, 4 bbls. pork, liquor or other heavy or bulky articles bound down, equivalent to a wagon load, or what may be estimated half a ton .....  | 1 12½  |
| Flour per barrel .....   | 22     |
| Wheat or grain per bushel.....   | 04     |
| Salt per bushel.....   | 22     |
| Plaster per ton.....   | 1 00   |
| All goods bound up per ton.....  | 2 25   |
| <i>Rates of Toll at Rome.</i> —For all boats or bateaux not exceeding one and a half tons burthen, passing up the Mohawk river through the canal, to Wood creek ; or up the creek, through the canal to the Mohawk river ..... |        |
|  | 1 12½  |
| For every boat or scow of a large size, 37½ cents per ton for every additional ton of burthen.   |        |
| For every 3 bbls of pot or pearl-ashes, or 4 bbls liquor, beef or pork or 5 bbls flour .....   | 1 50   |
| For wheat or grain per bushel .....  | 04     |
| For salt per bushel.....   | 03     |
| For plaster per ton.....   | 1 00   |
| All other goods or heavy bulky articles not mentioned before, being equivalent to a wagon load, or what may be estimated by the collector at half a ton weight or measurement .....  |        |
|  | 1 50   |
| For all boats navigating the Mohawk river and discharging loading, within the canal, at the rate of <i>one-third</i> of the tolls above mentioned, for said boats and their cargoes.   |        |

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\* See Report of Survey for the Nav. Co., Doc. Hls., vol. 3, p. 102.

For all boats navigating the said Wood creek, passing all or either of the locks between Canada creek,\* and the said canal discharging or loading, within the said canal, or between the said canal and the lower lock, or said Wood creek, the collector shall receive at the rate of *two-thirds* of the rate of toll before mentioned, for said boats and their cargoes.

By order of the directors,

ROBERT BOWNE, *Pres't.*

Thus was the Mohawk river navigated for a quarter of a century, or until the completion of the Erie canal, in 1825, when a new era dawned upon the transportation of the valley. A few of the larger class of river scows and Durham boats, were seen for a brief period in the new canal; but they could not carry sufficient freight to make it profitable to go upon long trips, and it seems astonishing, even now, to remember, as we do, how soon they entirely disappeared. Some went into the western waters of the State, while scores of them were broken up or allowed to go to decay.

*Mammoth Wagons.*—In this connection I should, perhaps, name another means of transportation, which came into vogue during the period of river navigation, and lasted until the Erie canal was in full use; and this was by immense wagons drawn by several span of horses. They were strongly built, covered with canvass; and the better class had broad wagon-tire, which—as they filled the ruts—passed them scot-free through turn-pike gates. These wagons carried large quantities of wheat and other products to Albany, and took back merchandise. They were in use on both the Mohawk and Great Western Turnpikes. I shall have occasion to speak of this means of transportation hereafter.

*Tributaries of the Mohawk.*—The Mohawk valley is not only wonderfully beautified, but its fertility is greatly increased by the numerous tributaries, large and small, entering the river upon both shores, which afford advantageous mill-sites for hundreds of mills and manufactories, employing the labor of many thousands of operatives. Here is a list of those worthy of note, made up from ancient and modern maps and gazetteers, while a score or two of brooklets are known to enter the river along its

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\* This is a mill-stream running to the westward of Wood creek, and at the distance of a dozen miles falling into the latter stream, four miles to the westward of Rome.

shores, either nameless or only worthy of notice during freshets. In this connection I should quote a sentence of Spafford, written in 1824, as that stream was then connected by water with the Mohawk: "Wood creek of the Oneida lake, long so famous for its navigation, on which millions of property have been wafted and large armies—a little stream over which a man may almost step—deserves notice for its historic importance in days of yore, the rather as it now is lost sight of, and will soon be forgotten, merged in the glories of the Erie canal."

Commencing at Rome and descending the Mohawk on its southerly side, its first tributary is the Oriskany creek, near the mouth of which an enterprising village of its name has grown up. A couple of miles above the mouth of this stream the great Oriskany battle took place in 1777. The next—the Sadaquada, or Saquait creek—enters the river near Whitesboro'. This stream is wonderfully utilized with cotton, woollen and other mills. Furnace creek mingles its waters with the river at Frankfort. Steele's creek enters the river at Ilion, and among the industries upon its banks is Remington's Rifle manufactory. Fulmer's creek comes to the river at Mohawk; while two small streams discharge their waters near Fort Herkimer. Inchundo, Conowadaga or Nowadaga creek, enters the river at Indian castle, or site of old Fort Hendrick, another name for the Canajoharie or Upper Mohawk castle. The Otsquago creek, affording numerous mill sites, runs to the river at Fort Plain. The Canajoharie creek flows into the river at Canajoharie. Of the many industries upon this stream, that nearest its outlet is Arkell & Smith's extensive Paper Sack Manufactory. The life-like views of Canajoharie, and the Canajoharie Falls, given in this connection, were sketched by Dr. von St. George, of Canajoharie, for this work.



Canajoharie—the pot that washes itself.

Here is what gave a name to the creek, to the cascade on it, to the village below, and to the territory on both sides of the Mohawk from the mountain gorge at Spraker's to Little Falls, a distance of 20 miles above. It is a natural curiosity of much interest, being a hole cut in solid slate rock 20 feet in diameter, its exact depth being unknown. It usually has 10 feet of water in it; but how much it is filled in with stones and rubbish is undetermined. Its walls are vertical, and it resembles a large well; and the question always suggested to the visitor is, how this hole—so round, so smooth, and so deep—was made? It is near the termination of an immense bed of slate rock, through which, for a quarter of a mile, the creek has worn its way. The hole was, no doubt, drilled with rolling stones and pebbles by the water, when the cascade, now some distance above, towered

for a long period directly over this remarkable cavity. The hole must have been chiseled many centuries ago ; and the hills have been receding for many ages to attain its present condition above. The signification of this word was rendered by Joseph Brant at his home in Canada in 1806 to Judge Isaac H. Tiffany.



The Canajoharie Falls.

This is a pretty cascade in the creek, a quarter of a mile above the dinner pot, where the water in a little distance falls nearly 50 feet. It is a charming place of resort in the afternoon of a summer's day, as the bold bluff on the west shore shuts out the sun's rays at an early hour. If the convenience of a summer foot-bridge was placed above the race-way of the Col. Hen-

drick Frey grist-mill, so that footmen could get to the east shore, on which they must approach the falls, many would be the visitors to this romantic spot, where in "ye olden time" the Mohawks did their courting, and where modern Mohawks might do theirs.

From this digression we return. The Plattekill, or Flat creek, discharges its water at Spraker's Basin. Upon this stream has been found a small vein of lead ore. At Yatesville—Randall, as now called—in Root, Wasontha kill, a small mill stream enters the river. Oghrackie—Aries kill—comes to the river at Auriesville. Schoharie creek, the largest tributary upon that shore, enters the river at Fort Hunter, dividing the towns of Glen and Florida. This estuary was the ancient Tienonderoga, or Lower Mohawk castle, which flourished in the last century down through the times of Sir William Johnson to the Revolution, when the Indians in a body, influenced by the Johnson family, went to Canada with them and remained there. Tuechtanonda creek—or Little Chuctenunda, as now called, to distinguish it from a stream across the river—empties at Port Jackson. Of this mill-creek, said Spafford in 1824, "In its course of 12 or 14 mills it drives 20 mills." Cowilla creek, a small mill-stream, discharges its waters nearly opposite Cranesville; while Zantzee creek enters the river near Hoffman's Ferry, and Plotter kill, a little distance below. Benne kill, enters the river just above Schenectada; while Donker's kill, and one or two other small streams are mapped to enter the river between Schenectada and its mouth.

Descending the Mohawk from Rome, upon its north shore, are found the following tributaries. The first two are numbered respectively, No. 6, and No. 9 mile creeks, the first being two and a half miles from Rome, and the latter seven miles. I have been unable to learn the local Indian names of those streams. Between Utica and West Canada creek, two small mill-streams enter the river called Budlong creek, and Sterling creek, believed in the town of Schuyler. The latter stream, the Indians called Ras-ce-loth. Teughtagh-na-row, or West Canada creek, enters the river nearly a mile below the village of Herkimer. A small nameless mill-stream is laid down as entering the river between Little Falls and East Canada creek. The Ciohana, or



East Canada creek—called also the Gayohara,\* falls into the river a mile or two below the site of the Upper Mohawk castle, across the river. The East and West Canada creeks are the largest tributaries of the Mohawk, coming from the north. The next stream below the East Canada creek, is a brook known as Crum creek. Fox's creek at Upper St. Johnsville, and Zimmerman's creek at the village of St. Johnsville, are also useful mill-streams. Near the latter is marked upon Gov. Tryon's map, made from a survey before the Revolution, the site of Fort Harrison, a military post of earlier wars.

The same map lays down as early forts in the valley, Fort Bute, on the site of Fort Bull, on Wood creek; Fort Stanwix, at Rome; Fort Schuyler, on the present site of Utica; Fort Herkimer, at German Flats, the last vestige of which, the old Herkimer stone house, was demolished for the enlarged canal; Fort Hendrick, at the Canajoharie castle; Fort Hunter, at the mouth of Schoharie creek, and Fort Johnson, a few miles below. Only two of those posts, Fort Harrison, and Fort Johnson—the residence of Sir William Johnson, were on the north side of the river. A little stream called Mother creek, is mapped as the boundary line between the towns of St. Johnsville and Palatine. The Garoga creek is a fine mill-stream falling into the river at the Palatine stone church. The map quoted marked upon this stream, Fox's mills, which were among the earliest erected in this part of the valley, and were burned by the enemy in 1780. At Schenck's place, a little distance below Spraker's, Kanagara creek runs to the river. I remember a terrible thunder storm one summer evening about the year 1850, when in a few hours the railroad bridge over this stream was undermined, and a night train of cars going west, between ten and eleven o'clock, went down in part, into the surging waters. The next day, I saw at Fonda, the body of a German who was drowned there in a freight car, in which he had charge of some good horses. Cayadutta creek, a nice mill-stream which courses through Johnstown, enters the river at Fonda. Dadanoscara creek finds its way to the river at the De Graff place, about three miles east of Fonda. Kayadrosseros creek, enters

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\* Here is an Indian name for this stream, which I found on an old land title in the Fox family, De-ag-jo-har-owe.

the river at Fort Johnson, a few miles west of Amsterdam. Upon this stream Sir William Johnson erected a grist-mill at an early day. At Amsterdam the Tingtandanda or Chuctenunda creek, enters the river. This stream in the distance of a mile or two, is remarkably utilized. Its name is aboriginal, and signifies agreeable to Spafford, *stony bottom*. Eva's kill, runs to the river at Cranesville, and between that place and Schenectada, are noted Lewis creek and Vert kill; while below it, are named on one map, Aleplane kill and Anthony's kill, and on another Morte kill and Stony creek. Whether any of these streams have duplicated names I cannot say.

*The Scenery of the Mohawk valley* is charming and beautifully diversified at many points along the river. One of the finest as treasured in my memory for a generation, is nearly two miles west of Herkimer village, where the turnpike passes over a hill; from which looking down the valley beyond the villages of Mohawk and Herkimer, to the mountain gorge which makes the Little Falls, the eye takes in the greater part of one of the most beautiful amphitheatres to be found in any country. There are many charming points of interest along the valley, not a few of which are to be obtained near St. Johnsville, Fort Plain, Canajoharie, Fonda, Fultonville and Amsterdam, which would afford a score or two of choice stereoscopic views.

Speaking of Little Falls, said Rev. John Taylor when on a missionary tour through the *Mohawk and Black river countries* in 1802: "Upon the whole, this place is the most romantic of any I ever saw, and the objects are such as to excite sublime ideas in a reflecting mind."\* Of this place twenty years later, said the Gazetteerian Spafford: "I could never discover the sublime features of mountain grandeur and magnificence, hereabouts, which some persons seem to have seen, etc." Those diverse opinions are given to show the reader how differently cultivated minds sometimes look upon objects of inspiration and sublimity.

*First Settling of the Whites in Central New York.*—Only here and there a white man, it is believed, had the temerity to plant his family in the Mohawk valley very distant from Schenectada, until the German colonists came hither under the pat-

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\* Doc. His. of N. Y., vol. 3, p. 1131.



ronage of the British crown. Here and there an Indian trader may have taken a squaw to wife, and dwelt among the Mohawks, and now and then a Dutchman or an Englishman may have pitched his tent among them; but such cases were rare any distance above Schenectada as early as the year 1700. The earliest settlers generally went in and squatted upon desired lands, without any title at first, except a verbal or written one from the Indian proprietors. A map,\* drawn by the Surveyor-General of the State, Simeon De Witt, and published in 1790, marking the land patents upon the south side of the Mohawk, gives no date west of Schoharie creek earlier than that of Capt. John Scott, who, soon after its erection, commanded Fort Hunter, and that was for lands on the west side of Aries' kill in 1722—if we except the Oriskany Patent, which granted 27,527 acres to Peter Schuyler and others, of Albany, April 18, 1705. This was evidently secured as a matter of speculation, for no sane white man would have thought of going to reside there then. The Gov. Tryon map,† prepared by Claude Joseph Sauthier, and published in London in 1779, gave the names of patentees in this territory but no dates. John Peterson Meebee, July 20, 1705, took a patent for 160 acres of land on the south side of Schoharie creek, a couple of miles above its mouth, at a place now known as Cadaughrita—spelled on the patents *Ka-da-ro-de*, and pronounced as though written *Ka-daugh-ro-de*. The patent of Hendrick and Hans Hansen for lands below Fonda, was dated July 17, 1713, and it is believed they went upon the tract about that time.

The first European family to locate as far west, of which I have satisfactory evidence, was that of Hendrick-Henry Frey, a native of Zurich, Switzerland, who came to the colony of New York in 1689, and is said to have located a little distance west of Palatine Bridge some few years later, and prior to 1700, where he erected a log dwelling, and lived on terms of friendship with his Indian neighbors. Some interesting facts in the history of this pioneer family were communicated to the writer by an antiquarian member of it, under date of July 30, 1876.‡

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\* Doc. His., vol. 1.

† Ibid.

‡ Samuel Chollet Frey who, in 1870, published a record of the Frey family. Samuel C. was a son of Philip R. Frey, who, in his day, was a surveyor of no little repute. The former was born at St. Johnsville, N. Y., February 7, 1799. He attained a fond-

In 1739 the log tenement gave place to a stone dwelling now standing in good condition ; which is said to have been prepared for defense in the early Canadian wars. The first Frey settler was drowned in the river whither he had gone to water his horses, and was supposed to have had a fit, as he was found in water scarcely a foot deep. His age is unknown. He left a son, a namesake who died intestate at Schenectada, where he had gone upon business, at the age of about forty years, leaving three sons, Henry, John and Bernard ; and three daughters, Elizabeth, Catharine and Maria, who married respectively Henry Deihl,\* John Loucks and Christopher P. Yates.† Henry Frey, by the English law of primogeniture, inherited all his father's real estate, being 3,200 acres in Freysbush, 300 acres at the Palatine homestead, and a Canajoharie mill site

ness for reading in early life; and served a seven years' apprenticeship at the silversmith's trade. He married Susan C. Calhoun, whose father, mother and six brothers—William, Andrew, Henry, Howard, John and James, with herself and a younger sister—constituted one of the most intelligent families that ever dwelt in the town of Canajoharie, whither they came from Massachusetts about the beginning of this century. From 1831 to 1837, Mr. Frey resided at Brockville, Canada, and became acquainted with many men of mark in the "Old Dominion," for whose companionship his intelligence and manners fitted him. He had two sons, George H. and Andrew, and one daughter Mary Ann. In 1871 he removed to Decatur, Alabama, with his family, except George, who resides in Springfield, Ohio; and after living there a few years he sent me a glowing description of the soil, climate and productions of his new home. He died there February 24, 1877, aged 78 years.

\* A son and name-sake of this man went to Canada with the enemy, and is known to have been among the fire and blood fiends at Cherry Valley.

† A custom prevailed in the Colony of New York at an early day of obtaining marriage licenses from the secretary of the colony, who, for a fee, received a bond, granted the license, and recorded the proceedings in a book. A bond in the sum of £500 was lodged with the secretary, asserting that there was no legal impediment to hinder the parties from being united. Those records fill 40 volumes; and Dr. O'Callaghan arranged them for publication, which took place in 1860. Those records commence with 1736 and end with 1783, when the custom fell into disrepute. The records are given in single lines, but would average some 40 to a page, and filling 480 pages, making a record of over 19,000 licenses. That granted for the nuptials of *Richard Montgomery, of the outward of New York, Gentleman, and Jennet Livingston, of Dutchess county, Spinster*, is inserted in the Introduction to the published document, to show the usual form of the bond and obligation. This Richard Montgomery was Gen. Montgomery, who fell at Quebec. It was granted to Henry B. Livingston, of Dutchess county, and John Livingston, of New York, and was dated August 4, 1773. In this book of licenses are the following records: October 19, 1761, Elizabeth Fry and Thomas North; January 31, 1774, Maria Fry and Christopher P. Yates; December 11, 1775, Catharine Fry and David Cox. We may reasonably suppose, therefore (unless there was a slip between the cup and lip), that those Fry sisters—Elizabeth and Catharine—had been married and were widows when they married Deihl and Loucks, who are remembered as their husbands by the aged of our day. Nor is this all: this book of records discloses the further fact that, June 12, 1770, Christopher P. Yates was licensed to marry Rebecca Van Santford. Hence, we may infer that Miss Fry was his second wife.

with 800 acres of land adjoining, etc. Of his estate he gave his brothers the homestead, and to each of his brothers-in-law a good farm of 100 acres—still retaining a large property. He was an officer in the French war—some say a Colonel—under Sir William Johnson : certainly a Colonel of militia before the Revolution. On the Tryon map, the Frey place is marked Capt. Frey ; intended, no doubt, for his brother John, as the Colonel was then living in his stone dwelling at the upper Canajoharie mills. At the commencement of the Revolution the Colonel warmly espoused the cause of the mother country ; and although he did not take up arms in her defense, his position gave him a world of trouble, for he was arrested, imprisoned, and finally freed on parole, but his estate was not confiscated.

Col. Henry Frey married Elizabeth, a daughter of John Jost (Joseph) Herkimer,—sister of Gen. Nicholas Herkimer, by whom he had one son, Philip Rockel, and one daughter, Margaret, who married Edward Cox, who was killed in the war, while defending the Colonel's grist-mill against the depredation of his whig neighbors ; leaving one son Henry Frey Cox, who inherited the mill site and several hundred acres of land adjoining, from his grand-father Frey. Mr. Cox married a Miss Nazro, and raised one of the best families Canajoharie has produced. Mrs. Cox, Col. Frey's daughter, afterward married Capt. Cockburn, a half-pay officer in the British army, who died from an accident in jumping from a horse. Capt. C. left a daughter named Eliza, who married Alfred Conkling, Esq., father of Hon. Roscoe Conkling.

Maj. John Frey, brother of Col. Henry, was a staunch whig, and zealous patriot through the Revolutionary contest. He, too, although young, is said to have seen service in the French war, was an efficient member of the Tryon county Committee of Safety, was a Brigade Major at Oriskany, from whence he was taken a wounded prisoner to Canada. He filled many active positions in life. He married Gertrude Shoemaker, a niece of Gen. Herkimer, then the widow of Lieut. Matthew Wormuth, who was shot from his horse near Cherry Valley, in the summer of 1778, while bearing dispatches from thence to Fort Plain.\*

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\* Lieut. Wormuth (not Wormwood) was a son of Peter Wormuth, an early German settler and trusty Whig, who resided in a stone house now demolished, which stood

He died without issue. Maj. Frey was a prominent citizen in community, and at an advanced age he died in 1833, at the present Frey mansion, from which he was buried on a pleasant Sabbath day, as the writer remembers. This mansion was erected by his only son, Henry I. Frey, Esq., in 1808. The last gentleman dying not many years after, left several children, of which number his son John still survives. S. Ludlow Frey, a son of John Frey is the present proprietor of the homestead.

Capt. Bernard Frey, youngest of the three Palatine brothers, and his nephew Philip R., only son of Col. Henry Frey—then a young man in his teens—joined the tories and went to Canada (not together however), and how much they were influenced to do so by the senior Frey, can only be conjectured; but it is said that the mother of Philip furnished him an outfit to flee to Canada, and sent him with Tom, an Indian guide, who at Onondaga gave him in charge of another party. On arriving in Canada, Brenard Frey received a captain's commission in the regiment known as Butler's Rangers, a corps celebrated for its cruelty, and his nephew became a cadet in the 8th or King's Regiment; and at the end of a year he was given an ensign's commission, in which capacities they were at the siege of Fort Stanwix. Bernard Frey on the approach of hostilities, sold his interest in the homestead to his brother John, before he went to

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over a mile westward of the Fort Plain railroad depot. Speaking of this soldier's death, Mr. Campbell says, when he fell from his horse: "Brant, rushing up, tomahawked him with his own hand. They had been personal friends before the war, and Brant is said to have lamented his death; at the time, he supposed him to be a continental officer." This statement is true, except the tomahawking, to which some other writers have added scalping. Reliable tradition says that when the Lieutenant fell from his horse, Brant, from his concealment, ran to him, and recognizing him as a warm personal friend, expressed his sincere regret at his misfortune, and asked him if he thought he could survive his wounds, in which case he would have him tenderly cared for. No, replied the dying man, there is no hope for me; my wounds are mortal. That he was then dispatched and scalped is no doubt true, but not by Brant in person. I know that he has been represented as a human fiend by persons who could have known little of his true character; and, although a successful and crafty leader, I have been unable to fasten upon his person such atrocities as the Butlers, and many of his white coadjutors were guilty of. He certainly was not the monster some writers have represented him to have been; and although he was literally a captain of demons, yet, because himself an Indian, I am not disposed to misrepresent his true character: he certainly gave repeated evidences, during the war, of possessing a generous nature. As a writer I would fain do justice to either friend or foe, whether white, red or black his skin. Lieut. Wormuth was born in August, 1744, making him about 33 years of age at his death. He was buried from the residence of his father, Peter Wormuth, near Palatine stone church. His memory is very properly commemorated on the Leander Fox monument, in the Fort Plain cemetery.

Canada. Having well married in Canada, at the close of the war he became a permanent settler there, receiving from the British government a landed estate in the town of Whitby, below Toronto, of 3000 acres. He was also retired from the army as a half-pay captain. Thus was he liberally rewarded for imbruing his hands in the blood of his countrymen. He had an only daughter, Margaret, who married John C. Ball, and at her father's death she and her husband each received 200 acres of land as the children of a loyalist captain. Mrs. Ball, a widow, was still living at the age of 86, at Therold, on the Welland canal, as late as 1879. Capt. Frey was yet residing in Canada with all his strong political prejudices against the American government, until the war of 1812 was inaugurated; when he met a tragic fate. Some time in 1814, the Americans and British were cannonading each other in a long range across the St. Lawrence, the former from Fort Niagara, when Frey observed a ball plow up the ground and roll some distance beyond; and picking it up he tossed it to a British gunner near, with the exclamation; "send it back and perhaps it may kill a d-d rebel!" He had scarcely uttered the sentence, when another American shot had severed his own body.\*

Philip R. Frey, not many years after the war, at the urgent solicitation of his father, forfeited a good position in the surveying department with other flattering prospects in Canada, and returned to Canajoharie. He had married Maria Louisa St. Martin in Canada, and brought to his father's two children, Henry and Elizabeth; and two daughters, Mary Ann and Catharine were born at Canajoharie, after which his wife died. In 1798, he married Mrs. Elizabeth Howe, daughter of William Tyrrill, by whom he also had two sons and six daughters, Samuel C. Frey being the oldest of those children. Col. Frey designed his son Philip for a farmer, but as the occupation was distasteful to him, they soon disagreed, and the son left the paternal homestead never to return. Cast upon his own resources, the latter

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\* My informant of this incident, Nicholas Steller, a native of Palatine, now an octogenarian, was a boy standing by, when Archibald Anderson, P. M. at Palatine Bridge, with a letter for Maj. John Frey, found him sitting upon the stoop of the public house kept by Jacob Hees, at the corner of the turnpike and Stone Arabia road. "Please open the letter and read it to me," said the old patriot. Anderson did so, reading the tragic fate of his kinsman. He patiently heard the letter read, when firing with the zeal of his early manhood the Maj. exclaimed: "Just good enough for the d-rascal, he had no business there!"

became a good practical surveyor. The colonel still entertained a kindly feeling toward his son's children by the first wife, took them to his own home—a large two story stone house erected just before the Revolution by the Failing family, and standing between Canajoharie and Fort Plain—and cared tenderly for them. This old building which I well remember, took fire from ashes in a nail keg about the year 1833, and burned down. Col. Frey took no little pains to educate the four grandchildren and fit them for usefulness. Henry, or Harry as called, a clever man and squinteyed, was placed with a merchant named Tomlinson, at Schenectada, and afterwards went into business at Canajoharie; but did not make a successful merchant, and afterwards went to Watertown. His sister Elizabeth married Henry N. Bleecker, an early merchant at Fort Plain, and at his death she married John Cumming, Esq., a counsellor-at-law; who undertook to manage a large estate left his wife by her grandfather Frey; but knowing nothing about farming or lumbering, in which he engaged, the property consisting of some 500 acres of good land, in two or three years was scattered to the winds: and about this time Mrs. C. and an infant child died, leaving no issue.

Three octogenarians have said to the writer: "Betsey Frey (as Elizabeth was called) was the handsomest girl I ever saw." So that we may suppose she was indeed, in her day, the belle of the Mohawk valley. Mary Ann Frey married Adam I. Roof, a son of Col. John Roof, and died young, leaving two children, Henry and John. Catharine Frey married Thomas Bones, leaving four children, Susana, James, Thomas and Benjamin. Thus have we made the reader somewhat familiar with one of the earliest white families that ventured into the Mohawk valley, then the wilderness of Central New York.

*The old Ehle Dwelling.*—Less than two miles westward of the Frey family located that of Rev. Jacob H. Ehle, a Lutheran minister; but just when he came hither is not certain. His coming could not have been much behind that of the Germans—his countrymen—who settled Stone Arabia. He probably at first erected a wood dwelling. He died at the age of 92, but in what year I am not informed. His son Peter erected a stone dwelling in 1752, and the westerly end would seem to have been erected at a later date. He died in 1808, at the age

of 64. The father and son both died in the house erected by the latter. Peter No. 1 also had a son Peter, 2d, who was married at 20, and died in 1854, aged about 86, leaving the 3d Peter who died in 1864, aged nearly 72 years. The three Peters named were all born in the old stone house: the third successive Peter also left a son Peter, who now occupies a large two-story stone house built in 1826, on the turnpike, by his grandfather. The old stone dwelling, a one-story edifice in good condition, is still standing near the railroad; the wagon road, at an early day, passing near it. The brick and pitch pine boards used in its construction are believed to have been brought from Schenectada on the river.

*The Mabie Family and an old House.*—In the year 1684, Jan P. Mabie, a Hollander, came to Schenectada and purchased property there, as he also did at Rotterdam, six miles to the westward of that ancient town, on the south bank of the Mohawk. At the latter place in 1689, he erected a rough stone dwelling, which is still standing, and in which the descendants of the first settler still reside; the head of the present family, Simeon Mabie, being about 75 years old. His children and grandchildren residing with him, extend the family line down to the seventh generation. About the time of Mabie's settlement, tradition says a Bradt located midway between Mabie and Schenectada, but of this family we are not posted. It would be exceedingly interesting to trace the novel incidents transpiring at this old house, through the troublous times which followed its erection for many years. Tradition says that the Mabie family occupied it when, in 1690, Schenectada was destroyed. The enemy crossed the river on the ice to the town, and if aware of the exposure of this isolated family, they were in too jaded a condition to make a journey of a dozen miles to destroy it. Every family along the river, at an early day, kept its own water-craft; and it is said that this family, when an enemy was reported on the south side of the river, fled across to the north shore, and that families settling on the north shore after they located did the same thing; that is, fled to the south shore when an enemy approached them. This Mabie house is, no doubt, the oldest building in the Mohawk valley west of Schenectada, and possibly ante-dates any one in that town. The facts respecting this old landmark were furnished the

writer by Jas. J. Marlette, Esq. It would have been a cause for gratification to have shown those old dwellings.

*The Earliest German Emigration in Numbers.*—June 29, 1708, Joshua Kocherthal, a German Lutheran minister, made application through the British board of trade, to Her Majesty, Queen Anne, in behalf of himself and 14 other distressed Protestants, lately arrived from the Palatinate and Holstein, praying that they, with 41 Lutherans similarly situated, might be transported to the province of New York.\* The petition, which was granted, was made in consequence of a war between France and Germany, which disturbed their former homes. September 7th he asked for and obtained £20, a sum usually granted to clergymen emigrating to the colonies. Some Germans had previously emigrated from the same neighborhood; and the coming hither of small numbers, from time to time, led to the emigration of thousands at once.

Col. Robert Hunter received his commission and instructions from Her Majesty, Queen Anne, as Governor of the Colony of New York, October 19, 1709. Previous to his leaving the mother country, he was intrusted with some of the arrangements for the coming hither of 3,000 German Palatines, then seeking favors of the British crown. Several places in northern New England were suggested by Gov. Hunter in which to colonize them; † but the board of trade finally proposed to Her Majesty to plant them on lands along the Mohawk river and Schoharie creek in the colony of New York; one strong motive being the better security of the province against Canadian aggressions.‡ It was deemed advisable to locate them where they could best produce for the home government, from pine trees, naval stores such as turpentine and tar.§

Gov. Hunter, who is believed to have had supervision of the emigrant transports, reached New York, June 14, 1710, in the midst of their arrival. There were ten ships in all, freighted with emigrants, and the ship *Lyon*, of Leith, Capt. Stevens, commander, was the first to arrive, June 13, and her passengers were landed on Nutten Island—now Governor's Island. June 16, Gov. Hunter reported to the home government: "We still want three of the Palatine ships, and those arrived

\* *Brodhead Papers*, vol. 5, p. 53.  
‡ *Ibid.*, vol. 5, 117.

† *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 43.  
§ *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 11



are in a deplorable, sickly condition.\* Thomas Benson, a surgeon on board of the *Lyon*, reported 330 as having been sick at one time on the passage. He presented an account to Gov. Hunter for the sum of eight pounds for attendance and medicine given by him to the sick on her passage.† Writing to the board of trade from New York, July 24, 1710, Gov. Hunter says: "all the Palatine ships separated by the weather are arrived safe, except the *Herbert* frigate, where our tents and arms are. She was cast away on the east end of Long Island, on July 7; the men are safe but our goods much damaged. We still want the *Barclay* castle, which we left at Portsmouth. The poor people have been mighty sickly but recover apace. We have lost above 470 of our number."‡

*Instructions to Gov. Hunter.*—From some 30 pages of instructions to him from the English government on his coming to the colony, here is a copy of several I think noteworthy.§

Section 75. "We do further direct that no School-master be henceforth permitted to come from this kingdom and to keep school within our Province of New York, without the license of the Lord Bishop of London; and that no other person now there, or that shall come from other parts, be admitted to keep school without your license first obtained."

Section 76. "You are to take especial care that a table of marriages, established by the Canons of the Church of England, be hung up in every orthodox church and duly observed: and you are to endeavor to get a law past in the Assembly of that Province (if not already done) for the strict observation of the said table."

Section 77. "You are to take care that drunkenness and debauchery, swearing and blasphemy be discountenanced and punished: and for the further discountenance of vice, and encouragement of virtue and good living (that by such example the *infidels* may be invited and desire to partake of the Christian Religion), you are not to admit any person to public trusts and employments, whose ill fame and conversation may occasion scandal."

Section 79. "You are to give all due encouragement and in-

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\* Brod. Papers, vol. 5, p. 165. † Doc. His. of N. Y., vol. 3, p. 553. ‡ Ibid, vol. 3, p. 559

§ Brod. Papers, vol. 5, p. 138.

vation to merchants and others, who shall bring trade unto our said Province, or any way contribute to the advantage thereof, and in particular to the Royal African Company of England."

Section 80. "And as we are willing to recommend unto the said company that the said Province may have a constant and sufficient supply of Merchantable Negroes at moderate prices in money or commodities, so you are to take especial care that payment be duly made, and within a competent time according to their agreement."

Section 81. "And you are to take care that there be no trading from the said Province to any place in Africa, within the charter of the Royal African Company, otherwise than prescribed by an Act of Parliament past in 1697, entitled an act to settle the trade to Africa."

Section 82. "And we do further expressly command and require you to give unto us and to our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, an account every half year of what Negroes the said Province is supplied with, that is, what number by the African Company, and what by separate traders, and at what rates sold."

Section 102. Gov. Benjamin Fletcher, in 1698, had issued such extravagant land patents to Rev. Godfrey Delliuss and others, and especially in the Mohawk valley, that, on a complaint of the Mohawks of the Tienonderoga castle, whose lands were embraced in the grants, they were annulled, which finally opened the way for the coming of the Palatines into the Mohawk valley. In this section of the instructions to Gov. Hunter, it was specified that, in all future grants of land, there should be a reservation of a yearly quit rent of two shillings and six pence for every 100 acres; and three acres of every 50 were to be improved within three years, or the grant was to be forfeited. No future grant to any individual was to exceed 2,000 acres.

*The German Palatines, how Settled.*—It had been determined, before they left England, to settle them in the Mohawk and Schoharie valleys; and, to enable them to reimburse the government for the cost of their support and transportation, it was resolved to set them to manufacturing naval stores, especially tar. Soon after his arrival with them at New York, Gov. Hunter sent "a surveyor with skillful men to survey the land on

the Mohaks river, and particularly on the Skohare [creek]." The Indians in possession of the latter lands at first refused to allow them to be surveyed, but afterwards consented. The Governor reported to the Lords of Trade July 24, 1710: "These lands, I believe, will be no ways fit for the design in hand, being very good land which bears no pines and lyes very remote." It was a false report that the country had no pine timber, for the Schoharie and Mohawk valleys were then heavily timbered with pine; but it was mostly white pine, and not as suitable for tar making as would be either yellow or pitch pine, both of which in some quantity were also there. It was, however, considered remote even from Albany.

James De Prue, in a letter to Secretary Vernon, dated at New York, October 4, 1710, says: The Palatines began last week (the last week in September) to embark for their new homes on the Hudson; about which time Gov. Hunter wrote to the Lords of Trade that he had finally purchased 6,000 acres of land of Robert Livingston, on Hudson's river, for 400 pounds New York currency (\$1,000) upon which to plant the most of the Palatines. Some writers have hinted that the Governor was made an interested party to this purchase, but, if so, there is no evidence of it.

Gov. Hunter himself said in the communication alluded to, John Bridger, the engineer who was to superintend the labor of the men, chose the first and approved the selection of the last place on which to locate them. The first place was on the east side of the Hudson, in the southeast part of Livingston's manor. It was called East Camp, and was in the present town of Germantown. "Over against this purchase," across the river, said the Governor, "I have found a small tract of about a mile in length along the river, which by some chance has not been granted, where I have planted the remainder." This was in the northeast corner of Ulster county, in the present town of Saugerties; the place was called West Camp.\* A few of the Palatines remained in New York, the rest of them went to the camps. They were located, at first, in five dorfs or villages, three at the East and two at the West Camp, the latter near Sawyer's creek.† These villages were laid out by J. Bridger, as commissioner, each family having a lot of arable land.

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\* Brodhead Papers, vol. 5, p. 70. † Ibid., vol. 5, p. 180.

It may be well for the memory of Gov. Hunter, who we once thought had some interested motive in keeping those people on the Hudson against their wishes as will appear, to insert a few words from his engineer in their affairs, for we would not willingly see his character maligned. It was probably the Governor's anxiety to have their labor return to the government, some part of its great outlay in their behalf, that exhausted his patience and made him to appear arbitrary in detaining them on the Hudson, when they desired to go into Central New York, whither they left England to go, and which locality their hearts were set upon. Extract of a letter from Mr. Bridger, who is believed to have visited Schoharie, to the Lords of Trade, November 10, 1710. "The land proposed in the Maquas [Mohawks] country for the settlement of the Palatines is so far up in the land, and no *pitch pine* there, render it incapable for that service; in order, therefore, to lay this design on a better and more sure foundation, the Governor has purchased six thousand acres of land, that with some land of Her Majesty's fitting for the Palatines settlement, both on Hudson's river, opposite to each other, the centre of the pitch pine land much more commodious for the design than any other place in this government." It is possible that Bridger may have been in the interest of Livingston, a known speculator. "It cannot be any surprise to your lordships to know that it must be two years from the preparing of the trees before any tar can be made of them, having several times laid it before your lordships, etc." \*

In evidence of the fact that Gov. Hunter could not have been personally interested in the purchase of Livingston's lands for the Palatines, here is his own expressed opinion of that gentleman, in a letter to General Nicholson; on learning from Commissioner Cast, that Livingston had taken measures to prejudice Gen. N. against the Governor. The latter was about to embark from Boston for Europe, when Gov. Hunter, October 22, 1711, wrote to him from New York as follows: "Though all this be mysterious to me, I cannot forbear taking notice of this proceeding of Mr. Livingston's, as a most base and villainous practice, if there be any truth in it, and I hope

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\* Brodhead Papers, vol. 5, p. 175. and 196.

I have deserved that justice from you, that you will, as soon as may be, acquaint me with what Mr. Livingston has thought fit to represent. I know him to be ye<sup>e</sup> most selfish man alive, but I could never have believed that a man who lay under so many obligations to me as he does, would take it into his head to make any representations to my prejudice without acquainting me at least, neither can I be persuaded that after y<sup>e</sup> manner we have lived together and y<sup>e</sup> mutual confidence between us, you would engage yourself in anything of that nature upon y<sup>e</sup> suggestions of such a man. I have suffered here by giving him too much countenance, and if any man has any advantage by y<sup>e</sup> Palatines here it is he: I beg you'll clear that matter to me, because he has too considerable a trust to be continued to him after so base and barbarous a practice." \*

After the arrival of the Palatines at New York, some of their children were apprenticed to families that would receive them, over forty of whom were orphans, having lost their parents on the voyage, girls until fifteen and boys until seventeen years of age. The N. Y. Council authorized Dr. Staats and Mr. Van Dam to manage that affair, and seventy children from four to five years were thus apprenticed, about twenty finding homes in other States. The names of the children and who bound to, were all recorded.†

The palatines were planted in five dorfs or villages, three at Rooloffe Jansen's kill, on the east side, and two on the west side of Hudson's river, the latter near Sawyer's creek—then in the counties of Dutchess and Albany. By November 14. 1710, they had built themselves comfortable huts, and were clearing ground for spring work.‡ It was the intention of Queen Anne to naturalize those people on their arrival in the colony, free of reward, but for some unexplained reason, they declined the proffer.§ The number which settled in the five villages, was 2227. || The number remaining in New York, was 351. ¶

By the spring of 1711, it had cost the government since their arrival at New York, nearly a year before, for subsistence and settlement, £12,700 (\$31,750), and Gov. Hunter estimated their further support for two years, at £15,000 per annum, ere their

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\* Doc. His. vol. 3. p. 675.

† Brod. Papers vol. 5, p. 180.

‡ Ibid. p. 188.

• † Doc. His. vol. 3, p. 555, 566.

§ Ibid. vol. 5, p. 184.

¶ Doc. His. vol. 3, p. 562.

labors would be remunerative ; for they must still be fed and clothed with but little assistance from the soil. In the spring they had two more villages, Hunterstown on the east, and New Town, on the west side of the Hudson.\*

The winter for the Palatines at the camps was evidently one of monotony and discontent. They had been promised desirable lands for husbandry, and were now destined to learn the avocation of making tar and pitch, a labor distasteful to them. Consequently in the spring not a few were willing for a campaign, to face danger and fatigue in the army, to escape the duty imposed on them.

A record headed, "PALATINE VOLUNTEERS FOR THE EXPEDITION AGAINST CANADA, 1711," gives from Hunterstown the names of 25 men, John Peter Kneskern, captain ; from QUEENSBURY the names of 40 men, John Conrad Weiser, as captain ; from HAYSBURY, 19 men, and from ANNSBURY 52 names, Hartman Windecker, captain.† These names were given to the local settlements at East Camp, except Hunterstown, the fall before. Haysbury seems to have been the least important of the three. The two villages at the West Camp were called GEORGETOWN and ELIZABETHTOWN. Jean Cast, having supervision at the camps, writing to Gov. Hunter, March 27, 1711, says of these people : "They persuade themselves that Canada will be taken this campaign, and that upon the conquest of that country, as a security for their settlement, they will be established on the lands destined for them."‡ Anticipating such a result is what sent so many of those hardy men into the army. They preferred the smell of gunpowder to that of tar, and desired, of all things, to go and take their chance in the country of the Mohawks.

As appears by the report of the commissioners for the Palatines, dated July 5, 1711, there were then seven villages at the camps, with the following list masters attached to them, viz.:

*On the east side, in Dutchess County.*

Hunterstown, John Peter Kneskern.

Queensbury, John Conrad Weiser.

Annsbury, Hartman Windecker.

Haysbury, John Christopher Tucks.

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\* Doc. Hls., vol. 3, p. 672.

† Doc. Hls., vol. 3, pp. 571, 674.

‡ Brodhead Papers, vol. 5, p. 214

*On the west side, in the County of Albany.*

Elizabethtown, John Christopher Gerlach.

Georgetown, Jacob Manck.

Newtown, Philip Peter Grauberger.\*

I have shown above that over 130 of the Palatines went from the villages on the east side of the Hudson into the army in the summer of 1711. Gov. Hunter, writing to the Lords of Trade, January 1, 1712, says he had 300 Palatines employed in the land forces under Col. Nicholson;† but a part of them were, no doubt, from West Camp, and others may have been of the party which remained in New York. The troops under Col. Nicholsby, about 4,000 strong, left Albany August 28 for Canada.‡

The following receipt will not only show that the education of the children was to be cared for, but also who was a spiritual adviser that winter at East Camp :

“PALATINE SCHOOL-HOUSE : I acknowledge to have received of Robert Livingston, 40 boards for y<sup>e</sup> school-house in Palatyn town called Queensbury, and desire s<sup>d</sup> Livingston to send for y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> use 30 boards now to compleat y<sup>e</sup> school-house.

“JOH. FR. HÆYER, *Min.*§

“Dated this 18 January, 1711.”

Here is a subsistence bill which gives the relative numbers of Palatines at the seven villages at its date :

“MANOR LIVINGSTON, 24 *June*, 1711.

“Account of the charge of subsisting the Palatines from 26 March to this day, both inclusive, in their several settlements on the east and west sides of Hudson’s river, according to the number in each family, and the days they have been respectively subsisted at 6d pr. diem one with another :

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\* Dec. His., vol. 3, p. 672. † Broad. Papers, vol. 5, 301. ‡ Holmes’ Annals, vol. 2, p. 79.

§ Doc. His. vol. 3, p. 668.

|                                  | Families. | Persons. | £         | s. | p. |
|----------------------------------|-----------|----------|-----------|----|----|
| Hunter's Town.....               | 105       | 352      | 807       | 1  | 0  |
| Queensbury.....                  | 102       | 365      | 798       | 15 | 0  |
| Annsbury.....                    | 76        | 277      | 594       | 9  | 6  |
| Haysbury.....                    | 59        | 241      | 532       | 8  | 6  |
| Elizabeth Town.....              | 42        | 146      | 327       | 9  | 0  |
| George Town.....                 | 40        | 128      | 265       | 12 | 0  |
| New Town.....                    | 103       | 365      | 511       | 12 | 0  |
| Came 28th April & beginning May, | 527       | 1874     | 3837      | 7  | 0½ |
|                                  |           |          | £9,601.25 |    |    |

As I have intimated, the spring found the Palatines very discontented and clamoring for the land promised them while in Europe. Mr. Cast, one of the commissioners over them, writing to Gov. Hunter, March 27, says: "I asked Mr. Kocherthall [Rev. Joshua and one of their ministers who died in Ulster county in 1719], in what way his people behaved? He tells me all are at work, and busy, but manifestly with repugnance, and merely temporarily—that the tract intended for them is in their minds a land of Canaan—that they agree it is a very dangerous place to settle at present, and for this reason it is that they are willing to have patience here for a couple of years. But they will not listen to tar-making."\*

Gov. Hunter made a contract November 13, 1710, with Robert Livingston, to furnish the Palatines on both sides of the Hudson, with bread and beer for the ensuing six months: the quantity of bread for each person each day was to equal one-third of a loaf of bread of such sort and size as was sold in New York, at four pence half penny (six and one-quarter cents) and of equal weight and fineness, with one quart of beer such as is usually called *Ship's beer*, of the price three pounds for each tun; in quantity 252 gallons. Livingston had a mill and brew-house near his dwelling where the articles were to be delivered to the commissioners. He was to be paid every two months one-half in silver and the other half in wares and merchandise, five-sixth from Europe, and one-sixth from the West Indies.†

Prior to the arrival of the Palatines, Robert Livingston had come to be looked upon in the mother country as a speculator, or as we would now say—a sharper; and Lord Clarendon in

\* Doc. His. vol. 3, p. 658.

†Ibid, p. 653.



a letter to Lord Dartmouth, dated March 8, 1711, said: "I think it is unhappy that Col. Hunter at his first arrival in his government fell into so ill hands, for this Livingston has been known many years in that province for a very ill man; he formerly victualled the forces at Albany, in which he was guilty of most notorious frauds by which he greatly improved his estate: he has a mill and brew-house upon his land, and if he can get the victualing of those Palatines who are so conveniently posted for his purpose, he will make a very good addition to his estate; and I am persuaded the hopes he has of such a subsistence, to be allowed by Her Majesty, were the chief if not the only inducements that prevailed with him, to propose to Col. Hunter, to settle them upon his land; which is not the best place for pine trees: the borders of Hudson's river above Albany, and the Mohacks river, Schenectada, are well known to be best places for pines of all sorts, both for numbers and largeness of trees." He suggested that the bills drawn by Gov. Hunter for one quarter's subsistence, for adults at 6d, and children at 4d per day, was computed for the full number of those who landed in New York in June, 1710, whereas it was certain that many of them had since died. He closed by expressing a belief that if the subsistence bill proposed was allowed: "Livingston and some others will get estates, and the Palatines will not be the richer." \*

In justice to the character of Mr. Livingston, I here state what Messrs. Perry, Keill and De Prue, under date of December 11, 1711, in answer to certain questions from the English Lords of Trade, said of him: "Mr. Livingston was always known to be a careful, industrious and diligent man, who by these, more than any other means, hath got a considerable estate. It is true he was accused by a faction in that country, of having defrauded the government of great sums when he subsisted the forces at Albany, but it is as true that he hath honorably cleared himself; having fairly passed his accounts before a committee of council, upon which he obtained an act of Assembly for releasing him and his estate that was under a sequestration, until he had so past his accounts; and the reason which induced the Governor to deal with him was not so much

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\* Doc. His. vol. 3, p. 656.

his choice as advantage, because the said Livingston made most reasonable and fair offers, and because he was capable of making the largest advances and had most conveniences for that purpose, as brew-house and bake-house." They further stated that in the matter the Governor acted with all imaginable care, binding him to take back any bread or beer not satisfactory to the Palatines.\*

As a further evidence that speculators determined to make all they could out of the coming and support of those poor immigrants, Mr. Cast reported to Gov. Hunter, May 1, 1711, that he had received twenty barrels pork, and had never seen salted meat so poor or packed with so much salt, about one-eighth of the weight being salt. He had received 117 barrels flour; and his suspicions led him to make a bet with Robert Livingston, Jr., that one of those barrels tared seventeen, would weigh twenty pounds; and when the barrel was well cleaned it weighed twenty-one pounds. Of twenty barrels, eighteen were tared sixteen, one seventeen and one nineteen pounds each; not one of which he was willing to wager, would weigh less than 20 pounds.† Thus were cormorant speculators defrauding the immigrants of their bread, and selling the government about two barrels of wood in every 100 barrels of flour. These speculations swelled the general expenses, and increased the prejudices of the people not only in the colony, but also in the mother country against the emigration.

About the middle of May the discontent had become so great among those unlettered but well meaning people, who were not only displeased with the occupation assigned them but were becoming distrustful of all around them, that they became not only clamorous but mutinous to go to their *land of promise*, as the valley of Schoharie seemed to them. It is not improbable that German Indian traders, who had been to Schoharie, had conversed with some of those people, either at the camps or at New York, and had increased their anxiety to go thither. Indeed, Gov. Hunter writing to the board of trade May 7, 1711, says: "I have met with great opposition from many of the ill-disposed inhabitants, who daily insinuated [to those people] that there were better lands for them on the *frontiers*,

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\* Brodhead Papers, vol. 5, p. 291.

† Doc. History, vol. 3, p. 659.

and that they were ill used in being planted there [at the camps]. "He remained with them several days to convince them, that to go on with their labors would be the best thing they could do ; \* and they agreed to go to work at the pine trees. But a week later they were in a mutinous condition, as their overseers informed the Governor. They had now boldly resolved they would neither work at tar making, or remain on that land, but would go to Schoharie, upon the lands promised them by the Queen. Bringing a detachment of sixty men from Albany on the ground the Governor soon dispersed the rioters.

The next day they assumed a menacing attitude, and gave the Gov. to understand that they would sooner lose their lives than remain there. While a conversation was going on with the deputies, word came that a body of them were in arms across the kill ; and having received a reinforcement of seventy men the Gov. marched the troops across the stream, and the insurgents scattered for their homes. He proceeded to the first village and ordered a surrender of their fire arms, which was done. Next morning he ordered the men of all the other six villages to bring in their arms, which order they dared not disobey ; and thus was the colony disarmed and order restored, by the prudence and pluck of the Gov. without bloodshed. The majority who had been controlled in their rebellious action by a few discontented spirits, now regretted their hasty action, asked the Governor's pardon, promised their good behavior in the future, expressed their willingness to go to work, and did immediately after. †

Secretary Geo. Clark, writing to the Lords of Trade, whom he had previously informed of the sorry condition of things at the camps, June 7, says : "The Palatines are now demonstrating their sincere repentance of their past transgressions, and for several days past are at work on the trees, of which by computation they prepare 15,000 a day. The children are all likewise busy in gathering up knots, which will be burnt this year, and I doubt not considerable tar made from them." He added : "the people work with all the cheerfulness imaginable." It was as he wrote, a great satisfaction to his Excellency,

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\* Doc. His. vol. 3, p. 661.

† Brob. Papers, vol. 5, p. 238.

to see the great enterprise now promising success.\* Early in July, the coopers were set at work making barrels for the tar. There were sixteen of this trade among them, and thirty-six men were to be detached each week to cut down, saw and split timber for the barrels. A bridge was also built to facilitate the conveyance of tar to the river for shipment. By the middle of September nearly an hundred thousand trees were reported ready for the undertaking.

June 12, Gov. Hunter appointed a court or commission, consisting of Robert Livingston, Richard Sacket, John Cast, Godfrey Wulfin, Andrew Bagge and Herman Schuneman, Esquires; any three of whom, provided one of the first two mentioned were of the number, were competent to act in the settlement of all matters of difference among these people, except in life or mutilation. Capt. Har. Holland, of the troops, also acted on the commission.†

The preserved records of the times are not sufficient to give us a very satisfactory account of the doings at the camps in 1712. About the first of May of that year, the commissioners of the Palatines applied to Col. Ingoldsby, of the Fort at Albany, for a detachment of troops, as they found it difficult to keep them in subjection, and 30 men were sent thither. July 30, Gov. Hunter wrote Robert Livingston that he found it necessary to make the expense of the Palatines as little as possible, and thought some retrenchment might be made in the article of beer, which, we suppose, was used instead of tea or coffee. He thought that if beer was furnished the men who worked, and not for their families, a saving could be made. He also suggests there must be many widows and orphans among them, who might be so disposed of as to be no longer a burthen.‡

Gov. Hunter, with all his energy and seeming good intentions, found his efforts to make the coming of the Palatines a paying enterprise for the mother country, blocked and dwarfed in every direction. Many in England were distrustful of the project, while the Legislature of the colony looked with jealousy and displeasure upon many of his acts and those of the council. This happening, too, at a time when the colonies were

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\* *Brod. Papers*, vol. 5, p. 250.

† *Doc. His.*, vol. 3, p. 609.

‡ *Ibid*, vol. 3, pp. 682, 683.

prosecuting a war with Canada, made the matter still more onerous. Therefore we are not surprised to find him, September 6, 1712, writing to Commissioner Cast: "I have, at length, exhausted all the money and credit I was master of for the support of the Palatines, and have, thereby, I assure you, embarrassed myself with difficulties which I know not how to surmount if my bills of exchange be not paid. If, however, I were able to go on, that would not discourage me, having such ample order from Her Majesty to subsist them, that I doubt not her goodness to reimburse me. Therefore, I have no desire that the people quit their establishments, now the work has arrived at such a point of perfection. To prevent their perishing and the total abandonment of the work, I have devised this expedient which you will communicate to them, and then execute."

This project was to call the people together, make known to them the condition of things, and request them to seek employment among the farmers of New York and New Jersey (of both of which Provinces he was then Governor), and find support for themselves and families, whence they could be recalled by proclamation. Each family had 40 acres of land at the camps—not much of it was yet cleared, however,—and those who could do so were to support themselves there. They were not to go out of the provinces named, but were to take a ticket of leave from the commissioners to depart for a designated place, and any daring to leave without such ticket, was made liable to be recalled and punished. The coopers he wished to retain, and for them he would still provide support. All of them he hoped to recall in the spring, if his bills of exchange were honored. Although this resort caused him great uneasiness, yet he hoped for the best, and said he had the testimony of a good conscience for having done all that depended on him for the prosecution of their destined work.\* A month later he again wrote that commissioner, saying he could not tell what measures to adopt regarding the Palatines. He, however, wished as many of the people kept at the camps as possible, and such as stayed there he said he would distinguish in his future land grants. He desired to have distributed, as soon

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\* Doc. Hls., vol. 3, p. 683,

as possible, whatever Mr. Cast had, among the sick and indigent, and closed by certifying that gentleman's honesty, who, he said, would find he had not been at work for an ingrate.\*

That most of the Palatines were, in the fall of 1712, virtually left to shirk for themselves, here is the reason briefly mentioned in a letter from Gov. Hunter to the Lord Treasurer of England, dated 31 October: "My Lord, were I not persuaded that the complaints of the distressed are only grievous to your Lordship when you have no redress in your power, I would not, at this time, presume to trouble you with mine, consisting of these three heads. The bills of the expedition to Canada not answered, all the bills for the subsistence of the Palatine's unpaid, and an expensive government without a support."† And yet, December 16, writing to the Lords of Trade, he says: "The Palatines continue upon the grounds where I have planted them, so that we have them at hand when Her Majesty shall think to re-assume the design, and require the performance of their contract."‡ The Governor was so extremely anxious to have the labor of the Palatines reimburse the crown for their accrued expenses, that he seemed almost willing to see them suffering rather than be mortified by the failure of a favorite project, and this more especially when he could not control their action.

*The Germans Settle Schoharie.*—When writing the *History of Schoharie County, etc.*, nearly forty years ago, I concluded from the best authority then attainable, that her pioneer settlers went to Schoharie in 1711, but the publication of foreign records copied by Mr. Brodhead, enable me to show with certainty not only the arrival in the country of the Palatines, but of the time of their exodus from the camps on the Hudson, to Schoharie.§

Some may think I am taking too much pains to show the coming of these people and the vicissitudes attending them for several years: my reason for doing it at so much labor is, because their descendants became the nucleus in their frontier homes, of a hardy race of men who, in the Revolution, were the

\* Ibid, p. 685.

† Brod. Papers, vol. 5, 333.

‡ Ibid, p. 357.

§ Palatine was a term formerly given to a prince in some part of Germany, who presided over a territory called a Palatinate. People emigrating hither from such a district were called Palatines.

patriotic element which vindicated its rights against arbitrary laws ; bearing upon the persons and homes of those with whom they sympathized. More than this, standing by their principles and their integrity upon the frontiers of civilization, they largely made up that army of patriotic yeomen, which under the gallant Herkimer, met and drove back the enemy at Oriskany, and possibly gave an impulse to the war at that period, which resulted in victory at Saratoga, and final triumph at Yorktown.

It had been estimated that, after the year 1712, the Palatines would be able to subsist on the products of their lands ; and that after 1713 one man's labor should annually produce 60 barrels of tar, and that 500 men would make annually 30,000 barrels, worth one dollar a barrel. It was also anticipated that these people should raise hemp as a naval store, to be dressed in the winter, when tar making could not be done ; but those air-castles, we have seen, were about to become prophetic visions. As appears by a London document—evidently an appeal to the British crown by the Schoharie settlers—which was dated in 1720, and indorsed "Grievances of the Palatines in New York, received August 20, 1722,"\* only about 200 barrels of tar and pitch had been made prior to the exodus of a part of those people to Schoharie. This paper, which gives the time of their leaving the camp after they were notified to shirk for themselves, says : "This was at the latter end of the year [1712] and winter just at hand, which is very severe, there being no provision to be had, and the people bare of clothes, which occasioned a terrible consternation amongst them—and particularly from the women and children the most pitiful and dolorous cries and lamentations that have, perhaps, ever been heard from any persons under the most wretched and miserable circumstances—so that they were at last, much against their wills, put under the hard necessity of seeking relief from the Indians, upon which some of their chiefs [chief men] were suddenly dispatched away to the Indians [of Schoharie] by whom they were kindly received, and to whom they opened their miserable condition ; and that being wholly cast off by the said Governor, and left destitute of the means of living elsewhere, they intreated them to

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\* Doc. His., vol. 3, p. 707.

give 'em permission to settle on the tract of land called Schorie, which they immediately granted, saying they had formally given that said land to Queen Anne for them to possess, and that nobody else should hinder them of it, and they would assist them as far as they were able; whereupon the chiefs [we suppose them German list men] returned to the people, acquainting them of the Indians favorable disposition.

"This put the people in some heart, and finding it absolutely necessary to embrace that opportunity so providentially bestowed on them, all hands fell to work, and in two weeks time cleared a way through the woods 15 miles long, with the utmost toil and labor, though almost starved and without bread; which, being effected, 50 families were immediately sent to Schorie. When being arrived and almost settled, they there received orders from the Governor not to go upon that land, and he who did so should be declared a rebel." Judge Brown's account said that these people went over the Helleburg to Schoharie; but Gov. Hunter, writing to the Lords of Trade, October 31, 1712, after saying that his substance and credit were exhausted, and he had desired they might find subsistence elsewhere for the winter, says: "Some hundreds of them took a resolution of possessing the lands of Scoharee, and are accordingly marched thither, *having been busy in cutting a road from Schenectady to that place*; and have purchased or procured a quantity of Indian corn toward their winter subsistence; it being impossible for me to prevent this, I have been the easier under it upon these considerations, that, by these means, the body of that people is kept together within the province, that when it shall please Her Majesty to resume the design of prosecuting that work [tar making], that body at Scoharee may be employed in working in the vast pine woods near to Albany, which they must be obliged to do, having no manner of pretense to y<sup>e</sup> possession of any lands but by performing their part of the contract relating to that manufacture; and that in that situation they serve in some measure as a frontier to, or, at least, an increase to, the strength of Albany and Schenectaday, etc." He also thus alluded to the state of preparation for work at the camps: trees had received their last fitting, staves were prepared for the barrels, magazines were almost finished, road between the latter and the woods almost completed, etc.



"This message of the Governor," continues the account, "sounded like thunder in their ears, and surprised them beyond expression, but having seriously weighed matters amongst themselves, and finding no manner of likelihood of subsisting elsewhere, but a certainty of perishing with hunger, cold, etc., if they returned, they found themselves under the fatal necessity of hazarding the Governor's resentments, that being to all more eligible than starving.

"In the same year in March [1713 is meant], did the remainder of the people (though treated by the Governor as Pharaoh treated the Israelites) proceed on their journey, and by God's assistance traveled in a fortnight with sledges [probably hand-sleds] through the snow which there covered the ground above three feet deep [suffering], cold and hunger, and joined their friends and countrymen in the promised land of *Schorie*." The whole distance from the camps to Schoharie by Schenectada was about 90 miles. They seem to have made slow progress, but they naturally made halts at Albany and Schenectada.

A retrospect seems to be here needed. In writing the History of Schoharie County nearly 40 years ago, I had before me Judge Brown's pamphlet History of Schoharie, published in 1823; and, although some of it is traditionary, much of it came under his own observation, or was communicated to him by interested parties. If brief and unskillfully arranged, it is, nevertheless, a valuable contribution for the historian, who cannot but wish that his example of writing down what he did know, had been imitated by others in the border settlements of New York. An Indian piloted the delegation of Palatines from the camps over the Helleberg\* from Albany, said Brown, to find *the land of promise*, in 1712; and years ago I had supposed this visit to have been in the spring instead of fall. It must have been in a mellow September sunlight, when the messengers gained from a commanding eminence a view which took in the estuary of Foxescreek and the Schoharie, from whence their

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\* On arriving upon this mountain, a spur of the Catskills, those messengers halted repeatedly to enjoy the rich prospect thus afforded. Helle signifies light or clear, and burg hill or mountain. Hence, the appropriate name they gave it—Helleburg, Prospect Hill, or Sightly Mountain. Helderburg, the Low Dutch of the name—a word less euphonious—has inappropriately been given this mountain, an orthography I have tried to correct.

eyes rested upon the most delightful scene they had ever beheld. The Schoharie flats were spread out before them like a neglected garden, while opposite the mouth of Foxescreek their view was obstructed by a romantic mountain. I was unable to learn its Indian name. The Germans called it the clipper-berg, meaning the rocky hill. I have taken the liberty to call it Ka-righ-on-don-tee, the name of a chieftain, after whom Brown called the Schoharie tribe. On its summit is a cultivated farm, an excursion to which in the summer rewards the rambler with a charming prospect. To the right hand the deputation—standing, as I imagine they stood, on the summit of the hill, near where it descends into the two valleys on the north side of Foxescreek—they were enabled to catch a view of the great bend in the Schoharie, where it takes a more easterly course immediately after receiving Cobelskill.

The hill from which I suppose the pilgrim messengers to have viewed a portion of the “promised land,” the Indians called Oxt-don-tee. They only remained long enough in the valley to confer with its native warriors, who looked with favor on their aspirations, and promised them a welcome; when they hastened back to their anxious brethren. Would we could serve the reader with a copy of the report made by these delegates; that it was telling is evident from the alacrity with which they set about opening a road from Schenectada, a nearer approach than by Albany, after which in due time, fifty families found their way thither. They had not a vehicle of any kind, and with their scant wardrobes, a few agricultural and mechanical implements and meagre larder, they set forward for their destined home. The intervale lands which the deputies had visited, were at that time, to a great extent cleared or timberless.

How many more families joined the settlers in the spring exodus of 1713 from the Hudson, I find nowhere stated. I estimated the Schoharie Palatines in 1845, at between five and seven hundred; but that estimate was probably too low. Rations were drawn at the camps in the spring of 1712, for about 1850, old and young; and without knowing how many of that number remained and became permanent settlers there; I have supposed that full one half or numbers approximating at least 1000, more or less, went to Schoharie; for as the reader will learn, a large

delegation afterward went from thence to Pennsylvania ; while not a few families removed to the Mohawk valley—and yet the settlement remained a large and permanent one.

Young readers can hardly imagine what trials, discomforts and even squalid misery were at an early period, often spread in the immigrant's pathway. Tradition preserved but few incidents in the journey of the Palatines to New York. On leaving England they embarked from Portsmouth, and while one of the ships was lying at anchor some distance from the shore filled with emigrants, six of them landed in a boat to make some necessary purchases. Only one name of the number is yet remembered, and that was Becker, whose relatives afterwards settled on Foxescreek, Schoharie. When ready they put off to regain the ship, but having a gale of wind to encounter, the boat capsized and the crew were all buried in the raging billows. This unhappy commencement filled their friends with fearful forebodings for the voyage, which was protracted by adverse winds, until all were put upon short allowance and the horrors of starvation menaced them. Many passengers died on the voyage in that ship, and one old lady who had been ill of consumption, died and was consigned to a watery grave at the Narrows near New York ; but if numbers died on the voyage, the places of several were supplied by that ancient rule of arithmetic, which subtracts one from one and leaves two—an important rule in settling all new countries.

There appears to be a discrepancy in the narratives as to whether the Palatines went to Schoharie from Albany, or from Schenectada ; which seems only reconcilable by supposing the party to have divided and gone by both routes. Brown believed that not only the prospecting messengers went over the mountain from Albany, but he takes thither the multitude ; and his tradition I found too well corroborated forty years ago by people of his generation to be ignored now—besides, local names on the way were at that period indelibly fastened upon that route. Hence I conclude that if the fifteen mile road was opened as Gov. Hunter stated from Schenectada, the party must have divided, the weaker going by the latter route as the easiest, being about the same distance from the camps.

To my fair Schoharie readers who are to that manor born in lineage let me say, that your grandmas, clad in linsey-woolsey

that never trailed, made this journey of thirty odd miles via Albany, in October, 1712, over an intricate Indian foot-path, loaded down with heirs, provisions or unmentionables. You are ready to ask why their husbands did not bear those burdens? Having neither vehicle or a horse, they too, were all heavily laden, as were all the boys and girls according to their strength. They left Albany on Thursday amidst the sympathy of that ancient stadt, because they were going so far into the wilderness, to reside among Indians and wild beasts. Their progress was necessarily very slow, and nights as they had to sleep in the open air, they made fires to keep off the wolves so numerous in their pathway.

Nothing remarkable happened on the first two day's journey, but on Saturday, having reached Pucker-street, as Brown has it, believed to be the present site of Knoxville, which was about the summit level of the journey, a halt and gathering of the people took place; when from some unknown cause a contest ensued in which numbers were engaged; from which circumstance it became known as Fegt-burg, or Fighting-hill. The cause of this quarrel is unknown, no one was seriously harmed, the insurgents were subdued, order restored and the line of march again resumed.

On Sunday, a day of seven set apart in the civilized world for cleansing and decorating the outward person, the party, having arrived at a brook, which descends from the hills on the north side of Foxescreek and runs into the latter, almost within sight of the Schoharie valley—halted and resolved on a general personal cleansing. Says Brown in narrating this event: "As they were a washing, the lice were a swimming down the brook: whence the brook is called Licekill until this very day." The neatness of many of their descendants has become proverbial. There can be little doubt but the washing adventure may prove a mirror to many parties of immigrants who have been long journeying or living in crowded and filthy huts. It is not difficult to account for the fact, that the most negligent of the number should have been unclean. They were poor—had not changes of apparel, and of course the clothing they wore, without great pains-taking to keep it clean, must have become dirty: add to this the fact that they had either been journeying for a long time, or were dwellers in rude huts, poorly

elad and without any conveniences whatever for private ablution, and the story becomes a plausible one. Poor people although usually cleanly, often find it difficult to exhibit evidence of their neatness while traveling.

On the sabbath night after their purification, the pilgrims bivouacked in the Schoharie valley, and no doubt offered devout thanks to Him who in his care had brought them hither. The lands upon which they now entered they supposed were yet in fee of the British crown. I presume that in disposing of those lands for the occupancy of the Palatines, the Indians reserved to themselves the right to hunt and fish thereon, and probably to raise corn, though their tillage was limited. In the English record of *grievances* already alluded to, appears the following sentence: "The number of Germans who came hither to search for bread for themselves, their wives and children, were more than the land already granted them by the Indians could supply with settlements, and some of the people of Albany endeavoring to purchase the land round'em from the Indians on purpose to close them up, and deprive them of any range for their cattle; they were obliged to solicit all the Indian kings [chiefs] there adjoining for more land, which they willingly granted 'em and sold 'em the rest of the land at *Schorie*, being woods, rocks and pasturage for three hundred pieces of eight." Meaning eight shillings, or in amount \$300.

This was evidently written several years after the Palatines went upon it, but tradition has said that the tract of land upon which their settlements were made, embraced some 20,000 acres. Brown said the tract commenced at the Little Schoharie kill in Middleburgh, at the high water mark of the Schoharie river, at an oak stump burned hollow—which stump is said to have served the Mohegan and Stockbridge Indians residing near it the purposes of a corn mill—and run down the river northward, taking in the flats and some upland on both sides of it nearly ten miles. By the side of this stump was erected a large pile of stones, which was standing after the year 1800. Upon this stump was cut the figures of a turtle and a snake, the ensign of the Karighondontee tribe, the Indian seal or evidence of the conveyance. The Germans settled along the east side of the

Schoharie, supposed mostly in the year 1713, in seven dorfs\*—villages which took the names of as many principal men, four of whom are known to have been directors or list men, as denominated at the camps, viz.: John Peter Kneiskern, John Conrad Weiser, Hartman Windecker and John Christopher Garlock. Weiser's dorf occupied a portion of the present village of Middleburgh, and contained forty dwellings; small rude huts constructed of logs and earth, and covered with bark, grass, etc. They were built on both sides of a street which ran nearly east and west.

Hartman's dorf—of similar architecture, as at first were all the villages—was the next one down the valley, and about two miles north of Weiser's dorf. This was the only one of the settlements called after the Christian name of its founder; his name having been Hartman Windecker; why this feature in the programme is unknown. This *flecken*, the largest village of the seven, is said to have contained 65 dwellings. The Germans (as is the custom of many of their descendants to this day) built their ovens detached from their dwellings, and 13 constructed of stone are said to have answered all the baking purposes of the town. Like the former, this village was built on one long street; and before the construction of a plank road between Schoharie and Middleburgh, or, say about 1850, its probable position could be defined. At that period, about two miles from the latter village, upon a ridge of table land gently declining westward, the traveler came to two sharp angles in the road about 40 rods apart, in which distance the road ran nearly east and west. The centre of this letter Z in the road is believed to have been the identical site of the main street running through Hartman's dorf; and it is further conjectured that the commissioners of highways, when the valley road was laid, had too much respect for the burghers of that ancient dorf to straighten it; but in later times the Yankees, getting their noses in here pretty thickly, not piously regarding an old landmark which required a needless crook and some rods of extra travel in the road, took the liberty to squelch out the main street of this old dorf, and thus not only the dwellings and the ovens but the very street which ran between them has become

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\* *Dorf* means a compact farmers' town or small village; *flecken* a larger village than a dorf, and *stadt*, an 'incorporated city.—*Brown*.

obliterated for ever. *Sic transit gloria mundi!* or, at least, so much of it as ever appertained to Hartman's dorf.

The next village, about three miles north of the last, and in the vicinity of the court-house, was Brunnen dorf—Spring hamlet. Near the old Lutheran parsonage, which is still standing, issues from the rocks a large living spring, which at one time supplied many villagers with good water. A further notice of this place may be found in another part of this work. The most influential man among the settlers here, was Johannes-John Lawyer, Jun., the first tradesman in the valley. Descendants of the Lawyers, Shafers, and possibly Rickards—who were among the first settlers—still reside near the location of their ancestors. Smith's dorf, so called after Johannes George Schmidt—Smith, as now written—was a mile north of Brunnen dorf, and a little distance below the Schoharie railroad station. A few friends settled around him, for whom he had rendered service in some capacity at the camps. Smith had the best house in the dorf, and that was thatched with straw: his, too, was the smallest settlement of the seven. It is doubtful, at this writing, whether any of Smith's clan are still represented within his beat. Fox's dorf was less than a mile to the northward of Smith's, and was called after William Fox, its leading man, who settled near Foxscreek, which took on his name. The Snyders, Beckers, Zimmers, Balls and Weidman's, now or recently residing near this stream, claim their pedigree from the first settlers here.

Gerlach's, or Garlock's dorf, was the next in succession north, nearly two miles further down, and between the present residence of the late Jacob Vrooman and the creek. The Dietzes, Manns and Sternberghs,\* now in the neighborhood, are descended from the primitive settlers. The seventh, and most northern, was Kneiskern's dorf, named after John Peter Kneiskern. He resided some two miles from Garlock, and nearly opposite the mouth of the Cobelskill. The Kneiskerns, Stubrachs, Endersees, Sidneys, Berghs and Houcks, now or recently residing thereabouts, claim their descent from the primitive settlers. If there is a Kneiskern still there, then that and Bruennendorf are the

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\* Proper names of this kind I shall write *bergh*, while in names of places I shall write it *burg*, except in Middleburgh; the citizens of which place so write it, to keep their mail matter from going to Middlebury, Vt., where it often does if the State is not on the address.

only ones having representatives of their founders or directors. Among the first settlers at these seven rustic hamlets, were some whose descendants still reside, or did, not many years ago in the county—their first location, in but a few instances, being now traceable. It is presumed a majority of them may have located at the two most southern and important villages. The Keyzers, Boucks, Richtmyers, Warners, Weavers, Zimmers, Mattices, Zehs, Bellingers, Borsts, Schoolcrafts, Cryslers, Frances, Casselmans, Newkirks, Earharts, Settles and Merckleys were, doubtless, among the first settlers.

*Further Condition of the Schoharie Palatines.*—Having located the pioneers of Schoharie, let us see how they were to live. More or less land was found at each settlement cleared, and with little pains, it was fitted for cultivation. It has been already shown that their effects were conveyed in such a manner, that they could have possessed very little of this world's gear. Their all, no doubt, consisted in a few rude tools, a scanty supply of provisions, a meagre wardrobe, and a small number of rusty fire arms : they had to manufacture their own furniture, if an apology for it, merited the name. Bedsteads, they for some time dispensed with. From logs they cut blocks, which answered the purpose of chairs and tables ; sideboards, sofas, piano fortes, ottomans, carpets, etc., were to them neither objects of family pride, convenience or envy. They fostered the friendship of their Indian neighbors, from whom they received corn and beans, which the latter kindly showed them how to cultivate. Says Brown, within one week after their arrival, four children were born ; a fact very worthy of record in the annals of this people. Their names were Catharine Mattice, Elizabeth Lawyer, Wilhelmus Bouck and Johannes Earhart. In preparing ground for planting, which was done in the absence of plows, by broad hoes, they found many ground nuts, which they made use of for food, the first season. They were not furnished with provisions by the Queen's agent, after they left the camps, but had to live on their own resources, and what the country afforded.

The want of grist mills, for several years, they found to be a source of great inconvenience. The stump heretofore mentioned, which served as the southern bound of the first Indian purchase, not only answered the Indians, but the early Germans,



the purpose of a corn mill. By the side of this hollow stump, an upright shaft and cross-bar were raised, from which was suspended a heavy wood, or stone pestle, working on the principle of a pump. Their corn for several years, they hulled with lye, or pounded preparatory to eating it.

Brown says, the first wheat was sown in Schoharie in the fall of 1713, by Lambert Sternbergh, of Garlock's dorf, which is no doubt correct. The arrival of the first colonists in October, 1712, if not too late to put in wheat successfully, left them no opportunity to do it, as necessity required all their time in the erection of rude dwellings, to shelter them from the approaching winter.

As Schenectada was nearer the Schoharie settlements than Albany, for such necessities as they required the first few years, they visited the former place the most frequently. Those who possessed the means, bought wheat there at two shillings a spint (a peck), or six shillings a skipple (three pecks), had it ground and returned home with it on their backs, by a lonely Indian foot-path, through the forest. It was thus Sternbergh carried the first skipple of wheat ever taken to Schoharie in the berry. He resided near where Henry Sternbergh, a descendant of his, did in 1845. On the west side of the creek, opposite Garlock's dorf, had been an Indian castle, which was abandoned about the time the Germans arrived; the occupants having removed to Wilder Hook. On the ground within the dilapidated inclosure, the wheat was sowed, or, rather hoed in (as they then had no plows or horses), over more than an acre of ground; it was planted within this yard, because it was a warm, rich piece of ground with little grass on it, and, being inclosed, would remove the danger of having the crop destroyed in the fall or spring, by deer, which were numerous on the surrounding hills. This wheat, which rooted remarkably well in the fall, stood so thin that it was hoed in the spring like a patch of corn; and well was the husbandman rewarded for his labor. When ripe, it was gathered with great care; not a head was lost, and, when threshed, the one yielded *eighty-three* skipples. In later days, when the weevil has been so destructive, this statement would seem incredible, were not all the circumstances known. Many procured seed from Sternbergh, and it was not long before the settlers raised wheat enough for their own consumption.

For several years they had most of their grain floured at Schenectada. They usually went there in parties of fifteen or twenty at a time, to be better able to defend themselves against wild beasts, which then were numerous between the two places. Often there were as many women as men in those journeys, and as they had to encamp in the woods at least one night, the women frequently displayed, in danger, as much coolness and bravery as their liege lords. A skipple was the quantity usually borne by each individual, but the stronger often carried more. Not unfrequently they left Schoharie to go to mill on the morning of one day, and were at home on the morning of the next ; performing a journey of over forty miles, in twenty-four hours, bearing the ordinary burden ; but at such times they traveled most of the night without encamping. Women not unfrequently performed the journey in the shortest time, preparing a breakfast for their families, from the flour they had brought, on the morning after they left home. Where is the matron now, in the whole valley of the Schoharie, who would perform such a journey, in such a plight, to save a starving household ?

Owing to the industry and economy of the colonists, want soon began to flee their dwellings, and plenty to enter ; and as their clothes waxed old, they manufactured others from dressed buck-skins, obtained from the Indians. A file of those men, clad in buck-skin, with caps of fox or wolf-skin, all of their own manufacture, must have presented a formidable appearance. It is not certain but here and there a ruddy maiden, concealed her charming proportions beneath a habit of deer-skin.

It is said that physicians accompanied the first Germans to Schoharie ; and that for some years, ministers, or missionaries, under pay from the British government, labored in the different German settlements in the country. They visited the people ; married those whose peace of mind Cupid had destroyed ; preached to, and exhorted all. Their audiences occupied some convenient barn in the summer season, and the large dwellings in the winter. Who the first physician was is unknown, but receipts before the writer show that Dr. James Lawes was practicing in the valley as early as 1732.

The want of horses and cattle at first, was much felt in the settlements. By whom cattle, swine and sheep were first introduced is unknown. The first horse-flesh they possessed, was an old gray

mare. She was purchased at Schenectada, by *nine* individuals of Weiser's dorf; and it is said they kept her moving. Who the nine were, who owned this *Rosinante*, is unknown; but there can be little doubt that Weiser owned an important share. It may be asked, whether the people of those settlements, did not live as do the shakers; who make all their earnings common stock? No, lands were marked out and bounds placed, so that every one knew and cultivated his own parcel.

*Settlement of Vrooman's Land.*—Not long after the Germans settled in Schoharie, the Low Dutch began a settlement in Vrooman's Land, on a tract of land so designated, situated on the west side of the Schoharie, two or three miles above Weiser's dorf, in the present town of Fulton. Adam Vrooman,\* a citizen of Schenectada, a gentleman of means and somewhat advanced in life, took a patent for this land, from which circumstance it was so distinguished. This patent was executed August 26, 1714. Previous to obtaining the royal title, Vrooman had received Indian conveyances for portions of the land as *gifts*. One of two deeds, which have escaped the fate of some of Col. Peter Vrooman's papers, contains the names of eighteen Indians, inserted in the following order: "Pennonequieson, Canquothoo, Hendrick the Indian, Kawnawahdeakeoe, Turthyowriss, Sagonadietah, Tucktahaessoo, Onnadahsea, Kahenterunkqua, Amos the Indian, Jacob the Indian, Cornelius the Indian, Gonhe Wannah, Oneedyea, Leweas the Indian, Johanis the Indian, Tubua-in-hunt, and Esras the Indian, all owners and proprietors of a certain piece of land, situate, lying and being in the bounds of the land called Skohere." The title is for two hundred and sixty acres of land near the hill "called Onistagrawa;" two hundred of which were flats, and sixty acres wood-land. The instrument closed as follows: "*In testi-*

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\* He was a son of Hendrick Meese Vrooman, was born in Holland in 1649, and emigrated when a young man with his father's family, to the province of New York. After he was 21 he spent two years in learning the mill-wright's trade of Cornelis Van Den Bergh, at which he worked for a time. He had three wives: the first, whose maiden name was Engeltie Ryckman, was, with an infant child, killed, when the then village of Schenectada was destroyed in 1690. Two sons, Barent and Wouter, whom, I suppose, were lads under their teens, were at the time made prisoners and carried to Canada. In 1691 he married Grietje, a sister of his first wife, then the widow of Jacques Cornelise Van Slyck; and losing her he married, January 13, 1697, Grietje Takelse Heemstraat, of Albany. At the time of making the Schoharie purchase he was 65 years old. He died at the age of about 80 years.—*Pearson's Genealogies of Schenectada.*

*mony whereof, we, the three races or tribes of the Maquase, the Turtle, Wolf and Bear, being present, have hereunto set our marks and seals, in the town of Schenectady, this two and twentieth day of August, and in the tenth year of her Majesty's [Queen Anne's] reign. Annoque Domini, 1711."* Eighteen wax seals are attached to the conveyance, in front of which are arranged, in the order named, the devices of a *turtle*, a *wolf* and a *bear*, the former holding a tomahawk in one of its claws.

The other deed alluded to, is dated April 30, 1714, and contains the eight following names : "Sinonneequerison, Tanuryso, Nisawgoreeatah, Turgourus, Honodaw, Kannakquawes, Tigreedontee, Onnodeegondee, all of the Maquaes country, native Indians, owners and proprietors, etc." The deed was given for three hundred and forty acres of woodland, lying eastward of the sixty acres previously conveyed, "bounded northward by the Onistagrawa, to the southward by a hill called Kan-je-a-rago-re, to the westward by a ridge of hills that join to Onistagrawa, extending southerly much like unto a half moon, till it joins the aforesaid hill Kanjeearagore." This instrument closes in the manner of the one before noticed, except that each Indian's name is placed before a seal to which he had made his mark. The ensigns of the three Mohawk tribes are conspicuously traced in the midst of the signatures. One of the two witnesses to both deeds was Leo Stevens, a woman who acted as interpreter on the occasion of granting each conveyance. Both deeds were duly recorded in the secretary's office of the province.

Vrooman's patent was bounded on the north by a point of the Onistagrawa and the Line kill, and on the south by the white pine swamp (as a little swamp near the residence of the late Samuel Lawyer was then called) and a brook running from it, and embraced a good part of the flats between those two bounds from the hill to the river, excepting the Wilder Hook : where dwelt many of the natives, and where, as before stated, was their strongest castle. This patent was given for eleven hundred acres, more or less. It is said to have contained about fourteen hundred acres, than which very little better land was ever tilled.

When I first published an account of Adam Vrooman's Schoharie purchase, the tradition in the memory of Mrs. Susannah

Van Slyck, a grand-daughter of his son Peter, was, that the purchase was made for the latter ; and I had then no knowledge of the fact that the former ever took up a residence upon it, until the publication of the Brodhead papers, in which I met with Adam Vrooman's letter to Gov. Hunter, now given in this connection.\* That rivalries and jealousies existed for some time between the German and Dutch settlers here I was aware, as I have elsewhere hinted, but never supposed such bold measures were entered upon by either party. The Germans began the settlement first, and it is here made to look as though they were determined to remain in possession of all that goodly heritage—Vrooman's Land lying south of and beyond Weiser's dorf. The orthography of the letter in question, which is good for a Dutchman, is preserved as I find it :

"To His Excellency Robert Hunter Esq, Cap<sup>l</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup>. and Governor In chief In and over His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Province of New York & New Jersey and Vice Admirall of the Same, etc.:

"As In duty bound by my Last to you, I give your Exc<sup>ty</sup> an acc<sup>t</sup> How the Palintines threatened In a Rebelious manner If I should build or mannure the Land at *Schore*, that your Excell<sup>ty</sup> was Pleased to Grant me a Pattent for, and In Please your Excellency I have mannured [he must mean plowed] a great part of the Land and Sowed Considerable grain thereon, they still drove their horses on it by night : I then hired my sones to go with me and build me a house ; I was their and was making a stone house 23 foot Squar, and had so high so that I had Layd the Beams for the Chamber, I having at the same time an Indian house about 200 yards off for myself workmen and negroe to sleep in, but on the 4th day of this Instant In y<sup>e</sup> night following, they had a Contryvance to tie bells about horses necks and drive them too and fro, In which time they pulled my house Stones and all to the Ground : the next day I spok with some of them and they used such Rebellious Expressions that was never heard off ; but they told me before now when they had done all, they would Run among the Indians. John Conradus Wiser has been the Ring Leader of all factions, for he has had his son some time to Live among the Indians and now he is turn'd their Interpreter, so that this Wiser and his

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\* Doc. His , vol. 3, p. 687.

Son talk with the Indians very often and have made treaties for them, and have been busy to buy Land at many places, which is Contrary to your Excellencys Proclamation, and has made the Indians drunk to that degree to go and mark of Land with them : and I am no wayes secure of my Life, theirfor after I came away they went and pulld my son off of the waggon and beat him, and said they would kill him or his father or any body Else that came their, so that my son was forced to come away : Likewise they say they care for nobody. John Conradus Wiser and 2 or 3 more has made their Escape by way of Boston, and have Said they will go for England but has left his son which is their Interpreter to the Indians, and every day tells the Indians many Lyes, whereby much mischief may Enssue more than we now think off and is much to be feared : for the time I have been their I have made a diligent scrutiny into all their actions, but I dont find a Great many Concerned with Wiser and his son In their disobedient, unlawful and Rebellious Proceedings I am well informed who are their Chiefs : for those that are good subjects among them and will not Joyn with them are afraid the others will Burn their houses down by their threatening words ; And please you I could Enlarge much more of their misdemeanours but for fear of trobleing y<sup>r</sup> Excellency too much, I shall beg your Excellencys pardon att this time, and Ever Remain your Excellencys most Humble and Obedient Servant to Command.

Schenectady July the 9th day 1715. In hast.

ADAM VROOMAN."

All matters of controversy have two sides : and that this statement of Vrooman is greatly exaggerated there can be no doubt. Many of the early troubles which the Palatines suffered about the possession and titles to their lands, came upon them through their own ignorance, some of which they charged upon Gov. Hunter, who was displeased with them for going to Schoharie without his consent. Here is the evidence of their belief that Vrooman was the agent or tool of Gov. Hunter to annoy them, as seen in their complaint to the British crown : "No sooner had Gov. Hunter notice of their settlement and agreement with the Indians, but he ordered one, Adam Vrooman, to endeavor to persuade the Indians to break the agreement

made." Now, if they had tangible evidence that Vrooman had endeavored to get the Indians to break faith with them, it would seem to give them some pretext to hinder or prevent his settling there. They also stated among their *grievances*, that they went upon those lands so poor that but for the charity and kindness of the Indians the first year, they must have perished with hunger: that after having erected small houses or huts and made some other improvements, several gentlemen came there from Albany and declared they had bought the lands of Gov. Hunter, and that to remain upon and occupy them, they must first deal with them. They replied that Her Majesty, Queen Ann had given them the lands and they intended to hold them subject to the pleasure of the new King. It looks as though Gov. Hunter—by disposing of those lands to other parties when he knew their hearts were set upon occupying them, and that the crown favored their doing so—was very willing to subject them to serious difficulties, for not bending in their ignorance to his iron will. Some time after, the reputed owners sent a sheriff and posse thither to seize upon Capt. Weiser, dead or alive, but being warned in time he escaped. The "Grievances" further state:

"These Gentlemen finding the Inhabitants resolute in keeping possession of the lands they had thus improv'd and from whence they drew the only support to themselves and family's fell on another project which was Clandestinely and basely to endeavour to sow Enmity betwixt them and the Indians, and if possible to persuade them (for money or Rumm) to put them in possession of the land, and declare them rightful owners thereof, but in this they also failed though not without great troubles and Charge to those poor people, who were forced to put themselves on the mercy of the Indians, by giving them out of their nothing and beg of them, that since they had so long suckled them, at their breast, not to wean them so soon and Cast them of."

The petition of the Schoharie Palatines being before the Board of Trade, they sent a copy of it to Gov. Hunter, who had returned to London to be succeeded by William Burnet, as Governor of the colony, to inform them about those people; and under date of July 26, 1720, to their secretary, Hunter says: "Such of that people as were sober and industrious re-

main on the lands where I settled them at first \* \* \* these are well enabled to subsist themselves, the rest have been wanderers. About forty families of them went and took possession of lands granted to several persons at New York and Albany, against repeated orders : In compassion to the innocent women and children, I prevailed with the proprietors of those lands to make them an offer of the lands free from all rent or acknowledgement for ten years, and ever after at a very moderate quit-rent. The majority accepted of the conditions but durst not or could not execute the agreement, for fear of the rest who had been tampering with the Indians who had resigned their claims to the crown, but I have some reason to believe that in the meantime it is completed or speedily will be so."

He added that their lordships knew that all the lands of any value were granted away before his administration ; but that there was still a great tract of land granted to Domine Delliuss, which grant had been annulled by the Legislature. He thought if they were willing to go upon it, and their lordships were disposed to make them an offer to, a letter to the present Governor (Burnet), for that purpose would do the thing, and if they would accept it, would free them from any further trouble ; but he added this "Query : how far such grant may avail them until His Majesty has approved of the naturalization act, or whether the Governor can grant them letters of denization to enable them to hold lands, there being no such powers mentioned in his letters patent."\*

September 6, Gen. Nicholson, as also Jeremy Long, were examined before the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, with reference to the Schoharie Palatines. The former said he understood that about 3,200 Palatines were first sent over to New York ; that he knew nothing of any promise made to them ; that he had about 300 of them in his expedition to Montreal ; that they were subsisted during the expedition, but that he knows of no engagements concerning their pay ; that he is a stranger to their settlement at Schories ; that he knew of no direction for leaving the arms the Palatines had in possession, but that there was an order for leaving some of them in the plantations as stores for the magazine there. Mr. Long, although

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\* Doc. His., vol. 3, p. 705.



acting in their behalf, could not make proof to the particulars set forth in the case, but was assured that papers relating to the matter should be transmitted to Gov. Burnet, and the settlement of such of them as desire to remove to proper places, be recommended to him.\*

Gov. Hunter, to exonerate himself for taking measures to pique the Palatines, whose action he could not control, was not altogether truthful when he said the lands were all granted away before his administration; for Adam Vrooman reminded him in his letter of complaint against Weiser, that he had granted him a patent for 1,400 acres, nearly two years after some of the Palatines had been in Schoharie, while the complaint of the settlers to the crown stated what he did not deny, that he had disposed of the lands, after they went upon them, to Bayard and others. Nor could he have forgotten that a title to the Schoharie lands had been *annulled*, and that the native owners had conveyed their claims in them to the government for the benefit of these Palatines; for, knowing this, he made the excuse against their going there, that the lands were so remote and deficient in pine timber, that he bought lands of Livingston instead of using them. Learning that the Indians had resigned their claims to these Schoharie lands for their benefit, and, doubtless, assured by friendly Indians who had been there, of that beautiful country, they could not abandon the intent to go there, and did go, to be kindly received by the natives, who would not imitate the white man's faithlessness.

For the reader's better understanding of this matter, and to show him the danger that threatened the future welfare of the colony at that period, by the reckless conveyance of large tracts of land by Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, I will show some of those grants that were not only calculated to rob the Mohawk nation of its patrimony, wean it from the British interest, and possibly drive it to Canada, but would, at the same time, surely entail upon the most inviting portions of the colony the curse of leasehold estates, instead of hardy and intelligent property owners.

A grant was made to Col. Nicholas Bayard of a tract of land in the county of Albany, claimed by the Mohawks, and containing about 24 or 30 miles in length—its breadth not given.†

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\* Doc. His., p. 706.

† Brod. Papers, vol 4, p. 391.

Gov. Bellomont, one of the few honest rulers the colony ever had, said : "Some spoke of this tract as 86 miles long, and from 16 to 26 broad, but taking it in its least dimensions," he adds, "it contains exactly 900,160 acres of land, and is full as big as Devonshire, reckoned the third county of England."\* Dr. O'Callaghan, in a foot-note to page 391 cited, says : "This grant included the valley on both sides of the Schoharie creek, from the mouth of the latter at Fort Hunter, in Montgomery county, to the mouth of the Little Schoharie creek, in Middleburgh, Schoharie county." Between the points designated, it is about 30 miles. Whatever may have been its length, breadth and acres, they were, no doubt, over-estimated to Gov. Bellomont, or, as we shall show, that description belonged to another of the large land-grants. John Champante, Esq.,† an agent of the crown, under date of October 26, 1700, says of it : "The grant to Col. Bayard is not so particularly set forth as to the length and breadth of it as the two former [to Domine Dellius], though by the boundaries it appears to be extravagantly great ; and the Indians, who are known to be extraordinary footmen, in their complaint call it a vast tract of land which a young man had enough to do to run over in a day." The quit-rent reserved to the crown was to be one *otter skin* per annum. It is believed to have contained several hundred thousand acres.

A grant was made to Godfrey Dellius, a minister at Albany, for a tract of land on the east side of the Hudson, about 70 miles in length and 12 in breadth. It extended north through Washington county into Vermont, and contained over 620,000 acres. The surveyor-general's account, says Champante, made this tract 16 miles longer, or 86 miles in length. This was, doubtless, the one Gov. Bellomont's account mistook for Bayard's, as the length corresponds, the breadth being estimated at 16 to 20 miles. The quit-rent for this grant was a *raccoon skin* per annum.

A grant was made to Col. Henry Beekman for a tract of land in Dutchess county, containing about 16 miles square. Also another grant to him of another tract upon Hudson's river, 20 miles in length and about 8 in breadth.

A grant was made to Col. William Smith, a member of the

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Brod. Papers, vol. 4, 503.

† Ibid, vol. 5, p. 11.

council of sundry tracts of lands and meadows in the Island of Nassau-Long Island, comprising all the vacant lands between the bounds of former patents therein specified, and computed to contain about 50 miles ; what length or breadth is not known.

A grant was made to Capt. John Evans, commanding the ship Richmond, for sundry tracts of land lying on the west side of the Hudson, containing about 40 miles in length and 20 in breadth. The tract contained above 650,000 acres, with a quit rent of 20 shillings and *one fat buck* yearly. These lands were situated in Ulster, Orange and Rockland counties.

A grant to William Pinhorn, Esq., Col. Peter Schuyler, Dr. Godfrey Dellijs, Maj. Derrick Wessels and Capt. Evert Banker, for a tract of land lying on the Mohacqs river, containing about 50 miles in length and *two* miles in breadth on each side of the said river. This grant of 50 miles by four, O'Callaghan supposed extended from Amsterdam to Little Falls, or West Canada creek. But the Palatine's village, which occupied the present site of Herkimer, was west of that stream, and the lands must have extended above there. I have supposed this tract began near Caughnawaga, now Fonda, and extended to Frankfort or perhaps Utica. It was supposed to contain, at least, 128,000 acres, with a quit-rent annually of *one beaver skin* per annum the first seven years, and *five beaver skins* thereafter.

Besides the seven large tracts of land already enumerated, others were made to Schuyler, Van Rensselaer, Livingston, Philips, and *two* to Courtlandt ; making in all thirteen named ; which, said Gov. Bellomont, "are not less than *twenty miles* square one with another."\* Col. Benjamin Fletcher, as Governor, came to the colony August 30, 1692, and was succeeded by the Earl of Bellomont, in April, 1698, and yet in those half a dozen years, he had not only well nigh ruined the future prospects of the colony, but had in that time secured to himself a fortune of thirty thousand pounds. He had made sure of liberal fees in making those large bequests, if he had almost forgotten to look after quit-rents for the crown. Of these grants I should say, Van Rensselaer's, twenty-four miles square, and Livingston's sixteen by twenty-four miles, were made before Fletcher's time. Seeing what a mercenary and hypocritical part his predecessors

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\* Brod. Papers vol. 4, p. 535.

had acted, and giving ear to the complaints of the Mohawks who had been cheated out of their lands; Gov. Bellomont at once grappled with the difficulties besetting his position, and in defiance of the threats of interested parties he recommended annulling all those exorbitant land grants; and in October following the home government authorized him if possible to annul them. He succeeded in getting through the next Legislature a law to vacate four of those grants, two of which stripped the Indians of their territory, viz.: that of Domine Dellijs, Pinhorn and others, that of Dellijs alone, and those of Bayard and Evans: and in a letter to the Lords of Trade, May 29, 1719, he said: "Having the order of the Lords Justices of England of the 10 of Nov. last, *for using all lawful ways to break those extravagant grants*, I value not the resentment of a few undeserving men; being sure it is not for the Interest of the Crown or the Province that three-fourth of the lands and soil should be in the hands of ten or eleven men, as I shall undertake to make it appear, should Fletcher's grants stand good. Therefore am I for abolishing the rest of the Palatinates\* (for such vast tracts deserve no less a name), the next session of Assembly, if I have strength enough; but indeed I can promise nothing without a good lawyer to be Chief Judge and to sit in Council, and a good active lawyer to be Attorney General. I have stood single on my own legs in all these difficulties, and 'tis impossible for me always to bear all the burthen of business. The Bill for vacating the grounds begun with us at the Council Board, and we sent it down to the Lower House, and there they added a clause for depriving Mr. Dellijs of his benefice at Albany, so that we were obliged to pass that clause as part of the Bill, or we must have lost the Bill, and I thought it better to lose a wicked Clergyman than a good Bill."† He expressed his belief also to the Lords of Trade, that it would be an act of injustice to break some of those extravagant grants and spare others: and also gave it as his opinion that the English Parliament would have to do it, as he doubted his own ability to do it in the Legislature.

He was for bestowing upon the soldiers who had known seven

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\* This term compares the grants in extent to the districts so called in Germany.

† Brod. Papers vol. 4, p. 529.

years service in England's wars, a portion of the annulled lands on the Mohawk, that the country might be strengthened on the frontier towards Canada; and adds: "Had this method been practiced twenty years ago, there had been this day 1000 families on the land granted to Dellius [and others], which would have been a force sufficient to make a stand against all the French of Canada and their Indians, had they a fort at the extreme end of the land which was granted to Dellius, to cover them from sudden inroads of an enemy." Thus he wrote to the Lords of Trade, August 24, 1699; about which time the Mohawks particularly thanked him, for restoring to them the control of their own lands. Having been violently assailed by Domine Dellius and his friends, in a letter to the Lord Bishop of London, September 11, 1699, he descanted upon the character of that former minister of Albany, whom he characterized as not only very immoral, but as a liar, a drunkard and a seducer.\*

To perfect the colonial law for annulling the extravagant grants, they must be submitted to His Majesty's approval; and so much hostile interest was brought against the measures to annul and cause delay, that Gov. Bellomont began to despair of success in his laudable effort; and in his perplexity and anxiety over the subject, in writing to the Lords of Trade January 2, 1701, he observes: "It were better that things of this kind were never called in question, I mean those fraudulent grants, than not to be vigorously prosecuted when once they are begun and questioned. A slackness of orders from home makes everything uneasy here, and discourages a man that has an honest zeal to serve England."† On March 5, following, Gov. Bellomont—than whom the colony never had a more honest and upright servant—died;‡ and this same uncertainty hung over the question of annulling grants until 1708, when Gov. Hunter was preparing to come over with the Palatines, as I have already shown. He was however, authorized to regrant to the same patentees, 2000 acres of those lands, but they refused to accede to those terms, whereupon the lands began to be regranted in small parcells to other purchasers. This is said so late as April

\* Brod. Papers vol. 4, p. 581.

† Brod. Papers vol. 5, p. 536.

‡ He died at the age of 65 years, and was buried in St. Paul's church yard, New York city.

12, 1720 ; but matters relating to those immense tracts of land given to individuals—think of it, half a million of acres in undefined bounds to one man—were the cause of a world of difficulties, which even cropped out as late as Gov. Colden's time in, 1762.\*

Just how many of the grants were vacated and when, is not satisfactorily shown by the foreign records. Some we know were not annulled, while others were, and yet others were compromised and no doubt amicably adjusted. So many friends were at once made interested parties to those patents, that it became difficult to undo what had been unwisely done ; showing the great evils attendant upon corrupt and selfish legislation. And as was shown by Gov. Bellomont, they operated from the time they were made, in favor of the settling of the New England and other States (where no such wild grants had been made), against the settling of our own State ; which by virtue of its position against all unwise legislation, was destined in the end to become the Empire State : but it would have been fifty years earlier, if reason and common sense had prevailed at all times in the colonial and home governments. Gov. Bellomont, in his English correspondence, to show the folly of granting such large landed estates to men who could never subdue much of the land themselves, stated a fact corroborated by others—that at the time of his administration, the average cost of clearing the wild lands “ was all the colony over, four pounds and ten shillings,” or \$11.25 per acre.

*Further account of the Palatines in Schoharie—The first white man murdered in the Schoharie valley.*—Having followed these people through all manner of vicissitudes into their wilderness home, let us linger about their rude dwellings and see what other troubles awaited them. They were just beginning to feel somewhat at home, when in 1715, Adam Vrooman, a Low Dutchman from Schenectada, as I have shown, first attempted a settlement upon his lands just south of and adjoining those occupied by the former. Notwithstanding his grave charges to Gov. Hunter—who was ready to listen to any complaint against the Germans—for interrupting his plans and giving him a pretty bad scare, if he did not dilate somewhat

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\* Brod. Papers vol. 7, p. 486.

upon their acts ; reliable tradition in his own family says he did not only erect his dwelling, that season ; but having his son and other hands with him, he raised considerable corn and fenced in a portion of his lands : and in the fall on returning to Schenectada, he left a hired man named Truax, and two slaves, Morter and Mary his wife, to look after the property. Not long after Vrooman and his son left the valley, Truax was cruelly murdered. The circumstances attending the murder are substantially as follows :

The evening before his death, Truax returned from gunning, with a mess of pigeons, which he told Mary to dress and prepare for breakfast. Being fatigued, he retired to rest earlier than usual, and soon was in a grateful slumber familiar to the sportsman. Mary cleansed the pigeons, and having done so, unconsciously put the knife into a side pocket still bloody, intending, but forgetting to wash it. Morter was absent from home during that evening and most of the night. Mary arose betimes in the morning, with no small pains prepared the savory dish, and waited some time for Truax to rise. Observing that he kept his room unusually late, she went to his door and called to him, but received no answer. She tried to open the door and found it locked inside. She felt the most lively apprehension that all was not right. She could, outside the house, look into the window. Thither she went, when her suspicions were more than realized. She quickly communicated intelligence of her discovery to the Indians, her nearest neighbors, who burst open the door of his room. Horrible indeed was the sight disclosed. Poor Truax lay in his bed, which he had sought without suspicion of danger, with his throat cut from ear to ear. Indian messengers were immediately dispatched to Schenectada, to communicate the tragic affair to the Vrooman family. About the same time, the bloody knife was discovered in the pocket of the weeping Mary. Soon the messengers returned with Vrooman, and proper officers to arrest the murderer, or whoever might be suspected. Suspicions were fixed upon the two blacks ; and both were arrested, and hurried off to Albany for trial.

The day of examination arrived, and the prisoners were brought to the bar. On the trial no unsettled difficulty was shown to have existed between the murdered and the accused : indeed, little appeared to criminate the blacks, more than is

already known to the reader. When the facts, that the throat of Truax had been cut, that a bloody knife was found on the person of Mary, and that Morter sullenly refused to answer questions during his arrest and confinement, were known to the court, circumstantial evidence was deemed sufficiently strong to fix guilt upon them : and as the murder had been an aggravated one, the prisoners were sentenced to be burned alive. When interrogated by the Judge, why sentence of death should not pass upon them, Mary boldly and firmly declared her innocence, and her ignorance of the real murderer : stating, in a feeling manner, all she knew of the affair ; how the knife had been heedlessly put into her pocket after cleaning the pigeons, and forgotten ; how much she respected the deceased, and how much she lamented his untimely death ; and ended by an appeal to the great Judge of the universe of her innocence of the crime. Morter, when questioned, remained sullenly silent ; and after receiving the sentence, both were remanded to prison. On the day of their execution, the condemned were taken west of the city, where had been prepared, a conical pile of pine faggots. In the centre of the pile the victims were placed, and the fatal torch applied. Mary, still protesting her innocence, called on the Lord, whom she trusted would save her ; and prayed that he would, in the heavens, show some token of her innocence. But alas ! the day of miracles had passed ; and as the flame surrounded her, she gave herself up to despair. She expired, proclaiming her innocence. Her companion met his fate, with stoic indifference.

After the execution of this couple, the affair died away, and nothing further was disclosed for several years. Facts then came to light revealing the whole transaction. At the time the murder was committed, a man by the name of Moore resided at Weiser's dorf. The Germans at that settlement, which was distant from the dwelling of Vrooman about two miles, it was supposed, envied Vrooman the possession of the fine tract of land he had secured ; and by compelling him to abandon, hoped to possess it. It is not probable, however, that any one of them, except Moore, thought of getting it by the crime of murder. He conceived such a plan, and conspired with Morter to carry it into execution. Moore thought if Truax was murdered, Vrooman would be afraid to return for fear of a like



fate, and would then dispose of the land cheaply ; when he might secure a choice parcel. Morter was promised, as a reward for participating in the crime, the hand of Moore's sister in marriage. It is not likely the girl had the most distant idea of the *happiness* her brother had in store for her. Amalgamation to Morter appeared in enticing garments. He therefore resolved to aid him, and it was agreed the deed should be executed in such a manner, as to throw suspicion on his wife: who, he intended, should prove no obstacle in the way of realizing his desires. Accordingly, at midnight, the murderers approached the house in which slumbered their innocent victim. Finding his door locked, they found it necessary, to gain admission to his room without breaking the lock, and, if possible, without alarming Mary. By some means they gained the top of the chimney, which was not difficult, as the dwelling was but one story, and sliding carefully down that, they soon found themselves in the presence of their slumbering victim. Which of the two drew the knife is unknown. The nefarious deed accomplished, the assassins escaped from the dwelling.

When the commotion and anxiety of the next day followed discovery of the foul deed, Moore feigned business from home, and kept out of the way until after the arrest of his hardened accomplice. Not long after the murder was committed, a disturbance arose among the Germans, as will be seen, and many of them left the Schoharie valley and sought a residence elsewhere.—Moore was among those who went to Pennsylvania. He lived a life of fear for some years, but at length he was laid upon a bed of languishing. Being past recovery, to relieve his guilty conscience, he disclosed the facts above related. Truax was the first white man murdered in Schoharie county ; and may be said to have fallen a victim to the unholy cause of *amalgamation*.

March 30th, 1726, Adam Vrooman obtained a new Indian title to the flats known as Vrooman's Land, executed by nine individuals of the nation, "in behalf of all the Mohaugs Indians." Some difficulty had probably arisen, in consequence of his holding more land than the first deeds specified. The new title gave the land previously conveyed with the sentence, "let there be as much as there will, more or less, for we are no survey-

ors ;" and was executed with the ensigns of the Mohawk nation—the *turtle, wolf and bear*.

*The lands of Schoharie, why sold.*—The Germans were just beginning to live comfortably, says Judge Brown, when Nicholas Bayard, an agent from the British crown, appeared in their midst. This I suppose to have been in the summer of 1714. He put up in Smith's dorf, at the house of Han-Yerry (John George) Smith, already noted as being the best domicile in the settlement. From this house (which was in fact the first hotel in Schoharie), Bayard issued a notice, that to every householder who would make known to him the boundaries of the land he had taken ; he would give a deed in the name of his sovereign. The Germans, ignorant though honest, mistook altogether the object of the generous offer, and supposing it designed to bring them again under tyrannic land-holders, and within the pale of royal oppression, resolved to kill Bayard, whom they looked upon as a foe ; and by so doing, establish more firmly the independence they had for several years enjoyed. Consequently, early the next morning, the nature of the resolve having been made known, the honest burghers of Schoharie, armed with guns and pitch-forks ; with many of the softer sex, in whom dwelt the love of liberty, surrounded the hotel of Smith, and demanded the person of Bayard. Mine host, who knew at that early day that a well managed hotel was the traveler's home, positively refused to surrender to his enraged countrymen, his guest. The house was besieged throughout the day. Sixty balls were fired by the assailants through the roof, which was the most vulnerable part, as that was straw : and as Bayard had, previous to his arrival, been by accident despoiled of an eye, he ran no little risk of returning to the bosom of his family, totally blind. Bayard was armed with pistols, and occasionally returned the fire of his assailants, more, no doubt, with the design of frightening, than of killing them. Having spent the last round of their ammunition, the siege was raised, and the heroes of the bloodless day dispersed to their homes, to dream on the invulnerability of their foe, and the mutability of princely promises. The coast again clear, Bayard left Schoharie, and under the cover of night, traveled to Schenectada. From there he sent a message to Schoharie, offering to give, to such as should appear there with a single

ear of corn—acknowledge him the regal agent—and name the bounds of it, a free deed and lasting title to their lands. No one felt inclined to call on the agent, and after waiting some time, he went to Albany and disposed of the lands they occupied, to 5 individuals. The patent was granted to Myndert Schuyler, Peter Van Brugh, Robert Livingston, Jr., John Schuyler and Henry Wileman, and was executed at Fort George, in New York, on the third day of November, 1714, in the first year of the reign of George I., by Robert Hunter, then Governor of the province, in behalf of the King. The sum paid for the lands, says the bill of “grievances sent to the British crown,” was 1500 pistoles—between \$5,000 and \$6,000.

This patent began at the northern limits of the Vrooman patent, on the west side of the river, and the little Schoharie kill on the opposite side, and ran from thence north; taking in a strip on both sides of the river: at times mounting the hills, and at others leaving a piece of flats, until it nearly reached the present Montgomery county line. It curved some, and the intention was, to embrace all the flats in that distance. Patent was taken for 10,000 acres. Lewis Morris, Jr., and Andrus Coeman, who were employed by the purchasers to survey and divide the land; finding the flats along Foxs creek, and a large piece at Kneiskern’s dorf, near the mouth of Cobelskill, were not included in that patent; lost no time in securing them. Those several patents often ran into each other, and in some instances were so far apart as to leave a gore between them. The patent taken to secure the remainder of the flats at Kneiskern’s dorf, began at a spring on the west side of the river, near the bridge which now crosses that stream above Schoharie Court House, and also ran to, or near the Montgomery county line. Between that and the first patent secured, which were intended to embrace all the flats, was left a very valuable gore, which Augustus Van Cortlandt afterwards obtained. Finding much difficulty in dividing their lands—they so often intersected—the first five purchasers and their surveyors, Morris and Coeman, whose right in the Schoharie soil was proportionably valuable, agreed to make joint stock of the three patents. Since that time they have been distinguished as the lands of the *seven partners*. Patents and deeds granted at subsequent dates, for lands adjoining those of the seven partners,

were, in some instances, bounded in such a manner as to infringe on those of the latter, or leave gores between them. As may be supposed, evils were thus originated, which proved a source of litigation for many years. Suits for partition were brought successively in Schoharie county in 1819-25-26-28 and 29, at which time they were finally adjusted. The latest difficulties existed between the people of Duaneburg and Schoharie. The facts relating to these land titles and suits at partition, were obtained from the late Henry Hamilton, Esq., of Schoharie.

After the seven partners secured their title to the Schoharie flats, they called on the Germans who dwelt upon them, either to take leases of, to purchase, or to quit them altogether. To neither of these terms would they accede, declaring that Queen Anne had given them the lands, and they desired no better title. The reader will bear in mind the fact, that those people had no lawyers among them, except by name, that they spoke a language different from that in which the laws of the country were written, and that they placed implicit confidence in the promises of the *good Queen*, that they should have the lands free; and he will be less surprised at their stubbornness. Their faith in the promises of the Queen had not been misplaced, as the intention of the crown to give them free titles by Bayard clearly proves. The great difficulty proceeded from their ignorance of the utility, and manner of granting deeds. The patent taken by the five partners was dated in November, 1714; and it was not until the first of August, of that year, that Queen Anne died. It is therefore probable, Bayard was an agent commissioned by her; if not, by George I., who intended in good faith to carry out the design of his predecessor.

*A Foot Race.*—At this period of the history of Schoharie, several incidents transpired worthy of notice. I have already remarked that the Germans were fond of athletic exercises. After their location, such sports as were calculated to try their speed and strength were frequently indulged in.

In the summer of 1713 or 1714, a *stump* was given by the Indians to their German neighbors at Weiser's dorf, to run a foot race, offering to stake on the issue a lot of dressed deer-skins against some article the Germans possessed. The challenge was accepted, and a son of Conrad Weiser was selected,

to run against a little dark Indian, called the most agile of all the tribe. On a beautiful day the parties assembled at Weiser's dorf to witness the race. The course was above the village, and on either side the Germans and Indians took stations to encourage their favorites. The couple started half a mile from the goal, at a given signal, and onward they dashed with the fleetness of antelopes. The race was to terminate just beyond the most southern dwelling of Weiser's dorf. They had to run very close to the house, and Weiser, being on the outside as they approached it side by side, sprang with all his might against his competitor. The sudden impetus forced the Indian against the building, and he rebounded and fell. Weiser then easily won the race. The Indians, and their defeated champion were terribly enraged at first, and refused to give up the forfeit : but Weiser, who had already learned much of the Indian character, and knew the danger of trifling with their misfortunes, appeased their wrath, by satisfying them that the whole difficulty proceeded from accident—that he stumbled upon some obstacle which rendered it unavoidable, and was *very* sorry it had happened. With this explanation their anger was appeased, and they delivered up the skins. This is the only dishonest trick I have heard related of the first Germans, and with the exception of Moore, they seem to have been strangers to crime. Foot races were often run by those people : at times, fifteen or twenty entering the course together.

*The Day of Enchantment.*—As before intimated, the Schoharie Germans settled in clusters, the better to be able prudentially to guard against any hostile movement of their Indian neighbors, which caution was once well rewarded to those at Hartman's dorf. A difficulty had arisen which rendered a fight inevitable between them and their sable neighbors, and great was the consternation in the settlement, as the Indians were the best provided with fire-arms, until confidence was restored by Capt. Hartman Windecker, in a prophetic assurance, that not a gun of the enemy would discharge. Faith, the leaven of any successful enterprise, induced these hardy pioneers to follow their daring leader to the contest, where they won an easy and bloodless victory. The days of witchcraft are now happily passed forever ; but the time has been when it was no uncommon thing for *a spell or enchantment to extend*

to the lock of a rifle ; so says a very trustworthy tradition, in the memory of the late George Warner of Cobelskill.

*Further Trouble in Schoharie, and Treatment of Sheriff Adams.*—After the mission of Bayard, Gov. Hunter was seemingly glad for some excuse to sell these lands, to the detriment of those misguided people, since they had not fully succumbed to his wishes, and did through Bayard, as I have already shown, to Myndert Schuyler and others, in the fall of 1714 ; and it remains to show what effect that sale had on the newly made tenants. In 1715, being called upon by the partners to lease or purchase, they declared they would do neither. Finding lenient measures of no avail, they resolved to obtain justice by the strong arm of law. Accordingly, a sheriff from Albany, by the name of Adams, was sent to apprehend some of the boldest of the trespassers, as they had now become, and frighten others into proper terms.

The Albanians greatly underrated the bravery of those people, who had not only compelled an agent of the crown to flee, but had, in fair fight, victoriously battled their Indian neighbors. It is *possible* they had never heard of the Hartman's dorf conflict. Adams, conscious of his own honorable intentions, passing up through the valley, made a halt at Weiser's dorf. He had no sooner discovered his business and attempted the arrest of an individual, than a mob was collected, and at that early day *lynch law* was enforced. The women of that generation, as has been shown, possessed Amazonian strength ; nor were they lacking in spartan bravery. A part of those well-meaning dames, remembering the promises of Queen Anne, and sharing with their husbands the belief that they were objects of oppression, under the direction of Magdalena Zeh, or Zach, a self-appointed captain, took the sheriff into their own hands and dealt with him according to his deserts, of which the captain was judge. He was knocked down by a blow from the magistrate, and inducted into various places where the sow delighted to wallow. After receiving many indignities in the neighborhood of Weiser's dorf, some of which he was conscious of receiving and some not, he was placed upon a rail, and rode skimming through several settlements. He was exhibited at Hartman's, Brunnen, Smith's and Foxes dorfs to his discomfiture ; and finally deposited on a small

bridge across a stream on the old Albany road, a distance from the starting point of between six and seven miles ; no ordinary journey for such a conveyance. This stream was formerly called Mill brook—why, remains to be seen—and crosses the road a short distance west of the late Peter Mann's place, on Foxescreek. The captain then seized a stake, which she carelessly laid over his person, until two of his ribs made four, and his organs of vision were diminished one-half. She then, with little ceremony, bathed his temples in a very unusual manner—poor fellow, he could not resist the kindness—and called off her compatriots, leaving him to die if he chose. He saw fit to do no such act, in such a plight, and after such a *nursing* ; and as soon as consciousness returned—how long after Mistress Lynch had left him is unknown—he departed for Albany.

What strange thoughts must have occupied his mind while *homeward bound*. He must have been conscious, when the faculties of his mind returned, that whether his knowledge had increased or not, his *bumps* assuredly had. His progress must have been very slow, thus bruised and maimed, and it was not until the third day after he had been on the rail-*rode* that he reached Verreburg, a hill seven miles west of Albany, from whence he was taken to the city in a wagon. As there were few Samaritans on the road at that time, he was exposed nights to the carnival of wild beasts, and by day to danger of perishing with hunger. His arrival at Albany, wounded and *half* blind as he was, and *maul-treated* as he had been, prognosticated no good for the people of Schoharie. The leading facts in the foregoing statement, were published by Judge Brown, who assured the author that he received them from Sheriff Adams in person ; also corroborated by several old residents of Schoharie.

*Significant Names.*—The word burg, as we have shown, signifies a hill or mountain. At the period of which I write, before public houses were established between the two places, the people of Schoharie, who had occasion to go to Albany, went in squads and encamped out over night. The most important burgs and creeks on the road, were then the guides by which they knew the route, distance, etc., and served the traveler in lieu of mile-stones. The first important stopping place, after leaving Schoharie, was at the Longburg, east of Gallupville. There, if the wayfarer left the valley late, he tarried over night:

to it was therefore called the first day's journey. The Beaver-kill, which is a branch of Foxes creek, was also a guide: then came the Feghtburg, Supawnburg, Liceburg, Helleburg, Botte-Mentisburg and lastly, Vene or Verreburg. All these names had some significant meaning, which continued to remind the traveler of their origin, long after the road, which was then little more than a rough foot path, and hardly admissible for any kind of wagons, became a public one.

*A Day of Reckoning coming.*—As may be supposed, the people of Schoharie, after dealing with poor Adams in the manner they had, became cautious about visiting Albany, where several of the partners resided. There was, in fact, little intercourse between Schoharie and Albany for some time: the people of the former viewing those of the latter place, in a light of lively apprehension. In civilized life, it is happily ordered that one community shall not live independent of others. There were some necessities which they must have, and which they could not procure without going there. The men, therefore, sent their wives after salt; which was indispensable; saying, in effect, *they will reverence them*: and if they did venture to Albany themselves, they were sure to do so on the Sabbath, and equally mindful of leaving the same evening. By remaining silent for some time, and not appearing to heed their coming or going, the real owners of the Schoharie soil, lured the occupants into a belief, that all the malicious acts extended to sheriff Adams, were forgotten: and that there was no longer any need of caution about entering that good city. It was indeed presuming much on the charity of the partners, whose agent had been so harshly treated: but such was the fact. With the vigilance of the sentinel crow, were the people of Schoharie watched, and preparations matured for seizing some of them. It was not long after suspicion was lulled, before quite a number of them entered the city for salt, when the partners, with Sheriff Adams and posse, arrested and committed several of them to jail. The most notorious of the party were placed in close confinement, among whom was Conrad Weiser, Jr., of running memory, and one woman, supposed to have been Magdalena Zeh. As soon as news of this proceeding reached Schoharie, her citizens were horror stricken? "*What shall we do?*" was the interrogatory of one and all. How



sadly, thought they, have we realized our European dreams of American happiness.

Believing themselves greatly wronged, and desirous of remedying in future the evils to which they were subjected, it was, at a meeting of the citizens, resolved to get up a petition setting forth their grievances, persecutions, etc.; and delegate three of their number to lay it, with all due humility, at the feet of King George; praying, at the time, for his future protection against their enemies, the Albanians. This petition, which is said to have been drawn by John Newkirk, was entrusted, said Judge Brown, to the elder Conrad Weiser, one Casselman, and a third person, name not known, for presentation. This delegation, says a gentleman of Pennsylvania, consisted of John Conrad Weiser, William Scheff, and a Mr. Walrath. The same writer says the delegation "embarked secretly from Philadelphia, in 1718, but on the voyage fell into the hands of pirates, who robbed them of their all, and set them free, when they put into Boston to procure necessaries. On arriving in London, they found themselves penniless, and forced to contract debts. The consequence was, Weiser and Scheff [probably now Schafer] were thrown into prison, from which they were afterwards relieved only by a remittance from New York."\* Instead of their having been incarcerated for debt, Brown says: "they were clapped into the Tower," because of their treatment of Bayard and Adams, of which outrageous conduct the parliament was fully advised; and where as he says, Weiser had to remain a whole year—evidently growing *wiser* every day.

Looking through grates, and living on bread and water, had a wonderful effect on the spirits and temper of the incarcerated citizens of Schoharie. They therefore made a virtue of necessity, and resolved to comply with the requisitions of the law, by taking leases and agreeing to pay rent for, or to purchase the land. Before releasing the prisoners, the partners drew up a statement of the abuses to Bayard and Adams, when in the discharge of their official duties at Schoharie, and required

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\* *Historical Lecture* delivered by I. D. Rupp, Esq., at Womelsdorf, Pa., March 24, 1856, "Touching the oppressions, sufferings, wrongs, difficulties and trials endured from 1708 to 1729, of the First Settlers of Tulpehocken, prior to their first settling in Pennsylvania."

them to be witnessed under hand and seal. This last requisition complied with, they were allowed to depart for their own homes.

The importance with which the colonists viewed this matter may be conceived by the delegation to England. No delay was allowed after procuring the duly attested evidence of the proceedings of Judge Lynch : it was forwarded immediately to the King. The ship in due time arrived in England, and on presenting their petition, how were Weiser and his friends astounded to find the King and his ministry in possession of all the late transactions at Schoharie. Had the ghosts of Bayard and Adams appeared before them, they would hardly have been more taken aback, than they were to hear their own misdeameans told them from such a source. The King and his advisers, supposing the evil deeds of the Schoharie people resulted from *bad hearts* instead of ignorance, the parent of all their difficulties, without listening to what they would say, ordered them to confinement in the tower.

How much the difficulty of these well meaning people argues in favor of an *education*, and a knowledge of the world and its transactions. Had they been better informed, they would have been less suspicious ; for suspicion and distrust are the handmaids of ignorance. The *liberal minded* is generally the *well informed* man. Newspapers, the source of general information of the present day, were then unknown in the wilds of America. They were accustomed to transact most of their own business without pen, ink or paper ; and, agreeable to the knowledge they had, and their own method of doing business, they considered a promise made in good faith, as valid as a bond, for such it was with them, and never dreamed of their being mistaken about the object of Bayard's mission ; or that anything farther was necessary from the British crown to establish their legal title to the lands, than the mere promise of the Queen that they should, free of cost, possess them.

In 1718, as appears in the manifesto itself, of "Grievances and oppressions" set forth by the Schoharie pioneers, Capt. Weiser arrived in London ; but as that document was dated in 1720, and indorsed as received in 1722 ; it appears as though the delegation left the colony to state their grievances in person ; and that in consequence of being confronted by

charges and' arrested, they had sent back to have a statement of the Schoharie difficulties forwarded them. Ocean mail steamers were then unknown, and mail matter moved but tardily between the mother country and her colonies ; hence this long delay in the partial accomplishment of their errand.

*The Complaints* of those Palatines and the justness of their appeal will be better understood by the reader, if I here note a few of the most glaring.\* They claimed that before they left England, they were promised *five pounds* in money per head—which I suppose was without reference to age or condition—which money they never received. That on their arrival in America, they were each to have suitable clothing, tools for husbandry, etc., but received only a meagre supply. That they were to have a free grant of 40 acres of land to each person, which condition they complained was never fulfilled ; and that the land which was assigned them was very poor. That their children under the direction of the Governor, were taken from them and bound out to servitude for years, depriving the parents of the support and comfort they might afford them ; two of which children being sons 12 and 13 years of age of Capt. John Conrad Weiser—the most prominent and leading man among them, though sadly deficient in a proper knowledge of business matters. They said also that 300 of them were in an expedition against Canada ; that on their return their arms had been taken from them, and that the Governor drew pay for their services, but failed to give them any part of it. The reader will remember that many of them lost their guns when in a mutinous state at the camps. They also mentioned military services of some of them at Albany, the winter following the Canadian expedition, which were never paid. They complained of not receiving their full allowance of provisions in the latter part of 1712, when on asking for it they were informed that as no subsistence had been sent them from England, they must shift for themselves. They said, too, that when the Governor had visited them at the camps—probably at the time of the insurrectionary movement—the people with one consent applied to him for permission to go and occupy the promised Schoharie lands ; when he

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\* Doc. His. vol 3, p. 707.

stamped upon the ground and said, "Here is your land (meaning the almost barren rocks), where you must live and die." It seems, however, that the Governor mistook their mettle; for they determined they would not die there.

Such were among the reasons they assigned to Britain, for removing upon the Schoharie flats, without awaiting the Governor's approbation. They further complained that after they had gone upon those lands—probably after the accusations made against them by Vrooman—that a sheriff was sent there to take Capt. Weiser (this was in 1715) dead or alive, but with timely notice he had escaped. Indeed, they were in a state of feverish excitement for nearly a dozen years.

During the long confinement of Capt. Weiser, and the suspense attending his mission, some of the Schoharie people, convinced that they stood in their own light, and that they had wholly mistaken the intention of Bayard, too late, indeed, to obtain a legal title to their lands free of charge, began to purchase of the partners, who granted them liberal terms. When I first published an account of this matter in 1845, I had supposed that it was not until the return of Capt. Weiser that the exodus from Schoharie took place; but Mr. Rupp, from whom I have quoted, says that Weiser and Scheff having disagreed in London, the latter returned home in 1721, but that Capt. Weiser was obliged to remain till November, 1723. The writer referred to, who seems to have made the history of the Palatines who emigrated to Pennsylvania a specialty, says that Gov. Keith of that State was at Albany in September, 1722, and, learning of their troubles, "invited them to Pennsylvania as a State policy, hoping thereby to strengthen his political influence;" and adds, that, in the summer of 1723, *thirty-three* families of them got themselves in readiness to wander once more in pursuit of a permanent home. This would show that some of them did not await poor Weiser's return, who remained in London five long years—just why, we cannot say: and had he only been by name in the positive degree on his arrival in England, he assuredly would have been by nature in the comparative on his return to Schoharie, as he had really become very much *wiser*.

The return of the embassy, whose mission had resulted in effecting nothing but disgrace for themselves, and tended only

to disclose the general ignorance of their constituents, created no little excitement in the valley. Capt. Weiser was by nature a proud, high-spirited man, and could not brook the mortification his own ignorance had originated, and on his return he at once saw what his own folly, and that of others, had led to, in depleting the settlement.

Tradition has preserved neither the exact number of the Germans who went to the Schoharie valley, or the numbers who left it in pursuit of other homes. Mr. Rupp says that in 1718, there were 170 families in Schoharie, numbering 680 persons. I have elsewhere estimated the number at about 1,000. Probably 300 families of them went to Pennsylvania, making three or four emigrating parties, only two of which were reported. Mr. Rupp says 33 families of them removed to Pennsylvania in 1723, that 50 families more removed thither in 1725, and that in 1729 a third exodus went there with Conrad Weiser, of which latter party he names 44 individuals believed to be heads of families.\* Thus the reader will see that he, in possession of their statistics, gives 127 families of his estimate of 170 for the whole number in Schoharie as removing, leaving but 43 families; and when I state that probably not less than that number removed to the Mohawk valley after the troubles began, we shall find Schoharie entirely depopulated; whereas a large permanent settlement remained there, and, as the result showed, of good and true material for future lasting benefits.

The want of horses and cows, which was so seriously felt by the Germans when they first located at Schoharie, was, at the time of their last migration, a source of little inconvenience, as they then owned a goodly number. The disaffected parties going to Pennsylvania, are believed to have gone by the same route. The first party is said to have passed up the Schoharie, piloted by an Indian to the Adaquitangie or Charlotte branch of the Susquehanna, and down that to the latter stream.

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\* Here is a list of the names given by Mr. Rupp, of the men who accompanied Capt. Weiser to Tulpehocken, Penn., and settled near Womelsdorf. I copy it, that Schoharie people may know where to find their cousins. "Ohrendoff, Anspach, Becker, Bayer, Briegel, Kapp, Dieter, Feeg, Fuchs, Fisser, Goldman, Hartman, Hagedorn, Heil, Keller, Kuntz, Kiester, Kuhn, Kraft, Kobel, Koch, Laucks, Wolleber, Lang, Lauer, Mueller, Moyer, Petre, Schnelder, Schauer, Theis, Zeller, Zeb, Werner, Kessler, Ross, Riegel, Everhart, Spicker, Badtord, Katterman, Lauer, Noacre, Lowenguth and others." Many of these names, although now spelled quite differently, can still be distinguished.

Brown says they arrived after a journey of five days at the Cook-house,\* where they felled large trees and made canoes, in which they floated down the Susquehanna. Here is an error in Brown's pamphlet, as the Cook-house is on the Delaware river: the canoes were wrought at the mouth of the Charlotte river. Nicholas Warner, one of the oldest citizens of Schoharie county, in the fall of 1837 assured the author that he had seen the stumps of the trees on the Charlotte branch of the Susquehanna, which Weiser and his friends felled to make the canoes from, in which their women, children and effects descended the river. Their cattle and horses were driven along the shore, and were frequently in sight of the water party, until the latter left the canoes. The Indians whom they saw on the way never molested them in their journey. They settled on the Swatara and Tulpehocken creeks, in the neighborhood, as believed, of some of their native countrymen, who

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\* I make the following extract from a letter from the Hon. Erastus Root of the New York Senate, in answer to several inquiries, dated Albany, April 11th, 1843. "You ask whence originated the name of Cook-house. Various derivations have been given, but the most natural and probable one is this: That on the large flat bearing the name, being on the way from Cohecton by the Susquehanna and Chemung to Niagara, there was a hut erected, where some cooking utensils were found. It had probably been erected by some traveler who had made it his stopping place, and had cooked his provisions there. It has been stated to me as a part of the tradition, that the hut remained many years as a resting place to the weary traveler, and that the rude cooking utensils were permitted to remain as consecrated to the use of succeeding sojourners." General Root went to reside in Delaware county in 1796.

Gen. Root was not only one of its early settlers, but for a long period was one of the most active and useful citizens of Delaware county. He was born at Hebron, Ct., in 1773, graduated at Dartmouth College in 1793, and died in 1846. He taught school for a time, and then studied law. In 1798, and for several sessions thereafter, he was a member of the State Legislature. He was elected to Congress in 1803, and subsequently on four other occasions. He was chosen Lieutenant-Governor in 1822. Politically he was a disciple of the Thomas Jefferson and George Clinton school, and had been a life-long Democrat until about 1839, when he avowed himself a member of the new Whig party, and was chosen on that ticket to the State Senate: and I may add a circumstance attending his election, which I do from memory. It was said at the time that he was elected by one majority, in a district vote of about 30,000, and what was remarkable, and serves to show the importance of a single vote, one man was sent to State's prison for casting an illegal vote for him.

Here is an anecdote of Gen. Root, while a member of the State Legislature, related to me about the year 1850 by Jacob Shew, who was a member from Montgomery county at the same time. A bill was under discussion in the House, imposing a penalty for the wanton destruction of deer, which the General warmly advocated; and at a dinner table with others, one of whom was my informant, as it happened, a fine roast of venison was placed before the former to carve. "Now," said he, as he drove the knife through the dainty dish, "all you members who will vote for the pending game-bill, can have a slice of this meat, and those who would vote against it can't have any; as for myself," he added, as he was securing for himself a savory piece, "I intend to have all I want of it."

went there via Philadelphia. Few of these Germans ever revisited Schoharie: several old men did, however, nearly fifty years after, to see a wonderful change in the valley.

Capt. Weiser is said to have become an influential man at his new home. His swift-footed son Conrad, who on his arrival in the country west of Albany, spent several months with the Mohawk Indians, enduring many hardships to acquire a knowledge of their language, became a celebrated interpreter, and was employed at many treaties and conventions held between State authorities and Indian sachems of the six nations and others, at Philadelphia, Albany and other places. He stood high in the confidence of both the colonists and the Indians. In 1755, he was appointed colonel of the troops in Berks county, in which he resided.\* On Simeon De Witt's map, showing early land patents on the south side of the Mohawk, conveyed prior to 1790, one is laid down as granted to John Conrad Weiser, in 1725, between the Otsquene and Otsquago creeks, in the present town of Minden, and about four miles from Fort Plain. Its acres are not named, supposed several thousand, however, as it is believed to have extended across the Otsquago and embraced lands along the Otskongo, a little kill that bounds the celebrated Indian Hill on its westerly side—perhaps half a mile from the Otsquago. How much he invested here, or what disposition he made of it we cannot say. As appears by this map, Rutger Bleecker secured a patent in 1729, for 4300 acres of land along the Mohawk, on both sides of the Otsquago at its outlet, embracing the present village of Fort Plain and its surroundings. These lands evidently reached Wiser's on the south. On the same map is also laid down a patent to Hartman Windecker, in 1731, for lands to the westward of Bleecker's upon which it is believed he went from Hartman's dorf, as a family of the name resided in that locality until after the Revolution, supposed of that paternal stock.

*Was it Instinct—Is not Memory the Basis of Reason?—*  
Says tradition, the following circumstance transpired, showing the instinct of the horses which accompanied the emigration to Pennsylvania. Twelve of these noble animals left their own-

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\* Doc. His. vol. 1, p. 420.

er's cribs, and after an absence from them for a year and a half, ten of them in good condition arrived at Schoharie, a distance through the wilderness of over 300 miles. It is possible they remembered the sweet-clover\* of Wiser's dorf, and longed again to munch it.

Two other not dissimilar instances of brute instinct, were told the author by Mrs. Van Slyck. About the year 1770, the Bartholomews removed from New Jersey to the Charlotte river. Soon after their arrival there, three of their horses disappeared, and after much unsuccessful searching for them, it was concluded they had strayed away and become a prey to wild beasts. Judge the surprise of the owners to learn after some time, that one of them had been taken up within two, and another within five miles of their former residence. The third was found by them near Catskill.

The other story is perhaps the most singular of the two, as the horse has given numberless instances of remarkable sagacity. Not many years from the period above cited, Ephraim Morehouse removed in the spring from Dutchess† county to the vicinity of the Charlotte river. He passed through the Schoharie valley on his way, and tarried over night with Samuel Vrooman, father of my informant. He drove with his cattle a large sow with a bell on. As Morehouse approached the end of his journey, the sow disappeared. After considerable delay in a fruitless search for her, he proceeded on his way. In the following autumn he revisited the place of his former residence, and on his return again remained over night with Vrooman. He then related the circumstance of losing his sow, and again finding her. She had returned to the old sty in due time, to the great surprise of the neighborhood. Whether she found her way by the same path or not is unknown; but to reach her former place, she had been compelled to swim the Hudson, and perform a solitary journey of one hundred miles.

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\* The land through which the little Schoharie kill, in Middleburgh, runs to the river, is to this day called the *clauver wy*, which signifies the clover pasture. When the Schoharie valley was first settled, the land along the stream was thickly covered with clover, which was seen in few other places about the Schoharie: hence the appropriate name.

† I have been asked, why spell this word with the letter t, and believing it was called after the wife of a Duke instead of a nationality, I will write it as above.



*A glance at the policy which sent the elements of good citizenship, from one Province to another.*—The plan as contemplated in England before the Palatines left there, of planting them on the frontiers of New York, was a master stroke of policy, that should at the outset have been acted upon; and although the blind zeal of Gov. Hunter in listening to interested advisers, coupled at length with no little false pride—nay, worse, with *malice*, made it most humiliating and trying for them for a few years; yet their perseverance in going there proved a most fortunate circumstance in the end for the colony and subsequently for the State; and what other provinces gained in consequence of unwise management in New York, and especially by Pennsylvania is thus hinted at by the Swede, Peter Kalm, who traveled much in the colonies in 1747 and 48.\* He says: "Though the Province of New York has been inhabited by Europeans much longer than Pennsylvania, yet it is not by far so populous as the latter. This cannot be ascribed to any particular discouragement arising from the nature of the soil, for that is pretty good; but I am told of a very different reason, which I will mention here.

"In the reign of Queen Anne, about the year 1709, many Germans came hither, who got a tract of land from the English government which they might settle. After they had lived there some time, and had built houses and churches [this latter is an error], and made corn fields and meadows, their liberties and privileges were infringed, and, under several pretences, they were repeatedly deprived of parts of their lands. [He should have said interrupted in its occupancy.] This at last aroused the Germans. They returned violence for violence, and beat those who thus robbed them of their possessions. But these proceedings were looked upon in a very bad light by the government. The most active people among the Germans being taken up, they were roughly treated, and punished with the utmost rigor of the law. This, however, so far exasperated the rest, that the greater part of them left their houses and fields and went to settle in Pennsylvania. There they were exceedingly well received, got a considerable tract of land, and were indulged in great privileges, which were given

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\* Kalm's Travels in America, vol. 1, p. 270.

them forever. The Germans, not satisfied with being themselves removed from New York, wrote to their relatives and friends, and advised them if they ever intended to come to America, not to go to New York, where the government had shown itself so unequitable. This advice had such an influence that the Germans who afterwards went in great numbers to North America, constantly avoided New York, and always went to Pennsylvania.

"It sometimes happened that they were forced to go on board of such ships as were bound for New York, but they were scarce got on shore when they hastened on to Pennsylvania, in sight of all the inhabitants of New York."

Now, although this is, to a great extent true, he is in error in saying that German emigrants to this country, after the Schoharie difficulties, "constantly avoided New York, and always went to Pennsylvania;" for accessions were continually being made to the population of German communities in New York, and from the same cause he assigned for their going to the former State, viz.: that those colonists well-established in New York, wrote back to their friends in the fatherland to come here, and they did so, greatly increasing the population of the central part of the State. Nor is this all of the picture: the Germans who went from Schoharie to Pennsylvania had to buy lands there, perhaps at as high a figure as they would have been charged for them at Schoharie; but they had now learned wisdom by experience, and were extremely careful on arriving there to secure good land titles, which they did by *purchase*, at their very earliest convenience. It is, however, true that they had the sympathy and generous influence of the Governor and State authorities of Pennsylvania, and that once known in Germany carried the tide of emigration for a time thitherward.

Mr. Rupp says that Gov. Keith, at an interview with deputies from the Schoharie emigration, granted them permission to locate upon Tulpehocken creek—the then frontier portion of the State—*on condition they would make full satisfaction to the proprietor for such lands as should be allowed them*: and he adds—"The lands they settled upon, the proprietor had not yet purchased from the Indians, which caused the natives much uneasiness and put them to some trouble, because of the Ger-

mans' cattle running at large and destroying the Indians' corn." Their sad experience in Schoharie, he says, "made the Palatines more circumspect, and cautioned them against delaying to secure a title for the lands they were about improving." They made their purchase, the proprietorship of the lands secured an Indian title to them, and they made a successful and prosperous settlement.

In speaking of the advantages to Pennsylvania from this German accession in 1738, Lieut.-Gov. Thomas, of that State, says: "This province has been for some years the asyllum of the distressed Protestants of the Palatinate and other parts of Germany, and I believe it may, with truth, be said that the present flourishing condition of it is, in a great measure, owing to the industry of those people. It is not altogether the goodness of the soil, but the number and industry of the people that make a flourishing country." Yes, that is all true, and the same may be said in favor of the German element of once Western New York; it added wonderfully to the future prosperity and greatness of the entire commonwealth.

*Schoharie Germans remove to the Mohawk valley.*—At the time of the stampede of the Palatines from Schoharie to Pennsylvania, a large body of them removed to the Mohawk valley—probably at different times, for the distance was not very great, but the greater part of 100 families are believed to have made the exodus in 1723.

I have already hinted that Hartman Windecker probably settled in the northwesterly part of Minden, and he was, no doubt, accompanied thither by a score or more of his former neighbors and acquaintances, believing that not a few of the present residents of Dutchtown and Mindenville should trace their ancestry to that source, and among them we would name the Keyzers, Hawns, Sanderses, Diefendorfs, Moyers, Houses, Timmermans, Zimmermans, Klocks, Countrymans, Millers and Zollers. Tradition says that John Christian Garlock, the founder of Garlock's dorf, removed thither, and it is believed into that part of Palatine known as Stone Arabia. On the 19th of October, 1723, a tract of land 12,700 acres, lying mostly in this town—known as the Stone Arabia patent—was granted to the following twenty-seven individuals, who had secured an indian title, viz.: John Christian Garlock, John Law-

yer, Andreas Feink, Hendrick Frey, Warner Digart, Bartholomew Rickard, Johannes Schnele, Jacob Schnele, Johannes Cromse, Johannes Ensign, William Vorks, Marden Dellinbeck, Adam Ensign, Theobold Garlock, Sufferinus Digart, William Copernall, Hans Deterick Cassalman, John Jost Schnele, Christian Feink, Simon Erchart, Marden Seibart, Elias Garlock, Johannes Ingolt, William Nelles, Andries Peiper, Lodowick Cassalman and Gerhart Schaffer.

Of those patentees the names of Lawyer and Ingold have always been known as Schoharie names, until about the year 1836, when the latter one became extinct there. They, no doubt, remained in Schoharie, only becoming interested purchasers. Hendrick Frey had gone upon these lands over 20 years before, and, no doubt, became interested in the purchase to secure a good title. Since in an equal interest in those lands each individual would be entitled to 470 acres, it is reasonable to conclude that a greater number than those named were interested in the purchase. Many of the patentees named settled in and around Stone Arabia, and half their names—though differently spelled—are now either in or contiguous to the town. The natural inference is, that these settlers went upon the lands as early as the spring of 1723. The tradition in their families is, that the Foxes and Wagners went upon the Garoga creek among the earliest removals thitherward from Schoharie, the former family erecting on that stream one of the first saw-mills as far west; and as accessions were made from the “old country” from time to time, it is difficult to determine just what other names in the towns of Minden and Palatine came into the State prior to 1720; but we may conclude that some of the following old Palatine names were among them, or came soon after, viz.: Wormuth, Cox, Paris, Saltsman, Shults, Bauder, Sitts, Eacker, Suits, Eisenlord, Lipe, Ehle, and Wick.

I have before me a map of an early survey of the Stone Arabia patent, which is without date, containing the names of 31 proprietors. Among them, and not on the list of patentees, are those of Johannes Keyser, Andreas Finck, Jr., Nicholas Diskard, Adam and Christian Empie, Wilhelmus Kasselmann, Dierick Loucks, Johannes Mynders, William Brower, Karell Eerhart, Adam Empie, Warner Teygart, Johannes Miller, Ja-

cob Sybers, George Houss, Better Soetts (Suits), Johs. Schouthey, Tilleman Van Soherlyand (Sutherland), Hendrick Six, William Nellis, Nicholas Stensell.

*A Legal Decision.*—Tradition has preserved but little respecting the Palatines, who went to the Mohawk river settlements, but here is an anecdote of one of them too good to be lost. Elias Garlock is said to have been the only acting justice of the peace among them at Schoharie. The name of the constable who aided him in administering the laws, has been lost. Only one important decision of this sage, is known to the author. His summons was usually delivered to the constable *viva voce*, and thus by him to the transgressor of the law. If the justice wished to bring a culprit before him, he gave his jack-knife to the constable, who carried it to the accused, and required him at the appointed time to appear with it before the justice. What it meant he well understood. If two were to be summoned at the same time, to the second he gave the tobacco-box of the justice, and as that usually contained a supply of the deleterious narcotic, the consequences of a failure to return it in person to the justice, in due time, were dangerous in the extreme. The decision of Justice Garlock alluded to, terminated so happily for those most interested, that I give it to the reader. A complaint having been entered before him, the knife was issued, and the parties assembled forthwith. The plaintiff told his story, which appeared simple and true. The defendant, with more zeal and eloquence, plead his cause—probably quoting some previous decisions of his honor—and made out, as the latter thought, an equally good case. After giving the parties a patient hearing, the justice gave the following very important decision: “Der blandiff and derfendur bote hash reght, zo I dezides; an pe dunder, der koonshtopple moosh bay de kosht.”

*A third Immigration of Palatines to the Colony of New York*—as appears by the minutes of council, made October 27, 1722—was made just before that date. This was a ship load from Holland, whither, I suppose, they had fled from persecution in Germany. The ship touched in England, but it does not appear that any passengers were there left or received. It was reported that many passengers had died on the voyage, but on an examination on ship-board by Doctors Braine, Nich-

ols and Cobus, they pronounced her free from contagious disease, but ordered her over to Nutten Island, that her clothes, chests, etc., might be properly aired.\* What became of this new arrival is not shown in the transcribed records, but it is reasonable to conclude that as none of the Schoharie Palatines had yet removed to Pennsylvania, and as Gov. Burnet had negotiated with the Indians for the lands in the Mohawk valley above Little Falls for some of the discontented of Schoharie, that this last arrival of Germans were allowed to go upon those lands with the promise of a title on their survey, and that they went thither in the spring of 1723, passing up the Mohawk valley, which then contained few, if any, white families above that of Hendrick Frey, nearly 25 miles below their destination.

The German Flats patent, which was for lands upon both sides of the Mohawk, and now mostly situated in the towns of Herkimer and German Flats, was dated April 30, 1723, and was granted to 92 individuals, who are believed to have been mostly of the immigration named. The conveyance was for 9,186 acres, which, in an equal division, gave about 100 acres to each person. One reason why I believe those Palatine patentees, or the most of them, were of the last ship load, is the fact that their names seem rather of a different cast from those in Schoharie, or in the valley east of them, although there was a John Jost Petry in Capt. Windecker's company, in the expedition to Canada in 1711. Not a few of those names may still be traced to that locality. It is more than probable some relationship existed between the former and the latter, which favored their immigration hither. To preserve those names in a history of the times, and that their descendants may the better trace their ancestry, I shall here record them. As we find in other instances, the English scribes at New York made sad work in anglicizing some of those names, but I choose to give their orthography as I find it.

The German Flats patent was conveyed to John Jost Petrie, Mary Eva Stareing, John Jost Temouth, Mary Breman, Agustines Hess, Jacob Bowman, Christopher Fox, Johannes Reslaer, Nicholas Reslaer, Anna Docksteder, Johannes Pouradt, Gertruyd Poueradt, Henry Heger, Elizabeth Helmer, Hendrick

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\* Doc. III., vol. 3, p. 715.

Spoon, Jr., Johan Adam Staring, Lodowick Pears, Johannes Beerman, Philip Helmer, Frederick Pell, Mary Catharine Kons, Melgart Fols, Johan Veldelent, Adam Michael Smith, John Jurgh Kast, Jr., John Adam Helmer, Nicholas Feller, Jacob Wever, Johan Jurgh Smith, Hendrick Mayer, Thomas Shoemaker, Catharine Lant, Johan Adam Bowman, Godfrey Reelee, Nicholas Weaver, Tedrigh Tetmouth, Jurgh Docksteder, Lodowick Rickart, Johannes Pellingner, Frederick Staring, Gertruyd Petri, Johannes Valden Staring, Elizabeth Edigh, Margaret Pellingner, Catharine Rickert, Anna Veldelent, Frederick Helmer, Jurgh Erghemer, Johannes Miller, Nicholas Staring, Joseph Staring, Conrad Orendorf, Hendrick Orendorf, Peter Speis, Lawrence Herter, Johan Jost Erghemar, Frederick Pellingner, Conrad Rickert, Johan Michael Edigh, Hendrick Spoon, Johannes Hess, Nicholas Weleven, Ludolph Horsing, Madalana Erghemar, Anna Mayor, Catharine Pears, Margaret Pellingner, Jacob Edich, Michael Editch, Hans Conradt Felmore, Christiana Felmore, Ludolph Shoemaker, Mary Feller, Jacob Weaver, Jr., Godfrey Reelle, Jr., Godfrey Reelle, Ephraim Smith, Elizabeth Speis, Appolona Herter, Mark Ryckert, Catharine Erghemar, Morte Smith, Jacob Fols, Lodowick Kones, John Valde Staring, Jr., Lendert Helmer, Johan Jurgh Kast, Peter Pellingner, Mark Petri, Belia Koreing, Anna Margaret Helmer, Andries Wever.

As the reader will perceive, at the period under consideration, people having two Christian names, were sure to write them both. Twenty-two of the above names were of females, but their position or interest in the purchase is unknown. These lands were granted them upon very easy terms, the State only reserving an annual quitrent of two shillings and six-pence per hundred acres, and the cultivation within three years of six acres in every one hundred. As was usual in all such documents, a reservation was made of gold and silver mines, and of timber suitable for the royal navy.

Gov. Burnet, as the successor of Gov. Hunter, found the latter had bequeathed him no little trouble and anxiety with the Schoharie settlers; for the latter might and should have been more lenient with them and looked with more favor upon their going to Schoharie—though it were against his will—since he could not himself succor and sustain them at the camps.

A little elasticity in his own selfish purposes, would not only have saved them and his successor in office a world of trouble, but as it turned out in the end, himself also. The truth of this is manifested in a letter from Gov. Burnet to the Board of Trade, November 21, 1722; and one from George Clark, Secretary of the colony, to Mr. Walpole.\*

In this letter Gov. Burnet stated that when at Albany, he expected to have fixed the Schoharie Palatines in the new settlements which he had obtained of the Indians for them at a very easy purchase—and I may add that nearly all purchases of the natives were such, for a little tobacco and rum and a few yards of cheap cloth or a parcel of gaudy trinkets, often paid for a thousand acres of good land—but he found them much divided into parties, the most cunning among them fomenting divisions to induce the greatest number to leave the province (and go to Pennsylvania), that the great tract he had purchased for them (above the Little Falls), might make large estates for the families that remained; the quantity of land being as they pretended, far short of what the Indians had represented it. He showed them the fallacy of their reasoning, but found they were disposed to undervalue what was done for them, and concluded to await for some change in their humor. But, he added, as about 60 families desired to locate by themselves, and were among those who had been the most reasonable, he had given them leave to purchase lands from the Indians between the English settlements, near Fort Hunter and Canada creek; where he said they would be still more immediately a barrier (than they would be on the lands above Little Falls which he in person had secured), against the sudden incursions of the French. He also added his testimony to the fact that, some of the Palatines for whom his predecessor had done the most, were the most apt to misrepresent him. A few cunning persons among them, he said, led the rest as they pleased, they being an honest but headstrong and ignorant people.

He said also in this connection that, "The other Palatines have since my return to New York, sent some of their body to desire a warrant and survey for the *new tract* already purchased, etc." The reader will readily see why I conclude that the disaffected from Schoharie were the ones who located in and

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\* Doc. His. vol. 3, pp. 716, 717.



about Palatine, which party Gov. Burnet called 60 families. He said he had permitted them to purchase of the Indians between Fort Hunter and the [East] Canada creek, and they did so and settled there, but as I have hinted—probably an 100 families, within a year or two, settled in the towns of Palatine and Minden. “The other Palatines desired to go on the New Tract,” that is *his* Indian purchase above Little Falls, and I have no doubt he allowed them to do so. That a few in the country before—perhaps relatives—went there with them is not improbable, and that a few of the last ship load lingered with those below for the same reason is equally probable : and as I have hinted, both parties went upon their lands in the spring of 1723; as the arrangement for their occupancy was made too late for them to erect dwellings in the preceding fall.

The letter of Secretary Clark alluded to, shows that at some period prior to the date of his letter, Gov. Hunter, wanting vouchers to aid him in settling his accounts in England, sent a certificate to him for the Schoharie Palatines to sign, going to show their subsistence at the camps pursuant to the Queen's orders, etc., with a pledge in some form to repay the King the money expended years before for their subsistence, etc. As Hunter had given him permission to make any alterations he might deem necessary, the secretary knowing the wonderful excitement the colonists were in, made a few changes calculated to quiet their fears in regard to the future, which met the approval of those interested in behalf of the late Governor. He sent the certificate by one of Hunter's friends to Albany, where on some occasion Gov. Burnet had called on the Palatines to meet him, in reference to their going into the Mohawk valley. Rejecting Clark's amended form of certificate with its balmy counsel, the agent, insisted upon their signing the paper as sent by Hunter, which they refused to do; and Gov. Burnet—who had before approved of Clark's revision of it—partook of the excitement and told them they must sign it, or they should not go upon the land he had promised them. Said Clark: “By this means they failed in their negotiations getting but very few hands to the certificate, the rest resolving to leave the province, and accordingly the greatest part of them have purchased in Pennsylvania, and are determind to go thither, thus the brigadier is balked and this province deprived of a good frontier of hardy and laborious people.”

Mr. Clarke said also in his letter that Gov. Hunter's claim was a just one—"But that threatening manner of proceeding at first and the offering of rewards to others for their hands, has injured him beyond expression." In a P. S. he added, that after much time spent in sending several times into the neighboring provinces, as well as to the remote parts of this, he had succeeded in getting vouchers to Hunter's accounts, which he would forward by the next ship. As Mr. Clarke suspected Gov. Burnet of acting in concert with the agent having charge of the certificate at Albany, he stated the circumstances to Mr. Walpole to set himself right in Europe, where he had reason to apprehend he might be misrepresented in the agency. Thus will the reader see that even Gov. Burnet lent his influence, to drive the Schoharie Palatines to Penn., to the great advantage of the latter colony. The coming of this Palatine element to this colony was thus justly alluded to in Smith's History of N. Y. "The Queen's liberality to those people was not more beneficial to them than serviceable to the colony." There was, however a strong opposition to the Queen's generosity toward these people in the House of Commons, and among other strictures on the conduct of the late ministry they said, take notice of "the squandering away of great sums upon the Palatines, who were a useless people, a mixture of all religions, and dangerous to the constitution; and they held that those who advised the bringing them over were enemies to the Queen and kingdom."\* Thus we perceive that those poor adventurers, who became a bulwark of defense in the colony of New York at a later day, were beset at their coming by foes before and behind: we see, too, that Gov. Hunter was also made sensibly to feel the truth of the maxim—*with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.*

*Condition of the Palatines at Germantown.*—The reader would, no doubt, like to know something of the Palatines left in the valley of the Hudson. When Gov. Hunter bought the 6,000 acres of Livingston's Manor in 1710, on which to plant the immigrants, the title was executed to Hunter for the use of Queen Anne and her successors; and thus the title continued until 1724, when the Germans remaining on the tract petitioned Gov. Burnet, through three of their number, Jacob S. Sherb

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\* Salmon Chron. His. as quoted by Holmes, vol. 2, p. 77.

(Sharp), Christophel Hagadorn and Jacob Shumacker, for themselves and others, to have the lands patented to them, subject to such quit-rents and restrictions as were usually granted to other patentees. The council having considered the matter, ordered the Surveyor-General to inquire how many families then upon the lands, were willing to take such grant, etc. Of the 70 families—300 or more souls of those remaining—63 were reported willing thus to purchase, having, as I infer, become somewhat the wiser from the trouble of their Schoharie friends. In the autumn of 1724 the conveyance was executed, when a glebe of 40 acres was reserved for a minister, who was also to be a school-teacher, each citizen was to retain his improved lands then in possession, and the balance was to be divided among all the inhabitants in equal shares.\* I have no proof of the fact, but presume that the Palatines still remaining at West Camp were also properly cared for at this interesting period for that people.

*A Retrospective View of Central New York*, and its further settlement by the whites—showing their customs, habits and vicissitudes from 1725 to 1775—being a period of almost constant anxiety and peril, as its hardy pioneers were obliged to become participants in the wars waged between England and France in their colonies.



Pounding corn—Home of a primitive settler doing his own milling.

Having seen Central New York peopled by Hollanders at Albany, Kingston and Schenectada, and permanent settlements

\* Doc. His., vol. 3, pp. 720-726.

begun in the Schoharie and Mohawk valleys by Germans, let us note the accessions made in and around those settlements, the progress made in subduing the forests, and the constant increase in their population and wealth against all adverse circumstances. For in the 50 years between the dates above named, Western New York, as at that period called, was filled with many of the most exciting, novel and interesting scenes that were ever crowded into the history of any country. After the Schoharie people had learned, at so much cost of mental suffering, the importance of land titles, they, as also their friends elsewhere, were careful in all their future transactions "to read their title clear."

*First Apples in Schoharie.*—There were some apple trees standing on the flats of the old Ingold—now Hollinbeck—farm,\* half a mile south of the court house, said to have been there when the Germans first arrived, supposed to have been planted by the Indians. One of these antiquated trees, at least 140 years old, was still standing in 1842, and very fruitful. Other trees of the same planting were yet bearing fruit, as the writer remembers, in 1837, but they have all since disappeared. The trees from which the first apple orchards in Schoharie were derived, were procured, Judge Brown assured me, in the following manner. One Campbell, with other individuals, went from Schoharie to New York to be naturalized, not long after the settlement was commenced. Their business accomplished, they started for home on a sloop; but not having money enough to pay their passage to Albany, they were landed at Rhinebeck, and traveled from thence on foot. Crossing the Rhinebeck flats, each pulled up a bundle of small apple trees in nurseries they passed, from which the first orchards in Schoharie were planted.

The second season after the murder of his agent Truax, in Vrooman's Land, Peter Vrooman returned to that place and established a permanent residence. He planted an apple orchard, which was yet standing in 1850, near the dwelling of the late Harmanus Vrooman, and is possibly still there.

*Mechanical Industries among the Schoharie Germans.*—There were few regular mechanics among the first settlers, on

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\* Near this ancient brick farm-house stands a modest wooden structure, which was used as the first court house, on the organization of Schoharie county.

which account native genius was more or less taxed. We have seen to what inconvenience and labor they were subjected for want of mills. The first grist mill in the county was erected by Simeon Laraway, on the small stream called Mill brook, from that circumstance, which runs into Foxescreek near Waterbury's mills. Upon a bridge which crossed this brook, Sheriff Adams was left, as already shown, in the first anti-rent war. Some part of the race-way of this mill, was still to have been seen 30 years ago. Before the erection of Simeon's mill, as called, several hand mills, like the one at Weiser's dorf, were in frequent use. In the course of 20 or 30 years after Weiser and his friends left, several other mills were established in and about Schoharie, one of which as I have shown was at Fountain's Town. One Cobel erected two mills, one of which was built on a small brook in a ravine on the south side of the road, a few rods distant from the river bridge, one mile from the court house. The other mill he erected about the same time on Cobelskill, \* which took its name from that circumstance. It stood near the mouth of the kill. It was not until about the year 1760, that bolting cloths were used in Schoharie. Henry Weaver, who owned a mill on Foxescreek, was the first who introduced them.

At nearly as late a period as the Revolution, the colonists procured most of their shoes at Albany, or at East Camp (they kept up an intercourse for some years with their Hudson river cousins), and one pair was the yearly allowance for each member of the family. They were repaired by traveling cobblers.

Those unaffected Germans were not *rotaries to fashion*. The good wife and daughters generally cut and made the rude apparel of the family, and thought it *no disgrace*. The settlers manufactured most of their buttons, and often the same garment had on those of very different sizes, of wood, horn, bone or lead.

Not having been accustomed to luxuries from childhood, they

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\* This creek took on the paternal name of the mill-wright, Judge Brown assured me. I find the name written *Cobels kill* in many of the old conveyances, and in all the early Session laws, of the State. It is, in truth, the correct orthography of the word.

The Indians called Cobelskill the *Ous ga-ra-gee*, which signifies the hemp creek. When first settled by the whites, an abundance of wild hemp grew along its banks near to the village of Cobelskill. The natives often procured it, making from it fish nets, and ropes to aid them in transporting their portable wealth.

were contented with simple fare and uncouth fashions. Their clothes, as may be supposed, did not set out a good form to very fascinating advantage. Those useless bipeds denominated, *dandies*, noted for idleness, cigars and empty pockets, were unknown in the Schoharie valley at that day : indeed, they are not numerous there now. Of course, other considerations than mere display of finery, influenced their choice of a partner for life. They had little to be proud of, consequently many of the men did not shave oftener than once or twice a month. A Dow or a Matthias would hardly have been distinguished from them had they appeared at that day.

Lawrence Schoolcraft, at the residence of Peter Vrooman, made the first cider in the county, making it as follows: The apples were first pounded in a stamper and then placed in a large basket suspended to a tree, beneath which was inserted a trough which served to catch and carry the juice compressed by weights, into a vessel for its reception. In the year 1752, the father of Judge Brown, as before shown, removed from West Camp to Schoharie. He was then a widower, and soon after his arrival married a widow, who possessed ten acres of land and about £110 in cash ; which enabled him to establish and carry on his trade successfully. He was the first wheel-right in the county. The people had manufactured a rude wagon before his arrival, with which they transported light loads. Schoharie wagons prior to 1760, had no tire on the wheels. This Brown, in 1753, made the first *cider-press* ever used in the county. The same process which prepared the pomice for Schoolcraft did for Brown, as he used the same pounder. The press was first used at Hartman's dorf, where he resided.

*The First Schools* began to be taught in the Schoharie settlements prior to 1740 ; one Spease kept the first, and one Keller the next. German teachers were employed in the German settlements, while at Vrooman's land a school was taught in Dutch. About the year 1760, English instruction was introduced into those schools, and in some instances the English, German and Dutch languages were all taught by one teacher, in the same school. Little attention was then paid to the convenience or comfort of the scholars. Barns, in some instances, became *school-houses* as well as *churches*, in summer ; and if schools were continued in the winter, a log dwelling witnessed

the child's improvement. Stoves, in those days, were unknown. The settlers had mammoth fire-places, however, and plenty of wood ; and often a large quantity was ignited at once.

Few horses were shod for many years after the settlement began ; and those persons who required any smith-work their own ingenuity could not create, were obliged to go to Albany or Schenectada to get it done. John Ecker was the first blacksmith in the Schoharie valley, and he was self-instructed.

The Germans formerly brewed a kind of domestic beer, and many in Schoharie brewed their own, and used it in place of tea or coffee.

*Slaves, how treated.*—The Germans, when they located at Schoharie, owned no slaves, nor indeed, did they for several years ; but these accompanied the Dutch on their arrival. By industry, and a proper husbanding, the wealth of the former increased rapidly, and it was not long before they, too, possessed them.

The manner in which the slaves of Schoharie were generally treated by their masters, is not inaptly described by *Mrs. Grant*, in her *Memoirs of Albany*. They were allowed freedom of speech, and indulged in many things which other members of the family were, whose ages corresponded to their own ; and to a superficial spectator, had the color not interfered, they would have seemed on an equality.

Many of the tools early used in husbandry were clumsy and uncouth. Rakes used in Schoharie were made with teeth on both sides. Hay forks were made from a stick having a suitable crotch for tines, or by splitting one end of a straight stick and inserting a wedge. The improvement made in plows since that time is as great as that made on any one implement of the cultivator.

*Threshing.*—Grain was then threshed, as it was down to 1840, by the descendants of those people who had no machines for the purpose, by the feet of horses. The process is fast giving place to the buzzing of machinery, and it may be well to relate it. In the center of a roomy barn floor an upright bar was placed, previously rendered a pivot at each end, to enter a hole in the floor below, and a corresponding one in a beam or plank overhead. Through this shaft, at a suitable height from the floor, a pole was passed, to which several horses were fastened

so as to travel abreast. Sometimes a number were fastened to each end of the pole, and, in some instances, a second pole was passed through the shaft at right angles with the first, to which horses were also attached. A quantity of sheaves being spread upon the floor, the horses were started at a round trot, thus trampling the grain from the straw. The upright, when the horses moved, turned upon its own pivots. Persons in attendance were constantly employed in turning and shaking the straw with a fork, keeping the horses in motion, removing any uncleanness, etc. The outside horse traveled much farther in his circuits than the inside one; hence they were occasionally shifted. Grain was broken less if thrashed with unshod horses. Some used a roller to aid in the process. This was a heavy, rounded timber, worked smaller at one end than the other, with square pins of hard wood inserted at proper distances the whole length. The smallest end of this roller was so fastened to the shaft as to preserve the horizontal motion of one, and the perpendicular motion of the other, at the same time. To the heavy end of the roller, horses were fastened, drawing it on the same principle that the stone wheel in an ancient bark mill was drawn. In threshing with horses, the roller was a great assistance. A similar contrivance was sometimes used by the early miners in California. Fanning-mills, for cleaning grain, were unknown in former times, it being separated from chaff by fans, or shoveling it in the wind.

*Religious Prejudice.*—Early much prejudice existed in Schoharie between the Germans and Dutch. These national antipathies were manifested in nothing more, at first, than in matters of *religion*. The early Germans were disciples to the doctrines of Martin Luther; while the Dutch, collectively, subscribed the Calvinistic, or Dutch Reformed creed. Time, however, the great healer of dissensions, aided by intelligence and liberality, has now entirely removed those prejudices. While they existed they tended to prevent that interchange of good feeling, that reciprocity or kindness, so necessary to the prosperity and happiness of an isolated people. As Judge Brown remarked, at our interview, "the Low Dutch girls formerly thought but little of the High Dutch boys," and the young people of both settlements kept separate companies for many years. In a few instances elopements took place, but they were rare, as ministers



were cautious about uniting a couple who could not produce a certificate of publication.

*Early Mechanics.*—Among the first shoemakers who worked at the trade in Schoharie was William Dietz. Few boots were then worn. Men wore low, and women high-heeled (called French heeled) shoes. Shoes were then fastened with buckles, which, like those worn at the knees, were made of silver, brass or pewter. Caleb Kosboth and John Russeau were the first tailors. They worked, as did the first shoemakers, by *whipping the cat*—from house to house. Breeches and even coats were made of deer-skins, and in some instances, of blankets, in their day: the former being fastened to striped hose at the knees with huge buckles.

One Delavergne was the first hatter, and is said to have been well patronized. Cocked, or three cornered hats were then the tip of fashion.

Fish were very plenty formerly in most of the streams in Schoharie county. For many years after the Revolution, trout were numerous in Foxescreek, where now there are few, if any at all. From a combination of causes, fish are now becoming scarce throughout the county, and need the well timed services of a Seth Greene. In many small streams, they have been nearly exterminated by throwing lime in the water. This cruel manner of taking the larger, destroys with more certainty all the smaller fish. Such a mode of fishing cannot be too severely censured.

*Bear Stories.*—Wild animals of every kind found in the same climate, were numerous in and about Schoharie, for a great length of time after the whites arrived. Bears and wolves, often appeared in droves, and were to the pioneer a source of constant anxiety and alarm. Deer, were then very numerous in this part of the State. But few incidents, worthy of notice, relating to wild animals, have come to my knowledge. One of the first German settlers was killed by a bear, between the residence of the late Josias Swart (near the old fort), and the hill east of it. He had wounded the animal with a gun, when it turned upon, and literally tore him in pieces. The Indians hunted them for food, and not unfrequently had an encounter with them. Nicholas Warner assured the author, that when a boy, he saw an Indian, named Bellows, returning

from a hunt, holding in his own bowels with his hands. He had, after wounding a large bear, met it in personal combat, and although so terribly lacerated he slew it. Jacob Becker informed me that there was an Indian about Foxescreek in his younger days, called *The-bear-catcher*, who received his name from the following circumstance. He was hunting—treed a large bear and fired upon it. The beast fell and a personal encounter ensued. The Indian, in the contest, seized with an iron grasp the lower jaw of Bruin, and a back-hug was the consequence. He succeeded in holding his adversary so firmly that the latter could not draw his paws between their bodies. Bruin had, however, in the outset, succeeded in drawing one of them obliquely across the breast of the red man, scarifying it in a fearful manner. While thus situated, holding his adversary at bay, he called to a son, who was hunting in the woods not far off, for assistance. The latter ran to the spot, and placing the muzzle of his gun between the extended jaws of the bear, he discharged it, to the great relief of his father, then so affectionately embraced. The following adventure was related by Andrew Loucks: One Warner, who was among the first settlers at Punch kill, went out towards evening to seek his cows. He met in his path a large bear, having cubs, which instantly pursued him. He ran for safety behind a large tree, round which himself and madam Bruin played bo-peep for some time—neither gaining any advantage. At length Warner seized a hemlock knot, and with it, Sampson like, slew his shaggy pursuer. This story was also told me by Jacob Becker, which was enacted near Foxescreek: John Shaeffer and George Schell went hunting. Shaeffer had a dog which treed a bear, and he being near at the time, instantly fired upon it. Bruin fell, though not passively to yield life. The dog attacked him, but was so lovingly hugged, that he cried pitiously. Shaeffer thought too much of his canine friend to see him fall a victim to such affection, and endeavored to loosen one of the bear's paws: but, as he seized it, it was relaxed, and quicker than thought thrown round so as to include in the embrace his own arm. Shaeffer might as easily have withdrawn his hand from a vise. When he found he had caught a *tartar*, or, rather, that the bear had, he hallooed for his companion to come to his assistance and reach him his tomahawk. Many of

the white hunters, in former times, were as careful to wear tomahawks as were their Indian neighbors. The missile was handed very cautiously, and Shaeffer buried the blade of it in the brains of his game, to the relief of his other arm and the resuscitation of the dog.

December 15, 1753, a squaw and her child were killed by a bear near her dwelling at Schoharie, which soon devoured a part of her and her child. An Indian soon after came to her assistance with a gun, and fired five times, and at last was obliged to cut a large hand spike and dispatch him.—*New York Gazette and Post Boy*, Jan., 1754.

*Middleburgh Hills.*—The three most prominent hills east of Middleburgh village, are called the Fireburg, Ameiseburg, and Clipperburg. The first the most southern, took its name (as Geo. Warner informed the author) from the following circumstance. A tar barrel having been raised to the top of a tall tree on that hill, it was, at a particular hour of a certain night, set on fire, to ascertain if the light could be seen from the residence of Sir William Johnson, in Johnstown, at whose instigation it was done. Whether it was seen there or not, tradition does not inform us, but the circumstance originated a name for the hill. Ameiseburg, the next one north, signifies the ant-hill, or hill of ants; it having been, in former times, literally covered with those insect mounds. Clipperburg, directly north of Ameiseburg, signifies the rocky-hill, or hill scantily covered with vegetation. It is now known as the Sager—Warner mountain, and is often visited by pleasure seeking parties; for its salubrious air and splendid prospect.

*A Panther Story.*—This story was related to me by Maria Teabout. She with several other individuals, was on the Fireburg before the Revolution, when a loud scream like that of a child was heard some distance off, to which she made answer by a similar one. She was told by the men to keep still, that it was a *painter*, the vulgar name for panther, and by answering it they would be in great danger. "A painter!" she exclaimed, "what then is a painter?" Being young and heedless, she continued to answer its cries, until her companions, alarmed for their own safety, had taken flight, and she found herself alone. As she was part native\* she felt little fear, until the near ap-

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\* She was half Indian, and in 1837, was nearly 90 years old.

proach of the animal struck her with terror. She had no time left to secure a safe retreat, but instantly concealed herself in a hollow tree. The animal approached so near that she saw it from her concealment, but as that did not see her, it went back in the direction from whence it came. In the meantime, those who had fled on the panther's approach, went home and reported Maria as slain in an awful manner. A party, consisting of Col. Zielie, with half a dozen of his neighbors, and a few Indians, all mounted on horseback and armed with guns, set out to seek and bring whatever of Maria might be left, by the panther. Leaving their horses near the entrance, they went into the woods and called to her. She heard the voice of Col. Zielie, and came out from her hiding place. The Indians then declared they would soon have the panther, and fixing a blanket on a stump so as to present a tolerable effigy of one of their party, they all fell back behind trees. An Indian then began to call, and was soon answered by the animal, which approached stealthily. When it came in sight, it fixed its eyes on the effigy, and crawling along with the stillness of a cat, it approached within a few paces, from whence it bounded upon it with the speed of an arrow. In an instant the blanket was torn into strings, and as the disappointed animal stood lashing its sides furiously with its tail, looking for the cause of the voice (panthers having no belief in ghosts), a volley of rifle balls laid it dead on the spot. The skin was taken off, and some slices of the *critter*, as Natty Bumppo would call it, were taken home by several of the Indians to broil. Few panthers have been killed in the county since the remembrance of any one living in it. One of the last was shot long since, on Foxescreek.

The sagacious beaver was a resident of this county on the arrival of the Germans. They were numerous along Foxescreek, and at a place called the Beaver-dam, on that stream, which is now in the town of Berne, Albany county, they had several dams.

*A Dangerous Encounter.*—Wild-cats were numerous in Schoharie formerly. The following anecdote is related of old Doctor Moulter, a physician who lived on Foxescreek about the time of the Revolution. He awoke one night to hear an unusual noise among his setting geese. Without waiting to dress, or seize upon any weapon, he ran out to learn the cause of

alarm. On arriving at the scene of action, although his prospect was sombre, he discovered the cause of disturbance in an unwelcome animal, that was paying its devoirs to mistress goose. He ran up and seized it by the neck and hind legs, and although it struggled hard to regain its liberty, he succeeded in holding it until his boys, to whom he called for assistance, came and killed it. The reader may judge his surprise, when, on taking it to the light, it proved to be a good sized wild-cat. Had he caught it otherwise than he did, it is highly probable that, in his nude state, he would have repented his grasp or lost his life. Many anecdotes are told of this same Dr. Moulter, an eccentric and well-known citizen. When he located at Schoharie he was afraid to ride on horseback, unless some one led his horse by the bridle. Those who led his nag for him grew tired of gratifying his whims, and would occasionally let go his reins, and leave him to shift for himself. This kind of treatment soon taught the old doctor the skill of horsemanship. He is said to have doctored for witches, and promulgated the doctrine of witchcraft. Nor was he wanting in believers, as no dogmas, however *doggish*, need much preaching to gain proselytes.

*First Distiller.*—Francis Otto, who is said to have established the first distillery in the county (which was for cider-brandy, and stood half a mile east of the court house), was also a kind of doctor. In fact, he was one of that useful class, who can turn their hand to almost anything; being a brandy-maker, a doctor, phlebotomist, a barber, a fortune-teller, etc. He, too, believed in witchcraft. His death took place just before the Revolution, in the following manner: He had spent the evening at the John Ingold dwelling, and left there to go home, with the bosom of his shirt filled with apples. He may, to have kept off the chill of the evening, and increase his courage, have tasted a potation of his own distilling, of which he was fond. On the following morning he was found in a bruised state, still alive, having fallen off the rocks not far from his own dwelling, but died soon after. As he was much afraid of witches, it was generally believed that they had thrown him off the rocks. Thus ended the first distiller, poor Otto, of bewitching memory.

*A Successful Hunter.*—Deer, as remarked, were numerous in Schoharie formerly. Jacob Becker related this story. An old Indian, who lived in Garlock's dorf, was very skillful in the

use of the bow and arrow. This Indian stationed himself at a run-way the deer had on the north side of Foxescreek, not far from Becker's mill, now Shutter's Corners. It was at a place where a small stream of water descends from the hill, affording a path from that to the flats below. At this place this Indian was concealed, when a noble deer came down the declivity. An arrow from his bow pierced the heart of the unsuspecting victim, when it bounded forward a few paces and fell dead. Another deer descended, and a second arrow left a bleeding victim near its fellow. Another and another descended to meet a similar fate, until six in quick succession had fallen near together. There were times when, like the one named, the arrow was as trusty as the rifle ball. The distance must not be great, however, and the bow must be drawn by a skillful hand. The arrow, giving no report, the Indian was enabled, by his masterly skill, to bring down six, when a single discharge from a rifle would have sent the five hindmost deer on the back track. The arrow, however, would not tell upon a distant object like the rifle ball, and great muscular strength was required to send it, even at a short distance, to the heart of a bounding buck.

*Rattle-Snakes* were very numerous formerly along the north side of Foxescreek, and the west side of the Schoharie. Hundreds were often killed in a single day at either place. Neighborhoods turned out in the spring about the time they came from their dens, in the latter part of April, or early part of May, to destroy them. A few still remain at both places. It was not uncommon in raising a sheaf of wheat, on the flats near the hills—which afford their favorite haunts, as early as the Revolution—to find one or more of those serpents under it. They were but little dreaded then, especially by the Indians, for, if they could get at the wound with their mouth, suction, with other applications, generally saved the bitten. *The Indians*, said Andrew Loucks, *rubbed their legs with certain roots, to avoid being bitten by rattle-snakes*, and made use of several kinds of roots and plants, in effecting a cure for their bite. The knowledge they had of botany, although limited, was of a practical nature, and enabled them not unfrequently to effect a cure, when the application of a mineral compound would have destroyed. This country, undoubtedly, affords an herb for

every disease of the climate, that is curable, and great attention should be paid to the study and medical application of *Botany*. Rattle-snakes diminish rapidly in numbers, if hogs are allowed to run where they infest. They will eat them, with the exception of the head, whenever they take them. There are *individuals*, in fact, who eat those venomous reptiles, and pronounce them palatable. The late Major Van Vechten, of Schoharie, formerly ate them, and at times invited his friends to the banquet. On one occasion (in 1836) he had several young gentlemen—students from Union College—to partake with him, who were ambitious to be able to say they had eaten of a “sarpen<sup>t</sup>.” Did they taste flavorful? One would suppose the idea of eating a *rattle-snake* would sicken the eater, save in cases of approaching starvation.

I have been thus particular to notice the habits and customs of the Schoharie people, and circumstances attending their manner of living, etc., because I was fortunate enough to obtain them when attainable, knowing that in the picture of their primitive habits, I should reflect those of other local settlements of their national brethren, who immigrated with them, or came hither soon after. Here, too, is some matter relating to their lands, titles, etc.

The Schoharie Indians, says Brown, claimed the lands lying about Schoharie, and made some sales, but were interrupted in those transfers of lands by the Mohawks, who proved that the land given to Karighondontee’s wife, at the time her husband settled, was to be no more than would be required to plant as much corn as a squaw could hold in her petticoat ; which, he adds, would be reckoned about a skipple. A squaw’s petticoat neither has great length or breadth ; but the reader will understand that the grain was carried in the garment, not on the person but in the manner of a sack.

But a few years after the Schoharie Germans had their difficulties with Bayard, and Sheriff Adams, they began to secure land not only of the seven partners, but also of the natives, and made transfers among themselves.

A bond in the writer’s possession, given for what is unknown, by “John Andrews of Scorre [Schoharie], to John Lawer [Lawyer], for 26 pounds 3 shillings, corrant money of New York, dated the 3d day of May, in the fifth year of our Sove-

reign Lord George I., king of Great Britain, France and Ireland, and in the year of our Lord God, 1720, shows the earliest date of any paper I have met with, that was executed between the early settlers in the Schoharie valley. The bond is written in a fair, legible hand, and most of the orthography is correct.

In the early conveyances, lands in the vicinity of the Schoharie Court House, were located at "Fountain's town, Fountain's flats, and Brunnen or Bruna dorf." Some of the old deeds bound those lands on the "west, by the Schoharie river, and on the east, on the king's road." The road then ran near the hill east of the old Lutheran parsonage house, now standing; leaving nearly all the flats west of it. In ancient patents, the brook above Middleburgh village is called the Little Schoharie; which name I have chosen to adopt.

*A Permit to Buy Land.*—Many of the Indian sales of lands in Schoharie county, were legalized by the Governor and council of the colony. The following paper, which is copied verbatim et literatim, will show the usual form of a *royal permit*, to buy lands of the Indians.

"By His Excellency the Hon. George Clinton, Captain-General and Governor in Chief of the colony of L. S. New York, and Territories thereon depending in America, Vice Admiral of the same and Admiral of the White Squadron of his Majesty's Fleet.

"To all to whom these presents shall come or may concern, Greeting :—

"Whereas Johannes Becker, Jr., Johannes Schaffer, Jr., Hendrick Schaffer, Jr., and Jacobus Schaffer, by their humble petition presented unto me and read in Council this Day, have prayed my license to purchase in his Majesty's name, of the native Indian proprietors thereof, six thousand Acres of some vacant Lands, Situate, Lying and being in the County of Albany, on the North side of the Cobelskill, and on the East of the Patent lately granted to Jacob Borst, Jacob C. Teneyck and others near Schoharie: in order to obtain His Majesty's Letters Patent for the same or a proportionate quantity thereof. I have therefore thought fit to give and grant, and I do by and with the Advice of his Majesty's Council, hereby give and grant unto the said Petitioners, full Power, Leave



and lycense to purchase in his Majesty's Name of the Native Indian Proprietors thereof, the Quantity of Six thousand Acres of the vacant Lands aforesaid. Provided the said purchase be made in one year next after the Date hereof, and conformable to a report of a Committee of His majesty's Council of the second day of December, 1736, on the Memorial of Cadwallader Colden, Esq., representing several Inconveniences arising by the usual Method of purchasing lands from the Indians. And for so doing this shall be to them a sufficient lycense.

“Given under my Hand and Seal at Arms, at Fort  
George, in the City of New York, the sixteenth Day of  
November, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-two.

“By his Excellency's command, G. CLINTON.”

“GEO. BANYAR, *D. Sec'y.*”

A conveyance made in December, 1752, of 1500 acres of land in “New Dorlach,” now in the town of Seward—bounds it on “West creek”—west branch of the Cobelskill beginning at a bank called in an Indian conveyance, “*Onc-en-ta-dashe.*” This I suppose to have been the Indian name of the mountain south of Hyndsville. When the county of Tryon was organized, it took in “New Dorlach;” which was embraced in Otsego county on its organization; and subsequently became a part of Schoharie county.

The parties to an indenture, made November 30th, 1753, were Johannes Scheffer, Christ Jan Zehe, Johannes Lawyer, Michael Borst, Johannes Borst, Johan Jost Borst, Michael Hilkinger, William Baird, Jacob Borst, Michael Bowman, Johannes Brown, Barent Keyser, Peter Nicholas Sommer, Johannes Lawyer Sen, Hendrick Heens, and William Brown. It was a purchase of 15,000 acres of land on the north side of the Otsegar-rege, or Cobelskill, about seven miles westerly from Schoharre.”

The author has in his possession a parchment copy of letters patent, dated March 19, 1754, granted in the reign of George II., under the administration of George Clinton as Governor, and James De Lancey, Lieutenant-Governor, to John Frederick Bauch [now Bouck], Christian Zehe, Johannes Zehe, Michael Wanner [Warner] and Johannes Knisker [Kneiskern], “For a certain Tract of Land lately purchased by them of the Native Indian

proprietors thereof, situate, lying and being in the county of Albany, to the westward of Schoharry, and on the south side of a creek or brook, called by the Indians *Ots-ga-ra-gee*, and by the inhabitants Cobelskill, containing about *four thousand eight hundred* Acres, and further bounded and described as by the Indian purchase thereof, bearing date the Ninth day of November last, might appear." The patent grants among other things, *Fishings, Fowlings, Hunting and Hawking*; reserving at the same time *Gold and Silver* mines, and "All trees of the Diameter of twenty-four Inches and upwards at twelve Inches from the ground, for Masts for our Royal Navy. And also all such other trees as may be fit to make planks, knees, and other things necessary for the use of our said Navy:" with the privilege of going on and cutting the timber thus reserved, at any time or in any manner. The following singular sentence appears in the patent. The purchasers, after being individually named, were, with their heirs and assigns forever, "To be holden of us, our heirs and successors in fee and common socage, as of our Mannor of East Greenwich, in the County of Kent, with our Kingdom of Great Britain, yielding, rendering and paying therefor yearly, and every year forever, unto us our heirs and successors, at our Custom House in Our City of New York, unto our Collector or Receiver General there for the time being, on the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary, commonly called Lady day, the yearly Rent of *two shillings and six pence* for each and every hundred acres of the above granted Lands, and so in proportion for any lesser quantity thereof." Within three years after the date of the patent, the purchasers whose interest was equal, were required "to settle and effectually cultivate at least *three* Acres of every *fifty* Acres, of the land capable of cultivation." The conveyance was to be invalidated by the wanton burning of the growing timber.

About the year 1760, says *Brown*, the Mohawks began to sell large tracts of land around Schoharie, through Sir William Johnson, the royal agent of Indian affairs of the six nations for the British Government. These conveyances to be legal, he adds, were required to be made in his presence, he usually taking good care to secure a valuable interest to himself.

Land was considered of little value among the pioneer settlers of New York, and large tracts were often disposed of for an

inconsiderable sum. The following certificate, found among the papers of the late Philip Schuyler, of Schoharie, will serve to show from its vague limits, the value set by the owner on a large tract of now valuable land.

"I do hereby certify to have sold to Messrs. Philip Schuyler and Abram Becker, and their associates, the Flats of the Cook House with an equal quantity of upland near the path going to Ogwage [Oquago].—And I hereby permit them to take up or mark off any quantity of land they may farther think proper, on the west side the said Cook House branch, granted to me, the subscriber, by the Governor and Council of this province of New York.

Albany, 19th June, 1773.

TH. BRADSTREET."

Attached to this certificate is an affidavit made by George Mann in 1818, before Peter Swart, a Judge of the court of common pleas for Schoharie county, which states that in the month of June, 1773, being then at the Indian village of "Orgquago," he saw "Philip Schuyler pay to the Chiefs of the Indian tribe of the same name, in behalf of John Bradstreet, the sum of \$100, which he understood to be money received by them in consideration of a deed for a certain tract of land given by the said Chiefs to the said Bradstreet, and which land was situated on the west branch of the Delaware river, commonly called the Kokehouse branch.\* He adds that Alexander Campbell, John H. Becker and David Becker, were also present at the time.

*Slaves in Schoharie.*—I have before remarked that the Schoharie people owned slaves. Many of them were either purchased in the New England States, or of New England men. A certificate of the sale of a black girl about *thirteen years of age*, given on the 7th day of July, 1762, by "John McClister of Connecticut, to Jacob Lawyer of Schoharie," for the sum of *sixty pounds*, [\$150], New York currency, will probably show the average value of female slaves at that day. At a later period, able bodied male slaves often sold as high as \$250. When slaves were purchased out of the colony, a duty was required to be paid on them, as the following certificate of the Mayor of Albany will show.

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\* Koke is the Dutch of cook—to prepare food to eat.

"These are to Certify, y<sup>t</sup> Nine negro men and women has been Imported Into y<sup>e</sup> County of Albany from New England, and according to an Act of y<sup>e</sup> Governor, y<sup>e</sup> Council, and the generall Assembly ; William Day has paid y<sup>e</sup> Duty for said negro men and women : witness my hand this twentieth Day of Aug<sup>t</sup>. 1762.

VOLKERT P<sup>r</sup>. DOUW, *Mayor*.

Five of the above mentioned slaves were sold at Schoharie.

*Public Roads.*—While New York was a British province, public roads were called "The King's Highways," and were kept in repair by a tax levied by officers under the crown. Individuals were not compelled at that period to fence in their lands along the highways, but where the line fence between neighbors crossed them, they placed gates. This was a source of constant vexation to the traveler, who often complained that there were more obstructions of the kind than necessity required. Accordingly, to remedy the evil, a legislative act was passed, by which those obstructions could only be placed across the *King's road* by a legal permit ; signed by several of His Majesty's justices of the peace. The traveler was annoyed by gates across the highway in thickly settled communities in the Mohawk and Schoharie valleys for some years after the American Revolution.

John Lawyer, named in the bond of 1720, and father of one of the first white children born in Schoharie, was one of the principal settlers at Brunnen dorf ; was the first merchant among those Germans, trading, as believed, in the old stone building which stood some 20 rods southwesterly from the Lutheran parsonage, which building, then standing on the premises of Chester Lasell, was burned about 1857 or 1858. Tradition says he erected a grist-mill near his store, which, with an over-shot wheel, was driven by water from the great spring at the parsonage, in an aqueduct. He was a flax hatcheler in Germany. The natives were among his most profitable customers, with whom he bartered blankets, Indian trinkets, calicoes, scarlet cloth, ammunition, rum, etc., for valuable furs, dressed deer skins, and other commodities of the times. He was one of the best informed among the Germans, who settled the county. He was a good business man, and aided many who purchased land in making their payments, ever sustaining the reputation

of an honorable dealer. He became a widower when about 80 years old, and married a widow in New York city. He sent word to have one of his sons meet him in Albany, but they were so displeased with his marriage that none of them would go. One Dominick took the happy couple to Schoharie, where they ever after spent the honeymoon. It has been stated that he had several children by this late marriage. Judge Brown assured the writer that he had, indeed, but that they were not very young when he married their mother.

A second John Lawyer, who usually wrote his given name Johannes (the German of John), a son of the one mentioned above, succeeded his father in the mercantile business. He became a good surveyor, and surveyed much land in and around Schoharie county. He was also an extensive landholder, owning at least 25,000 acres of land, and his name appears in very many conveyances made in that county before the year 1760. A well executed portrait of this man, in the fashion of that day, is now in possession of his descendants.

I have before me a copy of the *will* of this man, which was dated March 10, 1760, by which it appears he was then a merchant. He had three sons and two daughters, and his will so disposed of his large estate, as to be equally distributed on the death of his widow, to the surviving children and the lawful heirs of the deceased ones.

Not all parents at the present day in Schoharie county, imitate the commendable example of this wealthy man, and divide their property *equally* between sons and daughters. The latter, who are by nature the most helpless, are frequently unprovided for; and while a son or sons are enjoying the rich inheritance of a "wise father," a worthy daughter is sometimes compelled, on the death of her parents, either to marry against her own good sense a man unworthy of her, or feel herself really dependant on the *charity* of those from whom she should not be compelled to ask it. Are fathers *wise* who make such wills?

Johannes Lawyer was succeeded by a son, his namesake, in the mercantile business. Lawrence Lawyer, one of his sons, who was still living—a very old man—in Cobelskill in 1837, informed me that some person in New York presented his father with a small cannon while in that city purchasing goods, a short time previous to the French war: and that during that war,

whenever the Schoharie Indians—who were engaged with the Mohawks under Sir William Johnson—returned home with scalps of the enemy, *this cannon was fired for joy*. Thus we perceive that the very cruel Indian custom of *scalping*—condemned in the savages during the Revolution 20 years after—the whites had approved in the French war, and demonstrated that approval by the discharge of cannon. Can we blame the unlettered savage for continuing a custom *his fathers*—indeed, *we ourselves* have taught him to think fair and honorable, by our own public approval and celebration? Ought we not rather to pity the injured Indian, and censure ourselves for encouraging his love of *cruelty* instead of *mercy*?

I learned from this old patriot, who was one of the early settlers of Cobelskill, the origin of the name *Punch-kill*. His grandfather took a patent of lands adjoining this stream: and on running out the lines in making a survey, *punch* was made and freely drank on the premises, on which account the brook was called *Punch-kill*, and has been so called ever since. This kill is in the northeast part of the town, and falls into the Cobelskill.

*Funerals.*—It was formerly customary, not only in Schoharie, but in nearly every county in the state, to provide refreshments at *funerals*. Indeed, as late as 1825, the custom of providing liquor on such occasions was in vogue, and the bearers and friends of the deceased were expected to return to the house of mourning after the burial, and drink. Neither was it at all uncommon for people in those days to go home from a funeral drunk: but the barbarous custom of passing the intoxicating bowl on such occasions, has become obsolete. It is said that John Lawyer, the second one mentioned in this connection kept a barrel of wine for several years before his death to be drank at his funeral: that it was carried out on that occasion in pails, freely drank, and many were drunk of it. Cakes were carried round at such times in large baskets, and in some instances a funeral appeared more like a festival than the solemn sepulture of the dead. The old people give a plausible reason for the introduction of such a custom in this country. Its inhabitants were sparsedly settled over a large territory, and many had to go a great distance to attend funerals,—and as all could not be expected to eat a regular meal from home, those extra provis-

ions were made for friends present from remote sections. A custom of this kind once introduced, *even if at the time justifiable*, it is easy to perceive might be continued in after years, until it became obnoxious to sympathy and reprehensible. The Palatines brought this habit of funeral feasting from the fatherland.

The following is the copy of a well written receipt, in the hand writing of the second mentioned John Lawyer, his name being there written as the contraction of Johannes. It was doubtless given as it purports, for liquor drank at a funeral.

“*Schoerie, March 29, 1738.*”

“Then Received of John Schuyler the sum of Twenty Shillings for five galing [gallons] of Rum at the Bearing [burying] of Maria Bratt. Recd by me.      **JOHS. LAWYER.**”

*Indian Characteristics.*—The Schoharie Indians had but few serious difficulties with the early white settlers. Judge Brown mentions in his pamphlet that a squaw once shot a man on the Sabbath, while returning from church. The Indians often had personal broils among themselves, and generally settled them in their own savage way. Brown also states that in his time he saw one William, a son of Jan, stab and kill another Indian at the house of David Becker, in Weiser's dorf. The eye-witness of the act informed the author, that the Indian killed was called John Coy. David Becker then kept a public house, which stood on the present site of the parsonage house of the brick church in Middleburgh. John had a child in his arms in the bar-room, and was asked by William, another Indian, to drink with him. The former declined drinking, and walked out of the room upon a piazza in front of the house. William soon after followed him out and buried the blade of a long knife in his back—which he did not attempt to draw out—and departed. John died almost instantly. The cause of this assassination informant did not know: it is doubtless to be attributed to the red man's curse—*alcohol*.

Mrs. Van Slyke related the following traditionary story, which serves to illustrate another phase of Indian character. At a house which stood on the farm owned by Henry Vrooman in 1845, and contiguous to Wilder Hook, about the year 1750, one Indian stabbed another on the threshold of the door to the en-

trance into the upper part of it. The deed was committed in the evening, and was the result of a former quarrel. The tribe took little notice of the act, but when the corpse of the murdered man was about to be lowered into the grave, the father of the murderer required his son to get into it to dig one end deeper. He did so, and while standing there, the father sunk a tomahawk into his brains. He was laid down in the *narrow house* with his implements of war beside him—the other victim placed upon the body of his murderer, and both buried together. Thus bodies which in life were rendered so hateful to each other by the savage spirits which controlled them, mingled into one common earth after death, by the fiendish act of a father; who, by endeavoring to punish the believed wrong of a son, became himself the most guilty of the two. However unnatural an act like this may seem, it was by no means uncommon among the unlettered sons of the forest. The father often assumed the responsibility of punishing the son, and the son the father, for misdemeanors which might have a tendency to disgrace the avenger, even to the taking of life.

The following anecdote will show another peculiarity of the Indian character. One of the Schoharie chiefs, named Lewis, is said to have gone to battle—in a French Canadian war,—scalped a squaw, taken her home as his prisoner, and afterwards made her his wife and the mother of his children.

The Indians were in the annual habit, to considerable extent, of taking up a temporary residence near a corn field—when the corn became eatable—proving unprofitable neighbors to the whites, as they often destroyed more than they carried away.

*A Glance at Passing Events.*—From the time the several white settlements were planted in the Schoharie and Mohawk valleys, although there were jealousies and rivalries between the English and French nations as to which should weave the strongest chain of friendship among the Iroquois, and secure their fur trade: those pioneer settlers were very little disturbed in their homes down to 1754, or the period denominated the old French war. There were, however, several occasions in which the colonists of New England and New York took a part in invading Canada. David Kerth—written by English writers Kirk—captured Quebec by shipping, July 19, 1629, just 130 years before its final conquest by Gen. Wolfe. It was again re-



stored to France, by treaty, March 17, 1632.\* It would have saved England and her American colonies a world of trouble, had Canada never been ceded back by treaty, and Central New York would probably have been civilized nearly an hundred years earlier.

Again, after many mutations and vicissitudes in the colonial affairs of England and France, they found themselves in 1746—114 years after England had restored Canada to France—in more complicated difficulties than ever; when an expedition was undertaken to conquer the Canadas, Gov. Shirley, of Massachusetts, having much to do with the enterprise. In this year, said the historian Smith [page 482], the French and Indians had become so elated with success, that marauding parties of them were frequently seen within a little distance of Albany, laying in wait to take prisoners. An Indian called To-mon-wil-e-mou was celebrated for such adventures. The programme laid down was much as follows: Captain, afterwards Admiral Sir Peter Warren, with a British fleet, was to take on board at Louisburg what troops were sent from England, with 5,300 colonial troops furnished by the then four New England colonies, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, and ascend the St. Lawrence to attack Quebec; while 3,900 troops, raised in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, were to assemble at Albany and march thence against Crown Point and Montreal; and Gov. George Clinton, of New York, was to secure the co-operation of the Six Nations with the western army. The colonies, loyal to the crown, and anxious to see Canada wrested from France, and a source of frequent alarm upon the frontiers effectually removed, readily furnished their quotas of the troops.

The readiness having been made on the part of the colonies, they awaited with anxiety, month after month, for the British transports to arrive with the promised troops and a General to command them, until in a consultation between Admirals Warren and Pepperell and Gov. Shirley, it was judged that the season was too far advanced to execute the designs against Quebec: but it was still thought practicable, with the troops that could be assembled at Albany, and the friendly Indians of the Six

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\* Holmes' *Am. Annals*, vol. 1, pp. 251, 265.

Cantons, to prosecute the enterprise against Crown Point. At this juncture a French fleet consisting of 40 ships of war, besides transports bearing nearly 4,000 troops—the most powerful naval armament ever then seen in American waters—under command of D. Anville, arrived at Nova Scotia.

Its main object was supposed to be not only to operate against the English fleet on the coast, but to recapture Louisburg, take Annapolis, destroy Boston, and break up the settlements on the eastern coast, if not in fact to conquer all New England, then the most thickly settled of the colonies. All was for a time consternation in this country, and especially along the frontiers of New England and New York. After a few weeks, however, this great anxiety was relieved by the intelligence that the French fleet had been scattered and greatly crippled by a storm which wrecked many of the ships with an immense loss of life. Other disasters befel the French. Four ships of war expected from Hispaniola to join the fleet had failed to connect; while a pestilential fever had prevailed among the French troops, and, added to this, intercepted letters led them to expect the arrival of an English fleet.

These adverse circumstances produced a division of sentiment among the French officers, and caused the sudden death of D' Anville, either by an apoplectic fit or poison; while D' Estournelle who succeeded to the command, was so excited by the rejection of his plans in a council of his officers, who were for returning immediately to France, that his agitation brought on a fever in which delirium succeeded, and he fell upon his own sword and expired. The French, however, resolved to make an attempt to capture Annapolis, but scarcely had they sailed with this intent, when they were overtaken by a terrible tempest near Cape Sable, and what ships escaped fatal disaster, were so demoralized, that they at once returned singly to France. Thus by a combination of unlooked for events beyond human control, were the plans of the French thwarted and the country saved from much blood shed and desolation. "A more remarkable instance of preservation seldom occurs," and had it been otherwise, one could hardly conjecture what the result might have been.\*

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\* Holmes' Annals, vol. 2, pp. 168-172.

It was in the midst of the preparations making for the contemplated attempt to capture Canada, which resulted so remarkably for the English colonists, that Gov. Clinton secured the services of Wm. Johnson, the young Mohawk valley tradesman, to take the Indian agency of the six nations, and render them as far as possible, available for a demonstration against Crown Point and Canada. Here and thus began the public career of this remarkable man, who afterwards became possessed of such unbounded influence over the Indians of New York. It seems surprising that his name did not thus early get into Holmes' Annals of the events of 1746, but it is no doubt because at that period those events found their chroniclers in New England.

*Other Frontier Settlements.*—Here and there a small settlement sprang up, from time to time, in the early period of Western New York, around the few already mentioned, which deserve our notice. August 18, 1738, John Lindsay took a patent for 1,965 acres of land, and on the same day, with Jacob Roseboom, Leonard Gansevoort and Sybrant Van Schaick, also secured a patent, beside the first, for 7,050 acres, both tracts containing 9,015 acres of land. Those lands were situated mostly in the present town of Cherry Valley, and, consolidated, became known as the Cherry Valley patent. On May 24, 1739, John Lindsay, took a patent for 500 acres on the Cherry Valley creek, which he found the previous grants did not embrace. The head waters of the Cherry Valley creek—one of the sources of the Susquehanna—ran through these lands. The Canajoharie creek also rises near the former creek, and flows in an opposite direction to the Mohawk. On the latter stream, only two or three miles from Cherry Valley, is a gorge in which is a waterfall, called, on the De Witt map of 1790, by the Indian name "*Tu-ay-on-na-ron-wa* Fall." But a short distance from this little cascade, Lieut. Matthew Wormuth was killed in 1778, as will be shown. In modern times this cascade has been called the *Te-ka-har-o-wa*, but on what authority I cannot say.

Mr. Lindsay, who was a Scotch gentleman of substance, also secured a patent August 24, 1736, with Philip Livingston, for 3,000 acres in the present town of Danube, bounded northeasterly by the Mohawk; and August 22, 1738, he patented 460

acres of land now in Greene county, and was possibly interested in other land purchases.

I shall give the reader a brief account of the first settlement of Cherry Valley, drawn chiefly from Campbell's *Annals of Tryon County*. Thinking a life among the wild cherries would be romantic and pleasant, in 1739 Mr. Lindsay obtained an assignment from his three partners to the largest Cherry Valley tract for himself and Gov. Clark—who, as Governor, had first granted it—and they had it surveyed and laid out in lots. In the spring of 1740, Mr. Lindsay removed his family from New York city upon one of the best farms in his Cherry Valley purchase, and the locality became known as Lindsay's Bush. There may possibly have been here and there a settler within a few miles of him ; but if any such there were nearer than those contiguous to the Mohawk valley, a dozen miles distant, it is now unknown. On going into their country and upon their hunting grounds, Mr. Lindsay—as did all similar adventurers—found it necessary to cultivate the friendship of the Indians.

A family from refined life, isolating itself in the woods among Indians and wild beasts, could reasonably have expected to find only a life of very severe romance, and such an one proved that of the Lindsay family the first season ; for in the winter following its arrival, not having made ample provision for its wants, it became straitened for food ; and there being a great depth of snow on the ground, its necessities were only to be relieved by the kindness of an Indian, who, upon snow-shoes, went to the Mohawk river settlements and returned with a supply of necessities upon his back. Thus were the whites often befriended into successful homes and colonies by the natives, whose lands and country they were slowly but surely robbing them of.

In the spring of 1741, Mr. Lindsay made the Rev. Samuel Dunlap, of New York, the gift of a good farm to settle upon his tract, which he accepted, and used his influence to induce others to go with him, among whom were David Ramsey, William Gallt, James Campbell and William Dickson—known at the time as Scotch-Irish—in all about 30 souls. Mr. Dunlap, who was from the Emerald Isle, returned thither after a short residence at Cherry Valley, to fulfil a marriage contract, and returning with his wife he became a permanent settler, and the first minister of that place. He was a liberally educated man,

and taught the first grammar school, as believed, to the westward of Albany; and among his pupils were not a few from the Mohawk valley settlements, some of whom were representative men in the Revolution. Among the settlers making accessions within a few years to the Cherry Valley settlement—so named, because of its numerous wild cherry trees—was John Wells, of New York, an Irishman, who later in life became a justice of the peace, and a very useful citizen. Mr. Lindsay, knowing little about farming, and his family, no doubt, tiring of a forest life, at the end of a few years abandoned his sylvan enterprise and returned to New York. For the credit of the Cherry Valley colonists, I may observe that hardly were they comfortably established ere they had erected a school-house and a church—both of the pioneer's building material, unhewn logs.

The Cherry Valley colony increased, though not rapidly, in numbers for the next 30 years, in the latter part of which period other small settlements were made in its neighborhood. One of them, in the present town of Middlefield, was known at the beginning of the Revolution as Newtown Martin, so called after Peter Martin, an owner of lands there. The late Mrs. Matthias Becker, the mother of Mrs. William A. Haslet, of Fort Plain, and the late Jeremiah Martin, of Glen, were children of this Martin, who was a Montreal tradesman at the beginning of hostilities, when this settlement was broken up. In 1762, five families settled in Springfield, being those of John Kelley, Richard Ferguson and James Young, in the eastern part of the town, and those of Gustavus Klumph and Jacob Tygart [Dygert] at the head of the lake. Dygert had two sons, John and Jacob, captured at the destruction of Cherry Valley. The last two were, no doubt, Germans from the Mohawk valley. A Spalsbury family, and that of Capt. Thomas Davy, are also known to have become residents of the town before the Revolution, and the latter, with others from Springfield, was in the sanguinary field of Oriskany,\* where he was killed, leaving three sons, James, Jeremiah and Harvey. Other families are known to have located near Mud lake, and in other parts of the town, at the period named. Several families are said to have pushed out as far westward as the Little lakes—now in Warren, though then

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\* Memorial discourse of Rev. P. F. Sanborne, delivered July 16, 1876.

called Springfield—and it is not improbable that the family of George Knouts was of the number.

Settlements were also successfully planted several years before the Revolution in Unadilla, Otego, Laurens, Butternuts, Harpersfield, and in what are now several other townships. On the organization of Tryon county, all the settlements named to the west and southwest of Cherry Valley, except Harpersfield, became known as the Old England District ; hence we may infer that a majority of those pioneer settlers spoke the English language. Cherry Valley and Harpersfield were embraced in the Canajoharie district.

I have already stated that it was long after a Dutch colony was established at Schenectada, before the whites ventured any great distance to the westward of that place. A few families did venture across the river, however, and the *Schenectada Reflector* of October 24, 1878, tells us that a certain Mabee family settled in Rotterdam, six and a half miles west of that old town about 200 years ago, to which fact I have already alluded.

One of the earliest Low Dutch families to push up the Mohawk as far, was that of Philip Groat, of Rotterdam, who in 1716, made a purchase of lands near Cranesville, in the town of Amsterdam, 13 miles west of Schenectada. When removing to the latter place, Mr. Groat was drowned in the Mohawk, not far from Schenectada, by breaking through the ice. He was in a sleigh accompanied by a woman who was also drowned. His widow and three sons, Simon, Jacob and Lewis, the last named being then only four years old, with several domestics, made the intended settlement. In 1730, the Groat brothers erected a grist-mill at their place, believed the first one ever built on the north side of the Mohawk. This mill when first erected, floured wheat for citizens who dwelt upon the German flats, some 50 miles distant. The first bolting cloth in this mill, was put in by John Burns, a German, in 1772. Prior to this the settlers lived on what is now known as Graham bread, bread made from unbolted flour, unless they sifted it in hand sieves.\*

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\* Facts obtained in 1841, from Mr. John L. Groat, a son by his second wife of Lewis Groat named in the context, who lived and died at the old homestead below Cranesville, where he was long and favorably known as an inn-keeper. He was an agreeable companion on all matters connected with his early life, as he had a good memory,

In 1713, Henry and John Hanson, father and son, whom I suppose of Holland descent, as already stated, secured 2,000 acres of land upon the north side of the Mohawk, extending westward from a point opposite the mouth of the Schoharie creek, to the westerly bank of the Da-da-nas-ka-rie creek, which enters the river at the De Graff place several miles above.

Capt. John Scott, then in command of Fort Hunter, in 1722, secured a tract of land laying along the Mohawk, and extending westward from Aurie's creek \* in the town of Glen; and in 1725 he purchased another tract of land adjoining the first on its westerly side, the two it is said extending nearly to the present village of Fultonville. Early in the eighteenth century, three brothers named Quackenboss emigrated from Holland to the colony of New York; one of them locating at New York city, and the other two at Albany. Peter, one of the latter, settled on Scott's patent, only two or three years after it was secured. He resided near Aurie's creek at the old Leslie Voorhees' place. Mr. Quackenboss had several children grown up when he arrived in the country, and David, his elder son, after a somewhat romantic courtship, married Miss Ann, a daughter of Captain Scott, and settled on *Scott's Patent*, where the Montgomery county poor house now stands. A young officer under the command of Captain Scott, requested young Quackenboss, then in the employ of the captain to speak a good word for him to Miss Ann, which he readily promised to do. While extolling the good qualities of her admirer, he took occasion to suggest his partiality for herself. The maiden, who had conceived an attachment for Quackenboss instead of the young subaltern, shrewdly asked him why he did not make advances *on his own account*. He had not presumed on so advantageous a match; but the hint was sufficient to secure his fortune and happiness. His son John, a fruit of this connection, born about the year 1725, was the first white child born on the south side of the Mohawk—west of Fort Hunter, and east of the German

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well remembered Sir William Johnson, with whom his father was on intimate terms, and knew well many of the baronet's associates. Mr. Groat might very properly have been called a Yankee Dutchman, for his social and inquisitive nature made him familiar with the pedigree of more families in the Mohawk valley, than was any other man with whom I ever conversed. He died in January, 1845, aged about 90 years.

\* Aurie or Arie, is the Dutch of Aaron. The creek was so called after a warrior of that name, who lived near it.

settlements some distance above. Captain Scott had one son who became a general officer, says John Scott Quackenboss, a descendant.

As appears by the De Witt map of 1790; in 1726 Hermanus Visscher took a patent for lands adjoining those of Capt. Scott; and next adjoining Visscher—along on the river in the order named, also in 1726—patents were secured for small parcels of land by H. Ten Eyck, Archibald Kennedy, Robert Livingston, William Burnett, David Prevost and Johannes Roseboom, the last and most westerly seeming to have equalled in quantity the three preceding grants. But who settled upon these several land purchases, or what other families came into this neighborhood at so early a period, cannot now be shown, unless their descendants can post the historian from old papers or reliable traditions.\*

*White Settlements in, and Contiguous to, the Mohawk Valley.*  
—In the course of the last century—say after an English fort was erected at Tienonderoga, or the Lower Mohawk castle, and the Palatines were established in Stone Arabia and upon the German Flats—colonies were gradually planted in the present towns of Amsterdam and Florida, Mohawk and Glen, consisting mainly of Low Dutch and English, but liberally spiced with half a dozen other nationalities. In and around Johnstown, four miles north of the Mohawk, a strong colony settled, consisting in greater part of Scotch and Irish immigrants, many of them, doubtless, drawn hither by the name and fame of Sir William Johnson; but scattered freely among them were Dutch and Germans, some of the latter extending back to the Sacondaga, through what are now several townships. The settlers of Stone Arabia had also, in the course of a few years, found their way northward, into the now towns of Ephratah and Garoga, while a few hardy Germans had planted their families at Kringsbush, north of St. Johnsville. So, also, other colonists, mostly Germans, had found the rich lands at Snellsbush and Fairfield, and made their homes upon them. The settlements in what are now Root, Canajoharie and Minden, were gradually extending back toward the Cherry Valley and Springfield colonies, and up the Otsquago to the Chyle in Warren, while adventurers from

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\* Doc. His., vol. 1.



German Flats found their way southward into the town of Columbia. In many instances venturesome families struck out into the wilderness remote from neighbors, and were too sparsely scattered to be said to belong to any settlement.

*An Interesting Period, Embracing the Life of Sir William Johnson.*—Having given the reader an outline or reflective picture of Central New York in its occupancy by the aborigines, and shown some of the difficulties which its first white settlers met with for a season, and followed them down to a period when they began to live comfortably and act on the defensive, let us study briefly the history of then Western New York through its chrysalis state, or that period which for a generation preceded the Revolution—a period in which the whole colony was fitting in expression and strength to “cut her apron strings,” and take on the full stature of a people’s manhood.

An event demanding especial mention should be given here, and that is the coming hither of the young adventurer, William Johnson, than whom, in his after-life, no individual has ever occupied so commanding a position in the public eye in Central New York. Although some of his public acts will necessarily appear in this narrative of events, reflecting his character somewhat, yet I deem it proper here to present a brief sketch of his life, which, from having conversed with several old people who knew him personally—and who were custodians of the traditions of their fathers—I feel conscious I can the better trace.

He was born, says Drake’s Dictionary of Biography, (on the authority of the *Philosophical Transactions* for November, 1772,) at Smithtown, Meath county, Ireland, in 1715; and adds: “he was younger son of Christopher Johnson an Irish gentleman of good family. Educated for mercantile life, an unsuccessful love affair entirely changed his career.” Stone’s Life and Times of Sir Wm. Johnson, says he was the eldest son of Christopher Johnson, Esq., and was born in 1715, at Warrentown, in Down county, Ireland. His mother was Anne Warren, a sister of Admiral Sir Peter Warren. Whence this discrepancy of his birth-place, I cannot determine. As Mr. Stone seemingly had every facility to obtain the facts connected with his birth, we must suppose his statement the correct one: and whether he was the elder or younger son is not material; but his having been educated for a business life, it would be reasonable to infer



*S<sup>r</sup> William Johnson Bar.  
Major-General of the English Forces in North America.*

Sir William Johnson was a large, well-looking, well-favored man, and was as full of good humor and fun as any man who ever lived in the Mohawk valley. This cut is from a picture of him, sent to the author from London a few years ago by a friend, and is evidently a very truthful one.

that he was not the oldest son or heir apparent to his father's estate. We may bless God, I think, that our country generally was peopled by the younger sons of Europe, who, born without a "silver spoon," were compelled by necessity in seeking their fortunes, to *paddle their own canoes*.

August 29, 1735, Charles Williams and six other individuals secured by patent 14,000 acres of land in the present town of Florida, which Admiral Warren purchased of them not long after : when it became locally known as Warrensbush—meaning Warren's-woods. William Johnson, having paid his addresses to a young lady in Ireland, as tradition has it, was prevented by his friends from marrying her, and about the time the match was broken off and "a flea was in his ear," his uncle made him a proposition to come to America and look after his landed estate, an offer he gladly acceded to ; its acceptance resulting most fortunately for the welfare and prosperity of the whole colony of New York. Coming as he did under the favorable auspices of his uncle who stood so high at court and in the public favor, aided not a little in preparing stepping stones to his future prosperity : but better than all for the young adventurer was his own *sterling integrity—the firm stand he at all times took for truth and honesty*. He came to this country in 1738,\* then 23 years of age, and went directly upon the lands of his uncle, which he was to sell in small farms when he could, and make some improvement upon the lands for himself. He located on his arrival at what was then called Warrensbush, eastward of Port Jackson, where he erected a small dwelling and a store, in which his uncle was at first a partner. He dealt in such articles as the settlers locating around him and the Indians of the country must have ; and as he was only a few miles from the Tienonderoga castle—his trade with the natives, whose confidence he never betrayed and whose unfitness for business when intoxicated he never took advantage of, soon became important and profitable. With them he bartered ammunition, blankets, trinkets, vermilion, etc., for peltries.

Johnson was enabled, from time to time, to extend his business as his capital increased. As is mentioned by Mr. Stone in the correspondence of Warren with his nephew, the latter had on

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\* Brod. Papers vol. 7, p. 671. His letter to Lords of Trade, October 30, 1764.

his arrival in his sylvan home a companion of whom the former said : "My love to Mick ; live like brothers, and I will be an affectionate uncle to you both." Who Mick was can now hardly be conjectured, but that he was employed as an assistant it is fair to infer, nor can we doubt that they at that period kept a bachelor's hall. The young adventurer quite early received from his uncle this good advice : "Keep well with all mankind ; act with honor and honesty ; don't be notional, as some of our countrymen are, often foolishly." This would be good counsel to all young men in every age ; and that young man who does not strive to keep within the good graces of every one, will never attain to distinguished manhood. In regard to the counsel of his uncle, Johnson wrote him at the end of a year's residence : "As to my keeping in with all people, you may assure yourself of it, dear uncle, for I dare say I have the good will of all people whatsoever, and am much respected—very much on your account, and on account of my own behavior—which, I trust in God, shall always continue." Here is one of the grand secrets of his future success : he began right at the outset, with honesty of purpose ever in view, to have a sure, steady and healthy growth with the new country.

Johnson had not been long in the valley, when his friend Lewis Groat, residing across the river, familiarly asked him why he did not get married. He replied that he wanted to marry a girl in Ireland, but his parents broke up the match, and that as he could not marry the girl of his choice, he had resolved never to marry, a resolution he kept for some time notwithstanding his libidinous habits, which the customs and morals of the times greatly favored. Near the two canal locks below Port Jackson, and a mile or two from Johnson's residence, two brothers—Alexander and Hamilton Philips—had previously located ; and living with them in the capacity of a servant girl was Catharine Weisenbergh, a German girl, said however to have been born in Madagascar, who, on arriving at New York, was sold into servitude to pay her passage. She was an uncommonly fair and wholesome-looking maid. Groat, knowing his friend's determination not to marry, asked him why he did not go and get that pretty High Dutch girl for a housekeeper ? He replied, I will do it ! and they parted.

Not long after this interview, Groat was at Philip's on busi-

ness, and, not seeing her, inquired of one of the brothers where their *High Dutch* girl was? Said Philips—"Johnson, that d—d Irishman, came the other day and offered me *five pounds* for her, threatening to *horse-whip me and steal her* if I would not sell her. I thought *five pounds* better than a *flogging*, and took it, and he's got the gal." Johnson obtained the girl in the precise manner he had assured his friend he would proceed. This German girl was the mother of Sir John Johnson, and the wives of Col. Guy Johnson—a nephew of Sir William—and Daniel Claus.\*

Henry Frey Yates, Esq., a son of Christopher P. Yates of the Tryon County Committee of Safety, in a communication to his son, Bernard F., in which he notes several exceptions to sayings of Col. Stone, in the *Life of Brant*, which memoranda have been kindly placed in the hands of the writer by the son since the above was written, quotes from the first volume of that work, page 101, a remark that "the mother of Sir John Johnson was a German lady," and thus discourses: "Mr. Stone has been misinformed as to the history of the mother of Sir John; she was not a German *lady*. She was a German by birth." After naming William Harper, a former judge of Montgomery county, and his brother, Alexander, as authority for what he says, he thus continues: "The facts with respect to the mother of Sir John are, that she was a poor German girl, who, on her arrival in New York, was sold for her passage over from Germany. That was then the universal practice, and the only method that the poorer class of German emigrants had, when they wanted to emigrate to this country. They were obliged, before they embarked on ship-board for America, to sign articles by which they bound themselves to the captain, that, on their arrival here, they should be sold for their passage money, for one, two, three, or four years, as the captain could make a bargain with the purchaser, the captain being obliged to board them, etc. Whenever a ship arrived, it was immediately advertised that

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\* The tradition of Johnson's getting his house-keeper, etc., was from John L. Groat, and as published by me in 1845, was correct, except in the name of the girl, of which he was not positive, and which seemed not attainable elsewhere. In an English work entitled "*Landed Gentry*," this woman's name is given as Catharine Weisenbergh. I regret my inability to obtain her true name prior to 1845, as that error of her name was the only one of the least importance into which I led later writers.

she had brought so many male and female immigrants, who were to be sold for their passage”

They were usually sold into servitude, to such persons as would take them at the shortest period of services, and pay the captain in advance, his charges for their passage and contingent expenses. Purchasers were bound, on their part, to treat those servants kindly, and release them at the expiration of their time. This custom continued for some 25 years after the close of the American Revolution, and numbers who proved valuable citizens, availed themselves of this method of crossing the Atlantic. When passengers were advertised for sale, says Mr. Yates: “The wealthy Germans and Low Dutch, from various parts of the country, would then repair to New York and make their purchases. Sometimes one would purchase for a number of families. In this way it was, that the mother of Sir John was purchased for her passage across the Atlantic by a man named Philips, residing about 12 miles from Schenectada, on the south side of the Mohawk, and nearly opposite Crane’s village on the north shore. Sir William, seeing the young woman at the house of Mr. Philips, and being pleased with her, bought her of him and took her to his dwelling at the old fort. Sir William had three children by her, Sir John, Mrs. Guy Johnson and Mrs Col. Claus. Sir William was never married to her, until on her death bed, and then he did it only with a view to legitimize [legitimatisé] his children by her. The ceremony was performed by Mr. Barkley, the Episcopal minister residing at Fort Hunter, where he officiated in a stone church built by Queen Anne for the Mohawk Indians.

At page 387, vol. 1, of Stone’s *Brant*, Molly Brant, a sister of that chief, is spoken of as the *Indian wife* of Sir William Johnson. With reference to this woman, says the memoranda of Yates—“It is true that Sir William was married to Molly according to the rites of the Episcopal church, but a few years before his death. The Baronet, feeling his life drawing to a close, and abhorring living longer in adultery, to quiet his conscience privately married Molly to legitimize his children by her, as he had done those by the German girl, who was the mother of Sir John and his sisters.”

Among the few who witnessed the ceremony of the Baronet’s second marriage—which is said instead of years, to have been

but a short time before his death, and after his Will was drawn—the memoranda names Robert Adams, a merchant of Johnstown, and Mrs. Rebecca Van Sickler: to the last mentioned he accredits his authority. Mrs. V. S., as the manuscript continues, “was always received into all the respectable families in Johnstown as a welcome guest, and was very fond of relating anecdotes of Sir William. Molly was a very exemplary woman, and was a communicant of the Episcopal church. Among all the old inhabitants on the Mohawk, Molly was respected, as not only reputable, but as an exemplary, pious, Christian woman. The care that she took of the education of her children, and the manner in which she brought them up, is at once a demonstration of the depth of the moral sense of duty that she owed her offspring. Not far from 1840, I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. H. F. Yates, who was a tall and dignified old gentleman. This was before I saw the manuscript above quoted: but I had the assurance from his own lips that Col. Stone was in error, in calling Mrs. Sir William Johnson a *lady* in the acceptance of the term. He gave it as a well-known fact among all the old people who were companions of Sir William, that his wife was a poor German girl, to whom he was not married until after she was the mother of three children; that she was on her death-bed with consumption at Fort Johnson, and was bolstered up to have the ceremony performed. Such was the tradition among all the old people of Central New York 50 or 60 years ago. The late Alexander J. Comrie, of Johnstown, who was County Clerk when Montgomery county was divided in 1838—and when he was some 50 years old—assured me that it was a well understood fact among his Scotch ancestry in and around Johnstown, that the Baronet was married near the close of his wife’s life, to legalize the heirship of his children; and that on account of the lateness of the marriage, his son Sir John had experienced some difficulty in succeeding to his father’s titles.

Mr. Yates supposed Rev. Henry Barclay performed the ceremony of marrying Sir William Johnson to his first wife. This was a natural inference in the absence of any positive data, knowing that he was the first settled clergyman in the valley above Schenectada, and near the period when the event must have transpired. Dr. Barclay was a native of Albany, and

having taken orders in the Episcopal church, he was established at Fort Hunter as a missionary to the Indians in the same year that Johnson located in Florida. Here he labored from 1738 to 1746, when he went to New York. Tradition has said Mrs. Johnson died young, and I had supposed her death took place prior to or near 1750. Dr. Barclay was rector of Trinity church from 1746 to 1765, in which year he died.\*

Col. Stone, in the Life of Brant, says the family Bible of Sir William Johnson—which contained his family record—was purchased by John Taylor, a former Lieutenant-Governor, among the confiscated property of the Johnson family; and that he sent word to Sir John Johnson that he could have this keepsake by refunding its purchase money—four guineas. He discourteously did send for and receive it. Now, it seems passing strange, if this Bible contained a record of the marriage of Sir William, that Col. Stone had not obtained its information in his Canadian researches; or that D. O'Callaghan, at a later day, should not have got upon the trail of this Bible, if any such there ever was. Probably if there was such a record, somebody had a motive to destroy it.†

Doctor O' Callaghan while arranging the Brodhead Papers, took some pains to discredit the character and credibility of my History of Schoharie County, etc., with the public, as I hinted in the Preface, not only in a literary society in Albany, but with a publishing house in Boston, for what I had said of his brother countryman's marriage; but promised to unsay what he had said, if he could not produce a record of his marriage. And although he carried his investigation from Canada to Europe, he found no such record, and more than that, he forgot to redeem

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\* Ed. note to Brod. Papers, vol. 6, p. 88.

† Since the above account was written, a memorandum made in 1844, from the lips of Isaac De Graff, of Schenectada, then 87 years old, has turned up, when he stated to the writer that he had seen the family Bible of Sir William Johnson, and in it the record of his marriage by Rev. John Ogilvie, to Catharine Weisenbergh, ten days before her death; but he did not recollect when the event transpired. Dr. O'Callaghan made the name Weisenbergh. Had not this item been mislaid, I should have given her correct name in my *Schoharie County, etc.*, published in 1845. Mr. Ogilvie succeeded Mr. Barclay, and went upon his mission in the spring of 1749, and was Chaplain with the army under Sir William from 1760 to the close of the war; and, on the death of Mr. Barclay, he became his successor as Rector of Trinity Church, New York (Doc. Hist. vol. 3, p. 1152). Mr. De Graff was a worthy and conscientious man, and was the father of the late John I. and Jesse D. De Graff. He had the same traditions of Sir William's domestic affairs that other people had who knew him personally.



his pledge to me. If in the absence of all proof to the contrary, any one fact is established over all other traditions, it is the one above given ; and if it were otherwise, the relatives of the German *lady*, whose pedigree was above cavil, would have been sure, when the fame of their kinsman was unrivaled by that of any other man in the *thirteen colonies*, to claim their full share in the honor and renown attached to his name. If any record of this mooted marriage ceremony is ever found, it will be among the private papers of the Episcopal clergyman who performed the novel ceremony, and those of Mr. Ogilvie if preserved may show it.

Just when Johnson secured this German girl, is not precisely known ; but as he located in 1738, he no doubt obtained her in the following year. On the disinterment and reburial of the remains of Sir William Johnson, at Johnstown in 1862, a plain gold ring was found among them, marked on the inside "June 1739, 16." It is believed that at the time he secured his housekeeper, he gave her this ring, which, after her death, he wore himself. The 16 in the position placed is an unsolved enigma, unless it indicated her age, which is quite probable.

From this digression let us for a time follow the fortunes of the young adventurer, Johnson, whom we briefly alluded to in noting some events of 1746. He had been in the country but a short time, when he purchased several hundred acres of land on the north side of the Mohawk, a few miles to the westward of his first settlement, and in the present town of Amsterdam, where he secured good mill privileges, on the Kayaderosseras, creek,\* which in time came to be called Johnson's creek, or Old Fort creek, on which he soon erected a saw-mill. In 1744 he built a grist-mill on his late purchase ; about which time it is believed he erected a substantial stone mansion, which was the best private dwelling in the Mohawk valley—the place taking on the name of Mount Johnson. Ten years later when it came to be fortified, it was called Fort Johnson. This old landmark, the witness of many an interesting scene, is now owned and occupied by Ethan Akin, Esq., and is still in good condition. A railroad station has been established at this place called Akin.

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\* The Kayaderoseras patent of lands, through which this stream runs, took its name from the creek. Owing to alleged informalities in its transfer, this patent caused the Mohawks a world of trouble.

My first visit to this grand old building was August 14, 1846, in company with young Erastus Fields, of Laurens, N. Y. It was a square, two-story edifice, with a spacious hall through the middle, paneled three and a half feet from the floor, and lighted nights by a lamp suspended in its centre. The ascent from the hall to the second story was by a broad, oaken, unpainted stair-



FORT JOHNSON—AS SEEN IN 1844.

way, with mahogany balusters. The parlor was all panel work of black walnut, then (at my visit) painted white, while the upper rooms were wainscoted three and a half feet with cherry. There were two rooms upon each side of the hall, above and below. The frame for the roof was a very strong one. A few rods back of the dwelling was a stone building, used, at our visit, as a barn. The river road ran along a few rods from the

front of the building which, in time, became the Mohawk turn-pike. In front of the house, and near the road, tradition says that before the former was constructed, Johnson erected two small stone buildings, one of which he used for a store. Those buildings were torn down after the Revolution, when a store—a wooden edifice—was erected on the east side of the creek and occupied for many years, and until the growth of the village below diverted its trade. Among the customers at the Johnson store, in its time, were not a few of the pioneer settlers of Stone Arabia and Dutchtown, residing 25 or 30 miles above, some coming by water and others on horseback. Indeed, among his customers there must have been some of the Palatines, of the early Herkimer county settlers. The Kayaderosseras,\* which dashes down from the hills and enters the river here, although like many other streams upon the clearing up of the country has far less water than formerly, has still a grist-mill upon the Johnson mill-site, which continues to do a good business.

Why this place should have been called Mount Johnson does not appear, for Sir William's buildings were all erected on the flats below the hill. A large black-walnut tree stands some 25 feet from the north east corner of the house, which is supposed to have been planted by the Baronet; while on a knoll back of the house there has been from time immemorial a locust grove, and several of its patriarchal trees are yet standing, which were doubtless planted by the original proprietor. This desirable residence has changed its ownership several times in the last century. There is still a good sized farm attached to the place, making it a very desirable residence. Mrs. Johnson died in this house about 1750, and as Mr. Groat assured me, she was buried in the north west corner of the garden, which was between the house and hill. Tradition has said that a stone step at the front door had originally been at her grave. Anxious to know more about this stone, October 1, 1866, I visited this classic house with two friends, G. S. Dievendorf and Thomas Ireland. It was supposed the lettered side of the stone was down, and with iron bars we raised it up and with bated breath I exam-

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\* The Kayaderosseras patent of lands through which this stream runs, took its name from the creek. Owing to alleged informalities in its transfer, this patent caused the Mohawks a world of trouble.

ined its under surface. Alas ! it had never felt the keen edge of a chisel, and the looked for inscription, which was to tell us when Mrs. Johnson died, was not there : and I remember now with what disappointment I saw the rough surface of that stone sink back into its uneven earth-grooves, and a long cherished hope vanish into thin air. This stone is red freestone, unlike anything in the valley, dressed upon one surface no doubt for lettering and rounded upon its edges : it is some 4 by 6 feet and of such size and shape as are hundreds of old tablets of the same material to be seen in New England burying-grounds, elevated two or three feet from the ground and resting upon mason work. The natural inference is, that this stone was brought here to be subsequently lettered, that it was placed over the grave without its having been done, and being a desirable door-stone ; some early occupant of the house appropriated it to that use. The hill to the westward of the mansion, affords a fine prospective view of the valley.

It may be of interest to the reader to know that among those who coveted Fort Johnson for a home, was the celebrated Aaron Burr, as is shown in Parton's well written life of him, pages 16 and 61. On the 2d of July, 1782, Burr married Mrs. Theodosia Prevost, of Paramus, N. J. She was a beautiful young widow ten years older than himself, with two small boys ; and by him she had a single child—a daughter who took her mother's maiden name : and as believed, in her day no girl in America had as much pains taken with her education. Not long after his marriage, Burr visited Fort Johnson, which he talked of buying, but as his wife was not pleased with the idea, he did not purchase. Here is an extract of a letter written from thence to his wife, which shows his own appreciation of the place :

“I should have told you that I am speaking of *Fort Johnson*, where I have spent a day. From this *amiable* bower you ascend a gentle declivity, by a winding path, to a cluster of lofty oaks and locusts. Here nature assumes a more august appearance. The gentle brook which murmurs soft below, here bursts a cataract. Here you behold the stately Mohawk roll its majestic wave along the lofty Apalachians. Here the mind assumes a nobler tone, and is occupied by sublimer objects. What *there* was tenderness, *here* swells to rapture. It

it truly *charming*. \* \* \* In short then my Theo., the beauty of this same Fort Johnson, the fertility of the soil, the commodiousness and elegance of the buildings, the great value of the mills, and the very inconsiderable price which was asked for the whole, have *not* induced me to purchase it, and probably never will."

As the reader may infer, Mr. Johnson had been doing a somewhat extensive and very lucrative business from the time he commenced, his fur trade with the Indians being a very profitable and important part of it; and, I may add, that in the first seven or eight years of his successful mercantile career, he had not only been carefully studying the Indian character, but had been an apt student in learning their language, at the same time acquiring a sufficient mastery of the German and Dutch languages to enable him to trade with the white settlers in the valley, a majority of whom, at that period, spoke one or the other of them.

Gov. George Clinton arrived in the fall of 1743, and it was not long after his administration began that Johnson made his acquaintance, which, from a combination of circumstances, became a somewhat intimate one; and in 1746, he first publicly engaged in the affairs of the Six Nations, in the interest of the colony, when he informed the Governor of the condition of this frontier, by stating to him that the white settlers for 20 miles above him, and below to Schenectada, were deserting their homes in anticipation of an invasion from Canada\*—England and France being then at war. At this period of alarm, when the Indians were not in the best humor toward the colonial authorities, Gov. Clinton, knowing the confidence Johnson had gained among them—often at their meetings taking a part in their amusements, and appearing among them as one of their number in feather and blanket—appointed him as successor to Col. Schuyler in the Indian agency. Thus from 1746 we may date the successful public career of this pioneer tradesman, who dealt largely in furs, wheat and other then staples of the country, whose wonderful sagacity and after popularity made him for years not only the most influential man in Central New York, but, for a time, the most celebrated man in

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\* Stone's Life of Sir William Johnson, vol. 1, p. 204.

America : and whether from Europe, or any of the colonies, any traveler of distinction chose to penetrate the Indian country for the love of adventure, or to study the red man's character in his home, or spy out his hunting grounds with the view of speculating in their purchase, he was sure—whether he came with letters of introduction or recommendation from men of mark, or trusted to his own dignity of character, to enjoy the hospitality ever so freely dispensed at Mount Johnson.

The Mohawks, among whom Col. Johnson dwelt, became so attached to him, that they not only listened to his advice as to that of a father, but they adopted him as one of their nation with the name *War-ragh-ii-ya-gey*, supposed to mean the *manager of Indian affairs*. Painted, plumed and blanketed as an Indian chief, he at one time entered Albany to attend an Indian treaty at the head of a party of the Mohawk braves. In December, 1746, he was appointed Colonel of the warriors of the six nations\* by Gov. Clinton, about which time his brother, Warren Johnson, was given the command of a company he had recruited at Boston for the royal service.

*A Visit to Fort Johnson, and an Explosion.*—Not long after Sir William Johnson had been trading at Fort Johnson, whose traffic was with the Indians and frontier settlers, the following novel incident befel one of the latter customers : A German from Stone Arabia, having been to the store on some errand, purchased, among other articles, half a pound of gun-powder, which, as he mounted his horse to return home, he carefully deposited in his pocket. With a well-filled tobacco-pipe in his mouth, he set his face homeward ; and as puff after puff of smoke curled around his head, driven in his face by a gentle breath of air, his thoughts were, no doubt, with his family, and the happiness his return would inspire. The pleasing reverie must have been interrupted by the dread imaginings of hostile Indians—for his visit was about the time of the French war—and, with his fancy on tiptoe, he unconsciously slipped his pipe into the pocket with the powder and urged on his horse.

As the eye of the traveler was scanning a dark and suspicious spot, he was suddenly shot from his horse by a party of

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\* Brod. Papers. vol. 6, 314.

Indians—at least so he thought. On recovering a little from his fright, he found himself beside the road, with his clothes much torn, on fire in parts, and a strong smell of sulphur about them. Seeing no scalping knife in the hand of a hideous Indian ready to take off his crown, as he at first anticipated, he cast about him to make out what had happened. "*Mine dunder!*" he uttered half aloud, as he regained his feet with trembling limb and bristling hair—" *vot is der matter now!*" Feeling for his pipe—his accustomed agent to drown his troubles—it was gone; and then flashed upon his mind what had happened. As he gathered up his tobacco box, and such other effects as the explosion had spared, and started on to overtake his horse, he uttered, if not with a grateful heart, certainly not in the best of humor: "*I see how it vosh; I poots mine bipe on mine powter, and pe dunder, dot shoots him off. Yah, and dot's all!*" After running some distance he regained his horse, which did not like half pound charges, and, remounting, he rode home without further adventure, coming to the sage conclusion that a lighted pipe and gun-powder had better not be carried in the same pocket.—Family tradition from *Hon. Charles Gray*.

For several years following 1746, and possibly for a little time before, the frontier settlements of New York were in a constant state of feverish excitement and alarm, owing to the restless condition of the six nations, which to win to their interest was the constant effort of the French in Canada, aided by the Jesuit religious element: and as steadily was such a contingency sought to be guarded against by the English colonial Governors. And that the six nations were retained in the English interest at that time, it was due more to the influence of Col. Johnson than to that of any other man; a fact duly appreciated by Gov. Clinton. And at this period, so well did the Governor of Canada deprecate the influence of Johnson, that he offered a bounty for his scalp.\* One of the great evils to contend with in retaining the New York Indians in the English interest, was, the frequent changing of the colonial Governors; for some of them had hardly become familiar with their duties toward the red man when they were recalled and others sent, who, in their ignorance, seemed almost to undo

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\* Brod. Papers vol. 6, p. 314.

what others had done. And, we think, that the residence of the white colonists in the English interest residing among the Mohawks—the heads of the confederacy—was one of the principal reasons why the six nations were not won over to the French interest. Had the French then gained an equal foothold in the Senecas' country, the condition of things here to-day might have been vastly different.

One has only carefully to read up in the Brodhead Papers, the correspondence of the officers of the colony with the mother country, to see the vacillating course of the six nations, influenced to-day in the interest of the English and to-morrow coquetting with the French, as one party or the other seemed for the time being to neglect them to the advantage of the other—to learn the importance to the country for a number of years, of the unbounded influence Col. Johnson had over them in the vast range of their wild-wood homes. One of the sources of mischief operating against the management of the Indians, was the constant jealousies existing between the several Governors of the colony and the Legislative assemblies, and other legal office holders. So pernicious were those petty bickerings that constant difficulty accrued in not sustaining the Governor by voting supplies when most needed ; and this proved a great annoyance to Gov. Clinton—often in the most critical periods of time for retaining the six nations in the English interest : and had not the young adventurer, Johnson, made his home in the Mohawk valley at the opportune period he did, and got established in a lucrative business, it is a matter of some doubt whether the six nations in a body had not followed the fortunes of their brethren, the praying Indians, then making so important a tribe on the St. Lawrence, near Montreal. Another incentive was, his taking a squaw from one of the best Indian families to his home, as the sharer of his joys and his sorrows.

Drake's *Biographical Dictionary* says that, in 1743, Col. Johnson was appointed sole Superintendent of the Indians. This is a mistake : he was appointed by Gov. Clinton to command them in 1746, and about the same time as believed, to the Indian Superintendency. He succeeded Col. Peter Schuyler, whose action was so mixed up with the fur traders of Albany that the Indians had lost confidence in him. In 1748, the Gov-



ernor extended his duty as colonel so as to command the frontier colonial troops. In 1750, he was appointed by the Crown a member of the Provincial Council ; Which gave him a voice in many important matters. Toward the close of the same year he resigned his Indian Agency, fearing its continuance might affect him to bankruptcy ; a contingency envy had no doubt hoped for. Since he had been so zealously engaged in the Indian interest, he had from his own capital advanced large sums of money for the public weal, which the Legislature—  
influenced by a hostile faction—had refused to liquidate, until the debt had swelled to \$5,000. The Indian confederacy was at first very much excited over his declension longer to serve it. This cabal headed by Oliver De Lancey, in opposing the Governor, seemed for a time to be doing its best to drive the Indians of New York into the French interest.

In 1753 the Indians had so lost confidence in the colonial commissioners for their business, that King Hendrick, with several other Mohawk chiefs, went to New York and laid their complaints before Gov. Clinton. Not entirely satisfied with his promises of future redress, Hendrick made a brief but sarcastic speech before he left, in which he said he would tell his brethren of the other five nations *that the old covenant chain between them and the English was broken, and that they might hereafter look for no further news of their affairs.* This coming from such a source, when serious trouble with Canada was anticipated, was a matter of too serious import to be disregarded ; and on the Governor's placing it before the Legislature, both branches (and in the council were James De Lancey and David Jones the bitter foes of the Governor), urged his delegating as the most suitable person for the mission, to win them back, Col. Johnson. This must have been somewhat humiliating to their iron will. The Colonel at once took the matter in hand, summoned the Mohawk warriors to meet him at Mount Johnson, July 26th, where they came with alacrity, glad again to be called together by him ; when Hendrick assured him that for the summons of any other man *he would not have moved a foot.\** By the shrewdness and tact of the commissioner, the old difficulties were truncated ; and in a general meeting of

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\* Stone's Johnson, vol. 1, p. 425.

all the natives the next month at Onondaga, a better feeling toward the colony was there established. No other man in America could thus easily have brought about so happy a result.

*A New but Unfortunate Governor.*—As the health of Gov. Clinton was impaired, he was, after ten years of faithful service, recalled at his own request, and Sir Danvers Osborne sent as his successor, arriving at New York on Sunday, October 7, 1753. On the Wednesday following he was sworn into office, with James De Lancey as Lieutenant-Governor. Soon after he saw his predecessor grossly insulted by his side, when he became dejected, which the recent loss of his wife, no doubt, increased. On Thursday he learned that his instructions from the crown would not be complied with—in the evening he called a physician—spent the rest of the night in arranging private affairs, and on Friday morning he was found hanging upon the garden fence dead. The mental strain upon his system was so great as to unhinge his reason, and he committed suicide. Thus he died before entering upon his prospective duties and difficulties.\*

*The Beginning of the Last Canadian French War.*—The territory along the Ohio and Mississippi rivers was claimed at an early day by both England and France. The French, through the energy of her people in Canada and the Jesuit influence, had made visits to those rivers, and were planting military posts along the Ohio, claiming the country by the right of discovery and pre-occupancy; but it was not until after 1750 that the English colonists began to realize the gigantic effort the French were making to grasp those great thoroughfares by water communication, and hem them in upon a comparatively narrow belt of land along the Atlantic; or, as Col. Johnson expressed it in the Albany Congress of 1754—*crowding us into the sea*. The English claimed their right to this disputed territory mainly through the six nations, whose claim was predicated on conquest, or the subjugation of its earlier Indian occupancy. Virginia was the first colony to attempt to root out the French intruders about the Ohio river, by sending the young Surveyor George Washington thither in the fall of 1753, with a protest against their encroachments.

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\* Stone's Johnson, vol. 1, p. 429.

Instead of abandoning a project that promised so much for the future, the French prosecuted with still more vigor their western enterprise, and early in the spring of 1754 Gov. Dinwiddie, of Virginia, having raised a regiment of troops for the occasion, gave their command to Col. Joshua Frey and Lieut.-Col. George Washington, and sent them to the disputed territory. A few miles from the Great Meadows—Washington, being several days in advance of Col. Frey—met a body of the enemy under M. De Jumonville and defeated them, slaying that officer with a number of his men. About this time Col. Frey, who was advancing to join Washington, suddenly died, and the command devolved on the latter. He was in the act of building a fort at the Great Meadows, which he called Fort Necessity from the circumstances; but, before it was tenable, it was invested by De Villiers, a French officer from Canada, with an army 600 or 700 strong, offering Washington liberal terms to surrender works he could not expect to retain. The terms were acceded to, and he led his men with flying colors back to Virginia, leaving the French in undisputed possession of the tabooed district. One thing had, however, been accomplished: actual war had been commenced in the colonies, which neither of the mother countries had declared—a war, too, that was to eventuate in wresting the Canadas forever from French rule, and open the western country to English occupancy.

*The First American Congress.*—Simultaneous with the movements of the French at the west, their emissaries were using the hatchet and fire-brand along the frontiers of New England and New York; and to devise a plan for their general welfare, a congress of all the colonies was assembled at Albany in the summer of 1754; conspicuous among its 25 members was Councilor Johnson, accompanied by a delegation of about 150 chieftains of the six nations. On this important occasion were assembled representatives from Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Maryland. Virginia and the Carolinas could not send delegates, but desired to be counted in for their share of responsibility in the proceedings of the congress.

The convention was opened on the 19th of June and continued to the 11th of July inclusive, and its proceedings cover

39 pages (in vol. 6) of the Brodhead Records. Its first business was to heal up all Indian difficulties, and make a new deal with them, after which the great object of the meeting was freely discussed, which was the

*Plan of a proposed Union of the several colonies, for their mutual defense and security, and for extending the British settlements in North America.* This plan embraced the following propositions :

“That humble application be made for an Act of the Parliament of Great Britain, by virtue of which, one General Government may be formed in America, including all the said Colonies [previously named], within, and under which Government each Colony may retain its present constitution, except in the particulars wherein a change may be directed by the said Act, as hereafter follows :

“That the said General Government be administered by a President General, to be appointed and supported by the Crown, and a Grand Council to be chosen by the representatives of the people of the several Colonies, met in their respective assemblies.

“That within — Months after the passing of such Act, the house of Representatives in the several Assemblies, that happen to be sitting within that time or that shall be specially for that purpose convened, may and shall choose, Members for the Grand Council in the following proportions, that is to say : ”

Massachusetts Bay, 7 ; New Hampshire, 2 ; Connecticut, 5 ; Rhode Island, 2 ; New York, 4 ; New Jersey, 3 ; Pennsylvania, 6 ; Maryland, 4 ; Virginia, 7 ; North Carolina, 4 ; South Carolina, 4 ; total, 48.

The details of this plan of union foreshadowed what they hoped to accomplish. They wanted power delegated from the crown, under the administration of a President-General and the Grand Council of 48, to act independently of the home government, to hold or direct all Indian treaties, and make peace with or declare war against Indian nations. Also to make such laws as they should judge necessary for regulating all Indian trade ; make purchases and transfers of lands for the natives ; make laws to govern new settlements ; be empowered to build forts in any of the colonies, and raise and pay soldiers ; and equip

vessels to guard the coasts—probably as privateers. They desired to have a general treasurer, and a particular one for each colony; moneys to be paid from them by orders from the President-General and Grand Council. A quorum of the Grand Council was to consist of 25 members, and the place designated for meeting was at Philadelphia. The laws of England were to be their model in constructing theirs, and were to be subject to the crown. The President-General was to commission all officers, whether for land or sea service, subject to the approbation of the Grand Council.

Certain propositions and suggestions for the enlightenment of this congress were presented by J. Pownal and Wm. Johnson, relating more especially to the movements of the French and the management of the New York Indians; which two papers Dr. Franklin moved a vote of thanks for—a resolution at once carried—soon after which this first Congress of the American colonies harmoniously adjourned. Capt. Peter Wrexall, who acted as its secretary, was for years after associated with Sir William Johnson in the management of Indian affairs. Conrad Weiser, whose acquaintance the reader made at a boys' foot race at Middleburgh about 40 years earlier, was present from Pennsylvania, and acted both as witness and interpreter.

I cannot refrain from noticing one important fact brought out at this, as in many other treaties with the Indians of different localities, which was their serious protest against having traders bring *rum* into their midst; \* having learned, as they had too

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\* Let me here observe that Col. Johnson writing to Gov. Clinton, from his own home (Mount Johnson) May 7, 1747, said: "I would desire one favor of your excellency for the dispatch of business the good of the cause in hand, and my greater ease, that there might be as soon as possible an act passed or order to prevent selling any kind of liquor to any Indians in the Mohawk country or at Canajoharie [meaning the upper castle]; for it is impossible to do anything with them while there is such a plenty of liquor to be had all around the neighborhood, being forever drunk. The worst of all is, one Joseph Clement, sells liquor within 20 yards of my house [just across the creek]; and as soon as they get their bounty money, and that for guns, hangers, etc., they immediately go to his house and spend all there, which leaves them as poor as rats, notwithstanding all they get of me. I have forbid him several times but in vain. Wherefore, am obliged to apply to your excellency about it in hopes you will stop that vile practice, which will save them a great deal of money for this reason; that when there are many Indians come to treat about anything, the having liquor so near, go and get drunk and continue so a week or more sometimes. I must maintain them all this time which is very chargeable and delays the business besides." He also severely censured George Clock living near the Canajoharie castle, who by the sale of liquor he said robbed the Indians of the clothes, etc., which they got of him. I infer that Col. Johnson did not keep liquor for sale in his own store at this time: certainly not for the Indians.—*Brodhead Papers*, vol. 6, p. 362.

fearfully in the preceding 50 years, its destructive influence upon their race. Indeed, it was assigned as a reason for greatly depleting their numbers; and one manner of which was that, in their drunken quarrels, they would kill or maim one another, and to escape the revenge of friends, flee to their brethren in Canada; and thus was the colony of *Praying Indians* strengthened, from time to time, by the influence of rum. This remarkable gathering at Albany was the prototype of the one assembled at Philadelphia in 1775, known as the Continental Congress; and the first tended very much to bring about the last, which is one reason why it finds prominence here. Only two of the distinguished men of the first were at the second assemblage: those were Stephen Hopkins, of Rhode Island, and Dr. Benjamin Franklin, of Pennsylvania. Little Delaware, Virginia, Georgia and the two Carolinas were not represented in the first Congress.

*Col. Johnson is Commissioned a General and Superintendent.*  
—Gen. Edward Braddock came to America in the spring of 1755, to assume command of the British and colonial troops in the impending difficulties between the colonies and Canada; and at a military council held at Alexandria, Va., in April, it was resolved to commission Col. Johnson as a Major-General of the colonial troops of New England and New York, to act at the north, and especially against Crown Point and Niagara; and he was thus commissioned both by Gov. Shirley, of Massachusetts, and his excellency, Lieut.-Gov. De Lancey, of New York, with the approbation of Gen. Braddock, April 16, 1755.\* He was also appointed by Gen. Braddock at the same time and place, sole superintendent and manager of Indian affairs of the six nations and all their dependencies. That officer also placed in his hands £2,000 sterling, to be used among the Indians as his judgment should dictate, with power to draw on Gov. Shirley for more funds if needed.†

Gen. Johnson set out at once upon his varied and important duties to find that, since he had been out of the Indian agency, their matters had become wonderfully demoralized, perhaps for the want of a more abiding confidence in those looking after their welfare; added to which no doubt the want of experience and a better knowledge of their peculiar characteristics had

\* Doc. His. vol. 2, pp. 651, 553.

† Brod. Papers vol. 6, p. 961.

much to do. But he was the right man in the right place as the Congress at Albany the year before had reason to know; and he was by his wonderful sagacity and tact, soon able to reunite much of the scattered strength of that sedate but impulsive people when aroused. But to follow the restored agent in his herculean task is not my design: he resigned his former position because—in part—of the envy and malice of certain persons, whose want of zeal and judgment properly directed, had not only deranged but nearly upset the prosperity of the frontier settlers of New York. Envy is the boldest and seems to thrive the most in the path of prosperity; and no one was ever very popular with the multitude in any position who was not followed by somebody's green eyeballs. Among those who evinced the most marked envy of Johnson in his new position as Indian superintendent, as appears by a letter written by him at Lake George, September 3, 1755,\* to the Lords of Trade, was Gov. Shirley, who had the year before pretended so much friendship for him. He now it seems was trying to seduce the Indians from their engagements with Gen. Johnson to act for his own particular benefit; telling them that all the latter officer was *he* had made him, a fact of his duplicity being certified to by King Hendrick in the presence of Maj.-Gen. Lyman and other officers, September 4, 1755.† Gen. Braddock had now fallen in battle, which made Shirley the more envious and aspiring.

*Arrival of a new Governor, and Battle of Lake George.*—A plan for attacking the Canadian French at Crown Point and other localities having matured in the summer of 1755, we find Gen. Johnson in command of 3,000 or 4,000 provincial troops from New England and New York, and some 300 Indians, in the forest of Northern New York. The colony received a new Governor in the person of Sir Charles Hardy, who arrived at New York, September 2, 1755. September 8, Johnson met in battle near Lake George, the enemy under Baron Dieskau, and defeated him, making him a wounded prisoner and killing de St. Pierre,‡ one of his bravest commanders. Gen. Johnson was

\* Brod. Papers vol. 6, p. 993.

† Brod. Papers, vol. 6, p. 998.

‡ This officer was among those who met Gen. Braddock in Ohlo, and his last words bore the following tribute to the present American commander: "Fight on my boys, Johnson commands here and not Braddock."—*Brod Papers*, vol. 6, p. 1005.

also severely wounded by a musket ball in the hip—which limping he carried to his grave—and had to leave the command to Gen. Lyman, a brave Connecticut officer, who continued the engagement to a successful termination. Among the brave officers who fell on that eventful day was King Hendrick, the ever faithful and true friend of Gen. Johnson. He was mounted on the occasion, and at the head of his red warriors his horse was shot under him, and in falling he could not disengage himself, and was stabbed with a bayonet.\* He fell greatly lamented.

Although Crown Point had not been captured, a victory had been won which the British Parliament viewed as of such signal importance, that it voted Gen. Johnson a gift of £5,000 sterling; and, indeed, as it turned out, this victory was one of a series that ended French rule in America. The King further honored Gen. Johnson by creating him an English Baron, this favor bearing date November 27, 1755; and now was the name and fame of Sir William Johnson firmly established. He had chafed under the insinuations of Gov. Shirley that he owed his appointment as Indian agent to him, and by an appeal to the Lords of Trade—to whom he hinted that he would resign that position if he could not discharge its duties independent of all colonial authority—they sent him, under date of July, 1756, a commission appointing him "Colonel and Sole Superintendent of all the affairs of the Six Nations and other Northern Indians," with a salary, to make it set easy, of £600 sterling per annum. He was to be responsible for this agency only to the home government.

*Incidents of the French War.*—I have already spoken of the Groat family as among the first to locate in the easterly part of Amsterdam. When the war under consideration was inaugurated, Lewis Groat was living at the homestead. He was then a widower with five children; and, owning a farm and grist-mill, he was comparatively wealthy. In the afternoon of a summer's day in 1755, 200 troops clad in rich Highland tartans passed up the valley on their way to Fort Johnson, six miles above. Groat, observing a gate across the road had been left open by the troops, went, after sun-down, to shut it. When returning home

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\* Pownall's letter to Lords of Trade.—*Brod. Papers*, vol. 6, p. 1008.



it began to rain, and for temporary shelter he stepped under a large oak tree: while there, three Indians, a father and sons, approached him. He took them to be Mohawks, and extending his hand to the oldest, addressed him in a friendly manner. The hand was received and firmly held by the Indian, who claimed Groat as his prisoner. Finding they were in earnest, and seeing them all armed with rifles, he surrendered himself. The captors belonged to the *Owenagunga*,\* or River tribe of Indians, whither they directed their steps. The object of their expedition, which was to capture several negroes, they disclosed to the prisoner, who told them if they would let him go across the river to Philips' he would send them some. "Yes," said the old Indian, holding his thumb and finger together so as to show the size of a bullet, "*you send Indian leetle round negar; he no like such.*"

They had proceeded but a few miles, when a pack was placed upon the back of the captive, after which he walked much slower than before. The old Indian threatened to kill him if he did not increase his speed. "*What can you get for a scalp?*" asked Groat. "*Ten livres,*" was the reply. "*And how much for a prisoner?*" he again asked. "*Two hundred livres,*" replied the Indian. "*Well,*" said Groat, "*if ten livres are better than two hundred, kill me and take my scalp!*" The Indian then told the prisoner that he would carry his own pack and the one apportioned him, if the latter would but keep up with the party. The proposition was acceded to, and they moved forward—the old Indian with two packs on. He took a dog trot and Groat kept near him. The feet of the savage often had not left the ground, when those of his captive claimed its occupancy. The warrior exerted all his strength to outrun his prisoner, who kept constantly "bruising his heel," until the former, exhausted and covered with perspiration, fell upon the ground. They had run about a mile and were both greatly fatigued, but Groat had triumphed.

When the Indian had recovered from his exhaustion, he told Groat if he would carry one of the packs he might travel as he pleased. After this adventure he was kindly treated, and often on the way did his captors give him plenty of food and go hun-

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\* The Owenagungas settled above *Albany* on a branch of Hudson's river, that runs towards Canada, about the year 1672.—*Colden*.

gry themselves, saying that they were Indians and could endure hunger better than himself, because accustomed to it. Nights, his feet were tied to temporary stocks made by bending down staddles, but always secured so high that he could not reach the cord as he lay upon the ground. After journeying a day or two, he resolved on attempting his escape. One evening, when unbound, he hoped to give his captors the slip, but suspecting his motives they cocked their rifles, and he abandoned the hazardous project.

Near Fort Edward, the party fell in with two Mohawk Indians, one of whom, an old acquaintance, gave the prisoner a hat, of which he had been plundered by his captors. The Mohawks were on a hunting excursion, and remained in company with the party for a day or two, in the hope of affording the prisoner an opportunity to escape. The captors were to be made drunk by liquor in possession of the Mohawks; but as the time for the expedient drew near, Groat fell sick, and had to see his friends depart without him. He, however, gave one of them his tobacco-box, and requested him to carry it to his family, and tell them when and where he had seen its owner, that they might know he was still alive. The Indian did return and deliver the box as requested: but the family were suspicious the Indian had killed him and fabricated the story; which his protracted absence tended to confirm. When he got back he presented the friendly Indian with a fine horse.

They proceeded some distance by water down Lake Champlain, and, on landing at an Indian settlement, Groat had to run the gantlet. His captors had conceived quite an attachment for him, and offered, before arriving at the village, to place a belt of wampum around his neck, which, according to the custom of their tribe, would have exonerated him from the running ordeal. He thought the acceptance of the belt would be an acknowledgement of his willingness to adopt the Indian life, and refused the kind offer, which he soon regretted. As the lines of women and boys were drawn up through which he was to flee, his captors, who had relieved him of his pack, covered their faces, and would not witness his sufferings. He was beaten cruelly, and the blood from some of his bruises ran down to his feet. A short time after, Groat was sold to a French Canadian, named Lewis De Snow, who told him, on

going to his house, that *he* was to be his future *master*, and his wife his *mistress*. The former replied that he had long known his master—" *he dwells above*," he added, pointing his finger upward. At first the Frenchman treated him unkindly. He was willing to work, but would not submit to imposition; and on being severely treated one day, he assured his Canadian master, that sooner than put up with abuse, he would poison him and his wife, and make his escape. Learning his independent spirit, his owner ever after treated him like a brother. The next summer, war was formally declared between Great Britain and France. Groat was claimed as a British prisoner previous to the capture of Quebec, and was for six months imprisoned at *St. Francis'-way*, near Montreal: where he suffered from short allowance of food. He was finally liberated and returned home, after an absence of *four years and four months*, to the surprise and joy of his family, which had considered him as lost forever—was again married, and my informant, John L. Groat, was a son by his second wife. Mr. Groat died in January, 1845, aged about 90 years.

Early in the French war, Eve, the wife of Jacob Van Alstine, who resided not far from the Groat family, was proceeding along the road on horseback, with a little daughter in her arms; and while in the act of opening a swing-gate which obstructed the road, was fired upon by a party of hostile Indians, and wounded in one arm. The enemy then dispatched and scalped her, but sparing her child, carried it to Canada. After a long captivity, the child returned—and in 1843, at the age of nearly a century, was still living with her nephew, J. C. Van Alstine, Esq., at Auriesville, Montgomery county.

*Fate of John Markell and his Wife.*—Not a few instances of captivity and suffering were experienced in the Mohawk valley settlements in the French war, the most of which have been irrevocably lost; but here is another which tradition has preserved. I furnished an account of it for *Beer's Illustrated History of Montgomery County*, but will here give it a more general reading. Near the beginning of this war John Markell—who had married Miss Anna Timmerman, of St. Johnsville—began a residence in the westerly part of Minden. In the summer of 1757, Markell and his wife left home, she with a child in her arms, to go to a neighbors. A little distance from their dwell-

ing they unexpectedly saw in their path a dozen armed Indians. Markell at once viewed them as strangers, and if so, as foes, and knowing that their escape was impossible, he said in German to his wife who was directly behind him, "Anna, our time is up." Those were his dying words, for in the next instant one of the party had sent a bullet through his body which lodged in hers. They both fell to the ground, the child escaping from her arms. With her face down she feigned death. Markell was tomahawked and scalped, and, as an Indian was about to scalp her, she heard one of his comrades say what she divined to be, "Better knock squaw on the head!" "She's dead now," was the reply. He drew the knife around the crown, and, placing his knees against her shoulders, with his teeth he tore off the reeking scalp. A third one of the party dashed out the brains of the crying infant against a tree. The foemen did not linger long to strip their victims, and well they did not, for Mrs. Markell could not much longer have enacted the death scene. It is impossible to conceive the agony of this brave woman, who was conscious all the time her foes were present, without being seen to move a muscle. It is believed the party went directly to the house of this family, and plundered it of all they desired.

Mrs. Markell found friends, and being properly treated she recovered, but carried the bullet to her grave. A year or two later she married Christopher Getman, of Ephratah, where she lived a long and useful life. She died in April 1821, at the age of about 85 years. She is still remembered by four or five of her now aged relatives, from whom these facts were obtained, as a very industrious and exemplary woman. The loss of her scalp was afterward concealed by the combing of her hair. By her second marriage she had four sons, Peter, Christian, Jacob and Adam—and two daughters, Catharine and Anna—and her son Peter was a pensioner after the next war for Revolutionary services. Not a few of this woman's descendants are to-day numbered among the reputable citizens of Fulton and Montgomery counties.—*Mostly from the late Benj. Getman.*

*More of the French War.*—Here are several items of interest kindly noted 30 years ago for the writer, by Henry Onderdonk, Jr., from Gaine's New York newspaper of that period:

"Albany, June 25, 1759: Friday morning last, about six o'clock, a party of French and Indians appeared at Canajoharie

[supposed near the Upper Mohawk castle], consisting of about thirty. They attacked the house of Peter Mardil, killed a girl and carried off two men, two women, and two negroes prisoners. They were immediately pursued by about 50 militia, who came up with and attacked them 12 miles above Fort Hendrick, when the Indians immediately killed their white prisoners, but the negroes escaped. Our people beat off the Indians, and found one woman alive, and, though scalped, is likely to recover. 'Tis said several Indians were killed, but as yet we have no particular account.

"Albany, June 28, 1759 : This day an express arrived from the Mohawk's river, with advice that at Fort Herkimer they took an Indian from whom, after a little punishment, they extorted the following confession : That he had left the Little Falls the 26th, where he left 15 Indians, and on the other side of the kill 200 Canadians and Indians. This Indian was sent as a spy, as he spoke good English. They had been about that place ten days, and would have attacked the Little Falls had they had a few regulars.

"New York, July 16, 1759 : A letter from Albany dated last Thursday, says : The Indian who murdered John McMichael, a sutler, last January, between Fort Stanwix and Fort Harkiman's, was shot here last Tuesday by order of the General, and was afterwards scalped.

"March 5th, 12th and 26th, 1764 : Gaine has notice of some encounter of troops on their way to the Susquehanna, who were sent by Sir William Johnson. Capt. Bull, an Indian captive with 14 others, was sent to New York city.

"September 3, 1764 : Johnson returned home from Niagara with whites, recaptured from Indians in Pennsylvania.

"Gaine, March 18, 1765 : Delaware deputies met at Johnson Hall for peace."

Sir William Johnson, after receiving such commanding positions, and becoming the wealthiest man in the colony to the westward of Albany, no doubt lived at Fort Johnson in greater affluence, or more in the style of a European nobleman of that day, than did any other citizen of New York, or, perhaps, of any other of the thirteen colonies. His mansion, which was a noble structure for the place and time of its erection—indeed, it was for a long period the most commanding edifice to the

westward of Albany—was situated near the north shore of the Mohawk, three miles to the westward of Amsterdam. At the time of its erection, and long after, the river was covered with small water-craft; and we may suppose that a fleet of Indian canoes and trader's bateaux were often moored for business or pleasure along the river shore here, where they could the most conveniently tie up. Here, too, were often assembled large Indian delegations from the six nations, which came to make treaties, plan war adventures, and receive gifts from the British government, and often on such occasions did scenes of athletic sports please and delight the multitude.

Here is a brief and truthful notice of the character of Sir William Johnson, published about the time he was created a Baron, which appeared in the September number of the London Gentleman's Magazine for 1755, said to have been from an American correspondent.

“Major-General Johnson (an Irish gentleman) is universally esteemed in our parts, for the part he sustains. Besides his skill and experience as an old officer, he is particularly happy in making himself beloved by all sorts of people, and can conform to all companies and conversations. He is very much of the fine gentleman in genteel company. But as the inhabitants next him are mostly Dutch, he sits down with them, and smokes his tobacco, drinks flip, and talks of improvements, bears and beaver skins. Being surrounded with Indians, he speaks several of their languages well, and has always some of them with him. His house is a safe and hospitable retreat for them from the enemy. He takes care of their wives and children when they go out on parties, and even wears their dress. In short, by his honest dealings with them in trade, and his courage, which has often been successfully tried with them, and his courteous behaviour, he has so endeared himself to them that they chose him one of their chief sachems or princes, and esteem him as their common father.”

*The Prosecution of the French War.*—Let us catch a glimpse of the progress and end of the French war. Early in the spring of 1756, Fort Bull—at the Oneida Carrying Place, above Rome—was captured by the French, and its garrison nearly all slain. Great preparations were made by the colonies, that season, to prosecute the war with vigor. Montcalm, who had succeeded

Baron Dieskau in Canada, captured the forts at Oswego, which he destroyed. In August of that year the regiments of Shirley and Pepperell, 1,400 strong, became prisoners to the French. Gen. Webb was, for some time, posted at the Great Carrying Place (near the site of Fort Bull) with 1,400 men, and Sir William Johnson at the same time was stationed near the German Flats ready for service with 1,000 militia. Lord Loudoun came from England about this time to take command of the northern expedition; but his conduct proved him unfitted for the task, and the season passed without accomplishing expected results.—*Holmes.*

The year of 1757 opened gloomily on the frontiers of New York. The loss of the forts at Oswego for a time forfeited the confidence of the Indian confederacy in the English interest, and opened the door for aggressive action on the part of Canada: and the result was the murder of quite a number of colonists on the borders of New York. Now was afforded an opportunity for Sir William Johnson to exhibit his wonderful influence over the Indians, which he did quite effectually, considering the attending difficulties, in bringing the majority of them back to the English interest.\* Lord Loudoun, who had the winter before rendered himself odious to the people of New York city by quartering British troops upon them—an act imitated in Boston a few years later—undertook with a large fleet and 12,000 British troops to capture Louisburg; but having frittered away his opportunity until a French fleet came upon the coast, he ignobly returned to New York.† Gen. Webb was at Fort Edward, 14 miles distant from Fort William Henry, with 4,000 men, and although solicited made no demonstration in aid of Col. Monroe, then its commandant, who was finally compelled to surrender to Montcalm, investing it, and although granted honorable terms, they were violated and many of his men plun-

\* Indeed, so well convinced was Sir William Johnson of the difficulty of retaining the six nations without an English victory over the French, that in writing to the Lords of Trade under date of May 28, 1756, he penned this significant sentence: "I must beg leave to give it to your Lordships as my sixth opinion upon the most deliberate consideration, that the six nations will never be thoroughly fixed to the British interest and arms until we strike some grand stroke and thereby convince them, that we have ability to protect them and humble the French, etc." In the same letter he said: "Forts are now building in the Senecas country, at Onondaga, Onelda and Schoharie."—*Doc. Hist.*, vol. 2, pp. 724-726.

† *Holmes' Annals.*

dered and slain by the Indians. Sir William Johnson with 1,000 men from the Mohawk valley, wanted to go to Col. Monroe's assistance but was prevented by Webb, who seems to have lacked true courage.\*

It is not surprising, that under these depressing circumstances the Indians were losing confidence in English prowess, when for two seasons with such large armies they were only meeting with disaster. But another blow was to follow the disappointments upon the water courses of the north; which should bring the horrors of savage warfare into the Mohawk valley.

*Palatine's Village.*—In its place I spoke of the settlement of German Palatines on the present site of Herkimer village, known for many years as Palatine's village; which the industry and thrift of those settlers had at the end of 35 years given comfortable homes and comparative wealth. Their village numbered 30 dwellings, with a neat little church and a settled minister. And as quite a number of settlers resided on the south side of the river within the distance of a few miles, it is presumed the village church was usually well filled.

#### TRANSLATION TO THE KEY ON MAP.

No. 1. The Church.

No. 2. Mr. Petry's house. He was the patroon of the village.

No. 3. The Minister's house.

No. 4. Mr. Christman's house.

No. 5. H. Mayer's house.

No. 6. Fort Herkimer.

No. 7. The Francken house and ferry at the great flats.

No. 8. The road going west.

No. 9. Way in which Christmans and Seiner family took their flight and saved their lives: so also, Hendrick Mayer. They passed through a ravine—went round the village—followed the creek down and reached the fort.

No. 10. The routes by which the French and Indians entered the village.

No. 11. The Fort Herkimer Church, completed about 1757.

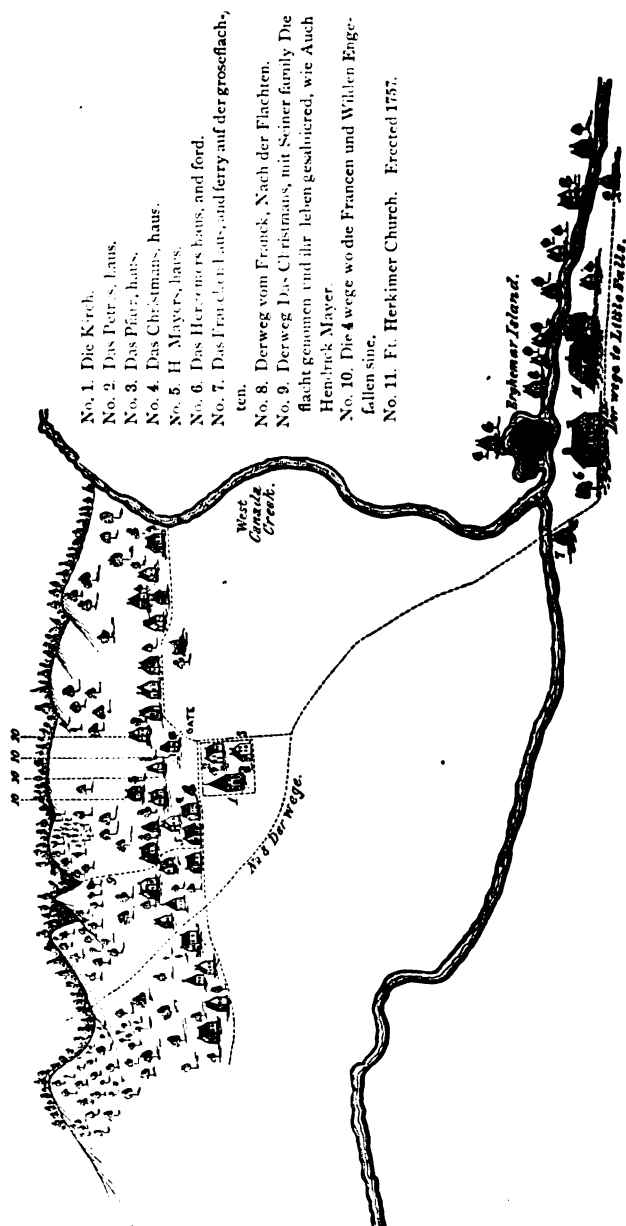
Of course the citizens had barns and out buildings not figured on the map.

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• Holmes' Annals and Stone's Johnson.



**Palatine's Village, Destroyed by Canadian French and Indians Nov. 12th, 1757.**



*Explanation of Map, etc.*—This map of Palatines village, is from a survey made as early as 1750, and was copied by John Lawyer, Jr., a good practical surveyor, among whose papers it was found. He died at Schoharie in 1800, at the age of 54. How he obtained the key of explanation accompanying it is not known—supposed of surviving citizens; the place having been destroyed when Lawyer was a boy. The large house seen in the foreground, is intended to show the relative position to the village from Fort Herkimer—or Kouari, as called by the French; to which the Domine and some of the inhabitants fled for safety. At this period there were eight dwellings on the north side of the river, between the fort and Little Falls. The old stone church also represented as a one story building in the foreground, which was commenced about the year 1755, for the better accommodation of all the neighboring settlements, stood about one-fourth of a mile below the fort; and was probably completed soon after the one at the village was destroyed. It was a one story edifice without a steeple, says Samuel Earll, Esq., until after the advent of Rev. John P. Spinner to occupy its desk, in 1801. It is yet in a good state of preservation. Near Fort Herkimer was a ferry and crossing to the village. The original map did not show the proper courses of the streams; and Dr. Eli Fox produced a copy to correct that defect, a good photograph of which by Gilman is here given. This and a similar map of Brunnen dorf—Schoharie, also found among the Lawyer papers; show the two oldest villages in the State west of Schenectada.

This village was destroyed by the Canadian French on the 12th of November, 1757; and with other writers in giving an account of its destruction, I shall have mainly to depend upon the French account,\* which though greatly exaggerated was in some degree correct. Gen. M. de Belletre, with a detachment as stated of 300 Marines, Canadians and Indians, arrived after great fatigue in the vicinity of the Oneida castle, to which place he sent four warriors, doubtless to make interest with that people, by promising not to war on them and possibly to obtain food, for which they were much straitened. From

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\* Brod. Papers, vol. 10.

thence he journeyed to the river Corlaer—Mohawk, at the Carrying Place, where it is said he had “the satisfaction of examining five abandoned English forts.” He means the sites of forts, and doubtless referred to those of Forts Bull, and Williams, and one as intimated elsewhere, as having been commenced between those two forts; but what other two he meant, it is not easy to determine, unless it were those destroyed at Oswego. At the Mohawk he was joined by the delegation sent to Oneida, with six Oneida volunteers.

When the troops learned from the Oneidas that Fort Herkimer, a mile below the village, was garrisoned by 350 men, his Indians began to manifest fear; but all were encouraged to go forward, except a few of the youngest and oldest warriors, who were the most fatigued. The party passed down on the south side of the river to within four or five miles of the village, when they crossed the river toward evening November 11th, and encamped a few miles from the first of five forts, as the account says, which covered the Palatine settlements. What he called forts is left to conjecture—some of them may have been small block houses, and others dwellings more or less fortified. At three o'clock A. M. the attack was ordered, and so alarmed were the inmates of the first fort saluted—which was a fortified dwelling—that the mayor of the village—as the narrative calls its commandant—opened his doors and asked for quarters. Benton, in his *History of Herkimer County*, says: This man, who was the master spirit of the place, was John Jost Petrie, who was among the captives made, lived to return and died some years after. Belletre passed rapidly from one to the other of the five forts, all of which surrendered at discretion, and were burned. The invaders also ravaged and burned the 60 dwellings of the place—30 houses, says the French “Topography” of country made at the time\*—with their barns, other out-buildings, and a saw-mill and water-mill (a small grist-mill), both of which mills were on creeks upon the south side of the river above Fort Herkimer.

The French account says that about 40 of the English (meaning German citizens) perished at this time, either killed or

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\* Brod. Papers, vol. 10, p. 678.

drowned, and 150 men, women and children were made prisoners, including the surgeon and some militia officers.\*

The enemy claimed that they had not a man killed, and only four or five wounded. They boasted of having destroyed large quantities of grain and hay, many hogs, 3,000 each of cattle and sheep. They claimed to have taken 1,500 horses, 300 of which they took along to feed the detachment on its return. The narrative says, also, that the property in furniture, wearing apparel, merchandise and liquor, might form a capital of 1,500,000 livres. The mayor of the village alone has 400,000 livres. The French and Indians have acquired as rich a booty as they could carry off. They have in specie more than 100,000 livres. One Indian alone has as much as 30,000. There was likewise plundered a quantity of wampum, silver bracelets, etc., scarlet cloth and other merchandise, which may form a capital of 80,000 livres more. All this damage, says the account, could not be done short of 48 hours. The account adds that on the 13th, at 7 A. M., 50 Englishmen and some Mohawks left the fort across the river to attack them, but were driven back by the French and Indians, and that at noon, of that day, the detachment was ordered on its return march.

Another view of this exaggerated account. Mr. Daine, writing at the time from Quebec to the French minister,† says: "This whole account should be diminished at least a good half, and other portions of it still more so." The reader will observe that they claim to have destroyed 3,000 each of cattle and sheep as the property of 30 families, which would be 100 head of each

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\* Speaking of the destruction of this place in a letter to the Board of Trade, Jan 5, 1758, Lieut.-Gov. De Lancey, says: "The loss is estimated at £20,000 this money [\$50,000]. It is, perhaps, as fertile a piece of ground as any in the world. The settlers were generally rich, and had good buildings on their lands. Some of the inhabitants were slain, about 100 carried into captivity, their houses and barns with the crops destroyed by fire, etc." (*Doc. His.*, vol 1, p 518.) The French Topography alluded to, says it was reckoned that Palatine village, of 30 dwellings, contained 300 persons, men, women and children, 102 of whom were made prisoners, and the remainder fled to Fort Kouari, except a few who were killed in fording the river. This seems to agree with Gov. De Lancey's account, though neither of them give the number slain. Discounting the French account properly, it is reasonable to conclude they may have obtained 15 or 20 scalps; but most of the citizens fled to the fort across the river, and among them their Domine. The Topography also states that two houses were destroyed on the shore of a creek called *Ras-se-dol*, nearly four leagues above Palatine village. Here was a crossing place from the south to the north side of the river, near which this creek must have been, and not far from Utica.

† *Doc. His.*, vol. 1, p. 519.

to each family, as also 50 horses for each family. M. De Vaudreuil, writing to the minister from Montreal, in the following June, says: "The 500 horses lost by the enemy in this affair were not exactly captured. The greater part were killed or wounded; but Belletre brought with him a very small number [that could not have been 500] on which to support his detachment on its return, but that the remainder could not be taken along for the want of roads, and the transport of forage for them."† Here is another glaring inconsistency. Says the first account—"All this damage could not be done in less than 48 hours;" and yet orders were given at noon, on the 15th, to return, which, supposing the enemy reached Petrie's at four A. M. on the 12th, would give but 32 hours for the work requiring 48 hours. What force there really was at this time in Fort Herkimer has not been shown, but it was quite too small to oppose the enemy in the field. It was at first thought that Sir William Johnson was at fault in not, through his Indian runners, duly having notified this settlement of its impending danger; but he was able to show that his timely warning had been disregarded, and the people suffered in consequence. The calamity of this settlement caused great excitement, and almost a stampede from Stone Arabia, Dutchtown, Cherry Valley and other exposed settlements.

"*The French Topography of the country between Oswego and Albany*," found in volume 10 of the *Brod. Papers*, gives the most reliable account of the condition of things between those posts, in 1757, ever published. And although I have said so much on this subject, it seems necessary to notice some things here recorded. The narrative gives a birds-eye view of both sides of the Mohawk, from Fort Williams, at the head of bateau navigation of the river to Schenectada. That fort and Fort Kouari, are both on the right bank, or south side of the river, 13 leagues apart. Between those forts was a road by which horses and cattle passed on their way from Fort Kouari to Chouagen—Oswego. Five leagues above Fort Kouari are the Forks, that is two roads, one of which leads to Palatine village by crossing the Mohawk at that point.

*Fort Kouari* is described as a large three story stone house

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• Doc. His. vol. 1, p. 520,

on the south bank of the river, with port-holes at each story ; as also in its basement, with some small cannon. It was built for a store and depot for military stores en route for Oswego. It was surrounded except on the side toward the river and approach to the main entrance, by a ditch six feet deep and seven feet wide, 30 feet from the building. Inside the ditch were palisades in oblique form. There was a gate toward the river, but the main entrance was on the south side by a folding ironed door. Opposite the fort in the river was a small cultivated island. The nearest dwelling to the fort was 150 paces. From this to the *Cannatchocary*, Canajoharie fort is four leagues. In the first mile and before reaching Fall Hill, some 20 dwellings are noted. Below the hill were two other houses some distance apart.

*Fort Canajoharie—the Upper Mohawk Castle*, also on the south side of the river, consists of a square of four bastions of upright pickets joined with lintels, 15 feet high and about one foot square, with port-holes and a stage all around to fire from. The fort was 100 paces on each side, had small cannon in its bastions, and houses to serve as a store and a barrack. Five or six families of Mohawks resided outside the pickets. From Fort Canajoharie to Fort Hunter—Lower Mohawk castle, is about twelve leagues, with a good carriage road along the bank of the river. In this distance are about 100 houses, some of which are back from the river.

*Fort Hunter*, situated on the borders of the “Moack” river, on the south side—in the estuary at the junction of the Schoharie creek with the Mohawk, and known by the Indians as Tienonderoga—is of the same form as that of Canajoharie, except that it is twice as large. It likewise has a house at each curtain. The cannon at each bastion are seven and nine pounders. The pickets of this fort are higher than those at Canajoharie. There is a church or temple in the middle of the fort ; while in its inclosure are also some 30 cabins of Mohawk Indians, which is their most considerable village. This fort, like that of Canajoharie, has no ditch, and has a large swing gate at the entrance. There are some houses outside, though under the protection of the fort, in which the country people seek shelter when an Indian or French war party is looked for. *From Fort Hunter to Chenectedi—Schenectada is seven leagues.*

The public carriage way continues along the right bank of the river. About 20 or 30 houses are found within this distance, separated about one-quarter of a league from each other. The inhabitants of this section are Low Dutch. They, with some inhabitants on the left bank of the river, form a military company about 100 men strong. There were some half a dozen other companies on both sides of the river above Schenectada, of 100 men each, which composed Col. Johnson's regiment.

*Schenectada*, situated on the south side of the Mohawk, is a village of about 300 inhabitants. It is surrounded by upright pickets, flanked from distance to distance. Entering by the gate on the Fort Hunter side—west side—there is a fort to the right which forms a kind of citadel in the interior of the village itself. It is a square, flanked with four demi-bastions, constructed half of masonry and half of timbers; and is capable of holding 200 or 300 men. Several pieces of cannon are mounted on the ramparts. It is not encircled by a ditch: the entrance is through a large swing-gate, which lifts up like a draw-bridge. By penetrating the village from another point, the fire from the fort can be avoided. The most of the inhabitants are Dutch.

*From Schenectada to Orange—Albany*, is estimated at six or seven leagues, over a sandy road covered with open timber, with only a few hills. A league and a half from Schenectada, there was a tavern on the road; and at the end of the same distance, another tavern known as the half-way house; and for many years there were few, if any, other houses between those cities—the land being too poor for cultivation. Albany, on the west bank of the Hudson, was not then fortified on the forest side except by an inclosure of pickets without a ditch, which was flanked at certain distances—the river being its defense on the other side. The inclosure was called smaller than that of Montreal. In the interior of the town was a fort capable of containing 300 men, defended by seven cannon.

Leaving Fort Williams and passing down to Palatine village on the left bank, or north side of the Mohawk, it is called 12 leagues. Near this fort the river was fordable, from whence half a league from the shore a path leads down the river; the lands along which, some distance from the river, are marshy, producing nothing but hay. This path is hilly, and can be

traveled only on foot or on horseback. This was, no doubt, the path pursued by Col. Willet and Lieut. Stockwell, when they left Fort Stanwix 20 years later, for aid to raise the siege of that place. It was eight leagues to the road, which diverged from the south to the north side of the river. From this road crossing—which I have already supposed was near Utica\*—is four leagues by a good carriage road to Palatine village. It required a day to descend in a bateau from Fort Williams to the latter place, and three days in which to return. From Palatine village to Schenectada bateaux are said to have passed in a day: this was, no doubt, when the river was up and the current strong. It took a longer time, with very hard labor, to return, unless the wind was favorable for raising a sail. From Palatine village to Little Falls was estimated three leagues. In this distance, which was a mile or two less, there were eight houses, which were for a time abandoned by their occupants, on the destruction of the village above.

The Carrying Place at Little Falls was passed with carts, there being roads on both sides of the river; but the distance was less on the north side, where the portage was usually done. From the Little Falls eastward on the north shore there was only a foot path, difficult to travel on horseback. Three leagues is the estimated distance from the Falls to East Canada creek, where there was a ferry to put carts across to and from Fort Canajoharie. After fording the creek, a road passable for carts extended 12 leagues to Col. Johnson's mansion. In the whole distance the land is good, with about 500 houses. The greatest number of those on the bank of the river are of stone, while those farther inland (at Stone Arabia) are of wood. There is not a fort in the whole distance of this 12 leagues; and but one farmer's house built of stone, that is somewhat fortified and surrounded with pickets. It is situated on the bank of the river three leagues from the mouth of East Canada creek. This was, no doubt, the Capt. Frey place of that period, which house—erected in 1739—is still standing in very good condition, half a mile above Palatine Bridge. The inhabitants of this country are Germans, and are formed into military companies each of 100 men.

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\* It is said the Indians called this place *Yah-nun-dah-sis*, which signified the crossing by the old ford, which is the signet in the seal of the ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.



Here is the French account of Sir William Johnson's place, copied entire. "Col. Johnson's mansion is situate on the border of the left bank of the River Moack: it is three stories high [two with an attic], built of stone, with port-holes (*crenelees*) and a parapet, and flanked with four bastions on which are some small guns. In the same yard, on both sides of the mansion are two small houses; that on the right of the entrance is a store, and that on the left is designed for workmen, negroes and other domestics. The yard gate is a heavy swing-gate well ironed; it is on the Moack river side; from this gate to the river is about 200 paces of level ground. The high road passes there. A small rivulet, coming from the north, empties into the Moack river, about 200 paces below the inclosure of the yard. On this stream is a mill, about 50 paces distance from the house; below the mill is the miller's house, where grain and flour are stored, and on the other side of the creek, 100 paces from the mill, is a barn in which cattle and fodder are kept. One hundred and fifty paces from Col. Johnson's mansion, at the north side, on the left bank of the little creek, is a rise of ground on which is a small house with port-holes, where, ordinarily, is kept a guard of honor of some 20 men, which serves also as an advanced post."

The Mohawk could be forded during the summer a league and a quarter west of Schenectada, while opposite the town the traverse was in a ferry-boat or bateaux. Between Schenectada and the mouth of the Mohawk, where it discharges into Orange—the Hudson, there is a great fall; the Cohoes, which prevents the passage of bateaux, so that everything on the river going from Schenectada to Orange—Albany, passes over the high road that leads there direct. From Albany to New York it was counted 50 or 60 leagues; from Albany to Boston 60 leagues; and from Boston to New York, along the sea-side, the same distance, the league being three geographical miles.

*Events of 1758.*—Emboldened by the success of Belletre the fall before, another war party from Canada consisting of 80 Indians and four Frenchmen, on Monday, April 30th, invaded the Palatine settlement on the south side of the river around Fort Herkimer, and succeeded in killing 30 of the citizens, two traders named Clock, and John Ehle, and one of six teamsters, who chanced to be there on their way to the fort. Capt. Nicho-

las Herkimer, with a party of rangers from the fort, rescued five of the wagoners, and drove off the enemy with a loss of six killed and nine wounded. On the morning following this event a woman came into Fort Herkimer, who had not only been scalped, but had her nose nearly cut off, with wounds in her breast and side, who, it was thought, might recover. I have been informed that she was a Mrs. Bell. This party was believed to have been mostly Oswegatchie or "Praying Indians," but the escaped woman said she recognized some of them as Onondagas.\* This was the last serious disaster of the kind which befel the frontier settlers of this valley prior to the American Revolution. It was also in the year 1758 that Fort Stanwix was erected near the former site of Fort Williams.

The year 1759 dawned with better prospects of success to the British arms. Gen. Amherst, who had succeeded the vain Abercrombie, planned the invasion of Canada and the lakes by three different routes. One up the St. Lawrence to Quebec by Gen. Wolfe; one against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, which he was to lead in person; and a third under Gen. Prideaux against Niagara, and, if successful, to proceed thence to Montreal. Fort Ticonderoga, on the approach of Amherst, was evacuated by the enemy, who retired to Crown Point, which, in turn, they evacuated, and went to Isle Aux Noix, at the north end of Lake Champlain. A succession of storms prevented a pursuit of the enemy, and Amherst went into winter quarters at Crown Point. In prosecuting his enterprise against Fort Niagara, Gen. Prideaux was killed early by the bursting of one of his cohorns, and the command devolved upon Sir William Johnson, who prosecuted the plans of the former to a successful issue. An attempt was made to raise the siege by an army under D. Aubrey, which was met and repulsed by Sir William, the French commander being among the slain. The garrison of the fort, including non-combatants—consisting of over 600—became prisoners of war. Thus was another military laurel added to the chaplet of Sir William Johnson.† The latter officer was anxious to proceed to Montreal; but the caution of Amherst, for the want of a better flotilla, would not allow him to take the hazard of the enterprise.‡

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\* Doc. His., vol. 1, p. 522.

† Holmes' Annals.

‡ Stone's Sir William Johnson.

Gen. Amherst was to have co-operated with Gen. Wolfe after his success on the lakes, but failed to do so : Gen. Wolfe, however, was not to be discouraged, and after the failure of several plans he still determined to do what was expected of him by the home government—capture Quebec : and to the surprise and consternation of Montcalm, the French commander, on the 13th of September, 1759, Wolfe appeared with his army on the Heights of Abraham, which commanded the supposed impregnable city. A terrible action followed in which both commanders were among the dying. In the last moment of his life, Wolfe, while being supported by a lieutenant, heard his men shout : *They run!* “Who run?” asked the dying hero. The French, replied his supporter. “Then I die happy!” said the invincible chieftain, and instantly expired. The history of the world under all the circumstances, does not show a more glorious military death. Montcalm was a foeman worthy of his steel, and when that officer was borne into the city and was told that his wound was mortal, he replied : “I am glad of it!” When told he could live but a few hours—“so much the better,” said he, “as I shall not then live to see the surrender of Quebec!” He died the next morning, and five days after, the enemy being much straitened for food, the British flag floated from the walls of the doomed city ; which contained about 10,000 souls.\*

*The End of French Rule in Canada.*—In the fall of 1759, the French still held possession of Montreal and a few other posts, and early in the spring they attempted and almost succeeded in recapturing Quebec, but the timely arrival of an English fleet, compelled the French to return to Montreal, where they concentrated all their forces. Gen. Amherst with an army of 10,000 troops, joined by Sir William Johnson with 1,000 Iroquois warriors, embarked from Oswego for Montreal, where he was joined by Col. Haviland, from Crown Point. Gen. Murray, with a body of troops from Quebec, also opportunely arrived to join in the siege : when the French Governor, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, finding all hope of succor at an end ; surrendered his troops as prisoners of war : and thus

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\* Holmes' Annals.

happily for the American colonies; and especially for New York, terminated for ever French rule in Canada, and that whole country became rapidly Anglicized.

*A Surprise and Massacre at the Devil's Hole, on Niagara river.*—The following sketch of a transaction not generally known when we first published it, is no doubt the most authentic account of it ever obtained; and was copied by the writer by permission about the year 1840, from "Notes of a Journey made to Niagara," by Isaac Hall Tiffany, Esq., in 1806: who went thither on horseback from Cobelskill, Schoharie county.

In the summer of 1759, Sir William Johnson landed with a body of troops at the mouth of a creek, four miles from Niagara, since called Johnson's creek, and took possession of Forts Niagara and Schlosser, posts of much importance erected by the French on the east side of Niagara river, as they commanded the trade of the upper lakes. In 1760, Mr. Stedman, an Englishman, contracted with Sir William to construct a portage road from Queenston Landing, now Lewiston, to Fort Schlosser, a distance of about eight miles. The road having been completed, on the morning of September 17, 1763, fifteen wagons and teams mostly of oxen, under an escort of 24 men commanded by a sergeant, and accompanied by the contractor, Stedman and Capt. Johnson as a volunteer, set out from Fort Niagara with stores, etc. intended for the garrison at Fort Schlosser. Arriving something over two miles from the top of the mountain above Lewiston, and 10 or 12 from Niagara, the escort and wagons halted about 11 o'clock, on a little savanna of green sward to rest and take refreshments beside a gulf called in Indian and English, the *Devil's Hole*. This is a semi-circular precipice or chasm of some 200 feet diameter up and down the river on the summit, but less at the bottom. A little distance from the brink of the hole, is a kind of natural mound, several feet in height, also of crescent shape; and 60 feet from the top issues a fine spring, which dashes down through the underbrush to the river. A small brook in the neighborhood, called the *bloody-run*, now runs into the chasm. The Seneca Indians continued in the French interest at this period, and fearing hostile movements on their part, a detach-

ment of volunteers consisting of 130 men, under the command of Capt. Campbell, marched from Queenston to strengthen the escort. Just as the troops under Captain C. reached the spot where the escort had halted, about 500 Indians, who had been concealed behind the mound, sprang from their covert with savage yells, and like so many tigers began an indiscriminate slaughter of the troops, who were thrown into the utmost confusion. Resistance against such odds did not long continue, and those of the party who were not killed or driven from the precipice with their teams, attempted their escape by flight. In the midst of the conflict, Stedman sprang upon a small horse, and giving the faithful animal a slap on the neck with his hand, it bore him over the dead and dying, and through the thick ranks of the foe, who discharged their rifles, and hurled their tomahawks in vain at his head. It has been stated that an Indian early seized the bridle-rein of Stedman's horse, which the latter cut loose.

Of those who jumped directly down the precipice in front, some seventy or eighty feet, which has an uneven surface below, only one escaped with life. This was a soldier named Mathews, from whom these particulars were obtained by the tourist. He was then living on the Canada shore, near Niagara, and familiarly called *Old Britannia*. Several trees were growing from the bottom of the hole, the tops of which reached near the surface of the ground. Into one of these trees Corporal Noble leaped and hung, in which position eleven bullets riddled his body. Captain Johnson, of the escort, was killed, and Lieut. Duncan, of the relief, a native of Long Island, and a promising young officer, was wounded in the left arm, of which he died. The whole number of troops and teamsters was about 175, of this number only some 25 escaped with life, and all of them, except Stedman and Mathews, did so below or near the north end of the hole, at a little sand ridge, which served to break the fall. Of Capt. Campbell's command, only *eleven* escaped with life. The loss of the enemy was inconsiderable compared with that of the British. A short time after this horrible affair, the Indians, who considered Stedman a charmed man, gave him as a reward for his daring feat, a large tract of land, which embraced all that he rode over in his

previous flight. He returned to England, taking along his favorite horse, and never afterwards would he allow it to be saddled or harnessed.

My friend Tiffany, in whose journal I find the above facts, first visited the Devil's Hole, with a relative, August 10, 1806, at which time he entered it by descending a tree, to search for evidences of the event related. In the bottom of the chasm he found the skulls of several oxen "mouldering and covered with moss," a piece of a wagon, and the small part of a horn; which latter relic he took from the place, and after retaining it in his possession 38 years, he kindly presented to the author. It is now in the State Cabinet.

*Tax lists.*—The close of the French war left the colony of New York deeply in debt, and resort was had to direct taxation to sustain the government. The assessment was levied "By virtue of three acts of General Assembly of the Colony of New York; the first for the payment of the second £100,000 tax, the second for the payment of the £60,000 tax, and the third for the raising and collecting the arrears of several acts therein mentioned." The commissioners of Albany county, who set their hands and seals to the warrant sent "Mr. John Fonda, Collector for Mohawks," were "Rens. Nicoll, Marte Hallenbeck, Abraham Douw, and Cornelis Van Schaack." The warrant was dated at Albany, July 17, 1764. The tax on the citizens of the Mohawk valley amounted to £242,17 6—\$607.19—and was collected, except \$2.81 bad debts, and receipted by John Stevenson for James Stevenson, in Albany, the 11th of October following. Were not part of this tax list gone, I would present it to the reader. The following are some of the largest sums taxed to individuals on the portions of the manuscript remaining, which still contains 90 names, with a quota from one pound upward :

|                        | Valua-<br>tion. | Assess.  |                      | Valua-<br>tion. | Assess. |
|------------------------|-----------------|----------|----------------------|-----------------|---------|
| Sir Wm. Johnson.....   | £167            | £20 17 6 | Wm. Ellen.....       | £12             | £1 10 0 |
| Margrit Flipse.....    | 24              | 3 00 0   | Daniel Clus.....     | 10              | 1 5 0   |
| Marie Van O'Linda..... | 21              | 2 12 6   | Guy Johnson.....     | 10              | 1 5 0   |
| Lewis Groat.....       | 20              | 2 10 0   | John Have.....       | 10              | 1 5 0   |
| Davit Pruyn.....       | 20              | 2 10 0   | Jacob Potman.....    | 10              | 1 5 0   |
| Isaac D. Graf.....     | 18              | 2 5 0    | Clas D. Graf.....    | 9               | 1 2 6   |
| Hans Antes.....        | 17              | 2 2 6    | Harmanis Mabe.....   | 9               | 1 2 6   |
| James McMaster.....    | 16              | 2 0 0    | Cor's Potman.....    | 9               | 1 2 6   |
| Harne Vedder.....      | 16              | 2 0 0    | Cor's Nuker'k.....   | 9               | 1 2 6   |
| Wouter Swart.....      | 16              | 2 0 0    | Jacob Ernst.....     | 9               | 1 2 6   |
| John Johnson.....      | 16              | 2 0 0    | Fred. De Graf.....   | 8               | 1 0 0   |
| Frans Hals.....        | 16              | 2 0 0    | John Coyn.....       | 7               | 0 17 6  |
| Peter Young.....       | 13              | 1 12 6   | Herre Hewson.....    | 6               | 0 15 0  |
| John Nukerk.....       | 13              | 1 12 6   | Margarita Putman.... | 6               | 0 15 0  |
| Hans Klyn.....         | 13              | 1 12 6   |                      |                 |         |

The quota on the portion of this tax list remaining, foots up £671, and the taxes assessed on it are \$83,17 6. As the whole assessment is set down as £1,943, and the tax levied at £242,17 6, it is quite evident that full two-thirds of the names are lacking, since no one else could have been seized with a sum at all approximating to that of Sir William Johnson. As the names remaining are mostly Low Dutch from Schenectada up the valley, leaving out the Visschers, Fondas, Veeders, Van Eppses, Quack-enbushes and Wemples about Fonda, it is quite apparent that the portion gone traversed the German settlements above, embracing the Dockstaders, Freys, Ehles, Wagners, Foxes, Herkimers, Petries, Finks, Eisenlords, Moyers, Countrymans, and scores of others liable to be taxed in the settlements west of Fonda. The collector's fees on this occasion were six pence per pound.

The following tax list will show the names of many of the citizens then living in the two eastern districts of Tryon county, and their comparative wealth at that period. The manuscript, which has been preserved among the papers of the late Maj. Fonda, is without date. It is written in a fair, legible hand, and must have been executed a few years prior to the Revolution.

*"A List of the persons that are assessed above five pounds, with the sums they are to pay, and the number of days they are to work upon the King's highways, annexed."*

| PERSONS NAMES.                       | Quota. | Annual assess. | No. days work. | PERSONS NAMES.              | Quota. | Annual assess. | No. days work. |
|--------------------------------------|--------|----------------|----------------|-----------------------------|--------|----------------|----------------|
| John Bleven .....                    | £6     | s1 d6          | 4              | Christian Earnest .....     | £13    | s3             | 5              |
| Abraham Hodges .....                 | 10     | 1 6            | 4              | John Waters .....           | 12     | 3              | 5              |
| John & Evert Van Eps .....           | 15     | 3 0            | 5              | Christopher McGraw .....    | 9      | 1 d6           | 4              |
| Wm. & Woulter Swart .....            | 10     | 1 6            | 4              | James Phillipse .....       | 10     | 1 6            | 4              |
| Martinus Van OLinda .....            | 17     | 3              | 5              | William Snook .....         | 8      | 1 6            | 4              |
| Mary Phillipse .....                 | 17     | 3              | 5              | Samuel Pettingall .....     | 8      | 1 6            | 4              |
| Abraham Phillipse .....              | 6      | 1 5            | 4              | Patrick McConnelly .....    | 8      | 1 6            | 4              |
| William Allen .....                  | 15     | 3              | 5              | John Van Dewarke .....      | 10     | 1 6            | 4              |
| John Souts .....                     | 6      | 1 6            | 4              | Peter Young .....           | 10     | 1 6            | 4              |
| Jacobus Cromwell .....               | 15     | 3              | 5              | Timothy Lenderse .....      | 15     | 3              | 5              |
| Andrew Frank .....                   | 16     | 3              | 5              | Charles H. Van Epps .....   | 15     | 3              | 5              |
| Abraham Van Al-tine .....            | 18     | 3              | 5              | Peter Jost .....            | 6      | 1 6            | 4              |
| Crownlde Kincaide .....              | 10     | 1 6            | 4              | Philip Phillipse .....      | 13     | 3              | 5              |
| John S. Vrooman .....                | 7      | 1 0            | 4              | Jacob Van Dewarke .....     | 9      | 1 6            | 4              |
| Adam Sternbergh .....                | 15     | 3              | 5              | John Everse .....           | 7      | 1 6            | 4              |
| Henry and John Lewis .....           | 6      | 1 6            | 4              | Malkert Van Duesar .....    | 12     | 3              | 5              |
| Abraham Yates .....                  | 20     | 8              | 5              | Mrs. Sophia Denniston ..... | 6      | 1 6            | 4              |
| David and Peter Lewis .....          | 10     | 1 0            | 4              | Capt. Norm'd McL. ad .....  | 6      | 1 6            | 4              |
| Hendrick Divindorf .....             | 7      | 3              | 5              | Widow Vrooman & son .....   | 6      | 1 6            | 4              |
| David Potman .....                   | 15     | 3              | 5              | Dow Fonda .....             | 16     | 3              | 5              |
| Lips Spinner .....                   | 15     | 3              | 5              | John Funda .....            | 6      | 1 6            | 4              |
| Samuel Rose .....                    | 10     | 1 6            | 4              | Jelles Funda .....          | 40     | 9              | 8              |
| Hendrick Hoff .....                  | 10     | 1 6            | 4              | Barent B. Wemple .....      | 6      | 1 6            | 4              |
| Adam Gardener .....                  | 13     | 3              | 5              | Gilbert Tice .....          | 6      | 1 6            | 4              |
| Arent Bradt .....                    | 13     | 3              | 5              | Peter Cooley .....          | 7      | 1 6            | 4              |
| Adam Dagstader, Sen .....            | 18     | 3              | 5              | Samson Simens .....         | 15     | 3              | 5              |
| Fredrick Dagstader, Sen .....        | 20     | 3              | 5              | John Wemple .....           | 6      | 1 6            | 4              |
| Hendrick Dagstader, Sr .....         | 20     | 3              | 5              | Andries Wemple .....        | 6      | 1 6            | 4              |
| John Bowen .....                     | 7      | 1 6            | 4              | Peter Conyn, Esq .....      | 30     | 5              | 6              |
| William B. Bowen .....               | 6      | 1 6            | 4              | Harman Visser .....         | 27     | 5              | 6              |
| John V. Potman .....                 | 7      | 1 6            | 4              | Hanse Clement .....         | 8      | 1 6            | 4              |
| John Butler, Esq .....               | 27     | 5              | 6              | Lewis Clement .....         | 14     | 3              | 5              |
| John Nare .....                      | 12     | 3              | 5              | Michael Staller .....       | 10     | 1 6            | 4              |
| John and Jacob Kilts .....           | 20     | 3              | 5              | Daniel McGregor .....       | 10     | 1 6            | 4              |
| Conrad Linkefeller .....             | 11     | 3              | 5              | Philip Weamer .....         | 6      | 1 6            | 4              |
| Arent Potman .....                   | 7      | 1 6            | 4              | Baltus Ergetsinger .....    | 8      | 1 6            | 4              |
| Sir Wm. Johnson, Bart .....          | 202    | 12             | 9              | Robert Adams .....          | 14     | 3              | 5              |
| Sir John Johnson, Kt .....           | 25     | 5              | 6              | Martin Lessler .....        | 10     | 1 6            | 4              |
| Col. Daniel Claus .....              | 21     | 5              | 6              | Frans Salts .....           | 15     | 3              | 5              |
| Col. Guy Johnson .....               | 21     | 5              | 6              | Hans Clyn .....             | 12     | 3              | 5              |
| Frederick Degraff .....              | 6      | 1 6            | 4              | Jacob Potman .....          | 9      | 1 6            | 4              |
| Nicholas Degraff .....               | 6      | 1 6            | 4              | Cornelius Potman .....      | 10     | 1 6            | 4              |
| I. Degraff & son Jer'h .....         | 13     | 3              | 5              | Harmanus Mealy .....        | 8      | 1 6            | 4              |
| Lewis Groat .....                    | 16     | 3              | 5              | Garret C. Newkirk .....     | 8      | 1 6            | 4              |
| Jacob Bushart .....                  | 7      | 1 6            | 4              | John Newkirk .....          | 10     | 1 6            | 4              |
| Hendrick Bushart .....               | 7      | 1 6            | 4              | Peter Vartia, Esq .....     | 13     | 3              | 5              |
| Adam Fonda .....                     | 9      | 1 6            | 4              | Isaac Collier .....         | 10     | 1 6            | 4              |
| Peter Whitmore .....                 | 6      | 1 6            | 4              | Adam Zeelie .....           | 13     | 3              | 5              |
| John & Conradt Smith .....           | 6      | 1 6            | 4              | Ephraim Wemple .....        | 13     | 3              | 5              |
| Guysbert & Garret Van Brachler ..... | 6      | 1 6            | 4              | Barent Hansen .....         | 7      | 1 6            | 4              |
| James Davis .....                    | 6      | 1 6            | 4              | Hendrick Hansen .....       | 7      | 1 6            | 4              |
| Peter Frederick & sons .....         | 12     | 3              | 5              | Abraham Quackenbush .....   | 8      | 1 6            | 4              |
| John Wilson .....                    | 7      | 1 6            | 4              | Jeremiah Quackenbush .....  | 11     | 3              | 5              |
| J. Rupert & Lottridge .....          | 8      | 1 3            | 4              | N. & P. Quackenbush .....   | 10     | 1 6            | 4              |
| Peter Service .....                  | 18     | 3              | 5              | Vincent Quackenbush .....   | 6      | 1 6            | 4              |
| Hans Albrant .....                   | 7      | 1 6            | 4              | Ab'm Quackenbush .....      | 7      | 1 6            | 4              |
| Andries Snyder .....                 | 8      | 1 6            | 4              | John Matatt .....           | 8      | 1 6            | 4              |
| Hans Doren .....                     | 7      | 1 6            | 4              | Samuel Gardeneer .....      | 18     | 3              | 5              |
| Phillip Cromwell .....               | 17     | 3              | 5              | Jacob Gardeneer .....       | 12     | 3              | 5              |
| Volbert Veeder .....                 | 6      | 1 6            | 4              | William Schylder .....      | 6      | 1 6            | 4              |
| Widow Smith and sons .....           | 17     | 3              | 4              | Hans Wart .....             | 7      | 1 6            | 4              |
| John V. Veeder .....                 | 27     | 5              | 6              | Total assets .....          | £14    | s11 d6         | 555            |

Total valuation, £1,606; total assessment, £14,11 6; total days labor, 555.



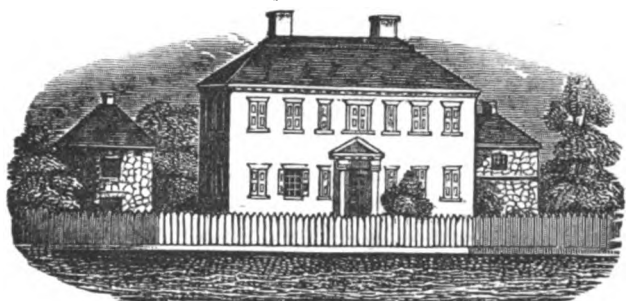
*First Settlement of Johnstown.*—The Kingsborough patent, which covered the lands in and around Johnstown, seems to have embraced two allotments. The title to one of those was secured June 23, 1753, by Arent Stevens, and 20 other persons, for 20,000 acres; but through whose name or names the other 30,000 was secured I cannot say: in his will, Sir William Johnson gave his son, Sir John, these lands as about 50,000 acres—hence it is safe to conclude that they had embraced that number of acres, as he had disposed of some parcels in fee.

In his effort to annul the Kayaderosseras grant which had been unfairly obtained of the natives; Sir William, having assigned to him as a reason for its non-settlement that it was so exposed to the incursions of the enemy said: "They do not choose to recollect that I settled 100 families during the heat of that war (the last French war), on my estate, which lies many miles distant from that tract to the northwest, and consequently infinitely more exposed."\* This reference must be to the settlement of Johnstown, and is the first evidence I have found, going to prove when this settlement began and the number of its first locating families.

His tract instead of being many, was only a few miles to the westward of the Kayaderosseras, the Sacondaga patent lying between them, and his colony of Scotch, Irish and German adventurers, must have been planted between the years 1755 and 1758. Hemmed in, as he was, at Fort Johnson, near the river, and cognizant of the fact that his new purchase covered a beautiful country with a fertile soil only a few miles north of the Mohawk, and only eight or ten distant from Fort Johnson; Sir William Johnson resolved to build up the village there, which took his name, rightly anticipating that at no distant day he could get a new county organized, with Johnstown as the county seat. He resolved to settle upon this tract, and in the fall of 1762, we find him making ample provision for a new mansion, which, in the following season he pressed to an early completion; and under date of June 6, 1763, he dated a letter at Johnson Hall: but he was probably there on business, for as late as July 1st—writing to the Lords of Trade—he still dated his letter at Fort Johnson. He is believed to have had removed his family thither in August of that year.

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\* Stone's Johnson, vol. 2, p. 391.



VIEW OF JOHNSON HALL IN 1840.

This was a large two story wooden structure, with an easterly frontage of 60 feet by 40 in depth—being just 200 feet in circumference. A hall 15 feet wide ran through the centre from front to rear, through which a horse and cutter could easily be driven. In this hall was a broad stairway with two landings to the chambers which were spacious and wainscoted, as were the rooms below. September 2, 1853, I visited this hall, with Mr. Decius Beebe, of New Orleans. The late Mr. Eleazsar Wells, father of its present proprietor, then owned and occupied the building ; and as he had lived in its vicinity for many years, he was familiar with its traditionary history, and could relate many interesting events connected with it. Standing in one of the upper rooms, he remarked that the paper on its walls, which yet looked bright and cheery, was said to have been put on during the occupancy of its original proprietor.

The hand-rail upon the stair-balusters was of mahogany, and was hacked nearly its whole length, proving an interesting object to visitors, as it was merely varnished afterward. Mr. Wells gave us the tradition of this novelty. Beside the upper end of the hand-rail is a door opening into a room, in which it is said Sir John Johnson and Brant were for a time closeted, while discussing some unpalatable subject, at the time of their invasion in 1780 ; and on leaving the room to go below, Brant drew his tomahawk from his belt, and with it began to deal blows in rapid succession on the hand-rail, as he descended the stairs. Johnson, close upon his heels, did his best to prevent the nefarious act ; first begging him to desist and then threatening him with prosecution, if he did not—but all to no purpose, the blows continued to fall. On arriving at the foot of the

stairs, Sir John was very angry and still threatening legal redress, when Brant coolly turned upon him and said : "*You have told me you did not want the house burnt down.*" "*I dont,*" replied Sir John, "*nor do I want it hacked to pieces, for I expect to come back and occupy it again.*" "*Well,*" said Brant, "*I have now put my mark upon it, and when the young Indians go upon the war-path, I shall tell them that the house with hacked balusters is not to be burned.*" This was all the satisfaction the tory chieftain obtained, and his fond dream of again occupying the house, slipped from his grasp forever.

The hall had a basement, and from it said Mr. Wells, a door opened into a wine cellar on the north side of the front door, and Mr. W. remembered that the ground once caved in there, and the hole disclosed bottles, etc., mostly broken as appeared at the opening, but the cavity was filled up without an examination of either the room or its contents. He said, too, that when a fence post was being set not far from the northeast corner of the house, a lot of broken crockery, such as nice china platters, etc., was developed—supposed to have been buried there when the family fled to Canada, which were all destroyed by a crow-bar in digging the hole. Most of the fragments were left in the ground. A stone wall originally occupied nearly the site of the fence.

Mr. Wells related the following incident, which transpired soon after the hall became his home. On stepping out of the western hall door early one morning, he confronted a stranger near it, who told him not to be alarmed, as he was not a robber. He said he was a merchant in Montreal, then on his way to New York—that Molly Brant Johnson had told him, or friends, that about the time the Johnson family fled to Canada, a lot of ornaments (of silver and brass) arrived there for distribution among the Indians ; which, on leaving the hall, were placed in an iron pot with a flat stone over it, and secretly buried in the front yard a certain distance from a butternut tree, and had not been reclaimed. On his leaving, the Johnson family exacted a promise from him to visit the hall and make a search for the treasure. The stranger was trying to determine which was the front side of the house. Mr. Wells assured him he ever understood that the house fronted toward the village, but that he knew nothing of a butternut tree on either side. The visitor mistook the

west side of the house for its front, because he thought the finish about the front door the most fanciful. On his return from New York, he wanted permission to make a search for the treasure, which was granted on condition that he left the grounds in as good order as he found them : but he did not return.

Not long after my visit to the hall, I met in Johnstown, Jacob Shew and Jacob Yost, of whom I inquired if there ever was a butternut tree near Johnson hall. They remembered that in the front yard near the door-yard fence, southward of the well, there had stood in the Revolution, a butternut tree. Had it stood there when the Canadian called, he no doubt had instructions how far from it to make his search. An iron rod driven in early spring, might possibly strike the covering of the pot if the treasure was still there.

Nearly opposite the rear corners of Johnson hall, and at a little distance from it, Sir William erected two stone buildings ; one of which was used as an office by his attorney and private secretary, Bryan Lefferty, while the other contained *philosophical* apparatus, which at his death he possessed. When erected, they were intended, if needed, to prove as adjuncts in the defence of the hall. The northwest one was burned down in 1866. Besides taking means to build up a village nearly a mile distant, he gathered a little colony about him on the hall farm. He usually kept from 12 to 15 slaves at work on the farm, under the immediate direction of his *bourgeois-master*—farm-manager, Flood, an Irishman. These slaves, some of whom had families, lived in small dwellings erected for them across Cayadutta from the hall. They dressed much as did their Indian neighbors, except that instead of wearing blankets, they wore coats made of blankets by the hall *tailor*. The hall *blacksmith*, was also a man of no little consequence. Doctor Daly was his *physician*, whose practice was mostly restricted to the hall farm. He was a very companionable man, and accompanied the Baronet on many of his pleasure excursions. A dwarfish man who answered to the name of "Billy," who played a violin well, was for years his *musician*, and was ever on hand to entertain guests. On the removal of the Johnson family, instead of following its fortunes he went to New York. Johnson's surveyor was a man named Pickens.

Sir William kept a *gardener*, familiarly known as "Old Daddy Savage," who not only kept his garden, but the grounds around the hall as neat as a pin. He was very old when the Baronet died, and being abandoned by Sir John at his flight, he was supported by charity up to the time of his death, say in 1780, when he died as supposed at the age of nearly 100 years. He is believed to have been a fixture at Fort Johnson for some years, as doubtless were other members of the hall retinue. Samuel Rogers was given the use of a tory farm by the whigs, to support *Old Daddy Savage*. It belonged to the Dorn family; but two sons who had gone to Canada, returned after the war, and their father held it for them, and it was not confiscated. It was situated on the State road. He had a *butler* named Frank, an active young German, who for several years proved faithful and useful. He was about the hall until the Revolution began, when he went to Albany county. His *body waiter* and constant attendant when from home, was named Pontiac, an active and well disposed lad of mixed blood, negro and Indian, who is believed to have been thus called after the celebrated Ottawa chieftain of that name, as a compliment to the latter, when, in 1766, he pledged through Sir William Johnson, his future fealty to the English interest, against which he had stood out. He is believed some three years later to have been assassinated from motives of envy. All we can say of his *coachman* is, that he was a very careful reinsman. He had a pair of house-waiters, without which his home would have been incomplete. They were dwarfish-looking white men who catered for his own and his guests comfort; and their surname was Bartholomew—they are believed to have been brothers. The retinue of Sir William after his death remained with the son until the war began, when the greater part of it followed the fortunes of the latter to Canada.

On locating at Johnstown, Sir William Johnson, on a plot with several broad streets, at once set about building up a village. In 1764, he erected a good sized school-house on the corner of William and Main streets—where the late Lucius I. Smith so long traded—and not far from it a store and six dwellings, the latter all of one size, about 30 feet front by 20 in depth, one and a half stories high, with two square rooms on the first floor. These eight buildings were all painted yellow. The first mer-

chant to occupy the store was Robert Adams, who, with his brother William Adams, M. D., came from Ireland to the Mohawk valley in their early manhood. The former was with Sir William, in some capacity, and the latter as a surgeon in his army at Lake George. The facts gleaned about these Adams brothers were mostly from Jacob Shew and William Johnson Van Voast, the former of whom had known both well, while the latter, a namesake of Sir William Johnson, was related to Robert Adams.

On his arrival in the valley, Robert Adams, who had served as a merchant's clerk in Dublin,—and who had formed an acquaintance with Sir William in Ireland—opened a small store at Fort Hunter, as believed, with Sir William as a partner, and found it profitable to trade with the Indians. He went to occupy the new Johnstown store in 1764, about which time Doctor Adams settled there. John Van Voast, of Schenectada, married Mary Letitia, a daughter of Robert Adams; and when Sir John Johnson invaded Johnstown in May, 1780, and recovered his plate, Van Voast was among the prisoners he took back to Canada. From his great intimacy with his father, Adams interceded with Sir John for the liberation of Van Voast, which he refused to grant: he remained a prisoner to the end of the war, and an estrangement was produced between the Adams and Johnson families ever after. Sir John wrote to Mr. Adams subsequently for some of his father's papers left with him when the family fled so hastily to Canada, which were formally delivered without a single line from the trustee.

*An Affidavit.*—Since the above was written, a lengthy affidavit has turned up which was evidently made by Robert Adams at the request of John Watts, Esq., after the Revolution, doubtless in the interest of the Johnson family; but just what that was, cannot now be inferred. It sets forth the labor and faithful management of Sir William Johnson, in his position as Superintendent of Indian affairs. It states that said Adams kept the books of the Baronet from the year 1747 until the latter died in 1774, a period of 27 years; in all of which time he witnessed his distribution of presents to the Indians in money and goods, many of them given in a private manner for services to frustrate evil designs—many outlays being made so that *vouchers* could not be produced, especially in settling difficulties about

Indian land titles, etc.,—his account to the government for those disbursements resting not so much upon vouchers as upon Sir Williams integrity. It stated that the Baronet generally made up the accounts of his Indian department himself, and his honor and integrity were a guarantee for their correctness without vouchers, which could not be shown for many of his outlays. During the long time he was with or served him, he never heard his integrity called in question. His accounts were made up after congresses, and regularly half yearly, and transmitted to his then Majesty's Commander-in-Chief, who gave warrants for their payment, which were invariably looked upon as a final settlement of such accounts.

For some years before Sir William Johnson's death, deponent said he resided about a mile from Johnson Hall, and assisted him in posting his books; and had frequently carried his half-yearly accounts from there to the Commander-in-Chief at New York, and received warrants thereon as before stated, which he believed made a final settlement of such accounts. He said he was with Sir William at Lake George in 1755, and he believed that no person, except Sir William Johnson, could have kept the Indians in the English interest through that war ending in the conquest of Canada. Deponent stated that his successor as Indian agent—Col. Guy Johnson—took part of Sir William's papers; and that others with books and private transactions remained in the office at Johnson hall until about the month of May, 1776, when Sir John Johnson, the personal representative of his father, quitted the hall, and with a number of his tenants and royalists traveled through the woods to Canada, to avoid being made a prisoner by a party of Americans, soon after which the Americans took possession of the house, books, papers, accounts and furniture therein, and sent his wife and two small children prisoners to Albany; the papers of father and son being scattered and lost, except some of them which Sir John, as was understood, had buried in the earth in an iron chest, which were carried to Canada four years later, but were found by moisture so destroyed as to be illegible and useless. Deponent had also heard that Sir John Johnson had recovered a day-book or journal of his father, commencing some years before and continuing to the time of his death, which, if in deponent's handwriting, would explain many accounts between Sir William

and the crown, beyond which he did not believe any other papers or books recovered ever would.

The invoice of the personal effects taken from Johnson hall, and stored in Robert Adams' store-house by the commissioners of sequestration—Col. Visscher, one of the commissioners, being present at the removal—which is now before the writer, is dated September 10, 1777, showing that the personal effects must have remained there 16 months after the family abandoned the hall.

Pierson's *First Settlers of Schenectada*, says that Dr. William Adams settled in Schenectada about 1757—that was 10 years after he came to this country—and that he was a surgeon under Sir William Johnson in the French war. It also states that he was a practicing physician at that place over 70 years, which, of course, embraced the time he resided in Johnstown; and that in the year 1827, when he had reached the age of 97, he was still vigorous, then making a journey by stage to Litchfield, Ct., of over 70 miles in a single day, with little fatigue. Pierson does not give either his birth-place or the time of his death, but Shew and Van Voast both stated that those Adams brothers came from Dublin, Ireland. The former also said of Robert that he was a dandy in dressing, and lived in good style in his day. A good portrait of Sir William Johnson, long in possession of the W. J. Van Voast family—which was painted by a French artist at Johnstown for Robert Adams—was obtained and taken to Canada by the descendants of Col. Claus about the year 1830.

*First Free School in New York.*—Sir William Johnson established at Johnstown the first *free school in the State*; and the first man to "use the birch" in it was a fellow-countryman of his named Wall. The older children of Miss Brant were among his pupils, but whoever chose to send children to this school, did so free of cost. Wall was a severe disciplinarian, but the Baronet's children were an exception to his clemency. Jacob Shew, a son of an early German settler, who was a patriot soldier in the Revolution, and a member of the State Legislature after the war, assured the writer that he had the advantages of this school. Having to pass Johnson hall at the time—around which were usually a dozen or more Indians—the lad Shew and several children with him manifested some fear, when Sir William spoke



to a chief in their behalf, and then assured the urchins *they need borrow no more trouble about their Indian neighbors*. Wall took no little pains to teach his pupils politeness, requiring them to make their manners both on entering and on leaving school, and to show due respect to age at all times. The prevailing custom at an earlier period all over the land, of instructors manifesting some interest in the behavior of their pupils out of school as well as in it, has nearly become obsolete; but it was not difficult, years ago, to determine the character of the school teacher by meeting his pupils in the street. Shew was old enough, while going to school, to observe and remember much about Johnson hall and its surroundings, the benefit of whose fine memory is here given to the reader.

*Some of Sir William Johnson's Heirs Seeking their Patrimony.*—Directly after the Revolution, say as early as the summer of 1784-86, Mary Brant, with two of her children, then grown up, George Johnson, who had a dark skin, and one of his sisters then the wife of Doctor Carr, (late a surgeon in the British service), who also accompanied them; came down to recover property willed to them in Philadelphia Bush. They all visited Maj. Philip Schuyler, at Palatine church, who was then erecting mills on the Garoga creek, where Foxes mills had been burned by the enemy. Mills were rebuilt on the opposite side of the creek. Schuyler was one of the commissioners appointed by the government to look after such claims. The heirs were too young to forfeit their inheritance, and recovered pay for lands now in Mayfield and Perth. While at Schuyler's, the party conversed in the Mohawk dialect, excepting Dr. Carr, who was quite an intelligent man. Said my informant, who was then at work for Schuyler, as the party were to stay over night, Mrs. Schuyler was quite perplexed to know how to dispose of her guests; as the carpenters and mill-wrights were occupying all her beds: but Molly Brant set her at ease by assuring her that they would care for themselves—and spreading their blankets on the floor they camped down in true Indian style, to Mrs. Schuyler's relief.—*Jacob Shew.*

*Johnson's Descendants visit Johnson Hall at a later day.*—In the summer of 1838, Mrs. Farley, a daughter of Sir William by Molly Brant, visited Johnstown, accompanied by Capt. Carr and wife, the latter being her own daughter. Capt. Carr was a

son of Doctor Carr, who had married another daughter of Miss Brant, hence he and his wife were full cousins. With the party were a couple of grandsons of the old lady named Lafferty. These visitors spent some time in Johnstown and at the Fonda Hotel, then kept by Dr. Daniel B. Davis, dividing their time between the villages. Mrs. Farley being a minor could not forfeit her heirship in the royal grant, and came down, if possible, to recover the dower of her father, who died before the war began.

The late Daniel Cady, than whom no man was more familiar with the laws affecting interests in real estate in the State of New York, investigated the matter for Mrs. Farley, and found that she was only debarred from recovering her interest in her father's estate *by the statute of limitation*. She had delayed her application a little too long. I remember seeing this old lady repeatedly about the Fonda hotel. She was a large, though not tall, red-skinned woman, and looked to be over 70 years old. One of her grand-sons is remembered as not only good looking, but as quite a gallant. He was for a time smitten with the charms of a pretty girl in Montgomery county; but she chanced at the time to have "two strings to her bow," or rather two beaux to her string. She drew on the one in a neighboring county, and her Canadian admirer returned home with his grandmother, and the memory of a pleasing flirtation.

Said Mr. Wells, Mrs. Farley was several times at the hall, and to the female members of the family she chatted very agreeably her recollections of childhood's playful hours, and especially of the gala-days when presents from the King were distributed among many hundreds of Indians, assembled from far distant homes. She had left there at ten years of age, and could speak feelingly of the great changes which time had wrought thereabouts, in over 60 years. At one time, said Mr. W., while she was standing in front of the house and scanning its dimensions she exclaimed: "*And is this—can this be Johnson hall? O how I have lied about this building! I have always told my friends in Montreal, that there was no house in all that town as large as Johnson hall. Why, there are houses there as large as three or four of it.*" She had carried to Canada her juvenile remembrance of this house as compared with all others in its neighborhood; and in the waning years of her life that picture

of magnitude remained, and would until dissolved by death, had she never again seen the building. Thus are early impressions for good or ill, indelibly stamped upon the human mind.

*The Fish House and Summer House Point.*—Soon after, Sir William was established at the hall, he opened a carriage road from thence to the Sacondaga, at Fish House, a distance of 18 miles, for his own convenience for hunting and fishing, where he erected a comfortable lodge. It was a framed building with two rooms, one of which was finished with a chimney and fireplace. This lodge was burned down in the Revolution. A little distance above where the Kenneytto,\* or Vlaie creek as called there, runs into the Sacondaga† river, is a narrow strip of some 10,000 acres of marshy lands extending east and west six miles, and known as the Sacondaga Vlaie. At the upper, or westerly end of these drowned lands, which are covered by several feet of water in freshets, when the river sets back to flood them, there is a knoll of tillable table-land extending into the marsh, and elevated some 10 feet above it. It is oblong in shape, level upon the top and gently sloping all around to the marsh. It is some 600 feet long by about 150 in breadth.

This tongue of land is known as Summer-House-Point, from the fact that Sir William erected a neat little cottage upon it in 1772, and there spent much of his time for several seasons, often taking with him to this secluded and romantic spot his American and European guests. It was just 14 miles by his carriage road from the hall to this point, and while it was being surveyed, a tree was numbered at the end of every mile. The Nine-mile-tree was a large pine and continued to be a noted land-mark after all the others had disappeared, the stump of it being still visible in Mayfield, as late as 1850. The approach to the summer-house, was upon a strip of arable land, which in very high water was covered, making an island of the point. The Kenneytto passes along on its southerly side, and the Mayfield creek, another mill-stream along its northerly, those streams uniting at the extremity of the point.

Johnson's cottage stood in the centre of the point, and was a

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\* Ken-ny-et-to, signifies Little Water, says H. C. Goodwin, Esq., author of the *History of Cortland County*, in a letter to the writer in 1858.

† Sacondaga is said by Capt. Gill, an intelligent Indian hunter, to signify Sunken or Drowned Lands.

tasty one story building fronting south, upon which side was its main entrance. The roof sloped north and south. A piazza supported by square columns extended around the sides and east end, with a promenade upon the top nearly as high as the eaves, access to which was gained by an outside stairway, near the hall door. It had a gable window at each end on the first floor, and two windows at each end on the second. A hall ran across the building in its centre, with a square room upon each side of it, handsomely finished and well furnished, each room being lighted by two front windows. The house had a nice basement, the entrance to which was on the west end, and in this cellar kitchen were always domiciled in the summer season, Nicholas and Flora, a trusty pair of the Baronet's slaves, who were there to keep everything in order for his comfort. The cottage was painted white, with its corners, doors, window casings and columns painted green, the whole contrasting beautifully with the wild scenery around. On the completion of this summer house, a festival was held there, when Sir William Johnson christened it "*Mount Joy Pleasure Hall*," so said one present.

A large garden was cultivated on the point, two cows kept there, and at the time of his visits, his carriage horses also. He planted fruit trees there, and two antiquated apple trees were still standing there in the summer of 1849, when I visited there in company with Dr. William Chambers, Judge Marcellus Weston, my patriotic old friend Jacob Shew, Col. John I. Shew, his son, and the lad Haydn Shew, of the third generation—all except possibly the last named, have gone to their rest. Of the elder Shew—who, with his father's family was residing near the Fish house at the beginning of the Revolution—standing upon this interesting spot, I was enabled to learn the particulars of the cottage and the fisherman's lodge below, as he had often been in them; and was exceedingly well posted on the habits and character of Sir William Johnson. The stone used in the cellar and well on the point, were brought up the Vlaie creek in boats from the Fish house, but settlers in the vicinity long since converted them to other uses. At the time of our visit the plow had removed all traces of the well, which was on the verge of the knoll south of the cottage, and had nearly obliterated the cellar. The cottage shared the fate of the Fish

house, both having been burned, as believed in 1781, but by whom was never known ; still as the Americans had occupied it as a military post in 1776 (as I have shown in my *Trappers of New York*), and as the probability of Sir John Johnson's ever returning to reclaim it was becoming chimerical ; it was thought at the time that probably both were fired by some hostile invader at his instigation, so that their ownership should fall to no one else.

Besides the two streams named as falling into the Vlaie, Cranberry creek ran into it from the north and Frenchman's and Hans' creeks from the south. At the time of our visit there was a stunted growth of alder and swamp-willow around Summer House Point ; but when it was occupied by Sir William, the bushes were all cut off and the margin of the streams kept clean. Here was kept moored a fine pleasure boat, in which he used to take his guests down to the Fish House—four miles distant by water—where they could enter the Sacondaga, and there indulge their piscatorial amusement. His greatest time for hunting and fishing was in the spring and fall. When the river flooded the marsh—the water rising six or eight feet above low water-mark—a boat would pass over it anywhere, and at such times the artificial lake was literally covered with wild ducks and geese, many of which fell before his double-barreled gun. At such times a view from the cottage promenade was exciting in the extreme, for nature was there in all her grandeur. At an early day wild ducks used to breed in the Vlaie. At the cottage, much of its larder in their season was made up of wild game and trout. But for any further details of this historic locality, with fishing anecdotes, etc., the reader is referred to my *Trappers of New York*.

*Anecdotes of Sir William Johnson.*—Many pleasing anecdotes are related of Sir William, who exerted an *unbounded influence* over a *greater number* of Indians, than it was ever the lot of another white man to obtain in North America. His *general character* was happily delineated by Paulding in his *Dutchman's Fireside*. When he had trinkets and other presents to distribute among the five nations, and they assembled around *Fort Johnson*, and afterwards *Johnson Hall*, his tenants and neighbors were invited to be present. He was extravagantly fond of witnessing athletic feats, and on such occasions was gratified, as

a stage was erected for his accommodation and that of his friends. On those festivals not only young Indians and squaws, but whites, both male and female, were often seen running *foot races*, or *wrestling* for some gaudy trinket, or fancy article of wearing apparel. Men were sometimes seen running foot races for a prize, with a meal-bag drawn over their legs and tied under the arms. The ludicrous figure presented by the crippled strides and frequent tumbles of those competitors, was a source of no little pleasure. Not unfrequently a fat swine was the prize of contention. Its tail being greased, the *hog* was given its freedom, and the individual who could seize and hold it by the tail became its lawful owner. It required a powerful gripe to win, and many a hand did such prizes usually slip through. An old woman is said to have seized on one amid the jeers of the laughing multitude, after it had escaped the grasp of many strong hands, and firmly held it. The secret was, she had prepared herself with a handful of *sand*. On one occasion, half a pound of tea was awarded to the individual who could, by contortion of feature, make the *wryest* face. He once had a grinning match between an Irishman and a Dutchman for a quantity of tobacco, and Michael Gallinger, the Irishman, won the prize. He is supposed to have used the weed the longest, and got the hang of satanic contortions. Young girls of good families often ran foot races for ribbons and trinkets with young squaws; and as a lady informant—Mrs. Evert Yates, of Fultonville—said to the writer, nearly 40 years ago, “Some proud ladies I know, would not like to be told that their mothers or grandmothers were among these contestants.” Two old women were sometimes heard scolding most vehemently, the successful one to be rewarded with a bladder of Scotch snuff. The erection of a straight pole, after it had been peeled and well besmeared with soft soap, with a prize upon its top worth seeking—and after which the young Indians, in a state of nudity, would climb—was an oft-repeated source of amusement. Children were sometimes seen searching in a mud-puddle for coppers Sir William had thrown in. His ingenuity was taxed for new sources of merriment, and various were the expedients adopted to give zest to the scenes exhibited on those gala'days. He was also a man of considerable taste, and discovered not a little in the cultivation of shrubbery around Fort Johnson.

The following anecdote is related of Sir William Johnson, who preferred retaining in himself the right of soil to his landed possessions. He one day visited a tenant who was engaged in chopping wood for him. After some little conversation, the chopper described a certain *one hundred acre lot* in Albany bush (now the eastern part of Johnstown), and asked the Baronet what he would take for it, and execute him a deed. The latter, supposing the man had very little money, named a sum which was about the real value of the soil. "*I will take it,*" was the quick and emphatic reply of the laborer; and he began counting out the money to his astonished landlord, upon the very stump the last fallen tree had left. "I would rather not have sold it for twice that sum," said Sir William, "but since you have fairly bought it, you shall have a title to it;" and taking the money he executed a deed to him. He was the patron of many laudable enterprises, and I must suppose him to have aided in establishing Queen's College, N. J., as he was the first trustee named in the charter.

*A prisoner Ransomed.*—On the 23d July, 1756, at a conference and treaty with the Indians at Fort Johnson, Sir William redeemed an English boy, taken prisoner the winter before at Juniata. The Indian, who brought him to the Baronet, had paid his captor £5 for him, which prevented his being taken to the French at the Ohio river. After paying the boy's ransom, Sir William clothed and armed the Indian for the prisoner's delivery, and gave his wife new clothes, which acts of generosity greatly pleased the dusky couple. The boy's name, age and former residence are not mentioned, but it is presumed he was restored to his friends.\*

First and last Sir William Johnson must have been instrumental in the return of many captives to friends, from whom they had been separated for longer or shorter periods.

*Benevolence of Sir William Johnson.*—Here is an authentic anecdote going to prove the kind nature of the Baronet. At a treaty held with the Indians by him after the conquest of Canada, a sprightly lad about a dozen years old was given up who had been captured several years before on the frontiers of New York. The supposed orphan had been taken so young

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\* Journal of Sir William's Secretary, Peter Wrexall, Brod. Papers, vol. 7, p. 172.

that he could give no satisfactory account of either his parentage or birth-place. The sympathy of Sir William was at once enlisted in his behalf, and he took him into his own family. He had him christened by the name of Simon Clark by an Episcopal clergyman, himself standing as his god-father. Clark grew up to be a likely man, and married a very pretty and amiable daughter of Martin Waldruff, who then lived on the farm where Jacob Yost was residing in 1851. In some manner his god-father settled upon Clark the first farm east of Waldruff's, and adjoining the hall farm in Johnstown, where he resided until the Revolution began, when he manifested his gratitude to the father by adhering to the fortunes of his son, with whom he fled to Canada, where he remained, confiscating his Johnstown estate.—Facts from *Jacob Shew*, who knew Clark well.

In the summer of 1764, says the *Gentleman's Magazine*, published soon after,

“Sir William Johnson, with a body of regular and provincial forces, to which more than one thousand friendly *Indians* have joined themselves, has lately marched to visit the forts of *Oswego, Niagara, Detroit, Pittsburg, etc.*, in order to strike terror in the Western nations, and to reduce them to reason ; many of these nations are unknown to their brethren, and some have already offered terms of peace ; the *Shawnese* are the most formidable of those who stand out, and the friendly *Indians* express great eagerness to attack them. Since the march of these troops, the back settlements have enjoyed perfect tranquility ; and the *Senecas* have sent in a great number of *English* prisoners, agreeable to their engagement.”

In the May number of the same magazine, for 1765, I find the following additional notice of the Baronet :

“Sir *Sir William Johnson*, at his seat at Johnson Hall, in *North America*, has had a visit lately paid him by upwards of a thousand *Indians* of different tribes, all in friendship, greatly to the satisfaction of his Excellency, as tending to promote a good understanding with those nations, for the good of his Majesty's subjects.”

*The Children of Sir William Johnson*.—By his white wife, as I shall call her, he had a son named John, and two daughters named Anne and Mary. Neither of the three could have had the advantage of much, if any, schooling at that period, be-



yond that possibly of private tutorage. Although not handsome, tradition says, nevertheless, that they were all well-favored, well-formed and good-looking. They were seldom away from home, especially the girls, and had few advantages to learn refinement beyond that afforded by cultivated visitors; and few such were women in their days of childhood and youth, beyond the wives of now and then a military officer or a clergyman. Hence, we may suppose the girls were not only rustic in their manners, but were far from being votaries to fashion, and widely removed from fashionable vices. The son saw more of the world, but his scholastic advantages were limited. The girls, however, grew up plain, unostentatious, modest and retiring in their habits, and are said to have made good wives and useful citizens. Anne,\* the elder, married Daniel Claus in 1762, of whom we can say but little beyond his public life. The venerable John L. Groat, who knew him, said he was of German origin. We first hear of him at Fort Johnson, in 1756, as the secretary of Sir William. In 1758 he is named as a Lieutenant, and in 1763, as a Captain of colonial troops under the Baronet, by whom he was afterwards promoted to a Colonelcy. He is said to have well understood the Mohawk language, which made him for years a valuable deputy to Sir William. He followed the fortunes of the Johnson family to Canada in June, 1775.

Mary Johnson, daughter of Sir William, married Lieut. Guy Johnson in the spring of 1763. He was born in Ireland, was a nephew of the Baronet as his compeers said, and came to live with him early in life. In 1761, he is mentioned as a lieutenant, and in 1772 as a colonel of militia. He was long associated with Sir William as a deputy; and at the suggestion of the latter became his successor in the Indian agency at his death, in 1774. He, too, went to Canada, prior to the going of Sir John and his retainers. He died in London, March 5, 1788, whither he had gone in straitened circumstances to petition for relief, in lieu of his forfeited estates in Tryon county. His wife is said to have died in Canada, a short time after she went there.

Sir John Johnson, who succeeded his father in titles civil and military at his death, it is said, was born in 1742, and died at Montreal June 4, 1830. He accompanied his father on some of

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\* Stone, in his *Life of Sir William Johnson*, vol. 2, p. 169, erroneously states her name as Nancy, although he copies it correctly from her father's will elsewhere.

his expeditions, although it does not appear that he held any particular office until after his father's death. He was not the amiable tempered, social and companionable man that his father was, and hence he was not the welcome guest in all society that his father had been. Like the sons of too many men of wealth, having little incentive to action, he lacked the complacency, ambition and energy requisite to make up that better manhood which shapes society, and while doing it if needs be, subdues forests, builds up populous towns and sends navies to the whole habitable globe.

Of the early life of Sir John Johnson, comparatively little is known, but he is believed to have been indulged by his father in having his own way too much to result in his becoming a good business man. When a young man he courted Miss Clara Putman, a very pretty girl of a good family at Tribeshill, by whom he had a son and a daughter, named William and Margaret. Said Mrs. Magdalena Becker, Miss Putman was keeping house for Sir John; and before his return from New York with a wife she and her children were sent into the town of Florida. Miss Putman was of good descent; her mother being a Staats, and her grandmother a Schuyler—both of Albany. The son was nicely established by his father in Canada, in some kind of business; and Margaret Johnson, who grew up to be a tall and beautiful girl, was for a time quite a bell in the valley. She had dark hair and dark eyes, was a brunette in complexion, and was graceful in her carriage. She was much admired and her friendship sought by the *elite*. She married James Van Horne, by whom she had one or more children. Only a few years after her marriage, she was on a visit to Tribeshill friends, when she ate freely of plums, became sick in consequence and died suddenly at that place much lamented.

Clara Putman, who made Schenectada her home, was never married, and Sir John Johnson, whose breast was moved by a spark of manhood late in life (for he was then 67 years old), sent word to her to come to Canada at a certain time (which was chosen in the absence of his wife), and he would give her some property. She went there in the summer of 1809, and at the door enquired for Sir John: a servant announced a lady at the door. *Go and learn her name*, said the Baronet. It was reported and she was at once admitted to his presence: but to the

scene which followed of mingled tears and old memories revived, we can not admit the reader. He gave her \$1,200 in money, and told her on her return to send him the dimensions and terms of a certain house and lot in Schenectada, and he would purchase it for her future home; which terms were all complied with. Some one has said that he also gave her an annuity during the remainder of her life. She died about the year 1840. I am happy to record this redeeming trait in the character of this man, whose military record was one of blood, evidently waged against his old neighbors, in a struggle to retain place and honors won by his father. The particulars of this Canadian visit were communicated to the writer in 1850, by Mrs. Rebecca Veeder (a Miss Staats of Albany in her girlhood), and Mrs. Van Debogert and Mrs. Thompson, sisters of the late Andrew J. Yates, of Fultonville, who were reared in Schenectada. Those ladies were all acquainted with Miss Putman and greatly respected her, notwithstanding this *liasion*. Jacob Shew also stated that Sir John Johnson settled a property in Schenectada, on Miss Clara Putman. Mrs. Veeder died in the spring of 1851.



Fac-simile of autographs of the Johnsons and Butlers.

*His Knighthood and Marriage.*—In October, 1765, on the return of Lord Adam Gordon to England, after his visit to the Baronet at Johnson hall, the latter sent his son John with him to England, as he said "to wear off the rusticity of a country education." On being presented at court by such a dignitary, he was at once knighted as the son of Sir William, who was

afterwards much gratified on hearing of the fact. June 29, 1773, Sir John was married to Miss Mary, a daughter of John Watts, Esq., of New York city, and went to reside at Fort Johnson. This would place his age at 31 years. Here he resided until his father's death in 1774, when he made the hall his home. He, with his brothers-in-law, took sides with the mother country against her colonies in the struggle just approaching, in which position Col. John Butler (a colonial officer under Sir William), and his infamous son Walter, joined them; and in May, 1776, they all with several hundred neighbors—many of whom were interested retainers, and others who were made such by the promise of having, on their return, the confiscated farms of their whig neighbors—fled to Canada.

On his arrival Sir John was given a colonel's commission in the British service. He at once set about raising troops among the tories who had followed his fortunes, and the result was two regiments were organized denominated Royal Greens, from the color of their uniforms, one of which he was given the command, while the other was assigned to Col. Butler who had aided in its formation. The nefarious and desperate acts of these partisan officers, will be developed in my second volume.

Sir William had nine children by Miss Mary Brant; one died young, in 1772, and the others survived him. Their names seem to be given in his Will in the order of birth, and are as follows: Peter, Elizabeth, Magdalene, Margaret, George, Mary, Susannah and Anne. They all went with their mother to Montreal in 1777, and of their after life we know but little. Several of the girls were respectably married—possibly they all were. In his will the Baronet remembers two young Indians of Canajoharie, or the Upper Castle—Brant, alias Kagh-nech-ta-go, and William, alias Ta-ga-wi-run-te—who we conclude were two of the half-breed children tradition says he was the father of.

In 1766, Sir William Johnson erected two stone dwellings for his sons-in-law below Fort Johnson. One of those built for Guy Johnson, and known as Guy Park, is still standing on the bank of the river half a mile to the westward of Amsterdam, and is now owned by the family of the late James Stewart, who added two large wings to it about the year 1850. Mr. Stewart was killed by an express train in front of his house, Saturday morning, July 28, 1860. The first building erected upon the

site of this mansion was a wooden structure, which was struck by lightning and burned down. Guy Park, with high ceilings for that period, had a piazza extending the length of it upon both the river and road sides. Indeed, there was a carriage-way around the house. Like Fort Johnson, it was finished in paneling, and on its completion it was the scene of a magnificent house-warming. At the time of our visit to Fort Johnson in August, 1846, we also visited this place, then occupied by Mr. Henry Bayard, who had owned it the preceding ten years. At this time the parlor was in its original condition, except in its papering. His predecessor was Mr. John V. Henry, who had followed Judge Miles in its occupancy. From Mr. Bayard I



South or river view of Guy Park.

learned that, after the Revolution, it for years became a public house known as a stage house. The front room on the east side of the hall was the bar-room. While occupied as an inn, the house was literally surrounded by sheds—a custom of the times—to accommodate the large wagons then transporting merchandise and produce. The dwelling is said to have been built by mechanics from Europe. The stone barn across the road was erected when the house was. At the time of our visit, Mr. Bayard named \$6,000 as his price for the place, with 154 acres of land, 20 acres of which were river flats, and it was only the want of the purchase money that prevented its becoming our future home.

The mansion erected for Col. Claus was a mile to the westward of Guy Park, and nearly equi-distant from that and Fort

Johnson. It was a large building on the ground, but being only one and a half stories high, it presented a less imposing appearance than did the other Johnson dwellings. It had one peculiar feature not possessed by either of the others, which was a fire proof, and intended to be a bomb proof cellar; constructed in a double arch, or two cylindrical arches, of heavy and well cemented stone. I am not aware that this house ever had any historic name, though it might not inaptly have been termed Bomb Proof Hall. Each of these dwellings had a farm attached to them of 640 acres—one square mile. In the Revolution, Fort Johnson was occupied by Albert Veeder, Guy Park, by Henry Kennedy, and the Claus' place, by Col. John Harper, until it accidentally took fire from a defect in a chimney, and burned down in the day time. The New York Central railroad ran along between this ancient cellar and the river, which was an object of interest to antiquarians until 1874, when the tops of the arches were literally broken up with much labor and removed. It was so unique a structure of its day, and of such historic interest, that it seems a pity it should not have been allowed to remain until time had become its destroyer. In 1866—one hundred years after its erection—we visited this landmark, and were satisfied that if no Vandal hands were raised against it, it would probably stand for another century. As the lower part of the arches yet remain, we hope they may not be disturbed.

*Rather Spookish.*—Tradition says that a black ghost appeared several times during the Revolution, in a room in the northwest part of Fort Johnson, while occupied by Veeder. In one of the rooms at Guy Park, a female ghost resembling the then deceased wife of Guy Johnson is said to have appeared, to the great annoyance of the credulous Kennedy family. Even in the day time, they were more than once alarmed. About this time a German, a stranger to the family, called there, and inquired if the lady of its former proprietor had not been seen; and when answered in the affirmative, he requested permission to tarry over night in the haunted room. It was readily granted, and he retired at an early hour. In the morning before his departure, he told the family they need be under no further apprehension, that the ghost would not again appear; and in truth she did not. The mystery of the visits to those dwellings,

which was a favorite theme on the tongue of the marvelous for many years, has never been revealed, and some of the old people living in the vicinity still believe that the visitants were supernatural beings, real ghosts. The truth probably is, that the black ghost seen at Fort Johnson, was not the *ideal*, but the flesh and blood person of the confidential slave of its former proprietor ; who, by showing his ivory to some purpose, took advantage of the fears of the family, to bear off some valuable article secreted in some part of the building by its former occupants. Nor is it unlikely that a similar mission prompted some female to visit Guy Park—for ghosts never travel by daylight—that she could not find the article sought for, and that consequently a man, a stranger to the family, whose agent she may have been, knowing she had failed to obtain the treasure, visited the house, and by gaining access to the room, found the object desired, and could then tell the family confidently that the ghost would not reappear. Many valuable articles were left behind by Tories in their flight, who expected soon to return and recover them ; and when they found the prospect of their return cut off, or long delayed, they then obtained them by the easiest means possible—and surely none were easier than through the mystery of superstition.

*The Guy Park Mystery Explained.*—In company with G. S. Dievendorf, Esq., August 2, 1879, I visited Guy Park, and learned from Mrs. Stewart, who had years ago been informed by Mrs. Horace Shepard (that was Miss Sally Ramsay), a key to the spook story connected with this house. On the west side of the hall were two rooms. In the corner room toward the road on its west side was a fire place, and each side of it the room was ceiled up from floor to floor. In this ceiling on each side of the fire-place was a small closet several inches deep and several feet long, the door of which closed with a spring concealed from observation. In one or both of these closets were placed, on the flight of its owner to Canada, some valuables, supposed to have been papers and jewelery. An attempt was made, as above stated, by a female agent taking advantage of the credulity of the family to obtain those treasures, but not succeeding, a male agent was employed, who came to the Park just at dusk to enjoy the hospitality of the family as any guest would. He enquired particularly about the ghost and the haunted room;

and at bed-time begged as a favor that he might occupy that room, saying he was well armed and was not afraid of ghosts. This proposition met with favor, and he retired for the night. Before day-light a commotion was heard in the haunted room, followed by the report of a pistol. On being thus aroused and procuring a light, the stranger was found up and dressed. He pretended to have seen or heard the ghost at which he had discharged his pistol—thought he would not go back to bed—ordered his horse and left before day-light, saying at his departure that the family would not again be annoyed by that ghost, and it was not. When Mr. Stewart remodeled that part of the house, the chimney was removed and with it the ceiling, not only disclosing but for ever destroying those little secret chambers. The floors of this building are all pitch pine, a lasting material, and the house, for the period, was well constructed. It is to-day one of the most desirable homes in the Mohawk valley.

While removing part of the cellar wall, Mr. Stewart found an iron staple in it never used, and as bright as when made and mislaid. Buried in the orchard west of the house, were also found a few years ago, a quantity of leaden weights, intended for lifting windows. They were buried when Jonhson went to Canada, to prevent the whigs from moulding them into bullets. They weighed about 10 pounds each.

These Johnson mansions and estates, with those of Col. John Butler, one of the King's justices for Tryon county, were all confiscated to the United States and sold at different periods.

The commissioners appointed March 6, 1777, for disposing of confiscated personal property in Tryon county, were Col. Frederick Visscher, Col. John Harper, and Major John Eisenlord. The latter was, however, killed in the Oriskany battle, early in August following, and his place supplied by one Garrison.

When the personal property of Sir John Johnson was sold, which was some time before the sale of his real estate, his slaves were disposed of among the "goods and chattels." Col. Volkert Veeder bought the confidential one with whom the Knight left his plate and valuable papers, who buried them after his former master left. He kept the concealment of those valuables a secret in his own breast for four years, until Sir John visited the Mohawk valley in 1780, and recovered them and the slave.



I can only account for his leaving his slaves at the general exodus, by supposing his faith so strong that he would return to possess his estates, that he chose not to be cumbered with them, and, perhaps, thought rather to make spies of them upon the doings of his old neighbors.

The commissioners for selling real estates in Tryon county, were Henry Oothout and Jeremiah Van Rensselaer. They sold Johnson Hall, with 700 acres of land, to James Caldwell, of Albany, for £6,600, who soon after sold it for £1,400. Caldwell paid the purchase in *public securities*, bought up for a song, and said he made money in the speculation, although he disposed of the property for £5,200 less, "on paper," than he gave for it. This transaction will serve to show the state of American credit at that period.

On the back of a paper relating to the business of the commissioners is the following memoranda, supposed to be the estimated value of certain confiscated property. Whose farm was called Caughnawaga does not appear :

|                                |        |
|--------------------------------|--------|
| Fort Johnson, 490 acres .....  | £3,500 |
| Caughnawaga, 234 acres .....   | 1,800  |
| Henry Vrooman, 212 acres ..... | 600    |
| Butler's, 155 acres.....       | 1,000  |
| Part of Butler's.....          | 100    |
| Laffeler's, 250 acres .....    | 900    |
| William Wallace's .....        | 600    |

*Sir William Johnson's Failing Health.*—August 14, 1767, the Baronet wrote to the Earl of Shelburne, as follows : "Having for these five years past been much troubled with a billious complaint, and the ball in my thigh giving me more uneasiness as it descends, for all of which I have as yet met with very little relief, I am induced to visit some new discovered springs about 80 miles from here, where I purpose to spend a few weeks to try their efficacy, etc."\* September 22d he again wrote to Shelburne, when he spoke of having returned from the springs sooner than he proposed, on account of some letters arriving at his home in his absence. October 20th following, he wrote to the Lords of Trade, in which letter, speaking of his health, he says : "Which has been of late very indifferent, being more

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\* Brod. Papers. vol. 7.

than ever attacked by my wound in 1755, etc." Thus we perceive that his physical powers were giving way under the constant drain upon them, and the corroding care of increasing mental excitement.

I had supposed this visit of the Baronet was to Ballston instead of Saratoga, because nearer to the white settlers, who, as well as the Indians, had discovered the medical properties of those "healing waters." Mr. Stone, however, speaks of his going to the High Rock Spring at Saratoga, though on what authority is not shown. He was so debilitated that he was taken from Caughnawaga to Schenectada in a boat, and was borne from thence to the springs on a litter. This is probably the earliest recorded visit of any one to the springs of Saratoga county for their health. Although he could stay but a few days, he considered himself benefited.

From Guy Park, January 20, 1767, Guy Johnson, the Baronet's deputy in Indian affairs, wrote the Earl of Hillsborough, as follows: "Sir William set out on the 24th of April for the sea-coast of New England [near New London, Ct.] by advice of his physicians, having for some time labored under a violent disorder of the bowels, as well as severe pains from his old wound, with both of which he has been much afflicted for some years past. This last attack was occasioned by cold he caught in attending the late *general congress* with the northern Indians and Cherokees, which was held in the open air at a severe season, etc." He also stated that Sir William was being benefited by the excursion, and would return in about three weeks.\*

Sir William, writing himself to the Earl of Hillsborough, July 20, speaks of his having returned from the sea-side somewhat recovered from his late indisposition.\* Mr. Stone says on this occasion the Baronet returned via Saratoga Springs, which was no doubt so, if his previous visit was at Saratoga instead of Ballston. In 1770 Sir William declined to embark in a new enterprise because of his failing health; his constitution, as he said, being greatly impaired through the hardships and fatigues he had undergone in the public service. In 1771 we find him again trying the waters of Saratoga county. September 1, 1773, in a letter from Sir William to the Earl of

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\* Brod. Papers, vol. 8.

Dartmouth, he assigned as a reason for not sooner writing him : "My late ill state of health having rendered it necessary that I should go to the sea-side in order to make use of the sea water."

Sir William, at an early period, erected a grist-mill on the Cayadutta, which flowed through the Hall farm not far from the village of Johnstown ; and, not long after, he erected a small grist-mill in Mayfield, and another—which was of stone—on the Garoga, near the present village of Ephratah. These mill privileges, no doubt, tended greatly to encourage the settlement of his lands. To promote the welfare of his growing village, in 1766 he also fitted up a room for a Masonic Lodge, just organized, with his son Sir John as its grand master. It was called St. Patrick's Lodge, and was, no doubt, the first one established to the westward of Albany.

Although accustomed by his associations with the British government to favor the Church of England, or the Episcopal worship, yet Sir William was not sectarian in his religious notions, and treated clergymen of all denominations, calling upon him, with the same urbanity : indeed, he not only sent Joseph Brant and other young Indians to the Moor's Charity School in Connecticut, but in 1767 he had some correspondence with the Rev. Eleazar Wheelock, a Congregational minister in charge of it, about removing it to his neighborhood in the Mohawk valley, nor was it owing to any fault of his that it did not come there. It went to Hanover, New Hampshire, from controlling circumstances, and finally became Dartmouth College. In 1771 the Baronet erected an Episcopal church in Johnstown, the foundation for which was first laid in the southwest corner of the old village burying-ground ; and after the walls, which were of stone, had risen several feet, the site was changed to a more central one, though the size and form of the first were observed in the second foundation. Under the altar of this church, at his death, Sir William was buried. Said *Judge Haring*, the Rev. Richard Moseley was its first settled pastor. In a destructive village fire in 1836, this church shared the fate of a score or more of surrounding buildings. When the Caughnawaga Reformed Dutch church was erected—about the time he settled in Johnstown—he not only gave liberally toward building it, but retained for his family the best square

pew in it. At this period he also held supervision of the Fort Hunter church, erected more than half a century before for the especial benefit of the Mohawks.

In 1769 Sir William Johnson erected, of wood, a small church at his own expense of nearly \$1,150, at the Canajoharie, or Upper Castle, 50 by 32 feet, mainly for the benefit of the Indians. This edifice is still standing, but its interior, as also its steeple, have been modernized. The Indians were always fond of bells, and, at their earnest solicitation, this church was furnished with one. It also had a gilded ball on the steeple above its weathercock. On its completion the Rev. Harry Munro, of Albany, preached its dedicatory sermon in June, 1770. Its desk was occasionally supplied by the Episcopal clergyman from Queen Anne's chapel or some other; but for the want of a clergyman of its own, it could have accomplished but little, when, a few years later, the Indians in a body removed to Canada. Spafford, in his *Gazetteer* of 1824, in speaking of this church bell, says: "The Indians were so fond of it that, on retreating to Canada, they tried every effort of art to carry it away with them." He added: "The church is repaired, and still has the old bell, an object of no little curiosity or interest. It ought to be returned to the Indians as an act of Christian charity, and recommended its being sent to them as an example of Christian tenderness, etc., and thought it would prove a better missionary to send among them than troops of young theologians;" and he was probably more than half right. The tradition about the bell is as follows: The Indians got the bell down from the church in the night—its weight was less than 100 pounds—and fortunately concealed it until such time as it could be spirited away. Thinking that time had arrived, they started one night with it on a pole; but having failed to muffle or fasten its clapper, they had not proceeded far when its ding dong betrayed its whereabouts, and several armed neighbors rallied in pursuit for its coveted ownership, and the natives abandoned it and fled. Another tradition says they were in the act of placing it in a canoe to transport it by water, when its clapper betrayed its position, and, being pursued, the Indians threw it overboard and abandoned it, and that before they could fish it out and start with it again, the white citizens in the neighborhood recovered and restored it to its former

place in the church tower. As the church and bell were provided for the Indians, I think they should have had the bell. This "Castle Church" has for many years been occupied by a Calvinistic or Reformed congregation. I stated in 1845, on what seemed good authority, that the Indians succeeded in obtaining the bell, but it appears they did not.

*Other Churches.*—The pioneer settlers in and contiguous to the Mohawk valley at an early period in several places, organized church associations, and in some instances they had erected houses of worship without foreign assistance. As already shown, the Palatines of German Flats, had a church which was destroyed with their village in 1757, which is believed to have been erected in 1749. In its stead the stone edifice yet standing on the south side of the river, a little distance below the first, is said to have been completed a one-story edifice in 1767: and in 1801 another story was added with a steeple like the one on the Cauhnawaga church. It is known as a Reformed church, and is called the Fort Herkimer church, it having been situated hardly a quarter of a mile from Fort Herkimer, the last vestige of which fort was destroyed for the Erie canal enlargement. Domine Abram Rosencrantz, is said to have officiated in the first church, and Rev. John P. Spinner, the first pastor of the second, after 1801.

*Stone Arabia Churches.*—As early as June 2, 1729, the Palatines, who settled Stone Arabia, some of whom were Calvinists and others Lutherans, set about getting a glebe of 50 acres of land for church purposes; and William Copernoll then obligated himself under a penalty of £100, to convey a desired lot to Andreas Fink and three others, by the 9th of April 1731. The indenture was completed May 9, 1732, when the said Copernoll granted the 50 acres (on which the churches are now situated), to Andreas Fink, Werner Digert, Johannes Schnell and others, for the sum of £20 New York currency. On this land and where the Reformed church now stands as believed, a log building was erected, in which, for a time, both denominations alternately worshiped. Just when the church organizations took place or where the first rude edifice was erected, cannot be determined; but it is believed those events transpired as early as 1735. In 1744, this church glebe was divided and two churches erected, the Lutherans being represented in

the transaction by Martines Dillenback, John Keiser, Harris Empie, John Schuls, Jacob Shuls, Stovel (Christopher) Shuls, Lutrick Kaselman, Nicholas Stemfell, Andreus Besiner and William Nellis ; and the Calvinists by Jost Schnell, Leverinus Deigart, Peter Suts, William Broner, Johannes Krems, Dirk Loux, Hendrick Loux, Harris Schnell, William Copernoll, Andreas Fink, Nicholas Horning and Peter Deigart. The first Schoharie ministers are said to have been among the earliest to officiate in Stone Arabia. In 1873, Rev. W. B. Van Benschoten, who was officiating in the Reformed church of Stone Arabia, searched the church records and reported the result of his labors in the *Fort Plain Register*, from which the above facts are derived.

*The Reformed Dutch Church of Canajoharie*, was erected on "Sand Hill," nearly a mile to the westward of Fort Plain, in 1750. Its first pastor was Rev. Mr. Rosencrantz. It was a wooden structure of good size, and was burned by the enemy in 1780, at which time Domine John Daniel Gros, was its pastor ; after which he preached in a barn on the present William Lipe farm, until the war closed. Another structure of wood, large, and with a steeple, but no bell, took its place at the close of the Revolution, which was demolished after the congregation erected a brick edifice in Fort Plain village. Some incidents connected with the second "Sand Hill church," in the long ago, have been communicated to the writer. Our Washington died December 14, 1799, and funeral orations and eulogistic sermons were delivered all over the land, and the event in this church was solemnized, it is believed, as it was in few, if any, of the churches westward of Albany. A long procession passed in review of a great multitude of people, in which was led a caparisoned horse with its empty saddle adorned with holsters and pistols, and a pair of boots. The church, on the occasion, as I was assured by *John Arndt*, then a boy present, was beautifully draped in festoons of evergreens and crape ; and a packed audience listened to an eulogy from the Rev. Isaac Labaugh, then pastor of the church. The merchant, Conrad Gausevoort residing near this church about this period, had the only cushioned pew in it—even the pulpit which seated but one person, had no cushion. Jacob Matthias, a wealthy member of the congregation was a remarkably large

man, and rode to the church in a chaise, the only one at that time in the town. He was always unattended, as he filled the seat alone, his family coming in a wagon.— *William H. Seeber.*



Caughnawaga Church as seen in 1844.

*The Caughnawaga Church*, a massive stone structure, was erected in 1763. It fronted east with its gable to the street. Its entrance was by a double door, and on a tablet over it copied in Low Dutch from Isaiah 2:3, was the following sentence: "Komteyeyea, laett ons op gaen tot den bergh des Heeren, to den huyse des Godes Jacob; op dat hy ons leere van syne wegen, en dat wy wandele in syne paden." "Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths." The steeple, as I was assured by Major Isaiah Depuy, who worked upon it, was built in 1795, and was on the north end from the road. It was graced with

the dinner bell of Sir William Johnson, brought hither from Johnson hall. The bell weighed about 100 pounds and bore this inscription: "S R William Johnson Baronet 1774. Made by Miller & Ross in Eliz. Town." Its first pastor was Rev. Thomas Romeyn, succeeded in 1795, by Rev. Abram Van Horne, a graduate of Queen's College, New Jersey; whose pastorate was the following 38 years. He died suddenly in 1840, at the age of 75 years. During his ministry, he is said to have united about 1,500 couples in wedlock, for happiness or its counterpart. This church was furnished with a gallery upon three sides: the fourth or west side contained the pulpit, which was directly in front of the door. The seatings of the church was in square pews, except at the north end under the gallery, which was furnished with benches without backs, for the occupancy of Indians and slaves.

Some persons have supposed this church was palisaded and fitted for the defense of the inhabitants in the Revolution, but such was not the case. Penelope Grant, a Scotch girl living in the family of Mr. Douw Fonda, leaving the old gentleman to his fate on the morning of Sir John Johnson's invasion in 1780, assured me that she ran past this church to join Mrs. Romeyn, who fled from the parsonage in the absence of her husband to the hill for safety, cumbered with several small children. The approaching Indians saw them, but made no demonstration to injure them, except by giving a few extra whoops, which caused Mrs. R. to stumble and fall with two children in her arms, to the great merriment of her dusky foes.

The Rev. Douw Van O'Linda, who was the first pastor in the new Reformed church at Fonda after the Caughnawaga church was abandoned for religious service, became the owner of the old one, and fitted it up for a classic school, to be known as the *Fonda Academy*. Its first term as such began in 1844, with J. A. Hardenbergh as its tutor, but it failed of success and was converted into a private dwelling. In 1866 the owner of this ancient landmark tore down its substantial walls, which were used for other purposes. Every one who makes our colonial history a study, will ever regret the necessity which impels the destruction of its primitive structures; and especially so of this one, endeared to memory by so many thrilling events. Before a similar fate overtakes another edifice of



equal interest, it is to be hoped an effort will be made among the people to purchase its ransom.

*The Cost of a Bride.*—The following anecdote, too good to be lost—which was told the writer by Mrs. Henry S. Gardinier, about the time of Domine Van Horne's death—she having been present on its occasion—will serve to convince the reader that he did not get rich on marriage fees. During much of his active life the *legal* marriage fee was one dollar; but the stipend has usually been left to the liberality of the donor. On a cold winter's night, as far back as 1815 or 1820, a wedding came off in one of the best families at Fort Hunter, Domine Van Horne officiating. It was good sleighing, but very cold. After the marriage ceremony was over, and a feast of good things was disposed of—with something stronger than tea or coffee to settle it—as the domine was preparing to go home in his cutter, the happiest man in the crowd inquired what he must pay him. That, said the prelate, I usually leave to the generosity of the groom, and the latter handed him a half dollar. The domine, after turning it over a few times in his hand, observed that the night was a cold one, he had come some distance, and he thought the fee looked rather small. The groom once more delved deep into his pocket, and laid an additional quarter of a dollar in the awaiting palm. "Well, well," said the domine, scanning the still small fee, as he passed the six shillings into his pocket, "perhaps that will do," and soon he was facing the cold west wind in a five miles' ride. What clergyman of Montgomery county would like to find his own conveyance, and go five miles on a cold night to get a marriage fee of 75 cents? If any there are speak out, and the chance shall be yours.

*The Palatine Stone Church.*—A Lutheran church was erected in 1770 on the river road, in the westerly part of the present town of Palatine. It was a good stone edifice—indeed, is today, for it is yet standing—and was built for the accommodation of the inhabitants on both sides of the river. Its pastor was usually the settled minister of the Lutheran church of Stone Arabia, five or six miles distant, which had been erected many years before. It has long been known as the "Palatine Stone Church." Its entrance was on its northerly side toward the road, and over its door was the following inscription in

German : "ERBAUET im Jahr Christi, 1770, Den 18 ten Aug.  
*Erected in the year of Christ, 1770, the 18 day of August.*"

Here is a copy of the original subscription list for its erection, kindly given me by the late Gen. Peter C. Fox, nearly 30 years ago.

"A record made of the time of building the Lutheran Stone church in Palatine, which was erected August 18, 1770. The names of the proprietors, and the sum by each paid, is as follows, to wit :

|                                  |      |
|----------------------------------|------|
| Peter Waggoner, paid .....       | £100 |
| Andrew Reber, paid.....          | 100  |
| William Nellis, Junr., paid..... | 60   |
| Andrew Nellis, paid .....        | 60   |
| Johannes Nellis, paid .....      | 60   |
| Henry Nellis, paid .....         | 60   |
| Christian Nellis, paid .....     | 60   |
| David Nellis, paid.....          | 60   |
| Johannes Hess, paid .....        | 60   |

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£620 Equal to \$1,550

"And William Nellis, the father of William, Andrew, Johannes and Henry Nellis, paid for the making of the spire, etc., to the steeple of said church. This information having been derived of Johannes Hess, one of the original proprietors, as above stated, and recorded by the subscriber on the 28th day of August, 1823.

"PETER C. FOX."

Indorsed upon the back of this statement is the following memoranda :

"Be it known, that the deed given by Hendrick W. Nellis for the ground which the Lutheran Stone church now stands on, was to be eighty feet front and rear, and sixty-four in breadth, and to be parallel as the church now stands. Deed says to commence at the southwest corner of said lot by a certain stone put down marked by letters C. N. W., etc. Recorded by me, the subscriber, this 20th day of Jan., 1842.

"P. C. FOX."

The interior of this church having been remodeled—its gallery removed, its front door closed and two doors opened at the easterly end—June 18, 1868 it was rededicated ; the sermon

for the occasion coming from Rev. Dr. G. A. Lintner, of Schoharie, who, when young, preached his first sermon in it. His text at the dedication, from Haggai was: "The glory of the latter house shall exceed the former, etc." Some eight or ten Lutheran clergymen were present, several of them taking a part in the interesting exercises; one of whom was Rev. Nicholas Wert, then its pastor, who was mainly instrumental in regenerating the old edifice.

On Thursday August 18, 1870, the centenary anniversary of its dedication, a celebration took place to commemorate its one hundredth birth-day. The exercises were two-fold, that is, part of them were in the church, and part of them under shade trees on the old Newkirk-Edwards place, 30 rods distant from the church. The former consisted of a historical address by Rev. Charles A. Smith, who had been a pastor of the church 40 years before; whom we remember as having administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in our presence, to the members of this church in the German language. The other exercises in the building were participated in by Rev. P. Felts, of Johnstown; Rev. V. F. Bolton, of Seaghticoke, and Rev. N. Geortner, of Hamilton College. The music, a part of which was prepared for the occasion, was rendered by the orchestra of the Canajoharie Lutheran church, led by Harvey Duncel, Esq. Mrs. Benj. A. Smith fingered a melodeon, while the tones of a bass-viol, two violins, an octave flute and a brass horn also mingled their tones with the voices of the choir, almost lifting the old rafters to let the harmonious sounds ascend to heaven. The address of Mr. Smith, a historical and exceedingly interesting one, was listened to with great pleasure by that part of the crowd which could gain admission to the church. After epitomizing the coming hither of the ancestry of its early German worshipers, of an 100 years ago, and passing in review his own early reflections upon the scenery and surrounding circumstances, he observed:

"Some of you remember the old steeple. Tall, graceful and admirably well proportioned; as an object of beauty it was far in advance of the one that has succeeded it. But the weather was hard upon the lower timbers, and the fear came that it would be blown down some day: so a wise precaution removed it. The only mistake was, that in making the new one more

safe, it was thought best to make it less symmetrical. The weather-cock [a gilded chanceler], that was perched on the very pinnacle, though it never crowed, yet always breasted the storm, and looked bravely in the face of every wind.

"Some of you also remember the church as it was internally, before the hand of improvement was laid upon it the first time, [meaning when he was its pastor]. You remember the pulpit, as it was modeled a hundred years ago, and where it stood [in front of the entrance door]; and the old queer pews, with their high straight backs, that made sleeping in church a very inconvenient luxury. The pulpit, you remember, was shaped like a goblet, stem and all; and it had a sounding-board over head, which was intended to arrest the preacher's words in their upward flight, and fling them back upon the ears of the worshipers. The pulpit, you remember, was slate colored, and the pews wore a dress of Spanish brown. That was the prevailing taste a hundred years ago—for the dwellings had the same tints—Spanish brown outside and slate color within. The first time the church was repaired, the entire cost was not much more than \$800. The pulpit gave place to one of more modern construction. The square side pews were left unaltered, save that they had a new dress within and without. The entrance remained where it was, on the broadside of the church; only a vestibule was erected within, to keep out the fierce wintry winds. The organ cost \$400, and was considered at the time of the purchase, a very valuable appendage; but it had in truth more power than sweetness, and not much of either.

"The bell supplemented the repairs, and tells its own story to-day, in tones as sweet as those it uttered when for the first time it called the worshipers to prayer. But it does not tell the story of its predecessor. For there was a bell before the present one—and yet it was not a bell, for it had neither the shape nor sound of a bell—it was a sort of non-descript, triangular in form, and in tone—like nothing else on earth, or in air. Some modern inventor had contrived it as an economical substitute; but its periodical tinkling was only a burlesque and annoyance. It was really worse than nothing, for it hung in the way of something better. Now, it so happened that I said, one day, to the carpenter, who was just then at work on the steeple—or else I said to myself in his hearing—for I am

inclined to think at this distance of time, that I was at least half soliloquising—‘the loss would not be great if that triangle should fall.’ The uttered words were probably the audible end of a long train of reflections that had been passing, for the most part silently, through my own mind. It must have been a mere coincidence ; but the next morning, while the gentleman alluded to was still at work on the steeple, down came the triangle upon the solid rock, and lay scattered in pieces. Just previous to the accident, I have been told that two eyes were seen peering over the balustrade ; and from some playful hints that were dropped into my ear afterwards by the possessor of those eyes, I suspect he was looking to see whether any one was under.\*

From the church the multitude—to the music of brass bands from St. Johnsville and Fort Plain—marched to the field-stand, near to which a dinner was served, and after the repast the people were drawn to the hill-side in numbers fairly estimated at 5,000, to listen to an address from the valley orator, Hon. Horatio Seymour. The venerable Hon. Peter J. Wagner, president of the day, with the speaker and one or two others, took their position in a wagon, from which the great audience was addressed in an oration remarkable for its historical truths. I am not aware that a full report of this address was ever published, but it was a remarkably happy supplement to the theme introduced by Mr. Smith. The latter near the close of his address, said : “There is one condition on which I would be glad to see such a change as would not leave one stone upon another” of this old building. “If the moral wants of this community should become so urgent, and its numbers should so increase as to render this edifice too small to meet those ends, it would be the best proof of your regard for the zeal of your fathers, and the most gratifying result of their self denial, were you to remove these walls and enlarge these accommodations, etc.”

Upon the theme of destruction, Gov. Seymour spoke as follows : “Before closing my remarks, I wish to say a few words

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\* This bell was a triangle of two inch square cast steel, its angles some three feet long, and weighing between 50 and 100 pounds, and hung in such a manner as to be rung with a hammer. It was an invention of about 1825. At that period there was one in the Canajoharie academy and another in the Johnstown court house. But as Mr. Smith said, they were poor substitutes for bells.

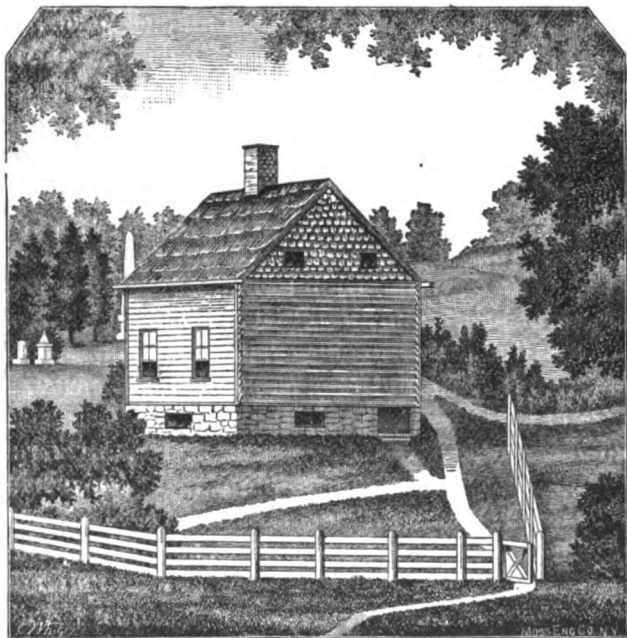
contrary to something said by our worthy and eloquent friend in the old church this morning. If the religious requirements of this community should ever demand a larger place of worship, build anew and on some other spot. For the sake of your fathers, whose memories and deeds we cherish, for the sake of yourselves and your posterity, I beg of you not to tear down that old landmark. Let it stand as a monument to the love of God and the religious liberty of its builders. When God, in His own good time, sees fit to put it back to the dust from whence it sprang, He will do so ; but don't, let me beseech of you, tear it down." At the close of the address, the president, in a few appropriate remarks, proposed *six cheers* for the speaker, which were never more heartily accorded in the Mohawk valley.

*The First Church at St. Johnsville.*—In this connection I should mention the fact that a German Reformed church was erected at St. Johnsville, then known as "Zimmerman's," in 1770. This structure was built of wood, was of good size, and stood not far from its burying ground, yet to be seen about a mile eastward of the village. It was finished with a sounding board, as were nearly all churches at that period. When erected it was intended also to benefit the Indians in the neighborhood, having seats for them and the slaves of the white citizens. This edifice was demolished about the year 1818, near which time a church was erected to subserve its purposes within the present village. Who first labored in this church I am unable to state. Rev. John Henry Dyslin, a man of good repute, was its pastor from 1790 to 1815, when he died. The Rev. David Devoe was its pastor from 1816 to 1830, during which time the old church was demolished, and the one in the village erected. The second edifice gave place to a new one constructed of brick in 1881.

*The First Schoharie Churches.*—The first church organized in Schoharie was Lutheran, and in 1742 its first pastor, Rev. Peter Nicholas Sommer, was ordained at Hamburg, in Germany. He came over early in 1743, in which year a parsonage was erected for him near the famous spring, which gave rise to the name of the settlement—Brunnen dorf. Religious services were held in this dwelling until a small church—a stone edifice—was erected in 1750, and dedicated in 1751, eight or ten rods

to the northward of the parsonage, and in what is now the Lutheran cemetery.

Domnie Sommer became blind in 1768, and for many years was led to the church to officiate by Andrew Loucks (with whom, at the age of 91, we conversed), and on awaking one morning his sight was restored, and continued to him until the day of his death, in Sharon, about the year 1795. On Sunday afternoon, November 25, 1860, his remains having been re-



Lutheran parsonage erected in 1743.

This old structure was rejuvenated a few years ago, and is yet in good condition. It is the oldest building in the county, and, although built of wood, with proper care it will stand another century.

moved thither, were interred with befitting services from the Lutheran church in Schoharie, Rev. Dr. G. A. Lintner and Rev. Mr. Belfour officiating. The latter delivered a proper discourse from Prov. 10, 7: "The memory of the just is blessed." The elders of the church acted as pall-bearers. The remains were interred in the cemetery near where he had so long preached, and a monument now marks his grave. The remains of his wife were interred with his.

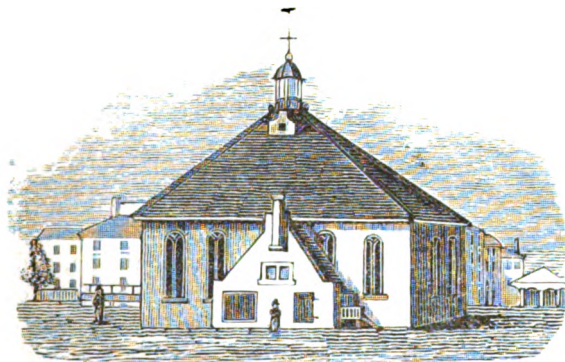




*Explanation.*—The following is the reading on the map of Fountains Town: "DEVISION of Fountains Towne, Devided by consent of the owners, which were all plact at the Devisions; what lays within the green line (the second line below the dwellings) represents the hay land, whereof Dedrick Ryckert: Hendrick Conradt and Incold have one-third, Jacob Frederick Lawyer one-sixth, Hendrick Hayns one-sixth and one-third of a third part, Johannes Lawyer, Jun., two-thirds of one-third part of the whole. And the lotts whereon there houses stands into five equal shares, excepting where the Scheffers live, or which was not divided. The above is a true Draught of the said Division, which was performed in May, 1753, by one John Rutse Bleecker, Surveyor." The little church seen on the left of the map was a square building with a quadrangular roof; a small steeple at the apex was adorned with a weathercock. The edifice much resembled Queen Anne's chapel at Fort Hunter. Johannes Lawyer, Jr., who was the first merchant in this primitive Schoharie settlement, dwelt at the northern allotment, where, in a stone dwelling, he kept a store. It was probably in the lower building figured on his lot. The spring alluded to issues from the rocks only a couple of rods from the southeast corner of the parsonage, a path from which is seen leading to it. It still has a good flow of water, but at an early period it was much greater; and tradition says that this first tradesman erected a grist-mill, a few rods north of his dwelling, with an overshot wheel, which was driven by water from this spring. It was one of the first mills in the valley, and did a good business. Lawyer must have commenced trading, say as early as 1730.

A *Reformed Dutch Church*, was organized in Schoharie nearly as early as was the Lutheran; but its records having been destroyed by fire, its first establishment cannot be satisfactorily shown. A Reformed Dutch church was also established at Middleburgh, nearly as early as at Schoharie. Said *Jacob Becker*, the first Reformed Dutch church in Schoharie—a structure of wood—stood a little distance northeast of the stone church edifice still standing, and now called the *Old Fort*. It was square, after the model of the Albany Dutch church, with a steeple over its centre, and was provided with a small bell, the rope of which came down in the centre of the build-

ing. This bell is said to have been injured by lightning. The edifice was demolished on the erection of the stone edifice, by Boss Bartholomew, in 1772. The Clergyman, Rev. Crutzeus, who officiated in the first Schoharie church, was a Low Dutchman, who also officiated in the first church at Middleburgh, which was similar in form, also of wood, and was burned by the enemy under Sir John Johnson, October 17, 1780. He preached at Schoharie in German, and at Middleburgh in Low Dutch. Rev. Mr. Schuyler, long a pastor of this church, died during the Revolution. A blank call for a pastor to take charge of those churches, written in German, shows that he was to receive for every person baptised, a fee of *one shilling*; for every couple married, *eight shillings*; that his salary was to be paid half in *cash* and half in *wheat*; that his fire-wood was to be *scot free*; and that he was to have four Sabbaths in a year to himself.



Old Dutch Church of Albany.

Until about the year 1820, few country churches had any stoves or other convenience for warming them in the winter, except in the small foot-stoves carried into them with a few live coals buried in embers. Between a morning and afternoon service, the hospitality of the neighborhood was enjoyed, by persons living remote from places of worship.

*Old Dutch Church of Albany.*—A good old lady assured me over 30 years ago, that when a little girl she attended worship in the old Albany Dutch church; and that when a small box stove was put in to warm it, it stood upon stilts in the geo-

graphical centre of the church ; and that when the sexton went out on a staging erected from the gallery to it, to replenish its fuel, she was afraid his shaky footing would fall. This shows the knowledge people then had of the tendency of heat to rise ; and they thus sought to warm the whole church. —*Mrs Rebecca Veeder*, who was a Staats before marriage.

*Tithing-men.*—At the period under consideration, the churches of New England and New York were provided with *tithing-men*—persons appointed to keep order in the galleries, having authority to change the position, or even impose corporeal punishment, on such as disturbed the congregation. Cornelius Van Schaack, who was for a long time sexton of the old Dutch church in Albany, and during the Revolution, was much of the time its tithing man. Often might this officer have been seen during the service to enter the gallery with a hickory gad, and lay it over the backs of mischievous children, or noisy, half-grown boys, if they did not see him coming and escape punishment by creeping under the benches, which was not unfrequently done.—(*James Lansing.*) Tithing-men were continued in many of the New England churches to as late a period as 1825.

Before the Revolution, constables in Albany were required, as a part of their duty, if they saw children at play on the Sabbath, to correct them ; and those guardians of order were often seen to enter the door-yard of a rich man, and flog his peace-disturbing boys, regardless of what parents or guardians might say or do.—(*James Lansing, a former surrogate of Montgomery county.*)

*Death of Sir William Johnson.*—From a chain of circumstances, many of the acquaintances and personal friends of Sir William, believed that he took measures to shorten his own life ; and 35 years ago I shared that belief : but the publication of the foreign documents transcribed by Brodhead, showing his failing health for several years, which drove him to the sea shore and mineral springs to find recuperation, has convinced me that his death came from over working an impaired and enervated constitution. And I can see why he, with seeming prophetic anticipation, could say to his old neighbors and warm personal friends : “The colonies are approaching a terrible war with the mother country, but I shall not live to witness it ;”

for his infirmities were increasing and his physical strength was failing, with no seeming prospect of permanent relief. In anticipation of a sudden calamity, he had named his son-in-law, Guy Johnson, as his successor in the Indian agency, and taken other precautionary measures.

Such was the condition of things with "shadows going before," when in June 1774, he summoned the Indians to Johnson hall for his last business relation with them. Hundreds of Indians had assembled in the latter part of June, and by the end of the first week in July, the Congress continuing, the gathering numbered 500 or 600, with whom his efforts were constant and laborious in the complicated duties which had convened them. One of Sir William's difficulties for several years had been a chronic diarrhœa, which, from his constant labors, increased with virulence; until on Monday afternoon, July 11th, at which time a court was in session at Johnstown, when he had just closed a long and fatiguing harangue in the open air with the Indians—he was seized with convulsions, and died soon after. The members of the court were at the tea-table, when a messenger from the hall announced the sad intelligence. When he was first stricken down, a courier was sent upon a fleet horse to Fort Johnson, seven miles distant, to notify Sir John of his father's illness, who mounted a very valuable horse and ran him all the way, via Albanybush, to the bridge over the Cayadutta—half a mile from the hall, where he had to leave him and he soon after died. The weather was exceedingly warm, the horse fat and he melted down. Sir John hastened on to the hall—to find his father had already expired.

*From the American Archives, a Documentary History of the American Colonies published at Washington\*.*—I learn that Gov. Penn, of Pennsylvania, under date of June 28, 1774, wrote to Sir William Johnson, that owing to the difficulty between the inhabitants of Virginia and the Western Indians, particularly the Shawnese, he feared it would end in a general war, unless some prudent measures were speedily taken to prevent it—that a great part of the settlers had already fled from the frontiers, etc. He stated that he had convened the Assem-

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\* American Archives, 4th series, vol. 1, p. 645.

bly at Philadelphia on the 18th of July, 1774, to enable him to afford the panic stricken settlers what relief he could. He says : "Your interposition and influence in this matter may possibly have the most salutary effects. If a rupture can be prevented, it appears to me it must be through the Six Nations; however, I submit the matter entirely to your consideration, etc."

JOHN PENN.

To this letter the new Indian agent thus replied :

"GUY PARK, July 22, 1774.

"*Sir* :—Your dispatch of the 28th ultimo, to *Sir William Johnson*, arrived when that worthy man was, through the fatigues occasioned by the late general Congress (which is just ended), very much indisposed ; he nevertheless continued all that day [July 11th], to do business with them [the Indians], but in the evening was seized with a relapse, which carried him off in a fit that night. As it was a very critical period, and that he had strongly recommended me for his successor to his Majesty's Ministers, I continued to conduct the business of the Congress at the earnest entreaty of the *Indians*, and brought it, I think, to a happy termination, and have now received his excellency Gen. Gage's appointment to the Superintendency, till his Majesty's pleasure is known. I enlarged, during the conference, on the unhappy situation of your frontiers, and represented it as the duty of the *Six Nations*, to bring those they call their dependants to reason. They have accordingly agreed to send deputies from each nation to the southward, who will set out to-morrow, but they complain very much of the ill treatment they receive from the frontier people of Virginia, etc., and their encroachments, and demand redress.

"The hurry in which the late sudden accident has engaged me, and the number of dispatches I must now necessarily make up for the post, who is waiting, will not permit me to be more particular at present ; but you may be assured, sir, that whilst I have anything to do in these affairs, I shall use my utmost endeavors for the peace and happiness of your Province, and, from true personal regard, shall always be glad to serve or oblige you, as I am with real esteem, sir, your most obedient and humble servant.

G. JOHNSON.

“P. S. I have taken the liberty to enclose a letter to Mr. Mc Kee, on occasion of the present troubles, as I understand there is no post at *Fort Pitt*, and that it might meet with great delay. I shall be glad to have any further information respecting your frontiers.”

Attached to Col. Johnson's letter to Gov. Penn in the form of a note, was the following sketch of the life and character of Sir William Johnson, and the particulars of his death and burial, which I copy for the benefit of the reader: “On Monday evening 11th of July, 1774, departed this life at Johnson hall, in his sixtieth year, to the inexpressible concern of his family, and the infinite loss of the public, particularly at this critical juncture the Honorable Sir William Johnson, Bart., his Majesty's Superintendent of Indian affairs, and one of the oldest Council of this Province. He had long labored under a complication of disorders, the consequences of his former fatigues and severe services in defense of the country in general, and this Province in particular. Still persisting in the exertion of all his faculties, and at the expense of health, ease, and domestic concerns, discharging the laborious duties of a most troublesome and difficult department, he, though much indisposed, attended and transacted business with the *Six Nations*, who came to *Johnson hall* on account of the murders committed by some of the frontier inhabitants of Virginia. [The murders alluded to were committed by Cresap in Ohio.] The fatigue and hurry of spirits occasioned by the difficulties he found in accommodating these affairs, at least obliged him to retire to his room, when he was immediately seized with a violent attack, which carried him off in an hour's time.

“The impartial public well know and enjoy the fruits of his distinguished services, while crowds have experienced his benevolence and private bounty; and his united talents as a defender and improver of this country, will ever preserve his name among the most distinguished personages of the age he lived in. In 1737 he came from *Ireland* under the auspices of his uncle, *Sir Peter Warren*, and lived many years in the *Indian's* country, where he learned their language and gained their affection by his great generosity and humanity. In 1755 he stood forth in the defense of this province—then in the most imminent danger from the rapid progress of the French arms—

and, with a force consisting entirely of provincials, totally routed the army of *Baron Dieskau*. That victory proved highly acceptable to his Sovereign, who created him a Baronet; and he was rewarded by the Parliament of *Great Britain* with a present of *five thousand pounds sterling*. In 1758, he, by an intimate acquaintance with the genius and temper of the *Indian* tribes, who had been debauched by *France* from the interest of *Great Britain*, effected a reconciliation with 15 different nations of that people, which paved the way for the future success of our arms in *Canada*. In 1759 he defeated the French army—destined for the relief of *Niagara*, under *M. D'Aubry*—presently after which the garrison surrendered that important post to the besiegers. These glories were obtained by dint of innate courage and natural sagacity, without the help of a military education; and what remarkably enhances those endowments, is the circumstance of his having taken, in both actions, the commanders of the enemy. In 1760 he assisted at the taking of *Montreal*, and the conquest of the *French* empire in that part of the continent; since which he has acted at the head of the *Indian Department*, over whom he early acquired and constantly maintained a surprising ascendancy by the influence and authority of his justice, benevolence and integrity. In short, our gracious Sovereign never sustained a heavier loss in the demise of any subject than of *Sir William Johnson*, whose character was a continuation of good qualities, and whose memory will be highly revered to the end of time.

“His remains were decently interred in the church of his own building at *Johnstown*, on Wednesday, the 13th, attended by upwards of 2,000 people, in the following order:

“The Clergy; *J. Duncan, Esq.*; *Capt. Chapman*; *P. Livingston, Esq.*; *Judge Jones*; *G. Banyar, Esq.*; *R. Morris, Esq.*; *Major Edmonston*; *Governor Franklin*—supporters of the pall. Chief mourners: *Sir John Johnson, Baronet*; *Colonels D. Claus* and *G. Johnson*; *John Dease, Esq.*; the physicians; [his own] family; *Mohawks*; *Canajoharies* [having reference to the *Upper Castle*]; *High Sheriff*, followed by above 2,000 persons from the neighboring country; the chiefs and warriors of the *Six Nations*, who then attended the congress, numbering several hundreds more;

“Where it was interred, and a suitable discourse delivered

by the Rev. Mr. Stewart, missionary to the Mohawks at Fort Hunter.

"The *Indians* exhibited, on the occasion of Sir William Johnson's death, the most extraordinary signs of distress and sincere affection that ever were before observed among that people."

There seemed, at Sir William Johnson's death, no one—either in his own family or out of it—to fill his place ; a fact that was anticipated by his friends years before his death, as the following letter of Col. Duncan, dated in November, 1769, will show." "Your friend, Sir William Johnson, is sore failed, he is every now and then in a bad way, wherefore is thought not to last many years more, which will be a great loss to mankind in general, but particularly to this neighborhood, and I don't see that any one of the family is capable of keeping up the general applause when he is gone." \*

It has ever been a matter of speculation since his death, what his course would have been had he lived to witness the rebellion of the colonies. It was, however, believed among those who knew him personally, that his position would be a most trying one ; for, although then too much enfeebled to lead an army, still, in his position as Indian Agent, he would have been expected to have controlled the action of the Six Nations of Indians. One thing is certain, he would never have manifested the arrogance and hostility toward his former neighbors and personal friends that his own son, Sir John, did ; nor do we believe he would have been found in hostile array against the colonies. He had done much, in his life-time, to bring about that love of liberty so rife in the land. True, the British crown had bestowed honor and wealth upon him ; but had he not bravely and gloriously won them, if any man ever did ? To say the least, I think his course would have been one of *chosen neutrality*. I say this in the absence of anything in his foreign correspondence to favor a different conclusion.

*The Will of Sir William Johnson and its Proof.*—Nearly 30 years ago I copied, at the clerk's office of the Court of Appeals, in Albany (book A, page 35), the will of Sir William Johnson, with its proof, by Dr. William Adams ; and although it occu-

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\* Doc. His. vol. 2, p. 957,



pies much space, still, as it shows his position as a land-holder, his family relations and other matters of importance, I here insert it for the reader's benefit. I suppose the will to have been drawn by his secretary, Lefferty.

*The Proof.*—"Be it remembered, that on the first day of August, in the year *one thousand eight hundred and eight*, Peter Smith, by John Platt, his attorney, brought into court the last will and testament of Sir William Johnson, late of Johnson hall, in the county of Tryon, and colony of New York, Baronet, deceased, and prays that the same may be proved and recorded according to the statute in such case made and provided ; and due notice of this application having been given to the heirs of the said Sir William Johnson—THEREUPON, William Adams, one of the subscribing witnesses to the said will, was examined upon oath in open court, who did depose and say :

"That Sir William Johnson, the said testator, signed, sealed, published and declared the testament now shown to him as and for his last will and testament, in presence of the said examinant, Gilbert Tice, Moses Ibbitt and Samuel Sutton, who, in presence of the said testator, and of each other, and at the request of the said testator, subscribed their names as witnesses thereto. That the said Sir William Johnson, at the time of executing the said will, was of full age, of sound mind, memory and understanding, under no restraint. That he has been informed, and verily believes, that the said Gilbert Tice, Moses Ibbitt and Samuel Sutton, the other subscribing witnesses to said will, have departed this life, and that said testator is also dead :

"THEREUPON ORDERED, that the said last will and testament be recorded, which said last will and testament is in the words and figures following, to wit :

*"The Will.—In the Name of God, Amen.*—I, Sir William Johnson, of Johnson hall, in the county of Tryon, and province of New York, Baronet, being of sound and disposing mind, memory and understanding, do make, publish and declare this to be my last will and testament, in manner and form following :

"First, and principally, I resign my soul to the great and merciful God who made it, in hopes through the alone merits of my blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to have a joyful resurrection to life eternal, and my body to be decently interred in the place which I intend for it ; and I would willingly have

the remains of my beloved wife, Catharine Johnson, deposited there, if not done before my decease ;”\* and I direct and devise my heirs hereinafter mentioned executors, to provide mourning for my house-keeper, Mary Brant, and for all her children ; also for *Brant* and *William*, both half-breed Mohawks ; likewise for my servants and slaves. It is also my desire that y<sup>e</sup> *sachems* of both Mohawk villages [Canajoharie and Fort Hunter] be invited to my funeral, and thereat receive each a black stroud blanket, crape, and gloves, which they are to wear and follow as mourners next after my own family and friends. I leave to the direction of my executors to get such of my friends and acquaintances for *bearers* as they shall judge most proper, who are to have white scarfs, crapes and gloves ; the whole expense not to exceed *three hundred pounds* currency [\$750]. And as to the worldly and temporal estate which God was pleased to endow me with, I devise, bequeath and dispose of in the following manner : “Imprimis, I will order and direct that all such just debts as I may owe at the time of my decease, together with my funeral expenses of every kind, be paid by my son Sir John Johnson, Knight.

“*Item*.—I give and bequeath to the following persons the sums of money hereafter mentioned, which several sums are to be paid to them by my executors out of the money which I may have in the three per cent consolidated annuities, of which the heir of the late Sir William Baker has the management, and that in six months after my decease. And, first, to the children of my present house-keeper, *Mary Brant*, the sum of one thousand pounds sterling,† viz.: to Peter, my natural son by said *Mary Brant*, the sum of three hundred pounds sterling ; and to each of the rest, being seven in number, one hundred pounds each ; the interest thereof to be duly received and laid out to the best advantage by their guardians or trustees, and also the income of what other legacies, etc., as are hereafter to be men-

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\* Mrs. Johnson was buried in one corner of the garden at Fort Johnson. It seems surprising he did not require the removal of her remains, instead of expressing a mere willingness for it. It was never done.

† Federal currency—dollars and cents—were unknown at this period. The current value of a pound sterling has long been reckoned at \$4 84, varied some by rates of exchange. The gold coin representing an English pound, is called a sovereign. A pound currency in the colonies formerly equalled \$2.50—or twenty Spanish shillings of 12½ cents each—our circulating medium then being mostly in Spanish silver coin.

tioned until they come of age or marry, except what is necessary for their maintenance and education.

*Item.*—To young *Brant*, alias *Kaghneghtago*, and *William*, alias *Tagawirunta*—two Mohawk lads—the sum of one hundred pounds York currency to each, or the survivor of them. After paying the before mentioned sums of money, I bequeath to my dearly beloved son, Sir John Johnson, the remaining half of what money I may then have left in the before mentioned fund, and the other half to be equally divided between my two sons-in-law, Daniel Claus and Guy Johnson, for the use of their heirs.

*Item.*—I bequeath to my son, Sir John Johnson, my library and household furniture at y<sup>e</sup> hall, except what is in my bedroom and in the children's room or nursery, which is to be equally divided amongst them. I also bequeath to him all my plate, except a few articles which I gave to the children of my house-keeper, *Mary Brant*. He is also to have one-fourth part of all my slaves, and the same of my stock of cattle of every kind. To my two daughters, Anne Claus and Mary Johnson, two-fourths of my slaves and stock of cattle. The other fourth of my slaves and stock of cattle of every kind, I give and bequeath to the children of Mary Brant, my house-keeper, or to the survivors of them, to be divided equally amongst them, except two horses, two cows, two breeding sows and four sheep, which I would have given (before my devise is made) to young *Brant* and *William*, of Canajoharie, and that within three months after my decease. I also give and devise all my own wearing apparel of every kind, woollen, linen, etc., to be equally divided amongst the children of my said house-keeper, *Mary Brant*, share and share alike.

“In the next place, I dispose of my *real estate* (all of my own acquiring), in the following manner ; and as I naturally weighed the affair, and made the most equitable division which my conscience dictated, I expect that all who share of it will be satisfied, and I wish they may make a proper use of it. And, first, to my son, Sir John Johnson, Knight, I devise and bequeath all my estate at and about Fort Johnson, with all y<sup>e</sup> buildings, improvements, etc, thereunto belonging ; to be by him and his heirs forever peaceably possessed and enjoyed. Also a small tract of land on the south side of the river opposite Fort John-

son ; fifty thousand acres of Kingsland or royal grant all in one body at the northwesterly part of said patent. Also, all my Kingsborough patent (containing about fifty thousand acres) except the few lots which I have otherwise disposed of.\* Also, my share in a patent called Klock & Nellis', etc., on the north side of the Mohawk river. I also devise and bequeath to my said son Sir John Johnson, all my right and title to the salt lake at Onondaga, and the lands around it two miles in depth, for which I have a firm deed ; and it is also recorded in the minutes of council at New York.† I likewise devise and bequeath to my said son, lot No. 10 in Sacondaga meadow, containing five hundred acres, also the house and improvements with that part of No. 11 in said meadow or patent of Sacondaga, containing two hundred and sixty-three acres, to be by him and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten, forever, quietly and peacefully possessed and enjoyed.‡ Lastly, I do most earnestly recommend it to my son to show lenity to such of the tenants as are poor, and an upright conduct in all his dealings with mankind ; which will (upon reflection) afford more satisfaction and heart-feeling pleasure to a noble and generous mind, than the greatest opulency.

“In the next place, I devise and bequeath to my son-in-law, Colonel Daniel Claus, and his heirs, the tract of land where he now lives,§ viz': from Dove kill to the creek which lies about four hundred yards to the northward of the now dwelling-

\* It is a singular fact that Johnson hall, the residence of the Baronet at the time of making his will, is not named in it. The hall is presumed to have been conveyed to his son in this devise, as it stood upon the tract.

† This item of the will evinces the great sagacity of Sir William. Although this lake—some six miles long, was then surrounded mostly by a primitive forest, yet he well knew of the saline springs in the vicinity, and foresaw that they must become valuable, and meant to embrace territory sufficient to cover them all; and make his title sure. The city of Syracuse and the villages of Salina, Geddes and Liverpool, are all built upon these Johnson lands.

‡ The Sacondaga patent all lay upon the south side of the Sacondaga river. Lot No. 11 embraced Sumner house Point, and the house devised was the pretty cottage with green livery, which I have elsewhere mentioned. The Sacondaga meadow, or Vlaie as usually called, when confiscated and sold said *Jacob Shew*, was bought by Albanians with the confident expectation that they could drain it, and thus make corn land of it. Such a result, however, is a contingency to be looked for only by geological mutations in the lapse of future ages.

§ The dwelling in which Col. Claus then resided, stood nearly a mile west of Guy Park, and was burned down in the Revolution. The ruins of its arched cellar, were partially torn down only a few years ago, as I have elsewhere shown.

house of Colonel Guy Johnson, together with all the islands etc., thereto belonging.\* Also, the house and lot in Albany which I purchased of Henry Holland, together with the water lot adjoining thereto, which I purchased of the corporation of Albany, together with all the buildings and other improvements thereon. I further devise and bequeath unto the said Daniel Claus and the heirs of his body, all my right in the patent adjoining y<sup>e</sup> German flats on the south side of the Mohawk river, containing about sixteen hundred acres. Also, three lots in the patent of Kingsborough, vizt<sup>t</sup>: No. thirteen, fourteen and fifty-seven in the western allotment. Three lots in Sacondaga patent, viz: No. twenty-nine, sixty-six and seventy-seven, containing each two hundred and fifty acres. A third part of a lot in Schenectada, which I exchanged with Daniel Campbell, Esq. Also, ten thousand acres of land in the royal grant, next to that of Sir John Johnson, which is never to be sold or alienated. And, lastly, I devise and bequeath unto the said Daniel Claus, and the heirs of his body, nine hundred acres, or the half of that land which was Gilbert Tice's, in the Nine Partners patent, between Schoharie and Mohawks. The whole of the several tracts, lots and houses, etc., before mentioned, to be by him and the heirs of his body, lawfully begotten, forever, quietly and peaceably possessed and enjoyed.

*"Item.*—I devise and bequeath unto my son-in-law, Colonel Guy Johnson, and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten, the farm and tract of land whereon he now lives, together with all the islands, buildings and other improvements thereon. [This was Guy park.] Also the house and lot of land in Schenectada, purchased by me of Paul Comes, and now in the possession of the said Guy Johnson. All my right in Northampton patent which I purchased of Arent Stevens. Two lots in Sacondaga patent, containing one thousand acres, viz.: lots No. one† and two near the river, on both sides of the Sacandaga [Kennyetto] creek. Three lots of land in Kingsborough, Nos. eighty-seven, eighty-eight and eighty-nine, containing each one hundred acres of land; and are in y<sup>e</sup> eastern allotment. Ten thousand acres

\* The last named house still known as Guy Park, is now owned by the family of the late James Stewart, who fitted it up in beautiful style. It is situated between the railroad and the river, half a mile west of the village of Amsterdam.

† On this lot Johnson's Fish House was situated, a building of celebrity in its day.

of land in the royal grant, now called Kingsland, adjoining to the ten thousand acres given to Col. Daniel Claus, which is never to be sold or alienated on any account. And, lastly, nine hundred acres, or the half of that land which was Gilbert Tice's in y<sup>e</sup> Nine Partner's patent, between Schoharie and the Mohawk village. All the above-mentioned farms, tracts of land and houses with their appurtenances, to be by him and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten, forever peaceably and quietly possessed and enjoyed.

"I devise and bequeath unto Peter Johnson, my natural son by Mary Brant—my present house-keeper—the farm and lot of land which I purchased from the Snells in the Stoneraby\* patent, with all the buildings, mill† and other improvements thereon. Also, two hundred acres of land adjoining thereto, being part of Kingsborough patent, to be laid out in a body between the Garoga and Canidutta‡ creeks. Also, four thousand acres in the royal grant, now called Kingsland, next to the Mohawk river, and another strip or piece of land in the royal grant from the Little Falls or Carrying Place to lot No. one, almost opposite the house of Hannicol Herkimer, and includes two lots—No. three and No. two—along the river side, and which are now occupied by Ury House, etc.§

"I devise and bequeath unto Elizabeth, sister of the aforesaid Peter, and daughter of Mary Brant, all that farm and lot of land in Harrison's patent, on the north side of the Mohawk river, No. nineteen, containing near seven hundred acres, bought by me several years ago of Mr. Brown, of Salem, with all the buildings and appurtenances thereunto belonging. Also two thousand acres in the royal grant, now called Kingsland, and that to be layed out joining to that of her brother Peter, both which she and the heirs of her body lawfully begotten are to enjoy peaceably and quietly forever.

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\* Since written Stone Arabia, and situated in the present town of Palatine.

† This, it is believed, was a grist-mill situated on the Garoga creek, within the present village of Ephratah.

‡ Since written Cayadutta, and entering the Mohawk at Fonda.

§ The property of the Fink family, below the Falls, was formerly on this last devise. The Carrying Place had previously been secured by Mr. A. Glen, and the royal grant did not come to the river for miles above the Falls, unless Sir William had an interest in Glen's purchase, which it is not unlikely he may have had. The Gen. Nicholas Herkimer brick house, yet standing, is the one alluded to in this connection.

"To Magdalene [usually called Lana], sister of the two former, and daughter of Mary Brant, I devise and bequeath that farm near to Anthony's Nose,\* No. eight, containing about nine hundred acres of land, on which Mr. Bradt now lives, with all the buildings and other appurtenances thereunto belonging. Also, two thousand acres of land in the royal grant, now called Kingsland, adjoining to that tract of her sister Elizabeth.

"To Margaret, sister of the above named Magdalene, and daughter of Mary Brant, I devise and bequeath two lots of land, part of Stoneraby patent, the one, viz: No. twenty-five which I bought of William Markell, contains one hundred acres, the other, No. twelve, contains one hundred and thirty-one acres and a half, or thereabouts, which I purchased from Peter Weaver. Also, two thousand acres of land in the royal grant, now called Kingsland, to be laid out for her next to that of her sister Magdalene.

"To George, my natural son, by Mary Brant, and brother of the before mentioned children, I devise and bequeath two lots of land, part of Sacondaga patent, known by No. forty-three and forty-four, and called New Philadelphia [or Philadelphia bush], containing two hundred and fifty acres each.† Also, a small patent or tract of land called *John Brackans*, lying on the north side of y<sup>e</sup> Mohawk river, almost opposite to the Canajoharie castle, and contains two hundred and eighty acres, or thereabouts. And, lastly, three thousand acres in the royal grant, now called Kingsland, next to the two thousand acres given to his sister Margaret. The said farms and tracts of land with all the buildings and their appurtenances belonging to them, are to be by him and the heirs of his body, lawfully begotten, forever, quietly and peacefully possessed and enjoyed.

"To Mary, daughter of Mary Brant, and sister of the before mentioned children, I devise and bequeath two thousand acres of the royal grant, now called Kingsland, adjoining to them of

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\* The termination of the Mayfield mountain, at the Mohawk in Palatine, a little distance below Spraker's railroad station.

† Those lands were some three miles westward of the present village of Fondasbush, and were occupied before the Revolution, by the families of one Shades, Michael Carman, and Joseph Morden. Jacob Ross, a single young man lived with Carman, and Shades had three sons grown up, who were all Tories. These tenants all removed with the Johnson family to Canada. Compensation was subsequently sought for these lands.—*Jacob Shew.*

her brother George. Also, two lots in Stoneraby patent, No. thirty-six and thirty-eight, containing about one hundred and fifty acres, which I bought of Peter Davis and Hannis Kilts.

"To Susanna, daughter of Mary Brant, and sister of the foregoing six children, I devise and bequeath three thousand acres of the royal grant, now called Kingsland, to be laid out adjoining to them of her sister Mary.

"To Anne,\* sister of the foregoing seven children by Mary Brant, I devise and bequeath three thousand acres of the royal grant, now called Kingsland, to be laid out next to that of her sister Susanna, and to be by her and the heirs of her body, lawfully begotten, forever, quietly and peaceably possessed and enjoyed.

"To young *Brant*, alias *Kaghneshtago*, of Canajoharie, I give and bequeath one thousand acres of land in the royal grant, now called Kingsland, to be laid out next to and adjoining the before mentioned land of Anne, daughter of Mary Brant. Also, to *William* alias *Tagawirunte* of Canajoharie, one thousand acres of land in said royal grant, alias Kingsland, adjoining that of Brant's, to be by them and the heirs of their bodies, lawfully begotten, forever, quietly and peaceably possessed and enjoyed.

"It is also my will and desire that in case any of the before mentioned eight children of mine by Mary Brant should die without issue, their share or shares as well of my personal as real estate, be equally divided amongst the survivors of them by their guardians.

"To my prudent and faithful house-keeper, Mary Brant, mother of the before mentioned eight children, I give and bequeath the lot No. one, being part of the royal grant now called Kingsland, and is opposite to the land whereon Honnicol† Herkimer now lives, which she is to enjoy peaceably during her natural life, after which it is to be possessed by her son Peter

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\*The reader will perceive that both of the Baronet's married daughters found namesakes in the second domesticated edition of his family. It is not surprising, however that this modern Gideon's register of names was insufficient to christen all his children without some duplicates.

†Han, or Hans-Nichol, is John Nicholas. If Gen. Herkimer was thus christened—and he seems to have been thus known to the Baronet—the John must have been dropped in after life, for we find in the military records of 1775 his Christian name is simply given as Nicholas.



and his heirs forever. I also give and bequeath to my said house-keeper, one negro wench named *Jenny*, the sister of *Juba*, also the sum of two hundred pounds current money of New York, to be paid to her by my executors within three months after my decease.

"I also devise and bequeath to Mary McGrah, daughter of Christopher McGrah, of the Mohawk country, two hundred acres of land in the patent of Adagehteinge, now called Charlotte river, to be by her and her heirs forever peaceably possessed and enjoyed.

"I give and bequeath to my brothers John and Warren Johnson, to my sisters Dease, Sterling, Plunket and Fitzsimons, the following tracts of land, which I would have sold by my executors to the best advantage, and y<sup>e</sup> monies arising therefrom to be equally divided between them and their heirs, to wit: whatever part of the patent called Byrne's,\* at Schoharie, may remain unsold at my decease; also my fourth part of another patent at Schoharie called Lawyer and Zimmer's patent;† also that of Adagehteinge or Charlotte river,‡ and lastly the five thousand acres which I have in Glen and Vrooman's patent;§ also thirteen thousand acres which I yet have in the patent called Servis',|| near Gen. Gage's, or whatever part of the aforesaid tracts may be unsold at the time of my decease. This (from the many losses I have sustained, and the several sums expended by me during the war which were never paid) is all I can possibly do for them without injuring others, which my honor and conscience will not admit of.

"As his present Majesty, George the Third, was graciously pleased as a mark of his favor and regard to give me a patent

\* This patent was granted March 25, 1768, to Michael Byrne and 17 others for 18,000 acres in the towns of Middleburgh and Cobelskill, Schoharie county.

† This patent was granted December 29, 1768, to Johannes Lawyer, Jacob Zimmer and 35 others for 36,600 acres, in the towns of Middleburgh and Schoharie. His interest if *one-fourth*, would have been 9,150 acres.

‡ This patent was granted May 8, 1770, to Sir William Johnson and 25 others for 26,000 acres. It is now situated in the counties of Delaware, Otsego and Schoharie. It would seem as though he possessed the whole tract.

§ This patent, I suppose, is the one granted April 12, 1770, to Henry Glen and 83 others for 94,000 acres. It became known as the Jersey field patent, and was divided into 95 lots of 1,000 acres each.

|| This Servis is said to have been a relative of Sir William Johnson's first wife.—*Shew.*

under the great seal for the tract of land now called Kingsland, and that without quit-rent, except a trifling acknowledgment, to be paid yearly, it is my will and desire, that no part of it be ever sold by those to whom I have devised it, as that would be acting contrary to my intentions and determined resolution.

"I devise and bequeath to my much esteemed nephew, Dr. John Dease, the sum of five hundred pounds current money of New York, to be paid to him within six months after my decease by my executors, out of such monies as I may have in this country at that time, or by my son Sir John, for which he, my son, Sir John Johnson, shall have and forever enjoy that lot of land in Sacondaga patent, whereon Martin Lefler and two more tenants now live,\* viz: No. eighty-four, containing two hundred and fifty acres. I also devise and bequeath unto my said nephew, John Dease, Esq., two thousand acres of land lying near to South Bay, or Lake Champlain, which tract was purchased by me of Lieut. Augustin Prevost, and which was formerly the location of Ensign or Lieut. Gorrel, with all the advantages thereunto belonging; or, should he, my said nephew, prefer or rather choose to have the value of it in money, in that case it is my will and desire that my executors dispose of said land to the best advantage, and pay the amount of it to my said nephew.

"To my faithful friend, Robert Adams, Esq., of Johnstown, the dwelling-house, other buildings and the lot of one acre whereon he now lives, the potash, laboratory and one acre of land with it, also the farm which he holds by and from me; all free from rent during his natural life, except the quit rent.†

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\* This lot was in Albanybush, on the road from Johnstown to Tribes Hill, a mile or two from the latter place. Lefler remained upon it during the war.—*Shew.*

† This Adams, as I have elsewhere stated, was the first merchant in Johnstown. The dwelling-house conveyed to him by Sir William, and standing but a few years ago, was the first house west of the Hethcoat Johnson tavern stand, adjoining the court house. That tavern occupied the site of the old store, which made a part of the building. The store was used in the Revolution as a continental store-house, its owner being the greater part of the time at Schenectada. The Adams buildings were among the first erected in Johnstown, and are believed to have been built in 1764. Facts from *Hon. A. Haring*. The Sir William Johnson hotel now occupies the site of those Adams buildings.

The potash mentioned in the will stood near the creek on the right hand side of the road leading from the court house to Johnson hall.—*Shew.*

To William Byrne,\* of Kingsborough, I give the lot of land whereon he now lives and improves ; also, that part of the stock of cattle which was mine, free of rent or demand as long as he lives ; the quit-rent excepted. I also will and bequeath to Mr. Patrick Daly, now living with me, (for whom I have particular regard), the sum of one hundred pounds current money of New York, to be paid unto him within three months after my decease, by my executors. It is also my will and desire that all the white servants I may have at the time of my death be made free, and receive from my son ten pounds [\$25] each.†

“I also devise and bequeath unto my much esteemed friend and acquaintance, Joseph Chew, Esq., now of Kingsborough, in the county of Tryon, during his natural life, fifty acres of land which I purchased of Mathias Link, with all the buildings and other improvements thereunto belonging : and after his decease, to his son William, my god-child and to his heirs forever.‡ I also devise and bequeath unto the said Joseph Chew, Esq., two hundred acres of land in the patent called Preston’s, now Mayfield, to be laid out in one piece next to the lots already laid out by John Collins, Esq., for the township ; the same two hundred acres, to be by him, the said Joseph Chew and his heirs forever, peaceably and quietly possessed and enjoyed.

“It is my will and desire that in case my son, Sir John Johnson, should (which God avert) die without issue, the following disposition be made of the personal and real estate, which is by the foregoing part of the will bequeathed to him, to wit : All the lands of Kingsborough containing about fifty thousand acres (the few lots excepted which I have otherwise disposed of) to be by my grand-son, William Claus and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten, forever, quietly and peaceably possessed and enjoyed. Also, twenty [ten] thousand acres of the royal grant, now called Kingsland, which is never to be sold or alienated from my family.

“It is, likewise, my will and desire, that in the above case,

\* This man, it is believed, followed the fortunes of the Johnson’s to Canada.

† These persons, as his wife was, must have been sold into servitude on their arrival from Europe.

‡ Chew went to Canada, and this place was confiscated. Capt. Snow, an American officer, purchased and lived upon it for a while. It was owned after 1850, by Mr. Belden Case.—*Shew*.

viz<sup>1</sup>: of my sons death without issue, that the lands, houses, etc., at Fort Johnson, and a small tract on the opposite side of the Mohawk river, called Babbington's, together with twenty thousand acres of the royal grant, called Kingsland, be possessed and enjoyed by the first male heir which my daughter Mary Johnson may have by Guy Johnson, and by his heirs lawfully begotten forever; and in case of her having no male heir to possess it, then it is my will, that the before mentioned lands be equally divided between her daughters and their heirs, in consideration of which my two sons-in-law, Daniel Claus and Guy Johnson shall (within a year) pay unto my executors and trustees for the use of my children by Mary Brant, my house-keeper, the sum of eight hundred pounds current money of New York; that is to say: Col. Daniel Claus shall pay the sum of five hundred pounds, and Col. Guy Johnson, three hundred pounds, while some are to be (as well as the rest divided and bequeathed to them) put out to interest for their support and emolument, until they come of age or marry; when an equal division is to be made between them by their guardians or trustees. All the remainder of my son's estate, (except what remains of his share in the royal grant, alias Kingsland), shall be sold by my executors to the best advantage, and the monies arising from the sale thereof, to be equally divided between my brothers and sisters as before named. The remainder of his share in Kingsland to be equally divided between his two sisters' children, who are never to dispose of it.\*

"Lastly, I do hereby make and appoint my beloved son, Sir John Johnson, K<sup>t</sup>; my two sons-in law, Daniel Claus and Guy Johnson, Esq<sup>r</sup>"; my two brothers John and Warren Johnson, Esq<sup>r</sup>"; Daniel Campbell, of Schenectada; John Butler, Jelles Fonda, Capt. James Stevenson, of Albany; Robert Adams, Samuel Stringer, of Albany; Doctor John Dease, Henry Frey, and Joseph Chew, Esq<sup>r</sup>", or any six of them, executors of this my last will and testament. And, it is also my will and desire that John Butler, John Dease, Jelles Fonda, James Stevenson, Henry Frey and Joseph Chew, Esq<sup>r</sup>", be, and act as guardians, or trustees of my before mentioned eight children by Mary Brant, my present house-keeper, in full confidence that from the

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\* The curse of this leasehold entailment, was for the welfare of the country, fortunately averted.

close connection of the former and the long uninterrupted friendship subsisting between me and the latter, they will strictly as *brothers* invariably observe and execute *this* my last charge to them. The strong dependence on and expectation of which unburthens my mind, allays my cares, and makes a change the less alarming. And, as I would willingly, in some measure (although trifling), testify my regard and friendship for the above named gentlemen, I must request their acceptance of three hundred pounds currency, to purchase rings as a memento of their once sincere friend, which sum is to be immediately paid to them by my son, Sir John Johnson. And, I do hereby revoke, disannul and make void all former wills, bequeaths and legacies by me heretofore at any time made, bequeathed or given, and I do make and declare, this only to be my last will and testament. In witness whereof, I have (with a perfect mind and memory), hereunto set my hand and seal, this 27th day of January, 1774—One thousand seven hundred and seventy four, and my name at the bottom of each page, being thirteen.\*

W. JOHNSON. [L s]

“Signed, sealed, published and declared by the testator, as and for his last will and testament, in the presence of us, who, by the desire and in the presence of the said testator, and of each other, have hereunto subscribed our names.

“WILLIAM ADEMS, †  
 “GILBERT TICE, †  
 “MOSES IBBITT,  
 “SAMUEL SUTTON. §”

\* At this period it was customary to subscribe on every page of a will.

† Doctor Thomas Reed, a native of New Jersey, who was on duty at Johnstown as a surgeon in the Revolution, married a daughter of Doctor Adams at the close of the war.—*Shew*.

‡ Tals Tice is believed to have been the first inn-keeper in Johnstown. The house he erected was known after the Revolution as the Rollins tavern: an antiquated building with a gambrel roof and still a show of red paint on its front; it was standing not many years ago on the north side of William Street, a little distance from the court house. At this house the elite of the Tryon county courts, found a temporary home, shaded by Lombardy poplars. This place was long owned and occupied by the late Martha Hildreth. Tice was a royalist and went to Canada in the war; but lived to visit Johnstown at its close. Zephaniah Batcheller, Esq., a Johnstown patriot, married a daughter of Gilbert Tice.—*Shew*.

§ Sutton was the first cabinet maker in Johnstown, and many an old fashioned round table long remained about the settlement, to remind the hungry owner of its maker.

"Tryon county, *ss.*: Be it remembered, that on the twenty-fifth day of July, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four, personally came and appeared before me Bryan Lefferty, surrogate of the said county, Sir John Johnson, Baronet, Guy Johnson, Daniel Claus, John Butler, Robert Adams and Joseph Chew, executors of the within will of Sir William Johnson, Baronet, and were duly sworn to the true execution and performance of the said will, by severally taking the oath of an executor as by law appointed by me.

"BRYAN LEFFERTY, *Surrogate.*

"Tryon county, *ss.*: Be it also remembered, that on the twenty-sixth day of July, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four, William Adams, Gilbert Tice, Moses Ibbitt and Samuel Sutton, all of Johnstown, and county aforesaid, being duly sworn, on their oaths declared, that they, and each of them, did see Sir William Johnson, bearing date the twenty-seventh day of January, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four, and heard him publish and declare the same as and for his last will and testament. That at the time thereof, he, the said William Johnson, was of sound disposing mind and memory, to the best of the knowledge and belief of them the deponents. And that their names subscribed to the will are of their respective proper hands-writing, which they subscribed as witnesses to the said will in the testator's presence.

"BRYAN LEFFERTY, *Surrogate.*

"Examined and compared with the original by me.

"FR. BLOODGOOD, *Clerk.*"

The will was, no doubt, drawn by Mr. Lefferty, as he was Sir William's secretary for the transaction of his private business.

In reading the will of this distinguished man, one is most forcibly reminded of the instability of worldly wealth. He bequeathed whole townships of land, and yet no stone marks either his or his wife's resting place. The immense amount of real estate disposed of by Sir William Johnson to his personal friends did them no good—as from their want of loyalty to the States it was all confiscated—if we except the small bequest to Robert Adams, as the rest of the persons to whom it was given sooner or later fled to Canada. Sir William Johnson did more

in his life-time to inspire the love of liberty and promote the solid welfare of the State of New York, than ever did any other man in it—more than this, he established at Johnstown the *first free-school* in the State; and if the town of Johnstown discharges a pious duty it owes to *posterity*, it will erect ere long, a befitting monument to commemorate the memory of *Sir William Johnson*.

At his death, as I have said, Sir William's remains were deposited in a vault in the Episcopal church in Johnstown. When this edifice was erected, the entrance to it was in its western end, with the desk in its opposite or eastern end. The vault was on the south side of the pulpit, the principal aisle leading to it. A trap door in the floor covered it. A railing ran round the vault, over which the sacrament was administered. Sir William was buried in a mahogany coffin, which was inclosed in a leaden casket; and, as lead was scarce in the Revolution, at some period of the war the vault was invaded by sacrilegious hands and the casket removed, to be moulded into patriotic bullets. In the summer of 1836, a destructive fire laid the central part of the village in ashes, at which time the church was demolished. The vault was then filled up, and the model of the edifice, when rebuilt, was so altered as to bring the vault just outside its southeastern corner. Some few years previous to the burning of the edifice, and while it was undergoing repairs, part of the coffin was found floating, when it was removed and the remains placed in a new one and returned to the vault. Portions of the old coffin were given to friends and antiquarians, at which time the lid of the coffin which bore the initials of his name in brass nails was hung up in the church near the desk.—*Facts from Benjamin Chamberlain, Esq., corroborated by others.*

It was customary at the period under consideration, and for 50 years later, to put upon the lid or cover of a coffin at interment, in brass or silver nails, the initials of the deceased, and often the age. The coffin lid taken from Sir William Johnson's tomb, and suspended in the Episcopal church in Johnstown for years, was inscribed in silver nails in the following form:

W. J.,  
Æt. 60 years.

I saw this memento in its place in the summer of 1833, which,

three years later, was consumed with the church. The custom of placing a plate upon the cover of a coffin has now become universal.

*An Indian Exhibition in London; or, how an Adventurer was Snubbed.*—Under date of March 16, 1765, the Lords of Trade wrote to Lieut.-Gov. Colden that a Jew, named Myers, had brought from New York—and was exhibiting at a tavern in London—two Mohawk Indians, Herman and Joseph. The “scandalous proceeding” having been reported to his Majesty, he ordered them sent back to New York at the public expense, which was done, in the ship *Friendship*, Captain Frost, with a statement of facts attending the case. They also inclosed a letter to Colden for Sir William Johnson, recapitulating the facts, and requesting him to see that the Indians were returned to their homes in the Mohawk valley, which they no doubt reached in due time. The letter to Sir William made the speculator’s name Mejors instead of Myers. It seems English taste at that period frowned down such proceedings.\*

The picture from which Hendrick’s likeness was engraved, I obtained in the spring of 1845, from John S. Walsh, Esq., of Albany, who gave the following tradition of it. Hendrick went to England, as believed, about the year 1745, and while there visited the King, who was so pleased with him that he presented him a richly embroidered *court dress*, in which, at his Majesty’s request, he sat for his portrait. That was engraved, and the picture from which this cut was made was one of those engravings colored to life. The reading under the picture appeared in the original, but unfortunately without any date. In the Revolution this engraving, which had previously belonged to Sir William Johnson, was sold among the confiscated property of Sir John Johnson, went into the Cuyler family, and subsequently into the Walsh family of Albany.

Hendrick—*Soi-eni-ga-rah-ta*—the most celebrated Indian of the Six Nations in his time, became known in middle life as “King Hendrick.” He was born about the year 1677. In 1710, during the reign of Queen Anne, he was one of four or five Indian chiefs who accompanied Col. Schuyler to England, where they attracted much notice. This visit gave him an idea of the power and wealth of Great Britain, which he could not other-

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\* Brod. Papers, vol. 7, pp. 78, 79.



wise have obtained. When Sir William Johnson became Indian agent for the British crown, an intimacy grew up between him and King Hendrick which lasted till the death of the latter. He became distinguished as an orator, and his counsels, whether treating with the whites or with his own race, always carried



Hendrick, Great Chief of the Mohawk Nation.

"The brave old *Hendrick*, the great *SACHEM* or Chief of the *Mohawk Indians*, one of the *Six Nations* now in alliance with and subject to the King of Great Britain."

great weight with them. At the Albany convention of 1754, his speeches were not only heard, but his experience felt. He was ever greatly respected by the white people of the upper Mohawk valley. During the greater part of his life he lived at Canajoharie castle, and near the site of the church at that place, which, after his death, was erected by Sir William Johnson.\*

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\* The late Peter Elwood, of Fort Plain, said his father related this incident as occurring while this church was building. A carpenter named Deusler was at work there, and as he laid his square upon a piece of timber, an Indian sachem looking on asked him if his rule measured alike both ways? Yes, replied Deusler; don't yours? *Some times works both ways*, said the Indian, *sometimes don't. I can make barrel cider out'r ten bushel apples, but can't make ten bushel apples out'r barrel cider.*

Although verging upon four score-years, yet his habits were such that he was still vigorous, and he entered with zeal into the last Continental French war. He had become quite portly, and was doing duty on horseback in the army of Sir William Johnson, when he was slain in battle near Lake George, September 3, 1755. Probably no Indian ever fell in battle more universally lamented. In the November number of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, of London, for 1755, is the following notice of his death :

"The whole body of our *Indians* were prodigiously exasperated against the *French* and their *Indians*, occasioned by the death of the famous *Hendrick*, a renowned *Indian* warrior among the *Mohawks*, and one of their sachems, or kings, who was slain in the battle, and whose son, upon being told that his father was killed, gave the usual *Indian* groan upon such occasions, and suddenly putting his hand on his left breast, swore his father was still alive in that place, and stood there in his son."

Abraham, a brother of Hendrick, also became celebrated not only for his oratory, but for his bravery on the field of battle. He was also seriously or religiously inclined. I am not aware that the son of King Hendrick, alluded to above, and known as Little Hendrick, ever attained to any especial celebrity. King Hendrick visited Philadelphia some time before his death, says the historian *Dwight*, at which time his likeness was taken, from which a wax figure—a good imitation of his person—was made. Some confusion has crept into history about the age of King Kendrick at his death. Mr. Lossing, usually correct, observes in his *Field-Book* that he was about 65 at the time of his death in 1755, but in the same connection he places his birth in 1680. This certainly shows a discrepancy of 10 years. May 31, 1695, in a deposition respecting lands in dispute, in which Hendrick was a witness, he was represented as of *full age*, meaning, as I suppose, 21 years.\* This would place his birth in 1677, and his age at his death at 78 years. The portrait of Hendrick, here shown, is now in the State Library.

*Sir William Johnson's Dream.*—In my History of Schoharie County, etc., in 1845, I gave the following popular version of this story, as related to me by the venerable *Henry Frey Yates*.

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\* Brod. Papers, vol. 4, 345.

The tract of land owned by Sir William Johnson, and called the Royal Grant, which contained nearly 100,000 acres of choice land, situated in the county of Herkimer, was obtained from Hendrick in the following manner: Being at the Baronet's house (Fort Johnson) the sachem observed a new coat, richly embroidered with gold lace, which the former intended for his own person; and on entering his presence, after a night's rest, he said to him, "Brother, me dream last night." "Indeed," responded the royal agent, "and what did my red brother dream?" "Me dream," was the chief's reply, "that this coat be mine!" "Then," said the sagacious Irishman, "it is yours, to which you are welcome." Soon after this interview Sir William returned his guest's visit, and on meeting him in the morning said to him, "Brother, I dreamed last night!" "What did my pale-faced brother dream?" interrogated the sachem. "I dreamed," said his guest, "that this tract of land," describing a square bounded on the south by the Mohawk, on the east by Canada creek, and on the north and west by objects familiar to them, "was all my own!" Old Hendrick assumed a thoughtful mood, but although he saw the enormity of the request, he would not be outdone in generosity, or forfeit the friendship of the British agent, and soon responded, "Brother, the land is yours, but you must not dream again!" The title to this land was confirmed by the British government, on which account it was called the Royal Grant.

Mr. Stone, in his *Life of Sir William Johnson* (vol. 1, p. 551), says; "The famous story of Sir William's dreaming with King Hendrick for the royal grant, or, indeed, for any other piece of land, is a pure fiction." That may or may not be so. The mere assertion of no one can, at this late day, be received as proof positive in this matter. Again, says Stone: "The romantic story of his dreaming away from King Hendrick the *royal grant*—which even Mr. Schoolcraft, in his *Notes on the Iroquos*, gravely narrates as a fact—*is false*. Hendrick had been in his grave five years before this tract was given. Indeed, the uprightness of Sir William's dealings with the Indians, which was the chief cause of his ascendancy over them, sufficiently proves its falsity, even if we had not the above positive testimony. It is quite time that the numerous silly stories afloat in

regard to Sir William Johnson, and resting solely on tradition, should be done away with.”\*

A number of late writers have given some version of this story, but Mr. Stone is only surprised at Mr. Schoolcraft's doing it. Mr. Schoolcraft seems to have had no idea of the extent of the royal grant, when he says it was 3,000 acres,† unless he meant to convey the idea that the dream was only for 3,000 acres of the tract. Mr. Stone designates the extent of the royal grant as 66,000 acres ;‡ but the will of the Baronet shows it to have contained nearly 100,000 acres, 70,000 acres being devised in three items.

Let us look at this matter dispassionately for a moment. As regards the truth or falsehood of Sir William's obtaining this or any other tract of land thus easily—and when he came into the country, it was a common thing for the Indians to *give* lands for a song to white adventurers whom they liked—this was a current story in the lifetime of the Baronet, which had it been “*false*,” or without *any foundation in truth*, he would have been likely so to have characterized it. But the story came down from his own generation and the one following it, generally believed it. Who first published it, I cannot say. Spafford in his *State Gazetteer* issued in 1824, under “The Royal Grants,” says : “Everybody has heard the story of Sir William Johnson's dream, but it was new to me, quite lately, that this dream had any connection with the royal grants, the circumstances attending which were related to me by an old Dutchman, well acquainted with the facts. By that singular artifice, Sir William obtained a grant of the Indian title to those lands, comprising all that lie between the above named creeks [East and West Canada creeks], afterwards confirmed to him and his heirs *forever*, by the crown of England.”

Mr. N. S. Benton, who published this anecdote, thinks it should be illustrated : “although quite as unreal as most dreams are.” In other words, he believes with the multitude that the story whether true or not, is too good to be lost. It certainly was characteristic of the man. Nor would it reflect at all on the “uprightness of his dealings with the indians.” They always liked a joke if there was pith in it : hence his fair dealing

\* Stone's Johnson, vol. 2, p. 325.

† Schoolcraft's Notes, p. 418.

‡ Stone's Life of Johnson, vol. 2, p. 324.

was no evidence of the "falsity" of this story. Mr. Benton says : " Judge Haring, now living, who came to Johnstown in 1795, and at an early day was quite familiar with the inhabitants, old and young, says that Sir William dreamed for the land known as the Kingsborough patent, where he built his own family mansion, and not for the royal grant."\*

It is not improbable that the tradition of Judge Haring is the correct one since he lived more than 60 years amid the life-scenes of the Baronet ; besides Hendrick's dream was said to have been at Fort Johnson. The title, however, if for a contract made long before and not confirmed until after Hendrick's death, would not be positive testimony that the transaction was not in fulfilment of a valid contract made years before, and then ratified by his brother chiefs. If such a grant was made and was elsewhere than at the royal grant, the very title in the lapse of time would seem to designate that, since the crown issued that patent, and most others came through colonial Governors. Lieut.-Gov. Colden, in writing to the Lords of Trade, May 31, 1765,† to have so large a tract of land as the royal grant confirmed by the crown to Sir William Johnson, says : "*I suspect the land is the same which the Indians Gave to Sir William Johnson, soon after the conclusion of peace, etc.*" This does not imply that King Hendrick may not have been the first to have promised him this gift.

I have given these correlative facts, that the reader might judge for himself, whether there was or was not any foundation for this story. Speaking of the confirmation of this contract as possibly being after Hendrick's death, I am reminded of a story of Joseph Brant, in Canada. He made a transfer of Indian lands, which it was necessary for the crown to ratify. After years of delay, which mortified the old chieftain's pride, the government confirmed the title. Had he died in the time pending the ratification, the latter would no doubt have been confirmed. When the news came that his action was honored, he was so elated, he got into a drunken frolic in which he died. Thus was I informed thirty years ago, by Isaac H. Tiffany, Esq., who visited Brant at his own home in 1806, the year before the old warrior died.

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\* History of Herkimer County, p. 24.

† Brod. Papers, vol. 7, p. 742.

*The Organization of Tryon County, etc.*—The influence of Sir William Johnson, exerted through Colonels Philip Schuyler, Hendrick Frey and Guy Johnson, succeeded early in 1772, in partitioning Albany county, the new county taking on the name of the Governor of the colony, who located the county seat at Johnstown. Pending the passage of the bill, Col. Schuyler called on Sir William Johnson to make a division of the territory into townships or districts; and he complied by dividing it into the five following districts, commencing on the easterly side.

“*The first*, or Mohawk district, to be bounded easterly by the west bounds of the township of Schenectada, north as far as the settlements shall extend, south to the south bounds of the county, and west by a north and south line crossing the Mohawk at Anthony’s Nose.” This embraced the territory on both sides of the Mohawk, including Amsterdam, Johnstown and other settlements on the north, and the settlements in the now towns of Florida, Glen, Charleston and part of Root, on the south side, extending west to the Nose at Sprakers Basin.

“*The second*, or Stone Aarabia district, to be entirely on the north side of the river, bounded easterly by the west bounds of the late mentioned district, northerly as the former, and westerly by a north and south line to cross the Mohawk river at the Little Falls.” This embraced the Palatine, St. Johnsville, Kringsbush and Ephratah settlements. This district soon became known as the Palatine district.

“*The third*, or Canajoharie district, to be bounded north by the Mohawk river, south by the bounds of the county, east by the west bounds of the first mentioned district, and west by the aforesaid line to be continued south from the Little Falls.” This district extended from the Nose to Fall Hill, embracing part of Root and the towns of Canajoharie, Minden and a portion of Danube; taking in also the settlements of Cherry Valley, New Town Martin, Harpersfield, Springfield and Warren at the lakes.

“*The fourth*, or Kingsland district, to be bounded southerly by the Mohawk river, easterly by a north line from the Little Falls, northerly and westerly as far as the settlements extend.” This embraced the settlements begun at Little Falls, Herkimer, Schuyler, Fairfield, etc.

"*The fifth*, or German Flats district, to be bounded northerly by the Mohawk river, easterly by the line to be continued south from the Little Falls, southerly as far as the county extends, and westerly by the boundary line settled at a treaty made in 1768." This took in the settlements in the town of German Flats, Ilion, Andreastown, and possibly north part of Warren, and settlement begun at the Keil or Chyle, a German word, said to signify a *wedge*.

The names of the Kingsland and German Flats districts were early reversed. In the sessions court proceedings of 1784, Caughnawaga district is mentioned ; but when the name of a part of Mohawk district was thus designated does not appear, for the Mohawk district is still named in 1786. It is presumed the Mohawk district was divided at the river, Caughnawaga occupying the territory on the north side of the river, and the Mohawk district the south side. The districts of the county, before the introduction of townships, seem all to have been named at a Court of Special Sessions, October 31, 1786, when "Commissioners of Highways" were appointed for all the districts, and as they give the residence of not a few prominent citizens, I will here insert them : "For the district of Caughnawaga, Adam Fonda, James Livingston, Volkert Veeder, Jeremiah De Graff, Zelah Woodworth ;" "for the Mohawk district, Charles Van Epps, Cornelius Putman, Lawrens Shooler, Abraham Yates, Jacob Antis ;" "for the Canajoharie district, John Roof, Peter S. Dygart, Henry Dygart, John M. Brown, Samuel Campbell ;" "for the Palatine district, Jelles Fonda, Andrew Finck, Samuel Gray, Jacob G. Klock, John Zielen ;" "for the German Flats district, Peter Bellinger, Henry Eckler, George Stale, Hugh White, Frederick Frank ;" "for the Kingsland district, Jacob Petrie, Melgert Folts, Adam Staring, John M. Petrie, Peter F. Bellinger ;" "for the Old England district, Hugh Johnson, Matthew Cully, Joseph Tunnicliff, Samuel Tubbs, Joseph Mayall ;" "for the Harpersfield district, John Harper, Levi Gaylor, Sluman Walters, John Pine, Alexander Leal."

A part of Springfield, and territory around Otsego and Schuyler's lakes, were in Old England district. *Smith's Gazetteer* says that district was west of the Susquehanna. There were settlements begun early at Morris, Butternuts, Laurens and several other towns of Otsego county, which were no doubt em-

braced in this district—the residents of which mostly spoke the English language. The name of Tunnicliff appears among the commissioners for this district, and this name has been in and contiguous to Warren (near the lakes), for many years. John M. Brown and Samuel Campbell are named as commissioners for the Canajoharie district. Brown lived in the present town of Carlisle, and Campbell in Cherry Valley, proving that Old England district was to the westward of those settlements. On the appointment of those commissioners, the county clerk was to notify the different *town clerks*, of the action of this court. It seems a novelty to call them *town clerks*, when there was not a town organization so called in the county. But the districts had supervisors, clerks and assessors, corresponding to those in the townships of other counties. Harpersfield district embraced the settlement in the now town of Harpersfield, and several other small colonies in that vicinity. The first organization of Montgomery county—as Tryon was called at the close of the war—into townships, took place March 7, 1788. Then the German Flats district became the town of Herkimer, and the Kingsland district took the name of German Flats. The names were inadvertantly transposed in the Legislature, as the wide German Flats originating the name, embraced the village of Herkimer. The mistake was soon discovered, but the matter was not thought of sufficient importance, to alter it. This error should have been corrected. Canajoharie, Palatine, Mohawk, Caughnawaga and Harpersfield districts severally became towns bearing the same name ; while Old England district took the name of Otsego. When Old England and Harpersfield districts were a part of Montgomery county, the citizens had to make the long journey to Johnstown by Cherry Valley, from thence entering the Mohawk valley, at Canajoharie, and in the absence of a bridge, cross the river where and in the manner they best could, by ferry or by ford.

The act dividing Montgomery county into townships was as follows (See Hugh Gaine's State Laws, published in 1789, page 331) : Under title of "An act to divide the counties of the State into townships," passed 7th March, 1788. Montgomery county was divided as follows :

Caughnawaga, and all that part of the county of Montgomery, bounded northerly by the north bounds of this State, easterly



by the counties of Clinton, Washington and Albany, southerly by the Mohawk river, and westerly by a line running from the hill, called Anthony's Nose, north to the north bounds of the State, shall be and hereby is erected into a town by the name of *Caughnawaga*.

Palatine, and all that part of the said county of Montgomery, bounded northerly by the north bounds of this State, easterly by Caughnawaga, southerly by the Mohawk river, and westerly by a line running from the Little Falls in the Mohawk river, north to the north bounds of this State, shall be and are hereby erected into a town by the name of *Palatine*.

Herkimer, and all that part of the said county of Montgomery, bounded northerly by the north bounds of this State, easterly by Palatine, southerly by the Mohawk river, and westerly by a north and south line running across the Mohawk river at the Fording-place near the house of *William Cunningham*, leaving the same house to the west of the line, shall be and hereby is erected into a town by the name of *Herkimer*.

Mohawk, and all that part of the said county of Montgomery, bounded northerly by the Mohawk river, easterly and southerly by the county of Albany, and westerly by a line running from the hill called Anthony's Nose, south until it strikes the county of Albany, shall be and hereby is erected into a town by the name of *Mohawk*.

Harpersfield, and all that part of the said county of Montgomery, between the *Cookquago* branch of Delaware river and the branch of the *Susquehanna* river called *Adigitange*, beginning at a rock-maple tree—marked on four sides with a blaze and three notches, and with the letters and figures A. C., 1768—standing on a high point of land at the south side of a small lake—called by the Indians *Utsayantho*—from whence the said branch of the Delaware—called by the Indians *Cookquago*—issues, and running from thence north thirty degrees west to the said *Adigitange*, and thence down the same and the *Susquehanna* to the bounds of *Pennsylvania*, and east along the same to the river *Delaware*, and then up the same river to the place of beginning, shall be and hereby is erected into a town by the name of *Harpersfield*.

Otsego, and all that part of the said county of Montgomery, beginning at the headwater of the Lake Otsego, in the patent

commonly called the Otsego patent, granted to George Cochran and others, and running from thence along the northerly bounds of the said patent to the northwest corner thereof, thence extending westerly to the river *Tienaderhe*, so as to include the patent granted to William and Robert Edminston, thence down the said river to its junction with the Susquehanna river, and then up the said river to the place of beginning, shall be and hereby is erected into a town by the name of *Otsego*.

Canajoharie, and all that part of the said county of Montgomery, bounded northerly by the Mohawk river, easterly by the town of Mohawk and the county of Albany, southerly by Harpersfield, and westerly by the river Susquehanna and the Lake Otsego, and a line from the head water thereof to the Little Falls in the Mohawk river, shall be and hereby is erected into a town by the name of *Canajoharie*.—(*As spelled in the record.*)

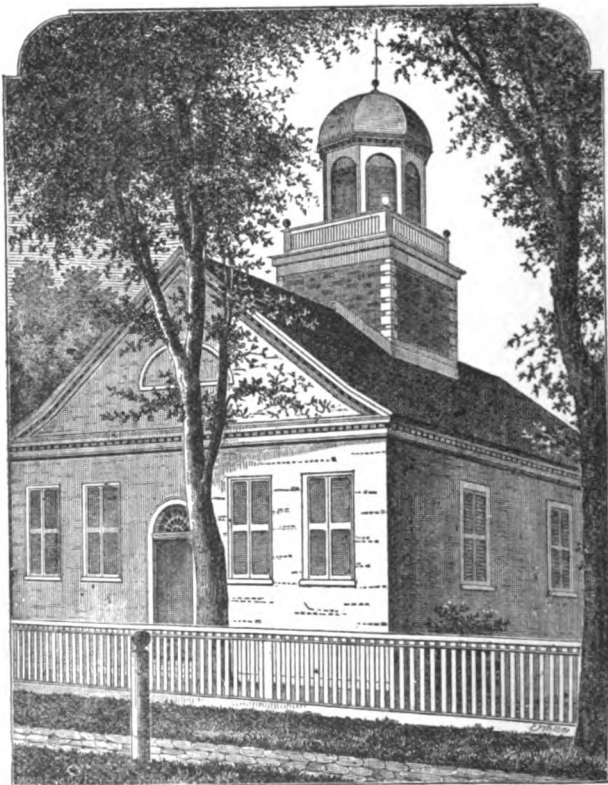
German Flatts, and that all that part of the said county of Montgomery, bounded northerly by the Mohawk river, easterly by Canajoharie, southerly by Otsego, and westerly by the western line of the town of Herkimer, continued south to the said town of Otsego, shall be and hereby is erected into a town by the name of *German Flatts*.

White's Town, and all the remaining part of the said county of Montgomery, shall be and hereby is erected into a town by the name of *Whites's Town*.

*Erection of the Johnstown Court House.*—The law organizing Tryon county, authorized the raising in its territory of £1,000 for the erection of a jail and court house, to which an appropriation of £600 was added the next year. Sir William superintended the construction of those buildings. He employed a man named Bennet, who (said *William Johnson Van Voast*), came from England expressly to build them. About the same time Zephaniah Bachellor, a joiner and good architect, came to Johnstown from Boston. He worked on the public buildings, and Sir William was heard to say that he liked his work better than he did that of Bennett. The jail was located a long distance from the court house. To an inquiry why this was so, *Jacob Shew* replied, so as to build a large village.

In the summer of 1772, while the court house was being erected, Gov. Tryon and his wife visited Sir William Johnson

at Johnson hall, enjoying not only the novel scenery of the vicinity, but also that along the Kenyetto and Sacondaga, upon which streams his summer cottages were located. While His Excellency was there, the Baronet called together the Mohawk sachems in a congress at Johnson hall, that he might hear some Indian grievances, and learn somewhat of his own duty



Tryon County Court House, Erected in 1772.

toward them, as also to exhibit to the Governor some idea of the confidence the Indians reposed in himself as their sole agent. The Honorables Oliver de Dancey and Henry White, government officers from New York, and the Governor's private secretary, were also at this Indian treaty held late in July. On his return to the city, Gov. Tryon wrote to the Earl of Hillsborough, as follows :

\* "NEW YORK, 31 August, 1772.

"*My Lord*—I returned last week to this city after an absence of five weeks on an excursion to the westward frontiers of this province. I passed some days at Sir William Johnson's, where I met near a hundred of the Mohocks, and more than forty of the Oneida Indians. A copy of the congress held with the Mohock Indians, I have the honor herewith to transmit to your Lordship, and have ordered copies of the Indian deeds, that were executed on the occasion, to be prepared in order to forward them to your Lordship. [These deeds were for some lands the Indians claimed had been surreptitiously taken from them.] My best endeavors shall be employed to satisfy the Mohocks in their request to me to do them justice, which I hope to obtain through the aid of the Legislature, as I consider their request truly equitable.

"It was with real satisfaction I viewed the credit and confidence Sir William was held in by the Indian tribes. Nothing less than manifest injury, in my opinion, will drive the Mohocks from their steady attachment to His Majesty's interest. They appear to be actuated, as a community, by principles of rectitude that would do honor to the most civilized nations. Indeed, they are in a civilized state, and many of them good farmers.

"It is impossible any man can have more uniform zeal and attention than Sir William has in his department, so much so that it would be no great impropriety to style him *the slave of the savages*.

"In my journey up the Mohocks I reviewed three Regiments; the first in Johnstown, the second at Burnetsfield, and the third in German Flats, near Fort Herkimer, amounting in the whole to upwards of 1,400 effective men; an industrious people, and not less seemingly pleased with the presence of their Governor than he was with them.† I heartily wish the eastern parts of the province were as peaceably settled. The land on the Mohock river is extremely fertile and under the highest cultivation, producing as good wheat and peas as any in the old coun-

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\* Broad. Papers, vol. 8, 303.

† Here seems to be an error, since Burnetsfield and German Flats were synonymous terms. Instead of Burnetsfield he must have viewed a regiment either in the Palatine or Canajoharie district.

tries. The towns of Albany and Schenectada are both flourishing, and will continue to do so, in proportion as the back settlements are extended.

"I am, with all possible respect, my Lord,

"Your Lord's" most obedient servant,

"WILLIAM TRYON."

*Judiciary Appointment for Tryon County.*—May 28, 1772 Gov. Tryon and the Council of Appointments of the colony, appointed as judges of the common pleas bench, and justices of the peace for Tryon county: Judges, Guy Johnson, John Butler, Peter Conyne and Hendrick Frey, Esquires, jointly or severally; and Sir John Johnson, Knight, Daniel Claus, John Wells, Jelles Fonda and John Lyne, Esquires, justices of the peace for the said county, to be assistant justices of our said Inferior Court of Common Pleas; authorizing any three of the first named to hear, try and determine by a jury of 12 lawful freeholders of the county, all suits, quarrels, controversies, etc. In addition to those named they also appointed as additional justices for the county, Michael Byrne, John Collins, Peter Martin, Joseph Chew, Adam Loucks, John Frey, Frederick Young, Peter Ten Broeck, Rudolph Shoemaker and Frederick Bellinger, Esquires.

With the appointment of associate justices above named, are the names of the council of appointment, viz: Cadwallader Colden, Daniel Horsmander, Sir William Johnson, Baronet, John Watts, Oliver De Lancey, Charles Ward Apthorpe, Roger Morris, William Smith, Henry Cruger, Hugh Wallace, Henry White, William Axtell and John Tabor Kemp; by whom with the justices, the truth may be the better known of all manner of felonies, trespasses, forestallings, regratings, ingrossings and extortions whatsoever; and all and other offenses and misdemeanors of which justices of the peace may lawfully enquire."

The new court house was completed, and the first court held in it was a "Court of Quarter Sessions," convened September 8, 1772. Its bench consisted of:

"Guy Johnson, *Judge*.

"John Butler, Peter Conyne, *Judges*.

"Sir John Johnson, Knight, Daniel Claus, John Wells, Jelles Fonda, *Assistant Judges*.

“John Collins, Joseph Chew, Adam Loucks, John Frey, Fr. Young, Peter Ten Broeck, *Justices*.

*County Expenses*.—Here are a few items of expense during the first three years after the county was organized :

“The county of Tryon, public and necessary charges ;

|             |     |  |     |    |    |
|-------------|-----|--|-----|----|----|
| 1773, April | 12. | Cash paid George Stewart for a wolf .....  | £1  | 0  | 0  |
| 1773, July  | 16. | Cash paid for burning a negro by Col Claus..   | 3   | 4  | 0  |
| 1774, June  | 15. | Cash paid Col. Hendrick Frey for 75 days attendance as a Member of the House of Assembly, at 12 shillings.....                                 | 45  | 0  | 0  |
| 1774, June  | 15. | Cash paid Col. Guy Johnson for 75 days attendance as a Member of the House of Assembly, at 12 shillings.....                                   | 45  | 0  | 0  |
| 1774, June  | 15. | Cash paid the widow of Peter Quack [enboss] for maintaining, lodging, etc., of two men from March 1773, to March 1774 [supposed paupers] ..... | 24  | 0  | 0  |
| 1774, June  | 15. | Paid expenses attending the execution of a Negro wench as per vouchers* .....  | 4   | 2  | 0  |
| 1774, June  | 15. | Paid Maj. Jelles Fonda for three certificates of four wolves heads.....  | 4   | 0  | 0  |
| 1774, June  | 15. | Paid Fred'k Ousterhout for one certificate of eight wolves heads, under one year of age..  | 6   | 0  | 0  |
| 1774, June  | 15. | Paid Rudolph Shoemaker for four do, at 20 shillings or £1.....   | 4   | 0  | 0  |
| 1774, June  | 15. | Goal and court house of the county of Tryon, to cash paid Sir William Johnson, Baronet,  | 786 | 14 | 6½ |

|   |     |    |   |
|---|-----|----|---|
| Of which the Canajoharie district raised .... | 199 | 16 | 0 |
| Palatine district.....                        | 234 | 5  | 7 |
| German Flats.....                             | 62  | 14 | 6 |
| Kingsland .....                               | 68  | 11 | 0 |
| Mohawk district .....                         | 225 | 14 | 2 |

£794 1 3 Over debt 7 6 8½

1775, *Goal and court house account :*

|           |  |      |    |    |
|-----------|--|------|----|----|
| March 17. | To cash paid Major Fonda.....            | £150 | 0  | 0  |
| March 17  | To cash paid Andrew Wemple.....          | 226  | 0  | 4  |
| March 23  | To cash paid Moses Ibbit ....            | 3    | 9  | 4  |
| March 31. | To cash paid Sir John Johnson, Bt.,..... | 405  | 2  | 6½ |
|           |  | £784 | 12 | 2½ |

\* Tradition says that she was also burned, but for what crime is unknown.

|  |            |
|--|------------|
| Cash raised by Palatine district ..... | £205 12 0  |
| Kingsland.....                         | 68 8 9     |
| Canajoharie.....                       | 197 8 0    |
| German Flats.....                      | 75 1 0     |
| Mohawk district .....                  | 230 15 9   |
| Balance of account of 1774.....        | 7 6 8½     |
|  | <hr/>      |
|  | £784 12 2½ |

Here is the amount of State tax levied on the districts of old Tryon county for two seasons :

| July 2, 1787.            |            | September 2, 1788.          |          |
|--------------------------|------------|-----------------------------|----------|
| Harpersfield district... | £35 0 0    | Harpersfield district ..... | £12 0 0  |
| Kingsland district ..... | 77 10 0    | Kingsland district .....    | 36 0 0   |
| Palatine district .....  | 355 0 0    | Palatine district.....      | 170 0 0  |
| Canajoharie district.... | 317 10 0   | Canajoharie district ....   | 166 0 0  |
| Mohawk district.....     | 355 10 0   | Mohawk district .....       | 166 0 0  |
| Caughnawaga district..   | 317 10 0   | Caughnawaga district ..     | 162 0 0  |
| Old Edgland district...  | 25 0 0     | Old England district ...    | 7 0 0    |
| German Flats district..  | 117 10 0   | German Flats district...    | 80 0 0   |
|                          | <hr/>      |                             | <hr/>    |
|                          | £1600 10 0 |                             | £800 0 0 |
|                          | \$4,001 25 |                             | \$2,000  |
|                          | <hr/>      |                             | <hr/>    |

#### AN INTERESTING TRIAL AT JOHNSTOWN.\*

*Aaron Burr, Thomas Addis Emmett and other Eminent Lawyers there.*—Gov. Tompkins prorogued the Legislature of New York in the spring of 1812, on account of the rumored presence in the Legislative halls of "bribery and corruption." At the Circuit Court of Oyer and Terminer, held at Johnstown—then the county seat for Montgomery county—in the same year, Chief-Justice KENT presiding, Solomon Southwick was there arraigned, at the instigation of Alexander Sheldon, late Speaker of the Assembly. Sheldon, who resided in the town of Charleston, charged Southwick, before the grand jury, with an attempt, when at his own house, to bribe him to vote in favor of incorporating the Bank of America, in the city of New York.

It was at the time quite currently reported, though, with how

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\* For the particulars of this celebrated law-suit, I am indebted to the memory of the Hon. Peter J. Wagner, who, then a lad of 16, accompanied Dr. Joshua Webster to Johnstown expressly to attend this trial, expecting, too, to witness the mortification, if not the discomfiture, of Aaron Burr.

much truth, we cannot say, that T. A. Emmet, the celebrated Irish barrister, was appointed Attorney-General of the State by Gov. Tompkins, for the special purpose of attending to this trial in behalf of the people. Southwick was defended by Daniel Cady, Ebenezer Foote, Abram Van Vechten and Aaron Burr, Esquires.

As great efforts had been made in the Legislature to charter the bank in question, unusual excitement was created on that account throughout the State. The importance of the approaching suit came to be much talked of for months ; and, as it was known that some of the most distinguished counsel in the land—men who had established a reputation for legal acumen—were to be engaged on the occasion, considering the facilities at that time for travel, a large concourse of people were drawn together : Johnstown was literally filled with interested spectators.

But another circumstance tended especially to gather a crowd at the court house, and that was a secret rumor all over the county, having its paternity, it is believed, among the federal members of the bar, that Aaron Burr would be hissed on entering the room, if, in fact, he was not more foully dealt with. Long before the time arrived for opening the court, the house was densely packed, every seat being occupied with the aisles literally crammed, while several hundred people held possession of the court yard.

Perhaps we should make a little digression here for the benefit of the young reader. At the period under consideration, the country was rife with prejudice against Aaron Burr. Eight years before he had killed Alexander Hamilton in a duel ; and as the latter was the great champion of *federalism*, all his political admirers at once denounced Burr, without ever stopping to learn that Hamilton was the aggressor, or caring to know that they had for some twenty years been political rivals ; and that in all of Burr's aspirations, "Hamilton had secretly intrigued to oppose his advancement."\* This prejudice was not a little intensified by a secret movement, which caused Burr's arrest and trial for treasonable conspiracy against the government in 1807. It is now the general belief that this was a filibuster movement, to establish himself and friends permanently in

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\* See Parton's *Life of Burr*, p. 339.



Mexico, but, whatever his motive, the enterprise was a failure; and soon after his trial at Richmond—almost friendless and penniless—he went to Europe in 1808, where he remained until 1812, returning when our country was on the verge of another war with England. He again opened a law office in New York, and was soon doing a fine business as a legal counsellor. Thus the reader will gain some idea why there was so large a gathering at Johnstown, when it became known that Burr was to be there, so soon after his return from Europe.

Another motive for the crowd we possibly should name in this connection: Aaron Burr had been no stranger to fortune, and few names in the land had a better record among the unprejudiced than his, up to nearly the time of Hamilton's death. He had been a good officer during the Revolution, Legislator, Senator, Vice-President—and had he resorted to such measures as politicians do not scruple to at this day, he probably might have been President. People like when they can, to see those who have been their public servants. True, he was now comparatively poor and almost friendless, yet great allowance would have been made for that, had it been known, that instead of his practicing economy for his own comfort, he was ever ready, if a Revolutionary soldier in need crossed his track, to thrust his hand to the bottom of his pocket for the last dollar.

Let us return to the court room. The court had entered, the jury were in their seats and preparation was making to open the cause, when a rustling was heard at the outer door. This old colonial court house has undergone some important changes within a few years, and now the entrance is directly into the court room from the front door, but originally from the little hall running across the front, the passage was on either side next to the walls, along which the aisles were arranged.

Every eye was turned to the eastern entrance, or the corner toward the clerk's office, a small stone edifice which has now disappeared. A surging in the hall, soon disclosed the magnet that had drawn the crowd there, as the masses swayed back to make room for the passage of a small, neatly clad and well formed man of courtly mien, wearing a cue with hair powdered, and bearing upon his shoulders a remarkably large head,\* that

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\* Burr used to say in allusion to the largeness of his head: "Whatever happens, my hat at least is safe: for no one else can wear it."—*Parton's Life*.

had then seen 60 summers. Directly behind him followed a black servant, carrying an armful of books. Politics had for twenty-five years greatly warped the passions of the American people, which yet ebbed and flowed with no little venom, and on this occasion, it is believed, there were men in the court room still harboring rancorous prejudices, who had gone many miles almost expressly to be present and manifest their indignity and malice toward Burr. The moments while he was passing through the crowd were intensely exciting.

As hat in hand he stepped into the bar which was a little elevated, he made such a graceful bow and courteous salutation to Judge Kent, and the lawyers on either side of him, that he completely disarmed the whole of them, and with them every individual in the room. The pent up hisses of the multitude remained pent up still, and he took his seat quietly with his associates, without the slightest demonstration of indignity. This proves what good breeding and good manners may accomplish for their possessor. It seems surprising, however, even at this period, to look back and mark such an effect of polished manners and self possession; when we realize the fact, that the house was not only full of federal lawyers, for some even from other counties were there, but the whole atmosphere thereabouts was thus impregnated; for Johnstown was then and ever has been politically, a strong federal town.

Southwick's counsel were seated at the bar in the following order: Van Vechten, Foote, Cady, Burr. The case was one of great interest, and in defense of their client, the first three addressed the court and jury, and the latter discussed and elucidated rising law questions, from the authorities he had brought with him. We wish it were possible to present even a synopsis of the arguments of this case pro and con, but at that early day there were few reporters, and stenography was in its infancy. Our friend, however, still remembers a few sentences uttered in the discussion. Said Foote, while addressing the jury: "Judge Sheldon never dreamt of bribery and corruption, until he heard them rattling in the ballot-boxes of Charlestown."\*

Emmet, as was expected, made a telling speech for the prose-

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\* This township was organized in 1788, and for several years was so spelled, but after a while the letter "w" was dropped, and the name has since been written Charlestown.

cution, which he introduced with a brogue characteristic of his parentage as follows : " May't please the Coort, and Gintlemen of the Jury. I arise with great diffidence to address the jury on this interesting trial : especially when I find meself surrounded by a powerful array of counsel. Nivertheless, I will indiver to prostrate ivery obstacle which they have presented to you, with the club of Herecules." While Emmet was speaking, he stood behind his chair, and several times in his zeal and excitement, in making a careless gesture, he struck his hand down upon the thin top of the old chair, breaking the skin upon his knuckles ; but without stopping or caring for the injury, except to draw his fingers through his mouth occasionally to suck the blood from them, he continued his argument to its close ; with such a flow of eloquent oratory, as is seldom ever listened to, in any court room.

Foote was peculiarly happy in examining witnesses, a fact which Southwick chanced to know, hence a reason why he was employed. On the cross-examination of Sheldon by Foote, he was so worsted by contradictions and the appearance of falsehood, that the perspiration rolled profusely from his brow. The jury acquitted Southwick, and the people who demonstrated their approbation of the verdict, believed that Sheldon had played false : and such was its political effect, that he never again became a candidate for office, the trial having " taken his spurs off." Thus ended, all things considered, the most exciting and interesting trial that ever came off in the Johnstown court house.

*The Johnstown Court House, and its Centennial Celebration.*—After the waning of a century the Centennial erection of this edifice—the only colonial one now remaining in the State—was celebrated with commemorable zeal by an immense gathering of people, on Wednesday, June 26, 1872. The occasion was marred by a copious fall of rain, which delayed the exercises until after dinner ; but at half past two, the deluge having subsided, Col. Simeon Sammons, as Marshal of of the day, formed a procession, which, with the music of the Johnstown and Gloversville bands, brought up in the court house yard, where the very appropriate ceremonies took place. An admirable report of all the proceedings by the *Utica Herald Reporter*, was served in that paper the next day ; in which also appeared

the able address of Hon. Horatio Seymour, the distinguished orator of the day. Ever happy in his theme on such occasions, he was exceedingly so at this time.

As this address is one calculated to aid the student in a knowledge of the events which followed the erection of this edifice shortly after ; I could wish, were it practicable, to give it to the reader, but must be content to give a faint outline of its truthful research. Taking his hearers back an hundred years to the time and surroundings of the erection of this edifice, with a glance at the various groups then assembled and the varied interests they represented ; instead of presenting the thrilling scenes which so soon followed the death of Sir William Johnson, who stood in the foreground in the picture of the building's erection ; he chose to go back another hundred years and show the character of the varied population which settled the frontiers of New York, and which, to a great extent, decided the problem of a century, whether the American Continent should be French or English. Said he : "From this great and bewildering mass of facts, I select for my topic, the influence which this region and its people have exerted over the destinies of our country." After alluding to the probable destiny of our land from impending circumstances, he observes : "The enquiry leads us to that chapter in the history of the country, that had much to do in shaping the destiny and coloring the civilization of this continent. The principal scene of its events was that region which fell under the jurisdiction of this ancient court house."

The zealous Jesuit missionaries were one of the principal agencies relied upon by the French to win over the Iroquois to their interest, while they were extending their claims to territory along the Ohio and Mississippi rivers ; the English claiming the same territory through diplomacy with the Six Nations, whose title to the same country was by conquest. Said Mr. Seymour, "That part of our State, watered by the Hudson and the Mohawk, was, in the main, the theatre of the varied and romantic events of the war and diplomacy. \* \* \* The county of Tryon, of which this court house was to be the judicial and political centre, has been the great battle field of French and savage war."

After alluding to the influence that went out for good from

the little hamlet of Johnstown—not only to the homes of the Indians, but to the British crown—and showing the character of pioneer life, the humane doctrine taught by the Low Dutch against religious persecution, he added : “New York became the place of refuge to those from all parts of the world who fled from persecution. The Waldenses from Italy, the Huguenots from France, the Walloons from Flanders, the New Englanders flying from persecution at home, the Germans from the Palatinate, the Swedes and Hollanders, all lived around the harbor of New York under Dutch influence, in peaceful accord and the full enjoyment of their faith and rights. As I have said on another occasion, nine names, prominent in the early history of New York, represent the same number of nationalities. Schuyler was of Holland, Herkimer of German, Jay of French, Livingston of Scotch, Clinton of Irish, Morris of Welsh, and Hoffman of Swedish descent. Hamilton was born in one of the English West India Islands, and Baron Steuben, who became a citizen of New York, and is buried in our State, was a Prussian. When I read the call for this celebration, and the names of those who took part in its ceremonies, I find those of at least *eight nationalities*, although they were selected without regard to that fact, and with sole reference to their personal standing as representative men of this section of the State.” At this point, said Mr. Seymour, in substance, “The position I have assumed with regard to the different nationalities in the original population of Tryon county, has been proven to me to be correct, since I came to Johnstown, by Mr. S.” The writer had exhibited to him on the morning of that day, a record of the first Courts of Sessions held in the edifice ; and the names of grand jurors and others, appearing in the records, showed the names of the different nationalities alluded to. As printed copies of the speech were furnished reporters to prevent misrepresentation in advance of its delivery, this little deviation, with several others, did not appear in the printed reports, the reporters having an easy time during its delivery.

“It was this intercourse among men of different lineages, which gave to your fathers broader and more liberal views than were held elsewhere. Each nationality brought to the common intelligence a wealth of history and traditions that taught toleration, and the best maxims of government. While this coun-

try owes much to all European races, and to all religious creeds, we should never cease to be grateful that the Hudson and Mohawk were first colonized by the Hollanders, and thus these great portals to the interior of our country were thrown open to all lineages and all forms of religious faith and political opinion. It is the glory of our land that almost every European language is spoken at its firesides, and used on each Sabbath in prayer and praise to the God of all languages and climes. Men of the valley of the Mohawk, you have grown rich on the land which your fathers made free at the cost of blood and trials. Your villages and farm-houses show your wealth. Do you bear in mind what you owe to your fathers? Do you show to the world that you honor them? Do you put up monuments to tell the great crowd which passes through your valley that the hills which rise from the banks of your river, and the streams which pour their waters into it, should be looked upon with reverence by every American?"

After a proper allusion to the destruction of the Caughnawaga church, and the course of Albany (with its noble history) in changing the names of its streets, etc., he adds: "No wealth can give the joy that we feel when we fill our minds with a sense of the fact that we live and breathe and act on the spots around the scenes where great men have moved and acted. For this we go to other countries. We visit Europe, Egypt, the Holy Land; and we do well in all this. But why not feel the same kind of joy at home, if it can be gained by a knowledge of what has happened upon our own soil?" He closed with the following noble sentence:

"I trust that this celebration will be followed by others in New York, held with a view to the erection of monuments, or to bringing out the local histories which shall keep fresh in the mind of our people those events in the past which have shaped its destinies. We owe it to ourselves, and to those who come after us, to keep the record clear. We owe it to our country to kindle the patriotism of our people, by giving proof of the reverence in which we hold the memories of all who have made sacrifices for its welfare. The duty of honoring our fathers is not only enjoined as one of a religious character, or as a bond which strengthens family ties, but is also one which upholds and strengthens States."

John Wells, Esq., presided at the stand, gave the programme of exercises, and introduced the speaker ; the exercises, besides the oration, being a prayer by Rev. C. H. Baldwin, the singing of two original odes by the village Glee Club led by James Heagle, Esq., the closing exercises consisting of the singing of "Old Hundred," with a doxology, and a benediction by Rev. Peter Feltes. At the close of the formula mentioned, the Knights Templar, of Gloversville and Utica, under the direction of Rev. James B. Murray, of Rondout, N. Y., Worthy Grand Master of the State, performed the interesting ceremony of laying a *corner-stone* (one of centennial date having been sought for in vain), an iron chest being then deposited. Mr. Murray had been a former Episcopal clergyman at Johnstown, and gave quite an interesting unreported address at the close of the ceremony. In the corner-stone ceremony, Mr. Murray was assisted by Right Worthy Deputy Grand Master J. M. Dudley, Junior Grand Warden George Yost, and the order. A grand display of fire-works took place in the evening. From 6,000 to 8,000 people must have been gathered in Johnstown, on the occasion of these ceremonies.

*A Popular Error.*—In some manner an impression has gone abroad that the brick of which the Johnstown court house was constructed, were imported from Holland. The brick in this building, says the Hon. George Yost—as also his brother Daniel—were made on the farm of the late Jacob Yost, less than half a mile from the building. This tradition is a familiar one in all the Yost family, and is, no doubt, a truthful one. In fact, a little pond on which the boys used to skate, was said to be in a cavity which was made by removing material for the brick. When the Dutch settled New York and Albany early in the 17th century, the first brick they used came from Holland ; but this was at a period 150 years earlier than the one under consideration, and while it was a Dutch province. There could have been no necessity for going to Holland for the article, after we came under English rule in 1664, if brick were not made in this country ; and if brick were sent over for ship ballast at a later day, they were probably used in sea-port towns. The manufacture of brick is one of the oldest recorded trades. The Tower of Babel was constructed of brick. Indeed, the Children of Israel were some

400 years in that business in Egypt, and it would be strange if, at the end of 150 years, some Israelites had not strayed to America and started a brick-kiln. Some encyclopedia should tell us when brick making began in this colony, or even in this country, but they all fail to do so.

*The Gen. Herkimer House.*—A tradition has, in some manner, also gone abroad, that the brick used in the construction of this mansion below the Little Falls—erected about the time the Johnstown court house was—also came from Holland ; but, in the absence of proof of that fact, I believe they were made in the State of New York.

Since the above was written the following order, found among the Maj. Fonda papers, has turned up. It is an order from Nicholas Herkimer, afterwards General ; and although it shows him to have been a very poor English scholar, the orthography especially being indifferent, it happens to be upon the subject under consideration. Why it was written at Schoharie, is not defined ; possibly he was looking for the article there :

“CANED, SCHOHARE, 6, 1764.

“Bles do led de berer half as menne bri[c]s for a schimle as hie wants an so duing yu wil obleygs yur humble s<sup>t</sup>”

“NICOLAS HERCHMER.

“Capt. JOLLES FONDA.”

The order has the name Conrad Fulmer, on one corner of its back, supposed to be the name of its bearer ; and was indorsed, “Nicholas Herchman, order for Bricks.” At a very early period nearly all country dwellings had stone chimneys. Now, if Maj. Fonda had brick for sale in 1764, did they come from Holland, or were they made in the colony of New York ? Is it not reasonable to conclude that, if good brick were made in Johnstown in 1772, that the brick kept by Maj. Fonda, eight years earlier, were also made in his neighborhood, or, if not, certainly in the county of Albany ?

*Queen Anne's Chapel.*—In the early administration of the affairs of the colony by Gov. Robert Hunter, as I have elsewhere shown, a military post was established at the Lower Mohawk castle, situated at the junction of the Schoharie with the



Mohawk, then known by the natives as Tienonderoga.\* It was constructed in 1711, a part of the contract with the builders being for the erection of a *chapel* in the centre of the inclosure 24 feet square. It had a garret with windows. The contract specified that the defensive works should be constructed of hewn timber, but it did not name any material for the chapel.† I have taken some pains to learn that only one church edifice was ever erected at Fort Hunter, which was the one in question, that it was a small square building constructed of limestone, that it had a small belfry made of four upright posts—such as are often seen upon school-houses and work-shops—and which contained a small bell. Except on a few occasions, by Rev. W. Dempster, the edifice had not been used for religious services for many years, when it was demolished about the year 1820 to give place to the Erie canal. Said the late Peter I. Newkirk, of Fultonville, who witnessed the scene, "The roof of the old edifice was burned off to get its stone walls." The stone in it were used in constructing guard-locks near its site.‡ Such locks were in use on both sides of all the larger creeks, at first, when the canal was carried through them, and they were used as feeders. Colden, who wrote prior to 1724, spoke of this chapel as having been built by Queen Anne [she died in 1714], whose munificence, said he, endowed it "with furniture and a valuable set of plate for the communion table."

As the written contract did not call for the erection of the chapel of stone, it is presumed that a verbal contract determined its building material. From the time of its erection down to the Revolution, over 60 years, it was under the direction of an Episcopal society in England, "for propagating the gospel in foreign parts;" which society supported a minister here as a missionary among the Mohawks, the most of that time. The

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\* This is an Indian word, and signified—as I was assured by the historian, James McAuley—a *cleared field*, the lands being there adapted to the growth of Indian corn.

† Brod. Papers, vol. 5, p. 279.

‡ In a correspondence in July, 1879, with Mr. Cornelius Van Buren, of Otsego county, aged nearly 87 years, who, in early life, resided near Fort Hunter, I was enabled to learn correctly some facts about the old chapel not attainable elsewhere. "When I was a young man," said Van Buren, "horse-racing took place almost every Saturday—at some seasons of the year—on the flats just across the creek at Fort Hunter, where the people were gathered in great numbers." Horse-racing was a pleasing pastime among the early settlers of Central New York.

chapel in form resembled the old Dutch church in Albany, which was taken down in 1806. This old edifice had a four square roof rising to an apex in the centre, with a small belfrey surmounted by a vane on which perched a chanceler. At a front corner of this church, said the late *Gen. Jacob Gebhard*, of Schoharie, was to have been seen almost year in and year out, an old woman seated and patiently awaiting customers for her fruit, nuts and candy. The entrance to the Fort Hunter chapel, was on the north side near the centre of the building, The pulpit which had a sounding-board, stood on the west side. and directly opposite were two pews finished in Sir William Johnson's day for his own and the minister's families, the floor of which was slightly elevated. Johnson's pew was also furnished with a wooden canopy. Moveable benches served the rest of the congregation with seats. The little bell that called its worshippers to this place, I took pains to follow (about 1844) to the Johnstown Academy, upon the roof of which I climbed with its then principal, Mr. St. John, hoping to find some inscription upon it ; there was none. The bell was of a very dark green color. The silver communion service of the chapel I was assured in 1867, by *Rev. Robert James Roberts*, was then in use in a church in Newport, Brant county, Canada, in which he, as an Episcopal minister, was then officiating. Who effected the removal of this service to Canada during the war is not known, but it was effectually done : and as it was designed for the Indians, I am glad they have it. Perhaps if justice was done, they would also possess the old bell.

I learned in 1851, from *John S. Quackenboss, Esq.*, who always resided within a few miles of Fort Hunter, that, at the beginning of the war, the silver service, curtains, fringe, gold lace and other fixtures of the chapel, were put in a hogshead and buried on the side of the hill south of Boyd Hudson's place. At the close of the war, when found with iron rods, it was discovered that the service had been removed and the cask reburied, but by whom, or when done, it was never known. Most of the articles remaining were so damaged by moisture as to be unfit for use.

At my interview with Mr. Roberts, he assured me that the suit of service given the Onondaga church by Queen Anne on its completion, was then in use in a church at New York,

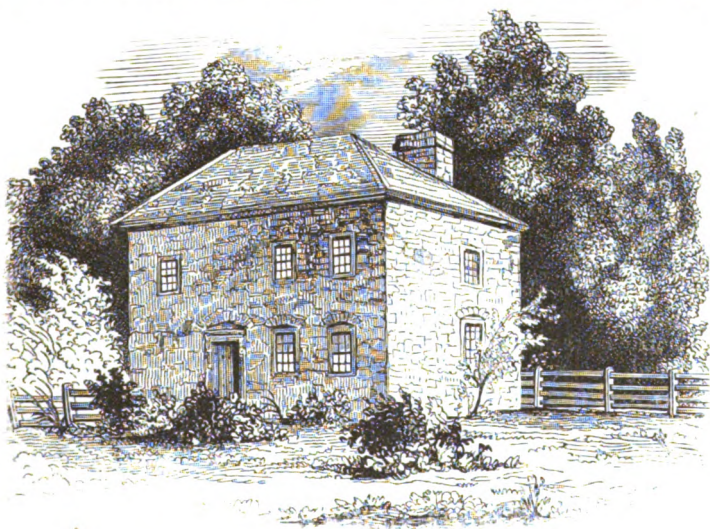
whither he had been to try to procure it for a church in Canada.

*Fort Hunter.*—Captain John Scott was given the first command of an English garrison at Fort Hunter, which was a place of no little importance in the early history of the Mohawk valley, where were doubtless planned not a few important Indian enterprises. The ruins of old Fort Hunter were torn down at the beginning of the Revolution, having stood for over 60 years, when the chapel was inclosed in heavy palisades, with block houses in the corners of the inclosure mounting cannon. The Oneidas, in numbers, often slept in the old chapel, which served them as a barrack during the war. The garrison here was called Fort Hunter during the war, a part of which time Capt. Tremper, from below Albany, was its commandant. It seems a pity that State economy necessitated the destruction of the chapel; but to obviate the expense of a costly bridge for towing over Schoharie creek, the canal was located near enough to the road toll-bridge to cross on that, by an attachment of a towing-path upon the side of it. This then needed convenience brought the chapel within the canal limits, and impelled its destruction. On its subsequent enlargement, the canal was laid much nearer the Mohawk at this point.

A Court of General Sessions convened at the Johnstown court house, February 2, 1781, after its organization adjourned for some cause—probably an anticipated invasion of the enemy—to Fort Hunter, holding the remainder of its session in Queen Anne's chapel. This seems to have been an important session for discriminating between the whigs and tories of the county, as 104 persons were indicted "*for adhering to the enemies of New York.*" At a similar court at Johnstown in October following, 16 men were indicted for the same crime; while in February, 1782, 41 more, for their tory proclivities, were remembered in the same manner, "Mary Brant alias Johnson" being of the number. At the June term for 1782, an old gentleman and his wife were indicted, "for aiding, abetting, feeding and comforting a party of the enemy." This indictment seems to have been for a single offense, and the particulars and consequence attending it will be narrated elsewhere. The 163 names thus designated, show those of a great number not only of the strongest and best families of the Mohawk valley at that period, but at the present time. The first name on

the list was that of George Herkimer, Jr., while those of Frey, Petrie, Young, Empie, Loucks, Helmer, Shoemaker, Frederick, Mabey, Countryman, Bell, House, Shaver, Service, Klyne, Miller, Casselman, Klock, Nellis, Walrath, Rosencrantz, Smith, House, Banker, Lotridge and scores of others—the greater part of whom went to Canada—were in the service of the enemy ; not a few of them remaining there and becoming permanent citizens. Indeed, we may say that thus very many of the German families of New York became represented in Canada, and are so to this day.

*Queen Anne's Chapel*, had a glebe or farm of 300 acres of good land attached to it, which was conveyed at some period by the natives to Dr. Barclay, and by him to the society alluded to, *on their reimbursing him moneys expended upon it*. This farm was disposed of some years ago, and part of the proceeds, nearly \$1,500, were laid out in erecting the Episcopal



Queen Anne's Chapel Parsonage at Fort Hunter, erected about 1712.

church at Port Jackson, in the same town ; and the residue, an equal sum, invested in the Episcopal church of Johnstown.—*Spafford's Gazetteer*, *Peter Putman*, *J. L. Groat*, *A. J. Comrie* and others.

The parsonage house, said to have been built about the time the chapel was, is still standing in Florida, half a mile below the Schoharie, and a few rods south of the canal, from which it is visible. It is a stone building, some 25 by 35 feet on the ground, two stories high, with a quadrangular roof, presents a very ancient appearance, and is the oldest house as far west in the Mohawk valley. It is now [1882] owned by Henry A. Diefendorf. The last occupant under the patronage of the Missionary Society, was the Rev. John Stuart, who was officiating there at the beginning of the Revolution. He removed early in the war to Canada. I have in my possession a bill of sale from Mr. Stuart to John Conyn, who returned to the Mohawk after the Revolution, of a male slave called Tom Doe, who went from Fort Hunter with his master to Canada. The sale was for \$275 in specie, and was dated at Montreal, November 19, 1783. At the close of the war, Mr. Stuart settled on Grand river, and resumed his ministerial labors. During the war, and for some time after, this house was occupied by William Harper, who was a member of the Provincial Congress of New York for Tryon county, and afterwards a judge of the county, when its name was changed to Montgomery. He was a very prominent and useful man in his day. It has ever been a matter of surprise that this parsonage should have been erected so far from the chapel.

*An Irish Colony.*—About the year 1740 a small colony, consisting of 16 families of Irish immigrants, was planted, under the patronage of William Johnson, afterwards Baronet, on lands formerly owned by Henry Shelp, a few miles southwest of Fort Hunter, in the town of Glen. Several years after they had built themselves rude dwellings, cleared lands, planted orchards and commenced their agricultural labors, a disturbance arose between the Indian Confederacy of New York and the Canadian Indians, which the colonists conceived endangered their domestic tranquility; in consequence of which the settlement was broken up, and the chicken-hearted pioneers, then numbering 18 or 20 families, returned to the Emerald Isle.

Traces of their residence are visible at the present day.—*Henry Shelp, John Hughes and Peter Putman.*

Among the early merchants in the Mohawk valley so far west, was Major Jelles-Giles-Fonda, a son of Douw Fonda, a

pioneer settler at Caughnawaga. For many years he did an extensive business, for the times, at the latter place, trading with the white citizens of the valley, and the natives of Western New York; the latter trade being carried on at old Fort Schuyler, now Utica; Fort Stanwix, now Rome, and Forts Oswego, Niagara and Schlosser. An abstract from his ledger shows an indebtedness of his customers at one time just before the Revolution of over \$10,000. Many of his goods he imported directly from London. To his Indian customers he sold blankets, trinkets, ammunition and rum; and received, in return, peltries and ginseng root. The latter was, at that time, an important item among the exports of what was *then* Western New York; and the two named, added to the article of pot-ash, almost the only commodities purchased in a foreign market.

*Castles of the Mohawks*—I have elsewhere said, that during the time of Sir William Johnson, only two Mohawk castles were ever spoken of by him; but here is an instance in which three (not castles) villages are mentioned: At a Congress held by Sir William Johnson, at the German Flats, July 18, 1770, when 2,320 Indians were present, and for whom he had to provide food, it is stated in the proceedings, that the Mohawks of the three villages, numbering 209, were present.\* Again, under date of October 1, 1771, Rev. Charles Inglis, assistant minister of Trinity church New York, having visited Sir William Johnson the year before, sent to Lord Hillsborough, then Secretary of State for the British government, a "Memorial concerning the Iroquois," in which he says: "The Mohawks have three villages—Schoare, Fort Hunter and Canajoharie. These are all within the English settlements, and contain 420 souls. Fort Hunter, the central village, where a missionary from the society [for propagating the gospel among the heathen], now resides, is distant from Albany 40 miles."† This is the only place in which I remember to have seen the Schoharie, or Wilder Hook castle (and here it is called a village), named as one of its three important towns; and possibly this was meant for one of the three represented the year before at German Flats.

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\* Brod. Papers, vol 8, p. 229.

† Doc. His., vol. 4, p. 652.

*The Seeber Family.*—One of the earliest tradesmen successfully established in the Mohawk valley as far west, was a German named William Seeber, who had a store about half a mile to the westward of Fort Plain, where the farm dwelling now stands—recently occupied by Adam Lipe. Just when Mr. Seeber came to this country is unknown, but he was trading here before the French war in the palmy days of Sir William Johnson; and almost within a stone's throw of him then resided the former Indian trader, John Abeel, father of the renowned Cornplanter. William Seeber was evidently the progenitor of many of the name in this part of the State. He came hither with a wife taken in the father-land, by whom he had four sons, Audolph, Jacob, William and Conrad, and two daughters, Magdalene and Caty, who married respectively, Frederick Bell and Adam Klock. By his second marriage—this wife was a Miss Walrath—he had three sons, Henry, John (known as Esquire John) and Adam, and two daughters, Marilles, who married Peter Young, Esq., and a daughter named Mary Elizabeth, who never married. These seven sons were all grown up and married before the war, if we except possibly one or two of the youngest. Audolph, the oldest son, was then a widower. These Seebers, father and sons, all warmly espoused their country's cause, while the sons-in-law of the former, Bell and Klock, leaving their families behind, both went to Canada with their tory associates and came back on several occasions, to imbrue their hands in the blood of their former neighbors. I have stated in some other connection, that William Seeber, Sen., and his sons Audolph and Jacob, were in the Oriskany battle, in which Audolph was slain and his father and brother were mortally wounded. The widow of this William Seeber, afterward married John Rolfe, who lived at the Boght, then a small Dutch settlement near the present city of Cohoes.

*Fate of a Tory.*—Bell and Klock were both engaged in the Johnstown battle in the fall of 1781, in which the former was mortally wounded with a bullet through his lungs. The second William Seeber herein mentioned, was also in this engagement under Col. Willet, and after the enemy had been defeated and had retreated, he was told by a neighbor named Duncel, where he could see his kinsman Bell; and accompanied by friends he

went thither and saw him lying upon the hearth of a small house near Johnson hall, where kind hands had laid him, as the weather was cold, it being the last week in October. He seemed speechless, and at every breath the air charged with blood, came from the wound in his breast. Seeber, on leaving his presence was heard to say he wished Klock, his brother-in-law was lying beside Bell—or as another heard him say: “He had settled with one brother-in-law and hoped before the war was over, to square accounts with the other one.” Thus did the war fill the hearts of former friends with great bitterness.

Word reached Mrs. Bell, a woman of remarkable energy, on the evening of the battle, informing her of the condition of her husband and where he could be found. She procured a team, put some bedding in a two-horse wagon, and cumbered with an infant child, but otherwise alone, she set out to seek her husband in a pelting rain storm; and traveling all night probably by the old Indian road, via Stone Arabia to Johnstown, she arrived there in the morning and found her husband still alive. With him carefully cared for in the wagon, she started for home, and passing through Johnstown village, the patriot troops still there, were not a little exasperated to learn that a tory was thus being cared for; but as he was mortally wounded and protected by an affectionate woman, they desisted from any violent demonstration. In due time she reached her home among her patriotic relatives near Fort Plain, none of whom manifested any interest or sympathy in her great trial. At the end of a day or two he expired and was buried with little solemnity by patriotic neighbors, whom he came from Canada to injure; and who, as tradition has it, from a bottle of rum drank to the health of Gen Washington over his grave, giving three rousing cheers for the Continental Congress.

Mrs. Bell was left with two small children, Betsey who afterward married George Fox, and Christina, who became the wife of George Diefendorf. Some years after the war, when the Kanes were in trade below Canajoharie village, Mrs. Bell became their house-keeper. One Pierson, an Albany tailor was induced by the Messrs. Kane to come to Canajoharie, and when they quit trading there Pierson returned to Albany, where Mrs. Bell kept house for him.

Adam Klock returned to his family at the close of the war,



but was never again a welcome guest among his patriotic relations. On some occasion he met his kinsman, William Seeber, and told him that he saw him in the Johnstown battle. "Why did you not speak to me?" inquired Seeber. "Because," said Klock, just then it was not a time for much talking." The voice of gun-powder monopolized the conversation. Frederick Bell had a brother Thomas, who also became one of the tory scourge from Canada in the war, rendering himself very obnoxious to his patriotic neighbors: and was also with the enemy at Johnstown. He, too, ventured back after the war to the place of his childhood, when Capt. Lawrence Gros, to whom he was especially obnoxious, hearing of his arrival, armed himself for the occasion and threatened to kill him at sight. He was kept secreted for several weeks and then smuggled away by a friend, never again to return.

About the time Bell came back to the valley, a man named Foster, also a former resident, returned. He, too, had won the lasting displeasure of Capt. Gros. He met with so cold a reception, and such marked abuse from certain men he had faced in battle, that he sought to compel the respect of his persecutors through a court of justice. He therefore lodged a complaint with Esq. Wynkoop, a justice of the peace below Canajoharie, who cited some of the offenders before him. When the matter was to be tried, Capt. Gros, apprized of the condition of things, proceeded with a posse of his patriotic friends to the convened court, which, with little ceremony, was put *hors de combat*, seeing which, Foster fled. He was stoned, pursued, captured and brought back; and, in the midst of buffeting, which was not unlike running the gantlet, which he had once gloried in seeing his neighbors do, while in the guise of an Indian, he was compelled to thank his tormentors for their kind treatment; and promising at once to leave the valley, and never return to it—with an assurance that his life would be in jeopardy if he did—he took French leave of this goodly heritage, his feet never again polluting its soil.

Many tories came back after the war, but their former neighbors, who had met them in hostile array as Indians, usually made the atmosphere so close for them that not a few fled precipitately back to Canada, some with and some without scourging; while here and there one was suffered to remain, though

unhonored, and hardly noticed in society, by those who had been their warmest friends before the war. Such evils ever attend a civil strife. This narrative was obtained from *William H. Seeber*, a grandson of the second *William Seeber* named in the context, and *Maj. Frederick Hawn*, the grandson of a sister of the Bell brothers here mentioned. W. H. Seeber died in his 90th year, in the spring of 1881.

*Early Tradesmen.*—I have previously named another early tradesman of the valley—who was cotemporary with Robert Adams, of Fort Hunter and Johnstown, and William Seeber, of the present town of Minden—which was Maj. Jelles Fonda, a son of Douw Fonda, a pioneer settler of Caughnawaga, who was there murdered by the Indians in 1780, at which place the son traded for many years, doing a far more extensive business than did Seeber, 15 miles above him; but Fonda's greatest trade was just prior to the Revolution. The Fonda family were of Low Dutch origin, and, like that of the Seebers developed into a strong and influential one, in the times which tried both soul and pluck. Maj. Fonda was not only an intimate friend of Sir William Johnson, and an officer under him, but an officer of the American army and Commissary of Subsistence. As his papers show, he had much to do with the navigation of the Mohawk, prior to, during, and subsequent to the Revolution. He was an active justice of the peace before and after that period, and was ever a prominent and influential citizen, and might well be characterized as one of the solid men, in his day, of Central New York; nor has the name, which has mingled with many others of good repute, yet died out. The village of Fonda was named for this family.

There must have been some small traders in the Herkimer county settlements before the Revolution, but, if so, their names and location have not been traced. Mr. Benton said there was a store on Cosby's Manor—present town of Schuyler—in 1766, but did not give the tradesman's name. As that was only nine years after the destruction of that small settlement, his business must have been limited. It is not improbable that a small dealer may have been on the German Flats, but it is believed that not a few of Maj. Fonda's customers dwelt thereabouts, and Gen. Herkimer was among them.

*Another pioneer Merchant*, was Isaac Paris, who, tradition says,

came from Strasburgh and settled at Stone Aarabia, some four or five miles from Seeber, at a little later period, and about the time the latter went out of business. He was a man of intelligence and enterprise, and a few years before the Revolution, we find him engaged somewhat extensively in trade. He was a member of the Tryon County Committee of Safety, was a delegate to the State Provincial Congress, and was a member of the first State Senate of New York ; which latter position he held at his death. He has been called a Colonel of militia, but this is an error : he was not a military man. He was an influential member of the Reformed Dutch church of Stone Arabia. He, with his oldest son Peter, then aged 18, was in the Oriskany battle, where the latter was killed and the former made a prisoner, to be murdered after he left the battle field. The second son, and name-sake of Isaac Paris, at the death of his father, was not yet quite 16 ; but a few years later, he erected a dwelling and store in the present village of Fort Plain, where he established himself in the mercantile trade, about the year 1787, in which he continued for several years, and long enough to win a reputation for integrity and humanity. The latter was so manifested in his treatment of the pioneer settlers of the town of Paris, Oneida county ; that in gratitude to his memory when the town was organized, they gave it his name. He was for several years a member of Assembly for Montgomery county. He died in 1790, at the age of 29. On the first day of October, 1880—at the end of 90 years, his remains were removed from Fort Plain to the town of Paris, and re-interred with becoming ceremony by the present inhabitants of that town, under the auspices of the Oneida Historical Society ; thus showing to the world their just estimation of his benevolence. On this occasion memorable addresses were delivered by C. W. Hutchinson, Lorenzo Rouse, Professor North and others. Some interesting letters from invited guests were also collected on the occasion, a part of which were published with the proceedings.

*A Fist Fight ; or, trial of Muscular Strength.*—The following traditional anecdote is believed to be true. In the employ of Sir William Johnson a few years before his death, was an Irishman named McCarthy, by reputation the most noted pugilist in Western New York. The Baronet offered to pit his

fellow countryman against any man who could be produced for a fist fight. Major Fonda, tired of hearing the challenge, and learning that a very muscular Dutchman named John Van Loan, was living near Brakabeen, in Schoharie valley, made a journey of some forty or fifty miles, to secure his *professional services*, for he too was reputed a bully. Van Loan readily agreed to flog the son of Erin, for a ten pound note. At a time appointed, numbers were assembled at Caughnawaga to witness the contest between the pugilists. After McCarthy had been swaggering about in the crowd for a while, and greatly excited public expectation, inducing numbers to bet on his head, his competitor appeared ready for the contest—clad in a shirt and breeches of dressed deer-skin fitted tight to his person. A ring was formed and the battle commenced. The bully did his best, but it was soon evident that he was not a match for his Dutch adversary, who slipped through his fingers like an eel, and parried his blows with ease. Completely exhausted and almost bruised to a jelly, Sir William's gamester was removed, looking if not expressing—*peccavi*.—*Abram A. Van Horne*.

*Funerals*.—I have spoken elsewhere of the custom of providing refreshments at funerals; a practice which continued in vogue in some degree for at least 100 years, and until about the year 1825. Here is evidence of the custom at the period indicated by the date of an old manuscript before me :

“PALATINE, 29th May, 1813.

“Received of Col. Peter Waggoner, nine dollars in full for six gallons rum for the Burying of old Col. Peter Waggoner, [his father.] £3 12 0.

“J. WHEELER.”

Smoking was an attendant on the prevailing habit, as the following order from Col. DI. CLAUS, will show :

“SIR—I have sent the bearer for four dozen of Pipes and a few pounds of Tobacco, for the burial of Mr. Raworth's child wh please to charge to me.

“D. CLAUS.

“Monday, 27th August, 1770.

“To Maj'r JELLES FONDA.”

*Early Transportation in Central New York*—I have already mentioned the navigation of the Mohawk, and the construction of locks at three places to facilitate the use of a larger class of water-craft ; and resume the subject to speak of some matters then omitted. The trade with the Indians along the great lakes and the St. Lawrence, was carried on by the aid of boats propelled from Schenectada up the Mohawk at great personal labor, in consequence of the rifts or rapids in the stream. The first obstruction of the kind was met with six miles above Schenectada, and was called *Six Flats' rift*; proceeding west came in course similar obstructions known as *Fort Hunter rift*, *Caughnawaga rift*, at Fultonville ; *Keator's rift*, at Spraker's, the greatest on the river, having a fall of 10 feet in a few rods ; *Brandywine rift*, at Canajoharie, short but rapid ; *Ehle's rift*,\* near Fort Plain ; *Kneiskern's rift*, a small rapid near the Upper Indian castle, a little above the river dam ; the *Little falls*, so called as compared with the Cohoes, and *Wolf's rift* five miles above the falls. At the Little Falls, a descent in the river of 40 feet in half a mile, boats could not be forced up the current, and it became a carrying place for them and merchandise, which were transported around the rapids usually on the north shore, on wagons with small wide rimmed wheels, the water craft relaunched and reloaded to proceed onward. On such occasions one of the party usually staid with the goods deposited above, while the team returned for the boat. Small bateaux, known in early times as three-handed and four-handed boats, were in use on the Mohawk, which carried a few tons each ; and so called because three or four men were required to propel and care for them. These boats were forced over the rapids in the river with poles and ropes, the latter drawn by men on the shore. Such was the mode of transporting merchandize, military stores and Indian commodities to and from the west, for a period of about 50 years, and until after the Revolution. A second carrying place in use at an early day was near Fort Stanwix, from the boatable waters of

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\* A bend in the river opposite the residence of Peter Ehle, from whom the rapid took its name, was known at one period as *Ehle's crank*; and opposite the residence of Nicholas Gros, a little below, another turn in the river was called *Gros' crank*. Here many boats tied up. The last year of river navigation, the boatmen stole almost every thing they could lay their hands on. So did the children of Israel on leaving Egypt, they borrowed never intending to return what they had taken.—*Nicholas Gros*.

the Mohawk to Wood creek. Passing through Oneida lake, the bateaux proceeded into Oswego river, and from thence to Oswego on lake Ontario. From Oswego to Niagara, a place of much importance, merchandize was transported in the same boats or on sloops.

A facsimile of the autograph of Gen. Philip Schuyler. The signature is written in a cursive script, starting with a large 'Ph.' and ending with a long, sweeping underline.

Fac simile of autograph of Gen. Schuyler.

The locks at the carrying places, as before stated, were constructed under the direction of Gen. Philip Schuyler, whose memory for services rendered his country in her most trying period, will ever be held in grateful remembrance by the citizens of New York. The locks at Little Falls were completed in 1795. The following original paper, given by Gen. Schuyler to a name-sake—a son of the Rev. Mr. Schuyler, of Schoharie—will show at what time the business was the most actively prosecuted :

To Mr. PHILIP SCHUYLER :

“By virtue of the powers vested in me by the directors of the Inland Lock Navigation Companies in this State, I do hereby appoint you an Assistant Superintendent, to superintend, direct and command the mechanics and labourers, and their respective overseers, already employed in the service of the said companies, hereby requiring the said overseers, and others so employed, in all things to pay due obedience to all your lawful requisitions and directions.

“Given under my hand, in the county of Herkimer, this eighth day of May, 1793.

“PH: SCHUYLER,

“*President and Superintendent.*”

In June following, Gen. S. gave his name-sake the annexed very flattering testimonial, which shows the usual caution of that great man in guarding against accidents :

“FALLS, June 22, 1793.

“DEAR SIR—I experience so much satisfaction from your attention, and the readiness with which you comprehend the hints

given by me for the construction of the works, that I consider it as a duty to give you this written testimony of my perfect satisfaction of your conduct, and to evince my sense of it by a pecuniary reward. Your compensation, from the original time of agreement, will be two dollars per day ; this, however, I do not wish you to mention, least others should conceive that I made a discrimination unfavorable to them, although in reality I do not, for their services are by no means as important to the Lock Navigation Company as yours.

"Least an accident should happen to me, which might deprive you of the benefit of the above-mentioned allowance, you will keep this letter as a testimony thereof.

"I am, dear sir,

"Your friend and humble servant,

"PH: SCHUYLER,

"*President of the Board of Directors.*

"To Mr. PHILIP SCHUYLER."\*

After the locks were built at Little Falls, business on the

\* *A Bloodless Duel.*—The only known duel ever fought in Schoharie county, took place about the year 1820. One of the belligerents was this Schuyler, a man of no little pride of character when free from the influence of alcohol, and a man of scientific attainments. On some occasion a difficulty arose between Boss Schuyler, so called, and Josiah Clark—a man in his younger days of pugilistic repute, and the code *honorable* was appealed to. Clark, at the instigation of a wag, challenged Schuyler to combat, who took the matter up seriously, accepted it, and named the rifle as his weapon.

Seconds were chosen, and, at an appointed hour on a lovely summer's day, the parties met on the flats west of Swart's tavern—the stone house still standing a few rods south of the old stone church, now called the *fort*. By the direction of their seconds, at ten paces distant the parties met rifle in hand, and scores of spectators in the secret were also there. Schuyler was somewhat bent by the infirmities of age and the bottle; but at a given signal, he straightened up, the rifles were poised, and simultaneously they sent forth their startling peal.

The smoke cleared away, and revealed the fact that poor Clark was down; and as his friends gathered around his remains, Schuyler, seeing his victim, as he supposed, weltering in his gore, clenched his rifle firmly in his grasp, shook it defiantly toward him, exclaiming, as he turned on his heel to retrace his steps to the village: "*He would have it so!*" On looking back at the distance of a few rods, to mark the effect of his prowess, he saw the body of his victim borne toward him by his friends toward the inn; still muttering, as he moved on, "*He would have it so!*"

He hastened to the village to strengthen his spirits with spirits, and after an hour or two, in which time his conscience had hardly twinged for taking the life of an old neighbor and steadiest friend, he was startled at beholding his supposed spectre in the street—for dead he was sure he had left him. It soon leaked out that the seconds had forgotten to put bullets in the guns, notwithstanding Clark had given such indubitable evidence of having felt one; and, when the fact came to the knowledge of Schuyler, he was ready to fight "all the world and the rest of mankind." Thus terminated, said *Frederick Vogel*, the first duel in the Schoharie valley.

river greatly increased, and apples and cider were then among the commodities sent west. The clumsy bateau, which had for half a century usurped the place of the Indian's bark canoe, soon gave place to the *Durham boat* described elsewhere. Boating, at this period, was attended with great personal labor: the delay of unloading at Little Falls had been obviated, but it was found more difficult to force large than small craft over the rapids. Several boats usually went in company, that the united strength of many men might aid in the labor before them. Those boats were often half a day in proceeding only a few rods, and not unfrequently were they, after remaining nearly stationary on a rapid for an hour, compelled to drop below the rift and get a new start. Twenty hands, at times, were insufficient to propel a single boat over Keator's rift. Boat's crews usually did their cooking on shore. Black slaves, owned by settlers in the neighborhood of rapids, both male and female, were often seen assisting at the ropes on shore, when loaded boats were ascending the river.

Along the river road near some of the rapids there were public houses, a share of whose custom came from boatmen. Near those inns, as possible, boats often tied up for the night, a lot of Mohawk sailors having their own jolly times. The late Jost Spraker's tavern, near Keator's rift, was one of this class, having, among its many patrons, not a few who came by water. The old Isaac Weatherby house at Brandywine rift, situated, perhaps, a mile below Palatine Bridge—and below the junction of the Oswegatchie and river roads—was a house favorably known to river craftsmen, when large wagons were their competitors, and canals and railroads were unthought of. After the Erie canal was completed, this house like many other public houses—as the travel left the road—became a tenant house, and went rapidly to decay, no trace of its location remaining; but in its palmy days it was a favorite place for the tying-up of great numbers of water-craft.

*River accidents* sometimes occurred to boatmen, though seldom attended with loss of life. A three-handed boat once struck a rock in Keator's rift, upset, and a negro was drowned. At Fort Hunter rift a three-handed boat upset, when William Hull and Kennedy Failing were drowned—the third person in the boat, a son of Abraham Oothout, of Schenectada, swam



ashore. At the upper end of the island, some two miles west of Fort Plain, near the Palatine shore, a man at a setting-pole, on a Durham boat, lost his footing and fell into the river. The current there was quite strong, the man could not swim, the boat fell below him and he was drowned. This was while the canal was building, and was witnessed by *Abram R. Fox*, who was at work on the flats.

In 1823, says *Simeon Failing*, Ezra Copeley ran a Durham boat on a rock in Ehle's rift, below the Fort Plain bridge. It was loaded with wheat in bulk, was stove and filled with water. The wheat was taken to Ehle's barn and dried, the boat was repaired, reloaded and went on to its destination. One of the last accidents of the kind, occurred while the canal was nearing completion, to a Durham boat, one of the best of that class of river craft, called the *Butterfly*. It was descending the river, then swollen, laden with flour, potash and wheat in bulk, when it became unmanagable, swung round, and struck its broadside against a pier of the Canajoharie bridge, and broke near the centre. The contents of the boat literally filled the river for some distance, and three hands on the boat were drowned. The name of one was afterward ascertained to be John Clark. His body was recovered twelve miles below, and was buried on the river bank, in the present village of Fultonville. His bones having been disclosed by the spring freshet of 1845, they were taken up and buried in the village burying-ground. *Nicholas Steller*, who witnessed the disaster, says that the man steering the boat retained the long tiller (15 or 20 feet long), which was broken loose from the boat; and by its assistance he gained the north shore 80 rods below the bridge. Most of the flour on the boat was saved along the river. The owner of the craft, a Mr. Myers, had its fragments taken to Schenectada and rebuilt, after which it entered the canal, and went into Cayuga lake. While there engaged, his boat sunk laden with gypsum, and he was drowned. Thus ended the *Butterfly* and its owner. Boats managed by skillful hands sometimes sailed down the rapids at Little Falls when the river was high, but it was always attended with danger. Several rowboats, constructed expressly to carry some 20 passengers each, from Utica to Schenectada, and tastefully curtained, were in use on the Mohawk, about the beginning of this cen-

tury. They were called river packets.—*Myndert Starin, and Jacob Lasher.*

*An Old River Craftsman.*—The last surviving boatman who navigated the Mohawk in a Durham boat, that I remember, was Benjamin Nihoof, a native of Palatine, whose German ancestry settled there a generation or two back of him. He was not only very successful as a boatman, but also as a raftsman of lumber from different points on the river, one of which was the well-known landing of the late Jacob Hees, on the north bank of the river just above Palatine Bridge. The boating, on account of the Cohoes falls, terminated at Schenectada. Probably no Mohawk river boatman ever escaped more perils, and successfully surmounted more obstinate difficulties on the river, than did Benjamin Nihoof.

"Uncle Ben" loved his pipe and his bitters from childhood, it is believed, though we never saw him drunk; and, under the influence of those stimulants, he did not hesitate to take the helm of a boat in its downward course, and, no matter what obstacles were in the rifts, his craft glided safely on to its destination. He lived to be past 70 years old, and when he became enfeebled, he and his good old wife—who was a Miss Spencer before marriage—became inmates of the county alms-house, where, at the end of several years, they both died about the year 1870. For some ten years before he went to the county-house, we saw Uncle Ben as often as once or twice a week, and, in fancy, had many a boat ride with him up and down the Mohawk in all kinds of weather, and in freshets over Little Falls.

*In Boating on the Mohawk,* sails were used when practicable. Christian Schultz, who journeyed on the river in 1807, spoke of there being three kinds of boats on the Mohawk—the Schenectada boats being preferred, which carried about ten tons when the river would permit. He said they usually progressed from 18 to 25 miles a day, up the stream, by sails and poles. Those boats, modeled much like Long Island round-bottom skiffs, were 40 or 50 feet in length, and were steered by a large swing oar of the same length. When the wind favored they set a square-sail and a top-sail. He was informed that one *galley*, called the *Mohawk Register*, had gone at the rate of six miles an hour against the stream, and he adds: "During this time, believe me, nothing can be more charming than sailing

on the Mohawk." They did not often have a favorable wind, and the curves in the river rendered the course of a boat irregular, and the aid of sails precarious, on which account their chief dependence was upon their pike poles, which it required much experience to use to advantage.

The poles and manner of using them on the river boats, I will quote Mr. Schultz's account of, as his description followed his observation: "These poles are generally from 18 to 22 feet in length, having a sharp pointed iron, with a socket weighing 10 or 12 pounds affixed to the lower end: the upper has a large knob, called a button, mounted upon it, so that the poleman may press upon it with his whole weight without endangering his person. This manner of impelling the boat forward is extremely laborious, and none but those who have been for some time accustomed to it, can manage these poles with any kind of advantage. Within the boat on each side is fixed a plank running fore and aft with a number of cleets nailed upon it, for the purpose of giving the poleman a sure footing and hard polling. The men, after setting the poles against the rock, bank or bottom of the river, declining their heads very low, place the upper end or button against the back part of their shoulder, then falling down on their hands and toes, creep the whole length of the gang boards, and send the boat forward with considerable speed. The first sight of four men on each side of the boat, creeping along on their hands and toes, apparently transfixed by a huge pole, is no small curiosity; nor was it until I had perceived their perseverance for 200 or 300 yards, that I became satisfied they were not playing some pranks.

"From the general practice of this method, as likewise from my own trials and observation, I am convinced that they have fallen upon the most powerful way possible to exert their bodily strength for the purpose required. The position, however, was so extremely awkward to me, that I doubt whether the description I have attempted will give you an adequate idea of the *procedure*. I have met with another kind of boat on this river, which is called a dorm or dorem; how it is spelled I know not. [This was the Durham boat I have mentioned. The third boat to which he alluded, was the bateau propelled by oars.] The only difference I could observe in

this [the Durham], from the former one is, that it is built sharp at both ends, and generally much larger and stouter. They likewise have flats [scows], similar to those seen on the Susquehanna, but much lighter built and larger. On all these they occasionally carry the sails before mentioned.

"The Mohawk is by no means dangerous to ascend, on account of the slowness of the boats progress ; but as it is full of rocks, stones and shallows, there is some risk of staving the boat, and at this season [probably mid summer], is so low as to require the boat to be dragged by hand over many places. The channel in some instances is not more than eight feet in width [the boats were long and narrow], which will barely permit a boat to pass by rubbing on both sides. This is sometimes caused by natural or accidental obstructions of rocks in the channel, but oftener by artificial means. This, which at first view would appear to be an inconvenience, is produced by two lines or ridges of stone, generally constructed on sandy, gravelly or stony shallows, in such a manner as to form an acute angle where they meet, the extremities of which widen as they extend up the river, while at the lower end there is just space enough left to admit the passage of a boat. [This construction evidently resembled a modern eel-wier.] The water being thus collected at the widest part of these ridges, and continually pent up within narrower limits as it descends, causes a rise at the passage ; so that where the depth was no more than eight inches before, a contrivance of this kind will raise it to twelve ; and strange as it may appear, a boat drawing fifteen inches will pass through it with safety and ease. The cause is simply this : the boat, being somewhat below the passage, is brought forward with considerable velocity, and the moment it dashes into the passage, its resistance to the current is such as to cause a swell of four or five inches more, which affords it an easy passage over the shoal."

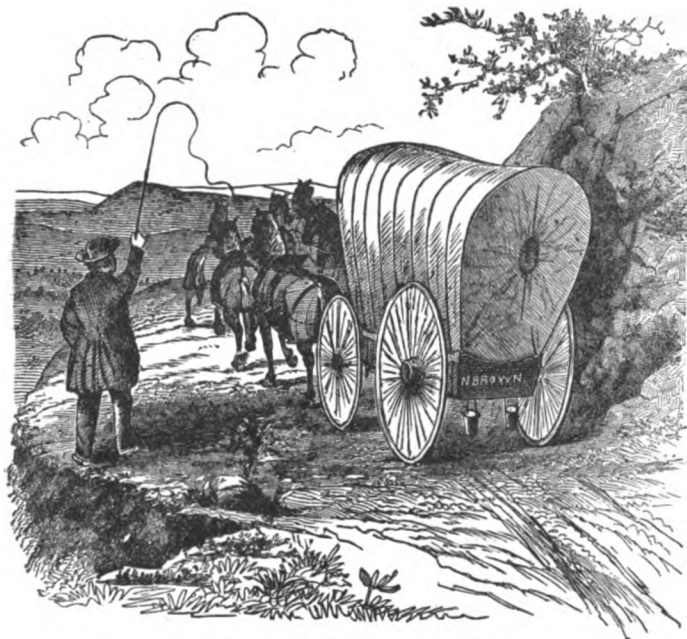
Thus the reader is furnished with a description of river boating on the large boats by an eye witness, which makes it now valuable. That writer said the Mohawk might be considered as being about 100 yards in width, with extremely fertile banks. He fell into an error when he stated that Canajoharie and Little Falls were the only two towns lying immediately upon the river, in the whole distance from Schenectada to

Utica—they being upon its opposite shores—as at that period half a dozen or more towns came to the river in that distance. He spoke of passing through *eight locks* in ascending the river at Little Falls. As I have elsewhere shown, two of the eight were at Wolf's rift several miles above. He said the Mohawk afforded very poor fishing, an amusement he was fond of, since at the end of nine days he had only caught "a poor cat fish not longer than a herring." He visited Utica on the site of Fort Schuyler, then having 160 houses; and Whitestown four miles above. Of Rome he spoke as follows: "Rome, which lies in latitude forty-three degrees, twelve minutes north, and seventy-five degrees, twenty-seven minutes west, is situated near the head of the Mohawk, 16 miles above Utica. The entrance into this village is through a handsome canal about a mile in length. It is here that the Mohawk is made to contribute a part of its stream towards filling Wood creek, which, of itself, is so low in dry seasons as to be totally insufficient to float a boat without the aid of the Mohawk. Rome, formerly known as Fort Stanwix, is delightfully situated in an elevated and level country, commanding an extensive view for about 10 miles around. This village consists at present of about 80 houses, but it seems quite destitute of every kind of trade, and rather upon the decline. The only spirit which I perceived stirring among them was that of money digging, and the old fort betrayed evident signs of the prevalence of this mania, as it had literally been turned inside out for the purpose of discovering concealed treasures."

In descending Wood creek he passed down through a range of *five canal locks*. He spoke of the rates of toll as being too high. He said the toll in passing the eight locks at Little Falls, was *two dollars and twenty-five cents* on each ton of merchandise, and the toll on the boat was from \$1.50 to \$2,62½ each boat. The toll was at a still higher rate to pass through the Wood creek locks, being \$3.00 per ton on the goods and from \$1.50 to \$3.50 on the boats. For a copy of Shultz's letter, I am indebted to the *Utica Herald* of March 29, 1878.

*Mammoth Wagons.*—While the Mohawk was literally filled with boats of different kinds—for nearly every family living upon its banks had some kind of one—and Schenectada was a *live* town for receiving and dispatching freight on and off them;

*large wagons*, to which allusion has been made, were used in competition with them in the transportation of merchandise and produce to and from Western New York. The produce—wheat, whiskey and potash—came to Albany, from whence merchandise was returned. Those wagons, covered with canvas, and drawn by three to eight horses, were seen in numbers on the Western and Mohawk turnpikes. The leaders usually had a little bell fastened upon the headstall. Mr. Alonzo Crosby, long



An eight-horse team on the Mohawk turnpike.

superintendent on the eastern part of the Western turnpike, counted up 50 or more taverns or inns between Albany and Cherry Valley, in the distance of 52 miles. Palatine Church, a hamlet at that period of some importance on the Mohawk turnpike, was 51 miles from Albany, the inns in that distance also averaging one in every mile. Indeed, inn-keepers were neighbors on those roads for a hundred miles to the westward of Albany. At this period tavern keeping was a lucrative business, especially for the houses prepared with inclosed sheds and good stabling.

Not a few novel incidents transpired on those roads, embracing accidents, etc., could they be garnered up. Not only friendships, but sometimes jealousies, existed among those teamsters. Here is an account of a quarrel between two teamsters on the Mohawk turnpike, involving a sort of melodrama. Samuel Brown, of Herkimer county, owned several of those four to eight-horse teams, one of which he drove himself. One team consisted of four large gray horses. He met, in making a trip, a Massachusetts teamster with a large wagon, with whom he had had some difficulty; and being a large and strong man, and his adversary a small man, Brown thought to chastise him, which he not only threatened, but actually gave him several cuts with a heavy whip, such as that craft used. Said Brown, curtly, "I will dispense with the whip, only on condition that you dance." Taken at a disadvantage with no one by, the Yankee teamster made a virtue of necessity, and did dance, to the great satisfaction of Brown, his only music being the crack of the long black-whip.

Another phase in the picture, which had two sides. The Yankee, having satisfied his adversary's vain glory, walked deliberately to his own wagon, took from it an old musket, and, with it ready cocked, he confronted Brown with the gun's muzzle at his breast: "Now, d—n you! do you dance, or you'll receive the contents of this gun!" Resolution and determination were so depicted in the eye of his antagonist, that Brown, satisfied for once that he had caught a Tartar, with a forlorn look instantly struck off on a waltz, to the delight of "Massachusetts," who was ever after allowed a wide berth on the road. Long after this event transpired, and only a few years before the death of Brown, my informant, *Maj. David Crouse*, at a court in Johnstown, met him in a bar-room, and heard him relate this anecdote. Brown said this Yankee was the only man who ever made him dance, and he had done it by exercising *martial law*. Maj. Crouse died March 23, 1880, at the age of 72 years.

The horses before those wagons, which, at times, had an hundred or more bushels of wheat on, never traveled out of a walk. At the period of their use, brakes were unknown in descending hills, but a heavy iron shoe was used, on the six-inch tire, which could be thrown from the wheel at the foot of the hill, by a spring managed by the foot of the driver. The teamsters

usually went on foot, whip in hand, and their constant travel had worn a good foot-path along each side of the road, near the fence, an hundred miles from Albany. The horses were seldom stabled nights, but had an oil-cloth covering, and were fed from a box or trough, carried along and attached to the pole, which could not fall to the ground. The rear of the wagon was ornamented with a tar bucket and a water pail. The wagons were painted blue, or slate color, and the covering remained white. A small box was secured upon one side or end of the wagon, containing a hammer, wrench, curry-comb, etc. Those wagons paid no toll, as they filled the ruts made by farm wagons. Some of the teams were driven by a single line on the forward nigh horse, and occasionally a postillion was seen on the nigh wheel horse; but those large Pennsylvania horses were so well trained as to be dexterously managed with a long leathern whip. When it was heavy traveling, those monster wagons progressed but a few miles in a day; sometimes being two weeks in going from Albany to Geneva, Canandaigua or Rochester. Freight on merchandise west was, at first, one dollar a hundred from Albany to Utica. Although there were so many taverns on the road, still, so numerous were the teams that, at times, one of a party in company was mounted and sent forward before night to secure accommodations with a good wagon-yard inclosure.

*The Great Western Turnpike.*—Alonzo Crosby assured the writer in 1851, that he entered the employ of the Great Western Turnpike Company in 1812, and continued the superintendence of the road from Albany to Cherry Valley for 36 years. Of course, he became familiar with every rod of ground in the 52 miles. On the road, at any early period, were the following inn-keepers, whom he remembered from Albany westward: Two miles out was a Capron; in Guilderland, two miles further, a McGown, well known; half a mile above were George Brown and Frederick Follock; three miles above Brown were a Sloan and a Batterman, the latter at the Glass House,\* eight miles from Albany. Next came another Sloan, John F. Schoolcraft, Russel Case, and within two miles of Case were two taverns,

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\* This place, says *Spafford's Gazetteer*, was once called Hamilton, after Gen. Alexander Hamilton, said to have been instrumental in here establishing glass works. Many houses on the road had some peculiar history, and the Batterman house occasionally *spooked* for the benefit of the credulous.



names now forgotten. Then came Charles Traver, — Boyer, — Sharpe, — Waldron, — Sharpe, — Relyea, John Winne, Peter German. In a corner of Princetown, 16 miles from Albany, was Calvin Cheesman, celebrated as a shin-plaster banker.\* In Duaneburgh were George Young, Warren Fuller, — Post, — Baldwin, John Humphrey, — Thompson, — Vedder, — Holliday, — Thornton, Maj. Cyrus Marsh, — Downer, — Gibson—the latter at the bridge opposite Esperance, while in that place and above were — Isham, Calvin Wright, — Peck, Daniel House, John Brown; at Sloansville, Reuben Sloan, James Brown; in Carlisle, Henry Brown, Lucas Woodbeck, Daniel Tucker, Philip Cromwell, Elijah Huntington, — Sturgeon, — Sloan, — Doolittle, Siloin Parkinson; in Sharon, Zachariah Keyes, noted among the craft for his good flip and punch, — Dockstader, — Van Alstine, — Cowden, — Tinkham, — Moyer, Madison Otis, — Crysler; in Cherry Valley, Thomas Swift, — Burch, — Coon (village), Thomas Whitaker, — Walton, Ezekiel Johnson; while in Springfield above were a Cook, a Fitch, a Cotes and others. Said Isaac Crosby, a brother of Alonzo, also familiar with the Western turnpike, at one time there were 62 taverns in the 52 miles between Albany and Cherry Valley.

Among the teamsters of those large wagons, remembered on the Great Western Turnpike, were of the name Rosekrans, three; Lloyd, two; Arther, four. Michael Arther—afterwards a merchant in Albany, and sheriff of the county—John, now living in Albany, aged 82 years. Humphrey, three. At this period John Humphrey kept tavern in Washington street, where — Loucks, a successor, kept for many years. This old house was torn down in 1851. Robert Hunter, called *Bob*, was a well known teamster. Waite and Loren Chapin, brothers, Jesse and Henry Greene, brothers, and Daniel Clark, all lived in the town of Winfield, and drove their own teams, consisting of from five to eight horses each. They usually carried through freight be-

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\* Cheesman's notes much resembled State bank notes of that period. Here is a copy of one:

"STATE BANK OF NEW YORK.

"No. 65 A. Payable on demand to O. Warren, or bearer, ONE DOLLAR in bills current at THE SEVERAL BANKS IN ALBANY, at my tavern and EXCHANGE OFFICE in Princetown, on the Great Western turnpike, 16 Miles from Albany.—December 19, 1816.

"CALVIN CHEESMAN.

"ELIAS D. CHEESMAN, *Cashr.*"

tween Albany and Buffalo. The Chapins, as also others on the road, had tight boxes, in which wheat could be carried in bulk, the freight on which, it is believed, was at one time one dollar a bushel. Another well known teamster on this road was Peter P. Fiero. Tom, a clever black fellow, who usually drove six large black horses, was also well remembered. He had the misfortune to kill two men at different times, by his whistle-trees catching and upsetting their wagons; the first in Duaneburgh, and the other in Guilderland. When the second accident happened, Tom, who thought a strange fatality attended his avocation, quit the business, but no blame attached to him. From two to ten of those large wagons were sometimes seen in company, and some of them carrying from *three to four tons*. The horses were usually fat. Some carried a jack-screw for raising an axle to take off a wheel; but this was seldom done, as a hole for pouring in tar or grease was made for the purpose. In ascending hills the wagon was blocked at intervals with a stone, carried by the teamster behind it. After those mammoth wagons were supplanted by the Erie canal, several of them might have been seen about the old Loucks tavern—as also at Paul Clark's inn, in the southwest part of Albany—where some of them rotted down.

Many interesting events transpired on this turnpike. Here is one of them: One Wilbur, a stage driver, above Cook's tavern in Springfield, had the misfortune to ride over and kill a deaf man, who kept in the road until stricken down. The driver was probably not to blame, but the matter affected him so seriously that he quit staging forever. This happened about 1820.

*On the Mohawk Turnpike.*—As remembered by Andrew A. Fink, George Wagner and others, were the following inn-keepers from Herkimer, 79 miles from Albany, descending the valley. They may not be named in just the order in which they stood. John Rasback, John Potter, — Heacock; across W. C. creek, Nathaniel Etheridge, — Upham, James Artcher, a teamster married one of his daughters. This inn had a peculiar sign. On one side was painted a gentleman richly clad and elegantly mounted on horseback with the motto—*I am going to law*. On the reverse side was a very dilapidated man on a horse, the very picture of poverty saying—*I have been to law*; John McCombs, Warner Dygert; at Little Falls, John Shelden, —Carr, —Harris,

Major Morgan; below the Falls, A. A. Fink. From Fink's to E. C. creek it was five miles, and in that distance were 13 dwellings, 12 of which were taverns occupied as follows: — Bauder, William Smith, his sign had on it an Indian chief; John Petrie, Henry Shults, James Van Valkenburgh, Lawrence Timmerman, John Wagner, — Owens, Nathan Christie, Esq., David Richtmyer, Frederick Getman, James and Luther Pardee; below E. creek, John Stauring, — Van Dreser, James Billington, John Bancker, Michael U. Bauder, — Yates, Jacob Failing, a favorite place for large wagons; — Zimmerman, Joseph Klock, Christian Klock, Daniel C. Nellis, John C. Nellis, — Brown, Gen. Peter C. Fox, at Pal. Church; George Fox, John C. Lipe, George Wagner, Charles Walrath, — Harris, — Weaver, Richard Bortle, Nicholas Gros, Samuel Fenner, an old sea captain, who spun his skipper-yarns to customers; Jacob Hees, who also had a boat and lumber landing on the river at Palatine Bridge; Josiah Shepard, a stage house; — Weatherby, Jost Spraker, John De Wandler, now Schenk place below the Nose; Frederick Dockstader, kept many large wagons; — Connelly, Fred Dockstader, 2d, who had a run of double teams; Gen. Henry Fonda, at now village of Fonda; Giles Fonda, — Pride, — Hardenburgh, — Conyne, — Lepper; on Tribes Hill, — Kline, — Putman, — Wilson; Guy Park, a favorable place for large wagons, kept at one time by — McGerk, Col. William Shuler, at Amsterdam; below were — Crane, of Cranesville; Lewis Groat, Swart, and others on this part of the route not remembered. At Schenectada are recalled: — Tucker, Jacob Wagner, — Shields, while the names of two others are forgotten; one of them had a house in "Frog Alley," which was burned by the slacking of lime. Between Schenectada and Albany were: — Havelly, — Brooks, — Vielie; the Half-way house was a stage house, and kept by Leavitt Kingsbury, which became noted for its delicious coffee.

In the period of wagon transport, when hay was \$20.00 a ton, inn-keepers had \$1.00 a span for keeping horses over night; and when \$10.00 a ton they had 50 cents a span, or one shilling a pound for hay. In spring and fall it was a common sight to see 10 or 15 horses drawing a single wagon from its fastness in the mud. The first load of hemp from the west, said Fink, was

a five horse load from Wadsworth's flats in the Genesee valley.

*Teamsters* remembered on the Mohawk turnpike, were four Artcher brothers, James, Edward, Michael, and John; James Humphrey, Robert and James Hunter, Fred Getman, Samuel and Nathan Brown, eight horse teams; — Rice, who drove one of Brown's teams; two Haverlys, one owning a brick tavern between Albany and Schenectada; two Hitchcock brothers, Justley Simmons, of Rochester, of good repute; — Van Epps, George Kellogg, Chauncey Ingraham, Jo. Burton, three Cheenys; — Glasby, — Higby, — Armstrong, Ruben Taff, Jerome Barhydt, and a brother, and a Vielie, of Schenectada; Theodore Faxton, of Utica; Ezra Smith, George Keller, Kit Richardson, Isaac Burlingham, — Sage, a heavy contractor; James Harris, — Best, Solomon Norton, — McNeil, a bully; George Allenborough, Jake Schell, a black fellow who owned a fine six horse team and usually went with Allenboro'; John and Henry Parker, brothers of good repute; James Istell, — Spellman, — Heacox, — Petrie, who had a horse stolen, and Archibald Patten, who, much in debt, stepped out. Some of the teamsters were at different times on both turnpikes. Robert Hunter was celebrated as a hay contractor, and was very successful in obtaining freight. — Sherman, of Utica, owned several teams driven by others, as also did the Doxes, of Geneva, and — Wadsworth, of Genesee. Freight from Albany to Buffalo was at first \$5.00 per hundred weight, but competition at one time brought it down to \$1.25. The teamsters on those turnpikes were as jovial and accommodating a set of men, as ever engaged in any avocation, seldom having any feuds or lasting difficulties.

While on this subject, said Mr. Fink, in 1805-6, when Oneida and adjoining counties were receiving many of their pioneer settlers, New England people came prospecting on horseback, with well filled saddle-bags and portmanteaus, and he often had 30 or 40 in a single night to entertain at his house below Little Falls.

*A Serious Accident.*—With the moving of those large wagons came the following incident: Major Andrew Fink, a well informed and very patriotic officer of the Revolution, late in life, and when somewhat infirm, was seriously hurt in the following novel manner: He had been to the village of Little Falls, and was going to his home below the falls at the time. Very many

Revolutionary men who had been served with liquor as a military ration continued to use it in after life. Maj. Fink was not an exception to this rule, and, on the day in question, he had sufficiently imbibed to elevate his ideas. He was by nature a proud and spirited man, and, at this time, somewhat overbearing. Meeting a teamster named Van Derlip with a three or four-horse team, he kept in the road and ordered the former to turn out and give him the half of it. Looking at the matter as a practical joke—for who would think that a footman would make so unreasonable a demand—the teamster, after twice leading him out of the road, did not attempt to give the room demanded. The consequence was, that Maj. Fink maintained his position until struck by the team or a wheel, was knocked down and seriously bruised. Tradition says that Van Derlip, who had the reputation of an accommodating teamster, did what he could to alleviate Mr. Fink's suffering, which he had thus heedlessly brought upon himself. Doctor Joshua Webster, of Fort Plain, as appears by his day book, visited Maj. Fink, October 20, 21 and 25, 1802, to dress his wounds, etc. It is said the injuries he thus sustained shortened his days. It seems a pity that a man who had maintained so honorable and commanding a position as did Maj. Fink during the Revolution—for no American officer on the frontiers of New York won a more enviable reputation—should so unwisely have brought upon himself such a fate.

*John Abeel and the Corn Planter.*—The name of Abeel,\* which Lawrence Gros said was Low Dutch, appears at an early date among the respectable names of Albany. John Abeel is named as early as 1692, as an alderman of Albany; and for the next 10 or 12 years as an alderman, merchant, city treasurer and Commissioner of Indian Affairs.† Others of the name are mentioned; but it is believed that John Abeel, the Indian trader of a little later period, sprang from this Albany family. Before he settled in the Mohawk valley, he was an Indian trader in Western New York, but when, or at what age, he commenced such a career is unknown.

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\* By some means this name has crept into print as O'Ball, leading many to suppose he was of Irish origin. The name is written in some places ABeal, but the correct orthography is in the context.

† Brod. Papers. vols. 4., and 5.

In his first visit he was enamored with a beautiful squaw, the daughter of a Seneca chief. The result was, this Albany tradesman had a little name-sake in its western home.

The first definite knowledge we have of this Abeel, is found in a letter from Gov. Clinton to the Governor of Canada, dated October 10, 1748, in which, after stating that he had sent back so many French prisoners, who had been well used, he said that some British subjects, with the French, had been retained, and adds: "I must also complain that you still keep the English prisoners in close confinement, especially Anthony Van Schaick and John Abeel, who have been so long detained, and who, I am credibly informed, have been treated with a severity not commonly practiced among civilized nations."\*

Under the same date, in giving instructions to Capt. Benjamin Stoddard about an interchange of prisoners between himself and Gov. Galissoniere, of Canada, His Excellency directed him to get an exchange of all the prisoners without distinction, and adds: "If this cannot be done, that whereas Anthony Van Schaick and John Abeel and the Indians taken with them, have been kept in prison above — months, and used with greater severity than is usual among civilized nations; and that since, many who have been taken since they were, have been set at liberty, and they are still confined in close imprisonment.—That considering the severe usage they have received, you are to make it a condition previous to your entering into any agreement for the delivery of the French prisoners now in the hands of the Mohawks.—That Anthony Van Schaick and John Abeel and the Indians taken prisoners with them be set at liberty, and sent to Albany as soon as the season of the year will permit them to travel."† In case of non-compliance with such terms, or a refusal to set the above named prisoners at liberty, Capt. Stoddard was to protest against the "inhuman usage," as a breach of the cessation of hostilities as agreed to between the crowns of Great Britain and France, and return home as soon as the season would permit.

The French Governor in his reply to Clinton, claimed not to consider the Six Nations as the subjects of Great Britain—confessed his astonishment that the English should allow English

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\* Brod. Papers, vol. 6, p. 492.

† Brod. Papers, vol. 6, p. 495.

subjects above the common rank, to suffer more than six months imprisonment to gratify a handful of Mohawks. He spoke of the Dutchmen taken disguised as Indians—thought the masquerade unworthy of Englishmen and of all civilized nations, and said that such disguises were not tolerated among the French. He spoke very kindly of Capt. Stoddard, who he said had acquitted himself well in his commission. He thought the French had better be allowed to negotiate for the exchange of prisoners, directly with the Mohawks, etc. Letters continued to pass between the interested parties, but the prisoners remained unchanged. August 22, 1749, Marquis de la Jonquiere, the new Governor of Canada, wrote to Gov. Clinton that he had given permission to David Abeel to conclude upon an exchange of prisoners, with permission for him to remain ; and September 1st Col. Johnson wrote to Gov. Clinton of the arrival of this Abeel and three French attendants at Mount Johnson.\* Who David Abeel was is left to conjecture, but he was doubtless a kinsman of John Abeel.

At this period to which some allusion has already been made, a faction in the Legislature prevented the appropriation of any money for the Governor's use for presents or the redemption of Indian prisoners, literally standing directly in the way of retaining the Six Nations in the English interest : and in a letter to the Lords of Trade, October 17, 1749, said Governor Clinton : "As things stand now I cannot command a single farthing for defraying the expenses of any service, however necessary, though there be monies sufficient in the treasury."† This faction headed by James De Lancey, as I have shown, nearly brought Col. Johnson to bankruptcy, in not repaying advances he had made to retain the friendship of the Six Nations in the English interest. In a letter to Gov. Clinton dated November 22, 1749, he said : "Your Excellency has been pleased to approve my conduct and that is the only encouragement I have to continue to act. The Assembly of this province have injured my fortune much by delaying my just dues, and it is impossible for me to proceed unless there be some appointment from home, independent of the Assembly, to defray, from time to time, the expenses I am daily obliged to be at in treating with all

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\* Brod. Papers, vol. 6, p. 627.

† Brod. Papers, vol. 6, p. 529.

sorts of Indians ; The well ordering of which, is of much more importance to the welfare of his Majesty's government, than the whole act of governing the unruly inhabitants, etc."\*

I am not able to learn just when John Abeel was liberated from a Canadian prison. When captured he was, no doubt, disguised as an Indian, and was retained as an Indian prisoner. January 22, 1750, Col. Johnson wrote to Gov. Clinton as follows : "I am very glad your Excellency has given orders to have the Indian children returned, who are kept by the traders as pawns or pledges, as they call it, but rather stolen from them (as the parents came at the appointed time to redeem them, but they sent them away beforehand) ; and as they were children of our *friends and allies*, if they are not returned next spring it will confirm what the French told the Six Nations, viz.: that we looked upon them as our slaves or negroes, which affair gave me a great deal of trouble at that time to reconcile. I cannot find that Mr. Abeel—who has a Seneca child—or Vandriesan—who has got a Missisagey—are to deliver theirs, which I am apprehensive will cause great disturbance, etc."†

This is, no doubt, the first mention made in history of the celebrated *Cornplanter*, for he was Abeel's child here alluded to. Whether this child was with his father as a prisoner or not is unknown, but from the tone of Johnson's letter it would seem as though he was ; nor is there any certain clue to his age or condition at that period, as yet published. An early record of the Reformed Dutch Church of Canajoharie, situated westward of Fort Plain (now possessed by Lyman Horning), fortunately contains a notice of the death of this John Abeel. The record was made by Rev. D. C. A. Pick, or Peek, is in German and Latin, as follows : "John Abeel, gestorben den 1 December, 1794, alt 70 ; beerdigt den 3 ejusd mensis anni alt in Michal." John Abeel died 1 December, 1794—buried the 3, same week, same month and year—aged in the day of St. Michael 70 years.

The widow of John Abeel is said by friends who well remember her, to have died about the year 1824, at the age of 82 years. This would place his birth in 1724 and hers in 1736, making him 12 years her senior. In 1866 an act passed the Legislature of Pennsylvania to erect a monument to Corn-

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\*Brod. Papers, vol. 6, p. 540.

† Brod. Papers, vol. 6, p. 546.



planter, at a cost of \$500, at Jennesadaga—Cornplanter's village—in Warren county in that State. It was placed at his grave the same season, and on its completion, with befitting ceremonies, its dedication took place October 18. To Hon. Samuel P. Johnson the matter of erection was entrusted, and Hon. James Ross Snowden delivered the oration, which was repeated before the members of both branches of the Legislature on the 14th of March, 1867. The proceedings were published in a neat pamphlet of 115 pages not long after, entitled—*THE CORNPLANTER MEMORIAL*, with a picture of the monument.

The following are the inscriptions upon the monument. On the spire facing west is cut, in large raised letters,

“*GIANTWAHIA, THE CORNPLANTER.*”

Upon the die, on the same side, is inscribed :

“*JOHN O'BAIL alias CORNPLANTER, died at Cornplanter town, February 18, 1836, aged about 100 years.*”

On the die fronting south, the following inscription is handsomely lettered :

“Chief of the Seneca tribe, and principal Chief of the Six Nations, from the period of the Revolutionary war to the time of his death. Distinguished for talents, courage, eloquence, sobriety, and love of his tribe and race, to whose welfare he devoted his time, his energies and his means, during a long and eventful life.”

On the east side of the die is engraved—

ERECTED BY AUTHORITY OF THE LEGISLATURE OF PENNSYLVANIA, BY ACT, JANUARY 25, 1866.

The reader will perceive that not only is this old chieftain's name wrong on the monument, but his age is given in round numbers at 100 years, supposing him to have been born in 1732. But the reader will see, by the record of his father's death, that Abeel was born in 1724, making him only eight years old at the time given for the birth of this waif of a son. At what age he began the life of a frontier tradesman is left to conjecture ; but supposing his first visit to *Ganowagus*, the home of the mother of Cornplanter, to have been at about his majority in years, that would place his birth at about 1746, and his age at his death at 90 years—making him older, if born before his father

was 22, and correspondingly younger if his father was older than that at his birth. This showing would make the boy about two years old in 1748, when his father was a Canadian prisoner, as complained of by Gov. Clinton. Col. Johnson, in 1750, spoke of him as a child, which he would hardly have called him had he then been 14 years old. My belief is, that Cornplanter was about 90 years old at his death.

Just how long John Abeel continued to trade among the Indians—we believe his traffic was usually with the Senecas—is unknown, but *tradition says until he was robbed of his goods on the way up*. Here is possibly a key to the reason why he abandoned the business. Myndert Wemp, a blacksmith, was sent by Sir William Johnson to reside in the Seneca's country, to follow his trade for their benefit. He stayed until a scarcity of provisions (corn had been mostly destroyed the year before), compelled him to leave his charge; and he reported himself at Fort Johnson, April 29, 1756. After stating the condition of things he said: "Last winter John Abeel brought so much *rum* and sold it amongst the Indians and caused so much drunkenness, that he was greatly molested and hindered in his work by it, and when he threatened Abeel that he would complain against him, he said he did not care, he would sell it—and that for every quart of rum he sold he got a Spanish dollar: and that when the Senecas had heard Sir William had stopped his goods from coming up, they expressed great joy and approbation."\* It is not probable he lost any of this property unless it was forfeited as contraband, but it is believed this ended his western hazardous adventures.

Connected with what was called one of his last enterprises, I find the following mention in a journal of proceedings with the Indians, made at Fort Johnson, July 27, 1756.† "Six Seneca warriors (who came with one Abeel, an Albany trader, to help him down with a parcel of skins, which he fraudulently got in the Seneca country), arrived here and told Sir William they were very ill used by one Capt. Williams, who was posted at the Oneida Carrying Place," who accused them of being in the French interest, and disarmed them; pretending to act under instructions from Sir William Johnson. The latter told them it was a villainous falsehood of Williams, who was then a pris-

\* Brod. Papers, vol. 7, p. 101.

† Brod Papers, vol. 7, pp. 173, 173.

oner at Albany, for using Oneida and other Indians in the same manner : he being a bad man. They were treated kindly, kept over night, furnished with provisions, clothed and armed ; and they set forward with thankful hearts. At a formal interview with the Senecas in the evening, Sir William gave them eight strings of wampum, desiring them as soon as possible to undeceive their nation about the falsehoods of Capt Williams, and the assurance that he was imprisoned. Thus was Sir William often misrepresented in his doings by dishonorable men.

It could not have been long after this mortifying rebuff to the pride of Abeel, that he made the Mohawk valley his home, and agriculture his principal pursuit. He located a short mile to the westward of the present village of Fort Plain, where his grandson, the late Jacob Abeel erected a substantial brick house about the year 1860. He settled upon lands secured by patent, by Rutger Bleecker, Nicholas Bleecker, James Delancey and John Haskoll, September 22, 1729. They secured 4,300 acres in a body along the Mohawk, each side of the Otsquago, extending up that creek several miles. Here it is believed he secured several hundred acres, but from whom is unknown. Soon after his settlement he erected a stone dwelling on his land, upon a knoll just above the river flats, about which time he took a wife. I have elsewhere alluded to the custom of obtaining marriage licenses from the State authorities, and in their midst is the following record :

September 22, 1759, John Abeel to Mary Knouts.

Among the Germans who settled in this town prior to the period indicated, there was one or more families of this name, from which it is presumed she was taken. Abeel spent the remainder of his days where he located on coming hither. His wife, who is represented as a short, stout built friendly woman, had three children, a son named Jacob, who married Elizabeth, a daughter of William Fox ; and two daughters, Catharine, who married Joseph Wagner ; and Mary, who married Jacob Radnour, who was killed at Oriskany, after which she married Nicholas Dygert.

*Captivity of John Abeel.*—During the invasion of the Canajoharie settlement, as this was then called, in August, 1780,\*

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\*In 1845, I published the captivity of Abeel by Cornplanter, as occurring in 1779, but the event occurred at the time his house and the church near it were burned, which was in August, 1780.

when John Abeel was about 56 years old, just before dinner time, he was captured by a party of Indians of which Brant was leader, though it is not certain that either Brant or Cornplanter—who accompanied him—were in the party who took Abeel prisoner. He was taken on the flats between the house and river. The family were preparing dinner and the table was set with food upon it, when an alarm gun at Fort Plain, near by, caused the female members to flee to the fort for safety. Arriving at the house and finding a good dinner before them, the enemy fell to devouring it. The little garrison would not admit of a sally—indeed, some of the female inmates of the fort stood with hats on and poles in their hands, to make the enemy believe it was better garrisoned. At this time a wagon stood before the door without a box, with boards upon its running gear, and some of the Indians brought out food and seating themselves upon it, began to eat. Henry Seeber, who had a good and well loaded gun at the fort, although it was at a long descending range, fired at one of the Indians on the wagon. There was a commotion among them at once, and they precipitately scattered, but before they left the premises they fired the dwelling. As bloody rags were found there, it was evident the bullet of Seeber had done its bidding.—*Seeber.*

*A Surprise.*—It is believed that Cornplanter did not know of his father's captivity under several hours, when some war parties came together not very distant from the river. He had not been a prisoner long, when he addressed his foes in their own language which he spoke fluently, inquiring *what they meant to do with him?* This led at once to the enquiry where he had learned the Indian tongue, and also to his name. These facts made known in the camp, Abeel was at once confronted by a chief of commanding figure and mien, who addressed him much as follows: "You, I understand, are John Abeel, once a trader among the Senecas! You are my father! My name is John Abeel, or *Gy-ant-wa-chia, the Cornplanter.* I am a warrior and have taken many scalps! You are now my prisoner, but you are safe from all harm! Go with me to my home in the Seneca's country and you shall be kindly cared for! My strong arm shall provide you with corn and venison! But, if you prefer to go back among your pale-faced friends, you shall be allowed to do so, and I will send an escort of trusty Senecas to conduct

you back to Fort Plain!" The parent chose to return, and early in the evening an escort of Seneca braves left him near the fort, apprised no doubt, that his dwelling had shared the fate of that of the late William Seeber's, and the church near by—reduced to an ash heap. At the close of the war Mr. Abeel erected another house upon the site of the one burned.

At quite an early period, John Abeel began to manifest the evidence of insanity. In a letter from the Rev. Joh. Casp. Lappius to Sir William Johnson for pecuniary aid, dated at Canajoharie, December 29, 1763, and sent by his friend William Seeber—the first Canajoharie merchant—is the following: "P. S. My neighbor, John Abeel acts the madman."\* After the war this inclination to insanity became more fully developed in Mr. Abeel, and being incompetent to manage his farm, William Seeber, son of the one above named, went upon it. On some occasion when a wagon load of husked corn was at the door, Mr. Abeel had some words with a negro slave of his own, who was on the wagon putting the corn into baskets. For some cause the master became very angry, and threatening to shoot the negro went into the house. It was supposed an idle threat, but he soon after came out with his gun, and in the next instant he had sent a bullet through the negro's head. When this act became known, some neighbors went to arrest him, but he had again loaded his rifle, and when they approached the house, he seated himself in his door, and threatned to shoot the first one that attempted his arrest. No one cared to become a second victim, and the party dispersed. An opportunity was found soon after to arrest him, when it was decided that, as he was insane and the negro was his own property, and he amenable to no one for his value, he should be confined. There were then no insane asylums in the country, and a room was prepared in his own house, where he could be chained to the floor so that he could reach neither a door or a window from which to escape. He had periodical turns of being very ugly and troublesome, and on such occasions he would clank his chain and continue a kind of Indian war-dance nearly all night.

A small hole with a slide was prepared in the wall, through which his food was handed to him by the female members of

his family. He had, at some time, taken a serious dislike to Mrs. Knouts, his wife's mother—an old lady then living in his family—who often gave him his meals through the little window. Waiting a favorable opportunity at the window, with malice prepense he dashed the impure contents of a vessel in the old lady's face, which not only sent her into a fit of just anger, but, getting into her hair, caused her a world of trouble. She avoided a repetition of his willful displeasure ever after. At a period of his greatest bewilderment he got off his chain, escaped from the house, and fled stark-naked down upon the flats; and it was after a long chase that he was captured near the river, and again taken to his room. How long he was thus confined is unknown, but, as he advanced in years and became enfeebled, it is evident that he was allowed to wander about his farm, for on such an occasion he was gored to death by a bull.—*W.H. Seeber.*

Miss Mary Knouts, the wife of John Abeel, came with her parents from that part of Germany called *Schwartz Waldd*—Black Woods—the dark, dense forests of which were famed for basket making. She is remembered, when quite old, as climbing the hill to visit her daughter, Mrs. Dygert, whose husband kept a tavern where the late Christian Bellinger lived, a little to the westward of the old Sand Hill church. On those occasions Maria Dygert, a girl living with her—afterwards the wife of Adam A. Nestell—used to accompany her, carrying along a chair, upon which the old lady took several rests in climbing the hill. She is also remembered by the aged, who speak of her as a kind-hearted old lady, who had evidently been well-fitted to become the wife of a pioneer settler.

*The Cornplanter*—the most intelligent Indian of the Seneca nation—learned wisdom by the bitter experience taught his people; and, at the close of the Revolution, he was not only ready to bury the hatchet, but to take sides in all future troubles with the young Republic. He became the firm friend of Washington, who reciprocated his kindness; and in our trouble with the Shawnese he was, perhaps, the only war chief among Indian warriors, whose friendship for the United States was unshaken in the Indian difficulties existing from 1791 to 1794, when Gen. Wayne achieved a victory which terminated the war that had raged along the Ohio and other western waters. There seems to have been a distinction between Indian *chiefs* and *sachems*,

the former having the direction of war matters, and the latter the control of the civil government.\* Hence, Brant, Red Jacket and others, accused Cornplanter of exerting too great an influence. The honest truth was that he, of all the distinguished chiefs, saw the danger to his people of any further war with the United States.

Marked friendship grew up and continued between Gen. Washington and Cornplanter, and, in 1797, the latter visited Philadelphia to pay his respects to Washington, and take farewell leave of him. This was some two years before the death of the latter. He fixed his permanent residence on the Alleghany river, within the State of Pennsylvania, where he subsequently lived and died, and where his descendants still reside.

In 1802 Cornplanter visited President Jefferson, whose friendship was no less sincere than was that of Washington, treating him kindly in their intercourse. He approved of his conduct toward the States ; and assured him that, in all enterprises for the good of his people, he could count on the aid and protection of the United States. In the war of 1812, with Great Britain, although at least 66 years old, yet he offered to lead 200 warriors with our troops against the English and the Indians in their interest. He was not allowed to do so, but some of his nation were with the Americans in this war, and rendered efficient service as scouts ; and George Abeel, a son, led those warriors, holding a Major's commission in the service.

Rev. Timothy Alden, says the Address of Snowden, spoke of Cornplanter in 1815, as appearing to be about 68 years of age, and five feet ten inches in height. The Memorial thought he was then at least 84 years old ; but the reader will see that my predication of his age, from that of his father, would make him at that period about 68. He is said to have been a fine orator, and convincing in his arguments ; but few of his telling speeches were ever reported for the press. Thomas Struthers, Esq., of Warren, Pa., was well acquainted with Cornplanter, and, at the request of Mr. Snowden, furnished him a sketch of an interview he, with several friends, had with him, in May, 1831. He received them kindly and courteously, and made a speech on the occasion, said the visitor, which would compare favorably with

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\* The Cornplanter Memorial, from which I shall mainly give his character

many State papers. He spoke of the former relations between the whites and the Indians, but dwelt especially upon the virtues of Gen. Washington, the great and good White Father. "He spoke as a statesman and philanthropist, whose mind was occupied with the weighty interests of mankind, rather than with merely the affairs and concerns of a family or tribe." He is said to have been constitutionally sedate, seldom indulging in a laugh or smile. In 1789, Gen. Mifflin suggested to Richard Peters, Esq., Speaker of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, that it would be good policy to give Capt. Abeel, the Cornplanter, a tract of land on the Alleghany, and the suggestion was acted upon, and he was given 1,300 acres. He was also the recipient of an annual stipend from the general government of \$250, in appreciation of his services rendered the country, by keeping his own people in friendship with the United States.

*The Life of Mary Jemison*, places the captivity of John Abeel, to Cornplanter, his son, at the invasion of the Schoharie and Mohawk valleys by Sir John Johnson, which was in October, 1780 ; but he was captured the day his house was burned, which was at the invasion of Brant and Cornplanter with a large body of Indians, and Tories disguised as such, who overran the Canajoharie district in August, 1780. At the fall invasion of 1780, the firing in Stone Arabia—when Col. Brown fell—gave the inhabitants around Fort Plain timely warning, who took refuge in the fort then commanded by Col. Willet, who had a force with him to ensure its defence, and cause the Indians to give it a wide berth. The elder John Abeel, and family, were, no doubt, in the fort on that eventful day. Besides, the enemy are believed to have remained upon the north side of the river until they passed Fort Plain.

*The Cornplanter Memorial* publishes a speech of Cornplanter to the Governor of Pennsylvania in 1822, in which is the following sentence : "I grew up to be a young man, and married me a wife, and had no kettle nor gun. I then knew where my father lived, and went to see him, and found he was a white man and spoke the English language. He gave me victuals while I was at his house, but when I started for home he gave me no provisions to eat on the way. He gave me neither kettle nor gun, neither did he tell me that the United States were about to rebel against the government of England." In the



same speech he said his mother had told him that his father resided in Albany. Cornplanter must have been 11 or 12 years old when his father married and settled in the Mohawk valley. There is no tradition here that Cornplanter was in the valley, or ever saw his father after he was a young child, until the latter became his prisoner in 1780. Mrs. Abeel, his wife, died within the recollection of relatives now living ; but they have no tradition from her that his Seneca son ever visited them when a young man. Nor is it believed that she was a woman who would send even an Indian guest on a long journey without food, as it would illy comport with her reputation for benevolence. The Indians have ever dealt in metaphors, tropes and familiar figures for needed sensation ; and if the son really visited his father early in life—which is not credited in the Mohawk valley—the idea that he was not then the possessor of a gun or a camp kettle is preposterous ; when the British government—through Sir William Johnson—had for years supplied young warriors of less renown, in all the Six Nations, with both articles free of cost. Cornplanter also says that his father did not tell him that the United States *were going to rebel against England*. Who, when he was a young man leaving his teens, could have told him that, ten or a dozen years later, the colonies would rebel against the mother country ? The presumption would seem to be, that the imagination of some white man is in this speech.

Pending the war of the Revolution, the chiefs and warriors of the Six Nations were assembled by the British commissioners at Oswego, to secure the services of the Indians against the colonies. Says the *Life of Mary Jemison* : “As soon as the treaty was finished, the commissioners made a present to each Indian of a suit of clothes, a brass kettle, a gun and tomahawk, a scalping knife, a quantity of powder and ball, and a piece of gold, and promised a *bounty on every scalp that should be brought in*.” Nor was this a single instance of presents : they were distributed on all occasions of assembling them. Some writers in the English interest have been trying ever since the war to wipe out this disreputable and damning blood-stain on the British escutcheon, pretending that the nefarious scalp-traffic in the Revolution did not exist ; but it did exist, sanctioned by the British government, which footed the bills.

The speech of Cornplanter to Washington in 1790 is, perhaps, the ablest reported speech of his life. The burden of it was that the Senecas were compelled, by the treaty of Fort Stanwix, at the close of the war, to give up so much of their land without more compensation. They said they had been deceived at the beginning of the war by the King's agents, who made them believe that the colonists could not resist British power. That, since the war, *speculators* were grasping their lands, etc. He said, "All the lands we have been speaking of belonged to the Six Nations, and no part of it belonged to the King of England, and he could not give it to you.

"The land we live on our fathers received from God ; and they transmitted it to us for our children, and we cannot part with it.

"Father, we told you that we would open our hearts to you. Hear us once more.

"At Fort Stanwix we agreed to deliver up those of our people who should do you any wrong, that you might try them and punish them according to your law. We delivered up two men accordingly, but instead of trying them according to your laws, the lowest of your people took them from your magistrate and put them immediately to death. It is just to punish murder with death ; but the Senecas will not deliver up their people to men who disregard the treaties of their own nation.

"Father ! Innocent men of our nation are killed one after another—and our best families ; but none of your people who have committed the murders have been punished.

"We recollect that you did not promise to punish those who killed our people, and we now ask : was it intended that your people should kill the Senecas, and not only remain unpunished by you, but be protected by you against the revenge of the next of kin ?

"Father ! These are to us very great things. We know that you are very strong, and we have heard that you are wise, and we wait to hear your answer to what we said, that we may know that you are just."

"President Washington, in his address to Cornplanter, under date of December 29, 1790, assured him that many of the difficulties of which he complained about the sale of their lands, "arose before the United States government was established,

when the separate States and individuals, under their authority, undertook to treat with the Indian tribes respecting the sale of their lands." "But," he added, "the case is now entirely altered. The general government only has power to treat with the Indian nations, and any treaty formed and held without its authority, will not be binding." Such complaints for grievance as could be, he said, should be corrected, and promised the Senecas that their sale of lands in the future would depend entirely upon themselves, the general government giving them its protection. After pledging the United States to aid the Senecas who should till their land ; promising to punish bad white men who killed the Indians, if captured, as though they had killed white men ; and cautioning the young Senecas to keep aloof from the Miami Indians—who were causing trouble along the Ohio—he added this personal paragraph :

"The merits of the CORNPLANTER, and his friendship for the United States, are well known to me, and shall not be forgotten ; and, as a mark of the esteem of the United States, I have directed the Secretary of War to make him a present of two hundred and fifty dollars, either in money or goods, as the CORNPLANTER shall like best, and he may depend upon the future continued kindness of the United States ; and I have also directed the Secretary of War to make suitable presents to the chiefs present in Philadelphia ; and, also, that some further tokens of friendship be forwarded to the other chiefs, now in their nation.

"Remember my words, Senecas ; continue to be strong in your friendship for the United States, as the only rational ground for your future happiness, and you may rely upon their kindness and protection, etc.

"If any man brings you evil reports of the intentions of the United States, mark that man as your enemy, for he will mean to deceive you and lead you into trouble. The United States will be true and faithful to their engagements."

I have alluded to Cornplanter's last visit to President Washington in 1797, when he closed his speech as follows : "Father ! I congratulate you on your intended repose from the fatigues and anxiety of mind which are constant attendants on high public stations, and hope that the same good spirit which has so long guided your steps as a father to a great nation, will still

continue to protect you, and make your private reflections as pleasant to yourself as your public measures have been useful to your people."

#### CORNPLANTER'S VISIT TO FORT PLAIN.

*The Hon. Peter J. Wagner*, a grandson on the mother's side of John Abeel, an octogenarian, well remembers a visit of Cornplanter to his relatives at Fort Plain, when he was a boy in his teens. He places the visit in the fall of about 1810. The noted chieftain then came here in his native dress of "feather and plume," on his way to Albany, attended by several other Indian chiefs, whose character or standing is not now remembered—but Cornplanter was the central star of observation. The party were first entertained at the house of Joseph Wagner, the father of informant, whose wife was a half sister of the distinguished chief, who received at her hands that kind and courteous attention which his reputation justly entitled him to expect. The distinguished guests also found the fatted calf prepared for them at Nicholas Dygert's; his wife being a sister of Mrs. Wagner. Indeed, they were made to feel equally at home at Jacob Abeel's, at the homestead—his father, John Abeel, having then been dead more than a dozen years: but his widow was living with her son, and exerted herself to make her home one of comfort and hospitality for the red men. These guests were here several days, and Cornplanter was so handsomely treated by his kinsfolk, that he must have carried home a grateful recollection of his visit. He was then judged nearly six feet high and well proportioned. He appeared in attire and ornament as the representative man of his nation, and well did he sustain the *role* of his national reputation. Many people in this vicinity then saw the celebrated Cornplanter, who never gave his white relatives cause to blush for any known act of his life; and his visit has ever been treasured as a bright spot on the memory of his friends

#### EARLY BRIDGES IN THE MOHAWK VALLEY.

*The Fort Hunter Bridge.*—The first bridge of importance in the Mohawk valley, was erected over the Schoharie creek at Fort Hunter. Maj. Isaiah Depuy, a resident of Fultonville at the time of his death (in 1841), as he assured the writer, was its

master builder. It was commenced in October, 1796, and on the following fourth of July, American Independence was becomingly celebrated on it. It was a toll bridge, as were in fact nearly all bridges of any length at that period, and proved a great convenience at that early day to people traveling up and down the river in their own conveyances. On the completion of this bridge, a line of stages was established going westward from Albany on the south side of the Mohawk, which staid with its passengers over night at Roof's tavern at Canajoharie, upon the site of which hotel Wagner was erected in 1878, by Hon. Webster Wagner.

*An Accident at this Bridge.*—February 22, 1814, the eastern bent of this bridge was carried away by the ice. At this period Christian Service, a well-to-do citizen of Florida, had a tannery and manufactured much of his leather into boots and shoes. He had a son named Samuel, who went to Sacketts Harbor with a quantity of the latter, hoping there to find a ready sale for them. Learning that his son was becoming profligate, the father went out there in a sleigh to look after him and the stock he had taken thither. Settling up the business as best he could, he returned taking his son with him. A thaw preceded his return, and in the middle of a dark and foggy night, he arrived at Fort Hunter, only a few miles from his own home. Knowing there was no snow on the bridge, his son got out to to favor the team and walked behind the sleigh. The team stopped suddenly upon the bridge, a portion of which the ice had removed a day or two before; and unconscious of danger, Mr. Service urged on his horses—a fine sorrel team—with his whip. One spring, and the team and sleigh went down into the surging waters; the father was drowned and the son was saved. The horses swam to the eastern shore below the bridge where they gained a footing and were rescued alive after daylight. The body of Mr. Service was recovered from Kline's Island in the river three miles below the creek, in the following spring. Much sympathy was manifested for the family, and many seemed to think the wrong man was in the sleigh. This scapegoat afterwards left the county, and we know not what became of him.—*Peter I Newkirk and John Enders.*

*A Burglary in ye Olden Time.*—One night when a stage load of passengers remained over at Roof's tavern—believed to have

been in the autumn of 1797—a burglary was committed in it. The house was a stone building erected some years before by a man named Schremling, and was purchased by Johannes Roof, in 1778, who left Fort Stanwix the year before, and who at once opened it as a public house. It stood against the hill upon the southern verge of the flats ; and at the time of the burglary was kept by John Roof, then, or about that time, a colonel of militia, his parents—Jonannes Roof and wife—living with him. On the day preceding the burglary, quite a sum of money in specie had been paid to the family and deposited with other sums in an iron chest, which was chained to a post of the bedstead and kept under the bed, in which the elder Roof and wife slept. In the afternoon the old gentleman drew the chest from under his bed, and asked Rebecca Bowman, a girl living in the family and Nancy Spraker,\* a young lady then in her teens, to lift it ; and its weight was a good match for their strength. On the night following the lifting of the trunk, the old people occupied the bed over it, while the young ladies named slept in a trundle bed in front of the other bed, with a limited space between them : and yet without disturbing the inmates of the room, the chest was removed by burglars before morning. The stage had come in full of passengers, and there had been more or less of confusion in the house nearly all night, which seemed to favor the rogues. How the chest was taken from the house, or what became of either the money or the chest yet remains a secret ; but it was surmised that the latter was possibly thrown into the river. A small tin trunk containing valuable papers, which was kept in the chest, was found soon after the robbery in one of the abutments of the creek bridge near by, placed purposely, where it could be seen. This bold theft, which for a time afforded no little gossip in the valley, was forgotten for nearly three-quarters of a century, and until I fortunately struck its trail. It was shrewdly imagined in the time of it, that some

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\* A daughter of George Spraker, and youngest sister of Col. Roof's first wife, whom she was then visiting. She was afterwards married to Jacob J. Lawyer, of Schoharie, whose widow she is and where she now—1881—resides. She was born in the town of Palatine, December 15, 1780, and at her centennial anniversary, she was smart, with a good memory and clear intellect. The particulars of this narrative I had from her, corroborated by other old people. Her brother, Maj. Joseph Spraker, is favorably remembered at the "Nose," as a tavern keeper in the day of large wagons, and at that place she was married. She died January 23, 1882.

relative of the family was in the secret, but if so the public were never the wiser for it.—*W. H. Seeber.*

*The Canajoharie Bridges.*—The first bridge over the Mohawk was erected at Canajoharie by Theodore Burr, in 1803.\* This Burr is said to have hailed from Burr's Mills, in Jefferson county. This was called by the multitude a bow-bridge, and consisted of a single arch 330 feet long. He commenced the Canajoharie bridge while a foundation was being secured for the one at Trenton. This bridge was found to be too steep in its approach from the abutments, and an inclined stretch was added from each abutment resting upon the arch pretty well up, to overcome the difficulty; that upon the south shore being some 60 feet long. While this bridge was in the course of erection, said the late Chester L. Simms, the following incident transpired upon it: The arch was across the chasm, and some of the plank were laid, when a workman went on the top of it to bore a hole with an auger. When he attempted to draw the auger the handle came off, and, losing his balance, he fell from that height backwards, and turning a somersault or two struck in the deepest water, came upon his hands and knees at the bottom of the river, rose to the surface, and swam ashore with the auger handle still in his hand. Nothing daunted, within two hours he was again at work upon the top of the arch. Not long after this event, several men crossed the river one evening to go to a spree, and, while returning, one of them fell through a hole near the south abutment into shoal water, and was hurt so as to be laid up for three months.

This bridge had been in use but a short time, when a drove of cattle, passing over it, huddled together upon one side, causing it to settle sensibly on that side. The bridge becoming more insecure, in 1805 Burr sent his brother Arnold to repair

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\* So said Matthew McCabe, in September, 1859. McCabe was 77 years old at our interview; was a native of Baltimore, and was at work on a bridge Burr was building over the Delaware, at Trenton, N. J., also in 1803. This bridge was about 1,000 feet in length, consisted of three arches with a roadway under them, and was three years in building, at a cost of \$370,000. To get a good foundation for piers the water was drawn by the use of coffer-dams, and they dug from 22 to 28 feet below the bed of the river. The tide at every flood filled the dams, and they had to work with 300 or 400 hands day and night. This bridge was still standing 20 years ago—and probably is to-day—with its original timber. The bridge was covered with cedar and cypress shingles, joined in a shaving machine, and were 28 inches long and half an inch thick at the butt. Contractor Burr also erected a bridge over the Susquehanna, at Harrisburgh, Pa.

the arch, and Mr. McCabe, also at work for the contractor, was sent to assist him. In coming up from Schenectada, McCabe chanced to make the journey in company with Gen. Hull, who, with his family, was on his way to Michigan as its Governor. The bridge could not be rendered safe, and, in 1807, it fell with a crash that was heard several miles distant. The timber was mostly saved, and the next season (1808) Theodore Burr sent his brother Abram Burr to build the second Canajoharie bridge—which was a covered one—setting it on three stone piers. McCabe assisted in the construction of this bridge, as did also Benoni Danks, of Jefferson county.

In the spring of 1822, the second Burr bridge was swept away, and David I. Zielley, a prominent citizen farmer of Palatine, took the contract to erect another. He employed as Boss builder, a Mr. Prentice from Kinderhook. Prentice was a good carpenter, but unused to raising such a structure; and when the frame was ready—after several ineffectual attempts to raise it—he called the skill of McCabe in requisition, and his experience soon enabled him to rig the gearing so as to put the timber in its place.

*A Close Shave.*—While this bridge was constructing, the following incident occurred upon it: Henry I. Faling was at work on the bridge, when, as a man above him was driving a pin with a broad axe, it flew from the handle. As it did so, its user shouted: "Look out below!" Faling looked up to discover the cause of alarm, just as the axe cut part of the brim from his hat, shaving his hair and just drawing blood from his scalp. This was a narrow escape from death.

*A Perilous Position.*—The Zielley bridge was carried away by the ice in the spring freshet of 1833, and its destruction in the day time was a most splendid sight from Canajoharie, as the writer well remembers. After the bridge was removed, and before the deluge subsided, the following incident transpired, which we also witnessed, George G. Johnson and George Caldwell, both of whom resided at Palatine Bridge, and were doing business in Canajoharie, started in a skiff to go home from the latter place. The water covered the flats from the Palatine hillside to the canal. They were both strong, muscular men; but Johnson, as the most experienced, took the oars. The boat ride was watched with no little interest from Canajoharie, as



now and then a cake of floating ice was in the channel. The boat struck up the river, and came upon its bank 15 or 20 rods above the bridge, at which time the river bank was there skirted by a row of large trees, mostly elms.

Passing under one of those trees, the limbs of which brushed the heads of the boatmen, Caldwell, sitting in the stern, was observed to catch hold of the branches over head; and retaining his grasp, from some motive, the boat at once passed from under him, and he sank to his arms in the water. The people on the Canajoharie shore who witnessed his dilemma—too far away to render any assistance—became much excited, looking upon the young navigator as already lost. But Johnson acting coolly, with a word of cheer for his companion, put the boat about with no little skill, and drew him into it, where he was contented to remain until the skiff struck the Palatine shore at a little distance above the bridge abutment, and Caldwell hastened to his home at the inn of Joshua Read, where, with dry clothes on, he felt himself safer than when up to his arm-pits in the Mohawk. Long have those companions in peril battled with life since; but they have now both crossed that unseen river, whose opposite shore is not far distant from all of the human family, who are anxiously looking for a safe landing upon it.

John Stafford, who died in 1878, at the age of 80, assured the writer that he came to Palatine Bridge to reside March 5, 1816. When the Zielle bridge went off in 1833, Stafford, who had worked with Prentice upon it, took the contract for building another: and so successfully did he prosecute the work, that in August it was passable for teams. That is the bridge of to-day. The southern shore was then filled in, extending the abutment some 60 feet toward the river. Walrath and Hiram Allen, two carpenters, were on the plate using mallets or commanders, when the latter caught and Walrath fell off into five feet water, and came out commander in hand unharmed: but nothing could induce him to go upon the frame again. We don't remember any other incident worthy of mention connected with the construction of the bridge, but we do remember the sad fate of Miss Anna Mary, an interesting daughter of Henry Edwards of Canajoharie, who lost her life from it November 1, 1867. She was returning home from Palatine Bridge in the

evening, and hearing a runaway horse enter the bridge behind her, she sprang to the door on the westerly side, opening over the middle pier. Whether she leaned against the door and thus pushed it open, or whether for greater security she attempted to step out upon the pier is unknown; but true it is in the darkness she fell off into the water, was carried into the eddy below the pier and was drowned.

*The Schenectada Bridge.*—April 4, 1800, the Legislature chartered the "Mohawk Turnpike and Bridge Company," Peter Smith, Gaylord Griswold, Charles Newkirk, Jacob C. Cuyler, James Murdock and John C. Cuyler being named in the act as it commissioners. The same act made provision for the erection of a bridge at Schenectada: which was built by Theodore Burr, the celebrated bridge builder already named. It was an elliptic or arched bridge, and was begun in the summer of 1804. It was constructed in two arches resting on one pier in the middle of the river, and was not completed, when, on the night of February 13, 1805, it fell with a terrific crash. False bents were yet under it, when a freshet raised them and the wind blew the bridge down. It fell upon the ice about midnight with a noise which many mistook for thunder. Most of the timber was recovered in a damaged condition. In the same season and soon after this misfortune befel the bridge, by an act of the Legislature it was given a separate interest from that of the Turnpike Company *pro rata*, to be known as the Mohawk Bridge Company. In 1806, the number of the Mohawk turnpike's directors was reduced to seven. As the Schenectada bridge had not yet been completed, an act was passed extending the time of its completion to 1810. Burr also erected this bridge, resting it on seven piers, and he used coffer-dams to bed them. Its wood-work was demolished in 1874.

While this bridge was building, this incident occurred. After the string pieces had been laid, and before they were planked, a young son of the contractor walked unobserved over the middle of the stream. A workman discovering the urchin upon the timbers, directed the attention of the father that way. With feelings of deepest anxiety he beheld his darling boy in a position from which a misstep would inevitably launch him into eternity. Prudence dictated silence, and after the little fellow had surveyed the premises to his satisfaction, he returned to the

shore, to the great relief of his agitated parent, who gave him a good basting for his juvenile curiosity.

*The Fort Plain Bridges.*—The third bridge over the Mohawk was erected at the lower end of an island in the river, and was situated nearly a mile above the present Fort Plain bridge. In fact this structure consisted of two bridges with several rods of road between them, the shorter one on the southern shore—the main channel of the river being on the north side of the island—terminating southerly near the store of James Oothout, an early tradesman. Dea. James Pollock now resides near this southern bridge termination. It was named the “Montgomery Bridge,” but came to be called in its neighborhood, “Oothout’s Bridge.” The commissioners for its erection were John Beardsley, Esq., of East creek, Col. Charles Newkirk and Col. Peter Wagner, of Palatine Church, for the north side, and Oothout, Gansevoort, Dygert, Arndt and Keller for the south shore. Beardsley—himself a mill-wright—was the contractor for its erection, and Philip Washburn, who had worked with Burr, was his Boss carpenter. McCabe assured the writer that he too, worked upon this bridge—especially upon the southern part. These, like many early bridges, were constructed of wood, were not covered, and rested mainly upon wooden piers or supports. The toll house was upon the Fort Plain bank of the river. The timber for the north bridge came mostly from the Wagner farm, while that of the south bridge came from Snellsbush. Its completion was celebrated with no little pomp on the 4th of July, 1806, and took place on the north bank of the river, not far from the bridge. The facts attending this celebration were obtained mainly from the late George Wagner, a boy at that period. Gen. Peter C. Fox, in full uniform and mounted upon a splendid grey horse, was Grand Marshal on the occasion; and had at his command a company of artillery, with a cannon, and Capt. Peter Young’s well mounted cavalry.

The latter company is said to have trotted across the bridge to test its strength, and a severe one that would naturally be; besides, several yoke of oxen were driven over it to obtain a farther proof of its completeness, while a cannon blazed away at one end of it. Some one delivered an oration on this occasion. A dinner was served at the public house of the elder

George Wagner to the multitude, who looked upon the completion of this enterprise as a marked event—and, indeed, such it was, for the services of ferrymen who had pulled at the rope for years a little below, were now at an end, and the delay and danger of crossing by ferriage was obviated.

Methinks I can now see the table on which this dinner was served, groaning under its burden of good eatables; its head adorned with a good sized pig roasted whole—a sight yet common fifty years ago, but now seldom seen at the festive board. This Wagner homestead is the present residence of the old inn-keeper's grandson, Chauncey Wagner. This remarkable bridge celebration was kept up three successive days, the parties dancing each night at the Wagner tavern, where Washburn and his hands boarded. From the following incident, we must suppose the erection of this bridge began in the autumn of 1805. Spiles were driven for the abutments, and this was being done, with a crowd of witnesses looking on, when a wag placed a large pumpkin upon the top of a spile, and the falling weight sent pumpkin enough for a small pie into everybodys face.

When this bridge was erected, nearly all there was of Fort Plain as a settlement—which took its name from the military post near by—was in the vicinity of this bridge. True, Isaac Paris had a few years before been trading at the now Blecker residence in the present village, and Casper Lipe had another store for a time near the creek bridge; but besides the Oothout store, Conrad Gansevoort had one half a mile below, at Abeel's; while on the hill near the meeting house, Robert McFarlan was then trading—besides, there were several mechanics within the same distance, all of whom are said to have done a prosperous business. A toll gatherer, for some years at the new bridge, was Peter Pifer, a somewhat eccentric German, who resided in the toll house; and was succeeded, as believed, by the widow of Andrew Oothout. Pifer and his wife were an old couple without children, who always kept themselves tidy. They had several white woolly dogs, a marked feature in their domestic economy. Said the late Cornelius Mabee, when the bridge became dilapidated, was condemned and toll was no longer collected, Domine Wack, who usually crossed it on horseback, was asked as he was about to go upon it, if he was not afraid to ride over it? "*No*," he replied, *my faith is so strong that*

*I fear no evil.*" As chance would have it, when the bridge finally fell, the domine had passed over it on horseback just before, so that his faith out lasted the bridge. The ice took off the northern or principal structure of this *Island Bridge*, says Abram Sparks, an eye witness of the event, in April 1825, and after it had served the public for nearly 19 years. The bridge between the island and the southern shore, was allowed to stand several years later, until it rotted down. When the island bridge on the main channel went off, a ferry was established opposite the growing village—near the present bridge—which served the public for years.

In 1828, the second bridge was erected at Fort Plain, to take the place of the *Island Bridge*. It was completed and its gate opened for carriages on the first of January, 1829. It was a substantial covered bridge, resting on three piers, and was erected by Matthias Langdon as Boss carpenter, with a good corps of assistants; and remembered among them were John Clum, Capt. George Dunckel, Wm. Wagner and Baltus Dillenbeck. As the bridge stock at the island had not been a very profitable investment, few were desirous to invest in this much needed enterprise. Its stockholders were Henry and Robert Crouse, brothers; Lawrence and Nicholas Gros, brothers; Dr. Joshua Webster; Charles and Joseph Wagner, brothers; and Peter J., son of the latter; Peter P. Wagner, son of Col. Peter Wagner, John Brookman, Chauncey Houpt, and his daughter, Mrs. Doctor Jefferson.

This bridge stood until the spring freshet of 1842, when about eight o'clock one morning two-thirds of it—the two north bents—went off almost bodily with the ice. One bent lodged on Ver Planck's island, and the other on the flats of Nicholas Gros about a mile below the village, from whence the timber was recovered. David Heath, of Port Leyden, N. Y., assured the writer May 23, 1865, that he resided at Fort Plain when this disaster happened. Strange as it may seem, when this bridge was erected its toll-house was located on the south end toward the flats, so that if anything happened to the bridge, the family living in the dwelling would be isolated and its retreat to *terra firma* cut off. At the time of this disaster Ebenezer Holmes, an old gentlemen, was the gatekeeper, and Heath (who said his own wife was a niece of Theodore Burr, the bridge builder),

took Holmes and his family from the toll-house—which fortunately did not go off, although the abutment under it was very much shattered—and conveyed them to the dwelling of Warren Holmes, in the village. Before this disaster befel the bridge, the south stretch of it had settled, and Elisha Wilcox, who moved buildings, had raised it with screws; and Capt. George Dunkel was about to repair it. Possibly this raising of the bent saved this portion of the bridge, and with it the toll-house. The bridge was reconstructed in the summer of 1842, and Capt. George Dunkel was Boss carpenter of the job.

*A Bullet Hole in a Broad-axe.*—While the bridge was being replaced, William Wagner, a carpenter at work upon it, received a new broad-axe just made at Little Falls. Capt. Dunkel told him he had seen such an axe through which a rifle ball had been fired. Wagner was incredulous; would not believe such a thing feasible, and offered to bet a dollar it could not be done. The bet was taken, and Capt. Horace Thayer, living in the place—and known to have a good rifle—was called upon to decide the bet. Joseph Sparks stuck the axe into a piece of timber on the bank of the river, and with chalk drew a circle in its centre. Thayer, three or four rods off, taking a rest for sure aim, sent a bullet entirely through the axe, making a smooth round hole at the entrance, but leaving it in a rough and disfigured condition. Dunkel told Wagner he would not have taken the money had not the latter doubted his word. “Well,” said Wagner, “I’ll give you *two dollars* to put the hole shut again.” This novel event afforded much jesting at the time; and if any of the workmen desired to tease Wagner afterwards, they had only to put the disfigured axe in a conspicuous place.

The bridge in question is the bridge of to-day. A project for a *free bridge* was started in the winter of 1857, when its friends succeeded in getting the Legislature to repeal an important part of the charter for the old bridge. Without stopping to discuss the propriety of granting especial privileges to-day, and legislating them away to-morrow, because it can be done, I may observe that a door for litigation was not only opened, but the way to a free bridge rendered feasible; and its projectors, in the spring of 1857, at once set about building an iron bridge directly above the other. The mason work had not been completed when the labor was estopped by an injunction, which de-

layed its completion until the summer of 1858, when it was brought into use and the old bridge ceased taking toll. At the end of a term of litigation, the free bridge projectors became possessed of the old bridge, resulting in a serious loss to its latest stockholders. The iron bridge was finally disposed of to raise and put in good condition the old wooden structure, and now it looks as though that might well serve the public for several decades to come.

The Fort Plain *free bridge* movement, had a direct tendency to make nearly all the other bridges on the river *free* bridges; the time having arrived when the enterprise of the country demanded the measure. In 1859 an act was passed to erect a free bridge at Canajoharie, or compel the sale of the old one—to be made free—which result followed. Indeed, such should have been the law for the Fort Plain bridge, compelling all parties interested to submit to a just appraisal.

• *A Singing Match.*—A man named Crandall, one of the workmen upon the Island Bridge, remained in the neighborhood and taught a singing school, at which time one Smith had a similar school at Palatine Bridge. On some occasion—perhaps a year or more after the bridge celebration—a challenge was given by one of these singing masters and accepted by the other, to test their singing merits by pitting, at a public rehearsal, school against school. Crandall had about a dozen well-trained scholars, and Smith nearly forty, when they came together in the ball-room of the George Wagner tavern. Doctor Webster, Jonathan Stickney, and a third person not remembered, were the umpires chosen to hear the parties sing, and decide between them. The room was packed, the singing was good, and seemed about equally meritorious; but it became apparent to the umpires that a bitter rivalry existed between the contestants, which might end in a quarrel if not in blows, if they made a decision then; hence the committee very discreetly adjourned the meeting, taking time to consider the matter, which, at the end of 75 years, has not expired.—*George Wagner.*

*The Old Walrath Ferry, etc.*—I have alluded in the above bridge account to the ferry below it. This was at the old John Walrath place. Walrath was a blacksmith before and after the Revolution, and his old dwelling—a large framed building—is yet standing near the railroad, half a mile above the depot,

where the river flats are so suddenly changed from the north to the south shore. Here was probably a ferry prior to the erection of a bridge, the preceding 50 years. The ferrying was done for a long time at this place by two slaves, "Tom," a stout negro, who managed a scow, and "Gin," a wench, who rowed footmen over in a skiff. Gin often frightened children while ferrying by letting the craft drift down the stream several rods, to be sent up again by her strong arm long before the opposite shore was gained. Tom Walrath (slaves usually took their owner's name) was remembered as wearing his woolly locks in a queue, bound by an eelskin. At the raising of a barn on the Wormuth farm—the next above Wagner's, and then owned by Peter Wormuth Fox, given by the former owner to the latter as his namesake, and now in possession of the Rueben Lipe family—Tom was there, and so was Hank Prime, and the latter at a dance which followed the raising in the evening, while on a spree, cut off the wig of poor Tom with a jack-knife, to his great mortification, as it required a long time for the hair to grow again, and he was daily subjected to a deal of commiseration on the ferry boat for his loss. The Wormuth house was a stone dwelling which, 25 years ago, was in ruins, and has now entirely disappeared. This place was the home of Lieut. Matthew Wormuth, who was killed near Cherry Valley by Indians under Brant. The Lieutenant was buried from this house.

*Bridges of Amsterdam.*—The first charter for a toll bridge at Amsterdam, was granted in 1807. It was to be located between the dwelling house of Benjamin Van O'Linda in Florida, and that of Timothy Downs in Amsterdam, but was not erected. April 2, 1813, an act was passed allowing the "Amsterdam Union Bridge Company," to build a bridge between Amsterdam and Florida—within half a mile of Deforest's ferry—to be constructed within five years: but it had not been done when March 6, 1821, the charter was amended, extending the time of building it and completing it to August 1, 1824. It came into use December 1, 1822. This bridge which had been made free, was carried off by a freshet, February 15, 1876, and the present substantial iron structure, also a free bridge, took its place.

*A Serious Calamity.*—Until a new bridge was built a ferry was established. On Monday night April 24, 1876, the follow-



ing accident occurred at this ferry. Johnson I Snell and Culver Patterson, two attorneys residing at Port Jackson, who had been to Amsterdam on business, set out to return home about 12 o'clock, with Michael Turner to row them over in a skiff. Unfortunately he started above the ferry rope, and when near the middle of the stream, as supposed, the current took the craft upon the rope which upset it, and its inmates were drowned. Their bodies were all finally recovered, that of Turner, some months after. This sad event which took off three good citizens, was the cause of no little sorrow in the two villages, and will long serve as a reminder of the loss of the old bridge.

*The First Bridge at Little Falls*, erected by the "Fall Hill and Turnpike Bridge Company," was chartered April 9, 1804. Its charter was amended in 1806, when it was still unfinished. It was a wooden structure, and was erected by Theodore Burr, and is believed to have come into use in 1807. It was a toll bridge and occupied the same position as the present arched stone structure. In 1823, an act of the Legislature very wisely gave the supervisors of Herkimer county the privilege, at the approval of three respectable freeholders, of purchasing this bridge to be made a free bridge—believed the earliest example of a free bridge over the Mohawk—certainly as far east as Little Falls.

*Bridges at Caughnawaga*.—The first bridge at this place was chartered in 1811, and was erected at the lower end of the rift opposite Caughnawaga, as supposed, the same season. Its supports were of wood, it was built too low and at the next spring freshet it was lifted from its foundation and carried away.

The second Caughnawaga bridge was chartered in 1823, and was constructed and brought into use the next season. This was a very good covered bridge, but was taken off at a freshet March 17, 1865, when two canal boats came down the river from Canajoharie, and aided in its removal. The present uncovered bridge, an iron structure—now known as the Fultonville and Fonda bridge, was built in the summer of 1865, and would seem fitted to stand up against the icy spring floods of many years to come: this is a free bridge, but its predecessor exacted tribute.

*A Remarkable Case of Bleeding.*—In the summer of 1853 or 1854, two of the stockholders of the old bridge company, old gentlemen who were boys in the Revolution, Evert Yates and William A. Smith, came to the north entrance of the bridge in a one horse wagon. Seeing a slow team enter the right hand track just ahead of them, they thought to drive through the other, but had entered only a few feet, when they saw the passage darkened by a team at the other end of the bridge. Their only alternative was to back out. The descent from the abutment was rapid, and as the wagon came from the bridge it cramped short to the left, and there being no railing on the side of the abutment, the wagon its inmates and horse fell pell-mell ten or twelve feet to the ground. Mr. Yates and the horse were not much hurt, but Mr. Smith was quite seriously injured, and was carried to the Caughnawaga House, kept by Fonda Yates. Dr. Maxwell of Johnstown was sent for, as was also Dr. Leonard Proctor, of Fultonville. The latter came first and finding the patient injured about the head and nearly suffocated, without waiting the arrival of Dr. Maxwell, he set about bleeding him. Being unable to draw blood from his arm, and knowing that the sufferer must have immediate relief or die, as a dernier resort he tapped the jugular vein. The blood flowed freely and immediate relief followed. Dr. Proctor had had much experience in hospital treatment in his early life—hence he did not hesitate to do what most medical practitioners would then have denominated a *desperate act*. The patient was breathing freely and was out of immediate danger, when Dr. Maxwell, a good physician and a man of great experience arrived at his bedside. He asked Proctor what he had done for the patient. “I found him nearly suffocated,” was the reply, “and not being able to get blood from his arm I opened the jugular vein.” “*What! you bled him in the jugular vein?*” “Yes, I let the blood from his jugular.” “Why, I never heard of such an instance,” said the senior physician with emphasis, “*and remember no such case laid down in the books.*” “Well doctor,” replied Proctor coolly as he pointed to the bed—“*you can see a case laid down there!*” Mr. Smith recovered and lived several years after this novel blood-letting, but in all probability, he would not have survived until the arrival of Maxwell, had not Proctor per-

formed for this vicinity this remarkable feat. Dr. Proctor died at Fultonville March 7, 1856.

In 1849, the Fultonville and Johnstown Plankroad Company obtained a charter for a bridge within a mile of the Caughnawaga bridge, but it was not built as they made an arrangement to use the old bridge.

*Contemplated Bridges.*—March 22, 1822, an act was passed to build a toll-bridge over the Mohawk between the towns of Oppenheim and Minden—immediately below the *three islands*—and as nearly opposite the house of Peter Kneiskern as the situation would admit of. It was to be known as the “Oppenheim and Minden Bridge Company.” This bridge was never built.

In 1836 the Spraker’s Basin Bridge Company obtained a charter for a bridge, but no means were taken for its erection. Again, in 1856, an act was passed for the construction of a Suspension Bridge at this place. It was done in consequence of a movement for a railroad from some point on the Mohawk to Cherry Valley, it having been thought that a feasible route could be obtained from Spraker’s Basin up Flat Creek, and thence in a near approach to Sharon Springs, so as to secure that patronage. This project fell through, and the bridge was never built.

*Auriesville Bridge Company.*—In 1840 an act was passed for the erection of a bridge over the Mohawk, opposite the village of Auriesville. It was never built. The same season (1840) an act was passed to build a bridge near Tribes Hill, to be known as the Fort Hunter Bridge Company. It was to strike the Florida shore, just below the mouth of the Schoharie creek. The enterprise proved abortive.

*The Fort Hunter Bridge.*—In 1852 “The Fort Hunter Bridge Company” was chartered, and soon after erected a bridge on the site contemplated in the act of 1840. It was constructed on a new and novel plan, and was hardly completed when it fell of its own weight. Most of the timber was recovered in a damaged condition. The present Suspension Bridge, built after the model of that over Niagara river, took its place soon after. This is believed to be the only toll-bridge on the river above Schenectada to-day. It is a good bridge, with a single track.

*Bridges Over the Canada Creeks.*—The Mohawk Turnpike

and Bridge Company, which was chartered in 1800, with amendments to the charter for several years, had, in the course of three or four years, erected bridges over the East and West Canada creeks. One of them was—and possibly both of them were—built by Burr, the well-known bridge builder. In 1813 an act was passed, allowing the turnpike company to erect a toll-gate upon each of those bridges. When the Utica and Schenectada Railroad Company obtained its charter, it was compelled to purchase the franchise of the Mohawk Turnpike Company, which they did at a nominal price, and have since given over the road and its bridges to the towns in which they were situated, except the East Canada creek bridge lying between the towns of Oppenheim and St. Johnsville, those towns refusing to receive it. The consequence has been—the railroad company still owning it—to continue it as a toll-bridge, thus to collect money to keep it in repair. The road was abandoned, because its tolls would not defray the expense of keeping it in repair. The truth is, on the completion of the railroad through the valley, travel by carriages, except that of a local character, entirely ceased.

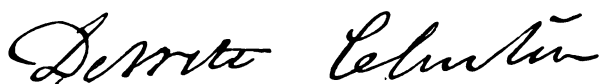
*Bridges at Fink's Ferry.*—In 1828 an act was passed for a bridge at Andrew A. Fink's below the Little Falls, to be known as the "Manheim Bridge Company." As it had not been built, the charter for it was "revived and confirmed in 1834." We think this bridge, when completed, did not long remain uninjured, and after a few years was swept away. In 1862 a charter was granted to the towns of Manheim, Danube and Little Falls, to erect a bridge at Fink's, below the falls. This bridge was built, but did not long remain in place; and March 21, 1865, an act was passed allowing the three towns named "to rebuild and repair" the bridge at an expense not exceeding \$5,000, and to keep it in future repair at an expense not exceeding \$1,000 in any one year, the sums thus expended to be equally assessed upon each of the three towns. This bridge is still standing.

*Bridge at St. Johnsville.*—March 9, 1837, an act was passed for a bridge at this place. It was to be completed in two years. April 21, 1840, the charter was revived, but again forfeited, and the bridge not built. April 11, 1848, a general bridge law was passed, requiring for the enterprise the appro-

bation of the board of supervisors. Under this general law the bridge was erected in 1852. It was never accounted the best bridge on the river, but a good bridge, nevertheless, as it has always carried its passengers safely over. April 3, 1866, a bill was passed compelling the sale of the bridge to the towns of St. Johnsville and Minden, to be made a free bridge. The bridge is still in use.

*Bridge near Yost's Railroad Station.*—April 7, 1820, an act was passed for a bridge between the towns of Johnstown and Charleston, to be known as the "Nose Bridge Company." Its location shows the large townships at that period: that point is now between Palatine and Root, and a little below the *Nose*. Directors named in the charter were Robert Yates, Abram A. Yates, Abram Gardinier, John P. Yates and John McKiernan. I name them, because it came to be called *McKiernan's bridge*. He was a business man, resided near its north end, where he had a store; having also stores at Stone Ridge and Corrystown in Root. The bridge was calculated to facilitate his business, and he was, no doubt, its greatest stockholder. The bridge was not constructed until several years after its charter was obtained; and November 24, 1824, an act was passed extending the time of its completion to December 1, 1825, in which year it was completed. It had four stone piers, which obstructed the water and ice, and as the bridge was not set high enough it was, at the end of a year or two, swept away, and was never rebuilt. At an early day—as I have shown—there were swing gates across the public roads, and one of these was at the Connelly place, near this bridge. There was another, some distance below, between the farms of Volkert and Abram Veeder, brothers. Travelers had to get out of their wagons and open and close them, at the peril, if alone, of losing their team. At times—when there were public doings to increase the travel—children would be at such places to open the gates, to receive small change therefor; and not unfrequently women in the wagons gave children olecooks—doughnuts, round cakes fried in lard, with raisins in the center—for this voluntary service. In the winter, when the roads were not fenced, it was difficult to keep in them, especially in stormy weather.

*The Construction of the Erie Canal.*—This was a grand stroke of State policy ; as it invited immigration and tended directly to the peopling and strengthening the territory through which it passed ; at the same time securing the carrying trade of commerce to and from the west ; which had a direct tendency to make New York city the great commercial mart of the Union. The work was begun on the middle section at Rome July 4, 1817, under the auspices of De Witt Clinton as governor, and at the end of eight years was completed. In 1819 it was finished from Rome to Utica, at which latter place Durham river boats unloaded. For two seasons lading was exchanged at Frankfort, one season at Bellinger's, above Little Falls ; and in 1821, by the energy of its contractors, it was navigable from the Genesee river to the foot of the locks



Fac simile of autograph of De Witt Clinton.

at Little Falls ; at which time most of the river craft was there employed, exchanging freight two seasons near Andrew A. Fink's. Temporary store houses were there built, said *Mr. Fink*, by Degraff, Walton, & Co.; Meach, & Co.; and John Dows, Mc. Michael, & Co., between the canal and the River, where transfers were made from the canal to river boats. In 1823, for one season, Dows, & Co. erected a temporary warehouse at Roseboom's, below Canajoharie ; and the other shippers also prepared near Sprakers Basin to tranship freight, as they had done at Fink's. The canal was 40 feet wide at the surface, 28 feet wide on its bottom, and 4 feet deep, with a towing path on its northerly shore 10 feet wide, raised several feet above the water and fenced in.

*Completion of the Canal, How Celebrated.*—Preparatory for the coming event, as it was intended to herald the completion with a grand *feu-de-joie*, cannon were stationed at intervals of 8 miles apart from Buffalo, on Lake Erie, to Sandy Hook below New York ; along the canal and Hudson river some 544 miles. The cannon were of large calibre to insure sound, most of them being 24 and 32 pounders : very few of them were on

carriages, but were simply blocked up for the occasion. The period of its construction was a busy one the whole length of the canal, in the building of dwellings, stores, warehouses and boats. The latter were at first mostly line boats, with a cabin at each end to accommodate passengers, and amid ships intended to receive 40 or 50 tons of freight. Numerous scow-boats with a small cabin at one end, were built by individual enterprise; which quite early also constructed a class of lake boats, for the transport of grain and merchandise. The first of this class of boats built in Montgomery county of about 80 tons burthen, was constructed in 1826 by Henry Lieber at Canajoharie, and called *PRINCE ORANGE*; at which time the writer was a clerk for that merchant. Another class of boats constructed at this period were packets, built solely to convey passengers from Utica to Schenectada, which, for a time, came in competition with stages. Later they went to Rochester.

On Monday the 24th of October, 1825, the great enterprise was completed from the Hudson river to Lake Erie, on Tuesday the water flowed its whole distance: and on Wednesday October 26th, at 9 o'clock, the signal gun boomed on its telegraphic mission—when the boat Seneca Chief drawn by 4 caparisoned grey horses, and containing the Governor and Lieutenant Governor, Jesse Hawley, an early advocate of the canal policy, and numerous delegates from Buffalo and other places—started eastward, amid the salute of a rifle corps, the music of a band and the cheers of the multitude. Three other boats, the Perry, Superior and Buffalo, followed the Seneca Chief. The cannon signals reached New York in just *one hour and twenty minutes*; and were returned to Buffalo in about the same length of time. By a misunderstanding the Fort Plain gun was fired at the anticipated time when the signal would reach here; and without waiting to hear the gun west of it, it was discharged, as it proved, 17 minutes before that signal came. Consequently that length of time should be added to the time the signal went over the entire route, making the full time *an hour and thirty-seven minutes*. The venerable Jacob Lasher, of Root, who was beside the next gun east, says they discharged that on hearing the Fort Plain gun, and a while after they heard the boom of the gun west of Fort Plain.

To get a just idea of the magnitude of this undertaking at

that period, let the reader consider that only 34 years before its commencement, our republic had achieved her independence ; had, in fact, but just emerged from a second war with the mother country, and that much of the district through which the canal passed, had been a howling wilderness not a quarter of a century before. To a reflecting mind the accomplishment of this stupenduous enterprise, even at this day, seems a marvel ; a wonderful advancement toward the acme of national aggrandisement. The reader must also remember that streams—some of magnitude—were to be bridged, dammed or crossed by aqueduct-bridges, hills were to be leveled, marshes to be raised, and all manner of unlooked for obstructions to be met and overcome.\* But a noble emulation of pluck and energy, manifested the whole length of the line, overcame all obstacles, and gave New York the proud distinction of the EMPIRE STATE. And why not justly so ? For, although yet in her youthful vigor, she had constructed the longest canal in the world, it being 352 miles long.

*Canal Locks at Lockport.*—Here is a view of those locks, as seen in 1840, when the canal was being enlarged, and a double set of locks were being constructed, to meet the increasing business demand for boats of a larger tonnage. At this time the depth of the canal was increased from four to seven feet, and its surface from 40 to 70 feet ; and, what is remarkable, the enlargement took place without much impeding its navigation.

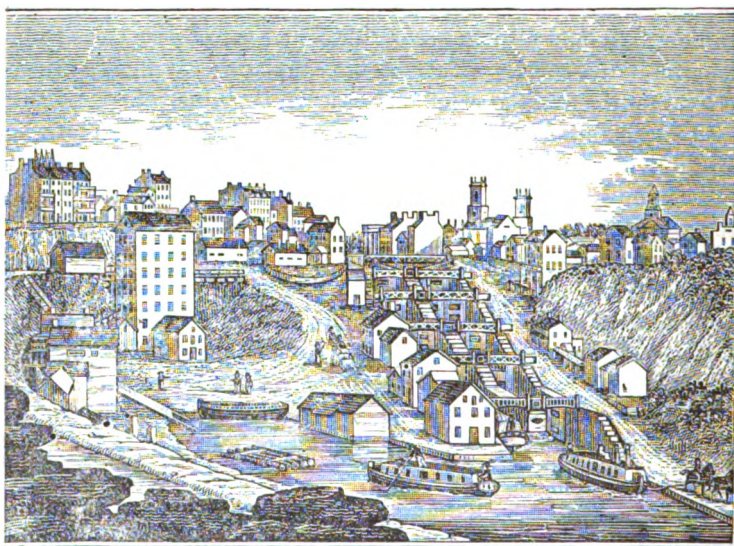
On the day of the thundering telegraph—which, as I remember, was a cold, cloudy day—every little hamlet on the line of the canal made it a gala day, celebrated by festivals, speeches, bonfires and musical and military parades. Perhaps the enthu-

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\* The following incident is said to have transpired when the canal was being constructed, and at a time when boats went no farther west than Brockport. For some distance west of Rome, the canal was laid through a swamp ; and, at a place called the *Black Snake*—because of certain crooks in the canal just above Wood creek aqueduct—a lad 12 or 13 years of age, driving a horse to tow a boat, was seized by a panther, dragged into the forest, and devoured, the frightened horse jumping into the canal. For a long time after this event, so terror-stricken were canal drivers from hearing this story, that it was almost impossible to get any of them to drive through the swamp after dark ; and many a boy ran off and left his team, rather than chance the leap of a panther. I cannot vouch for the truth of this story, but I well remember that for more than a quarter of a century after the period indicated, it was gravely told by old canal men as a matter of fact.



siasm at Lockport\* exceeded that of all other villages. At sunrise a salute of 13 guns was fired, and at nine o'clock a procession was formed and moved to the foot of the locks, where the president of the day, the Canal Commissioners, engineers, committee of arrangements and others, embarked on board the packet William C. Bouck, the boat that had been selected as the *first to pass the locks* at that place (five in number), each of 12 feet lift to the Buffalo level. The boat Albany, of the Pilot line, followed the packet with over 200 ladies on board; other



Lockport, as seen just before the canal enlargement.

boats followed with the multitude. As the ascent was gained, the boats were greeted with the discharge of heavy artillery, very many rock-blasts prepared for the occasion—and the shouts of the spectators. The two forward boats were drawn side by side, when a prayer was made by Rev. Mr. Winchell, and an address was delivered by Judge Birdsall. Stepping on an elevated position, said the speaker, in a felicitous part of his speech, “The last barrier is passed! We have now risen to

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\* See O. Turner's History of Rail and Purchase.

the level of Lake Erie, and have before us a perfect navigation open to its waters." After the ceremonies the fleet moved west to Pendleton, where it awaited the Buffalo boats. On their arrival the Lockport boats escorted the flotilla to that place, amid the discharge of artillery, where a supper was served at the Washington House, after which the Seneca Chief and other boats went on their ocean voyage.

The fleet arrived at Albany on the second of November, at 1 P. M. The celebration there, it has been said, was on a scale of grandeur never attempted there since; but at New York—on Friday, the 4th—was the GRAND CELEBRATION of the great event. Here was a long procession, showing the different mechanical pursuits on wagons, some of which were unique and interesting. Two printing presses were busy in the procession printing an ode, which was distributed from the car. At 10 o'clock, at a given signal an aquatic procession of steamboats was started, the Washington, Capt. Bunker taking the lead, which was followed by the Fulton, James Kent, and Chancellor Livingston; with the safety barges Lady Clinton and Lady Van Rensselaer tastefully festooned with flowers, etc., and both appropriated to the use of ladies. These accompanied by canal boats proceeded down the bay. At Governor's Island the ship Hamlet decorated for the occasion joined the fleet, which proceeded to the schooner Dolphin, moored in Sandy Hook, where Gov. Clinton went through the ceremony of uniting the waters, by pouring a keg of water from Lake Erie into the Atlantic Ocean. The keg was then filled with Ocean water to be taken back and emptied into Lake Erie, which was also done. As a part of the ceremony, Dr. Mitchell then poured the contents of several vials, said to contain waters from the Elbe and other foreign sources into the Atlantic, with an address. Salutes were then fired from the revenue cutter and other vessels, and the procession returned to the city. On the return under a clear sky, there were 26 of the water-craft, splendidly decorated, moving majestically, crowded with passengers and arranged in charming order. The packet ship Hamlet with her masts and rigging decorated with the flags of all nations, and towed by steamboats made a fine display. The fleet landed its passengers at 3 P. M. in time to join in the street parade already mentioned. Over 200 banners and

standards were displayed at this time, many of them prepared for the occasion. Two British packets at anchor in the harbor, saluted and cheered the steamboats as they passed; and an American band in return played *God save the King*. The festivities were concluded in the evening by a rich display of fire works in different parts of the city; while at the city hall a large transparency represented the introduction of Neptune to the Lady of the Lakes by the genius of America. Said a writer on the occasion: "We cannot help expressing our gratification, at observing among the thousands we saw in the streets during the day and evening, hardly a single instance of intoxication, and not one unpleasant disturbance; and so far as we could learn, no accident happened to mar the festivities of the day."

*Other Celebrations.*—The festivities were not confined to canal villages, but cropped out all over the State where enterprise was a living element. In fact, the State authorities ordered all the *artillery corps* of the State to be out on that day and fire a national salute; and where villages were favored with military organizations, they generally had some befitting ceremony. At Cooperstown a splendid celebration took place, with Col. G. S. Crafts as Marshal. Maj. Benjamin's corps of Artillery fired a national salute from the summit of Mount Vision. A feu-de-joie by Capt Comstock's company of light Infantry followed the salute; to be succeeded by proceedings at the Episcopal church, where an address was delivered by Samuel Starkweather, Esq. A public dinner was served at Maj. Griffith's hotel, where patriotic toasts washed the dinner down.—*Freeman's Journal*.

*The Celebration at Fort Plain.*—This village was then just springing into life, but here as at other embryo towns on the canal, the event was becomingly observed. Scarcely a dozen buildings then made up the village proper. In 1824, Henry P. Voorhees erected a store on the bank of the creek then utilized, in the rear of Lipe's crockery store. John I. Diefendorf the next season built one on the berme bank of the canal, where E. S. Gregory's drug store now is, and John Warner, also in 1825, erected the store now owned by John A. Walrath. The substantial citizens of the neighborhood assembled on the day of the general festivities on the canal, and celebrated the

marked event. A long procession headed by Dr. G. S. Spalding as marshal, and led with martial music marched from the public house of mine host, Joseph Wagner, to Sand Hill, where, near the church a 6 pound cannon heralded the event of the day in thunder tones abroad. The patriotic crowd are said to have proceeded to the Hill and back two and two, and it was probably well that some of them did so. A report of this celebration published in the *Johnstown Republican* soon after, says: "An address with an appropriate prayer was pronounced in Washington Hall, [which was in an upper room of the Warner store] to a crowded audience, by Rev. John Wack, who did much honor to his head and heart. After the address, the company partook of a collation prepared by Mr. Joseph Wagner. Dr. Joshua Webster acted as president, and Robert Hall, Esq., as vice-president. The festivity of the day terminated with a ball in the evening."

The sumptuous dinner at this first *Wagner House*, says Simeon Tingue, then its hotel clerk, was spread the entire length of the ball room. This house stood on the north side of the guard-lock, and is now owned by Andrew Dunn. After discussing the merits of a good dinner numerous toasts were washed down by good liquor, which, as was soon apparent, was freely used by all present. Remembered among those at the table were several Foxes, Groses, Wagners, Hackneys, Marvin, Ferguson, Adams, Cole, Belding, Mabees, Diefendorfs, Crouses, Lipes, Dygerts, Ehles, Nellises, Abeels, Seebers, Ver Planks, Washburns, Moyers, Caslers, Clums, Failings, Roof, Firman, Langdon, Warner, Cunning and others. A more jovial and free-from-care set of men were never assembled in Minden. Here is a glance at the toasts. First came 13 regular toasts, and the 11th was as follows: "*Constitution of the United States.—'And the rain descended and the floods came and the winds blew, and beat upon that house, and it fell not for it was founded upon a rock.'*" Nine Cheers. The 12th was upon *Education*, and drew out 6 cheers; while the 13th upon the *Canals of New York*, was followed by 12 cheers. Of the 19 good volunteer toasts recorded, I think every mover but one has gone to his rest—the exception is Hon. Peter J. Wagner, now (1882) past 87; and here is his sentiment: "*Liberty of the Press!* The

armed neutrality of a powerful Republic. Here, no Harrington is denounced as a blood stained ruffian—no Galileo doomed to languish and pine within the cells of an accursed *Inquisition*." Mr. Wagner had more to do with preparing the toasts, than any other man. As the guests grew hilarious, W. P. M. Cole, a witty Yankee school teacher, having imbibed once too often, jumped upon the table, which was a temporary one resting upon saw-horses. Many dishes were yet upon the table when down it went and all on it upon the floor; and after the guests left the hall, lucky was it if they all got home before dark.

*Gov. Clinton Serenaded at Fort Plain.*—Having conversed with half a score of persons who were present when the Seneca Chief, bearing Gov. Clinton and suite to tide-water reached Fort Plain, we can speak understandingly of the event. It was expected the boat would arrive on the evening of Monday, October 31st (possibly heralded by stages), anticipating which event a large concourse of people gathered from a distance of several miles around. Preparations had been made to proclaim the event by erecting two long poles on Prospect Hill, each with a half barrel of pitch upon the top, with cords to hoist lighted shavings to ignite them. A cannon was also placed between them. To herald the event, James A. Lee, a constable, was sent on horseback to Countryman's lock, some miles above; and, to speed the tidings, two young men—Rugene Webster and Solomon Norton—were delegated to Jacob Abeel's tavern, half a mile west, to telegram with a musket from that point. Headquarters were at the new store of Warner, then directly above the guard-lock, the windows of which were illuminated. It was 11 o'clock at night when the mounted express reached Abeel's, where was also a jolly crowd. Norton fired the overloaded musket, and experienced its fearful rebound, to be followed by the thunder of the 32-pounder singal gun, still remaining on the site of the Glaessel House.

In a very few minutes the beacons were on fire, and war's mouth-piece on the hill heralded the approach of the Seneca Chief. Gov. Clinton—with a waiter by his side holding a lamp—as the boat, towed by three horses, ran in by the store, came on deck; limping a little, rubbing his eyes and looking up at the light seemingly in the clouds, he exclaimed in admiration

of the view, "*My God! what is that?*" His wonder was, how the light could be burning so far heavenward. The truth was, the night was dark and foggy, obscuring the bold bluff, on which the lights were burning more than a hundred feet above his boat, a scene calculated to astonish any beholder not knowing the circumstances. But the visit must be brief, and every eye of the hundreds present—whether *Clintonians* or not—desired to see the projector of "Clinton's Ditch," and somebody must say something. John Taylor, an Irish school-master—sometimes witty, and always garrulous—stepped upon the bow of the boat and said (not knowing what else to say): "Gov. Clinton, this is my friend John Warner's store." Poor Taylor, I am sorry to say, that in attempting to regain the shore, he fell into the canal, but, having thus reduced the bead on the contents of his stomach, he was rescued without injury. Later in life it was his fate to be drowned in the canal. Lawrence Gros, who was then just commencing trade as a partner of Warner in his new store, and Dr. Webster, were possibly the only ones present, who could claim a personal acquaintance with the Governor, and so desirous was Col. Crouse, and perhaps others, for an introduction to his Excellency, that they stepped on board, and, entering the cabin, rode down to the lock one-quarter of a mile below. It is presumed the Governor discovered that some of his guests had, in waiting, kept their own spirits up in a manner often resorted to at that period. Martial music attended the boat down to the lock, and as the Fort Plain guests stepped on shore the band struck up Yankee-doodle, when Gov. Clinton, from the deck, swung the crowd an adieu with his hat, entered the cabin with Canal Commissioner Bouck and others, and the Seneca Chief moved forward.

*How Canal Boats first Crossed the Schoharie Creek.*—The experiment was first tried of propelling boats across the creek by a large windlass and an endless rope, drawn by horse power, a scow boat taking over the teams: possibly this was a test before the canal was completed. Next, Maj. Isaiah Depuy built a bridge in parts, to be taken out in the fall, which a freshet carried off. Then the State paid for the construction of a towing-path on the toll-bridge just above the canal, which necessitated a canal bridge on each side of the creek, to get on and off the bridge from and to the tow-path. This crossing was

used until the bed of the canal was changed and the creek was crossed by an aqueduct.—*Jacob Fonda.*

*A Canal Accident at Schoharie Creek.*—Originally, as is elsewhere shown, the Erie canal was carried through all the principal creeks by the erection of dams in those streams sufficiently high to keep the canal at its usual depth, necessitating, at freshets, guard-locks on each shore. More or less accidents occurred in crossing all of those streams until the *canal enlargement* took place, occasionally resulting in death. Among the serious ones at Schoharie creek, here is an account of one as furnished by a passenger on board, which occurred May 12, 1829, about nine o'clock in the evening, which was published at the time in a paper entitled *The Little Falls Friend*. I find the account preserved in the *Christian Journal*, published at Utica, N. Y., under date of May 22, 1829. The water was high and the current was strong, when the packet boat Hudson with 25 passengers—half of whom were women and children—broke its tow-rope and drifted upon the dam stern first. The current swung the boat around broadside to the stream, and forced it over the dam into the creek, six or seven feet below. The alarm of all on board may well be imagined. Gen. Fuller, of Chittenango; Miss Shepard, of New Hartford; and Mr. Conkling, of New York, were thrown off the boat into the water. The first two, by the aid of ropes, regained the boat, and the last named went down the stream to shallow water, and was rescued in a canoe when nearly exhausted. A number of the passengers lost their trunks and clothing, and rumor said there was some \$12,000 in two of them. Most of the windows of the boat were broken, and its furniture deranged. The boat lodged upon a shoal below; and after a night of fearful anxiety the passengers were taken off at 7 A. M., and transferred with the remaining baggage to the packet Delaware, in which they proceeded to Schenectada. The packet boat South America is remembered as having been carried over the dam, as also several line boats, some of which were attended by novel and serious accidents. Packet boats, after a freshet, were usually the first boats to cross the most rapid streams.

*A proposed Canal.*—On the completion of the Erie canal, several projects were started for lateral canals from it. Here is the printed evidence of one now before me: "A memorial of

the inhabitants of the counties of Montgomery and Hamilton to the Legislature of the State of New York, relative to a CANAL from the Sacondaga river through Johnstown to the Erie canal, accompanied by a REPORT OF THE ENGINEER on that subject." This Memorial stated that "At an adjourned meeting of the inhabitants of Johnstown and Mayfield in the county of Montgomery, held at [Hethcoat] Johnson's hotel in the village of Johnstown, on the 14th of January, John H. Pool, Esq., one of the civil engineers in the employ of the State, made the following REPORT.

This report stated that he made a survey for a canal from the village of Caughnawaga to the Sacondaga river, through the towns of Johnstown and Mayfield, commencing on the 22d day of January, near the ashery of Abner A. Johnson in the village of Kingsborough, which was the height of ground between the ends of the contemplated canal. He called the route a feasible one. Striking the Sacondaga eight miles above Fish House, he went up the river seven miles into the town, of Wells, where, with a dam, he could make a feeder of the river to Kingsborough, to which place he expected to bring the canal—a distance of 25 miles—without a lock; from thence to the Mohawk—eight miles—he said it would require about 35 locks, of 10 feet lift each, to connect with the Erie canal at Caughnawaga. The canal is on the south side and Caughnawaga on the north side of the river, and a costly aqueduct would here be needed that was not even mentioned. He spoke of the whole route as feasible, and the estimated expense about \$500,000.

He said the construction of this canal would tend to advance the value of the lands owned by the State, by whose cheap conveyance immense quantities of lumber would find an outlet and sale. He also suggested that the canal might be extended to Lakes Pleasant and Peseko, and thence by way of Grass river to the St. Lawrence. He thought the State lands in the wilderness would be enhanced in value a thousand per cent by such a canal. The report of Mr. Pool was dated at Johnstown, January 14, 1826. Like many other visionary projects, the enterprise was only constructed on paper. The expense of the measure was to find State paternity.

*The Schoharie Creek Aqueduct.*—In this connection I should,



perhaps, mention the Fort Hunter aqueduct. It was constructed in 1841, while the canal enlargement was in progress, and is one of the best pieces of mason work on the Erie canal. Mr. Otis Eddy was the contractor for the work, in which he was assisted by several sons. The structure rests upon 13 stone piers, which were built upon spiles driven by steam. During the progress of the work the contractor had the misfortune to have a leg broken. I forget the cost of the work or its contract price; but I remember that Mr. Eddy, at the request of a commissioner or an engineer, varied some part of his labor for the benefit of the State, for which he was, at the time, promised remuneration—which obligation the official was afterwards disposed to shirk. The last time I saw Mr. Eddy, he was on his way to Albany, to endeavor to get that justice from the State which his labors merited; still he had but little expectation of success, since the one authorizing the extra labor, was unfortunately gifted with a short memory, and whether the job was a profitable one or not I cannot say; but he, no doubt, conscientiously performed more labor than his contract called for. Mr. Eddy was a very worthy man, and a gentleman of high-toned character.

*Horse-racing and Foot-racing in the Mohawk Valley settlements.*—From 1750 to 1830, for a period of some 75 years, there was much horse-racing in the Mohawk Valley, extending from Schenectada westward through Montgomery and Herkimer counties. Races often lasted several days ending on Saturday night: and in no place were they better enjoyed than at Schenectada. The Low Dutch were famed for horse-racing, and even to a *proverb* for running their horses from the foot of every hill two-thirds of the way up. Often between Schenectada and Albany were several farm wagons or sleighs trying titles for leadership, at the hazard of serious collision.

Of this class of citizens at Schenectada, was the well-to-do burgher Charick Van De Bogert, an honest old gentleman peculiar in many respects. He had a new sleigh made and on its back was painted this sentence in Dutch: "*Not to lend to-day but to-morrow.*" He had a span of horses which he called *Couper* and *Crown*. In his last illness he had those favorite animals brought to a window of his room and spoke to them. They put their heads in at the window, and after patting them

affectionately, they were removed from his sight for the last time. Samuel Steeres, an old friend, was with him in his last illness, and as the end of life was approaching, he was importuned by the dying man to do him a final favor. Said the latter: "When I am dead my friends will want to remove me from the house to the grave on a bier. Have Cowper and Crown harnessed, and at the opportune time, tell the people it was my request that you should take my remains in my own wagon to the grave." As the nurse was turning away: "Stay a moment," said Van De Bogert, "I have not done yet. You must provide yourself with a hickory gad, and when you pass such a corner, touch the horses with it and give them such a signal, they will understand it and at once dash away." It seemed impossible to excuse himself from his friend's peculiar request, and Steeres agreed to perform it.

Soon after this interview the old burgher died; the day of the funeral arrived, and with it the programme indicated. When the procession was ready, scarcely had it advanced a rod when Cowper and Crown felt the gad, caught their master's private signal for a start, and away they flew, the driver seeming to exert himself greatly to hold them in, while a hundred voices behind were shouting—Whoa! Whoa, Cowper! whoa, Crown! but on went the team. Elliptic springs were then unknown to farm wagons, and the coffin bounded about so as to touch every part of it without actually leaping the box. At the end of a little distance another magic signal easily restrained the well-tutored team, that turned back to meet the expectant crowd, which was following to see the end of this singular drama. The remains of one of "Dorp's" best citizens were soon interred, and thus ended the most remarkable race against time that ever came off in the Mohawk valley. This story was told the writer in 1843 by *Joseph N. Yates*, of Fultonville, then an old gentleman. He was raised in Schenectada, and blest with a good memory. The event transpired when he was a boy, about a century ago.

A favorite place for horse-racing at an early period was in "John Mabie's lane," in Rotterdam, a few miles westward of Schenectada, near, as supposed, the oldest house in the Mohawk valley.

Other favorite resorts for horse-racing are still remembered.

Fort Hunter was one ; at Conyne's tavern on the north side of the river, a few miles above Fort Hunter, was another ; on the "Sand Flats" above Fonda was a third, which, for a long period, was one of the most celebrated, as its sportsmen came from several townships, Johnstown included. At what was known as "Seeber's lane," back of Canajoharie, was a place noted for such doings ; while, at a little later period, such gatherings were not unfrequent on the Canajoharie Flats, and on George Wagner's Flats in Palatine. In fact, they transpired occasionally sooner or later, on the premises of many a good farmer. I don't know in what other places in Herkimer county races were held, but, for years, says my antiquarian friend, Samuel Earll, they took place annually every fall as regularly as *general training*, on the broad flats between the village of Herkimer and the river. There was much drinking and gambling at all those races, and crowds assembled like those seen at county fairs. Schoharie valley also enjoyed such scenes.

At those races the betting was generally in nominal sums, but the excited spectators often swelled them to large figures. One of those races at Conyne's took place on the ice in the river, about the first of April. At a race on the Sand Flats, tradition, said *Andrew Cromwell*, has preserved the following incident : The German minister then residing at Stone Arabia, a few miles further west, considering it his duty to protest against that species of gambling, which often led to much iniquity, rode there in his chaise with that intent. But hardly had he commenced depicting the evils of the race course to a few listeners, when a wag who knew that the horse of the expostulator had previously been in a similar contest, mounted a fleet horse and, whip in hand, rode up, saying : Domine, you have a fine horse there ; and, touching both horses with the whip, he shouted, "Go !" and sure enough both horses did go—kiting, as the vulgar phrase has it. Several voices, as they started, were heard shouting : *Go it, domine, we'll bet on your horse !* The horses were headed toward the parson's home, and, despite all his efforts to restrain him, his horse sped a long distance ere he could bring him up. The wag returned to his companions, who were merry at the ludicrous plight of the poor domine, who, it is needless to say, never again appeared on a race course. Tradition says this was Domine Domier. I have elsewhere shown

that, at Seeber's lane, a man named Abram Lintner was thrown over the head of a stumbling horse and killed. This happened on the 24th of August, 1799. A novel circumstance transpired at one of the later races in the valley. A jockey rider was paid a liberal fee to hold in his horse and let the competing one win ; but, despite the rider's efforts to restrain him, the horse would and did win. Numerous accidents and interesting events occurred, first and last, at those races, which have fallen into the eddy of forgetfulness.

Here is part of a nicely printed hand-bill for one of the three days' sports, the portion missing being the programme for the first day :

"SECOND DAY'S PURSE, \$50—

"To be given to the jockey rider, running two-mile heats, winning two heats out of three ; free for any horse, mare, or gelding in the United States.

"The third day a new SADDLE and BRIDLE, to be given to the jockey rider running one-mile heats, winning two heats out of three ; free for any three-year old colt in the United States.

"Likewise, on the last day, a BEAVER HAT, worth \$10, to be given to the jockey footman running round the course in the shortest time. To start at four o'clock, P. M., on the last day's running.

On the first Tuesday in November next, races will commence on the flats of George Waggoner in Palatine. The purses as above except the hat.

"October 4, 1819.

"A SPORTSMAN."

The running round the course for the Hat did not take place, because a Palatine contestant was unwell ; and a purse of \$30 was made up for a foot-race the distance of one-fourth of a mile. There were four contestants, and the strife was between the towns of Canajoharie and Palatine. From the former town were William Moyer, a tailor, and John K. Diell ; and from the latter were a Waggoner and another man, name forgotten. They all started at the tap of a drum, the usual signal then. Diell won the race by six feet, and received the stakes. The time is given as 58 seconds, by Mr. Diell who preserved the hand-bill and furnished me the details of the race. The time

seems short, as he would be running at the rate of over fifteen miles an hour.

*A Genteel Horse-race.*—The last marked trial of horse-speed in this vicinity, until horse-racing made a part of an Agricultural exhibition at our County Fairs, took place in 1830, between Livingston Spraker and Nicholas G. Van Alstine; who on a wager of \$100, rode their own horses from the tavern of Joshua Reed at Palatine Bridge, to the public house of Jacob Failing at Upper St. Johnsville, and back. They had to ride round the sign-post. The stakes were held by Abram Hees, and were handed over to Van Alstine, the winner. The time occupied was an hour and fourteen minutes, and whole distance about twenty miles. Van Alstine dismounted and ran up several hills to favor his horse, which Spraker essayed to do, but his horse would not lead and he had to ride him. Van Alstine came in about half a mile ahead.

*Foot-racing.*—As we have seen horse-racing and foot-racing at times were mingled, but biped races were for a time solely enjoyed. The late *William Bleeker, of Fort Plain*, assured the writer, that while the canal was being constructed at that place, he witnessed a foot-race between a white man and an Indian. The old river road ran through what is now Willet street, on the northerly side of the canal, and in this road westerly they ran. The Indian was in almost a state of nudity, but the white man won the race. As the canal neared completion foot-races were of frequent occurrence at Canajoharie; in several of which Mr. Diell already mentioned was more or less interested. In one of these races on the tow-path below the village, Nicholas G. Van Alstine was the winner, as his antagonist made a mistep and fell in the canal.

*An Important Foot-race.*—The most important foot-race that ever took place between white men in the Mohawk Valley, occurred at Canajoharie in the month of August, 1824, between Joseph White of Cherry Valley, and David Spraker of Palatine. They were young men from the best families in the community, and had just graduated from Union College. While there as students, they had often tested their powers in a race of ten rods, and on such occasions Spraker had usually been the winner. White could beat all the other students, and was desirous of exulting over his successful competitor. Having drilled himself

for the effort, he challenged Spraker for one more trial of speed, before they settled down to life's coming cares. The facts relating to this transaction, were mainly derived from *John K. Diell*, who for a time had much to do with foot-racing.

When Spraker was challenged to this race, he did not care to accept it, but importuned he reluctantly consented to do so, to gratify his friends. The stakes were for \$1,000, with a forfeit of \$250. The Challenge was accepted two weeks before the time for the trial; and Mr. Deill, who was then teaching school in Sharon, dismissed his school for a time, to train Spraker for the occasion—taking great interest in the result. On the appointed day for the event, a pleasant one, a large crowd, a thousand or more people assembled to witness it. Many from Cherry Valley were there, anxious for the success of their young pedestrian. The course ten rods—55 yards, or 165 feet, was marked off in Montgomery street, commencing at a point nearly in front of the Wagner House, and running westward. There has been some diversity of opinion in the absence of documentary proof, as to whether the course run was easterly or westerly; but Mr. Deill who should know says westerly, and such was the recollection of *Herman I. Ehle* and many others.

David F. Sacia, Esq., measured the ground, and as one of the judges gave the signal to start, which was from the figures 1, 2, 3, which meant *go!* The race, though a short one, and contested by the action of every muscle, was decided as won by *three feet* in Spraker's favor, not only by the Judges, whose names are not all remembered, but by all persons at the terminus; and the stakes pending were freely and honorably handed over to Spraker's friends. Much has been said about how the slight gain was made, but Mr. Diell\* said it was in the first spring which Spraker made, and which he was barely able to hold to the end. Had they run twice as far, it was conceded that White, having more physical strength would have been the winner. This was not only the most important, but one of the last foot-races which ever came off in that locality; and has afforded its full measure of gossip for the past half century.

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\* He was a son of Philip Diell, who settled at Bowman's Creek, now Ames, N. Y. in 1804. Informant, in early life, was a school-master, and still hale at the age of 80; he was, in the spring of 1881, elected town clerk of Cherry Valley.

The actors and nearly all the witnesses of this novel event, have already passed that bourne whence none ever return.

*Another Duel.*—Tradition says that the ancestor of the Eacker family first locating in the colony of New York, was Jacob Eacker, who, with his family, removed from Schoharie to Palatine at the exodus of Germans from that place about 1723. He is said to have been the father of 21 children. His oldest son George married Eliza, a daughter of George Snell, who died November 21, 1798, aged 72, he having died about the year 1790. He had a son Jacob, who is remembered as a judge of the county. He married Margaret Fink, a daughter of Andrew Fink. He died August 27, 1840, aged 92 years. He had two sons—George I. and Jacob I.—and four daughters—Margaret, who married Harmon Van Slyke; Maria, who married a Wagner; Eliza, who married Jacob Fox, and a fourth who married Peter Brooks, Esq. Jacob I. Eacker married Gertrude, a daughter of George Herkimer, a brother of Gen. Herkimer. Mrs. Eacker died January 29, 1851, at the age of 63, and Eacker died March 8, 1873, at the age of 88.

George I. Eacker fitted for college at Schenectada, read law with Brockholst Livingston, and was admitted to practice law at the age of 21. He opened a law office in New York, and was soon engaged in a lucrative business. He had not been long established when he began house-keeping at 50 Wall street, employing a married man and his wife as valet and house-keeper. He soon became exceedingly popular in the young metropolis, then containing some 30,000 inhabitants. For several years his brother Jacob, younger than himself, boarded with him, and went to school, from whom some of these facts were obtained. When, in 1801, the citizens of New York cast about for an orator for the approaching fourth of July, the selection fell upon the young counselor and master in chancery, George I. Eacker, designated by his rivals as the Mohawk Dutchman. At this time Eacker, who was gifted with a manly physique, was Brigade Inspector, and Captain of a splendid company of cavalry, and took a commendable pride in the discharge of his military duties.

*The Celebration* came off, and the young barrister acquitted himself most creditably; and his ORATION won for him a gen-

eral ovation of praise, which, from motives of envy, as believed, led to a

*Fatal Duel*—which was fought—between George I. Eacker and Philip Hamilton. Some writers at that time, in their desire to free fellow partisans from just censure (for party spirit then ran high), labored to cover up the true cause of the duel, by casting stigma upon the young orator, who had been so unfortunate as to kill a son of the renowned Alexander Hamilton; and, during the past 80 years, most writers upon the subject have endeavored to whiten the character of his antagonist by blackening that of Eacker. Here is an extract from an article in the March number of *Frank Leslie's Monthly*, a few years ago, which is of that kind. "He [Hamilton] had recently graduated from Columbia College with honor, delivering, on the occasion an oration, which had attracted considerable praise. In 1801 a fourth of July orator leveled some exceedingly severe and unjust censure at the elder Hamilton. Philip, happening one evening in company with a friend to enter a box at the theatre, discovered the obnoxious orator near him, when, taking advantage of the occasion, the two young men began to ridicule the orator in question, in loud tones. Enraged at this, the party who had offended them arose [he had not offended them nor spoken to them], and summoned the two into the lobby;" and, as the account further states, called them to a strict account for their ungentlemanly conduct.

Now, for the facts in the case. Eacker was a young Republican—as then called, in contrast with the term Federalist—which belonged to both Price and Hamilton. I have before me a copy of the oration delivered by Eacker on this occasion, printed at New York in 1801; and its perusal will convince any unprejudiced mind that it was the production of a more than ordinary intellect. It is well written, and glows from beginning to end with patriotism and a zealous invocation for the guardianship of our national liberty, achieved at so great a cost of treasure and blood. I fail to see any allusion to Alexander Hamilton; and think it would require a torturous stretch of truth to apply any of its well clad aphorisms to the person of the elder Hamilton. Here are several sentences quoted, to give the reader some idea of its general character.

"How interesting a spectacle does America this day afford to



the philanthropist, whose enlarged mind embraces the general welfare of the human race. He sees a whole nation engaged in rendering public homage to Freedom—a whole people employed in rendering solemn protestations and vows to Heaven, never to become unworthy of this its choicest blessing. Nothing among the ancients or moderns, perfectly resembles or equals a national commemoration of emancipation from foreign thralldom. Among the former, superstitious Paganism instituted olympic and secular games; among the latter, the bigotry of priests invented the jubilees of *unhallowed festivity*.” \* \* \* \* \*

“The birth-day of our Independence, naturally combines a recollection of the past with serious thoughts on the present, and those with a speculative anticipation of future events. We are irresistably led to take a retrospective view of the awful situation of the United States, when the declaration, now read, was announced to an admiring and applauding world. We cannot but rejoice in the contemplation of existing peace—we cannot but indulge in golden prophesies of extended happiness and indefinite improvement. The Revolutionary contest was terrible—the present period is bright and luminous: what the future will be, is not unworthy of our anxious thoughts.” \* \*

“Humanity lost its influence over the rash counsels of our implacable enemy. The savages of the wilderness were instigated to bury the tomahawk in the bosom of our unprotected frontier citizens—sparing neither innocent children nor defenceless women, they committed horrors at which nature revolts; at which the genius of England, boasting of its superiority in civilization and refinement, must forever blush.” \* \* \* \*

After invoking the spirits of a Washington, a Montgomery, a Warren, a Mercer, a Franklin and all departed worthies, to watch with anxious solicitude, and guard the country against innovations tending to the establishment of an aristocracy, he adds: “Happy country! fortunate in such meditation and advice; as long as thou art worthy thereof, thou shalt not see pampered luxury of wealth contrasted with extreme poverty and wretchedness: injustice armed to destroy the smiling labors of industry—sanguinary despotism sport with the rights of men, or proud ambition trample upon human happiness.” \* \* \*

After hinting at the breakers which the country had fortunately escaped, he closed with the following sentence: “O,

Americans ! offer up to the Supreme dispenser of human affairs your fervent prayers, that he may retard the moment to a far distant period when our land shall be sunk in guilt, corruption and slavery ; when our empire, the pride and glory of the world, shall be extinguished forever."

At this period Eacker was the affianced of a Miss Livingston, a sister of Schuyler Livingston, and a sister of the wife of William Cutting, and waited upon her on Friday evening, November 20, 1801, to a theatre. They had not been long in a box, when Philip Hamilton—then in his twentieth year—and his friend Price (whose age and given name are not preserved) entered the same box. It soon became evident that they had come there solely to insult Eacker in the presence of his intended. Pretending not to notice them, after a while they left the box ; but at a later hour they came from the opposite side of the house into the box again. They now renewed their insults in louder tones—even mentioning his name—their tirade of abuse running much as follows : *How did you like Eacker's sour-kroust oration on the fourth of July ?* The answer placed it in a very low scale. *What will you give for a printed copy of it ?* About a sixpence was the reply. *Don't you think the Mohawk Dutchman is a greater man than Washington was ?* Yes, far greater. I don't pretend that I can give the precise language of those jackanapes ; but I do claim that here is a fair specimen of the style of their slang. Eacker's brother, and others of his time, assured me years ago that "sour-kroust," "six-penny oration," "Mohawk Dutchman," and other similar words were upon their malicious tongues. His tormentors knew that he was growing in popularity among the laboring classes ; hence a reason why he must be humbled, and how do it more effectually than in a theatre, in the presence of his lady-love. Indeed, their manner, if possible, was more offensive than their language, and both were such as no gentleman could honorably put up with.

Peter Brook's, a merchant at Newville, Herkimer county, a personal friend of Eacker, chanced to be with him at the theatre ; and, leaving Miss Livingston in his care, he called Hamilton out into the lobby, whither Price followed. As Eacker left the theatre, greatly excited, he was heard to say : *"Is it not abominable, to be thus insulted by rascals ?"* In the lobby they both demanded of Eacker who he called rascals. *"You are*

*both d—d rascals,”* said E., “*or you would not treat me in the manner you have!*” They pretended great offense at the epithet, and, but for the interference of bystanders, it was believed the offending party would have assaulted the person of Eacker. Anxious to avoid a quarrel, and in such a place, the latter told his antagonists that he lived at No. 50 Wall street. We care nothing for your residence, was their reply to Eacker, who not only desired them to make less noise, but proposed going to the “City Tavern” (the City hotel in Broadway now occupies its site). Thither they all went, no doubt followed by friends who were disposed to see fair play. At the inn Eacker asked them “*if they entered the box the second time expressly to insult him?*” That is nothing to the purpose, they replied, justifying their conduct; but again demanded *which of them he meant to call a rascal?* He reapplied the epithet to both of them, for their ungentlemanly conduct.

After a short war of words they left the inn, Price and Hamilton being so boisterous that they were drawing a crowd; and when turning to leave them, Eacker said: “*I shall expect to hear from you again?*” “*That you shall!*” was the instant reply, and Eacker returned to the theatre. He had been there but a short time, when he received a written challenge from Price to fight a duel on Sunday, November 22d, at 12 M. It was accepted, and they met at Powle’s Hook, where they exchanged four shots each, without injury to either, when their seconds interfered and withdrew the belligerents. Before this duel took place, Eacker also received a challenge from Hamilton—which he held in abeyance until the first was disposed of—when he accepted that; and on Monday, November 23d, at 3 P. M., they met at the same place, and, on the first fire, Hamilton fell with a ball through his body, near the navel. He lingered until the next morning, and died, it is said, quite reconciled to his fate. The seconds in the first duel were, for Eacker, Mr. Lawrence; and, for Price, James Lynch. In the second meeting, for Eacker, Mr. Cooper; and, for Hamilton, David Jones.

An effort was at once made by the friends of Hamilton to exonerate him from blame on account of his age, and, so far as possible, to cast it upon Eacker, who was seven years his senior; but if, in his riper manhood, he had tamely submitted to such wanton and public insults, the best men of that era of *false no-*

tions of honor would have stigmatized him as a poltroon and a coward. And had Hamilton been from an unknown family, public sentiment would at once have declared that he had met a just fate, his own imprudence and folly had drawn upon him. But, as before observed, political envy had most to do in bringing about this tragic result. As appears by the published accounts at the time, a Mr. Lawrence, a gentleman of standing, and a friend of Eacker, was also with him in the theatre when the insults were given, and it is reasonable to conclude that he followed the young men to see fair play. From his statement and that of other friends, it is evident that Eacker was *grossly insulted*; that the insult was followed by a *written challenge*, and that no overtures were made by the aggressor or his friends to make the least concession to prevent the fatal meeting. Very much appeared in the New York newspapers at the time about this unhappy affair. In fact, H. B. Dawson, Esq., in the October number of his *Historical Magazine* of 1867, took pains to collate most of the newspaper articles published at that period on the subject; and yet, in no part of it, was there any pretense that Hamilton was induced to insult Eacker for any allusion in his oration to his father; he could not, for indeed there was none.

As an evidence that Gen. Hamilton did not blame Eacker for the death of his son—who he knew was wholly in the fault—he ever after treated him with marked respect; and Joseph Herkimer, Esq., a nephew of Gen. Herkimer, observed to a friend, that he never witnessed more especial compliments or respectful greetings pass between lawyers, than did between Gen. Hamilton and Eacker after the event of his son's death. As Eacker wasted away with consumption in a couple of years, it was supposed by many that he grieved himself to death; but his brother—who was with him at New York at the time of his death—set the matter in a very different light. When spoken to on the subject, he was heard to regret the event and its cause, but told his friends that under the same circumstances he would fight again. Said his brother, in January, 1802, as a prominent member of the fire department, Capt. Eacker was on the roof of a friend's house at a raging fire, directing the action of the firemen. It was a bitter cold night; he was wet to the skin; indeed, his clothes were frozen on his person; he took a severe

cold, which he hoped the return of warm weather would remove, but it settled upon his lungs and he died the next season.

The funeral of Eacker took place from his Wall street residence, and was a very imposing one. He was not only a military man and a fireman, but a member of the "Howard Lodge" of Free Masons, large delegations of each order being in the procession; Col. Boyd, an officer of the Revolution, acted as marshal on the occasion. His remains were interred in the little yard back of St. Paul's church, in Broadway, and a volley of musketry rattled over the grave. A fine portrait of Capt. Eacker, executed when he was attired as Brigade Inspector, was long in the family near Palatine Bridge, and is believed to be still extant in one of the western States.

*Duel and Death of Gen. Alexander Hamilton.*—In this connection it may be well to mention the death of this representative man, who for a time occupied a commanding position in the public eye. Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr had both been distinguished as patriotic officers of the Revolution, both after the war were lawyers of large practice at New York; and in the organization of political parties of the nation, both stood in the front rank of them as leaders—Hamilton as a Federalist and Burr as a Republican. Each had occupied commanding positions, Hamilton as Secretary of the United States Treasury, and as the successor of Washington as Commander-in-chief of the army; and Burr as Vice-President of the United States. At the close of his term, Burr became unpopular in his party affiliations; but as ambitious as ever, he sought by allying himself to the Federal party, to obtain the nomination of governor of the State of New York.



Fac simile of Hamilton's autograph as Washington's Aid-de-camp.]

Burr still retained the friendship and confidence of some Republican leaders, and also got into the good graces of some Federal leaders, and obtained the nomination for governor—

Morgan Lewis ran against him and was elected. The defeat of Burr seemed to leave him without the pale or confidence of either party; and with his political fortunes thus wrecked, he cast about him to learn the cause. He became satisfied that the influence of Gen. Hamilton had prevented his having been President instead of Vice-President, and now had been instrumental to the election of Lewis in his stead. A spirit of revenge would seem to have entered his breast. Many in both parties had spoken of him before and during the canvass, as an unfit person for the position; but he called Hamilton to an account for what he personally was known to have said of him. The offending words were: "*Burr is a dangerous man, who ought not to be trusted with the reins of government.*" and to a friend Hamilton wrote: "*I could detail a still more despicable opinion of him.*"—See *Hammond's Political History*. Burr called upon Hamilton by letter, for an explanation or retraction of the offending words, which he refused to make; and the challenge and duel followed. The parties met July 12, 1804, at Hoboken, and Hamilton fell, another victim to a false and wicked code of honor. Thus a father and son from the higher walks of life fell ingloriously. The sympathy of the world, however, looked with more favor upon the fall of the former than of the latter—still each was the offending party.

*Gov. Lewis on a Circuit.*—Here is a reminiscence of that period. Gen. Morgan Lewis was chosen Governor in 1804, which office he held till 1807. In 1806, he made a tour of observation, such as has since been characterized as: "swinging round the circle." In that jaunt he visited Johnstown, at which time said *Jedediah Holmes*; Peter Hubbell kept a tavern there. Gov. Lewis dined at this house, on which occasion Spencer Philpott furnished mahogany tables. The Governor reviewed a body of troops, and in their firing a salute an accident happened, by which the hat of James Voorhees was blown off and he was slightly injured; on which account the Governor gave him \$10. At this time a man was on the gallows at Johnstown, to be hung for whipping a child to death; whom Gov. Lewis pardoned. The Governor, who with friends traveled in a carriage, had a military escort from one county to another. As one of the escorts Maj. Jost Spraker, then a captain of cavalry, with his company received his Excellency

at his own house in Palatine, and proceeded with him to Herkimer. The captain who was then full of military pride, had on a rich scarlet coat and heavy epaulettes, and having a manly figure he made a good appearance, attracting more attention than did the Governor. After a halt at Little Falls, the Governor desired to change seats with Capt. Spraker, in the 7 mile ride to Herkimer. And thus as was said at the time, Capt. Spraker, became Governor for an hour. Along the way the captain was saluted by admiring gazers where congregated, many of whom could not distinguish between the civil and military officers, supposing, of course, the Governor was in the carriage. Not so with all: one old lady recognized him as she courtesied, and exclaimed: "La me! 'Tis neit the Governor, 'tis Yeretie's Yost!"—"Tis not the Governor, 'tis George's Jost."

*An Indian's Ready Wit.*—Here is an original anecdote going to show the quick adaptation of means to an end, which necessity often taught her untutored children. Henry Whiting, a native of Massachusetts, who is said to have seen service in the Revolution;\* was an officer of some grade in the war of 1812; after which he was in the Quater-Master General's department. While acting in that capacity at Michilimackinac, Mich., a part of his duty was as an agent of the government, to distribute annuities and presents to the Indians, who were there assembled periodically to receive them. On such occasions a general feast was provided for them, and agreeable to their custom when every appetite was satiated, the Indians would clear the tables of all the food remaining—considering it theirs because provided for them—to be taken to their homes, or to serve them on their way thither.

On one of those gatherings the Quater-Master thought he would provide a savory dish which if any of it remained, they would be obliged to leave behind them; and therefore he had a large quantity of soup prepared. As he had anticipated, when all had done eating and began to fill their baskets with the remaining fragments, a gallon or two of soup remained upon the table. At such times not only the head men came in, but numbers of their women and children also came, to partake of the white man's feast.

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\* See Drake's Dictionary of American Biography.

In the present unusual dilemma, several sachems were seen with their heads together earnestly engaged upon some topic, though in their native tongue and a low tone of voice. Immediately after, one of them saw on a young Indian a deer-skin shirt, which he quickly snatched from his person—one end of it was gathered and tied together—the soup poured in at the other end, and away went the party; exulting at the thought that their ingenuity and ready wit had triumphed over the trick of the “pale face,” and they were enabled to bear off the rich surplus of the feast. This story was communicated to the writer about the year 1850, by Rev. J. M. Van Buren, to whom the facts had been authenticated years before.

*A Plucky Woman.*—On page 497 of my *Schoharie County*, etc., I gave an anecdote of a patriotic lady living near New London, Ct., which story belongs to the last war with Britain instead of the Revolution. The Americans brought a gun to bear upon a British man-of-war, that had the temerity to make a near approach to the harbor; which was about to desist from firing, for the want of wadding; when our heroine loosening a flannel petticoat on her person, threw it to the cartridge-man with the exclamation, “this will enable you to fire a few shots more!” The garment was torn up, and the gun continued its fearful execution upon the foeman. In consequence of the patriotic deed related, this old lady was visited by many distinguished individuals, among whom, were numbered several Presidents of the United States.—*Rev. J. M. Van Buren.*

*Commodore Perry at Schenectady.*—Oliver Hazard Perry was born at Newport, R. I., in August, 1785, and died of yellow fever at Port Spain, on the island of Trinidad, August 23, 1819. He was commissioned a Lieutenant in the navy in 1809. In February, 1813, he went to the lakes under the command of Commodore Isaac Chauncey, and in March took command of the naval force on Lake Erie. On the tenth of September he had an engagement with the British squadron on that lake, over which he gained a complete victory; after which he co-operated with Gen. Harrison in taking Detroit. At the close of operations the same fall, he gave up his command on the lake and returned to the eastward, meeting with ovations at every place of importance on the way. Congress, as a reward for his brilliant services, awarded him a gold medal, and promoted him



to a captaincy, dating his commission on the tenth of September—the day of his victory on Lake Erie, over the enemy's squadron under Commodore Barclay. We are not certain when Perry got the title of Commodore. A few years after his death his remains were removed to the place of his nativity; and, in 1860, a marble statue was erected to his memory at Cleveland, Ohio, not far distant from which place he had won his greatest laurels.

At this period—viz., in the war of 1812—there were few conveniences for public travel through the Mohawk Valley; but the improved navigation of the river, with its inland locks at Little Falls, allowed the passage of the Durham boats and other crafts drawing some two feet of water. Most of those boats were partially decked; some of them were built with cabins so as to accommodate passengers, and not a few travelers availed themselves of their use in making trips up and down the river between Schenectada and Fort Stanwix, and even to the westward of that place. New England people removing west at the beginning of this century, often made the journey in those boats, taking along their effects at the same time.

When Commodore Perry returned from Lake Erie to Albany in the fall of 1813, he passed down the Mohawk in a Durham boat called the "Commodore Perry," in charge of Capt. James Freeman. Possibly this boat was called a river packet, as some intended to carry passengers were so called. The boat was owned by Capt. Jonathan Walton,\* who was, to considerable extent, engaged in the river navigation; and, on its arrival at Schenectada, landed with its distinguished passenger at "Walton's dock," which was near the old river bridge.† On his arrival he became the guest of Col. Charles Kane,‡ in Washington street. A public reception was given him in a ball-room in Roger's hotel, corner of Union and Ferry streets.

Among the respectable citizens present were Dr. Nott, and other members of the Union College faculty, Dr. Adams, Col. Kane, Isaac De Graff, Col. James Duane, Capt. Walton, Gen.

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\* Capt. Walton had been an officer in the British service before he made Schenectada his home. The Walton dwelling was afterwards converted into a female seminary.

† This bridge was completed in 1810, passed through many vicissitudes of flood and ice, and gave place to a new one in 1874, which now stands upon its seven old piers.

‡ Mr. Kane was long president of the Mohawk Turnpike Company.

Abram Oothout, Gov. J. C. Yates and his brother Henry, a Vedder, a McDougal, a Teller, a Van Ingen, a Marcellus, a Sanders, a Van Guysling, a Van Debogert, a Tucker, a Switts, a Boyd, a Schemerhorn, and a host of other worthies not now remembered. By whom he was first addressed is uncertain ; but an octogenarian friend,\* then a boy, present, well remembers that he was publicly addressed on that occasion by Aaron Vedder, a prominent citizen, in the Low Dutch language. It is not certain that Perry could understand it, but he nevertheless made a very pretty speech in English in return.

The river boatmen, of whom there were then a considerable number in town, having imbibed freely of something stronger than metheglin, became boisterous, with unbecoming conduct in the streets, when old Dr. Adams—as another octogenarian friend† has assured me—went to remonstrate with them. They did not offer to harm him, but they quite unceremoniously forced him astride a cow in the street, and, while one on each side of her held him on, two others, taking her by the horns, led her a block or two, to the discomfiture of the old gentleman, who was glad to get free from the jackanapes and return to his home. The figure the old doctor cut was a very ludicrous one, and long after afforded food for gossipers.

At the period of which I am writing, there stood in Jay street a house known to fame as *THE BLUE OVEN* ; so called because its most prominent feature was a large oven, which protruded toward the street and was painted blue. This house, of which Madam Betsey Van Dyck was proprietress, had not the best reputation of any house in town, and late in the evening the jolly boatmen made a raid of a somewhat riotous character, upon *The Blue Oven*. They had, however, not accomplished much except to demolish the oven ; when the city authorities interposed and sent the rioters to their homes. The good citizens were not a little mortified, to think that the arrival of their distinguished guest should be made the occasion of such rude and turbulent conduct on the part of their river sailors.

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\* Lawrence Marcellus, Esq., of Palatine, N. Y. He was born in Schenectady, February 23, 1795, died in Palatine, 1879.

† Hon. Peter J. Wagner, of Fort Plain. He was born in the town of Palatine, N. Y., August 14, 1796. At the time mentioned above, he was a student of Union College.

At the time of Commodore Perry's visit to the city "Over the Pines," he was 29 years old, and is remembered as being a good looking, fair sized man, wearing dark side whiskers. On the morning after his arrival, Schenectada was all astir in its preparation to accompany its guest to the top of the hill on the Albany road; where a military escort was in readiness with a carriage to take him to that good city. Our old student friend, P. J. Wagner, was in early life quite a musician—indeed he yet has a critical ear for musical harmony—and at an early hour Dr. Nott had him out with the College Band of which he was leader, to furnish music for the faculty and citizens of the escort from Col. Kane's dwelling to meet the Albany delegation. This was a proud morning for "Dorp." A large number of her best citizens were in attendance to the hill, and the College Band genteelly played the hero off.

*An Accident attending the Celebration of Peace at Schenectada.*  
—At the close of that war in which we had measured strength the second time with the mother country; there was a very general celebration of the return of peace, in February, 1815; and the event was becomingly observed at Schenectada. A part of the ceremony was transferred to the Mohawk, which was then closed with its winter covering of heavy ice. A 12 pounder cannon was taken upon it attended by numbers of patriotic citizens, there to fire a national salute. Several loud guns had already spoken as may be supposed of the victories of New Orleans and other places, when James Freeman,\* the river boatman and skipper with whom Com. Perry had passed down the Mohawk a year or two before, thrust a pole into the muzzle of the gun to turn it, intending thereby to send its triumphant voice in another direction. Just as he was drawing the pole from the piece he slipped and partially fell, at which moment the match was applied and the gun discharged. The wad tore one arm from its socket at the shoulder, and carried it several rods; and the top part of the skull was laid open exposing the brain. He, of course, was instantly killed, and the balance of the salute was not fired. Indeed, this sad event cast a terrible gloom over the whole town, in which the deceased was a general favorite.

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\* Richard Freeman, the father of James and another brother, were all river boatmen, and were numbered among the best of those craftsmen, who then navigated the Mohawk river, the Ononda Lake, etc., etc. So says *Marcellus*, our informant.

*Reminiscences of Little Falls in the War of 1812.*—Near the beginning of the present century, David Barber, a tailor by trade located at Little Falls, at which place he died May 2, 1860. He was gate-keeper for seven years at the toll-bridge over the Mohawk at this place, embracing the period of our second war with the mother country; working at his trade for regular customers in the meantime. The bridge was not a covered one, and its toll-house in which the Barber family resided, was built upon the rocks on the upper side of its southerly end.

On a certain occasion, believed in the summer of 1813, a company of New York troops on its way to the frontier, tarried over night at Little Falls; and early on the following morning, a very pleasant one, a loud knocking was heard at the gate. Mr. Barber had two sons then aged respectively, James 13, and Reuben 7 years. Those boys slept in an upper room, a window of which looked out upon the bridge. Awakened by the unusual noise, the boys got up and looked from the window, in time to see their father let two men through the gate, one of whom was a large and dark complexioned man, who the boys thought, might have been a mulatto.

Sometime after those men came back to the gate, and as the boys were then up, James, who sometimes attended at the gate, received their toll—two cents each, and passed them through. Just after the gate was closed and the men had neared the other shore, a squad of soldiers was seen approaching that end of the bridge from the village. They proved to be a party looking for the two men named who were deserters; and seeing them turn back upon the bridge toward the gate, they advanced in pursuit. The white man, as I shall call him, apprehending the danger of a capture without an attempt to recross the bridge, sprang over it at the abutment on the lower side, effected a safe landing on the rocks ten feet below, and made good his escape. The other ran toward the gate, seeing which his pursues ran, shouting, *stop thief*. On arriving at the gate the confused fugitive took from his pocket a handful of silver money, but fearing to open the gate after hearing the cry of "stop thief," the boy did not dare to let him through; and determined not to be taken back—just as they were about to seize him, he sprang over the upper side of the bridge in front of the house, and landed in several feet of water on the rocky

bottom nearly twenty feet below, one foot seeming to enter a pot-hole, as cavities worn in the rocks were then denominated ; where he remained evidently insensible, if not dead.

No effort was made by the party to take this fugitive from the water, and, as they had no guns with them, they asked Mr. Barber to get them one, with which they might shoot him. But they were soon relieved of such necessity, for, after swaying about for a few moments in the water, he was washed off by the current and disappeared in the surges of the rapids below. It is not known that any attempt was made to recapture the man who escaped from the bridge. Had they staid upon the south side of the river a few hours longer they would, no doubt, both have escaped, as the country was favorable for their concealment. The troops were delayed in starting on, in consequence of their absence, a contingency they had not calculated on.

The body of this drowned deserter, whose name has long been out of memory, floated some time after into an eddy at the "Gulf Bridge," below the village, when it was taken from the water and buried in the bank near by, without a coffin. Our informant, *Reuben Barber*, a son of the gate-keeper named, who saw him in the water on the day of his death, and who was present at his interment, says that his bloated body was a disgusting sight.

*Other Events at Little Falls.*—About the year 1812, Gen. Christopher Bellinger had a grist-mill on the south side of the river ; and the house occupied by his miller, and another house known as the Firman dwelling, were, with the toll-house, all the tenements then standing in the present village of Little Falls, on that rocky shore. Indeed, at that period, the village was but a small one ; and the residence of William Alexander—a good sized stone dwelling, which was burned down a few years ago—was the best private residence in the place. This Alexander was, at this period, a successful merchant. His house stood on the west side of Ann street, running from the river bridge to the turnpike, and on the north side of the old canal ; his store being situated on the same side of the canal, but across the street from the dwelling. John Alexander, a brother of William, traded about the same time in a store which was situated on the northwest corner of Ann street and the turnpike,

and fronting on the latter was a good sized building of wood, which was occupied by a Mr. Crane as a tavern ; while at a little distance east of it, on the same side of the road, was a substantial stone edifice, called, at an early day, the Hinchman house. For a long period this was known as the old stage house ; but, in the growth of the village, it gave place some years ago to modern improvements.

At the period under consideration, William Alexander had a clerk in his employ named William Given, who was a tailor by trade, and, when not engaged in selling goods, he was at work on one end of the counter at his former occupation. He was a remarkably quick and active young man, and with all not lacking in personal bravery, as the following anecdote related by *Reuben Barber*, who witnessed the transaction, will attest :

*A Challenge and a Fight.*—About noon, on a pleasant summer's day, believed to have been in 1815, a man named Tenbroek, who resided on Fall Hill, a few miles distant, had some altercation with young Given at Alexander's store ; and being a heavy six-footer, and his adversary comparatively small, he offered to bet \$25 that he could whip the latter in five minutes. Given accepted the challenge, the stakes were placed in the hands of Mr. Alexander, who laid them carefully away in his money-drawer, and the parties stepped out upon a grass-plot back of the store, hats and coats off, to determine who should win the stakes.

A war of words had lasted long enough to fill the store with a crowd of interested spectators, anxious to witness the impending trial of *physical strength* and its counterpart *agility*. We are unadvised whether any side bets were made or pools sold ; but, all things being ready, the fight commenced. Tenbroek, who had a somewhat pugilistic reputation, looked upon his adversary much in the same light that Goliath did upon David of Bible memory ; for Given looked small, and an easy prey before him, as he aimed a terrible blow at his head with his fist. Three times did his weighty arm make a similar pass, and each time found no head to resist it, for, wiry and supple as an eel, his adversary had each time showed him the trick of Paddy's flea. Having allowed him a chance to become somewhat exhausted and rather off his guard, Given sprang like lightning and planted both his feet square in the breast of his antagonist, who meas-

ured his whole length upon the ground, and was for some moments stunned by the fall.

As Tenbroek recovered sufficiently to regain his feet, maddened, no doubt, by hearing a shout of applause at his expense, he was asked if he would give up the bet: "No!" he shouted with emphasis; and again squarred away at his adversary, who kept him at bay with the same apparent ease by dodging his wind-cutting blows until his opportunity arrived, when he planted his feet a second time in his bread-basket, and again a six-foot portrait was measured heavily upon the ground. When able once more to regain his feet—which he did, after a while, pale and trembling with emotion—he gave up the bet, and in no very good humor took himself away. What appeared as a marvel to the bystanders, Given had actually whipped the bully without having so much as laid a hand upon him; and we suppose this to have been his first and last pitched battle, but whether so or not, certain it is he became the acknowledged champion of the Little Falls *war club*, if any such existed.

William Alexander died young, and William Given married his widow, and continued the mercantile business. The Hon. H. P. Alexander, a member of Congress perhaps 30 years ago, was a son of William Alexander, and the late Charles A. Given, Esq., a prominent citizen of Little Falls, was a half brother of his.

*Gen. Scott Meets an Indian Preacher.*—After the close of the Revolution, Indian hostilities continued on the frontiers of Ohio and Kentucky, which had become so aggressive as to call out strong expeditions against them from 1790 to 1794, both years inclusive, to protect the pioneer settlers and punish those Indian depredations. Those expeditions into the Indian country were led by Gens. Harmer, Scott, Wilkinson, St. Clair and Wayne. Harmer was defeated with great loss, which emboldened the enemy to become the more aggressive; nor were the other enterprises crowned with complete success until "Mad Anthony" entered the field. The expedition of Gen. Charles Scott took place in 1791, at which time he was a brigadier; but in Wayne's enterprise in 1794, we find him a Major-General, acting in concert with Gen. Wayne, with whom as a Brigadier he first was associated at the storming of Stony Point in 1779. He settled in Kentucky.

Many years ago we heard, from a credible source, the following anecdote of this officer. In an official capacity he was, at some place, treating with the Indians, when he fell in with an inquisitive one, who inquired of him, in true Yankee style, the nature of his business, and what pay he got for his services, etc. He answered his questions very candidly, and, in turn, became the interrogator; inquiring of the Indian what he did for a living. His answer was, "Me preach, sometimes." "And how much pay do you get?" asked the General. "O!" he replied, "sometimes me get two shinnin—three shinnin—four shinnin—sometimes dollar." The sums named seemed a mere bagatelle for such service, and Gen. Scott exclaimed with evident surprise: "I should think that was d—d poor pay!" "He be so," said the Indian, "but he d—d poor preach too."

*Ancient Method of Drying Flax, and a Fatal Accident.*—At the beginning of the present century, tow-cloth was identified with the economy of every country household. It was used for bedding and toweling, and entered largely into the summer wearing apparel of nearly every family. So general was its use, that almost every farmer then raised a patch of flax, and spun and wove their own cloth. This custom prevailed, in fact, during the first quarter of the century; but the spinning-wheels and looms of that period, have now mostly given place to melodeons, pianos, and chroquet. Flax was sometimes dried in the sun, but to get it in an earlier condition for the hatchel, it was, in the fall kiln-dried over a fire: many families making a kiln for that purpose—and where convenient upon a side-hill. A hole was dug into the bank, with crotches set up and a bar across them in front, with poles laid upon it extending back and resting upon the bank above. Crosswise of the poles the flax was laid and a fire built beneath. Some made more permanent kilns, which were used for years. Those were walled upon the sides and back with stone or brick, with a piece of timber in front and rear, which gave the drying poles a stable resting place.

In 1866, an old dwelling was torn down to give place on its site, for the beautiful mansion erected by the late Harvey E. Williams, within the present village of Fort Plain. The house demolished was the farm-house of Peter Young, Esq., who at the period first indicated was a prominent citizen and a Justice



of the Peace; whose ancestry settled in the Mohawk valley several generations before his day. He was thrice married, the first time to Marilles,\* a daughter of William Seeber; the second time to Betsey Diefendorf; and the third time to the widow of Abram Hees—a Miss Dygert before marriage. By the first wife he had five daughters and three sons—Jacob. William and Abram. The daughters were Elizabeth, who married David Lipe; Caty, who married Andrew Coppernoll; Polly, whose fate we record; Nancy, who married John Charlesworth; and Peggy, who married Lyman Howard. The second wife had several children by Young, and the last had none by him.

*Sad Fate of Miss Polly Young.*—The Young family was among those who raised and cured their own flax, and had a kiln of the temporary kind located in the bank, a few rods below the house. The *bruising* of the flax was usually done by the male, and the *drying* by the female members of the family. Polly, third daughter of Esquire Young, *was a beautiful girl*, said a lady friend, who was of the same age (18), and well acquainted with her.† She was of medium stature and charmingly formed, having a fair complexion, with dark hair and dark eyes. She was possessed of a lively and playful temperament, and of very winning manner; and with her many attractions, it is not suprising that she had many admirers. Some time previous to this period, a young man named Henry Glen Van Ingen, came from Schenectada to serve a clerkship with the merchant—Peter Gansevoort—then trading at the junction of the roads, a little distance westward of the Young's dwelling; and at the end of his time he entered the office of Dr. Joshua Webster, as a student, whose day book enables me to fix the date of this sad event.

The duty attending the drying of flax, was to lay it across the poles over the fire, and turn it as occasion required; hence the object of having an elevated position over the dryer. The further duty of attendants required them to keep the fire in

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\* This name would seem to be the German contraction of Mary Elizabeth.

† Mrs. William H. Seeber, whose maiden name was Nancy Failling, a daughter of Henry Failling, whose ancestors came from Germany. She had been in company with Miss Young at parties, and was at her funeral. Mrs. Seeber was born April 19, 1784, and died April 19, 1876, aged 92 years.

proper condition, and, the better to control it, a pail of water and an old broom were usually at hand.

In the afternoon of October 21, 1802, Miss Young was engaged at her father's flax-kiln, when young Van Ingen came there—perhaps the better to appreciate the value of linen cloth—certainly to enjoy the society of a fair maiden. There are several traditions as to the manner in which the accident resulted from his visit ; but it is evident it did not come from malice or design, and she lived to exonerate him from all blame. They were evidently toying—fooling, if you like the expression better—or, to use a new word, heard in some localities, they were *kentecoying* ; and, while thus teasing each other, they accidentally fell upon the upper end of the poles, which slid from the bank, and they were precipitated upon a large bed of hardwood coals ; the flax took fire, and they were enveloped in flames. He got out without being seriously burned ; but, as she fell beneath, although rescued soon by friends near, she was dreadfully burned about the arms and chest. Said Mrs. Seeber, she was clad on that day as country girls then were when engaged in household duties—in a calico short-gown, a chintz neckerchief and a woolen or linsey-woolsey skirt, so that her dress was a slight protection to her chest.

She received every attention, and the medical skill of Doctor Webster ; but death ended her suffering at the end of two or three days. Her funeral took place on Sunday, when a large multitude of sympathizing relatives and acquaintances were in attendance, and it is believed the greatest mourner was Van Ingen. In the coffin she had on a cap, because so much of her hair was burned off, and that remaining was singed, while several spots on her face and neck betrayed the effects of the fire ; but death in this horrid form had not robbed the victim of all her personal charms, as beauty still lingered about her features. Many went to look at the kiln where the accident happened, which had remained unaltered since the accident. The funeral took place in the Sand Hill church, and the old burying-ground near its site holds her ashes.

Here are a couple of entries from the day-book of Dr. Webster, under date of July 20, 1802 : "Henry Glen Van Ingen began this day, with me, to study physic and surgery—J. Webster ; and October 28, following : 'Henry Glen Van Ingen left

my house to-day.'” Thus we perceive that the medical student did not long remain near the scene of the sad calamity in which he was an actor, and which thrilling event has lingered in memory for 80 years. He was from a good family in Schenectada : he never resumed his medical studies. He afterward married Elizabeth Happool, of Schenectada, by whom he had two daughters, one of whom married Cornelius Thompson, and the other Isaac Banker, who were both living in Schenectada in 1874.—*Facts from Capt. John Crane, and Mr. and Mrs. William H. Seeber, all now deceased.*

*A Phucky Landlord.*—In the war of 1812, a tavern at Little Falls standing on the turnpike was kept by a man named Crane. At some period of the war a company of State troops, on its way to the Canadian frontier, halted for dinner at this tavern. At this time the village was erecting a school-house on “Church Hill,” near its church edifice, which was then in use for school purposes, while the former house was constructing. Three little boys aged eight or ten years, one of whom was my informant, *Reuben Barber*, while on their way to school, attracted by its military visitors, entered the hall of the inn ; and, as they did so, a lieutenant, whose uniform attracted their notice, went into the dining-room and ordered a few men still at the table out of the house, as the company was forming in the street. His manner was haughty and tyrannical, and the men seemed in no haste to obey him, observing which he drew his sword, and, at the end of terrible oaths, made sundry threats of vengeance if he was not instantly obeyed.

The loud voice of the officer arrested the attention of “mine host,” who sprang into the room to remonstrate with him, telling him they had not commenced to eat as soon as the rest ; that they had paid for their dinner, and should be allowed to finish it. The man in epaulettes waxed insolent and unreasonable, and swinging his sword over his head he turned in defiance upon the landlord, who proved himself more than a match for the braggart. He told the latter that he couldn't scare anybody, and that the men should have what they had paid for ; and seizing him by the collar, in spite of his resistance, he walked him out of the dining-room through the hall to the front stoop, and, placing a foot in his rear, he very unceremoniously assisted him to a landing in the muddy street, with a

parting admonition that, if ever he entered his house again, he should do it with *better manners*. The soldiers were allowed to finish their dinner in peace ; and the boys, who were a little frightened at first, saw the landlord bring the men into the street, heard the roll called, saw them depart with the company, and hastened on to school, having learned on their way thither, as the reader will admit, a short lesson in war's grave history.

*A Robber, how Foiled.*—There is an old wood dwelling near the railroad, half a mile to the westward of the Fort Plain depot, which was erected before the Revolution, and at a period when the river road ran below it. It was owned and occupied by John Walrath directly after the war, and had been during that period. I elsewhere relate an event which transpired there at the close of the war—say in 1784 or 1785—when an Indian lost his life. Between the years 1795 and 1800, as believed, the following circumstance transpired there : Walrath was keeping tavern, and had a river ferry and a blacksmith shop. Many people from New England were then journeying to and from Western New York on horseback, and one of that number stayed at this inn over night. This class of tourists were usually more or less armed ; and the gentleman in question had a pistol, which, on retiring for the night, he left in care of the landlord, who, for safety, placed it in the bar.

In the morning, as the traveler was to resume his journey, and his horse was brought from the stable, it was found to be very lame ; and on being taken into the blacksmith shop, one Reynolds, the Vulcan of the period, soon found the cause of lameness. One account says a small wire had been twisted around the fetlock ; but the general belief is, that a nail was so driven under the shoe as to make the horse quite lame. The suspicion of the smith who relieved the horse was aroused, and he asked the stranger if he was armed. He replied that he had a loaded pistol. Said Reynolds, *perhaps you had better examine it*. He did so, to find that the charge of powder had been drawn, and a charge of ashes substituted for it. After carefully putting the weapon in order for duty, he resumed his journey westward ; but had scarcely proceeded a mile, when a masked footman sprang from the hazlenut bushes that thickly skirted the road, seized the bridle-rein, and demanded his money. The tourist

now divined why his horse had been lamed and his pistol had been tampered with, and drawing and cocking it, he exclaimed : *Hands off, you rascal, or I will shoot you!* Said the robber, still demanding his money, *I am not afraid of your pistol!* In the next instant it was discharged, and the robber relaxed his hold upon the horse and vacated the road, having received a very delicate wound. The Yankee resumed his journey, and was not again molested.

The assassin was cared for by friends, and, although laid up for some time, he was cured of his wound, which the multitude supposed he had received by falling upon a hay-fork in the barn. He certainly had received a life-lesson that sent him into a path of rectitude, and he became a useful citizen.—*Facts from George Wagner, Livingston Spraker, and others.*

*The First Getman Family in Tryon County.*—John Frederick Getman came from Germany to this colony about the year 1730. His wife was a daughter of Johannes Bierman, but where he married her is unknown. He at first secured 300 acres of land in the Stone Arabia patent, in the present town of Ephratah, and in three other purchases he added 400 acres more, giving him 700 acres in a body. He had four sons and one daughter, viz.: Christian, George, John, Frederick and Anna. The sons all rendered service in the colonial army under Sir William Johnson in the war of 1755. George Getman, above named, and grandfather of my informant, married Delia, a daughter of John Shoemaker, of Stone Arabia, and remained on the homestead, where informant was also born, lived and died. George Getman also had four sons and one daughter, viz.: Frederick, Thomas, John, George and Mary. Frederick married Anna Frank, Thomas married Elizabeth Helmer, John married Margaret Loucks, and George married Elizabeth, a daughter of Peter House, who was killed in the Stone Arabia battle in 1780. George and Mary were twins, and were born in 1757. Mary married Lewis Kring. The four brothers, sons of George Getman, were all soldiers in the Revolution.

George Getman, the youngest son of his father, and the father of my informant, had six sons and one daughter, viz.: George, Peter, Joseph, Benjamin, Christopher, William and Mary. George married Elizabeth Empie, Joseph married Elizabeth Rickard, Benjamin married Mary Van Antwerp, of Johnstown,

Christopher married Polly Miller, William married Catharine Charlesworth, and Mary married William Nellis. The six sons of the second George Getman were all soldiers in the war with Britain in 1812. My informant also had six sons, who were all liable to a draft in the late rebellion. A part of the numerous Getman family may here trace its genealogy.—Facts from *Benjamin Getman*, who was born June 1, 1791, and died at the age of nearly 90.

*A Spook Story and Terrible Scare.*—I have elsewhere spoken of Benjamin Nihoof as the last of the Mohawk river boatmen, and of his fearlessness as such ; but at night in the presence of death, he was cowardly. Here is an event going to prove his timidity. In the fall of the year, about 1825, a man named Abram Van Derwarker died at his residence—a small dwelling on the hill of the Oswegatchie road, one third of a mile from its intersection with the turnpike below Palatine Bridge.. The house was burned down a few years ago. When this man died, it was the custom to have watchers sit up with a corpse, usually in pairs—and I may add that generally a lunch was prepared by the family for such watchers. On the occasion named, Benjamin Nihoof and James Harris, neighbors, went on a moonlight evening to watch with the corps of Van Derwarker.

I have somewhere spoken of the old Weatherby tavern stand, which stood on the turnpike below its junction with the Oswegatchie road, and in which Nihoof, and Harris, as believed, were living. "Jim" was not to be terrified by anything above ground by day or night ; but he was a wag fond of mirth, and resolved on the occasion to test the courage and pluck of "Ben." The family had retired, and about 10 o'clock, Jim said to Ben : "We'll need more fuel before morning, which of us shall go to the wood-pile and get an armfull?" The wood was a little distance from the house, and Ben said he would go : which placed the matter just as his companion desired. The corps rested upon a board, the ends of which were laid upon two chairs, and over it was thrown a white sheet falling to the floor. Without a moment's delay, Jim ensconced himself under the board ; and the next moment he heard his comrade enter the room. Quick as thought the eye of Uncle Ben took in the objects of the room; not seeing Jim

but at the moment observing the corpse to be raising up and down as though suddenly re-animated—without going to the fire-place to deposit his wood, he dropped it unceremoniously upon the floor: and feeling his hat lifted upon his head, he cleared the door with a bound and took leg-bail for home.

By going across the fields he would save quite an angle in the distance, and he took the shortest route to his own home. Part of the way his course was over a rocky inequality, that cost him several plunges and some bruises, but before the ghost he fancied was pursuing, could quite overtake him, he was up and away: yet in the dim light which fell between rock and tree, his imagination conjured up many a weird hobgoblin. In such a race with *humanity* instead of *irrationality*, Uncle Ben would have distanced all competition—as it was he made a wonderful race against time and an evil-genii; and quite exhausted he reached his own door, raised the latch and fell head-long and speechless on its threshold. At that period outside doors of dwellings were seldom ever locked. His wife who was a good motherly woman awoke, as the reader may suppose, terror-stricken, and with the belief that something dreadful had transpired, as she found her liege-lord in such a plight.

Her gentle voice soon reassured him—with her assistance he regained his feet and soon self-possession to tell, in broken sentences what had happened. She readily guessed at the trick of Harris, quieted his fears and soon got him into bed—possibly on the side next the wall, and a few hours sleep restored him to his wonted cheerfulness. He soon got over his bruises and was the same confiding Uncle Ben. He held a little grudge against Harris, however, for sometime, until quidnuncs ceased to bore him. When the writer teased him late in life about that *awful night*, he laughed until tears ran down his cheeks, with the exclamation: “There’s no use in my denying the fact—*I was terribly scared that night.*”

*Dabbling in Sapphic.*—The following parody on the Ode of Horace, commencing ‘*Olium divas rogat,*’ was written at the Canajoharie, or Upper Castle, in the year 1761, by the elder Capt. Morris, and sent to his friend Lieut. Montgomery—afterwards Gen. Richard Montgomery—who fell at Quebec. Where the latter was stationed does not appear. The time and place of writing, make the lines worthy of preservation:

Ease is the prayer of him, who in a whale boat  
Crossing Lake Champlain by a storm o'ertaken,  
Not struck his blanket,\* not a friendly island  
Near to receive him.

Ease is the wish, too, of the sly Canadian,  
Ease the delight of the bloody Caghnawagas,  
Ease, Richard, ease, not to be bought with wampum  
Or paper money.

Not Colonel's pay, nor yet a dapper sergeant,  
Orderly waiting with recovered halberd,  
Can chase the crowd of troubles still surrounding,  
Lac'd regimentals.

That Sub. lives best, who, with a sash in tatters,  
Worn by his grandsire at the siege of Blenheim,  
To fear a stranger and to wild ambition,  
Snores on a bearskin.

Why like fine fellows are we ever scheming?  
We short liv'd mortals, why so fond of climates  
Warm'd by new suns? O, who, that runs from home,  
Runs from himself too.

Care climbs Radeuax,† with four and twenty pounders,  
Nor quits our light troops, or our Indian warriors,  
Swifter than moose deer, or the fleetest east wind,  
Pushing the clouds on.

He whose good humor can enjoy the present,  
Scorns to look forward, with a smile of patience  
Tempering the bitter. Bliss uninterrupted  
None can inherit.

Death instantaneous hurried off Achilles,  
Age far extended wore away Tithonus,  
Who will live longer, thou or I, Montgomery?  
Dicky or Tommy?

Thee, twenty messmates, full of noise and laughter,  
Cheer with their sallies: thee the merry damsels  
Please with their titt'ring, whilst thou sitst adorn'd with  
Boots, sash and gorget.

Me to Fort Hendrick, 'midst a savage nation,  
Dull Canajoharry, cruel fate has driven.  
O think on Morris, in a lonely chamber,  
Dabbling in Sapphic.

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\* The soldier's blanket, used by the army as a sail.

† Floating batteries used on Lake Champlain.



*A Practical Joke that Cost a Life.*—There formerly dwelt in Fulton county a man named Robert Blair, who will be remembered in that and several adjoining counties as a tin-peddler; for he followed that avocation for a life-time with varied success: and is said to have given his family a good support by it—maintaining the reputation of a fair and honest dealer in his limited traffic. He died from sunstroke some few years ago, on his way home from one of his bartering expeditions, between Fonda and Johnstown—*well stricken in years*. About the year 1830, when he was a young man he visited Fort Hunter, and as he left the place to ascend a hill near by, with a lot of sheep-skins tied upon the back end of his wagon, a wag suggested to John Newkirk among several bystanders, to cut the rope and see the peddler scatter his pelts. He favored the hint, and knife in hand unobserved by the dispenser of dinner-horns, he ran to the wagon, sprang up with a dash at the cord, but by some strange fatality he severed the main artery of his left arm, and in a seemingly short time, and long before a doctor could get there, he bled to death. A very little knowledge of surgery, would have drawn a cord tightly around the arm above the wound, and saved the young man's life. Newkirk had not a bad heart, but he listened to bad advice. Mr. Blair, whom I once interviewed about this event remarked that: *the young man in trying to play a trick on him, got the worst of it*. This was one of the saddest jokes ever practiced in Montgomery county, and I hope it will stand out as a warning against trying to perpetrate tricks upon strangers. This incident was never published before, to the writer's knowledge.

*Causes Leading to the American Revolution.*—Before tracing the events of our long and bloody struggle for NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE; it may be well to give the young reader some of the causes which foreshadowed the coming of that great drama, made up of peril, of hope-deferred, of long-suffering—aye of death and eventual triumph.

Much had occurred during the colonizing of the several American states, to estrange their affection and allegiance from the British Crown. Repeated attempts had been made to abrogate the charters—limit their manufactures, and circumscribe their commerce: while numerous measures were adopted

to render them more servile, and less confident in their own capacity for self-government.

The war between Great Britain and France, of which I have given a general account, which lasted from 1755 to 1762, and ended so gloriously for Britain in the conquest of Canada and other French possessions in America, first discovered to England the importance of her American colonies. The English, at that period, knew but little of the true state of feeling existing in America, except that obtained through prejudiced sources. The war to which I have alluded, created for Britain a heavy national debt. To liquidate this debt, the colonies were taxed, without having a voice in the councils of the mother country; against which they firmly, and with great unanimity remonstrated. The British ministry, ignorant of the geography of the colonies, treated those popular remonstrances with a degree of indifference that tended to lessen the confidence of the colonists in the home Government. To the mad policy the British ministry pursued, there were in England some honorable opposers. Among the foremost may be registered the illustrious names of a Pitt, a Conway and a Barre. From the fact, that the colonists found some noble champions in England to assert their rights, they were the more united and untiring in their attempts to obtain redress. As the criminal, if restrained even for an imaginary offence, is the more closely confined and watched if he makes any attempt to regain his liberty, so it was with the colonies; the more they remonstrated, the heavier the manacles wrought for them. It is not to be wondered at, that a people taught from the cradle to appreciate liberty, should manfully assert and maintain it.

A system of taxation was devised by the British ministry as early as 1754. The plan proposed that the colonies should erect fortifications, raise troops, etc.; with power to draw on the British treasury to defray the expense of the same—the *whole ultimately to be reimbursed by a tax on the colonies*. This plan was objected to by the sagacious Franklin, who, in a written reply to Governor Shirley of Massachusetts, proved clearly that the Americans could never submit to a tax that would render them *servile*—that they were already taxed indirectly without having a voice, being compelled to pay heavy

duties on the manufactures of the mother country ; although many of the articles might be manufactured on American soil, or purchased cheaper in some other foreign market.

Dissatisfaction was for years gaining ground in the colonies ; and as the intelligence of the people increased, so that they could the better appreciate the value of *liberty*, the prejudices against the mother country were correspondingly augmented. Every new step the ministry took, having for its ultimate object to fix upon the Americans a system of taxation, was regarded with jealousy. They were aware that Great Britain had so fettered their foreign trade, as almost wholly to confine their commerce to herself.

The French war had swelled the national debt of England to nearly *three hundred and twenty millions* of dollars. George Grenville, then prime minister of England, wishing to devise some means for raising a revenue to meet the increased expenses of the British government, which should not prove onerous *at home*, proposed to raise a revenue *in America* to go into the exchequer of Great Britain. The first act for this object was passed in 1764. It imposed a duty on "*clayed sugar, indigo, etc.*," and would have been submitted to, had it not been closely followed by others still more oppressive. Governor Bernard, of Massachusetts, issued a pamphlet, doubtless from sinister motives, justifying the course of England. He recommended abolishing the colonial charters—a new division of the colonies—a nobility for life in each division—the whole to come under one general government, and that to be under the control of the King, abolishing, also, religious freedom of opinion, etc. It may well be imagined what effect sentiments would produce in America, which were intended to demolish colonial rights. In March, of the same year, Mr. Grenville reported a resolution imposing certain *stamp duties* on the colonies. It was not to be acted upon, however, until the next session of Parliament. Opportunity being thus afforded the colonies, nearly all expressed in the interim, their disapprobation. In strong terms the House of Burgesses, of Virginia, signified their sense of the measure. They addressed lucid and sensible remonstrances to the King and both houses of Parliament. In those, they exhibited the want of a precedent to such a proceeding—the subversion of their rights as

subjects of Great Britain—the exhausted state of their finances by the late war, which left that colony involved in a debt, to cancel which must impose for years to come a tax on her citizens—the general depression of business—their present exposed state, as the Indians on the frontier were unsubdued, and might increase their colonial debt, etc. The addresses throughout, breathed a tone of humble firmness. Those memorials *were not even allowed to be read* in the House of Commons. Doctor Franklin, who was then in England, waited upon Mr. Grenville in person, to persuade him to abandon a measure, he well knew must excite the whole continent. Grenville persevered, and in March, 1765, the obnoxious bill was brought into the House of Commons. General Conway was the only member who openly contended against the *right* of Parliament to enact such a law. Charles Townsend, an advocate for the bill, closed a long and pretty speech as follows :

“And now will those Americans, children *planted by our care, nourished by our indulgence*, till they are grown to a degree of strength and opulence, and *protected by our arms*, will they grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy weight of that burden which we lie under?”

Colonel Barre, one of the most respectable members of the House of Commons, with strong feelings of indignation in his countenance and expression, replied to Mr. Townsend in the following eloquent and laconic manner :

“THEY PLANTED BY YOUR CARE?—No. Your oppressions planted them in America. They fled from your tyranny into a then uncultivated land, where they were exposed to all the hardships to which human nature is liable ; and among others, to the cruelties of a savage foe, the most subtle, and, I will take upon me to say, the most terrible, that ever inhabited any part of God’s earth. And yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, they met all these hardships with pleasure, when they compared them with those they suffered in their own country, from men who should have been their friends.

“THEY NURISHED BY YOUR INDULGENCE?—They grew up by your neglect of them. As soon as you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule them in one department and in another, who were perhaps the

*deputies of deputies* to some members of this House, sent to spy out their liberties, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them.—Men whose behavior on many occasions, has caused the blood of those sons of liberty to recoil within them.—Men promoted to the highest seats of justice, some of whom to my own knowledge were glad, by going to a foreign country, to escape being brought to the bar of a court of justice in their own.

“THEY PROTECTED BY YOUR ARMS?—They have nobly taken up arms in your defence. They have exerted a valor amidst their constant and laborious industry, for the defence of a country whose frontier was drenched in blood, while its interior parts yielded all its little savings to your emolument. And believe—remember I this day tell you so, *that same spirit of freedom which actuated that people at first, will accompany them still*: but prudence forbids me to explain myself further. God knows I do not at this time speak from any motives of party heat; what I deliver are the genuine sentiments of my heart. However superior to me in general knowledge and experience the respectable body of this House may be, yet I claim to know more of Americans than most of you, having seen and been conversant in that country. The people, I believe, are as truly loyal as any subjects the King has, but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them, if ever they should be violated: but the subject is too delicate—I will say no more.”

The bill was passed by the Commons, and met with no opposition in the House of Lords. On the twenty-second of the same month, 1765, it received the royal assent. Soon after the passage of the bill, Doctor Franklin, in a letter to Mr. Charles Thompson, afterwards secretary to Congress, thus writes: “The sun of liberty is set; you must light up the candles of industry and economy.” Said Mr. Thompson, in his reply to Franklin—“Be assured that we shall light up torches of quite another sort.” To Mr. Ingersoll, who left London about the time the bill passed, Doctor Franklin said: “Go home and tell your people to get children [for soldiers] as fast as they can.” The act, which was not to take effect until the following November, provided that all contracts should be written on *stamped paper*, or have no force in law. As a matter of course, the paper was

to be furnished at extravagant prices. As it was foreseen that unusual measures would be required to enforce a law, which, from its very nature, must meet with resistance, provision was made that all penalties for its violation might be recovered in the admiralty courts, which received their appointment from the crown. This was intended to obviate the process of trial by *jury*, as it was supposed no colonial jury would aid in enforcing a law so obnoxious. The news of its final passage was received in the colonies with sorrow. Everything was done by the people that could be, to manifest their abhorrence of the stamp act. The shipping in the harbor at Boston displayed colors at half mast; church bells were muffled and tolled, and societies in most of the colonies were formed to resist the execution of the law. Masters of vessels who brought the stamps were treated with indignity, and compelled to deliver up the stamps to the populace, who made bonfires of them and the law. Effigies of Andrew Oliver, who had been appointed stamp-distributor for the colony of Massachusetts, and the British minister, Lord North (who had succeeded Mr. Grenville) and some of his advisers, were made, and in solemn mockery burned. Justices of the peace refused to interpose their authority to enforce the law. Stamp officers were compelled to yield to the popular will, and agree never to deliver a stamp. And what was most alarming to Great Britain, many of the merchants entered into solemn engagements to import no more goods from the mother country, until the act was repealed.

In the month of May following the passage of the act, five spirited resolutions against the law were introduced into the Legislature of Virginia by Patrick Henry, and after a very warm debate were adopted. The fifth resolution read as follows:

*“Resolved,* therefore, That the General Assembly of this colony have the sole right and power to lay taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants of this colony; and that every attempt to vest such power in any person or persons whatever, other than the General Assembly aforesaid, has a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American freedom.” [Nearly at the same time the Assembly of Massachusetts adopted similar resolves.]

In the city of New York the stamp-act was printed, under

the title of "The folly of England, and the ruin of America," and hawked about the streets. When it became known that colonial assemblies were evincing hostility to the law, the timid became more bold, and the tendency to mobocracy could not be restrained. In many parts of Connecticut and Rhode Island, mobs to oppose the law were collected; while in Boston the populace wantonly destroyed the buildings and property of the stamp officers. In June the Legislature of Massachusetts proposed the expediency of calling a Continental Congress, to meet in New York the following October. Nine of the colonies sent delegates. The result of their deliberations was, a declaration of rights, in which they claimed the exclusive right to tax themselves, and the privilege of trial by jury, a memorial to the House of Lords, and petition to the King and Commons. Colonies, prevented by the proroguing power of their Governors from sending delegates to the convention, expressed their earliest possible approbation of the proceedings.

On the first day of November, 1765, when the stamp-act was to take effect, sadness was manifest in all the colonies. In Boston the workshops and stores were closed, and while the bells tolled as for a funeral, effigies of the friends of the act were marched in solemn procession through the streets to a gallows on Boston neck, where, after the hangman had done his duty, they were cut down and destroyed. At Portsmouth public notice was given to the *friends of liberty* to attend her *funeral*; a coffin was prepared, upon which was inscribed in large letters the word *Liberty*. This was followed by a numerous procession—while the bells were tolling and minute guns were firing—to the grave. There an oration was pronounced, in which it was hinted that the *deceased* might possibly *revive*. The coffin was then disinterred, the word *Revived* conspicuously added to the inscription, after which the bells rang a merry peal. Printers boldly printed and circulated their papers, without the required stamp. Associations were formed from Maine to the Mississippi, entitled the "Sons of Liberty," composed of the talent and wealth of the people; pledging their fortunes and their lives to *defend the liberty of the press*, and put down the stamp-act. The scheme of continental alliance, which afterwards followed, sprang from these associations. Nor were the males alone patriotic: females of the

highest rank, and bred to luxurious ease, became members in all the colonies, of societies, resolving to forego luxuries, and to card, spin, and weave their own clothing. Fair reader! a suit of home-spun was then a mark of popular distinction. Such was the spirit of opposition to a favorite measure of the British ministry. Parliament again convened in January, 1766; when a multitude of petitions, from all parts of England and America, were presented for the repeal of the stamp-act. Some changes had taken place in the English cabinet more favorable to the colonial cause, but Mr. Grenville still retained a place in it. After the speech of the King had been read, Mr. Pitt, the great champion of equal rights, occupied the floor. He briefly censured the acts of the late ministry, after which he thus expressed himself.

“It is a long time, Mr. Speaker, since I have attended in Parliament: when the resolution was taken in this House to tax America, I was ill in bed. If I could have endured to have been carried in my bed, so great was the agitation of my mind for the consequences, I would have solicited some kind hand to have laid me down on this floor, to have borne my testimony against it. *It is my opinion, that this kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the colonies.* At the same time, I assert the authority of this kingdom to be sovereign and supreme in every circumstance of government and legislation whatsoever. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power; the taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the Commons alone. The concurrence of the Peers and the Crown is necessary only as a *form* of law. This House represents the commons of Great Britain. When in this House we give and grant, therefore, we give and grant what is our own, but, *can we give and grant the property of the Commons of America?* It is an absurdity in terms. There is an idea in some, that the colonies are virtually represented in this House. I would fain know by *whom?* The idea of *virtual representation* is the *most contemptible* that ever entered into the head of man:—It does not deserve a serious refutation. The commons in America, represented in their several Assemblies, have invariably exercised this constitutional right of giving and granting their own money: they would have been *slaves* if they had not enjoyed it. At the same time this kingdom has ever professed



the power of legislation and commercial control. The colonies acknowledge your authority in all things, with the sole exception that you shall not take their money out of their pockets without their consent. Here would I draw the line—*quam ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum*”—[right forbids you to go beyond or fall short of it.]”

Mr. Grenville, the prime mover of the mischief, arose to defend his measures. He compared the tumults in America to an open rebellion—said he feared the doctrine that day promulgated would lead to *revolution*. He justified the right of taxing the colonies, etc. Said he—

“Protection and obedience are reciprocal. Great Britain protects America, America is therefore bound to yield obedience. If not, tell me, when were the Americans emancipated? The seditious spirit of the colonies, *owes its birth to the factions in this House*. We were told we trod on tender ground; we were bid to expect disobedience; what is this but telling America to stand out against the law? To encourage their obstinacy with the expectation of support here? *Ungrateful people of America!* The nation has run itself into an immense debt to give them protection; bounties have been extended to them; in their favor the act of navigation has been relaxed: and now that they are called upon to contribute a small share towards the public expense, they renounce your authority, insult your officers, and break out, I might almost say, into open rebellion.”

Mr. Grenville took his seat, and Mr. Pitt, with permission of the House, rose, with indignation visible in his countenance, to reply:

“Sir,” [addressing the speaker], “a charge is brought against gentlemen sitting in this House, for giving birth to sedition in America. The freedom with which they have spoken their sentiments against this *unhappy act*, is imputed to them as a crime; but the imputation shall not discourage me. It is a liberty which I hope no gentleman will be afraid to exercise; it is a liberty by which the gentleman who calumniates it, might have profited. *He ought to have desisted from his project*. We are told America is obstinate—America is almost in open rebellion. Sir, *I rejoice that America has resisted*. Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty, as volun-

tarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to have made slaves of all the rest." [After a very happy reply to some old law passages cited by Mr. Grenville, he thus continued]—"‘When,’ said the honorable gentleman, ‘were the colonies emancipated?’ At what time, say I in answer, were they made slaves? I speak from accurate knowledge when I say, that the profits to Great Britain from the trade of the colonies, through all its branches, is two millions per annum. This is the fund which carried you triumphantly through the war; this is the price America pays you for her protection; and shall a miserable financier come with a boast that he can fetch a pepper-corn into the exchequer, at the loss of millions to the nation? I know the valor of your troops; I know the skill of your officers; I know the force of this country; but in such a cause your success would be hazardous. America, if she fell, would fall like the strong man: *she would embrace the pillars of the State and pull down the Constitution with her.* Is this your boasted peace? Not to sheathe the sword in the scabbard, but to sheathe it in the bowels of your countrymen? The Americans have been wronged; they have been driven to madness by injustice. Will you punish them for the madness you have occasioned? No: let this country be the first to resume its prudence and temper; I will pledge myself for the colonies that, on their part, animosity and resentment will cease. The system of policy I would earnestly adopt in relation to America, is happily expressed in the words of a favorite poet:

‘Be to her faults a little blind,  
Be to her virtues very kind,  
Let all her ways be unconfined  
And clap your padlock on her mind.’

Upon the whole I beg leave to tell the House, in a few words, what is really my opinion. It is *that the stamp-act be repealed; ABSOLUTELY, TOTALLY AND IMMEDIATELY.*"

In addition to the information contained in the numerous petitions laid before Parliament, Dr. Franklin was called to the bar, and questioned freely as to the real state of feeling existing in the colonies toward the act. By a division of the House a

large majority were in favor of not enforcing ; and shortly after a bill passed for repealing the law. The news of its repeal produced joy throughout England and America. Illuminations and decorations took place in the former, while in the latter country public thanksgivings were offered in the churches ; non-importation resolutions rescinded, and the home-spun apparel given to the poor. The difficulty between the two countries would soon have been healed, had not the repeal of the stamp-act been followed with the "*Declaratory Act*," which was, "that Parliament have, and of right ought to have, *power to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever*." In this the *right to tax* was still maintained : in addition to this probe to open the wound anew, a law remained unrepealed, which directed that whenever troops should be marched into any of the colonies, necessary articles should be provided for them *at the expense of the colony*. The Assembly of New York refused obedience to this law, and Parliament, to punish that body, suspended its authority. The alarm occasioned by this act, considered by the people despotic, had not time to die away, before a new and aggravated cause of grievance was added, by the passage of a law imposing duties on the importation of *glass, tea*, and other enumerated articles, into the colonies, provision by the act being made for the appointment of commissioners of the customs, to be dependent solely on the Crown. About the same time Gov. Bernard of Massachusetts who had received private instructions to see that the colony made provision to remunerate the losses of those who had honored the stamp-act, being already very unpopular with the people, assumed, in his message to the Assembly, a tone of haughty reproach. This message produced a sarcastic and indignant reply. From this time the friends of liberty daily increased, and the court party correspondingly declined. The joy felt in the colonies for the repeal of the stamp-act, was of very short duration. The non-importation agreements were revived—looms and cards once more set to work—the spinning-wheel, the *piano* of the times, was heard buzzing in the dwellings of the rich, where "the women that were wise-headed," imitating those described in the 35th chapter of Exodus—"did spin with their hands." Articles of domestic manufacture

became again, with *patriots*, the fashion of the day—petitions and remonstrances were drawn up and circulated—and India tea, yielded its place on the tables of its fond drinkers, to beverages of a different character.

In 1768, troops were stationed in New York and Boston, to awe the people into submission to the acts of Parliament.

Early in the same year Massachusetts addressed a *circular letter* to the Legislatures of the sister colonies, to have them unite in advising what course it was best to pursue. A series of essays, published in a Philadelphia newspaper at this period, entitled, "Letters from a farmer in Pennsylvania to the inhabitants of the British Colonies," from the pen of that enlightened patriot, John Dickinson, Esq., augmented the spirit of *union*. In 1769, resolutions were adopted in Parliament reprobating in strong terms the conduct of the people of Massachusetts, and directing that pliant tool of oppression, Governor Bernard, to make strict inquiry into all treasonable acts committed in that province since 1767, that persons thus guilty might have their offenses investigated, and their fate decided upon *within the realm of Great Britain*.

The House of Burgesses of Virginia, which met shortly after, adopted, with closed doors, from fear of being prorogued by the Governor, resolutions expressive of their sense of the injustice and unconstitutionality of transporting criminals for trial among strangers, believing it to be *highly derogatory to the rights of British subjects*. Soon after this public manifestation of popular displeasure, the general court of Massachusetts convened at Cambridge, the public buildings in Boston being filled at that time with British soldiers. Governor Bernard wished them to provide funds to defray the expenses of quartering his Majesty's troops. No notice, however, was taken of the request; and he shortly after left the province, unhonored and unlamented. He had been an eye servant for the British ministry, and his system of espionage had won for him the curses of the *Union*, which was then forming. Had the colonies been governed by men who were more willing to redress known grievances, and less anxious to please a ministry 3,000 miles distant, it is possible the separation of the colonies from the mother country might have been prevented. Gov. Trumbull, of Con-

necticut, it should be observed, was an exception to the general rule.

Nothing occurred in 1769 to avert the impending storm. The mass of the people, in the meantime, were properly investigating the *causes* then agitating the country, and which were fast approaching a crisis. Non-importation agreements were now producing an effect which told on the mother country. In June of that year, delegates from the several counties in Maryland met at Annapolis and adopted spirited resolves : in one of which they took measures to secure to the country the article of wool, by agreeing not to kill any *ewe lambs*.

The troops quartered in New York and Boston were a constant source of irritation and difficulty with the inhabitants. On the second day of March, 1770, a quarrel took place at Boston between a British soldier and a man employed at a ropewalk. This quarrel was renewed by the citizens on the evening of the fifth, when a part of Captain Preston's company, after having been pelted with snow-balls, derided and dared to, fired upon the multitude, killing three and wounding five others. The ringing of bells, the beating of drums, and the shout *to arms!* by the people, soon brought together thousands of citizens. A body of troops—sent, in the meantime, to rescue Preston's men—would doubtless have been massacred, had not Governor Hutchinson and some of the leading citizens, among whom was Samuel Adams, interfered. The Governor promised that the matter should be amicably adjusted in the morning, and the mob dispersed. The anniversary of this first martyrdom in the cause of American liberty, was celebrated by the Bostonians until the close of the war. The immortal Warren delivered two of the anniversary orations. In the first which he delivered in 1772, on alluding to the events of that memorable evening, he thus speaks :

“ When we beheld the authors of our distress parading in our streets, or drawn up in a regular *battalia*, as though in a hostile city, our hearts beat to arms ; we snatched our weapons, almost resolved, by one decisive stroke, to avenge the death of our *slaughtered* brethren, and to secure from future danger all that we held most dear : but propitious heaven forbade the bloody carnage, and saved the threatened victims of our too

keen resentment ; not by their discipline, not by their regular array—no, it was royal *George's* livery that proved their shield—it was that which turned the pointed engines of destruction from their breasts.” [In a note of reference to the foregoing extract, he thus adds:] “I have the strongest reason to believe that I have mentioned the only circumstance which saved the troops from destruction. It was then, and now is, the opinion of those who were best acquainted with the state of affairs at that time, that had thrice that number of troops, belonging to any power at open war with us, been in this town, in the same exposed condition, scarce a man would have lived to have seen the morning light.”

Three days after the massacre the obsequies were solemnized. Every demonstration of respect was manifested. The stores and workshops were closed, the bells of Boston, Charlestown and Roxbury were tolled, and thousands followed the remains to their final resting place. The bodies were all deposited in one vault. This unhappy event and its annual observance, tended greatly to widen the breach between the colony of Massachusetts and the mother country. In New York, quarrels also arose between the citizens and soldiers. Liberty poles, erected by the former, were cut down by the latter.

While such events were transpiring, an attempt was made in England to repeal the laws for raising a revenue in America. The duties were removed from all articles except *tea*, it being thought necessary by Parliament to have, at least, one loaf constantly in the oven of discord. The repeal of a part of the obnoxious law produced little effect in the colonies, except to modify the non-importation agreements so as to exclude only *tea* from the country ; and those patriots who had not before substituted, instead of tea, a cold water or herbaceous beverage, did now. Said Dr. Thacher in his *Military Journal*, written at that period, “Those who are anxious to avoid the epithet of enemies to their country, strictly prohibit the use of tea in their families ; and the most squeamish ladies are compelled to have recourse to substitutes, or *secretly steal indulgence* in their favorite East India beverage.”

*The Crisis Approaching.*—The reader will perceive that the Revolution had, for several years, been progressively taking

place : that period is now approaching when, by the clashing of steel, it was to be maintained.

In 1772, his Majesty's revenue cutter *Gaspee*, while giving chase to the *Providence*, a packet sailing into Newport, and suspected of dealing in contraband wares, ran aground in Providence river, and was burned by the patriots in the vicinity. This was a bold act, and the sum of *five hundred pounds* was offered for the discovery of the offenders, and full pardon to any one who would become State's evidence : but in this case, as in that of *Andre's* capture, gold had no influence.

In 1773 provinces not exposed to the acts of a lawless soldiery, were fast breathing the same spirit manifested by those which were : propitious gales wafted it to the remotest parts. The talented Patrick Henry, who made human nature and human events his study, prophesied, during this year, that the colonies would become *independent*. Virginia, in March of 1773, again took the lead in Legislative resolves, against tyrannic oppression. The Legislatures of New England and Maryland responded cordially to them. Governor Hutchinson of Massachusetts, who succeeded Mr. Bernard, by a system of espionage similar to that of the latter, became to the people of that colony very odious. During this year standing committees were appointed in the colonial assemblies, to correspond with each other. At this period, committees had been formed in almost every town in some of the colonies, which had for their chief object, the speedy communication of important information, there being then but few printing presses in the country. Some time in this year, Doctor Franklin obtained in London several original letters, written by governor Hutchinson and others at Boston, to members of the British Parliament ; stating that the opposition to the laws, were, in Massachusetts, confined to a few factious individuals : recommending at the same time, the abridging of colonial rights, and the adoption of more vigorous measures. These letters were transmitted to America, and their contents being soon known in every hamlet in New England, the popular indignation was greatly increased. The Legislature of Massachusetts, in an address to his Majesty, demanded the recall of the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor. This Legislative proceeding was the cause of much opprobrium being cast upon Franklin in England.

Owing to the rigid observance of the non-importation resolves, the East India company now found their *tea* accumulating in vast quantities in their ware-houses. They were therefore under the necessity of petitioning Parliament for relief. Permission was granted them to import it on their own account : and they accordingly appointed consignees in several American sea-ports, and made heavy shipments to them. They intended, no doubt, to land it free of duty to the American merchant, but the law imposing the duty yet remained on the statute book of England ; and the popular voice decided, that while the *right to tax* was maintained, the tea should not be landed. In Philadelphia the consignees declined their appointment. In New York, hand-bills were circulated, threatening with ruin those who should vend tea ; and warning pilots, at their peril, not to conduct ships into that port laden with the article. In Boston, inflammatory handbills were also circulated, but the consignees, being in favor with the governor, accepted their appointments. This excited the whole colony of Massachusetts, and enraged the citizens. In the mean time, several ships, containing thousands of chests, arrived on the coast. So determined were the people not to allow the tea to be landed, that ship after ship was compelled to return to England, without unloading a single chest. Philadelphia took the lead, and was nobly sustained by New York. In Charleston, S. C., it was landed but not permitted to be sold. On the 29 of November, 1773, the *Dartmouth*, an East India ship, laden with tea, entered the harbor of Boston. At a numerous meeting of citizens, held to consult on the course to be pursued, it was resolved, "that the tea should not be landed, that no duty should be paid, and that it should be sent back in the same vessel." To enforce the resolutions, a vigilant watch was organized to prevent its being secretly landed. The captain was notified to return with his cargo ; but Governor Hutchinson refused to sanction his return. In the mean time, other vessels, laden with tea, arrived there. On the 16 of December, the citizens of Boston and vicinity assembled to determine what course to adopt. On the evening of that day, when it was known that the Governor refused a pass for the vessels to return, a person in an Indian's dress gave the *war whoop* in the



gallery of the Assembly room. At this signal the people hurried to the wharves ; when a party of about thirty men, disguised as Mohawks, protected by thousands of citizens on shore, boarded the vessels, broke open and emptied the contents of *three hundred and forty-two* chests of tea into the ocean, without tumult or personal injury.

These violent proceedings greatly excited the displeasure of the British government. Early in 1774 an act was passed in Parliament, levying a fine on the town of Boston, as a compensation to the East India company for the tea destroyed the preceding December. About the same time, an act closing the port of Boston, and removing the custom house to Salem : and another depriving the colony of Massachusetts of her constitution and charter, were passed : and to cap the climax of oppression, a bill was introduced making provision for the trial in England, instead of that colony for capital offense ; which passed the same year. A few individuals strenuously opposed those measures, believing that the colonists would be driven to acts of desperation ; but they were passed by large majorities. When the bill for blockading the town of Boston was under discussion in March of this year, Gov. Johnston, who opposed the measure, said in a speech on that occasion, " I now venture to predict to this house, that the effect of the present bill must be productive of a general confederacy, to resist the power of this country." Gen. Conway was again found the champion of equal rights, and when the bill was under discussion to destroy the chartered privileges of the colony, he closed a brief but pertinent speech with the following sentence : " These acts respecting America, will *involve* this country and its ministers in *misfortunes*, and, I wish I may not add, in *ruin*." It has often been asserted that the whole bench of Bishops in England who are legally constituted members of Parliament, were in favor of forcing the colonies to submit to the unwise acts of the mother country. There was one most honorable exception. The Rev. Dr. Johnathan Shipley, Bishop of St. Asaph, was the nobleman alluded to. When the bill for altering the charter of the colony of Massachusetts was under discussion, he prepared a speech replete with wisdom, and containing the most convincing proofs, that the British government were in the wrong and

were pursuing a course illy calculated to bring the colonies again to prove profitable to England. He showed the evil of making the Governors dependent on the crown, instead of the governed, for support. Said he :

“Your ears have been open to the governors and shut to the people. This must necessarily lead us to countenance the jobs of interested men, under the pretence of defending the rights of the crown. But the people are certainly the best judges whether they are well governed ; and the crown can have no rights inconsistent with the happiness of the people.” [Speaking of the act of taxation, he says:] “If it was unjust to tax them, [the Americans] we ought to repeal it for their sakes ; if it was unwise to tax them, we ought to repeal it for our own.” [He exhibited the fact that the whole revenue raised in America in 1772, amounted only to *eighty-five* pounds.] “Money that is earned so dearly as this [said he] ought to be expended with great wisdom and economy. My lords, were you to take up but one thousand pounds more from North America upon the same terms, the nation itself would be a bankrupt. [He added in another place :] It is a strange idea we have taken up, to cure their resentments, by increasing their provocations, to remove the effects of our own ill conduct, by multiplying the instances of it. But the spirit of blindness and infatuation has gone forth. \* \* Recollect that the Americans are men of like passions with ourselves, and think how deeply this treatment must affect them.”

The argumentative speech of the learned Bishop, which was not delivered in the House for want of an opportunity, was published soon after, but, as he had anticipated, “not a word of it was regarded.” While the *declaratory bill* of the sovereignty of Great Britain, over the colonies was under discussion, in March, Mr. Pitt, then lord Chatham, again opposed the principle of taxation without representation, and closed an animated speech as follows :

“The forefathers of the Americans did not leave their native country, and subject themselves to every danger and distress, to be reduced to a state of *slavery* : they did not give up their rights ; they looked for *protection*, and not for *chains*, from their mother country ; by her they expected to be defended in

the possession of their property, and not to be deprived of it; for should the present power continue, there is nothing they can call their own; or, to use the words of Mr. Locke, 'what property have they in that which another may by right take, when he pleases, to himself?'"

The news in the colonies of the passage of these unjust laws carried with it gloom and terror. The better informed saw the approaching contest, yet firmly resolved to live or die *freemen*. From the north to the south the same spirit was manifested, and the kindest sympathy felt for the Bostonians, who were considered as suffering in the cause of *liberty*. The first day of June, when the Boston *port bill* began to operate, was observed in most of the colonies as a day of fasting and prayer.

Governor Hutchinson of Massachusetts was recalled early in 1774, and Gen. Gage appointed his successor; but the interests of the people found no material benefit from this change of rulers. On the 17th of June, the general court of Massachusetts, at the suggestion of a committee in Virginia, recommended the calling of a *Congress* at Philadelphia, on the first Monday of the following September. At a numerous meeting of the inhabitants of the city of New York, convened in an open field on the sixth of July, with Alexander McDougal in the chair, a series of spirited resolutions were adopted, among which was the following:

"*Resolved*, That any attack or attempt to abridge the liberties or invade the constitution of any of our sister colonies, is immediately an attack upon the liberties and constitution of all the other British colonies."

About this time, the motto, "*United we stand, divided we fall!*" originated in Hanover, Virginia; while almost at the same instant the motto, "*Join or die!*" had its origin in Rhode Island. On the first day of September, the following circumstance gave a new impulse to the spirit of independence in the colony of Massachusetts: Gov. Gage had ordered a military force to take possession of the powder in the provincial arsenal at Charlestown, near Boston. It was rumored abroad that the British fleet in the harbor were bombarding the town, and *thirty thousand* men, in less than two days, mostly armed, were on their way to Boston. Another circumstance took place in that

city, about the same time, which added oil to the lamp of liberty. Gov. Gage deprived John Hancock of his commission as Colonel of cadets; a volunteer body of Governor's guards. The company took offense at the act and instantly disbanded. The late Governors, Bernard and Hutchinson, repeatedly represented to the British ministry that the colonies could never form a *union*. They had hoped as much, and taken no little pains to prevent such an event; but when the fifth of September, 1774, arrived, delegates from *twelve* of the thirteen colonies met in convention, Georgia alone excepted: she soon after joined the confederacy. Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, was chosen president, and Charles Thompson, of Pennsylvania, secretary of this body. Patrick Henry was the first to address the meeting. While in session, this Congress passed resolutions approving the course of the citizens of Boston, opposing the acts of Parliament, advising union, peaceable conduct, etc. They remonstrated with General Gage against fortifying Boston Neck—recommended a future course to be pursued by the colonies—setting forth clearly the present evils, their causes and remedies. They advised economy and frugality—the abstaining from all kinds of intemperance, festivities, and the like—requiring committees to report all the enemies of American liberty, that their names might be published. They also addressed a petition to the King, a memorial to the citizens of England, an address to the people of the colonies, and another to the French inhabitants of Quebec, Georgia, Nova Scotia, and other British provinces not represented. In their petition to the King, they simply asked to be restored to their situation in the peace of 1763, in humble, strong and respectful terms. They urged the colonies “to be prepared for every contingency.” They invited the co-operation of the British colonies not represented in that congress, in their resistance to oppression; and adjourned on the 26th of October, after a session of *fifty-two* days, to meet again on the tenth of the following May. Says *Mr. Allen*, author of the *American Revolution*:

“That an assembly of fifty-two men, born and educated in the wilds of a new world, unpracticed in the arts of polity, most of them unexperienced in the arduous duties of Legislation, coming from distant colonies and distant governments,

differing in religion, manners, customs and habits—as they did in their views with regard to the nature of their connection with Great Britain ; that such an assembly, so constituted, should display so much wisdom, sagacity, foresight and knowledge of the world, such skill in argument, such force of reasoning, such firmness and soundness of judgment, so profound an acquaintance with the rights of man, such elevation of sentiment, such genuine patriotism, and, above all, such unexampled union of opinion, was, indeed, a political phenomenon, to which history has as yet furnished no parallel.”

January 3, 1774, Gov. Tryon wrote to the Earl of Dartmouth, and after speaking of the destruction of tea at Boston, he said : “From the general appearance of the united opposition to the principle of the monopoly, and the importation duty in America, I can form no other opinion than that the landing, storing and safe keeping of the *tea*, when stored, could be accomplished, but only under the protection of the point of the bayonet and muzzle of the cannon ; and even then I do not see how the consumption could be effected.\*

Noting the effect of the non-importation resolutions of the colonies, the Earl of Dartmouth, February 5, 1774, closed a letter to Gov. Tryon with this emphatic sentence, showing the design of the mother country to make her colonies entirely dependent upon her will : “What has already happened—on occasion of the importation of teas by the East India Company into some of the colonies—is of the most alarming nature, and I have it in command, from the King, to acquaint you, that it is his Majesty’s firm resolution, upon the unanimous advice of his confidential servants, *to pursue such measures as shall be effectual for securing the dependence of the colonies upon this kingdom.*”† April 7, 1774, Gov. Tryon embarked for England in the packet *Mercury* for the benefit of his health, leaving the State affairs with Lieut Gov. Colden.

The resolves of Congress were strictly observed by all the thirteen colonies, a system of commercial non-intercourse with the mother country was maintained, and the militia were drilled and preparations made for any emergency. In Decem-

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\* Brod. Papers, vol. 8, 408.

† Brod. Papers, vol. 8, p. 409.

ber following, Maryland alone resolved to raise £10,000, for the purchase of arms and ammunition for her defense. In January, 1775, colonial difficulties were the cause of warm discussions, in both Houses of the mother government. On a motion for an address to his Majesty, to give immediate orders for removing his troops from Boston, Lord Chatham delivered a powerful speech. He asserted that the measures of the preceding year, which had placed their American affairs in so alarming a state, were founded upon misrepresentation; that instead of its being only a faction in Boston, as they had been told, who were opposed to their unlawful government, it was, in truth, the whole continent. Said he—

“When I urge this measure for recalling the troops from Boston, I urge it on this pressing principle—that it is necessarily preparatory to the restoration of your prosperity.” [He termed the troops under General Gage,] “an army of impotence—and irritation—I do not mean to censure the inactivity of the troops. It is a prudent and necessary inaction. But it is a miserable condition, where disgrace is prudence; and where it is necessary to be contemptible. Woe be to him who sheds the first, the unexpiable drop of blood in an impious war, with a people contending in the great cause of public liberty. I will tell you plainly, my lords, no son of mine, nor any one over whom I have influence, shall ever draw his sword upon his fellow subjects.” [He stated, that from authentic information he knew that the whole continent was uniting, and not commercial factions, as had been asserted. Speaking of the principles which united the Americans, he said,]—“’Tis liberty to liberty engaged, that they will defend themselves, their families and their country. In this great cause they are immovably allied. *It is the alliance of God and nature*—immutable, eternal, fixed as the firmament of Heaven. When your lordships look at the papers transmitted us from America, when you consider their decency, firmness and wisdom, you can not but respect their cause and wish to make it your own—for myself I must declare and avow that, in all my reading and observation, and it has been my favorite study—I have read Thucydides, and have studied and admired the master states of the world—that for solidity and reasoning, force of

sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of different circumstances, no nation or body of men can stand in perference to the General Congress at Philadelphia. I trust it is obvious to your lordships, that all attempts to impose servitude on such men, to establish despotism over such a mighty continental nation—must be vain—must be futile. To conclude, my lords, if the ministers thus persevere in misadvising and misleading the King, I will not say that they can alienate his subjects from his crown, but I will affirm that they will make the crown not worth his wearing. I shall not say that the King is betrayed, but I will pronounce *that the kingdom is undone.*”

Lord Chatham was nobly sustained by Lord Camden, but they were of a small minority, and their reasoning was buried in the popular will of Lord North. A favorite measure of the latter gentleman, for healing the dissensions in the colonies was adopted, which was in substance, that if any colony would consent to tax itself for the benefit of the mother country, Parliament would forbear to tax that colony, as long as the contribution was punctually paid. One would suppose that head *brainless* that looked for a beneficial result from the passage of such a law. In March of this year, the celebrated Edmund Burke delivered a long and able speech in Parliament in favor of conciliating colonial difficulties—but to no purpose. An effort was made by the British ministry, when they found the Americans uniting, to create a separation of interest, and prevent a union of the northern and southern, by conciliating the middle colonies, but without effect: the motto, *United we stand*, had gone forth, and no political manœuvering could annual it. At this period there were not a few in the colonies, who, from reverence, timidity or sinister motives, clung to the authority of the mother country. The most of those, however, were recent immigrants from England and Scotland, and a multitude of officers dependent on the Crown and its authority, for a continuance of kingly honors. These adherents to British authority were called *Tories*, and the friends of liberty and equal rights were called *Whigs*; names originated many years before in England. To compel New England to submit to the acts of Parliament, they were prohibited, in the course

of this year, from fishing on the banks of Newfoundland ; and armed vessels were sent to enforce the law. This prohibition was severely felt, as several colonies were extensively engaged in that business.

*Population of the Colony.*—Agreeable to an estimate made by Gov. Tryon to His Majesty June 11, 1774, the population of the colony of New York was then 182,257.

October 19, 1774, the British Crown prohibited the exportation of gun-powder or any kind of arms to any of the Provinces ; from any parts of the British Kingdom.

December 10, 1776, Great Britain reiterated its determination to maintain "its steadfast Resolution," with regard to its illiberal position toward the colonies.

It was believed in England and America by the friends of royalty, that the Americans would not dare to encounter British troops in the battle field ; and Lieu. Gov. Colden wrote the Earl of Dartmouth, March 1, 1775—after stating the fate of some of the ships laden with *tabooed* freight in New York harbor, and expressing an opinion that one of the large war-ships should be sent from Boston to the waters of New York to overawe the people—observes : "*The idea of their really fighting the King's troops, is so full of madness and folly, that one can hardly think seriously of it.*"—*Brod. Papers*, 8. 544.

*Revolutionary Calendar*—The following tables are prepared, to show the reader what day in the week any event transpired in the Revolution, of which the true date is given. Had such a register been presented by earlier writers, and the day of the week given, when known, it is believed that many of the discrepancies found in books in dating important events, would have been avoided. The day of the week on which some transactions of the war transpired, was often better remembered than the day of the month :



*Revolutionary Calendar.*

1775.

|            | June. | May. | April. | March. | February. | January. |
|------------|-------|------|--------|--------|-----------|----------|
| Sun.       | 1     | 7    | 2      | 5      | 12        | 18       |
| Mon.       | 2     | 8    | 3      | 6      | 13        | 19       |
| Tues.      | 3     | 9    | 4      | 7      | 14        | 20       |
| Wed.       | 4     | 10   | 5      | 8      | 15        | 21       |
| Thurs.     | 5     | 11   | 6      | 9      | 16        | 22       |
| Fri.       | 6     | 12   | 7      | 10     | 17        | 23       |
| Sat.       | 7     | 13   | 8      | 11     | 18        | 24       |
| July.      | 8     | 14   | 9      | 12     | 19        | 25       |
| Sun.       | 9     | 15   | 10     | 13     | 20        | 26       |
| Mon.       | 10    | 16   | 11     | 14     | 21        | 27       |
| Tues.      | 11    | 17   | 12     | 15     | 22        | 28       |
| Wed.       | 12    | 18   | 13     | 16     | 23        | 29       |
| Thurs.     | 13    | 19   | 14     | 17     | 24        | 30       |
| Fri.       | 14    | 20   | 15     | 18     | 25        | 31       |
| Sat.       | 15    | 21   | 16     | 19     | 26        |          |
| August.    | 16    | 22   | 17     | 20     | 27        |          |
| Sun.       | 17    | 23   | 18     | 21     | 28        |          |
| Mon.       | 18    | 24   | 19     | 22     | 29        |          |
| Tues.      | 19    | 25   | 20     | 23     | 30        |          |
| Wed.       | 20    | 26   | 21     | 24     |           |          |
| Thurs.     | 21    | 27   | 22     | 25     |           |          |
| Fri.       | 22    | 28   | 23     | 26     |           |          |
| Sat.       | 23    | 29   | 24     | 27     |           |          |
| September. | 24    | 30   | 25     | 28     |           |          |
| Sun.       | 25    |      | 26     | 29     |           |          |
| Mon.       | 26    |      | 27     | 30     |           |          |
| Tues.      | 27    |      | 28     |        |           |          |
| Wed.       | 28    |      | 29     |        |           |          |
| Thurs.     | 29    |      | 30     |        |           |          |
| Fri.       | 30    |      |        |        |           |          |
| Sat.       | 31    |      |        |        |           |          |

## Revolutionary Calendar—(Continued).

1776.

|  | January.  |      |       |      |        |      |      |  | July.      |      |       |      |        |      |      |
|--|-----------|------|-------|------|--------|------|------|--|------------|------|-------|------|--------|------|------|
|  | Sun.      | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. |  | Sun.       | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. |
|  | ..        | 1    | 2     | 3    | 4      | 5    | 6    |  | ..         | 1    | 2     | 3    | 4      | 5    | 6    |
|  | 7         | 8    | 9     | 10   | 11     | 12   | 13   |  | 7          | 8    | 9     | 10   | 11     | 12   | 13   |
|  | 14        | 15   | 16    | 17   | 18     | 19   | 20   |  | 14         | 15   | 16    | 17   | 18     | 19   | 20   |
|  | 21        | 22   | 23    | 24   | 25     | 26   | 27   |  | 21         | 22   | 23    | 24   | 25     | 26   | 27   |
|  | 28        | 29   | 30    | 31   | ..     | ..   | ..   |  | 28         | 29   | 30    | 31   | ..     | ..   | ..   |
|  | February. |      |       |      |        |      |      |  | August.    |      |       |      |        |      |      |
|  | Sun.      | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. |  | Sun.       | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. |
|  | ..        | ..   | ..    | ..   | 1      | 2    | 3    |  | ..         | ..   | ..    | ..   | 1      | 2    | 3    |
|  | 4         | 5    | 6     | 7    | 8      | 9    | 10   |  | 4          | 5    | 6     | 7    | 8      | 9    | 10   |
|  | 11        | 12   | 13    | 14   | 15     | 16   | 17   |  | 11         | 12   | 13    | 14   | 15     | 16   | 17   |
|  | 18        | 19   | 20    | 21   | 22     | 23   | 24   |  | 18         | 19   | 20    | 21   | 22     | 23   | 24   |
|  | 25        | 26   | 27    | 28   | 29     | ..   | ..   |  | 25         | 26   | 27    | 28   | 29     | 30   | 31   |
|  | March.    |      |       |      |        |      |      |  | September. |      |       |      |        |      |      |
|  | Sun.      | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. |  | Sun.       | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. |
|  | ..        | ..   | ..    | ..   | ..     | 1    | 2    |  | 1          | 2    | 3     | 4    | 5      | 6    | 7    |
|  | 3         | 4    | 5     | 6    | 7      | 8    | 9    |  | 8          | 9    | 10    | 11   | 12     | 13   | 14   |
|  | 10        | 11   | 12    | 13   | 14     | 15   | 16   |  | 15         | 16   | 17    | 18   | 19     | 20   | 21   |
|  | 17        | 18   | 19    | 20   | 21     | 22   | 23   |  | 22         | 23   | 24    | 25   | 26     | 27   | 28   |
|  | 24        | 25   | 26    | 27   | 28     | 29   | 30   |  | 29         | 30   | ..    | ..   | ..     | ..   | ..   |
|  | 31        | ..   | ..    | ..   | ..     | ..   | ..   |  | ..         | ..   | ..    | ..   | ..     | ..   | ..   |
|  | April.    |      |       |      |        |      |      |  | October.   |      |       |      |        |      |      |
|  | Sun.      | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. |  | Sun.       | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. |
|  | ..        | 1    | 2     | 3    | 4      | 5    | 6    |  | ..         | ..   | 1     | 2    | 3      | 4    | 5    |
|  | 7         | 8    | 9     | 10   | 11     | 12   | 13   |  | 6          | 7    | 8     | 9    | 10     | 11   | 12   |
|  | 14        | 15   | 16    | 17   | 18     | 19   | 20   |  | 13         | 14   | 15    | 16   | 17     | 18   | 19   |
|  | 21        | 22   | 23    | 24   | 25     | 26   | 27   |  | 20         | 21   | 22    | 23   | 24     | 25   | 26   |
|  | 28        | 29   | 30    | ..   | ..     | ..   | ..   |  | 27         | 28   | 29    | 30   | 31     | ..   | ..   |
|  | May.      |      |       |      |        |      |      |  | November.  |      |       |      |        |      |      |
|  | Sun.      | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. |  | Sun.       | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. |
|  | ..        | ..   | ..    | 1    | 2      | 3    | 4    |  | ..         | ..   | ..    | ..   | ..     | 1    | 2    |
|  | 5         | 6    | 7     | 8    | 9      | 10   | 11   |  | 3          | 4    | 5     | 6    | 7      | 8    | 9    |
|  | 12        | 13   | 14    | 15   | 16     | 17   | 18   |  | 10         | 11   | 12    | 13   | 14     | 15   | 16   |
|  | 19        | 20   | 21    | 22   | 23     | 24   | 25   |  | 17         | 18   | 19    | 20   | 21     | 22   | 23   |
|  | 26        | 27   | 28    | 29   | 30     | 31   | ..   |  | 24         | 25   | 26    | 27   | 28     | 29   | 30   |
|  | June.     |      |       |      |        |      |      |  | December.  |      |       |      |        |      |      |
|  | Sun.      | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. |  | Sun.       | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. |
|  | ..        | ..   | ..    | ..   | ..     | ..   | 1    |  | 1          | 2    | 3     | 4    | 5      | 6    | 7    |
|  | 2         | 3    | 4     | 5    | 6      | 7    | 8    |  | 8          | 9    | 10    | 11   | 12     | 13   | 14   |
|  | 9         | 10   | 11    | 12   | 13     | 14   | 15   |  | 15         | 16   | 17    | 18   | 19     | 20   | 21   |
|  | 16        | 17   | 18    | 19   | 20     | 21   | 22   |  | 22         | 23   | 24    | 25   | 26     | 27   | 28   |
|  | 23        | 24   | 25    | 26   | 27     | 28   | 29   |  | 29         | 30   | 31    | ..   | ..     | ..   | ..   |
|  | 30        | ..   | ..    | ..   | ..     | ..   | ..   |  | ..         | ..   | ..    | ..   | ..     | ..   | ..   |

1777.

|  | January. |      |       |      |        |      |      |  | February. |      |       |      |        |      |      |
|--|----------|------|-------|------|--------|------|------|--|-----------|------|-------|------|--------|------|------|
|  | Sun.     | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. |  | Sun.      | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. |
|  | ..       | ..   | ..    | 1    | 2      | 3    | 4    |  | ..        | ..   | ..    | ..   | ..     | ..   | 1    |
|  | 5        | 6    | 7     | 8    | 9      | 10   | 11   |  | 2         | 3    | 4     | 5    | 6      | 7    | 8    |
|  | 12       | 13   | 14    | 15   | 16     | 17   | 18   |  | 9         | 10   | 11    | 12   | 13     | 14   | 15   |
|  | 19       | 20   | 21    | 22   | 23     | 24   | 25   |  | 16        | 17   | 18    | 19   | 20     | 21   | 22   |
|  | 26       | 27   | 28    | 29   | 30     | 31   | ..   |  | 23        | 24   | 25    | 26   | 27     | 28   | ..   |

## Revolutionary Calendar—(Continued).

1777—(Continued).

|  | March. |      |       |      |        |      |      |  | April. |      |       |      |        |      |      |  | May. |      |       |      |        |      |      |  | June. |      |       |      |        |      |      |    | July. |      |       |      |        |      |      |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |  |
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|  | Sun.   | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. |  | Sun.   | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. |  | Sun. | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. |  | Sun.  | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. |    | Sun.  | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |  |
|  | 2      | 3    | 4     | 5    | 6      | 7    | 1    |  | 6      | 7    | 8     | 9    | 10     | 11   | 12   |  | 4    | 5    | 6     | 7    | 8      | 9    | 10   |  | 1     | 2    | 3     | 4    | 5      | 6    |      | 6  | 7     | 8    | 9     | 10   |        | 13   | 14   | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 | 28 | 29 | 30 | 31 |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |  |
|  | 9      | 10   | 11    | 12   | 13     | 14   | 15   |  | 13     | 14   | 15    | 16   | 17     | 18   | 19   |  | 11   | 12   | 13    | 14   | 15     | 16   | 17   |  | 8     | 9    | 10    | 11   | 12     | 13   |      | 14 | 15    | 16   | 17    | 18   | 19     | 20   | 21   | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 | 28 | 29 | 30 | 31 |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |  |
|  | 16     | 17   | 18    | 19   | 20     | 21   | 22   |  | 20     | 21   | 22    | 23   | 24     | 25   | 26   |  | 18   | 19   | 20    | 21   | 22     | 23   | 24   |  | 15    | 16   | 17    | 18   | 19     | 20   |      | 22 | 23    | 24   | 25    | 26   | 27     | 28   | 29   | 30 | 31 |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |  |
|  | 23     | 24   | 25    | 26   | 27     | 28   | 29   |  | 27     | 28   | 29    | 30   | ..     | ..   | ..   |  | 25   | 26   | 27    | 28   | 29     | 30   | ..   |  | 22    | 23   | 24    | 25   | 26     | 27   | 28   |    | 29    | 30   | ..    | ..   | ..     | ..   | ..   | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |  |

1778.

| January.  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | March. |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |  |  |  |  |
|-----------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|--------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|--|--|--|--|
|           | 1  | 2  | 3  | 4  | 5  | 6  | 7  |        | 1  | 2  | 3  | 4  | 5  | 6  | 7  |  |  |  |  |
|           | 8  | 9  | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 |        | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 |  |  |  |  |
|           | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 |        | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 | 28 |  |  |  |  |
| 25        | 26 | 27 | 28 | 29 | 30 | 31 | 29 | 30     | 31 |    |    |    |    |    |    |  |  |  |  |
| February. |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | April. |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |  |  |  |  |
|           | 1  | 2  | 3  | 4  | 5  | 6  | 7  |        | 1  | 2  | 3  | 4  | 5  | 6  | 7  |  |  |  |  |
|           | 8  | 9  | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 |        | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 |  |  |  |  |
|           | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 |        | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 |  |  |  |  |
| 22        | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 | 28 | 26 | 27     | 28 | 29 | 30 | .. |    |    |    |  |  |  |  |

## Revolutionary Calendar—(Continued).

1778—(Continued).

| August.   | July.     | June.    | May.       | September. |      |       |      |        |      |      |
|-----------|-----------|----------|------------|------------|------|-------|------|--------|------|------|
|           |           |          |            | Sun.       | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. |
| ..        | ..        | ..       | ..         | ..         | ..   | ..    | ..   | ..     | ..   | ..   |
| 9         | 12        | 14       | 10         | 6          | 7    | 8     | 13   | 14     | 15   | 16   |
| 16        | 19        | 21       | 17         | 18         | 19   | 20    | 27   | 28     | 29   | 30   |
| 23        | 26        | 28       | 24         | 27         | 28   | 29    | ..   | ..     | ..   | ..   |
| 30        | 31        | ..       | 31         | ..         | ..   | ..    | ..   | ..     | ..   | ..   |
| December. | November. | October. | September. | October.   |      |       |      |        |      |      |
|           |           |          |            | Sun.       | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. |
| ..        | ..        | ..       | ..         | ..         | ..   | ..    | ..   | ..     | ..   | ..   |
| 6         | 15        | 18       | 13         | 4          | 5    | 6     | 11   | 12     | 13   | 14   |
| 13        | 22        | 25       | 20         | 11         | 12   | 13    | 18   | 19     | 20   | 21   |
| 20        | 29        | ..       | 27         | 18         | 19   | 20    | 25   | 26     | 27   | 28   |
| 27        | ..        | ..       | ..         | 25         | 26   | 27    | ..   | ..     | ..   | ..   |

1779.

| March.  | February. | January. | April. |    |    |    |    |    |    |
|---------|-----------|----------|--------|----|----|----|----|----|----|
|         |           |          | ..     | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| ..      | ..        | ..       | ..     | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| 7       | 14        | 10       | 4      | 5  | 6  | 7  | 8  | 9  | 10 |
| 14      | 21        | 17       | 11     | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 |
| 21      | 28        | 24       | 18     | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 |
| 28      | ..        | 31       | 25     | 26 | 27 | 28 | 29 | 30 | .. |
| June.   | May.      | April.   | May.   |    |    |    |    |    |    |
|         |           |          | ..     | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| ..      | ..        | ..       | ..     | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| 6       | 13        | 10       | 2      | 3  | 4  | 5  | 6  | 7  | 8  |
| 13      | 20        | 17       | 9      | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 |
| 20      | 27        | 24       | 16     | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 |
| 27      | ..        | ..       | 23     | 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 | 28 | 29 |
| August. | July.     | June.    | June.  |    |    |    |    |    |    |
|         |           |          | ..     | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| ..      | ..        | ..       | ..     | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| 9       | 16        | 13       | 6      | 7  | 8  | 9  | 10 | 11 | 12 |
| 16      | 23        | 20       | 13     | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 |
| 23      | 30        | 27       | 20     | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 |
| 30      | ..        | ..       | 27     | 28 | 29 | 30 | .. | .. | .. |

*Revolutionary Calendar—(Continued).*

1779—(Continued).

|  | July.      |      |       |      |        |      |      |  | October.  |      |       |      |        |      |      |
|--|------------|------|-------|------|--------|------|------|--|-----------|------|-------|------|--------|------|------|
|  | Sun.       | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. |  | Sun.      | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. |
|  | ..         | ..   | ..    | ..   | 1      | 2    | 3    |  | ..        | ..   | ..    | ..   | ..     | 1    | 2    |
|  | 4          | 5    | 6     | 7    | 8      | 9    | 10   |  | 3         | 4    | 5     | 6    | 7      | 8    | 9    |
|  | 11         | 12   | 13    | 14   | 15     | 16   | 17   |  | 10        | 11   | 12    | 13   | 14     | 15   | 16   |
|  | 18         | 19   | 20    | 21   | 22     | 23   | 24   |  | 17        | 18   | 19    | 20   | 21     | 22   | 23   |
|  | 25         | 26   | 27    | 28   | 29     | 30   | 31   |  | 24        | 25   | 26    | 27   | 28     | 29   | 30   |
|  | ..         | ..   | ..    | ..   | ..     | ..   | ..   |  | 31        | ..   | ..    | ..   | ..     | ..   | ..   |
|  | August.    |      |       |      |        |      |      |  | November. |      |       |      |        |      |      |
|  | Sun.       | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. |  | Sun.      | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. |
|  | 1          | 2    | 3     | 4    | 5      | 6    | 7    |  | ..        | 1    | 2     | 3    | 4      | 5    | 6    |
|  | 8          | 9    | 10    | 11   | 12     | 13   | 14   |  | 7         | 8    | 9     | 10   | 11     | 12   | 13   |
|  | 15         | 16   | 17    | 18   | 19     | 20   | 21   |  | 14        | 15   | 16    | 17   | 18     | 19   | 20   |
|  | 22         | 23   | 24    | 25   | 26     | 27   | 28   |  | 21        | 22   | 23    | 24   | 25     | 26   | 27   |
|  | 29         | 30   | 31    | ..   | ..     | ..   | ..   |  | 28        | 29   | 30    | ..   | ..     | ..   | ..   |
|  | September. |      |       |      |        |      |      |  | December. |      |       |      |        |      |      |
|  | Sun.       | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. |  | Sun.      | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. |
|  | ..         | ..   | ..    | 1    | 2      | 3    | 4    |  | ..        | ..   | ..    | 1    | 2      | 3    | 4    |
|  | 5          | 6    | 7     | 8    | 9      | 10   | 11   |  | 5         | 6    | 7     | 8    | 9      | 10   | 11   |
|  | 12         | 13   | 14    | 15   | 16     | 17   | 18   |  | 12        | 13   | 14    | 15   | 16     | 17   | 18   |
|  | 19         | 20   | 21    | 22   | 23     | 24   | 25   |  | 19        | 20   | 21    | 22   | 23     | 24   | 25   |
|  | 26         | 27   | 28    | 29   | 30     | ..   | ..   |  | 26        | 27   | 28    | 29   | 30     | 31   | ..   |

1780.

|  | January.  |      |       |      |        |      |      |  | May.    |      |       |      |        |      |      |
|--|-----------|------|-------|------|--------|------|------|--|---------|------|-------|------|--------|------|------|
|  | Sun.      | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. |  | Sun.    | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. |
|  | ..        | ..   | ..    | ..   | ..     | ..   | 1    |  | ..      | 1    | 2     | 3    | 4      | 5    | 6    |
|  | 2         | 3    | 4     | 5    | 6      | 7    | 8    |  | 7       | 8    | 9     | 10   | 11     | 12   | 13   |
|  | 9         | 10   | 11    | 12   | 13     | 14   | 15   |  | 14      | 15   | 16    | 17   | 18     | 19   | 20   |
|  | 16        | 17   | 18    | 19   | 20     | 21   | 22   |  | 21      | 22   | 23    | 24   | 25     | 26   | 27   |
|  | 23        | 24   | 25    | 26   | 27     | 28   | 29   |  | 28      | 29   | 30    | 31   | ..     | ..   | ..   |
|  | 30        | 31   | ..    | ..   | ..     | ..   | ..   |  | ..      | ..   | ..    | ..   | ..     | ..   | ..   |
|  | February. |      |       |      |        |      |      |  | June.   |      |       |      |        |      |      |
|  | Sun.      | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. |  | Sun.    | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. |
|  | ..        | ..   | 1     | 2    | 3      | 4    | 5    |  | ..      | ..   | ..    | ..   | 1      | 2    | 3    |
|  | 6         | 7    | 8     | 9    | 10     | 11   | 12   |  | 4       | 5    | 6     | 7    | 8      | 9    | 10   |
|  | 13        | 14   | 15    | 16   | 17     | 18   | 19   |  | 11      | 12   | 13    | 14   | 15     | 16   | 17   |
|  | 20        | 21   | 22    | 23   | 24     | 25   | 26   |  | 18      | 19   | 20    | 21   | 22     | 23   | 24   |
|  | 27        | 28   | 29    | ..   | ..     | ..   | ..   |  | 25      | 26   | 27    | 28   | 29     | 30   | ..   |
|  | March.    |      |       |      |        |      |      |  | July.   |      |       |      |        |      |      |
|  | Sun.      | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. |  | Sun.    | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. |
|  | ..        | ..   | ..    | 1    | 2      | 3    | 4    |  | ..      | ..   | ..    | ..   | ..     | ..   | 1    |
|  | 5         | 6    | 7     | 8    | 9      | 10   | 11   |  | 2       | 3    | 4     | 5    | 6      | 7    | 8    |
|  | 12        | 13   | 14    | 15   | 16     | 17   | 18   |  | 9       | 10   | 11    | 12   | 13     | 14   | 15   |
|  | 19        | 20   | 21    | 22   | 23     | 24   | 25   |  | 16      | 17   | 18    | 19   | 20     | 21   | 22   |
|  | 26        | 27   | 28    | 29   | 30     | 31   | ..   |  | 23      | 24   | 25    | 26   | 27     | 28   | 29   |
|  | ..        | ..   | ..    | ..   | ..     | ..   | ..   |  | 30      | 31   | ..    | ..   | ..     | ..   | ..   |
|  | April.    |      |       |      |        |      |      |  | August. |      |       |      |        |      |      |
|  | Sun.      | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. |  | Sun.    | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. |
|  | ..        | ..   | ..    | ..   | ..     | ..   | 1    |  | ..      | ..   | 1     | 2    | 3      | 4    | 5    |
|  | 2         | 3    | 4     | 5    | 6      | 7    | 8    |  | 6       | 7    | 8     | 9    | 10     | 11   | 12   |
|  | 9         | 10   | 11    | 12   | 13     | 14   | 15   |  | 13      | 14   | 15    | 16   | 17     | 18   | 19   |
|  | 16        | 17   | 18    | 19   | 20     | 21   | 22   |  | 20      | 21   | 22    | 23   | 24     | 25   | 26   |
|  | 23        | 24   | 25    | 26   | 27     | 28   | 29   |  | 27      | 28   | 29    | 30   | 31     | ..   | ..   |
|  | 30        | ..   | ..    | ..   | ..     | ..   | ..   |  | ..      | ..   | ..    | ..   | ..     | ..   | ..   |

## Revolutionary Calendar—(Continued).

1780—(Continued).

| September. |      |       |      |        |      |      | October. |      |       |      |        |      |      | November. |      |       |      |        |      |      |
|------------|------|-------|------|--------|------|------|----------|------|-------|------|--------|------|------|-----------|------|-------|------|--------|------|------|
| Sun.       | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. | Sun.     | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. | Sun.      | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. |
| ..         | ..   | ..    | ..   | ..     | 1    | 2    | 1        | 2    | 3     | 4    | 5      | 6    | 7    | ..        | ..   | ..    | 1    | 2      | 3    | 4    |
| 3          | 4    | 5     | 6    | 7      | 8    | 9    | 8        | 9    | 10    | 11   | 12     | 13   | 14   | ..        | ..   | ..    | 8    | 9      | 10   | 11   |
| 10         | 11   | 12    | 13   | 14     | 15   | 16   | 15       | 16   | 17    | 18   | 19     | 20   | 21   | 12        | 13   | 14    | 15   | 16     | 17   | 18   |
| 17         | 18   | 19    | 20   | 21     | 22   | 23   | 22       | 23   | 24    | 25   | 26     | 27   | 28   | 19        | 20   | 21    | 22   | 23     | 24   | 25   |
| 24         | 25   | 26    | 27   | 28     | 29   | 30   | 29       | 30   | 31    | ..   | ..     | ..   | ..   | 26        | 27   | 28    | 29   | 30     | ..   | ..   |

1781.

| January. |      |       |      |        |      |      | February. |      |       |      |        |      |      | March. |      |       |      |        |      |      |
|----------|------|-------|------|--------|------|------|-----------|------|-------|------|--------|------|------|--------|------|-------|------|--------|------|------|
| Sun.     | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. | Sun.      | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. | Sun.   | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. |
| ..       | 1    | 2     | 3    | 4      | 5    | 6    | ..        | ..   | ..    | ..   | 1      | 2    | 3    | ..     | ..   | ..    | ..   | ..     | ..   | ..   |
| 7        | 8    | 9     | 10   | 11     | 12   | 13   | 4         | 5    | 6     | 7    | 8      | 9    | 10   | 4      | 5    | 6     | 7    | 8      | 9    | 10   |
| 14       | 15   | 16    | 17   | 18     | 19   | 20   | 11        | 12   | 13    | 14   | 15     | 16   | 17   | 11     | 12   | 13    | 14   | 15     | 16   | 17   |
| 21       | 22   | 23    | 24   | 25     | 26   | 27   | 18        | 19   | 20    | 21   | 22     | 23   | 24   | 18     | 19   | 20    | 21   | 22     | 23   | 24   |
| 28       | 29   | 30    | 31   | ..     | ..   | ..   | 25        | 26   | 27    | 28   | ..     | ..   | ..   | 25     | 26   | 27    | 28   | 29     | 30   | ..   |

| June. |      |       |      |        |      |      | July. |      |       |      |        |      |      | August. |      |       |      |        |      |      |
|-------|------|-------|------|--------|------|------|-------|------|-------|------|--------|------|------|---------|------|-------|------|--------|------|------|
| Sun.  | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. | Sun.  | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. | Sun.    | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. |
| ..    | ..   | ..    | ..   | ..     | ..   | ..   | 1     | 2    | 3     | 4    | 5      | 6    | 7    | ..      | ..   | ..    | 1    | 2      | 3    | 4    |
| 3     | 4    | 5     | 6    | 7      | 8    | 9    | 8     | 9    | 10    | 11   | 12     | 13   | 14   | 5       | 6    | 7     | 8    | 9      | 10   | 11   |
| 10    | 11   | 12    | 13   | 14     | 15   | 16   | 15    | 16   | 17    | 18   | 19     | 20   | 21   | 12      | 13   | 14    | 15   | 16     | 17   | 18   |
| 17    | 18   | 19    | 20   | 21     | 22   | 23   | 22    | 23   | 24    | 25   | 26     | 27   | 28   | 19      | 20   | 21    | 22   | 23     | 24   | 25   |
| 24    | 25   | 26    | 27   | 28     | 29   | 30   | 29    | 30   | 31    | ..   | ..     | ..   | ..   | 26      | 27   | 28    | 29   | 30     | 31   | ..   |

| September. |      |       |      |        |      |      | October. |      |       |      |        |      |      | November. |      |       |      |        |      |      |
|------------|------|-------|------|--------|------|------|----------|------|-------|------|--------|------|------|-----------|------|-------|------|--------|------|------|
| Sun.       | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. | Sun.     | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. | Sun.      | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. |
| ..         | ..   | ..    | ..   | ..     | ..   | ..   | ..       | ..   | ..    | ..   | ..     | ..   | ..   | ..        | ..   | ..    | ..   | ..     | ..   | ..   |
| 1          | 2    | 3     | 4    | 5      | 6    | 7    | 1        | 2    | 3     | 4    | 5      | 6    | 7    | ..        | ..   | ..    | ..   | ..     | ..   | ..   |
| 8          | 9    | 10    | 11   | 12     | 13   | 14   | 8        | 9    | 10    | 11   | 12     | 13   | 14   | 2         | 3    | 4     | 5    | 6      | 7    | 8    |
| 15         | 16   | 17    | 18   | 19     | 20   | 21   | 15       | 16   | 17    | 18   | 19     | 20   | 21   | 9         | 10   | 11    | 12   | 13     | 14   | 15   |
| 22         | 23   | 24    | 25   | 26     | 27   | 28   | 22       | 23   | 24    | 25   | 26     | 27   | 28   | 16        | 17   | 18    | 19   | 20     | 21   | 22   |
| 29         | 30   | ..    | ..   | ..     | ..   | ..   | 29       | 30   | ..    | ..   | ..     | ..   | ..   | 23        | 24   | 25    | 26   | 27     | 28   | 29   |

| May. |      |       |      |        |      |      | June. |      |       |      |        |      |      | July. |      |       |      |        |      |      |
|------|------|-------|------|--------|------|------|-------|------|-------|------|--------|------|------|-------|------|-------|------|--------|------|------|
| Sun. | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. | Sun.  | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. | Sun.  | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. |
| ..   | ..   | 1     | 2    | 3      | 4    | 5    | ..    | ..   | ..    | ..   | ..     | ..   | ..   | 1     | 2    | 3     | 4    | 5      | 6    | 7    |
| 6    | 7    | 8     | 9    | 10     | 11   | 12   | 3     | 4    | 5     | 6    | 7      | 8    | 9    | 8     | 9    | 10    | 11   | 12     | 13   | 14   |
| 13   | 14   | 15    | 16   | 17     | 18   | 19   | 10    | 11   | 12    | 13   | 14     | 15   | 16   | 15    | 16   | 17    | 18   | 19     | 20   | 21   |
| 20   | 21   | 22    | 23   | 24     | 25   | 26   | 17    | 18   | 19    | 20   | 21     | 22   | 23   | 22    | 23   | 24    | 25   | 26     | 27   | 28   |
| 27   | 28   | 29    | 30   | 31     | ..   | ..   | 24    | 25   | 26    | 27   | 28     | 29   | 30   | 29    | 30   | 31    | ..   | ..     | ..   | ..   |

## Revolutionary Calendar—(Continued).

1781—(Continued).

| November. | Sun. | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. | December. | Sun. | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. |
|-----------|------|------|-------|------|--------|------|------|-----------|------|------|-------|------|--------|------|------|
| ..        | 4    | 5    | 6     | 7    | 1      | 2    | 3    | ..        | 2    | 3    | 4     | 5    | 6      | 7    | 1    |
| 11        | 12   | 13   | 14    | 15   | 16     | 17   | 18   | 9         | 10   | 11   | 12    | 13   | 14     | 15   | 8    |
| 18        | 19   | 20   | 21    | 22   | 23     | 24   | 25   | 16        | 17   | 18   | 19    | 20   | 21     | 22   | 7    |
| 25        | 26   | 27   | 28    | 29   | 30     | ..   | ..   | 23        | 24   | 25   | 26    | 27   | 28     | 29   | 6    |
|           |      |      |       |      |        |      |      | 30        | 31   | ..   | ..    | ..   | ..     | ..   | 5    |

1782.

| January. | February. | March. | April. | May. | June. | July. | August. | September. | October. | November. | December. |
|----------|-----------|--------|--------|------|-------|-------|---------|------------|----------|-----------|-----------|
| ..       | 3         | ..     | ..     | ..   | ..    | ..    | ..      | 1          | ..       | ..        | ..        |
| 6        | 4         | 3      | 7      | 5    | 2     | 7     | 1       | 2          | 6        | 4         | 8         |
| 13       | 10        | 10     | 14     | 12   | 9     | 14    | 8       | 9          | 13       | 11        | 15        |
| 20       | 17        | 17     | 21     | 19   | 16    | 21    | 15      | 16         | 20       | 18        | 22        |
| 27       | 24        | 24     | 28     | 26   | 23    | 28    | 22      | 23         | 27       | 25        | 29        |
| ..       | ..        | ..     | ..     | ..   | ..    | ..    | ..      | 30         | 31       | ..        | ..        |
| 1        | 5         | ..     | 1      | 1    | ..    | 1     | 5       | 3          | 1        | ..        | ..        |
| 8        | 6         | 3      | 8      | 2    | ..    | 8     | 2       | 4          | 8        | 6         | 10        |
| 15       | 13        | 10     | 15     | 9    | ..    | 15    | 9       | 11         | 15       | 13        | 17        |
| 22       | 20        | 17     | 22     | 16   | ..    | 22    | 16      | 18         | 22       | 20        | 24        |
| 29       | 27        | 24     | 29     | 23   | ..    | 29    | 23      | 25         | 29       | 27        | 31        |
| ..       | ..        | ..     | ..     | ..   | ..    | ..    | ..      | ..         | ..       | ..        | ..        |
| 2        | 7         | 4      | 2      | 1    | ..    | 2     | 7       | 5          | 2        | ..        | ..        |
| 9        | 6         | 3      | 9      | 3    | ..    | 9     | 1       | 3          | 7        | 5         | 11        |
| 16       | 14        | 11     | 16     | 10   | ..    | 16    | 8       | 10         | 14       | 12        | 18        |
| 23       | 21        | 18     | 23     | 17   | ..    | 23    | 15      | 17         | 21       | 19        | 25        |
| 30       | 28        | 25     | 30     | 24   | ..    | 30    | 22      | 24         | 28       | 26        | 31        |
| ..       | ..        | ..     | ..     | ..   | ..    | ..    | ..      | ..         | ..       | ..        | ..        |
| 3        | 8         | 5      | 3      | 2    | ..    | 3     | 8       | 6          | 3        | ..        | ..        |
| 10       | 8         | 4      | 10     | 4    | ..    | 10    | 15      | 12         | 10       | 8         | 14        |
| 17       | 15        | 12     | 17     | 11   | ..    | 17    | 22      | 19         | 17       | 15        | 21        |
| 24       | 22        | 19     | 24     | 18   | ..    | 24    | 29      | 26         | 24       | 22        | 28        |
| ..       | ..        | ..     | ..     | ..   | ..    | ..    | ..      | ..         | ..       | ..        | ..        |
| 4        | 9         | 6      | 4      | 3    | ..    | 4     | 1       | 4          | 4        | 2         | ..        |
| 11       | 9         | 6      | 11     | 5    | ..    | 11    | 8       | 11         | 11       | 9         | 15        |
| 18       | 16        | 13     | 18     | 12   | ..    | 18    | 15      | 18         | 18       | 16        | 22        |
| 25       | 23        | 20     | 25     | 19   | ..    | 25    | 22      | 25         | 25       | 23        | 29        |
| ..       | ..        | ..     | ..     | ..   | ..    | ..    | ..      | ..         | ..       | ..        | ..        |
| 5        | 10        | 7      | 5      | 4    | ..    | 5     | 9       | 7          | 5        | 3         | 9         |
| 12       | 10        | 7      | 12     | 11   | ..    | 12    | 16      | 13         | 12       | 10        | 16        |
| 19       | 17        | 14     | 19     | 18   | ..    | 19    | 23      | 20         | 20       | 18        | 23        |
| 26       | 24        | 21     | 26     | 25   | ..    | 26    | 30      | 27         | 27       | 25        | 30        |
| ..       | ..        | ..     | ..     | ..   | ..    | ..    | ..      | ..         | ..       | ..        | ..        |
| 6        | 11        | 8      | 6      | 5    | ..    | 6     | 1       | 5          | 6        | 4         | 10        |
| 13       | 11        | 8      | 13     | 12   | ..    | 13    | 8       | 11         | 13       | 11        | 17        |
| 20       | 18        | 15     | 20     | 19   | ..    | 20    | 15      | 18         | 20       | 18        | 24        |
| 27       | 25        | 22     | 27     | 26   | ..    | 27    | 22      | 25         | 27       | 25        | 31        |
| ..       | ..        | ..     | ..     | ..   | ..    | ..    | ..      | ..         | ..       | ..        | ..        |
| 7        | 12        | 9      | 7      | 6    | ..    | 7     | 9       | 8          | 7        | 5         | 11        |
| 14       | 12        | 9      | 14     | 13   | ..    | 14    | 16      | 13         | 14       | 12        | 18        |
| 21       | 19        | 16     | 21     | 20   | ..    | 21    | 23      | 20         | 21       | 19        | 25        |
| 28       | 26        | 23     | 28     | 27   | ..    | 28    | 30      | 27         | 28       | 26        | 31        |
| ..       | ..        | ..     | ..     | ..   | ..    | ..    | ..      | ..         | ..       | ..        | ..        |
| 8        | 13        | 10     | 8      | 7    | ..    | 8     | 1       | 9          | 8        | 6         | 12        |
| 15       | 13        | 10     | 15     | 14   | ..    | 15    | 8       | 11         | 15       | 13        | 19        |
| 22       | 20        | 17     | 22     | 21   | ..    | 22    | 15      | 18         | 22       | 20        | 26        |
| 29       | 27        | 24     | 29     | 28   | ..    | 29    | 22      | 25         | 29       | 27        | 31        |
| ..       | ..        | ..     | ..     | ..   | ..    | ..    | ..      | ..         | ..       | ..        | ..        |

*The Beginning of the National Drama in 1775, and Principal Events of that Year. Battle of Lexington.*—The storm which had so long been gathering over this continent, was now about to descend in all its fury. On the 19th day of April, 1775, Gen. Gage sent from Boston a detachment of 800 or 900 troops, under the command of Col. Smith and Maj. Pitcairn, to destroy a collection of military stores, accumulated at Concord by the friends of *liberty*. At Lexington, a small village which they had to pass, a company of sixty or seventy militia were paraded near the village church. Maj. Pitcairn riding forward, exclaimed, *Disperse, you rebels—throw down your arms and disperse!* The militia hesitated, and the Major firing a pistol, ordered a company under Capt. Parker, to fire upon them: the command was obeyed, and eight were killed and several wounded. The militia dispersed, and the troops marched on to Concord. Some of the stores had been removed, what remained were destroyed. The minute men of that town had assembled before the arrival of the regulars, but too weak to oppose the latter, retired on their approach. As the report of the firing upon the militia at Lexington spread with great rapidity, from the ringing of bells, firing of signal guns, etc., the country was soon in arms. Finding themselves reinforced, the Concord militia advanced and a skirmish ensued, in which several were killed on both sides.

The British troops, seeing that they were to have hot work, as almost every male citizen between the ages of *ten and eighty* were arming for the fight, began to retreat. In their course they were fired upon from all manner of concealments. Every stone-wall, tree, stump, rock, barn or workshop, sent forth its unerring bullet into the ranks of the enemy. Had not the British been reinforced by about 900 men under Lord Percy, few of the first detachment would ever have reached Boston alive. The British loss in this battle, called battle of Lexington because it commenced and much of it was fought in that town, in killed wounded and prisoners, was 273; and that of the Provincials, 87. General Gage had thought previous to the battle of Lexington, that five regiments of British infantry could march from Maine to Georgia. Thus closed the opening scene of a tragedy, destined to last *eight* long years. The news of this battle spread rapidly through the New England



provinces. The plow was left in the furrow—the chisel in the mortice—the iron in the forge ; and the hand that had placed it there, grasped the missile of death, and hastened to the vicinity of Boston. In a few days, a large army was assembled under the command of Generals Ward of Massachusetts, and Putnam of Connecticut, and closely invested the town.

While matters stood thus, in and around Boston, a plan for the capture of Ticonderoga, Crown Point and Skeenesborough, now Whitehall, commanding the route of intercommunication between the colonies and Canada ; was conceived and boldly executed. The forts were all surprised and captured, as was a sloop of war near the outlet of Lake George, without bloodshed, by colonels Ethan Allen, and Seth Warner, with two hundred and thirty Green Mountain boys, and officers Dean, Wooster, Parsons, and Arnold, and forty other brave spirits of Connecticut. On the evening of the 10th of May, as the invaders approached Ticonderoga, a sentinel snapped his gun at Colonel Allen and retreated, followed by the latter and his brave comrades. On gaining possession of the fortress, the commander was found napping. Colonel Allen demanded of him the immediate surrender of the fort. “By what authority, sir?” The impromptu and laconic reply was : “*In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress.*” The summons was from too high a power to be resisted.

A minute account of the battle of Lexington, with depositions to prove that the British troops shed the first blood, were transmitted without delay to England, by the provincial Legislature of Massachusetts then in session ; closing with the following sentence : *Appealing to Heaven for the justice of our cause, we determine to die, or be free.* The Colonial Congress again assembled, on the very day their authority had been so successfully anticipated, by the intrepid Allen at Ticonderoga. Preparations were now every where being made in the colonies, for the maintenance of the stand taken against oppression, by a resort to arms. A new impulse seemed given to the spirit of opposition, by the defeat of the British troops at Lexington, and the capture of the northern military posts ; but a majority of Congress, had not as yet formed the resolve, to aim at a final separation from the mother country. John Hancock, having been proscribed by the British government,

was chosen president of this Congress. As military preparations were making, a resort to arms had commenced, and it was pretty evident that others must follow; Congress saw the necessity of giving to those preparations a head, and fortunately appointed THE WORLD'S MODEL MAN—GEORGE WASHINGTON, to that honorable post. He received the appointment of commander-in-chief while a member of Congress, on the 22d of May, and began at once to prepare for his laborious duties. He arrived at the American camp on the 30th day of July, and at once assumed the chief command. Georgia having sent delegates to the Congress of 1775, all the colonies were then represented.

*The Battle of Bunker's Hill; the first Pitched Battle of the War.*—Early in June, several transports filled with troops under the command of Generals Howe, Clinton and Burgoyne, arrived at Boston. On the 17th, the battle of Breed's, now called Bunker's hill, was fought. An intrenchment was thrown up on the preceding evening, by a body of one thousand men under Colonel Prescott. The intention was to have fortified Bunker's hill, but the officers sent to throw up the redoubt, found that less tenable, and built the fortification on Breed's hill. Ground was broken at twelve o'clock at night, and by daylight a redoubt had been thrown up eight rods square. In the morning, a reinforcement of five hundred men was sent to their assistance. Although a heavy cannonading was kept up from daylight by the British shipping, the Americans, encouraged by General Putnam and other officers, did not cease their labors. About noon, General Gage, astonished at the boldness of the American militia, sent a body of three thousand regulars, under Generals Howe and Pigot, to storm the works. Generals Clinton and Burgoyne, took a station in Boston, where they had a commanding view of the hill. The towers of the churches—the roofs of the houses—indeed every eminence in and around Boston, was covered with anxious spectators; many of whom had dear relatives exposed to the known danger, awaiting with great anxiety the deadly conflict. Many, and heart-felt were the prayers then offered for the success of the patriot band. About the time the action commenced, General Warren, who was president of the Provincial

Congress of Massachusetts, joined the Americans on the hill as a *volunteer*.

The British troops, having landed from their boats, marched to attack the works. The Americans, reserving their fire *until the white of the eye was visible*, then opened a most destructive one, dealing death on every hand. Indeed, rank after rank was cut down, like grass before the mower. The enemy soon retreated in disorder down the hill. Then might doubtless have been heard a stifled murmur of applause, among the eye witnesses in Boston, who believed their countrymen fighting in a just cause. And then too, might have been seen the lip of the British officer and rank tory, compressed with anger and mortification. While this attack was in progress, the fire-brand, by the diabolical order of Gen. Gage, was communicated to the neighboring village of Charlestown, containing some six hundred buildings, and the whole in a short time were reduced to ashes; depriving about two thousand inhabitants of a shelter, and destroying property amounting to more than half a million of dollars. The British officers with much difficulty, again rallied their troops, and led them a second time to the attack. They were allowed to approach even nearer than before; when the Americans, having witnessed the conflagration of Charlestown, themselves burning to revenge the houseless mother and orphan, sent the messengers of death among their ranks. The carnage became a second time too great to be borne—the ranks were broken, and the enemy again retreated, some taking refuge in the boats. When the British troops wavered a second time, Clinton, vexed at their want of success, hastened to their assistance with a reinforcement. On his arrival, the men were again rallied, and compelled, by the officers, who marched in their rear with drawn swords, to renew the attack. At this period of the contest, the ammunition of the Americans failed, and the enemy entered the redoubt. Few of the former had bayonets, yet for awhile they continued the unequal contest with clubbed muskets, but were overpowered. The American loss in numbers, was considerable until the enemy scaled the works. They were forced to retreat over Charlestown Neck, a narrow isthmus which was raked by an incessant fire from several floating batteries. Fortunately, few were killed in crossing the Neck.

The following anecdote is characteristic of Yankee bravery : While the Americans were retreating from the hill across Charlestown Neck, Timothy Cleveland, of Canterbury, Ct., was marching with others with trailed arms, when a grape shot struck the small part of the breach of his gun-stock, and cut it off. He had proceeded several rods before he was aware of his loss—but ran back and picked it up, declaring, "*The darned British shall have no part of my gun.*" The gun-stock was repaired with a tin band, and was long after in the service of its patriotic owner, who was from the same county and under the command of Gen. Putnam. The British loss in this battle, was, in killed and wounded, *one thousand and fifty-four*, including many officers, among whom was Major Pitcairn of Lexington memory. The force of the enemy in this engagement was about 3,000, and that of the Americans 1,500. The American loss in killed and wounded, *was four hundred and fifty-three*; and among the former was the zealous patriot, Gen. Warren ; who received a musket ball through his head. *Undying be his memory in the American heart !*

What a scene of sublime grandeur must this battle have presented, to the citizens of Boston and the surrounding hills ! The roar of cannon and musketry—the clashing of steel, the groans of the wounded and dying—the shouts of the combatants—the dense cloud of smoke which enveloped the peninsula, lit up transversely by streams of death-boding fire—the sheet of flame and crash of burning buildings and falling towers at Charlestown—the intense anxiety of those interested for the safety of friends and their property—the probable effect of that day's transactions, on the future prosperity of the colonies—combined to render it one of the most thrilling spectacles mortal eye ever witnessed. The British trumpeted this battle as a victory. "How many such can the British army achieve without ruin?" asked the Americans.

The following anecdotes of the battle of Bunker's Hill, I find in a letter from Col. John Trumbull, the *artist*, to Daniel Putnam, a son of Gen. Israel Putnam, dated New York, March 30th, 1818. The letter is published in a reply of the latter to an unkind attack made by Gen. Dearborn, in a public journal, in which the imputation of cowardice was cast upon the brave "Old Put"—*who always dared to lead where any dared to fol-*

*low.* The writer, though a native of the same county in which the old hero died, never heard of but one act in his adventurous life which evinced a want of judgment, and that was far from a cowardly one. It was that of his entering a cavern to kill a wolf, and leaving his gun outside, until he entered a second time.

Says Trumbull :

"In the summer of 1786, I became acquainted, in London, with Col. John Small, of the British army, who had served in America many years, and had known General Putnam intimately during the war of Canada from 1756 to 1763. From him, I had the following anecdotes respecting the battle of Bunker Hill : I shall nearly repeat his words. Looking at the picture which I had then almost completed, he said : 'I don't like the situation in which you have placed my old friend Putnam ; you have not done him justice. I wish you would alter that part of your picture, and introduce a circumstance which actually happened, and which I can never forget. When the British troops advanced the second time to the attack of the redoubt, I, with the other British officers, was in front of the line to encourage the men : we had advanced very near the works undisturbed, when an irregular fire, like a *feu-de-joie*, was poured in upon us ; it was cruelly fatal. The troops fell back, and when I looked to the right and left, I saw not one officer standing ;—I glanced my eye to the enemy, and saw several young men leveling their pieces at me ; I knew their excellence as marksmen, and considered myself gone. At that moment, my old friend Putnam rushed forward, and striking up the muzzles of their pieces with his sword, cried out, "For God's sake, my lads, don't fire at that man—I love him as I do my brother." We were so near each other that I heard his words distinctly. He was obeyed ; I bowed, thanked him, and walked away unmolested.'"

The other anecdote relates to the death of Gen. Warren :

"At the moment when the troops succeeded in carrying the redoubt, and the Americans were in full retreat, Gen. Howe (who had been hurt by a spent ball, which bruised his ankle,) was leaning on my arm. He called suddenly to me : 'Do you see that elegant young man who has just fallen ? Do you know him ?' I looked to the spot towards which he pointed—'Good

God, sir I believe it is my friend Warren.' 'Leave me then instantly--run; keep off the troops, save him if possible.' I flew to the spot; 'My dear friend,' I said to him, 'I hope you are not badly hurt.' He looked up, seemed to recollect me, smiled and died! A musket ball had passed through the upper part of his head."

*Some account of several soldiers who were in this battle, with incidents connected with their lives.*—Among the early settlers at Lawyersville, Schoharie county, N. Y., were Capt. James Dana, a native of Ashford, Conn., and John Redington, also of Connecticut, the former having served his country as a captain of the line, and the latter a soldier of that gallant band. Dana was at the battle of Bunker Hill, and in command of a company of men was stationed, with Capt. Knowlton and his company, by the orders of Gen. Putnam, to prevent the enemy from gaining Col. Prescott's rear, and thus cut off the retreat of the Americans to the main-land. From this position, Capt. Dana, with Lieut. Thomas Grosvenor and Sergeant Fuller, at a given signal, fired on Maj. Pitcairn, a British officer, marching with a body of men toward the fence, and he fell mortally wounded. During the battle a cannon shot struck the fence, and forced a rail against Dana's breast with such violence as to prostrate him; but he regained his feet, and kept his ground until the troops left the hill, when he drew off his men and aided in covering the retreat of the army in good order. While retreating a bullet lodged in his canteen.

After the battle of Bunker Hill, a colonel's commission was offered Captains Knowlton and Dana, which the former accepted and the latter, from his native diffidence, declined: he, however, left the army at the close of the war, with the rank of brevet-major. On arriving at the American camp, near Boston, when apprized of the bravery of the two captains mentioned, Washington distinguished their names in *his first general order*, making the secret countersign, *Knowlton!* and parole, *Dana!*

Thomas Grosvenor, who was a lieutenant, and third in command of the troops stationed at the fence on Bunker Hill, and who was promoted to colonel,—in a letter to Col. Daniel Putnam, who was compelled to vindicate the character of his father, Gen. Israel Putnam, from an ignoble charge of cowardice made by Gen. Dearborn, alluded to above, in speaking of the

officers at that station, makes no mention of Capt. Dana, who was second in that command, *and why he did not is surprising*, for Dana was the man who first communicated the evident intention of the enemy to out-flank the Americans. Lieut. Grosvenor was wounded, and retired early from the field. That Dana was a modest, uneducated man, affords no good reason why laurels fairly won by him should be claimed by others. The truth is Capt. Dana merited a position in Col. Trumbull's picture of that battle, which is given to another.

On an occasion when Gen. Washington was reconnoitering the American lines, Capt. Dana was on duty in the neighborhood, and observing the former riding in a direction where the enemy were just before posting sentinels, he said to him : *Perhaps your Excellency may be in danger of a surprise if you proceed further that way ; the enemy in force are just over that knoll before you.*" The Commander thankfully received the caution, and bowing respectfully, galloped back to his quarters. But for the prudence of Capt. Dana, it is possible Gen. Washington would have been a prisoner to Sir Henry Clinton. Capt. Dana stood high in the confidence of the Commander-in-chief.

When he located at Lawyersville, he erected a good log dwelling, in which he ever after resided. His virtues were held in high estimation in the community. On the organization of a brigade of New York infantry, Capt. Dana received from Gov. Lewis, as a partial reward for services rendered his country, a general's commission. He was the first man who ever held that office in Schoharie county, and discharged its duties with becoming dignity.\*

The following anecdote of Gen Lee was related to his friends by Gen. Dana : While the latter was reconnoitering on some occasion in the vicinity of the enemy's works, they were firing shells towards the American camp. Observing a shell to strike near him, he stepped behind a large tree near by. At the moment it fell, and while the fuse was burning, Gen. Lee arrived upon the spot with a favorite dog. He did not even seek the covert of a tree,—and the dog, imitating his master's example of unconcern, with curiosity to know the cause of its buzzing,

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\* Judge Isaac H. Tiffany, from whom these facts were obtained, assured the writer that he was instrumental in procuring a General's Commission for Capt. Dana. Judge Tiffany resided near Gen. Dana for years, and knew him intimately.

ran up to smell of it at the instant it exploded. The dog was sent several rods, though not killed. Seeing his canine friend thus precipitated, he addressed him, unconscious of being overheard: "*You d—d fool! have you been so long in the service, and don't yet know what a bomb is?*"

Gen. Dana, who was a generous and noble hearted man, died at his residence in the town of Cobelskill, October 16, 1817, aged 85 years.

John Redington was a private in Capt. Dana's company of Connecticut troops, and was taken prisoner at Horseneck by Delancey's cavalry. In the retreat of the Americans he concealed himself under a bridge, and being discovered by the enemy he was brought out, divested of his hat, shoes, etc., and thus driven on foot by the unfeeling corps, with which he was compelled to keep up all the way to New York, where he was incarcerated in that chanel, the *Sugar House*—enduring such sufferings as an iron frame only could endure—to the end of the war. On the return of peace he removed from Connecticut to Cobelskill, and settled in the neighborhood of his respected Captain. In consequence of his patriotism and sufferings, he was given the command of the second company of cavalry ever organized in Schoharie county. He was a very enterprising man, and the Reformed Dutch Church, near his residence, was erected about the year 1800 through his influence. His commission as captain also came through the influence of Judge Tiffany. He died April 12, 1830, in his 74th year.

William Eaton, afterwards the celebrated Gen. Eaton, began to study the science of war as a private soldier under Capt. Dana. He was born at Woodstock, Ct., February 23, 1764, and entered the army in 1780, proving a daring young soldier to the end of the war. I shall here present a brief sketch of his life, believing it will prove agreeable and profitable reading for the young to follow this adventurer in his after life.\* On the return of peace he became a student, graduating at Dartmouth College in 1790, keeping school at intervals to defray his expenses. In 1791, he was clerk of the House of Delegates of Vermont. In 1792 he was appointed a captain in the United States army, and rendered efficient service on our southwestern

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\* For a brief sketch of his life, see Barber's His. Collec. of Conn.



frontier. In 1797 he left the army and was appointed consul at Tunis. The functions of his different positions he discharged with signal ability until 1803. In 1804 he returned to America, and at Washington disclosed an enterprise he had planned to restore to his office the ex-Bashaw of Tripoli. The government looked with favor on his project—authorized him to make it—and in July he embarked in the sloop of war *Argus*, arriving at Alexandria, in Egypt, November 25, 1804. From thence he proceeded to Cairo, where he found the ex-Bashaw, who favored his enterprise, and they at once made arrangements for its execution. Having recruited 500 men—only 100 being Christians—it was determined to cross the desert and seize the city of Derne.

After making one of the most remarkable marches on record, over the burning sands of Egypt—a feat just suited to the adventurous spirit of Eaton, and well seconded by the exiled officer, he captured the city of Derne; having in that port the co-operation of the sloop of war *Hornet*.\* The achievement of Gen. Eaton and his followers so alarmed the reigning Bashaw, that he hastened to make peace and a favorable treaty with the American Consul; which arrested the further progress of the adventurers: and it is hoped the usurper had to do justice to Gen. Eaton's co-adjutor. The natives of that barbarous country looked upon the American leader of this project, as more than human, and at the end of three quarters of a century, this lesson of American prowess has not been forgotten. This remarkable man, whose fame had filled the world with admiration, returned home soon after these adventures, where he was most kindly and hospitably entertained. He was honorably mentioned in the President's message to Congress; and not long after fixed his residence in Brimfield, Mass., that State giving him 10,000 acres of land. The King of Denmark also gave him a handsome present for services he rendered some of his subjects who were captives at Tunis. This extraordinary man, who was possessed not only of rare intelligence, but of indomitable energy, original genius and bold decision, died at

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\* The *Hornet* was then commanded by Commodore Edward Preble, who, for his part in this enterprise, was awarded a copper medal inscribed: "*Vindici Commercii Americani Ante Tripoli. MDCCCLIV.*" The *Hornet* some years after foundered in the Gulf of Mexico, with the loss of every soul on board.

Brimfield, where may be read on a headstone at his grave the following epitaph: "This is erected as a faint expression of filial respect, and to mark the spot where repose the remains of Gen. William Eaton, who died June 1st, 1811, æt. 47."

*Ovation to Gen. Eaton, who Attempts to eat a fig.*—The following original anecdote, which we are not aware has ever before found its way into a book, came to the writer from his father, who had kept it in memory from the time of its occurrence. On his return from Egypt a grand ovation awaited Gen. Eaton everywhere; but in no city was he more kindly received than in New York. At a large evening party, in which the *elite* of the town was represented, among other dainties served were figs, for which he ever had a natural aversion. As the occasion was to do him honor, he took a few, thinking to force them to his stomach. He put one into his mouth, but, with his best endeavors, he could not swallow it; and took it out on the sly, and, as he had hoped, unobserved. At such a place the attractive feature, if any such there is, has at all times keen eyes riveted upon it; and while attempting to get the offending subject into his handkerchief, he saw several ladies across the room already smiling at his dilemma. His embarrassment soon became apparent to many in the room, and his position was becoming an unenviable one. He could not—he would not—become a laughing-stock, and he arose with dignity, advanced a step forward, and made a handsome speech, recounting the greatest perils and vicissitudes of his eventful life. He said he had been an actor in such and such scenes of the Revolution; he had been in certain vicissitudes among the Ohio and Kentucky Indians; he had traversed the sands of Egypt to meet a savage foe, who had quailed before him at the city of Derne. "But," he added with emphasis, laying the offending object in the palm of his open hand, "*I never met a foe in all my life that I could not conquer, until I met that d—d thing!*" He took his seat amid the plaudits of the room, when he quietly explained his lasting aversion to figs, to find himself more lionized than ever.—*Joseph Simms.*

*Here is Another Original Anecdote of Gen. Eaton.*—Soon after his return from Egypt, he was riding in a carriage from Hartford to Boston, but whether alone or not, tradition does

not inform us. He was passing along quietly through the parish of North Coventry, Tolland county, Ct., when, as he neared the village church, his coachman was ordered to stop, with a threatened fine for journeying on the Sabbath. As soon as the old soldier learned the cause of his detention, he thrust his head from a carriage window, and with a pistol in hand he exclaimed: "*Where is the man who stops my carriage? I don't care to shoot him, but I think I will!*" In the next moment might have been seen the tail of a sanctimonious-looking man's coat streaming in the wind, as its wearer was making rapid strides toward the church door, fully realizing for once that he had caught a live tartar. The traveler was not again molested on his journey. This story, like its predecessor, is too well authenticated and too characteristic to be lost.—*Henry Albro.*

On the 12th of June, five days before the battle of Bunker's Hill, Gen. Gage issued a proclamation, offering pardon for past offenses to all Americans, except Samuel Adams and John Hancock. This was a good recognition of their patriotism.

The Congress, which met in the summer of 1775, had not yet determined to throw off allegiance to the British crown, and in July of that year, prepared a declaration of American grievances for the preceding ten years, with the causes which had led to them. They also drew up a respectful address to the King, in which they avowed boldly, that they were "resolved to die freemen rather than live slaves." This Congress established a general post-office and general hospital, and resolved to emit a paper currency. Its proceedings, however, effected nothing toward healing the difficulties with the mother country. In November the House of Lords, at the motion of the Duke of Richmond, met to interrogate ex-Governor Penn, who had been two years Governor of Pennsylvania. He stated, in reply to certain questions, that he had resided four years in the colonies; that he was personally acquainted with all the members of the American Congress; that the colonists were united; were, to considerable extent, prepared for war; could make powder, small arms and cannon; were more expert at ship-building than Europeans; and that, if a formidable force was sent to America, the number of colonists who would be found to join it would be too trivial to be of any consequence.

The Duke of Richmond then proposed the last petition of

Congress to the King, as a base for a plan of accommodation, and urged the impossibility of ever conquering America, as the learned John Wilkes had emphatically done in the House of Commons the preceding February : but the motion was lost. In December, Mr. Hartley made an effort to have hostilities suspended : and, in the following February, Mr. Fox attempted the same thing, soon after which the King, by a treaty with the Prince of Hesse Cassel, made an arrangement to hire 16,000 troops of that Prince, to aid in subduing his American subjects. It was urged in vain, that they were setting the example for the colonies to call in foreign aid. In March, of 1776, the Duke of Grafton made another ineffectual attempt to open the eyes of the King and ministry, after which war was considered as actually declared. It was thought by the *court party* that one or two campaigns, at most, would bring America in sackcloth at the foot of the British throne.

*The American Flag.*—In 1775 the colonies adopted a plain red flag. By a resolution of Congress, the flag of the United States—consisting of *thirteen* stars and *thirteen* stripes—was adopted June 14th, 1777. On the 13th January, 1794, two new States having been added to the compact, the stars and stripes were increased to *fifteen* each. In January, 1817, by an act of Congress, it was resolved that it should consist of *thirteen* stripes, and a star for every additional State.

*The First National Fast.*—In consequence of the “calamitous state of the colonies,” a day of general fasting and prayer was observed July 20th, the first fast in all the colonies on the same day. Georgia came into the compact just at that time, and gave evidence of her sincerity by seizing on board of a London ship, under Capt. Maitland, 13,000 pounds of powder for the American magazine. Gen. Gage returned to England in October, to be succeeded by Sir William Howe.

If matters were every day becoming worse in England, in the latter part of the years 1775 and the early part of 1776, they were assuming an aspect no more favorable to a reconciliation in the colonies. Many events had transpired after the battle of Bunker's Hill, which served to feed the flame of discord. Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, had pursued a course which rendered him not only odious to a majority of the colonists, but which tended greatly to unite the anti-tea party. The Gov-

ernor of North Carolina also proved himself to be a tool of the British ministry ; while Gov. Tryon, of New York, in his efforts to please his master, became so unpopular, that he was obliged, in the course of the year, to follow the example of Gov. Dunmore, and seek personal safety on board of an armed vessel.

The British torch which at Charlestown shed its light so gloomily on the Bunker's Hill redoubt in June, was used in other localities later in the season ; and so effectually at Falmouth, Mass., October 18th, as to destroy over 300 stores and houses. In several laborious expeditions the colonists had also conquered a good part of Canada ; and in an attempt to complete the conquest, the brave Montgomery, on the last day of the year, fell under the walls of Quebec, where the daring Wolfe had fallen.\*

In the fall of 1775, Massachusetts fitted out several privateers, and in one of them Capt. Manly had soon captured four or five ships containing many stores, several brass cannon and other munitions of war intended for the enemy's service, which went into ours. About the same time a vessel went from Charleston, S. C., to East Florida, with only a dozen men, who boarded a British vessel near St. Augustine, and took from it 15,000 pounds of powder, a most timely supply.

I have alluded to the massacre of several citizens of Boston, March 5, 1770, by British troops then quartered in that city to awe the people into submission to unjust taxation, and said the event was annually celebrated to the close of the war. Those orations did much to inspire that love of liberty which carried us successfully through the war ; and were given by the following gentlemen in this order :† April 2, 1771, by James Lovell ; March 5, 1772, by Joseph Warren ; and on the same day successively in 1773 by Benjamin Church ; 1774 by John Hancock ; March 6, 1775, by Dr. Warren, who delivered it in the presence and under threats of armed soldiers ; March 5, 1776 (at Watertown) by Peter Thacher, who closed with the prayer *O God, let America be free!* same day 1777 by Benjamin Hichborn ;

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\* Holmes' Annals.—In speaking of the death of Gen. Montgomery, said Holmes : " Congress directed a monument to be erected to his memory, with an inscription, expressive of their veneration of his character, and their deep sense of his many signal and important services ; and to transmit to future ages, as examples truly worthy of imitation, his patriotism, conduct, boldness of enterprise, insuperable perseverance and contempt of danger and death.' "

† Niles' Principles of the Revolution, a valuable work in which they may be found.

1778 by Jonathan W. Austin; 1779 by William Tudor; 1780 by Jonathan Mason, Jr.; 1781 by Thomas Dawes, Jr.; 1782 by George Richards Minot: and in alluding to the scene commemorated he said: "Melancholly scene! the fatal, but we trust the last effect in our country of *a standing army quartered in populous cities in a time of peace*;" 1783 by Thomas Welsh, who closed with this sentence: "Henceforth shall the American wilderness blossom as the rose, and every man shall sit under his own vine and under his fig-tree, and none shall make him afraid." All these orations were delivered in Boston, except that of Thacher in 1776, when the British held the city.

Also among the auxiliaries for spreading information and arousing patriotic feeling among the masses in some of the colonies, were the public charges of jurists to grand juries, who took such occasions to inspire the love of country and hatred of tyranny—and especially did they set forth the principle of no taxation without representation. Several such are preserved in *Niles' Principles*. Among those charges are some orations, also delivered with telling effect. One of the latter was that of Perez Morton delivered at Boston April 8, 1776, on the re-interment of the remains of Dr. Warren, killed at Bunker's Hill. Another of the latter was delivered by David Ramsay, in South Carolina, on the second anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. In no place in the colonies did the love of liberty shine brighter than in South Carolina. Among the former efficient jury charges, was that of Judge William Henry Drayton, at Charleston, S. C., April 23, 1776. It enumerated not a few of the grievances set forth in the Declaration of Independence, adopted a little over two months later. October 15 of the same year Judge Drayton delivered another telling charge to the grand jury of Charleston, and in both instances the jury responded nobly. Judge Drayton also in 1777 and 1778 made patriotic speeches, one in the court room and the other in the General Assembly, each time doing yeoman service in the popular cause. Judge Breckenridge also delivered in Philadelphia, July 5, 1779, an eulogium on the men who had up to that time fallen in the contest, doing justice to their character. He said: "These brave men were not soldiers by profession, bred to arms, and from a habit of military life attached to it." He said they were not unacquainted with the unprepared

state of the country for war. "It was the pure love of virtue and of freedom, burning bright within their minds, that alone could engage them to embark in an undertaking of so bold and perilous a nature."

The county of Mecklenburg, N. C., as early as May 20, 1775, through her leading men—passed a series of strong resolutions, expressing independence of the mother country, one of which was as follows: "Resolved, That we do hereby declare ourselves a free and independent people; are, and of right ought to be, a sovereign and self-governing association, under the control of no power other than that of our God and the general government of the Congress, to the maintenance of which independence, we solemnly pledge to each other our mutual co-operation, our lives, our fortunes and our most sacred honor." Those with similar measures elsewhere, were copied in to the newspapers of the period and heralded abroad; and with the diabolical acts of Gov. Tryon of New York, Gov. Dunmore of Virginia and other loyal governors, tended wonderfully to widen the breach between the colonies and England; and pave the way for the final separation. Indeed, it would be impossible in the space I have designed, to show all this kind of information that has been preserved to the American reader, and yet I desire that he shall know how wide spread and how general was the opinion at the close of 1775, that the separation of the colonies from Great Britain must take place. In furtherance of that view, I cannot help alluding to a communication sent from the colony of Maryland, to the Earl of Dartmouth, dated December 20, 1775, to which are signed the initials B. P., the writer saying in a note that he was borne in the city of Oxford, England. From the frequent allusions to Jehovah, Christianity and sacred things, it is supposed the writer was a clergyman. In this letter said its author:

"The parliament of Great Britain say, they have a right to tax or bind the Americans in all cases whatsoever, to which they answer, 'As they were born free, free they will be or die,' and upon many of their hats is this motto, '*Freedom or death!*' upon others, '*God and our rights!*'"

"Since the battle of Lexington, I have been twice in eight of the thirteen colonies, namely: Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New

Castle [Delaware], and Maryland, all of which, except New York, are almost unanimous in the voice of liberty. Indeed, none (save a few officers under the crown), are willing to be bound by the British Parliament, in all cases whatsoever. The Americans declare, a master can lay no greater burden on a *slave* than to bind him in all cases whatsoever," etc.

This writer said he arrived in the colonies in 1769, and spoke of the love of the people at that time and since for their Sovereign—spoke of the influence of the clergy and their prayers concerning his majesty, his crown and dignity; with all which every loyalist could but be perfectly well pleased, and added: "To these facts, my lord, I have not only been an eye witness in one colony, but in many, nay even in Massachusetts Bay, and her capitol." Said he: "Now my lord, for Christ's sake faithfully attend" to what I have to say. He then discoursed upon what the colonists had done in the way of fortifications, armaments and preparations for war—what certain privateers had done, and how the harbors by spring would swarm with them, many of their captains having seen similar service in the preceding French war. He spoke of the Americans making iron cannon of the best quality, and rifles far better than those imported, and added that the colonists, especially on the frontiers, were the best marksmen in the world, learning the use of fire-arms from shooting turkies and deer in the woods; where, as he said *one* thousand of those marksmen would cut in pieces *ten* thousand of the best English troops.

After presenting many facts for his lordship's consideration—"try them, said he, lawfully and faithfully, and I (by God's permission) will pledge my life they will stand the test, against the most inevitable foes." Speaking of the inability of England to subdue the Americans, or make them acquiesce in their parliamentary claims, he said: "Let government say what they please in favor of their forces—remember, my lord, the Americans have just such blood, the like courage, the same spirits, and are equal in color and stature, as well as discipline." After introducing some telling Bible hyperbole, he added: "The Americans may be *led* with a *hair*; but they have too much English blood in them, are too well disciplined, and too numerous to be *driven*, even by an hundred thousand of the best forces government can raise." He said also, that for every



thousand on the continent, America with equal ease would produce ten thousand in opposition ; "For," he added, "men women and children are against the proceedings of the administration throughout the united colonies to a wonderful majority." He continued : "The women, both old and young, being greatly irritated at the inflexibility of administration, are not only willing their sons and brothers should turn out in the field, but also declare that they will give themselves likewise as a sacrifice before they will bow to Pharaoh's task-masters ; this makes the raising of troops on the continent very easy." But reason and argument availed nothing with the home government, and the war policy went on.

It remains for us to show more particularly the condition of things in Tryon county, at the commencement of hostilities : for hardly another frontier settlement gave such early vital evidence, of its love of liberty and sense of right, as did that of the Mohawk valley. As the reader may suppose, there was not another frontier in the union like it, from the fact that the Indians in numbers still occupied the valley, as did their new Superintendent, Guy Johnson, and Sir John Johnson, a military officer under the Crown, with others who were beholden to the British government for honors and emoluments which they hoped to perpetuate. Frequent collisions occurred between the loyalists and patriots, owing to the espionage of the former upon the movements of the latter. Indeed, no county in the State was stronger than Tryon in its loyal or tory element, but it was well matched in the *dare to do right* principle of its whigs. The servants of royalty in Tryon county could not over-awe the people, when at their front were enrolled such names as Visscher, Fonda, Putman, Sammons, Gardinier, Davis, Schuyler, Veeder, Quackenbush, Yates, Van Alstyne, Frey, Clyde, Campbell, Klock, Fox, Fink, Paris, Wagner, Cox, Seeber, Diefendorf, Herkimer, Petrie, Helmer, Pickert, Hess, Ecker, Van Slyke, Eisenlord, Gray, Harper, Failing, Snell, Gros, Wormuth, Zielley, Nellis, Van Vechten, Bellinger, and scores of other equally brave spirits.

*Journal of the Tryon County Committee of Vigilance*.—As I have before me the manuscript journal of the Tryon county Committee of Safety, I take pleasure in giving the reader the benefit of more of its proceedings than have been heretofore

published. It has been retained in the family of Major John Frey, one of its most efficient members, since the Revolution, and is now in possession of his greatgrandson, Mr. S. Ludlow Frey, of Palatine Bridge, N. Y. A few of its leaves have been partially burned ; but most of it can still be made out. It contains an account also, of most of the early county meetings. The first District meeting was in 1774, and its proceedings were as follows :

*County of Tryon—First Meeting of Palatine District.*—Whereas the British Parliament has lately passed an act for raising a Revenue in America without the consent of our Representative, to abridging the privileges of the American colonies, and therefore blocking up the port of Boston ; the freeholders and inhabitants of the county of Tryon aforesaid, looking with concern and heartfelt sorrow on these alarming and calamitous conditions, do meet this 27th day of August, 1774, on that purpose, at the house of Adam Loucks, Esq., at Stone Arabia, and conclude the Resolves following, viz. :

“ I. That King GEORGE the Third, is Lawful and Rightful Lord and Sovereign of Great Britain and the dominions thereto belonging ; and that, as part of his subjects, we hereby testify that we will bear true faith and allegiance to him, and that we will with our lives and fortunes support and maintain him upon the Throne of his ancestors, and the just dependence of these his Colonies upon the Crown of Great Britain.

II. That we think and consider it as our greatest happiness to be governed by the Laws of Great Britain ; and that with cheerfulness we will always pay submission thereunto, as far as we consistently can, with the security of the constitutional rights and liberties of English subjects, which are so sacred that we cannot permit the same to be violated.

III. That we think it is our undeniable privilege to be taxed only with our own consent, given by ourselves or by our representatives. That taxes otherwise laid and exacted are unjust and unconstitutional. That the late Acts of Parliament declarative of this right of laying internal taxes on the American colonies are obvious encroachments on the rights and liberties of the British subjects in America.

IV. That the Act for blocking up the port of Boston is oppressive and arbitrary, injurious in its principles, and particu-

larly oppressive to the inhabitants of Boston, who we consider as brethren suffering in the common cause.

V. That we will unite and join with the different districts of this county, in giving whatever relief it is in our power to the poor distressed inhabitants of Boston, and that we will join and unite with our brethren of the rest of this colony in anything tending to support and defend our rights and liberties.

VI. That we think the sending of delegates from the different colonies to a general Continental Congress is a salutary measure, and absolutely necessary at this alarming crisis, and that we entirely approve of the five gentlemen chosen delegates for this colony by our brethren of New York, hereby adopting and choosing the same persons to represent this colony at the Congress.

VII. That we hereby engage faithfully to abide by and adhere to such restrictions and regulations as shall be made and agreed upon by the said Congress.

VIII. That we consider it necessary that there be appointed a standing committee of this county to correspond with the committees of New York and Albany, and we do hereby appoint Christopher P. Yates, Isaac Paris, John Frey and Andrew Finck, Jr., who, together with persons to be appointed by the other districts of this county, shall compose a committee of correspondence, to convey the sentiments of this county in a set of resolutions to New York.

IX. It is voted by this meeting that copies of the proceedings of this day, certified by the chairman, be transmitted to the supervisors of the different districts of this county; and we recommend it to the inhabitants of the said district to appoint persons to compose also a committee of correspondence."

The reader will observe by the spirit and tone of the above resolutions, that love of liberty was quite early becoming deeply seated in the breasts of the pioneer settlers. We may conjecture that similar organizations took place nearly as early, and similar resolves were promulgated in the other districts of the county, but their records have not been preserved. Border enthusiasm, however, was not like the handle of a jug, all on one side. The loyalists, under the leadership of the Johnsons and Butlers, were also active in circulating papers in and around Johnstown, condemning the course of the whigs, and pledging

their influence on all occasions to the crown. Such counter action, as before hinted, led to frequent turmoil and vituperation.

*A General Association.*—As early as April 29, 1775, the following *General Association* was agreed to, and subscribed by the patriotic citizens of New York city : \* “Persuaded that the salvation of the rights and liberties of America depends, under God, on the firm union of its inhabitants in a vigorous prosecution of the measures necessary for its safety ; and convinced of the necessity of preventing the anarchy and confusion on which attend a dissolution of the powers of government, we, the free-men, freeholders and inhabitants of the city and county of New York, being greatly alarmed at the avowed design of the ministry to raise a revenue in America, and shocked by the bloody scene now acting in the Massachusetts Bay, do, in the most solemn manner, resolve never to become slaves ; and do associate under all the ties of religion, honor and love to our country, to adopt and endeavor to carry into execution whatever measures may be recommended by the Continental Congress, or resolved upon by our Provincial Convention for the purpose of preserving our Constitution, and opposing the execution of the several arbitrary and oppressive acts of the British Parliament, until a reconciliation between Great Britain and America, on constitutional principles (which we most ardently desire) can be obtained ; and that we will, in all things, follow the advice of our General Committee, respecting the purposes aforesaid, the preservation of peace and good order, and the safety of individual and private property.”

On May 26th, the Provincial Congress recommended the signing of the above association to all the committees of counties and towns in the State, which was generally done.

*The Second Meeting of the Palatine District Committee* also took place at the house of Adam Loucks, in Stone Arabia—supposed an inn—on Thursday, May 11, 1775. The burden of this meeting was the passage of the following bond of association :

“WHEREAS, the grand jury of this and a number of the magistrates have signed a declaration declaring their disapprobation of the just opposition made by the colonies of the oppressive and arbitrary acts of the parliament, the purport of

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\* Jour. of Prov. Congress, p. 5.

which is evidently to entail slavery on America, and as the said declaration may in some measures be looked upon as the sense of the county in general, if the same be passed over in silence.— We the subscribers, freeholders and inhabitants of the said county, inspired with a sincere love for our country, and deeply interested in the common cause, do solemnly *declare* our fixed attachment to, and entire approbation of the proceedings of the grand Continental Congress held at Philadelphia last fall, and that we will strictly adhere and abide by the same. We do also solemnly declare and express our confidence in the wisdom and integrity of the present Continental Congress, and that we will support the same to the utmost of our power, and that we will religiously and inviolably observe the regulations and proceedings of that august body.”

“The following persons were appointed to be a standing committee of the district, to correspond with the committee of this and other counties, viz.:

|                       |                      |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| Christopher P. Yates, | Daniel McDougal,     |
| John Frey,            | Jacob Clock,         |
| Isaac Paris,          | George Ecker, Jr.,   |
| Andrew Finck, Jr.,    | Harmanus Van Slyck,  |
| Andrew Reber,         | Christopher W. Fox,  |
| Peter Wagner,         | Anthony Van Vechten. |

On the assembling of the State Provincial Congress, the county of Tryon was not therein represented; of which fact that body was seasonably reminded by the Continental Congress, which in turn called on the committee of Tryon county: whereupon, not being able to obtain the sense of the county, that body, June 11, appointed two of its most efficient members as delegates, Christopher P. Yates and John Marlatt, who were admitted to membership June 20th.

*The Third Meeting of the Palatine District Committee*, occurred on Friday, May 19, 1775—where is not mentioned—when nine of its twelve members were present, Mr. Yates acting as chairman. The burden of this meeting was, the indicting of a long letter to the Albany committee. They stated that the district they represented had been foremost in the county, in avowing its attachment to liberty, saying they were signing an *association*, similar to one signed in other counties. They continued:

"This county has, for a series of years, been ruled by one family [of Johnsons], the different branches of which are still strenuous in dissuading people from coming into congressional measures, and even last week at a numerous meeting of the Mohawk district [this embraced the Johnstown settlements and those along both sides of the Mohawk river], appeared with all their dependants armed, to oppose the people from considering of their grievances, their number being so large and the people unarmed, struck terror into most of them, and they dispersed.\* We are informed, that Johnson Hall is fortified by placing swivels round † *the building* and that Col. [Sir John] Johnson has had part of his regiment *of royalists* under arms yesterday, no doubt with a design *to prevent the lovers* of liberty, from publishing their attachment *for it* to the world. Besides which we are told that *a body of High-landers* (Roman Catholics) in and about Johnstown, *are armed* and ready to march upon the like occasion.— *We are also* informed, that Col. [Guy] Johnson has stopped two New *England* men and searched them, being we suppose suspicious that *they come* to solicit aid from us or the Indians, who we dread most, *there* being a current report through the county that they are to be made use of in keeping us in awe." After introducing some other matters, and speaking of their being in a new county and remote from the metropolis, they closed their letter as follows: "We are determined although few in numbers, to let the world see who are not attached to American Liberty, and to wipe off the indellible disgrace brought on us by the Declaration signed by our grand

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\* This, was no doubt, the meeting referred to by Col. Stone—Life of Brant, vol. 1, p. 53—when, as he states, at a meeting of whigs held at the house of John Veeder, in Caughnawaga (now Fonda), several hundred unarmed men had assembled for consultation and the erection of a liberty pole: an emblem obnoxious to loyalists. While thus deliberating, Sir John Johnson and his brother-in-law, with a large number of armed retainers, arrived there to put an end to their proceedings. Guy Johnson harranged the multitude in an offensive manner to those who had first assembled, and who had a perfect right to be there. He became so abusive that Jacob Sammons, waxing warm and zealous, called him a *d-d liar and villain*. Johnson and Sammons had a clench, when a hireling of the intruders felled him with a loaded whip. Recovering somewhat and knocking an adversary from his person, he sprang to his feet, but was again knocked down and severely beaten. On recovering his feet again, he found that his friends had left, except a few, prominent among whom were the Viscchers, Fondas, and Veeders. This daring Sammons, who was not afraid to *beard the lion in his den*,—Stone thought—bore the first Revolutionary scars in Tryon county.

† The words in italics are supplied where the original words are defaced by fire, except those at the end of the sentence.

jury and some of our magistrates, who in general are considered by the majority of the county, as enemies to their country. In a word gentlemen, it is our fixed resolution to support and carry into execution every thing recommended by the Continental and Provincial Congress, *and to be free or die!*"

Here is a letter not in these minutes, written at this period, and found elsewhere, that belongs in this connection ; \*

"GUY PARK, *May* 18, 1775.

"GENTLEMEN : We have, for some days past, heard of many threats from the public, that give us reason to apprehend that the persons or properties of gentlemen of the first consequence, both with respect to station and property, would have been insulted in this county, and myself in particular, under color of a gross and notorious falsehood, uttered by some worthless scoundrels, respecting my intentions as Superintendent of Indian affairs. To gentlemen of sense and moderation these malicious, ill-founded charges ought to be self-evidently false, as my duty is to promote peace, and my office of the highest importance to the trade and frontiers; but as these reports are daily increasing, it becomes me, both as a subject and a man, to disavow them, and until I can find out and chastise the infamous author, to assure the public of their mistake, and to acquaint them that it has rendered it my duty for self-preservation, so necessary, that I have taken precaution to give a very hot and disagreeable reception to any persons who shall invade my retreat ; at the same time I have no intention to disturb those who choose to permit me the honest exercise of my reason and the duties of my office; and requesting that you will immediately cause this to be made public to the Albany Committee.

"I remain, gent'n, your very humble serv't,

"G. JOHNSON.

"To the Committee of Schenectada."

*The Fourth Meeting of the Palatine Committee* was held on Sunday, May 21, 1775, at the house of Philip W. Fox, who resided near the Stone Church on the turnpike. Nine of the twelve members were present. A letter from the Mohawk Indians to the Oneidas, translated into English, was, with a letter

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\* Jour. of N. Y. Prov. Congress, vol. 2, p. 34.

from Guy Johnson to the magistrates of the county, laid before the meeting ; and after duly considering them, and the defenseless state of the county, etc., they passed five spirited resolutions, the second of which closed with this emphatic sentence : " We mean never to submit to any arbitrary acts of any power under heaven, or to any illegal and unwarrantable action of any man or set of men." The last two resolves were as follows :

4th. " That Col. Johnson's conduct in raising fortifications around his house, keeping a number of Indians and other armed men constantly about him, and stopping and searching travelers upon the King's highway, and stopping communication with Albany, is very alarming to this county, and highly arbitrary, illegal, oppressive and unwarrantable, and confirms us in our fears, that his design is to keep us in awe, and oblige us to submit to a state of slavery.

5th. " That as we abhor a state of slavery, we do join and unite together under all the ties of religion, honor, justice and love for our country, never to become slaves, and to defend our freedom with our lives and fortunes!"

They also ordered letters to be sent by express to the German Flats districts; and to the committee at Albany.

*The Fifth Committee Meeting* was of all the county districts except the Mohawk, and met on Wednesday, May 24, 1775, at the house of William Seeber, one of the members, in Canajoharie district. His house and store stood on Sand Hill, half a mile westward of Fort Plain, where now stands the farm house occupied in 1876 by Adam Lipe. C. P. Yates was chosen chairman.

At this meeting the Palatine delegates stated what was done at their last meeting, as did those of German Flats and Kingsland united; the latter introducing the speech of an Oneida Indian, and their reply to it. All of which was approved by this meeting. It was resolved to send a delegation of four to commune with the committees of Albany and Schenectada upon their present situation in the valley, etc., with instructions to buy powder, flints and lead. The delegation was, for Palatine Daniel McDougal, for Canajoharie David Cox, and for the western districts Edward Wall and Duncan McDougal. It was also resolved, that as threats of arrest and imprisonment had been made by the loyal party against some members of the com-



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mittee, for their "just opposition" to kingly rule, that they would to the utmost of their power rescue such persons if imprisoned, "unless they were confined by legal process, issued upon legal ground and executed in a legal manner." It was further ordered that the proceedings of their meetings should not be divulged to any one outside of the committees.

The next meeting was appointed at the house of Warner Dygert, at the Fall Hill—and future meetings were to be alternately held there and at the house of William Seeber; both of which were in the Canajoharie district. Warner Dygert, as now written, then kept a public house at the foot of Fall Hill, but a little distance from the Gen. Herkimer house (which is still standing below Little Falls), the general being a member of the Canajoharie committee. This Dygert was afterwards murdered by the Indians, as I shall have occasion to show.

In the minutes of these meetings, letters were referred to the *letter page*, Indian matters to the *Indian page*, committees, oaths to *oath page*, etc. None of those pages are now found with the journal.

*The Sixth meeting of the Palatine Committee*, was held on Monday, the 29th May, 1775, at the house of William Seeber, at Canajoharie, as I suppose to accommodate the committee of the Mohawk district, six members of which as *visitors* were present, Mr. Seeber also representing the Canajoharie district as a visitor. As the names of the Mohawk committee who were at this meeting all appear at the next, except that of Abraham Yates, I shall defer their publication until then.

After the border troubles began, there was very little intercourse between whig and tory families from mutual repugnance, especially where living remote from each other, which state of things increased with the progress of the war. Here is the evidence of one of the first movements toward the breaking up of social intercourse in the Mohawk valley. At this meeting it was *Resolved*, to recommend to the inhabitants, to have no dealing or connection in the way of trade with any person whatsoever, who has not signed the association entered into by this district. Also, *Resolved*, That owners of slaves and servants do not permit them to absent themselves from home, either by night or day, unless upon their owner's business, with a certificate specifying such business; and persons infringing those

resolutions were to be dealt with as enemies to their country. It was requested of every friend to the country, to arrest and secure servants and slaves not having such certificates. These resolves were to be published at all public places in the district.

The committee also considered the calamitous condition of the inhabitants of the Mohawk district, owing, as presumed, to the espionage of the Johnson family residing it it—tendering their sympathy and looking to a general meeting of the committees for some relief.

*The Seventh Meeting* was one of the county committees of all the districts, on Friday, June 2, 1775, at the house of Warner Tygert of Canajoharie district.

Members present from:

## PALATINE:

Messrs. Isaac Paris,  
Christopher P. Yates,  
John Frey,  
Andrew Finck, Jr.,  
Andrew Reber,  
Peter Waggoner,  
Daniel McDougal,  
Jacob Clock,  
George Ecker, Jr.,  
Harmanus Van Slyck,  
Christopher W. Fox,  
Anthony Van Vechten.

## MOHAWK.

John Marlatt,  
John Bliven,  
Abraham Van Horn,  
Adam Fonda,  
Frederick Visscher,  
Sampson Sammons,  
William Schuyler,  
Volkert Vedder,  
James McMaster,  
Daniel Lane.

## CANAJOHARIE.

Messrs. Nicholas Herchimer,  
Ebenezer Cox,  
William Seeber,  
John Moore,  
Samuel Campbell,  
Samuel Clyde,  
Thomas Henry,  
John Pickert.

## GERMAN FLATTS:

Edward Wall,  
William Petry,  
John Petry,  
Marcus Petry,  
Duncan McDougal,  
Frederick Helmer.

## KINGSLAND.

George Wentz,  
John Franck,  
Frederick Fox,  
Augustinus Hess,  
Michael Ittig,  
Frederick Ahrendorf,  
George Herkimer.

This was the first meeting at which all of the county districts were represented, and 43 delegates were present. Just how many there were in each district, except Palatine, is not

stated in the minutes; probably 10 to 12. Some were so remote from the places of meeting that they seldom, if ever, attended. Besides, some changes may have taken place. Abraham Yates once represented the Mohawk district, and Jacob Weaver the German Flats; while Conradt Pickert, David Cox and Henry Heints were at some meetings for Canajoharie. Christopher P. Yates, Esq., was, as of previous ones, the presiding officer of the meeting under consideration, which was, perhaps, the most important one held in the county.

Its first business was to dictate a long letter to Col. Guy Johnson, who, from his relative position to the Indians, was looked upon as the head and front of the loyal cause in the county. They spoke of the fears entertained by the people in consequence of a dropped letter found in the road, written in the Mohawk dialect, and addressed to the Oneidas,\* which intimated the destruction of the settlements along the river, their fears having been allayed by a letter from him (Johnson) to the magistrates and supervisors of the Upper Districts. They further stated that they had followed the example of other counties in this and other colonies, to meet and in a peaceable manner consider the dispute between the mother country and the colonies; also to consult about their common safety, their rights and liberties being infringed by the British Parliament, in sending troops to the Massachusetts Bay. They claimed it as the birthright of English subjects, to be exempted from all

\* This is the translation of the letter alluded to:

"WRITTEN AT GUY JOHNSON'S May, 1775.

"This is your letter, you great ones or sachems Guy Johnson says he will be glad if you get this intelligence your Oneydas had. It goes with him, and he is now more certain concerning the intention of the Boston people. Guy Johnson is in great fear of being taken prisoner by the Bostoners.

"We Mohawks are obliged to watch him constantly; therefore we send you this intelligence, that you shall know it; and Guy Johnson assures himself and depends upon your coming to his assistance, and that you will, without fail, be of that opinion. He believes not that you will let him suffer: we therefore expect you in a couple of days time. So much at present we send, but so far as to you Oneydas; but afterwards, perhaps, to all the other Nations. We conclude and expect that you will have concern for our ruler, Guy Johnson, because we are all united.

"AARON KANOENRARON,  
"JOHANNES TEGARIHOGE,  
"JOSEPH BRANT,  
"DEYAGODEAGHNA WEOGH.

"N. B.—Joseph Brant is Guy Johnson's interpreter."—*Correspondence of the Prov. Congress*, vol. 2, p. 83.

taxes, except such as were laid by their own representatives ; and also claimed the right by the law of self-preservation and the constitutional laws of England, to meet peaceably as they had done, to consider the matters agitating the country.

"This meeting," say they, "we probably would have postponed a while, had there been the least kind of probability that the petition of the General Assembly would have been noticed, more than the united petition of almost the whole continent of America by their delegates in Congress, which, so far from being in any way complied with, was treated with superlative contempt by the ministry, and fresh oppressions were and are daily heaped upon us ; upon which principles—principles which are undeniable—we have been appointed to concert methods to contribute what little lies in our power, to save our devoted country from ruin and desolation, which, with the assistance of Divine Providence, it is our fixed and determined resolution to do, and, if called upon, we shall be foremost in sharing the toil and danger of the field. We consider New England suffering in the common cause, and commiserate their distressed situation ; and we should be wanting in our duty to our country, to ourselves and to our posterity, if we were any longer backward in avowing our determination to the world."

They said that some of their members had been accused of compelling people to come into their measures, and of drinking treasonable toasts, which were false and malicious accusations, set afloat to injure them in the estimation of the world. They told him they were not ignorant of the great importance of his office as Superintendent of the Indians ; thanked him for meeting them in the upper part of the county (he was then at Cosby's Manor, 10 or 12 miles above where they were assembled) to allay the fears of the inhabitants ; hoped he would prevent the Indians from committing any irregularities on their way down to Guy Park, and begged of him to dissuade the Indians from interfering in the dispute between the mother country and her colonies, and added :

"We cannot think that, as you and your family are possessing very large estates in this county, you are unfavorable to American freedom ; although you may differ with us in the mode of obtaining a redress of grievances."

They further said they could not pass over in silence the in-

terruption experienced by the people of Mohawk district at one of their meetings ; and also spoke of the *inhuman treatment* of a man, who, faithful to his employers, refused to give an account of the receipt of certain persons, who had no right to demand anything of the kind. They remonstrated against his constantly keeping an armed force about him, as alarming and inflaming the people, who did not intend to disturb any person whatever. They assured him the New Englanders never meant to come into the county to take him or any of his family into captivity ; and they asked him to disperse his troops, which would satisfy the people. They suggested that the stopping and searching of travelers on the King's highway—which every man had a right to use unmolested—which had been done frequently, they thought could not have been countenanced by him ; and added : "This committee—and every member particularly for himself—assures you, that we have not, nor hath any one of us to our knowledge, ever spoken or made use of any unbecoming or malevolent language of you or any of your family."

Edward Wall, Peter Wagner, Nicholas Herkimer, Adam Fonda and Frederick Fox, were a committee to convey this letter to Col. G. Johnson, obtain his answer to it, and request his approbation to have a sub-committee to attend him at a congress he was about to hold with the Indians in the valley above.

It was resolved at this meeting to defray the expense incurred by the committee delegated to Albany—May 24, £12 (\$30)—and also that the Canajoharie and Palatine districts—which were the central ones—should each employ a suitable man to be constantly ready to attend those committees as express messengers. News was then heralded by active men on foot or on horseback. The expense was to be a common charge to all the districts. This meeting adjourned to meet the next morning at precisely 8 o'clock.

*The Eighth Meeting*, the adjourned one, took place on Saturday, June 3, 1775.

Messrs. Herkimer and Wall reported that they had waited upon Col. Johnson with the letter of yesterday, who assured them he would have his answer ready on Monday, the 25th inst. Nicholas Herkimer, Augustinus Hess and William Petry

were a designated committee to wait on Col. Johnson for his answer, which, after their perusal they were to transmit to the chairman. It was also ordered that the three persons named should be a committee to attend the congress with the Indians, procuring some able person as an interpreter, and report in writing to the chairman. It was unanimously resolved, that the subscribers to the *association* should organize themselves into military companies, and appoint proper officers; and that the committees of each district carry the resolution into effect with the greatest expedition, and report proceedings to the next meeting of this body.

*The Ninth, a County Committee Meeting*, was held on Sunday, June 11, 1775, at the house of Gose (Gosen or Goshen) Van Alstine, at or near the present village of Canajoharie; and consisted of 27 delegates—10 from Palatine, 7 from Mohawk, 5 from Canajoharie, and 5 from Kingsland and German Flats Districts.

The first action of this meeting, which in substance I have already stated was, in compliance of the wishes of the Provincial Congress, to send delegates to represent Tryon county in that body; who designated their chairman, Christopher P. Yates and John Marlatt for that important duty.

This meeting recommended the appointment of sub-committees in each district to make perfect lists of all the freeholders and inhabitants of their respective districts. That the general association be tendered to such as have not signed it, that lists of those refusing to sign may be returned to this committee by the 1st of July; the same to be transmitted to the Provincial Congress July 15.

Nicholas Herkimer was appointed chairman *pro tempore*, and took the chair. It was resolved, that before the next meeting, ways and means be devised to defray their expenses: when the meeting adjourned to meet on the first day of July, at the house of Gose Van Alstine.

*The Tenth Meeting* was one of the freeholders of the Canajoharie District, at the house of Wm. Seeber, on Thursday June 15, 1775, Nicholas Herkimer, chairman. It was a meeting to organize militia companies and choose officers for them; agreeable to resolutions of the Provincial Congress.

*The Eleventh Meeting* was one of the freeholders of the



Palatine district, convened at the house of Jacob Clock, on Friday, June 16, 1775, with Nicholas Herkimer, chairman, and John Eisenlord, clerk. The objects of this meeting were similar to those of the Canajoharie district the day before.

*The Twelfth Meeting*, for the Kingsland and German Flats districts, was held on Saturday, June 17, 1775, at the house of Frederick Fox, in the former district; Nicholas Herkimer, chairman, and John Eisenlord, clerk. A large number of the committee of the districts were present.

The associated freeholders were assembled in numbers, but their militia organization was postponed. At this meeting several prominent citizens who in the spring had with the grand jury signed the declaration of the Johnson or loyal party, appeared voluntarily and joined the whig association; and conspicuous among them were Rudolph Shoemaker, Jost Herkimer, Jr., and John Thompson; who severally took an oath to support American liberty. All who signed the association at this time, were asked whether they had done so from either compulsion or fear—as they were in no danger in case of refusal—and each declared they had acted from their own free will. Committeeman Wall, of German Flats, for some good reason, was excused from further duties in his official capacity.

*The Thirteenth Meeting* was one of the county committee, held on Thursday, June 29, at the house of Frederick Bellinger, in German Flats district, with Nicholas Herkimer in the chair. It was an extraordinary meeting, called to meet the sachems of the Oneida and Tuscarora Indians who were there assembled; at which meeting were 2 delegates from the Schenectada committee, and 4 from Albany. Mutual speeches were made, friendship and confidence with the two nations renewed, with a promise from the latter if possible, to bring the rest of the Six Nations to unite with them in measures of peace. These warriors expressed their hearty thanks for the kindness and generosity manifested toward them by the committee, and freeholders of the upper districts; and recommended—"The gate of Fort Staxwix be shut, that nothing might pass or repass to the hurt of the country." The speech to the Indians at this time, was reported July 31, to the *Provincial Congress*, (see its *Journal* page 95.)

At this session, Marcus Ittig and William Cunningham,

made affidavits concerning the malevolent insinuations made by Guy Johnson to the Indians, respecting the American cause. The Congress continued until July 2 when the Indians quietly departed for their castles. A county meeting appointed for July 1, was necessarily postponed to meet on the 3d, at Gose Van Alstine's.

*The Fourteenth Meeting* was an important one, in which all the districts were represented except Mohawk, and was held at Gose Van Alstine's, on Monday, July 3, 1775, Mr. Herkimer, chairman, and Mr. Eisenlord, clerk. One of its first records was this: "The petition of the settlers in N. Germantown, containing their forming themselves into a company of militia, under their chosen officers, was granted."

John Bliven, of the Mohawk committee, under dates of July 2d and 3d, sent letters to inform this board, that Abraham C. Cuyler, the Mayor of Albany, had left there clandestinely. He was believed a tory, and was ascending the Mohawk in a canoe—possibly with military stores, and on his way to Canada. He had passed the Palatine district, when this meeting sent Capt. George Herkimer with a sufficient force to examine his lading, and his person for treasonable papers. He was overtaken at Cosby's manor, but Capt. Herkimer returned and reported finding nothing contraband, and he was allowed to proceed to Montreal. It is presumed that if Cuyler had any tabooed papers, he knew how to conceal them.

The associated settlers at Fort Stanwix represented to this committee, their dangerous situation, being few in numbers and daily exposed to the invasion of the enemy; on which account they desired a guard to be stationed at that fort, giving the advice of their neighbors the Oneidas: "That the gate at Fort Stanwix ought to be shut." It was resolved, to communicate this state of things above, to the committee at Schenectada, and suggest the sending of about 100 men there if judged expedient. It was also resolved, to report their proceedings through their member, Mr. Yates, to the Provincial Congress. A list of the names of persons in the districts except Mohawk, who had refused to sign the association, were also sent to Mr. Yates. The meeting adjourned to meet July 10th at the house of Jacob Clock, in Palatine district, to hold a congress with the Indians of the Canajoharie castle.

Under date of *Warrensburgh, July 4, 1775*, William Schuyler and James McMaster, two of the Mohawk district committee, residents of the now town of Florida, writing to John Marlatt, Esq., and John Bliven, clerk ; on the subject of signing the 'association compact, said : As to the people who have signed where I live, there is only one, to wit, John Snuke (Snook), and "those that have not signed who have been asked, are the Rev. John Stuart and Henry Hare." Stuart was minister for the Indians at Fort Hunter, and subsequently went to Canada. Hare also went there, and returning in the summer of 1779, as a spy, he was arrested in Florida, and hung at Canajoharie as elsewhere shown. They further stated that Abraham C. Cuyler, Mayor of Albany, was on his way to Oswego, under pretence of collecting accounts, with two loaded bateaux : they suspected he had military stores, and apprised John Frey, Esq., of their suspicions. Action was taken of the matter as shown, in the convention of the county committee.—*Corres. of Prov. Cong. v. 2., p. 61.*

It seems necessary to mention some matters transpiring, that are not in this journal. The reader will remember that at the seventh meeting of the Tryon county committee, when all the delegates were together, an important letter was sent to Guy Johnson, June 2d, who agreed to answer it on the 5th, which was not recorded in the journal. Col. Stone found and published it.\* In this letter which was dated at "Thompson's, Cosby's Manor, June 5, 1775," while alluding to his own sentiments and those of the committee, he said :

"I must, as a true friend to the country in which I have large interest, say, that the present dispute is viewed in different lights according to the education and principles of the parties affected : and that, however reasonable it may appear to a considerable number of honest men here, that the petition of the delegates should merit attention, it is not viewed in the same light in a country which admits no authority that is not constitutionally established ; and I persuade myself you have that reverence for his Majesty, that you will pay due regard to the royal assurance given in his speech to parliament, that whenever the American grievances should be laid before him

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\* Life of Bryant, vol. 1., p. 74.

by their constitutional assemblies, they should be fully attended to. I have heard that compulsory steps were taken to induce some persons to come into your measures, and treasonable toasts drank ; but I am not willing to give too easy credit to flying reports, and am happy to hear you disavow them."

The reader will perceive, that, although apparently honest with himself, with regard to the difference of opinion then agitating the country, his views would not stand the test of scrutiny ; since it was then well known that the King of England manifested no willingness to redress American grievances. It seems quite reasonable to most intelligent readers, that with his large landed estate, he would hardly have taken the chances of forfeiture he did, had he not been an officer under liberal pay from the British government, with an expected and possibly promised remuneration for losses he might sustain, in his adherence to that government. In his letter he expressed his pleasure to find his call for a congress of the Indians on the borders gave satisfaction ; but the assembling of them in numbers was a failure from design or otherwise ; for at about that time he removed with his retinue to Oswego. He further said :

"The office I hold is greatly for the benefit and protection of this country, and on my frequent meetings with the Indians depends their peace and security ; I cannot therefore but be astonished to find the endeavors made use of to obstruct me in my duties, and the weakness of some people in withholding many things from me, which are indispensably necessary for rendering the Indians contented ; and I am willing to hope that you, gentlemen, will duly consider this and discountenance the same."

It is true, "the office he held was for the benefit and protection of this country," just so long as he exerted his influence to keep the Indians in check, and himself in a neutral position, or one not unfriendly to the colonies ; and had the Indians not been made to believe mainly through his influence and that of Sir John Johnson, that the British government was better able to pay them for their neutrality or services in the war than were the Americans, and they had been kept out of it ; they would never have forfeited their possessions here : and it is no less obvious, that had the Johnson family sided with their

struggling neighbors for English citizenship, we should never have recorded the bloody scenes of Oriskany, the gory massacres of Wyoming and Cherry Valley, or the cruel destruction of the Indian towns in Western New York.

Col. Johnson's letter also said to the committee :

"You have been misinformed as to the origin of the reports which obliged me to fortify my house and stand on my defense. I had it, gentlemen, from undoubted authority from Albany, and since confirmed by letters from one of the committee at Philadelphia, that a large body of men were to make me prisoner. As the effect this must have on the Indians might have been of dangerous consequences to you (a circumstance not thought of), I was obliged, at great expense, to take these measures. But the many reports of my stopping travelers were false in every particular, and the only instance of detaining anybody was in the case of two New England men, which I explained fully to those of your body who brought your letter, and wherein I acted strictly agreeable to law, and as a magistrate should have done.

"I am very sorry that such idle and injurious reports meet with any encouragement. I rely on you, gentlemen, to exert yourselves in discountenancing them ; and I am happy in this opportunity of assuring the people of a country I regard, that they have nothing to apprehend from my endeavors, but that I shall always be glad to promote their true interests."

Whether there was any just cause for his apprehension about being arrested—which induced him to fortify Guy Park, and gather a large force about him—cannot be known with certainty ; but his actions were carefully watched, and that he felt his position a critical one, from the fact that most of the leading men in the county—if not arrayed against him, certainly were in sympathy with a cause he disapproved, cannot be doubted. The Indians would not, as he hinted, have been "dangerous" to the whites, unless they became so by his direction. The nature of his home fortifications is now unknown, but possibly the house was palisaded ; as so large a body as 400 or 500 retainers, many of them must have been domiciled in tents. He said he was at great expense to make those preparations. There can be no doubt that, after the battle of Bunker Hill, he did feel an increasing hazard in his position. He

might well have added to the closing sentence of his letter, where those "true interests" do not clash with my own, or those of my chosen friends.

*The Fifteenth Meeting* of the committee was at Jacob Clock's in Palatine district, on Monday, July 10, 1775, Herkimer, chairman, and Eisenlord, clerk. The Mohawks were there as previously arranged, to consider the encompassing difficulties. Mrs. Peggy Johnson, the wife of Kariachyako Johnson, an Indian of the Canajoharie castle, acted as interpreter on the occasion. They answered an address from the committee in a long speech, assuring the meeting of their friendship, with a promise to remain entirely neutral in the controversy with the mother country. The freeholders of the two districts represented—Canajoharie and Palatine—were very generous in presents to the Indians, in flour, peas, corn, bread, pork and money, for which they expressed their hearty thanks. The meeting was adjourned over to the next day, when the sachems made another speech, renewing their assurances of peace and brotherhood as on the preceding day; and with mutual assurances of future good will the parties separated. Speeches made on such occasions were not entered in the general minutes.

I deem it important to show the reader the proceedings of the Tryon county committee, that he may not only know what difficulties they had to encounter, but also what pains were taken on the part of the whites to keep faith with the Indians in their neighborhood—the Mohawks were all in Tryon county—and, if possible keep them in a neutral position.

*The Sixteenth Meeting* again brought the Palatine and Canajoharie districts, on Thursday, July 13, 1775, to the house of Gose Van Alstine, the chairman, Christopher P. Yates, presiding. The first business of the meeting was to subscribe a mutual oath of secrecy, which was kept outside the journal. A long letter was next ordered to be sent to the committees of Schenectada and Albany, the burden of which was, a rumor that Col. Johnson was ready with 800 or 900 Indians to invade the county, under command of Joseph Brant and Walter Butler; who were expected to fall on the inhabitants below Little Falls, in order to divide the people. Capt. Jacob Clock of the Palatine committee, also reported that on the morning of that day (July 13), an hour before day, three Indians had called at his

house on their way home from Oswego to Fort Hunter, and that he learned they each had a bag of powder on their horses : at the end of an hour they resumed their journey. Apprehending an invasion of the valley, they sent a scout, if possible, to learn the route by which the invaders would approach. Say the committee : "Our ammunition is so scant that we cannot furnish 300 men so as to be able to make a stand against an equal number." They said, in their letter, "this condition of things, is the more alarming to us, as we shall be obliged in a few days to begin with our harvests." At the close of that day's proceedings, the meeting adjourned to meet the next day at the house of William Seeber, Canajoharie district.

*The Seventeenth Meeting* convened at Seeber's, July 14, 1775, with Yates and Herkimer presiding. Ebenezer Cox, as appears by reference to an "order page," kept elsewhere, was given command of the military companies of Palatine and Canajoharie. Directions were to be sent from this meeting to the members of the committee at Cherry Valley and adjacent places, concerning the Indian alarm. Few minutes were recorded at this meeting, when it adjourned to meet the day following, at Warner Tygert's at Fall Hill.

*The Eighteenth Meeting* was held July 15, 1775, at the house of Warner Tygert : Yates and Herkimer in the chair. After receiving several unimportant depositions, a letter was ordered sent to the Provincial Congress, recommending for appointment the names of Christopher P. Yates, as Captain, and Andrew Fink, Jr., and John Keyser, Jr., as First and Second Lieutenants of a company which Mr. Yates was enlisting ; and under date of 21st October following, as the fourth company of Col. Goose Van Schaick's regiment of New York troops, we find their appointment confirmed.\* At this meeting answers were received to the letters they had previously sent to Schenectada and Albany, and 150 pounds of powder at £25 (\$62.50) per cwt. From Schenectada came 300 pounds of lead at 40s. (\$5) per cwt. Ebenezer Cox also reported his doings with the militia under his command, and the meeting adjourned to meet the next day at the same place.

*The Nineteenth Meeting* met agreeable to adjournment, July

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\* Jour. Prov. Congress, vol. 2, p. 97.

16th. At this meeting John Eisenlord reported his action with a scouting party under his command. It was ordered that John Petry be sent to Albany under a guard, with a letter narrating his misconduct, after which the meeting adjourned.

*The Twentieth Meeting*, consisting of eight delegates each from the Palatine and Canajoharie districts, which only were represented, met August 12, 1775, at the house of William Seeber. The first action of the meeting was to order notices put up in the most public places from Garoga creek to N. Germantown—included within the Palatine district—to elect two new members for said district, on Friday, August 18th, at the house of Charles Gordon, near the Canada creek. A letter was sent from this assembly to the Provincial Congress, asking for instruction not only in military matters, but in those of a civil character, to enable them to proceed judiciously in the management of transgressors of their regulations; and how, wisely, to defray the necessary expenses of their own mission in the county.

Joseph Meby was arraigned before this meeting, charged with having attempted to instigate the Indians to rescue Capt. John Petry from his escort, he having been sent to Albany by a previous meeting for misconduct. He begged to be excused for this, his first fault, promised his future good behavior, and was finally set at liberty. The meeting adjourned to Friday, August 25th, to meet at the house of Gose Van Alstine, the clerk being instructed to notify all the districts for attendance.

*The Twenty-first Meeting* assembled August 25, 1775, at the house of Van Alstine, with Herkimer and Eisenlord in their places, as at the previous meeting. This was quite a full meeting, thirty delegates being present. The three new members chosen August 18th to represent a portion of the Palatine district, were Christian Nellis, William Fox, Jr., and John Ja. Clock, who took the oath prescribed to the previous members. The proceedings of this meeting, with its adjourned one, cover more pages in the journal than do those of any other single meeting. The first subject for its consideration was a matter which happened in the Mohawk district June 25th, between John Fonda, a prominent whig, then residing near the present site of the Fonda court house, and Thomas Hunt, a servant of



Sheriff Alexander White, who was a violent tory. As was proven by the testimony of John Kinton, and of Fonda himself, said Hunt attempted to cross the land of Fonda, over a meadow and ground sowed with peas, when the latter ordered him off, telling him to take the path beside the fence. He refused to do so, uttering very abusive language; and they met. Hunt had a brush scythe\* upon his shoulder, and Fonda, who had been hoeing corn, was armed with his hoe. Seeing his antagonist raise the scythe to strike him, Fonda knocked him down with his hoe. On regaining his feet in the midst of his vile epithets, he threatened that he would be the death of Fonda, who left him there and went home. For this occurrence, Sheriff White caused Fonda to be arrested and lodged in the county jail. This meeting does not appear to have taken action in this matter.

*The Twenty-second Meeting* was the adjourned one of the day before, convened on Saturday, August 26, at the same place and with the same members. Its first business was to pass a series of resolutions embodying their duties.

The *first* resolution provided for the punishment of disobedient soldiers, until a militia act was furnished by the Provincial Congress.

The *Second* related to "disputes and misdemeanors in civil matters," arising among the inhabitants. They were to be decided by three members of the committee of the district in which the offence existed: unless the members were too far separated, when one committee-man and 6 jurymen—freeholders—were to decide all cases involving less than £5 New York currency.

The *third* provided that damages, costs, etc., should be recovered as specified in the first resolution—by the distressing of goods and chattels.

The *fourth* specified that the officers chosen for the militia companies, should be confirmed in their appointments and obeyed in their positions.

The *fifth* required constables to observe the orders of the committee.

The *sixth and seventh* said that the officers chosen at the

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\* An instrument for cutting weeds and brush.

first meeting of N. Germantown\* for a militia company of that precinct, should be established as the right ones, confirming the following: John Eisenlord, captain; John Keyser, 1st lieutenant; Adam Bellinger, 2d lieutenant; John Smith, ensign.

"The said company formed shall begin at Jacob Staring's including, and take in all the inhabitants from 16 to 50 years of age on the north side of the highroad to Conrad Rickert's, thence all the inhabitants of N. Germantown, of the ages above mentioned, and extend so far as Sir William Johnson's settlement, until the company amounts to 60 men, the sergeants and corporals included."

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\* At this period there were two local settlements called N. Germantown, one was in the present town of Schuylcr; the other was farther northeast and embraced the settlement known as Reme Snyder's Bush, back of Little Falls: and strange as it may seem was included in the Palatine district. This militia company was evidently organized near East Canada creek in Mannheim, extending into the Royal Grant. A long communication dated "Canajoharie district, December 21, 1776," signed Nicholas Herkimer, Brig. Gen., Ebenezer Cox and Jacob Klock, Colonels, and sent to the Provincial Congress of New York, enables me to deduce the following: John Keyser of N. Germantown, in this letter is called captain of this company, instead of Eisenlord. John Reme Snyder, a son of Henry Reme Snyder, had been appointed a corporal of this company; but his father's ambition had coveted an ensign's commission for him, and would not allow him to do military duty interposing the plea that he was a miller, and the law exempted him from service. The father had been the miller, but being exempt by law from duty, as over 60, he determined both should be exempted. The letter represented the mill as rickety, the stream of water small and not much to grind; and viewing the scheme of the father as improper, the captain imposed a fine on the son, for which on his refusing to pay, he distrained him. The father threatened to kill any man who came on his premises, on which account a sergeant went with a party and arrested John. At this stage of the proceeding, the father applied to the county committee, which, without investigation, ordered the son set at liberty under the law exempting millers from service.

As the father was a robust man and generally did the milling when any was to be done, it caused him to look a little toryfied, or as standing in the way of giving the frontier a needed soldier; on which account the appeal was made to the State authority to sustain the action of Capt. Keyser, and annul the action of the county committee. They feared this action might induce others of the company to refuse to train if young Snyder was excused, and added: "We, the superior officers, who are resolved and willing to serve our country in our contest faithfully, and to have the militia under our command ruled impartially, find ourselves aggrieved, and beg that your Honorable board would look into the case maturely, and procure that justice may be done to the officers, as well as to the privates. We do not doubt that in particular the proceedings of the said Capt. Keyser will be approved to be just and lawful; and therefore, the above mentioned resolve of the committee recalled." This matter was presented a second time to the State council, January 24, 1777, and was called up in that body February 6, when it was resolved in the absence of the Tryon county committee's proceedings, to transmit the matter to that committee for explanation. As no further action is shown in either volume of the Provincial Congress upon this theme, it is to be presumed that the matter was compromised in Tryon county: possibly John Snyder became patriotic, and discharged his military duty.—See *Journal of New York Provincial Congress*.

The *eighth* resolution said: "The following persons are nominated by the majority of votes, as field officers for such respective districts, viz :"

## CANAJOHARIE.

*First Battalion.*

Colonel Nicholas Herkimer,  
Lieut.-Col. Ebenezer Cox,  
Major Robert Wells,  
Adj't Samuel Clyde.

## PALATINE.

*Second Battalion.*

Col. Jacob Clock,  
Lieut.-Col. Peter Waggoner.  
Major Harm'. Van Slyck,  
Adj't Anthony Van Vechten.

## MOHAWK.

*Third Battalion.*

Col. Frederick Visscher,  
Lieut.-Col. Adam Fonda,  
Major John Bliven,  
Adj't Robert Yates.

## KINGSLAND AND GERMAN FLATTS.

*Fourth Battalion.*

Col Hanyoost Herkimer,  
Lieut.-Col. Peter Bellinger,  
Major Hanyoost Shoemaker.  
Adj't John Demooth.

"By the majority of another voting of this committee, Col. Nicholas Herkimer is appointed

"CHIEF COLONEL AND COMMANDER FOR THE COUNTY OF  
TRYON."

It was further resolved that the committee of each district shall nominate its own path-masters, to make and keep in repair the high-roads. Also, "that a memorial be sent to Major-Gen. Schuyler at Ticonderoga, for a couple of companies of militia under his command, to secure our exposed frontier."

Next are recorded sundry affidavits "concerning the threatenings of Alexander White, late sheriff of our county." *Major Jelles Fonda*, who resided below Caughnawaga, testified that he heard Sheriff White often say that he would fight for the King with the party on the King's side, and swore they would be sure to conquer. He said those on the country's side were fighting with halters about their necks. He had heard him many times declare "that he hoped to have the pleasure of hanging a good many yet, for their resistance against the acts of Parliament." *John Vedder*, who resided at the upper end of the village of Fonda, said he had often heard the sheriff say: "The King's people fight for glory; but those for the country fight with halters on their necks." He also told him an army was coming down from Canada, and they would pick out the houses—mean-

ing for destruction. *William Wallace*, of Johnstown, testified that Sheriff White, one day at John Veeder's, said publicly : "The estates of the country here are all forfeited, especially pointing upon [those of] Adam Fonda and Sampson Sammons ; and the people will be hanged." *William Seeber*, who, as I have shown, resided above Fort Plain, made an affidavit which gives a truthful picture of frontier life at that period.

"William Seeber, of Canajoharie, under oath saith, that on a certain day in the beginning of May last, about 9 o'clock in the night, came William Johnson, the Indian (another Indian), and Sheriff White, into deponent's house, called for liquor ; and the sheriff immediately inquired for the answer upon a letter, which the deponent received of Col. Claus that same day, and insisted upon that answer till the next morning : and further said, with many curses, that if he had been here the day of signing the association, he would have shot some of 'em through their hearts, and the rest he would have carried away to the westward to be hanged there, upon which the deponent's son, Jacob Seeber, did reply, that it was not so easy a matter to do that ; whereupon the sheriff got his pistol, cocked it, and presented it to the breast of said Jacob, saying, 'you d—d rebel, if you say one word more I'll blow your brains out !' and the Indians had swords and knives in their hands, but, notwithstanding, there was no hurt done, as said Jacob made himself out of their sight."

*Anthony Van Vechten*, of Palatine, testified that when he was at Johnson Hall last, to get the sheriff, "the said sheriff did, with many extraordinary curses, declare to the deponent that he'll yet have to hang a good many of this county before long." This was July 21st.

*William Petry*, another of the committee, testified that, being at Johnstown, in search of a runaway servant, Sheriff White stopped him in the street ; told him he must go to jail. Petry demanded by what process ; but, refusing to show any, he lodged him in jail. The next day the sheriff wrote a recognizance of £60 penalty ; but this Petry refused to sign, and some hours after the jail-keeper ordered the prisoner out of the jail without any bail or recognizance, and he returned home.

Thus we see that Sheriff White had become very obnoxious to the whigs of Tryon county.

At this meeting witnesses also testified to the malevolent tory proclivities of other citizens of the valley. Anthony Van Vechten against Peter Bowen, Major Fouda and Lodowick Putman against Lewis Clement, who resided below the village of Fonda. Putman stated "that on Monday, July 24, in the night, he met Clement with four Indians, one squaw and an Indian boy, going toward the Sacondaga, as a convoy of Sheriff White, who cursed and swore, saying to deponent, is it not a pity that I, being a man of good estate, must go and leave the same for the sake of these d—d Fondas? but I shall soon make up a good number of Indians, and return with them to destroy and ruin such people all about here; but you (Putman) have nothing to fear, because you abide in a safe place, which (being near Johnstown) shall not be hurted." Whether this threat was from White or Clement is not certain; but the latter, who first went away with Guy Johnson, did return with the enemy. Putman was killed by the Indians under Sir John Johnson in May, 1780. The meeting again adjourned to the next day.

*The Twenty-third Meeting* was held Sunday, August 27, 1775, at the house of Gose Van Alstine; same members present as on the day before. At this meeting Christian House, Charles Gordon, Roger and Thomas Baxter, were testified against by David Cox, a committeeman; Uriel Comes, a constable, and Jacob Jas. Clock, as dangerous and offending persons to the country's cause, but they were to be pardoned for past offenses if they would reform their conduct; but, if not, they were to be sent to the Albany committee for treatment. Not accepting the easy terms, the quartette were bound over in the sum of \$100, for their appearance and trial at Albany. This closed the business of the long three days' session. As the same 30 members are reported there each day, we suppose but few of them could have gone home nights, as those homes were widely separated.

*The Flight of Sheriff White.*—As shown by the affidavit of Mr. Putman, he left Johnstown to go toward the Sacondaga, on Monday night, July 24, under an escort of genial spirits. The day following, Sir John Johnson wrote to him as follows:

"JOHNSON HALL, 25th August, 1775.

"Dear Sir—The bearer will deliver you some provisions and

clothes, and Mr. Clement will give you a paper containing a ten pound note, which I received from Mrs. White this morning. The Indians having desired some cash from me to expend when they come among the inhabitants in Canada—which I have not to give them—I must beg you to supply them, and charge it to Col. [Guy] Johnson. If you have forgot anything, and I can be of service to you, I beg you'll mention it. God bless you.

“Yours,

“J. JOHNSON.\*

“(A true copy) JOHN BAY, *Secretary*.”

White must have lingered with some tory friend about the Sacandaga for several days, as will be seen by this letter, dated the following Saturday :

“August 29, 1775.

“*Dear Sir*—After you went off yesterday, Mr. Stuart Fry and Doctor Adams went down to Fonda's and Veeder's, and acquainted the people with your departure out of the county. As soon as they were assured of it they dispersed all their men—to the amount of about 500—and sent expresses up and down the country to stop all that were coming to their assistance, as well as the cannon they had sent for to Schenectada ; and in the afternoon, some from the different committees came up to Fry's and informed me they would wait my pleasure there till eight in the night. I went accordingly, and was received in a very friendly manner. When I assured them you were gone, they seemed to be perfectly satisfied, but at the same time declared they would never suffer you to return ; and wanted me to promise that you never should. I told them I would not promise any such thing. They all desired to be restored to the same good understanding we used to be on, and declared they never would countenance any evil designs against me, or anything belonging to me, nor never did. Upon which we parted, seemingly good friends. I would not have you, upon any account whatever, to return now, as I assured them you would not. We have got Aaron and another Indian to go with you ; and you may depend upon their being with you on Tuesday afternoon [September 1st]. Major Fonda is desirous of being

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\* Corres. of Prov. Congress, vol. 2, 73.

reconciled to me, and I expect to see him to-morrow or next day in town. The bearer is threatened so much that he determined to go with you; [probably Lewis Clement]. I have several things for you, which I will send you by the Indian. God bless you, and send you safe to your journey's end, is the sincere wish of your friend—

“JOHN JOHNSON.

“JOHNSON HALL, *Sunday night, 11 o'clock.*

“As your being at Harris' is known to too many, I would advise you to keep in the woods all day to-morrow, for fear of the worst.

“(A true copy) JOHN BAY, *Secretary.*” \*

*The Twenty-fourth Meeting*—a county meeting—was held on Thursday, September 7, 1775, at the house of Gose Van Alstine, which seems to have been found the most central place for their assemblage. Twenty-five members were present; Herkimer and Eisenlord in their official seats. The first action at this meeting is recorded as follows :

“WHEREAS, it is an unanimous complaint of all the freeholders and inhabitants in our county (only the tories excepted), against the scandalous, damaging and dangerous conduct of our late sheriff, Alexander White, as he has proved himself sufficiently unworthy of his office, and an enemy in general and in particular to our American cause: THEREFORE the county committee, at the expiration of his commission, thought necessary—for the satisfaction of the public, and in behalf of our constitution—to have a free voting for a new sheriff by the freeholders and inhabitants of our county.”

The result of the election was, John Frey, Esq., was elected; the vote standing 89 for him, against 45 for three other candidates. These electoral proceedings were ordered sent to the Provincial Congress for ratification.

This meeting next directed the committeemen of the Mohawk district, in which Lewis Clement and Peter Bowen, old offenders, resided, to arrest and keep them in custody until the general committee could meet and pass upon the merits of their cases. At this meeting it was resolved that John Eisenlord

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\* Corres. Prov. Congress, vol. 2, p. 73.

should bear an order on the Albany committee for 400 or 500 weight of powder and lead in proportion; the same to be placed in the care of Daniel McDougal until ordered by the Colonels to their respective districts; the same to be distributed pro rata to the companies under arms.

Crownridge Kinkead, John Collins and Marte J. Van Alstine, signed the association compact at this meeting, when it adjourned over to the next morning.

*The Twenty-fifth Meeting* assembled on Friday, September 8th, 1775, at the same place, and with the same members present as the day before. At this meeting it was unanimously resolved, that henceforth every member of the board, when legally notified of a meeting, should be there or be fined twenty shillings—unless they could assign a sufficient reason for their absence—said fines to go to defray public expenses; the Kingsland, German Flats and Mohawk districts being allowed to send a majority of their delegates. When assembled, they were not to leave without permission from the chairman, or the whole meeting, under a like penalty. To these obligations the members present, 38 in number, subscribed their names, except four. Three of these, Conrad Rickert, William Fox, Jr., and Frederick Ahrendorf, made their mark, and Peter Waggoner placed P. W. in capital letters in the place of his name. Few were the advantages had by these delegates at English schools when they were boys, and yet it is possible they could all have written their names in German; but this was a body of men remarkable for general intelligence, patriotic motives, and energetic action, knowing, as their tory neighbors in their arrogance said, they were acting *with halters about their necks*. They certainly were surrounded by wily and vigilant foes.

At this meeting four members who had not before done so, now took the committee oath, viz.: George Herkimer and John Frank, of Kingsland; Frederick Helmer, of German Flats; and Conrad Pickert, of Canajoharie district. This meeting also referred the disturbances of Gordon and Baxter to the Albany committee for adjustment.

*The Twenty-sixth Meeting* was a courtly meeting called by the request of its Provincial delegate, John Marlatt, Esq., on Wednesday, September 13, 1775, at the house of Gose Van Alstine; Herkimer, chairman, and Eisenlord, clerk; there being



36 delegates present. John Demooth, of Kingsland, took the committee oath at this time.

At this meeting appeared the Sachem Abraham, of Fort Hunter, with two warriors of the same castle, and made a long speech, interpreted by — Quackinbush, in which he desired to convince that assembly, that the sachems and most of the warriors were ignorant of, or had not consented to, the guiding by Lewis Clement and Peter Bowen, of Sheriff White to Canada. And they promised in future if any enemies of the American cause wanted their assistance again, it should not be rendered ; but, on the contrary, they would seize such persons and deliver them to the committee. They again promised to keep inviolable the covenant made in Albany some time before. These Indians were evidently insincere, as they all, with an exception or two, went off to Canada subsequently. This, with two exceptions, seems to have been the last friendly talk with the representatives of the Mohawk nation. The committee replied accepting their friendly assurances, and promised reciprocal action.

At this time Capt. Stevenson was ascending the Mohawk in a boat, on his way to Canada, and his motives being suspected he was sent back by this committee, to the Schenectada committee to be dealt with, unattended, his *honor* being the pledge of performance. Thus we see that the entire Mohawk river as a thoroughfare, was under the espionage of this eagle-eyed committee.

John Bowen,\* and Lewis Clement, who had accompanied Sheriff White in his flight toward Canada, had the temerity to return to their old homes, defying their proscription. Their names were in bad odor among the whigs before this event, and they were now arrested and brought before the committee for disposal. They were adjudged each to pay a fine of £25 New York currency, within two months—secured by bonds—or be closely confined in the Albany jail for three months at their own costs. They refused to pay a *single copper*, and elected to go to jail. They were sent to Albany, because at this period Sir John Johnson would not allow the whigs to use the Johnstown jail, claiming its ownership as an inheritance from his father. He certainly did not *will* him the *jail* or

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\* This name is written Bown in these records, but revolutionary men called him Bowen, and I so write it.

court-house, both of which he claimed jurisdiction over, to obstruct the whigs in their action. As we have elsewhere shown, the county owned those buildings. They were sent under a guard of three constables with a mittimus, to Mr. William Pemberton, keeper of the Albany jail ; bearing also a letter to the Albany committee concerning the trial.

At this meeting John Marlatt, Esq., a delegate from the county to the Provincial Congress, presented his account for 87 days service at 12s. per day, \$130.50. John Moore of the Canajoharie district was at this meeting appointed the successor of Mr. Marlatt. It was thought one member would be sufficient to represent their small county, (meaning in population,) the expense of two being burdensome ; which was to be submitted to the Provincial Congress. David Cox, a member of Canajoharie district desired his discharge from the responsible position, which was granted and the meeting adjourned to October 26, to meet at the same place, unless sooner assembled by unlooked for events.

*The Twenty-seventh Meeting*, the county committee convened October 26, 1775, at the house of Gose Van Alstine : Herkimer and Eisenlord in their positions. Although such a stringent resolution had been passed at the meeting of September 8th, imposing a fine on delinquent members, only 22 were present, and they imposed the penalty on an equal number of absentees. Only two delegates were noted absent for *Palatine*, while 12 were present ; *Mohawk* had 5 present and 5 absent, viz.: Abram Van Horne, Visscher, Yates, Sammons and Schuyler ; *Canajoharie* had 5 present and 3 absent, viz.: the two Pickerts and Heintz ; *German Flatts* had 1 present and 5 absent ; and *Kingsland* had none present and 7 absent. Of the 38 members who signed the resolution imposing a penalty, 15 were now among the absentees, besides whom were 7 who had not signed it, viz.: Abram Yates, Ittig, Frederick Fox, John Pickerts, Heintz, William Petry, and Demooth. John Moore having been made a delegate to the Provincial Convention, was not there nor was he fined. At this meeting it was resolved to accept two newly chosen delegates for *Palatine*, Charles Gordon and Lawrence Zimmerman.

It was unanimously "Resolved, that three members of the committee shall be sent to Sir John Johnson, to ask him

whether he will allow his inhabitants of Johnstown and Kingsborough, to form themselves into companies according to the regulations of our Provincial Congress, for the defense of our country's cause: and whether he would be ready himself to give his personal assistance to the same purpose, and whether he pretends a prerogative to our county court house and jail, and would hinder or interrupt the committee, to make use of the same public houses to our want and service in the common cause." Ebenezer Cox, James McMaster, and John Jas. Clock were appointed for this service.

Capt. Jacob Seeber, of Canajoharie district, was by this meeting authorized to bring several disobedient privates in his company to their duty by fines in accordance with provision made by the Provincial Congress. Like authority was the next day given to Capt. French, of Warrensborough: Capt. Samuel Clyde, of Cherry Valley, and Capt. John Eisenlord, of N. Germantown. It was also at this meeting, agreed that the pay of the delegate to the Provincial Congress thereafter, should be *eight shillings* New York currency, and no more. The meeting adjourned to the next day.

*The Twenty-eighth Meeting*, October 27, at the same house with the same members present as the day before.

At this meeting it was "resolved, to send a letter to the Sachems of the Canajoharie castle, to inquire in regard to the return and present abiding of some Indians in their castle from Canada, who have acted inimically against us, and fought against our united forces near the Fort St. Johns, not to give shelter to such real enemies among 'em."

The delegation to Sir John Johnson, brought back the following verbal answers to the questions of the day before:

"1st. By perusing our letter Sir John replied, that he thinks our requests very unreasonable, as he never had denied the use either of the court-house or jail to any body, nor would he deny it for the use which these houses have been built for, but he looks upon it that the court-house and jail are his property, till he is paid £700, which he is out of pocket for building the same.

"2d. In regard to embodying his tenants into companies, he never did forbid them, neither should do it, as they may use

their pleasure ; but we might save ourselves the trouble, he being sure they would not.

“3d. Concerning himself, he said, that before he would sign any association, or would lift up his hand against his King, he would rather suffer his head to be cut off. And further he replied that if we should make any unlawful use of the gaol, he would oppose it. Also he mentions that there have many unfair measures been used for signing the association and uniting the people, for he was informed by credible gentlemen in New York, that they were obliged to unite, otherwise they could not live there ; and that he was also informed by good authority, that likewise two thirds of the Canajoharie and German Flatts people have been forced to sign—and by his opinion the Boston people are open rebels, and the colonies have joined them.”

The prisoners, Clement and Bowen, who were sent to Albany to be jailed, the Albany committee remanded back to Tryon county ; and now this meeting resolved, to send them to the county jail in Johnstown, to find out whether Sir John Johnson should adjudge this use of the jail unlawful, and will oppose the same. Capt. Jacob Seeber with a party of eight men was to convey them thither ; and in case the jailor would not receive them into his custody and close confinement for the time of sentence ; or Sir John opposed the act, the prisoners were to be brought back and left with the new sheriff, John Frey, Esq.

*A Special Meeting* at the house of William Seeber.

For some reason probably for the better accommodation of the Mohawks remaining at the Canajoharie castle—with whom they wished to treat—part of this convention adjourned the same day (October 27) to the house of William Seeber, four miles westward of Van Alstine's and some ten miles eastward of the castle. Members present : Nicholas Herkimer, chairman, John Eisenlord, clerk. William Seeber, Jacob Clock, John Frey, Harmanus Van Slyck, Christian Nellis, John Jas. Clock, and Duncan McDougal.

In answer to the letter sent to the Indians of this castle ; their Sachems and warriors appeared and spoke in substance as follows :

“Brothers, we are thankful that you open your hearts, and

we comprehend to be true what you told us. We live together, gentlemen, and we shall endeavor to answer you upon all the contents of your letter as much as we remember. We have not yet forgotten our agreement made in Albany. Although not in writing it is yet in our memory. We can remember very well that there have been twelve governors with whom we agreed, and we made a level road from the Six Nations, to Boston and Philadelphia."

They said that they with others of the Six Nations had helped to make this road, and had been very glad for the making of it, but they added: "We are afraid you make the first disturbance on the seaside, because you are fighting already. They have made that good road, but they will not hope that we should spill blood upon it."

"You say in your letter that you cannot keep your young people back, but we think you can order them. Some of our young people are now in Canada, and perhaps they are killed there, but if so our hearts will not be sore about it. There are some young people whom we could not persuade to stay, and not meddle with the fighting of the white people, but some went away and we are glad to see them back again, because they have been debauched to go away."

"Brothers, the Six Nations are now speaking about that good road and be glad; but if they should soon pass that road and see blood upon it, they would be surprised.

"Brothers, we have made a very strong agreement of friendship together, and we beg you will not break it for sake of some wrong done by some who have been debauched; you will drop it, we hope, at present."

*Answer to the Indians.*—The committee replied to them: "That if their young people, who have first spilled blood of our brothers are come back, and they should repeat the same, such a one should have come to us, and shewed to us that he was sorry for what had passed, and make promises not to do so in future, but the questioned William Johnson did not do that as yet, on the contrary he bragged of his hostile proceedings; and speaks very boldly against our cause."

*The Twenty ninth Meeting* of the committee, a county meeting was held on Monday, November 6, 1775, at the house of Gose Van Alstine, chairman Herkimer being absent from sick-

ness, the chair was filled by Lieut. Col. Ebenezer Cox, with John Eisenlord, clerk.

Agreeable to a resolution of the Provincial Congress, this day was fixed upon for the election of delegates in the several counties of the colony, to that body. In accordance two delegates were chosen, viz.: John Moore, of Canajoharie, re-chosen, and Isaac Paris of Palatine. In case Mr. Paris declined to serve, Sampson Sammons, as the highest competing candidate was to be considered chosen.

*Powder.*—Of the 150 pounds ordered from the Albany committee before, brought by Frederick Visscher for the county's supply; three of the six 25 pound kegs were kept in the Mohawk district, two by Chris. P. Yates, of Palatine, and one by John Moore, of Canajoharie.

The principal Sachems of the Fort Hunter Mohawks, applied to the committee through John Marlatt, Esq., for the discharge from custody of Bowen and Clement;\* whereupon John Frey, Esq., *moved*, that if the request was granted, it should be solely on account of the Mohawk Indians: "And in case the said Mohawks would bring the said Bowen and Clement before us, and they then will acknowledge their faults, also promise to behave themselves brotherlike to the best of our country's cause, and do no more against it, then we will forgive and discharge them in full." The motion was adopted, the committee leaving no stone unturned to keep the Indians in a state of neutrality.

The committee having learned that Col. Butler, with several other former residents were returning in a bateau to the valley, it was ordered that a guard of 15 men should be kept at the house of John Frank in Kingsland district, and a similar guard at the Little Falls carrying place, to stop and arrest returning enemies, and notify the chairman for further proceedings. It was also further ordered that a spy-guard of two or three men should be kept above the German Flatts, who, on the appearance of enemies, should return to the Flatts and inform the officer there of his discovery, or any other militia officer or committee-man he should chance to meet. This guard was to be furnished from the companies of Captains George Herkimer

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\* Col. Stone supposed these two men were Indians. (See note vol. 1, p. 110, *Life of Brant*. They were white men and dwelt between Fonda and Tribeshill.

and John Eisenlord. They were instructed to stop every suspicious looking person, whether traveling by land or water: and if Col. Butler should be taken, he was to be sent to the Provincial Congress.

As Mr. Van Alstine, at whose house the meeting was held, was out and in the room frequently, it was thought best to administer the oath of secrecy which the delegates had taken to him, and it was immediately done. After the disposal of some other matters, the meeting adjourned to the next day.

*The Thirtieth Meeting* was at the same place as the day before, and assembled on Tuesday, November 7, 1775.

At this meeting Col. Jacob Clock related the threatening language, uttered at his house in his absence, by William Johnson, an Indian foeman returned from Canada, on Monday night preceding. Said informant, he came there from Johnstown accoutred with a gun, two pistols and a broad-sword, exclaiming: "I am a King's man! who dares say anything against it? I have killed so many Yankees at St. Johns with this sword of my father [this was possibly a half-breed son and name-sake of Sir William Johnson, whose sword he boasted of having]; they are no soldiers at all. I killed and scalped them, and kicked — —, and the d—d committee here have gone too far already. I'll show them better, and will cut some of *their* heads off by and by. I only pity the wives and children, for I shall come with 500 men, which I have ready, to cut off the whole river [settlements], and burn their houses yet this fall." "Besides," these he made other villainous charges, and said "that he was sorry he had not stopped at Philip Foxes, and that d—d son of a b— McDougal—for he had heard by his people that he set up the Scotch people against them, [the tories]." These idle threats show the state of feeling that was fast culminating along the frontiers. It was thought best, however, to acquaint the managers of Indian affairs with this and similar boastings and threatenings.

It was moved by James McMaster that, as John Hare—the jail-keeper at Johnstown—Robert Picken and George Cock, opposed Capt. Jacob W. Seeber in the delivery of Peter Bowen as a prisoner there, and threatened to shoot him; that the notorious three should be arrested and confined by the committee at some place they should designate. The motion was negatived,

no doubt owing to fear of the influence at that locality of Sir John Johnson, but they had now tested his control over the building.

This meeting fixed some military bounds, by which the battalion of Col. Jacob Clock should extend no farther west than the house of Jacob Staring, on the west side of the Lower Canada creek in the Royal Grant exclusive, and the battalion of Col. Peter Bellinger was to begin and take its bounds from thence.

The German Flatts and Kingsland districts having repeatedly desired to have John Eisenlord act as a member of their committee, it was resolved that he should, in the future, be so considered.

Agreeable to a suggestion of Capt. Samuel Clyde, it was resolved that transient persons residing in the county for *six weeks* should be liable to bear arms, and should do so under any captain, whose jurisdiction they chanced to come under, subject to the requirements of the older inhabitants.

*The Thirty-first Meeting* of the county committee was held on Friday the 24th of November, 1775, at the house of Gose Van Alstine. As this meeting was quite a full one, there being 36 members present, and the last one entered in the journal before me I record their names. This journal is an unbound book consisting of 64 foolscap pages; and I regret that I have not the minutes of the committee's proceedings from this record forward through the years 1776 and 1777, or as long as the meetings were kept up.

The reader will agree with the writer that the journal minutes of the committee here transcribed, reflect much light on the vicissitudes which the patriots of the Mohawk valley had to contend with; augmented as they were four-fold by having the Indians in their midst, with their Superintendent, his relatives and followers entirely in the interest of the mother country.

MEMBERS PRESENT AT THE THIRTY-FIRST MEETING; HERKIMER, CHAIRMAN, EISENLORD, CLERK.

MOHAWK.

Messrs. Volkert Veeder,  
Sampson Sammons,  
Abm. Van Horne,  
John Bliven,

PALATINE.

Messrs. John Frey,  
Isaac Paris,  
Andrew Reber,  
Harmanus Van Slyck,



Messrs. James McMaster,  
Wm. Schuyler,  
Fredk. Visscher,  
John Marlatt,

Messrs. George Eckert, Jr.,\*  
Peter Waggoner,  
Jacob Clock,  
Christian Nellis,  
John Js. Clock,  
Lawrence Zimmerman.

## CANAJOHARIE.

Messrs. Ebenezer Cox,  
William Seeber,  
John Pickert,  
Samuel Clyde,  
Samuel Campbell,  
Conrad Pickert,

## KINGSLAND AND GERMAN FLATTS.

Messrs. Augustinus Hess,  
Frederick Arendorf,  
Michael Ittig (now Edick).  
Frederick Fox,  
John Frank,  
Duncan McDougal,  
William Petry,  
Jacob N. Weaver.

Two absentees were noted : Wm. Fox, of Palatine ; Henry Heints, of Canajoharie.

Capt. Herkimer, at his post in Kingsland district, arrested four suspicious persons returning from Canada to the county, viz. : James Cameron, a Scotchman ; John Freel, of Kingsborough ; John Picken, of Johnstown, and George Crawford, of Butlersbury. They were brought before the committee and examined. *Cameron*, under oath, stated that coming lately from Scotland, and on his way to see his brother last May, he was stopped by Col. Guy Johnson at his house in the King's road, and persuaded to stay with him at three shillings per day ; also that he was taken along in that manner, and at the same pay as a bateauman, to Oswego by said Guy. From there he wanted to return back to this county, but was stopped by force and compelled by said Guy to do bateau service with him from thence to Montreal. There Guy Johnson and others besought him to enlist in the King's service, which he ever refused, but worked at Montreal for a citizen by the month ; and hearing of the return of Mr. John Robinson, a merchant of Schenectada, he endeavored to come back with him to Tryon county to get his livelihood, and agreed to work for him at three shillings per day, although he had an offer from Col. John Butler to go with him at four shillings a day ; but he disliked the company and engagement of Col. Johnson and his party. He further said he

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\* This name, now written Eacker, is sometimes written Eker, and at others Ekert, in these minutes.

was resolved never to take up arms against the *country's cause*, or in any way favor the country's enemies; but would stand ready to defend American liberty, and obey the orders for its achievement. The committee acquitted him of misdemeanor, and granted him a pass to proceed on his way to Johnstown.

*Freel*, under oath, said that some time in May last, Col. Guy Johnson required him to go to Sir John Johnson's to do some tailor's work, he having business with the Indian's for about three weeks. As he must live by his trade, and had worked much for that family, he went along; from thence said Guy persuaded him to go to Oswego, from which place he desired to go back, but was refused permission by said Guy; was stopped by force and was threatened with a flogging, as were others, who insisted upon returning from Oswego. From there he was commanded to go in a bateau with Guy Johnson and his party to Montreal, where he was discharged. Johnson and others endeavored to engage him in the King's service, which he refused, and worked at his trade as a tailor in Montreal until he found an opportunity to return home in a bateau. He also declared under oath that he would never take up arms against *American liberty's cause*, but would show himself ever ready at any command to defend the said cause.

*George Crawford* declared on oath that Col. Butler employed him in some business, but desired him to see Col. Guy Johnson, who wanted to employ him in a more lucrative business than was that of school teaching. He replied that he did not like to lose his school. Butler said to him, as your school year has now expired, you might accept such service from Guy, being only for a few weeks; when you might return and take your school again for another year. You should, added Butler, consider the difference of pay. Deponent then went to Col. Guy Johnson and engaged to assist him in holding a congress with the Indians at John Thompson's. Here this record ends, being evidently continued in another book. Whether those men all made satisfactory excuses for going to Canada can only be conjectured; but these shreds of apologies for suspicious conduct, show not only the subterfuges of the Johnsons, or royal influence to keep men in their interest, but the ingenuity of their servile agents to shake off their entanglement. Whether the noted Tories—Bowen and Clement—complied with the terms

offered the Mohawks for their enlargement, is now unknown and the facts lost with what would, beyond a doubt, prove a budget of interesting reading in the missing link of this valuable journal. The two Tories named both ever lived and died as such.

*John Fonda and Sheriff White.*—I have shown that John Fonda was confined in jail at Johnstown by Sheriff White, for a quarrel with the latter's servant. I learned from Mrs. Evert Yates, a daughter of John Fonda, that at the time of the quarrel referred to, Sheriff White lived as neighbor to Fonda, occupying a dwelling owned at his death by Sir William Johnson, which stood on the present site of the Fonda courthouse, and was occupied by Fonda after the war. A score or two of Fonda's whig friends, hearing that he was in jail, went there one night and set him at liberty. Sheriff White was then stopping at the village inn, kept by one Mattice: and thither the patriotic mob of the enlargement enterprise went to arrest him. Armed with a double-barreled gun, from an upper window he discovered Sampson Sammons, and fired at him. The shot was instantly returned by a number of the crowd, and the sheriff was slightly wounded. The report of their muskets caused the discharge of a cannon at Johnson Hall, a signal which the whigs well knew would soon bring together several hundred of Sir John Johnson's armed retainers, and the party withdrew. An entrance into the house was forced and a partial search made, but in the darkness and haste the sheriff was not found. It became known subsequently, that he was concealed in a chimney; which fortunately gave him a footing out of sight.\*

The arrest of Sheriff White was not shown in the committee's records at the time, but the narrative of Jacob Sammons referred to, stated that he was pursued to Jessup's Landing, on Hudson river, there captured and imprisoned in Albany. Who led this pursuing party is not known; but a certificate of John Bay, secretary of the Albany county committee, gives the examination of several of the party who made his arrest. Jehiel Jackson, sergeant in Maj. Elmore's company of Col. Hinman's regiment, testified that he was present at the tak-

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\* Statement of Jacob Sammons, in Stone's *Brant*, vol. 1, p. 106; and the narration of Mrs. Yates, a daughter of John Fonda.

ing of Alexander White, Esq., three white men and three Indians, at Mr. Gilliland's; and that he heard said White swear he would be revenged on said Gilliland within 20 days after his release—threatening also many of the innocent inhabitants. Archilaus Whitten and Joseph Corkins, soldiers in the same company testified not only to his threats, but to those of Lewis Clement, one of the white men arrested with him, on Gilliland and on innocent people. Levy Wilkinson, of Capt. Griswold's company of same regiment; also testified in a similar manner. The certificate of Mr. Bay has no date.\*

Under date of October 2, 1775, New York city,† Mrs. Elizabeth, wife of Sheriff White, petitioned the New York Committee of Safety, in behalf of her husband, in which she stated that he had then been confined in jail for upwards of five weeks, which would place his arrest in the latter part of August. She stated that the first cause of complaint "proceeded from a charge of expressing himself unbecomingly as an enemy to the liberties of America, and thereon left his place of abode to go to Canada: whereas the cause, as your petitioner humbly apprehends and has reason to believe, was her husband's having arrested one John Fonda by a lawful authority, whereupon great disturbance arose, insomuch that many shots were fired at your petitioner's husband, who was greatly in danger of his life, and glad to get out of the way till the unhappy differences could be settled." Without going into other particulars, she hoped her humble prayer for her husband's discharge would be granted on his parole of honor, not in the future to act or do anything that could give the least offense. She desired the matter referred to the committee at Albany that he might be heard, in order to obtain his enlargement, etc. The matter was referred to the Albany committee for adjustment. It is said he was paroled, and soon after left the country.

February 8, 1783, Alexander White is named, with 30 others, who were banished and sent within the "enemies lines, for refusing to take the oath prescribed by a law of the State, for the action of the committee of conspiracies.‡

*General Organization of the Tryon County Militia.*—This

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\* Calendar of Historical Manuscripts, vol. 1, p. 131.

† Calendar of Historical Manuscripts, vol. 1, p. 161.

‡ Calendar of Revolutionary papers, vol. 2, p. 364.

took place August 24, 1877, through the action of its vigilance committee. Majors and Quartermasters being added to the field officers September 18th following. Completed,\* they were as follows:

**FIRST BATTALION—CLAYTONVILLE.**

Colonel, Nicholas Berkner, Esq.  
Lieut. Col. Ebenezer Cox.  
First Major, Robert Wells.  
Second Major, William Seeger.  
Quartermaster, John Hickard.  
Adjutant, Samuel Clifton.

*1st Company.*

Capt. Samuel Clifton.  
1st Lieut. John Hammond, Jr.  
2d Lieut. James Cannon.

*2d Company.*

Capt. Henry Overendort.  
1st Lieut. Jacob Overendort.  
2d Lieut. Henry Warner.

*3d Company.*

Capt. Menae Sess.  
1st Lieut. Robert Hammond.  
2d Lieut. Peter Bowman.

*4th Company.*

Capt. Nathaniel Newman.  
1st Lieut. Post Eolise.  
2d Lieut. Jacob Eolise.

*5th Company.*

Capt. Peter S. Dugert.  
1st Lieut. Henry Zimmerman.  
2d Lieut. Benjamin Mackey.

*6th Company.*

Capt. Benner Van Eker.  
1st Lieut. Nathan Van Eker.  
2d Lieut. James Ginnah.

*7th Company.*

Capt. Jacob V. Seeger.  
1st Lieut. Francis Cox.  
2d Lieut. Adrian Lane.

*8th Company.*

Capt. Jacob Allen.  
1st Lieut. Peter Seeger.  
2d Lieut. Martinus Brown.

*9th Company.*

Capt. Nicholas Vason.  
1st Lieut. Henry Brack.

**SECOND BATTALION—FARMINGTON.**

Capt. Jacob Van Eker.

Lieut. Col. Peter Vandenover.

\* Detailed in the following manner: Vol. 1, pp. 12, 13, 14.

Vol. 2, pp. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

First Major, Harmanus Van Slyck.  
Second Major, Henry Marckell, Jr.  
Quartermaster, Jacob Ekert (now written Eacker).  
Adjutant, Anthony Van Vechten.

*1st Company.*

Capt., William Fox, Jr.,  
1st Lieut., John Hess,  
2d Lieut., Peter Waggoner, Jr.,  
Ensign, Matthew Wormuth,

*4th Company.*

Capt., John Kayser, Jr.,  
1st Lieut., Andreas Dillenbeck,  
2d Lieut., Severinus Cook,  
Ensign, Richard Coppernoll.

*2d Company.*

Capt., Christopher P. Fox,  
1st Lieut., John Jas. Clock,  
2d Lieut., Jacob J. Clock.

*5th Company.*

Capt., John Breadbake,  
1st Lieut., John Sieley,  
2d Lieut., Jacob Ekert.

*3d Company.*

Capt., Christopher W. Fox,  
1st Lieut., Peter Loucks,  
2d Lieut., Henry Miller,  
Ensign, Samuel Van Etten.

*6th Company.*

Capt., Nicholas Rechter,  
1st Lieut., John Williams,  
2d Lieut., George Smith,  
Ensign, John Sholl.

*7th Company.*

Capt., Christian House,  
1st Lieut., John Zimmerman,  
2d Lieut., John Bellinger, Jr.

## THIRD BATTALION—MOHAWK.

Colonel, Frederick Visscher.  
Lieut.-Col., Adam Fonda.  
First Major, John Bliven.  
Second Major, John Newkirk.  
Quartermaster, Abraham Van Horne.  
Adjutant, Robert Yates.

*1st Company.*

Capt., Jacob Gardinier,  
1st Lieut., Abm. D. Quackinbush,  
2d Lieut., William Hall,  
Ensign, Gideon Marlatt.

*5th Company.*

Capt., Samuel Pettingill,  
Lieut., Thomas Caine,  
Ensign, Samuel Barnhart, Jr.

*2d Company.*

Capt., John Davis,  
1st Lieut., Abraham Vedder,  
2d Lieut., Jacob Sammons.

*6th Company.*

Capt., Abner French,  
Lieut., David McMaster,  
Ensign, Peter Vander Lenden.

took place August 26, 1775, through the action of its vigilance committee, Majors and Quartermasters being added to the field officers September 19th following. Completed,\* they were as follows :

#### FIRST BATTALION—CANAJOHARIE.

Colonel, Nicholas Herkimer, Esq.  
Lieut.-Col., Ebenezer Cox.  
First Major, Robert Wells.  
Second Major, William Seeber.  
Quartermaster, John Pickard.  
Adjutant, Samuel Clyde.

##### *1st Company.*

Capt., Samuel Clyde,  
1st Lieut., John Campbell, Jr.,  
2d Lieut., James Cannon.

##### *5th Company.*

Capt., Henry Diefendorf,  
1st Lieut., Jacob Diefendorf,  
2d Lieut., Henry Mayer.

##### *2d Company.*

Capt., Michael Grass,  
1st Lieut., Robert Campbell,  
2d Lieut., Peter Bowman.

##### *6th Company.*

Capt., Abraham Copeman,  
1st Lieut., Jost House,  
2d Lieut., Jacob Resner.

##### *3d Company.*

Capt., Peter S. Dygert,  
1st Lieut., Henry Zimmerman,  
2d Lieut., Benjamin Mackey.

##### *7th Company.*

Capt., Renier Van Evera,  
1st Lieut., Martin C. Van Alstine,  
2d Lieut., James Guinall.

##### *4th Company.*

Capt., Jacob W. Seeber,  
1st Lieut., Francis Ute,  
2d Lieut., Adam Lipe.

##### *8th Company.*

Capt., Jacob Miller,  
1st Lieut., Peter Sommer,  
2d Lieut., Matthias Brown.

##### *9th Company.*

Capt., Nicholas Weser,  
1st Lieut., Henry Bradt.

#### SECOND BATTALION—PALATINE.

Colonel, Jacob Clock.  
Lieut.-Col., Peter Waggoner.†

\* Calendar of Revolutionary papers, vol. 1, pp. 123, 149.

† A record of the Lutheran Church in Stone Arabia, copied for the family by Domine Wilhelm Domeler, says that John Peter Waggoner—known as Lieut.-Col. Peter Waggoner of the Revolution—was born January 18, 1722, and died May 23, 1813, in his 92d year. August 25, 1748, he was commissioned Second Lieutenant of a company of Albany county militia under Capt. Barnt Wemp (Barent Wemple), in a regiment commanded by Col. William Johnson. He was also one of the Tryon county committee of vigilance, was an active partisan officer, and a prominent citizen of Montgomery county. A grandson, named Nicholas, was also a Colonel of militia.

First Major, Harmanus Van Slyck.  
Second Major, Henry Marckell, Jr.  
Quartermaster, Jacob Ekert (now written Eacker).  
Adjutant, Anthony Van Vechten.

*1st Company.*

Capt., William Fox, Jr.,  
1st Lieut., John Hess,  
2d Lieut., Peter Waggoner, Jr.,  
Ensign, Matthew Wormuth,

*4th Company.*

Capt., John Kayser, Jr.,  
1st Lieut., Andreas Dillenbeck,  
2d Lieut., Severinus Cook,  
Ensign, Richard Coppernoll.

*2d Company.*

Capt., Christopher P. Fox,  
1st Lieut., John Jas. Clock,  
2d Lieut., Jacob J. Clock.

*5th Company.*

Capt., John Breadbake,  
1st Lieut., John Sieley,  
2d Lieut., Jacob Ekert.

*3d Company.*

Capt., Christopher W. Fox,  
1st Lieut., Peter Loucks,  
2d Lieut., Henry Miller,  
Ensign, Samuel Van Etten.

*6th Company.*

Capt., Nicholas Rechter,  
1st Lieut., John Williams,  
2d Lieut., George Smith,  
Ensign, John Sholl.

*7th Company.*

Capt., Christian House,  
1st Lieut., John Zimmerman,  
2d Lieut., John Bellinger, Jr.

THIRD BATTALION—MOHAWK.

Colonel, Frederick Visscher.  
Lieut.-Col., Adam Fonda.  
First Major, John Bliven.  
Second Major, John Newkirk.  
Quartermaster, Abraham Van Horne.  
Adjutant, Robert Yates.

*1st Company.*

Capt., Jacob Gardinier,  
1st Lieut., Abm. D. Quackinbush,  
2d Lieut., William Hall,  
Ensign, Gideon Marlatt.

*5th Company.*

Capt., Samuel Pettingill,  
Lieut., Thomas Caine,  
Ensign, Samuel Barnhart, Jr.

*2d Company.*

Capt., John Davis,  
1st Lieut., Abraham Vedder,  
2d Lieut., Jacob Sammons.

*6th Company.*

Capt., Abner French,  
Lieut., David McMaster,  
Ensign, Peter Vander Lenden.



*3d Company.*

Capt. Robert Yates,  
1st Lieut., Cobus Cromwell,  
2d Lieut., Peter Yates,  
Ensign, Hendrick Lewis.

*4th Company.*

Capt., John Visscher,  
1st Lieut., John Wemple,  
2d Lieut., M. W. Quackinbush,  
Ensign, Garret Van Brockler.

*7th Company.*

Capt., Lewis Groat,  
1st Lieut., Jeremiah Swarts,  
2d Lieut., Christian Earnest,  
Ensign, Emanuel De Graff.

*8th Company.*

Capt., Abraham Hodges,  
1st Lieut., Joseph Yeomans,  
2d Lieut., Abel Hunt,  
Ensign, Amos Bennett.

## FOURTH BATTALION—GERMAN FLATTS AND KINGSLAND.

Colonel, Hanyost (Han Jost—John Joseph) Herkimer.  
Lieut.-Col., Peter Bellinger.  
First Major, Han Jost Shoemaker.  
Second Major, John Eisenlord.  
Quartermaster, Rudolph D. Staley.  
Adjutant, John Demooth.

*1st Company.*

Capt., John Eisenlord,  
1st Lieut., John Keyser,  
2d Lieut., Adam Bellinger,  
Ensign, John Smith.

*5th Company.*

Capt., Peter Bellinger,  
1st Lieut., Jacob Basehaust,  
2d Lieut., Nicholas Staring,  
Ensign, John P. Bellinger.

*2d Company.*

Capt., John Petry,  
1st Lieut., Han Jost Mx. Petry,  
2d Lieut., Han Jost H. Petry,  
Ensign, William Empie,

*6th Company.*

Capt., Han Jost Herkimer,  
1st Lieut., Frederick Ahrendorf,  
2d Lieut., Tinus (Martin) Clap-  
saddle,

*3d Company.*

Capt., Daniel Petry,  
1st Lieut., Peter Volts,  
2d Lieut., Marx Raspach,  
Ensign, George Helmer.

*7th Company.*

Capt., Rudolph Shoemaker,  
1st Lieut., Died'ick Stale (Staley).  
2d Lieut., Frederick Shoemaker.

*4th Company.*

Capt., Frederick Bellinger,  
1st Lieut., Henry Harter,  
2d Lieut., John Demooth,  
Ensign, Peter Js. Weaver.

*8th Company.*

Capt., George Herkimer,  
1st Lieut., Frederick Fox,  
2d Lieut., Archibald Armstrong,  
Ensign, Han Jost Dygert.

*9th Company.*

Capt., William Dygert,  
1st Lieut., Jacob Volts (now Folts).  
2d Lieut., George Wentz.  
Ensign, Frederick Frank.

The Tryon county committee, September 19, 1775, also sent the following as "Field officers of a battalion of minute-men :

"George Herkimer, Colonel.

"Samuel Campbell, Lieutenant Colonel.

"John Fonda, Major.

"Jacob Jas. Clock, Major.

"Samuel Gray, Adjutant.

"John Frank, Quartermaster.

"By order,

"NICHOLAS HERKIMER, *Chairman.*"

*Schoharie Militia.*—The 15th Regiment of New York militia, was a small one organized in the Schoharie valley, consisting at first of only three companies ; the commissions for which were issued October 20, 1775. Its officers were :

"Peter Vrooman, Colonel ; Peter W. Zielie, Lieutenant Colonel ; Thomas Eckerson, Jr., 1st Major ; Jost Becker, 2d Major ; Lawrence Schoolcraft, Adjutant ; Peter Ball, Quartermaster.

"*First Company*—George Mann, Captain ; Christian Sturbrach, 1st Lieutenant ; John Dominick, 2d Lieutenant ; Jacob Snyder, Ensign.

"*Second Company*—Jacob Hager, Captain ; Martynus Van Slyck, 1st Lieutenant ; Johannes W. Bouck, 2d Lieutenant ; Johannes L. Lawyer, Ensign.

"*Third Company*—Geoge Rechtmyer, Captain : Johannes L. Lawyer, 1st Lieutenant ; Martynus W. Zielie, 2d Lieutenant ; Johannes Lawyer Bellinger, Ensign."

To the Schoharie regiment was afterwards added a small company organized in Cobelskill, of which Christian Brown was captain, and Jacob Borst first lieutenant. Another company called, "Associated Exempts," was also organized in the Schoharie valley, composed of men over 50 years of age, and invalids—all of whom were exempt from military duty by law, but who organized to do duty at the military posts, etc.\*

In June, 1777, Congress resolved to establish a corps of inva-

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\* At the time the Schoharie regiment was formed, viz. : October 20, 1775, one was also organized in the *Halfmoon* and *Ballston* district. Its first field officers were, Col. Jacobus Van Schoonhoven ; Lieut.-Col., James Gordon ; 1st Major, Ezekiel Taylor ; 2d Major, Andrew Mitchell ; Adjutant, David Rumsey ; Quartermaster, Simon Forte. Its first named six Captains were, Gerardus Cluet, Nanning N. Visscher, Jeremiah Vincent, Joshua Losee, Tyranus Collins, and Stephen White.

lids, consisting of 8 companies, each to have 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 2 ensigns, 5 sergeants, 6 corporals, 2 drums, 2 fifes, and 100 men, to be employed in garrison duty. In accordance with this act the Schoharie company was formed in the fall of 1777, or early in 1778, of which Tunis Vrooman, who had served in the French war, was appointed captain, Peter Snyder and Martinus Vrooman lieutenants, and John L. Lawyer ensign. This company, which was mostly in the vicinity of the Upper Fort, was called the "*Associate Exempts.*"

*The Associated Exempts* was a military organization of the Revolution, scarcely mentioned by any writer of its history; and yet there was a body of militia of this kind in several counties. In Dutchess county there was a company, not a few members of which had previously held commissions, and were exempt from further duty. Others joined who were over 50 years old, the legal period of release, and possibly a few whose infirmities exonerated them. They pledged themselves to hazard their lives with the rest of community and added: "We the subscribers having heretofore held commissions, or being beyond the age of 50 years, or otherwise exempted from serving in the militia, do hereby voluntarily associate and engage, that we will forthwith provide ourselves with arms, accoutrements and ammunition;" adding a pledge that on alarm they would repair to their appointed rendezvous, and when drafts were made on the militia they would contribute their portion of men, to be commanded by their own officers. The State convention approved their action and accepted their services, exempting them from other militia duty.\*

Some counties may have had more than one company of this kind. Such a company existed in Tryon county during a part if not all of the Revolutionary period, and was commanded by Capt. John Roof of Canajoharie, who became a pioneer settler of Fort Stanwix in 1760, and had there to abandon his possessions in 1777. His having commanded a corps of *exempts*, is proven by a receipt in possession of his descendants, which was executed by a Mr. Roorback for 12s, 6d, as his fee for having collected Capt. Roof's pay-roll for the year 1779.

Some of the more enterprising young men of the Schoharie

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\* Journal of Prov. Cong., page 910.

valley, which was embraced in Albany county, enlisted into companies organized early at Albany ; and were under Gen. Schuyler in the northern army, prior to the military organization of that settlement. Such was to a great extent the case in Tryon county ; and that indomitable patriot Christopher P. Yates, who raised a company in the Palatine and Canajoharie districts, was in the autumn of 1775, in Gen. Schuyler's army. Indeed, so many men were recruited on the frontiers to fill up the early regiments of State troops, as in the course of the following year, to seriously alarm the pioneer settlers for the safety of their own homes. To illustrate how the frontier had been weakened in this direction, here is a *Petition of the inhabitants of Cherry Valley*, etc.

"To the Honorable members of the Provincial Congress of New York.

"The Humble Petition of the Inhabitants of Cherry Valley, New Town Martin and Springfield in the County of Tryon, Humbly Sheweth :

"That we the aforesaid inhabitants, from the most authentic intelligence we have received from our Missionaries and Indian friends, learn that we are in imminent danger of being cut off by the savages our enemies, whom we understand are bribed by Sir John Johnson and Col. Butler to execute the same : Know also Honorable Gentlemen, that the spirit of our inhabitants has been such for the American cause, that out of the small and scattered bounds of Cherry Valley and New Town Martin, [now Middlefield,] no less than 33 have turned out for immediate service and good of their country, and thereby left us in a defenseless condition. We therefore your Humble Petitioners, humbly pray you would forthwith take this our deplorable and distressed state and condition under your immediate consideration, and meditate some speedy relief for us, before it be too late ; especially as the inhabitants of the Old England District and Unadilla [settlements southwest of Cherry Valley] are daily flying to our settlement ; so that we shall immediately in all appearance become an open, defenseless and unguarded frontier, and very much exposed to the insults of the enemy, especially scalping parties, and we are at present without either ammunition or men, any way sufficient to defend ourselves ; and unless you, Gentlemen, that can help

us *will help us*, by sending ammunition to the inhabitants, and a sufficient number of men, such as you may think proper to guard our frontiers, we must expect to fall victims to the rage and fury of our merciless enemies, and therefore must once more beg you may take these our deplorable circumstances under your consideration, and send us immediate relief ; and your petitioners shall ever pray.

“Dated at Cherry Valley, 1st July, 1776.

SAM'L. DUNLAP, A. M. and V. D. M. [He was their Minister.]

SAM'L. CAMPBELL, Major,

JAMES RICHEY,

JAMES SCOTT,

JAMES MOORE,

ROBERT WELLS,

SAM'L. CLYDE, Capt.

“Signed in the name and by order of the above Inhabitants.”

*Principal Events of 1776.*—The colonists had gone so far in their rebellion, and maintained their position so manfully by the close of 1775, that the far-seeing believed honorable recession was impossible, and that the struggle must now go on to the bitter end. Hence, patriotic men and women worked with a will at whatever would best promote the public interest ; and, while they were thus engaged, the enemy were not idle in their efforts to rivet more firmly upon them the manacles of despotism. Lord Dunmore, already alluded to, the royal Governor of Virginia in the service of his Majesty, even went so far as to arm slaves, instigating them to imbrue their hands in the blood of their patriotic masters ; and, in his zeal, on the first of January, 1776, he burnt the town of Norfolk, which act will forever execrate his memory. On the 17th of March, following, the British having been compelled to evacuate Boston, Washington entered it to the great joy of its patriotic citizens.

A fleet under Sir Peter Parker, with several thousand British and Hessian troops, arrived on the coast of America early that year. Sir Henry Clinton, assuming command after Gen. Gage evacuated Boston, intended to take possession of New York, but finding Gen. Lee there to oppose him, he sailed with the British fleet to attack Charleston, South Carolina. Lee, learning his intentions, managed to arrive there before him, and prepare the city for an attack. A fort was quickly thrown up on Sullivan's Island, of palmetto trees and sand, commanding the entrance to the harbor ; and on the 31st of May the enemy

under Commodore Parker and Sir Henry Clinton, attacked it with a strong force, but were repulsed with a severe loss by the troops under Col. *Moultrie*, whose name it afterwards bore. The conduct of two sergeants in the fort, *Jasper* and *McDonald*, deserves particular notice.

Says the biographer of Marion: "A ball from the enemy's ships carried away our flagstaff. Scarcely had the stars of liberty touched the sand, before Jasper flew and snatched them up and kissed them with great enthusiasm. Then having fixed them to the point of his spontoon [a spear], he leaped upon the breast-work amidst the storm and fury of the battle, and restored them to their daring station—waving his hat at the same time and huzzaing, '*God save liberty and my country forever!*' A cannon shot from one of the enemy's guns entered a port-hole and dreadfully mangled McDonald, while fighting like a hero at his gun. As he was borne off in a dying state, he said to his comrades, '*Huzza, my brave fellows! I die, but don't let the cause of liberty die with me!*'" The day after the action many citizens of Charleston, of the first rank of both sexes, visited the fort, to tender in person their thanks for its gallant defense, and by it their own protection. Among them was Gov. Rutledge, distinguished for his patriotic zeal and devotion to the cause of his country. In the presence of the regiment to which Jasper belonged, he loosed his own sword and presented it to him, tendering him at the time a commission. The brave sergeant with heart-felt thanks declined accepting the latter, *because he could not read*. Let parents who neglect to educate their children, consider well the reason this young man gave for not accepting proffered honor. Nor was this a solitary case; hundreds of daring spirits in the course of the war were obliged to decline for the *same reason* the laurels their own valor had won, and see them adorn the brow of their less meritorious brethren.

A Mrs. *Elliot* (whose husband was colonel of artillery), on the occasion above referred to, presented the regiment with a beautiful American standard, richly embroidered by her own hands. It was delivered to Jasper, who, on receiving it, declared he *never would part with it in life*. He kept his promise; for, some time after, in an effort to bear off those colors in an attack on Savannah, he was mortally wounded. A short time before his death he was visited by Major Horry. He spoke

with freedom of his past life and future prospects, and dwelt with evident satisfaction on the virtues of his mother. How true it is that mothers generally lay the foundation for man's future greatness—future happiness. The last moments of many a poor soldier and weather-beaten tar, have added their testimony to the fact that, lasting advice may generally be traced to the affectionate and pious mother. Jasper sent the sword presented him by Gov. Rutledge to his father, as a dying memento of his own patriotism. He also left with Major Horry his tender regards for the Jones family,\* in whose fate he had, by a daring exploit, become interested; giving evidence, in death, that a just reward attends the good deeds of the virtuous.

About the time the attack was made on Fort Moultrie, Congress appointed Dr. Franklin, Samuel Chase and Charles Carroll commissioners to carry addresses into Canada, but they effected very little. Franklin said that school teachers instead of commissioners should have been sent there.

Early in May, 1776, Congress took measures to sound the colonies on the propriety of casting off all allegiance to the mother country. Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, gave notice that on a future day he would move for a declaration of *Inde-*

\* His acquaintance with the Joneses originated as follows:

In disguise, and accompanied by his trusty friend Newton, he visited a British post at Ebenezer, where they tarried several days. Before leaving, they learned that a party of ten or twelve American prisoners were confined there in irons, to be sent back to Savannah, from whence some of them had deserted the British service. The friends begged permission to see them, among whom were a Mr. Jones, his weeping wife, and smiling boy. The two friends were much interested in the fate of the Joneses, and soon after left the camp and retired to a neighboring wood, where they pledged their lives to rescue the prisoners or perish in the attempt. They remained in the British camp until the prisoners, under a guard of a sergeant, corporal and eight soldiers set forward for Savannah. About two miles from the place of destination, Jasper and Newton secreted themselves near a spring, a little distance from the road where the party soon after halted. Watching their opportunity, they sprang from their covert, and seizing two muskets that were resting against a tree, they shot two soldiers who were keeping guard, and reached them in time to strike down with clubbed muskets, two others who were in the act of taking up their arms. Seizing the two loaded guns they gained command of those left by five of the party near the road, and the other six surrendered themselves prisoners. The heroes liberated the captive Americans, and placing guns in their hands, after stripping the four dead soldiers, led the party in safety to the American garrison at Puryburg. When the affray at the spring commenced, Mrs. Jones fainted to the earth, but recovering and finding her husband and boy safe, she became frantic with joy, and viewing her deliverers in the light of angels, she called down heaven's blessings upon them.

pendence. From the time of his notice the press proved a powerful auxiliary in the popular cause. Many essays and pamphlets were published and distributed on the subject, and one from the pen of Thomas Paine, entitled *Common Sense*, aided wonderfully in preparing public opinion to sanction the step about to be taken.\* On the 1st of July it was introduced, and the three following days it was ably discussed, when the vote was taken and six states were enrolled for and six against the declaration, and one equally divided. One of the delegates from Pennsylvania, it is said, was influenced to leave the House, and thus a majority of one vote in a committee of the whole, decided the fate of the declaration. Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman and Robert R. Livingston were appointed to draft a Declaration of Independence. Each prepared one, but that of Jefferson was with a few slight alterations, adopted, on the *fourth of July*, 1776.

It is proper here to remark that the colonists generally had not anticipated or expected *Independence* of the British government, but sought for the possession of constitutional liberty—that is, such rights as the British realm enjoyed: but the government itself took measures to precipitate the separation, by declaring the colonists out of the royal protection, and employing Hessian mercenaries to subjugate them.

While the colonists along the sea-board were beginning to realize the horrors of war, most of the frontier settlers were spectators for a while—not idle ones however. There was a restless anxiety which reached the log tenement of the most distant pioneer. Committees of vigilance, whose duty it was to gather information relative to the portending storm, and prepare for the defence of the settlements, were organized in Tryon

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\* Here is what Paul Allen, an excellent historian of the Revolution, said of this essay:

"Among the numerous writers on this momentous question, the most luminous, the most eloquent, and the most forcible, was *Thomas Paine*. His Pamphlet entitled '*COMMON SENSE*,' was not only read but understood, by everybody. It contained plain and simple truths, told in a style and language, that came home to the heart of every man; and those who regard the independence of the *United States* as a blessing, will never cease to cherish the remembrance of *Thomas Paine*. Whatever may have been his subsequent career—in whatever light his moral or religious principles may be regarded—it should never be forgotten that to him, more than to any single individual, was owing the rapid diffusion of those sentiments and feelings, which produced the act of separation from Great Britain."—*American Revolution*, vol. 1, p. 343.



county, as already shown, as early as 1774. A council of safety was chosen in Schoharie not long after.

At an early period of the difficulties, an effort was also made by the Schoharie settlers to get the Indians in their neighborhood to remain quiet, and let the colonies settle their own quarrel with the mother country. A meeting was held for that purpose at the old council ground in Middleburgh. Brant with several Mohawk chiefs is said to have been present, on which occasion a Mrs. Rechtmyer, living in the vicinity, acted as interpreter. The Indians agreed to remain neutral or join the Americans, says an old citizen who was present at the time; but they were too fond of war to remain inactive, while the British government was urging them at once to take up arms.

Previous to the Revolution, a small castle had been erected for the natives at Brakabeen,\* on the west bank of the Schoharie, several miles above Wilder Hook, to which many of them removed from the latter place. Near it they had a burying ground.

A deputation of several from the Schoharie tribe were present in August, 1775, when commissioners met the chiefs of the Six Nations at the German Flats; and it is believed they were at Albany, where a meeting was held the same year, for the same purpose. At the time the Indians left the Mohawk valley to follow the fortunes of the Johnsons, the Schoharie Indians, who survived a pestilence, except two or three families, imitated

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\* Brakabeen is the German word for *rushes*, and obtained from the unusual quantity of that plant found along the banks of the river at that place.

A castle or fort was erected by Sir William Johnson in Schoharie, as I learned from a post-script to a long letter from him to the Lords of Trade on Indian affairs, dated at Fort Johnson, May 28, 1756, which is as follows: "Forts are now building in the Seneca's country, at Onondaga, Oneida and Schoharie, etc." I have alluded to this matter on page 230, and here introduce it to show the character of those forts. Whether the Schoharie fort was at Breakabeen or Wilder Hook is uncertain, but I have supposed it at the latter place, and their exodus from it at a later period. The forts were to be constructed agreeable to a memorandum on the back of Johnson's letter; "100 feet square, the stockades pine or oak 15 feet long, 3 feet of which at least to be sunk in the ground well pounded and rammed, and ye 2 touching sides square so as to lay close. Loop holes to be made 4 feet distance; 2 block houses 20 feet square below and above, to project 1½ foot over ye beams, well roofed and shingled and a good sentry-box on the top of each: a good gate of 3 inch oak plank and iron hinges, and a small gate of oak plank of same thickness."—Brod. Papers, v. 7, p. 91, and Doc. Hrs., vol. 2.

their example, leaving the council grounds and graves of their fathers forever.

*Brown* says, that while the Indians were assembled to treat with the commissioners of the Indian department, a contagious disease—which he calls yellow fever—broke out among them, which carried them off in great numbers. That the survivors superstitiously supposed the *Great Spirit* was angry with them for not serving their king, or for hesitating about entering his service; and that consequently they joined the royalists and went to Canada.

*Warree*, an old Cherokee squaw, said to have been 105 years old, usually called the mother of the Schoharies, who was living at Brakabeen at the beginning of hostilities, took the prevailing epidemic in 1775, and died with it. This good old squaw who was familiarly called *Granny Warree*, was the second wife of Schenevas, a Schoharie chief, after whom Schenevas creek in Otsego county, was called.\* For several years before her death, she used to walk with *two canes*, while her hair—unconfined and white as the Alpine snow—floated loosely in the breeze. When she felt the prevailing malady stealing upon her, and witnessed

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\* *Brown's* pamphlet originates the name of this stream from the following circumstance: Two Indians, Schenevas and son, were there in the winter on a hunt; a deep snow fell and they concluded to return home. After traveling some distance, they kindled a fire and tarried over night. The following morning they set forward on their journey, but the father became fatigued, and finally returned to the place from whence they had first started. The son, discovering his father had taken the back track, returned also, and found him seated by a fire which he had kindled. The son killed his father with a tomahawk, buried him in the snow and returned to Schoharie, since which time this stream has been called Schenevas creek.

At a personal interview, *Judge Brown* related the following tradition, which he believed true: A Schoharie chief named Schenevas, whom I suppose to have been the one killed at the Schenevas creek, was living in the lower part of Schoharie. His mother, an aged widow, was living with him. She was a quarrelsome old squaw—was very fretful, and often wished herself dead when in a fit of ill-humor. Her son, getting out of patience with her, went to Lambert Sternbergh and borrowed a shovel, with which he dug a grave in Sternbergh's orchard. He then conducted his mother to it. *You have often wished yourself dead*, said he; *I have prepared your grave—you must die*. When she saw the open grave, and realized that she had been taken at her word, she was terrified and began to cry. The savage son told her she must not be a *baby*; that she was going to the *Great Spirit* who did not like babies. He then forced her into the grave, bade her lie down, and buried her alive. She struggled hard as the earth covered her, but, regardless of her entreaties, he stamped down the earth upon her, and closed up the grave. We could wish for poor human nature that those parental murders were mere fiction; but we have too much reason to believe them true; indeed, history furnishes us with abundant evidence of inhuman atrocities in savage life. The presumption is, that he sank a tomahawk into her brain, and buried her in her death struggle.

its fatal effects upon many of her tribe, believing her days were numbered, she desired to be carried to the spot where her husband had died. She was universally beloved by the whole tribe; indeed, by all the white citizens who knew her, and her request, although it subjected them to great inconvenience, was readily complied with. She survived the journey but a day and two nights, and "was gathered to her fathers, to enter new hunting grounds." She was buried by her faithful warriors who had carried her the whole distance—fifteen or twenty miles—beside her departed husband, near Collier's.

It is a remarkable fact, that while very many of the Schoharie Indians died of this contagious disease, not a single white citizen took it.

Who the first chosen council of safety were in Schoharie, I am unable to say. Johannes Ball, a thorough going Whig, was chairman of the committee from its organization to the end of the war. It consisted generally of six members, and underwent some changes to meet the exigencies of the times. The following persons it is believed were members in the course of the war: Joseph Borst, Joseph Becker,\* Peter Becker, Col. Peter Vrooman, who is said to have done most of the writing for the board, Lient.-Col. Peter Zielie, Peter Swart, William Zimmer of Brakabeen, William Dietz, Samuel Vrooman, Nicholas Sternbergh, Adam Vrooman, George Warner, of Cobelskill, and Jacob Zimmer of Foxes creek.

Mr. Ball, chairman of the Schoharie committee, had two sons, Peter and Mattice—both of whom I visited in 1837, in the town of Sharon—who, with their father warmly espoused their country's cause; while another son and his brother, Capt. Jacob Ball—a leader among the tories at Beaverdam; and John Peter Ball, a relative, as warmly advocated that of the oppressor.

On the 14th of June, 1776, I find by the Albany records, that Schoharie was represented in the "general committee chamber," by chairman Ball and Peter Becker, of the Schoharie council of safety. At a meeting of the New York State Committee of Safety, convened at Fishkill, October 9, 1776, the following resolution was adopted:

*"Resolved, That the persons hereafter mentioned, be appointed*

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\* This was a strong name in the Schoharie settlements at that period. They were mostly of German origin, but it is claimed that some families were Low Dutch.

to purchase at the cheapest rate, in their several counties, all the coarse woollen cloth, linsey woolsey, blankets, woollen hose, mittens, coarse linen, felt hats, and shoes fitting for soldiers; and that they have the linen made up into shirts." The committee named were: "Capt. John A. Fonda, of the manor of Livingston; Peter Van Ness, of Claverack; Barent Van Beuren, of Kinderhook; Isaac V. Arnum, of Albany; Cors. Cuyler, of Schenectada; James McGee and Henry Quackenboss, of the manor of Rantselear; Anthony Van Bergen, of Cocsakie; Henry Oothout, of Katskill; and Johannes Ball, of Schoharie; and that the sum of 100 pounds be advanced to each of them for purchasing the above articles."

The following oath of allegiance was found among the papers of the late Chairman Ball:

"You shall swear by the holy evangelist of the Almighty God, to be a true subject to our continental resolve and Provincial Congress and committees, in this difficulty existing between Great Britain and America, and to answer upon such questions as you shall be examined in, so help you God.

"Derrick Laraway appeared and swore the above mentioned, before the chairman and committee, at Schoharie, and signed the association, on the 30th day of June, in the year 1776."

The following papers are copied from a record made by *Judge Peter Swart* some years before his death. They were obtained through the politeness of the late Gen. Jacob Hager, and although they exhibit personal services, as they will throw some light on Schoharie affairs in the Revolution, I give them an insertion:

*"Names of the persons that made resistance in 1777, against McDonald and his party.*

|                      |                     |                        |
|----------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| The Hager Family*    | Peter Zielie, Jr.,  | Storm Becker, jr.,     |
| Peter Vrooman (Col), | Thomas Eckerson,    | John H. Becker,        |
| Jonas Vrooman,       | Thomas Eckerson Jr. | John I. Becker,        |
| Peter Swart (after-  | (Maj.)              | David Becker,          |
| wards judge),        | George Richtmyer,   | Albertus Becker,       |
| Peter A. Vrooman,    | Cornelius Van Dyck, | Peter Zielie (Lt.Col.) |

\* It is a fact worthy of note that, while members of almost every family of distinction in the Schoharie settlements were found in hostile array, as father against son, brother against brother, etc., all the members of the *Hager* family at once united with those who were unfurling the stars and stripes of freedom. From the number of Beckers on this list, we may reasonably suppose that few of that name were tories.

|                     |                     |                      |
|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| Peter Powlus Swart, | Tunis Eckerson,     | Peter Van Slyck,     |
| Abraham Becker,     | Cornelius Eckerson, | Martinus Zielie,     |
| John A. Becker,     | Hendrick Becker,    | Peter Becker,        |
| Storm A. Becker,    | John S. Becker,     | Christian Richtmyer. |
| John Van Dyck,      |                     |                      |

The preceding memorandum embraces only the names of individuals in Middleburgh and Fulton. The party named assembled at Middleburgh, and began fortifying the stone house of John Becker, afterwards picketed in and occupied as the middle fort. The record of Swart thus continues :

"I was enrolled in the militia at sixteen years of age ; [the lawful age for enrolling at that period] served as a private six months ; then I was appointed a corporal—served in that capacity about one year ; then I was appointed sergeant in Capt. Hager's company ; 1778, I was appointed ensign in said company, in the room of John L. Lawyer ; 1786, I was promoted to first major of the regiment ; 1798, I was promoted to lieutenant-colonel com't.; 1784 I was appointed justice of the peace without my knowledge ; 1796 I was appointed one of the judges of the county, which office I have resigned 1818 ; 1798 I was elected a member of assembly ; the next election I was solicited to stand again as a candidate, which I utterly refused ; 1806 I was elected a member of Congress. I was afterwards again requested to stand as a candidate for Congress, which I refused ; when John Gebhard, Judge Shepard, and Boyd were candidates for Congress. Gebhard and Shepard met with their friends at the Court House for one of them to give way ; no arrangement could be made ; they both signed a written declaration to give way in case I would accept a nomination, which I also refused. 1816 I was elected a senator. At the expiration of my time I was again requested to stand a candidate for the senate, which I also refused. I never craved or requested an office.

"I was one of the first that signed the compact and association. 1776 I turned out to Stone Arabia to check the progress of the enemy and tories. In the fall of the same year, turned out to Albany, from thence to Fort Edward, from thence to Johnstown, to check the enemy. In 1777, in the spring, I turned out to Harpersfield, from thence to the Delaware to take up disaffected, from there home. Three days home, I went

down the Hellebergh to take tories; after we had together about twenty-five of them, went to Albany and delivered them in jail. A few days afterwards went to Harpersfield; from thence to Charlotte river to take McDonald, and send him to jail. In August, 1777, was one of the thirty-two that made a stand to oppose McDonald and his party. I was one of the two that risked our lives to crowd through the tories' guns to go to Albany for assistance; was taken prisoner by the Indians and tories; the same evening I made my escape.\* I was one of the six councillors that went from the stone house across Schoharie creek into the woods in a *cave*, to consult what measures to adopt—secrecy at that time was the best policy.† Did not McDonald and his party come down as far as my house, and there encamp till the next day, and destroy everything? I had left home. The same day McDonald and his party were defeated and fled into the woods, and went off to Canada, and about twenty-six from Brakabeen went with him. What would have been the result if our small party had made no resistance, and had tamely submitted? McDonald would have marched through Schoharie, and in all probability reached Albany. What was the consequence as far as he came down? Was not the farm of Adam Crysler confiscated? Also the farm of Adam Bouck and brothers? Also the farm of Frederick Bouck? Also the farm of Bastian Becker? Also the farm of John Brown? Also the farm of Hendrick Mattice? Also the farm of Nicholas Mattice, and a number of others that were indicted? And a number more that had joined McDonald and fired on our men.”

Peter and Mattice Ball, as their father was chairman of committee, were subjected to much arduous duty, and consequently were often pressed into unexpected service. *Peter Ball* related to the author the following melancholy incident. He had been sent to Ticonderoga with a sleigh load of stores for the army, during the winter preceding Burgoyne's campaign. While returning, in company with other sleighs which had been there

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\* Swart and his neighbor, Ephraim Vrooman, were sent to Albany for aid by Col. Vrooman, and started on foot, supposed the day before Col. Harper did, and arrived there almost as soon. They were detained on their way by coming unexpectedly upon a party of armed royalists; but finally escaped from them and pursued their journey.

† The stone house to which he alludes, was that of John Becker, afterwards fortified as the middle fort. The cave, or place of concealment, formerly called “the committee hole,” was on the opposite side of the river from Middleburgh, in a ravine between the mountains.

for the same purpose, the horses attached to one of them, which was driven by a boy and contained *six soldiers*, took fright at the sound of a drum in one of the sleighs. They were driving upon ice at the time on the Hudson, near Stillwater. When the horses started, one of the men took the reins from the boy, who jumped out and escaped ; but the soldiers and horses broke through the ice and were all drowned. Ball assisted in recovering the bodies of the soldiers, and conveyed them to Albany in his sleigh.

Once he carried a load of powder in a wagon to Lake George; three other loads went at the same time, and all were guarded by military from Albany. On two other occasions he was sent to Fort Edward with flour from Schoharie, and was pressed to take loads from there to Lake George. On those occasions he had to lie out nights, and suffered from cold.

Chairman Ball resided about half a mile north of the stone church in Schoharie, known, when fortified in the Revolution, as the Lower Fort. His son, Wilhelmus Ball, resided on the same ground in 1845. Peter Ball playfully remarked to the author, that his father had *nine* children by his first wife, and only *ten* by his second.

Several anecdotes of interest are told of Chairman Ball. His neighbor, George Mann, who was a Captain of militia, kept a public house where Mrs. Col. Peter Dietz erected a brick house at the forks of the Albany and valley roads, and warmly advocated royalty. His house was made the rallying point for tories and Indians in the year 1776 and early part of 1777, to consider the past and plan future operations. The individuals of this stamp who usually met there, neither liked Johannes Ball nor his politics. It was therefore thought best to get him out of the way if possible : indeed, it was afterwards asserted and confidently believed, that *five hundred* guineas were offered by an agent of the king for his destruction. David Ogeyonda, a subtle Schoharie warrior, who had a hut on the lands of Adam Vrooman, and who had been for some time active for the tories, doing the duties of a runner, spy, etc., was to be the instrument of his death. Ball was to be invited to the house of Mann under the pretence of having important business to transact with him, or some one else, when David was to provoke him to a quarrel, and thus have a plausible pretext to kill him. Ball

went to the house of Mann at the appointed time, taking the precaution to go armed with a brace of loaded pistols. He found that the business was of little importance, but that the Indian, David, was determined to quarrel with him. As the savage not unfrequently seized the handle of a long knife worn in his girdle, he suspected his motive and made good his escape; keeping a chair with one hand between his enemy and himself until he reached the door, while the other hand rested upon a pistol. This transaction took place but a short time previous to the death of this Indian, as will appear hereafter.

It had been the usual custom for ministers of the gospel, to remember the king in their prayers on the Sabbath, previous to the commencement of difficulties. One Sunday, as chairman Ball was leaving the stone church, just before the outbreak of hostilities, when the excitement of stifled feeling was scarcely controlled, he said to one of his Whig neighbors, who was standing so near old domine Schuyler that the latter could hear the remark, "the domine does not dare to pray for *King George* any more, and for *Congress* he will not pray." Schuyler usually preached in Low Dutch at Middleburgh, and in German at Schoharie.

Col. Peter Vrooman, one of the Schoharie committee, was a major of militia before the Revolution. He was captain in the French war, and assisted in erecting fortifications at Oswego. If not as energetic as some officers, he was far from being as pusillanimous as represented in the *Annals of Tryon County*, or *Stone's Life of Brant*. The old soldiers who served under him, represented him as having been a bold and determined man, and his conduct on several occasions during the war, gave good evidence of that fact. He was very much respected in the county, and is said to have been *nineteen years* a member of either the senate or assembly of New York. An attempt was made to take him prisoner during the war, for a liberal reward. A meeting of the council of safety was to take place at his house, and supposing he would remain at home, several of the enemy had secreted themselves, intending to secure his person when the rest of the committee retired. The snow was deep and the enemy expected an easy conquest; but it became necessary for him to leave home with his guests, and the intentions of the foe were thwarted.



In 1776, a plan was devised by Governor Tryon, aided by the Mayor of New York, to seize the person of Gen. Washington ; some of whose guard were in the plot : but the design of the enemy was seasonably discovered, and those who were conniving with the enemy, executed.—*Bancroft's Washington.*

As mentioned in my Trappers of New York, an unwise measure adopted early in our struggle for liberty, was that of fortifying Summer-house Point ; it being supposed that a threatened enemy from the north, would be likely to approach the settlements by the Sacondaga. Part of a regiment of continental troops under Col. Nicholson was stationed there much of the summer of 1776. An intrenchment six feet wide and several feet deep was cut across the easterly end of the Point, while Sir William Johnson's cottage in green livery, assumed a warlike aspect. The Point as a military post was abandoned at the end of the summer.

Just before Summer-house Point was garrisoned, a scout of several men was sent from Johnstown to reconnoitre in its vicinity. From the point they crossed the marsh to the bank of the Sacondaga, but on their return they found their boat on the opposite side of the Kenneyetto, and in attempting to recover it, Willie Boiles, a continental soldier was drowned. His body was recovered and buried on the westerly side of the Point, as many a poor hero was buried, without a stone to mark his resting place.—*Jacob Shew.*

In the fall of 1776, Congress sent Dr. Franklin, Silas Dean and Arthur Lee as commissioners to the court of France for aid : and also resolved to build a *navy*.

The year 1776 closed without anything remarkable occurring to disturb, unusually, the peace of the frontier settlements. After the Declaration of Independence, events transpired in other places, involving the safety of the republic. In August, the whole of Long Island fell into the hands of the enemy, and in September, the city of New York followed the same fate.\*

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\* The masterly retreat of Gen. Washington with his army across the East river from Brooklyn to New York, is thus related by Major, afterwards Col. Benjamin Tallmadge, in his military journal, which was kindly loaned the author in 1844, by his son-in-law, Judge Cushman, an eminent jurist, then of Troy, N. Y. : "In the face of many difficulties, the Commander-in-chief so arranged his business, that on the evening of the 29th, [Aug.] by 10 o'clock, the troops began to retire from the lines in such a manner that no chasm was made in the line, but as one regiment left their station

I shall have repeatedly to speak of the difficulty the Americans experienced in procuring a supply of the munitions of war. The following anecdote will show that it extended to small concerns. In the early part of the contest, *gun-flints* were so scarce, that troops while performing the manual exercise, substituted wooden ones for those of silex. While James Williamson was on duty one moonlight night in 1776, on Long Island,

on guard, the remaining troops moved to the right and left, and filled up the vacancies, while Gen. Washington took his station at the ferry, and superintended the embarkation of the troops. It was one of the most anxious, busy nights that I ever recollect, and being the third in which hardly any of us had closed our eyes to sleep, we were all greatly fatigued. As the dawn of the next day approached, those of us who remained in the trenches became very anxious for our own safety, at which time there were several regiments still on duty. At this time a very dense fog began to rise, and it seemed to settle in a peculiar manner over both encampments. I recollect this peculiar, providential occurrence perfectly well, and so very dense was the atmosphere, that I could scarcely discern a man at six yards distance. When the sun rose we had just received orders to leave the lines, but before we reached the ferry, the Commander-in-chief sent one of his aids to order the regiment back to its former station. Col. Chester immediately faced about and returned to the lines, where he tarried until the sun had risen, but the fog remained as dense as ever. Finally, the second order arrived for the regiment to retire, and we very joyfully bid those trenches a long adieu. When we reached Brooklyn ferry the boats had not returned from their last trip, but they very soon appeared and took the whole regiment over to New York; and I think I saw Gen. Washington on the ferry stairs when I stepped into one of the last boats that received the troops. I left my horse tied to a post at the ferry.

"The troops having all safely reached New York, and the fog continuing as thick as ever, I began to think of my favorite horse, and requested leave to return and bring him off. Having obtained permission, I called for a crew of volunteers to go with me, and guiding the boat myself, I obtained my horse and got off some distance into the river before the enemy appeared in Brooklyn. As soon as they reached the ferry, we were saluted merrily from their musketry and finally by their field pieces, but we returned in safety. In the history of warfare, I do not recollect a more fortunate retreat. After all, the providential appearance of the fog saved a part of our army from being captured, and myself, for certain, among others who formed the rear guard. Gen. Washington has never received the credit which was due to him for this wise and most fortunate measure. When the enemy had taken possession of the heights opposite to the city, they commenced firing from the artillery, and the fleet pretty soon were in motion to take possession of those waters; had this been done a little earlier, this division of our army must inevitably have fallen into their hands."

In Isaac Q. Leake's *Life and Times of Gen. John Lamb*, published in 1850, a valuable contribution to Revolutionary History in its minor events, on page 363 appears the following commendation of the author's first historical work; from which that writer copied Washington's retreat from Long Island, above inserted: "In a very excellent book, entitled 'History of Schoharie county and Border Wars of New York,' but which contains much history and many matters of interest, which do not appear within the scope of its title, etc.;" and on page 398 is the following: "Correction. After page 362 had been printed, J. R. Simms, Esq., of Fultonville, furnished the publisher with conclusive evidence that the retreat from Long Island was on the 29th of August, and not on the 27th, as stated in the memoir of Col. Hughes. The order mentioned was given immediately after the retreat was determined on in the council of war which was held on the 29th of August; and, therefore, the recollections of both Gen. Washington and Col. Hughes are erroneous."

off Gardiner's Island, as piquet guard, he saw an armed barge approaching the shore near him from one of the British ships off the Island. He instantly raised his piece and cocked it, when, to his chagrin, he found it had a wooden flint in the lock. The men in the barge, who were sufficiently near to see the leveled musket, ignorant of its harmless condition, shifted their course without attempting to land.—*James Williamson.*

The defeat of the Americans on Long Island and the loss of New York, were succeeded by a catalogue of disasters, which tended to make the royalists more bold, and greatly to dishearten the Americans. Several hundred houses were destroyed in New York by fire soon after the British took that city. In November, Forts Washington and Lee, situated nearly opposite each other on the banks of the Hudson, about ten miles above New York, which commanded the river, fell into the hands of the enemy: the former, after a most gallant defense, and the latter by being abandoned; and the Commander-in-Chief, unable to oppose a superior force, retreated into New Jersey. By the fall of Fort Washington, says the diary of Col. Tallmadge, "we lost about *three thousand* men, a great part of whom *perished in prison by severe usage, sickness, etc.*" While a dark pall seemed spreading around the cause of liberty, Gen. Howe issued a proclamation offering pardon to all who would submit to royal authority. The prospects looked so gloomy, that many of the best citizens of New Jersey were induced to sacrifice their feelings, abandon freedom's cause, and claim British protection. Gen. Washington, with the remains of his army, was obliged to retreat over the Delaware, about which time the British gained possession of Rhode Island. The sagacious commander, who had seen his troops repeatedly in retreat before a well fed and well clothed enemy, not only observed their numbers fast lessening by desertion, but also the necessity of staying the tide of that enemy's success, and rolling back the cloud which seemed ready to burst and obscure the light of liberty forever. He resolved to hazard all in one bold effort, and on Christmas night he crossed the Delaware at Trenton, surprised a body of Hessian soldiers, took nearly a thousand prisoners, and recrossed the river in safety, with the loss of only nine men.

On the second of January, 1777, the main body of the British army under Cornwallis, who had hastened on from New York

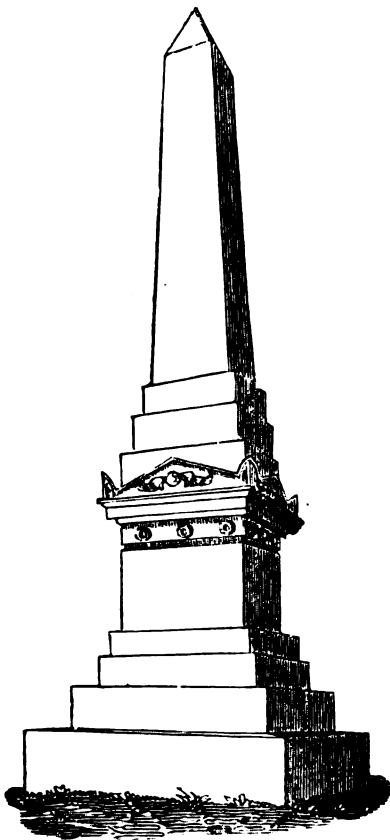
after the capture of the Hessians, marched to attack the Americans. They encamped near Trenton at night, intending to commence an action in the morning, when Washington, knowing the comparative weakness of his famished troops, conceived and executed another bold project. After renewing his fires, he left his encampment about midnight, and by a circuitous route gained the rear of the enemy—pushed on to Princeton, near which place he met and defeated a body of them—and again took several hundred prisoners. The enemy finding himself out-generaled, retreated to New Brunswick, and the American army went into winter quarters at Morristown, New Jersey. The brilliant victories of Trenton and Princeton, while they tended with magnetic power to raise the drooping spirits of the patriot band—in fact, of the whole American people—won for their great leader the appellation of the *American Fabius*. Few can realize at this day, the importance of those victories to the American arms. For months a series of disasters had attended them, and the stoutest hearts were beginning to yield to despair. The great and good Washington led forth to conquest, on those occasions, a half-naked, famishing troop of heroes, who, under similar circumstances, would have followed no other leader.

Reader! would you realize the sufferings of that little band of patriots, who remained willing to follow the fortunes of your bleeding country, in the darkest hour of her adversity? and by so doing arrive at a more just estimate of the value of that liberty you now enjoy? Imagine yourself on some of the coldest nights of winter, when the wintry winds are moaning around you, and the stars are looking coldly from the blue vault above, seated by the roadside where is passing in silence a body of armed men, fatigued, disheartened, ragged, barefooted, faint from want of food, and many with limbs frozen from exposure: and, on the morrow, go trace their footsteps o'er the frozen ground by *their own blood*; then tell me if you can guard with too much watchfulness—or look with favor upon any attempt to mar that liberty?

The proverbial caution and prudence of General Washington, were, perhaps, evinced in nothing more visibly during the war, than in his general orders to avoid the ill-will or needless suffering of the citizens. When his cold and wearied troops encamped the night after the battle of Princeton, as has been

stated to the writer by an officer who was present, his orders contained this unusual requisition—"not to burn the stone walls!"—tacitly implying that they might, on that one occasion, burn rail fences, which are said to have been burned with impunity.—*Capt. Eben Williams.*

*Fate of Capt. Nathan Hale.*—A circumstance connected with the loss of Long Island and New York city, should be named



Monument to the memory of Capt. Hale at  
South Coventry, Ct.

in this connection. While his army was yet in New York, Washington desired to gain certain information respecting the future intentions of the enemy, which could only be obtained by sending a messenger into the British camp. Several brave men were applied to, who were ready to fight, but would not take the risk of being hung. Washington made known his wishes to Col. Knowlton, of the Connecticut line, who sought an interview with Capt. Hale, a young officer of his own regiment, whose bravery he had tested. The Colonel told him the great hazard of the mission, which might end in an ignominious death; but the young hero at once expressed a willingness to make the sacrifice, if it must be so. Receiving his instructions from the Commander-in-chief, which were verbal, with a hearty

God-speed from those officers and a hasty preparation, in a very short time he had started on his perilous enterprise. In the character of a school-master, as believed, he reached the camp

of the enemy, gained the desired information, and was on his way back near Harlem, when he fell in with a party of the enemy—one of whom was a cousin, who betrayed his character and position—and he was at once taken before Gen. Howe, who was then quartered in New York. The proof of his object was so conclusive, that he frankly acknowledged who he was and the object of his mission. Without the form of a trial, Howe ordered his execution the next morning. The order was executed at an early hour in the most brutal manner, by one Cunningham, the British Provost Marshal, than whom a greater villain never went unhung, or disgraced humanity.

Thus fell one of the bravest and best men in the American army, without the expectation of reward or worldly honor, a willing sacrifice for liberty. He died unpitied and unwept by any human eye, but the great American heart will forever lament his untimely fate. Here is what an early writer said of his death.\*

“The order [of Gen. Howe] was executed with unfeeling rigor. The attendance of a clergyman was refused him, and a Bible, though requested, was not procured. Letters written to his mother and friends on the morning of his execution, were destroyed; the provost marshal assigning this extraordinary reason for that outrage, ‘that the rebels should not know they had a man in their army who could die with so much firmness.’ Capt. Nathan Hale united in his character the soldier, the patriot and the scholar. Gen. Washington, after the retreat from Long Island, applied to Col. Knowlton to adopt some method of gaining the necessary information respecting the enemy; and Col. Knowlton communicated the General’s request to Capt. Hale, who at once offered himself a volunteer for that hazardous service. His dying observation was: ‘*I only lament that I have but one life to lose for my country.*’ This estimable man was born in Coventry, Ct. [June 6, 1755], and educated at Yale College, where he graduated in September, 1773. [He was executed September 22, 1776.] Dr. Dwight, who personally knew him, has thus characterized him in his *Conquest of Canaan*:

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\* Holmes’ American Annals, vol. 1, 369.

'With genius' living flame his bosom glow'd,  
 And charmed him to her sweet abode;  
 In worth's fair path his feet adventured far;  
 The pride of peace, the rising grace of war;  
 In duty firm, in danger calm as even,  
 To friends unchanging, and sincere to Heaven.' "

*Church Bells of New York.*—In the early part of the war, every expedient to obtain munitions and implements of war was resorted to. September 19, 1775, the New York Committee of Safety contracted with James Byers, a brass-founder of N. Y. city, to manufacture five brass six-pounder field-pieces. They were to be of good proof, not to exceed 620 pounds each in weight, at 3s. 9d. (47 cents) per pound. To make further provision for the public necessities still later, the Provincial Convention, September 5, 1776,

"*Resolved, unanimously*, That His Excellency, Gen. Washington, be requested and authorized to cause all the *bells* in the different churches and public edifices in the city of New York, to be taken to Newark, N. J., with all possible dispatch, that the fortune of war may not throw the same into the hands of our enemy, and deprive this State, at this critical period, of that necessary though unfortunate resource for supplying our want of cannon." \*

Two days later the same body further resolved, that all the brass door-knockers of the houses in New York city should be sent to Newark, N. J., for the same purpose, an accurate account to be kept of their weight, their value and of the houses from whence taken, that they might subsequently be paid for.

The leaden window sash of the old Dutch dwellings of New York and Albany, are also said to have been appropriated to the manufacture of bullets for fire-arms. Our State authorities also recommended, that the leaden weights for lifting windows should be pressed into service for the army, an invoice being kept of the true ownership for future accountability.

*Journal of the Provincial Congress, how kept.*—The days of the week were usually entered in Latin, with the prefix of die for day. Here are the daily headings of the morning sessions for a week, commencing with Sunday, the hour being indicated by the letters ho.:

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\* Journal of Provincial Convention, p. 610.

Die Solis, 10 ho. A. M., May 19, 1776—Sunday.  
 Die Lunæ, 9 ho. A. M., May 20, 1776—Monday.  
 Die Martis, 10 ho. A. M., May 21, 1776—Tuesday.  
 Die Mercurii, 9 ho. A. M., May 22, 1776—Wednesday.  
 Die Jovis, 9 ho. A. M., May 23, 1776—Thursday.  
 Die Veneris, 9 ho. A. M., May 24, 1776—Friday.  
 Die Sabbati, 9 ho. A. M., May 25, 1776—Saturday.

Unless business was urgent, this Congress did not meet on Sunday.

*The Course of Sir John Johnson.*—I have shown how, in 1775, Sir John Johnson maintained his position and influence at the county seat, against the popular cause of his country; and it remains briefly to follow his fortunes until he left the scenes of his childhood, to take his chance with the more active friends of royalty. That he did not leave the county with his kinsmen and the Butlers at an earlier date, was doubtless because he had hoped by maintaining, so far as he could, a neutral position, to prevent the confiscation of his large landed estate. But since the clashing of arms in Massachusetts, his home at Johnson Hall had never ceased to become, to a greater or less extent, the rallying point in the county for spirits in fellowship with his own. And there is reason to believe that what was apprehended by his whig neighbors was literally true, viz.: that Cols. Guy Johnson and John Butler were kept posted, after they went to Canada, of everything transpiring here, through Indian and tory emissaries, who secretly came to and went from Johnson Hall. *Campbell* says that it subsequently became known that such a correspondence was carried on through the Indians, who conveyed letters in the heads of their tomahawks, and in ornaments on their persons.

Sir John's position of wealth and respectability—surrounded as he was by a large body of tenantry, ready at all times to do his bidding and if necessary defend his person; was a constant source of anxiety to the whigs of the county—kept alive no doubt by both false and truthful rumors. His position for evil came to be looked upon by the public authorities at the close of 1775, so that early in 1776 measures were taken to compel him to define his position with certainty, and cripple his influence against the popular cause. A rumor that arms and ammunition were being clandestinely received at Johnson Hall, gave a new



impulse to the fears of the whigs and hastened on a climax. The Continental Congress apprised of the condition of things at Johnstown, instructed Gen. Schuyler, early in January, to visit Sir John Johnson, and see that in the future he occupied no equivocal position.\*

He left Albany with 700 troops, and in order not needlessly to alarm the Indians remaining at the Lower Mohawk castle, and professing amity, he dispatched a Mr. Bleecker of Albany as interpreter, with a message to them. They were cautioned against being alarmed to see troops in the valley—were assured they were not designed to harm them; but they were given to understand that from rumors, measures were being pursued at Johnstown against the interest of the Americans, which it was necessary to investigate, and that as had been promised them the preceding summer, their friend Sir John Johnson and his family should not be disturbed if he was acting honestly. The message also desired them to apprise the Nations west of them of the true cause of this proceeding.

Little Abram, the principal sachem at this castle sent word back not to have the troops come up, but suggested that three of their warriors should at once go to Sir John and have him remain quiet—said they had heard that New England people were coming up to destroy Sir John, etc. The squaws of the castle also with a formal belt, gave a return message. They begged that no disturbance should be made, said that in case Sir John was distressed, it might touch their blood, and hoped the uneasiness might be settled without their coming up.

Gen. Schuyler without waiting the return of Mr. Bleecker, proceeded forward, and was met at Schenectada by a delegation of Mohawks headed by Little Abram; who addressed him in a sarcastic tone as follows: "We intended to have gone down to Albany in order to speak to you; but thank God that he has given us an opportunity to meet you here, as we have some matters to communicate to you." Gen. Schuyler replied with similar brevity: "I am very glad to see you here, and I shall be glad to hear what the brothers have to say, as my ears are always open to them."

Abram, a fluent speaker and said to have been a brother of

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\* The report of Gen. Schuyler, of the circumstances attending this mission, are fortunately preserved in *Stone's Life of Brant*.

the celebrated King Hendrick, then made a long and searching speech. He gave the General and his friends to understand that with regard to floating rumors he must search out the truth of the reports—that he must not be the aggressor in the spilling of blood—that he was to acquaint his own castle of any design, and they were to send it to all of the Six Nations. He said that all obstacles were to be kept out of the path of peace, so that they (the Indians) might pass and repass unannoyed. He said they came to beg of the general to use care and prudence in this matter, so as not to spill any blood in their path; they looked upon themselves as mediators between the parties, and hoped that neither he or Sir John would be an aggressor; but if the people came up to take Sir John's life, he would be justified in defending himself; he said he had never seen any hostile preparations making by Sir John at Johnson Hall; said the sachems had inculcated peace, but so large a party coming had alarmed their warriors, who were determined to be present at the interview between him and Sir John, and see and hear everything that was there transacted; said the news of the General's coming up had alarmed them, and some were ready to take up arms, but he had begged them to remain quiet until he should return; begged to know if some should go to the interview whom he and his friends with him could not restrain, *and anything evil should happen, what treatment those remaining peaceably at home might expect.*

*General Schuyler Replied—“Brothers of the Mohawk Nation:* We the commissioners appointed by the Congress, and your brothers of Albany and Schenectada, have paid great attention to the speech you have delivered us. We now desire you to open your ears, and attentively listen to what we have to say in answer.” He said they were pleased to hear them express their minds freely, and said they would do the same hiding nothing from them; said he had hoped their message by Mr. Bleecker would have eased their minds, and convinced them that no hostile intentions existed against them or any other Indians; if they had, he added, we should not have supplied you with powder the other day; he expressed his regret that they had not complied with their request, and sent the speech delivered them by Mr. Bleecker, to the Six Nations; you told us, said he, that five or six men would have been sufficient to

send to Johnstown, to learn what was being done there, and thought it would have been a shame if they had been sent there and been interrupted : but we have full proof that many people in Johnstown and the neighborhood, have for some time past made preparations to carry into execution, the wicked designs of the King's evil counsellors. It is true that last summer the United Colonies promised that the path to the Indian country should be kept open ; and they again repeat that promise : and although it is by the special order of Congress that this body of troops are marching up, it is not to shut the path but to keep it open, and prevent people about Johnstown from cutting off the communication between us and our brethren of the Six Nations, and our other brethren living up the river.

"Brothers," he continued, "although we have before said that the people living about Johnstown are making hostile preparations against us, yet we will not shed a drop of their blood, unless they refuse to come to an agreement of safety to us, or oppose us with arms. We do not mean that any of our warriors shall set their foot on any lands you possess, or that of the Six Nations, unless our enemies find shelter there ; for those we determine to follow wherever they go. We again repeat we have no quarrel with you, and we expect that you will not interfere in this family contest, but stand by as indifferent spectators, agreeable to the engagement of the Six Nations made to us last summer at their own request."

He alluded to the pledge made in the preceding summer that, as we had no quarrel with the Indians, a hair of their heads should not be touched ; and yet, he added, when our warriors were at St. John's, they were attacked by Indians, when two of your tribe and some others were killed. You have never blamed us for it, because you knew that our lives are dear to us, and we have a right to kill any who attempt to kill us. You should not now be surprised that we take every precaution to prevent being destroyed by the King's evil doers. We may be called on to go and fight against our enemies to the eastward, and can you think it prudent that we should leave enemies behind us, who might destroy our families and our property. *Would you leave your wives and children in such a situation ?* We are convinced you would not, and so cautious are we that no blood may be shed, that we shall send a letter to

Sir John, inviting him to meet us on the road between this place and his house ; and if he comes, everything will no doubt be settled in an amicable manner ; and he may be under no apprehension, for if we do not come to an agreement, he will be permitted to return to his own house.

We also wish you to be present to hear what we shall propose to Sir John Johnson and the people about Johnstown, who are our enemies ; and we want you to tell your warriors that, although we have no quarrel with them, yet, if we should be under the necessity of fighting with our enemies, and your warriors should join them and fight against us, that we should do as was done at St. John's—repel force by force. You ask what treatment your people who remain at home might expect from us ? In the treaty at Albany last summer, your people promised to remain neutral in this quarrel. Should your warriors of the lower castle now take up arms against us, we shall consider it a breach of the late treaty, and shall lay the matter before the great council at Philadelphia. We are surprised that a doubt should remain in your minds about our friendly intentions toward you—after the many instances we have given you of love and friendship—but attribute it to the machinations of our enemies. If our enemies about Johnstown had no evil intentions against us, we should not have come thus far with an army. Whoever takes up arms against us must be considered the aggressor, and not he who tries to prevent the blow.

“Brothers, we have now freely and fully disclosed to you our minds. We hope you will remember what we have said, and repeat it to your brothers, counsellors and warriors ; and lest you should not be able to recollect every part of this speech, you may have your brothers *Ka-rah-quadir-hon* and *Ti-ze-de-ron-de-ron* [Deane and Bleecker] interpreters, to attend you, if it be agreeable to you.

“Brothers, your women have sent us a belt. We beg you to assure them of our regard, and to entreat them to prevent your warriors from doing anything that would have the least tendency to incur our resentment, or interrupt that harmony which we wish may subsist to the end of time.”

The Indians replied to the speech of Gen. Schuyler, that what he had said was perfectly agreeable to them. They were

gratified to know that he would write to Sir John for an interview, and said their sachems would attend that meeting, if needs be, at the risk of their lives. They expressed a wish to have the interpreters there, not only to interpret Gen. Schuyler's speech for the benefit of those at the castle, but for their convenience at the interview. They closed their rejoinder as follows :

"Brothers, you may depend on it that we will use our utmost influence with our warriors to calm their minds. You may depend on it, likewise, that our sisters will use their utmost influence for the same purpose." Here crops out, even among those we call *savages*, the influence, for good, of woman, whose counsels, however degraded she may be among her people—even though regarded as a slave—is sought for, and, in danger, coveted.

Gen. Schuyler wrote to Sir John Johnson from Schenectada, January 16, 1776, in substance, that from information received of dangerous tendencies to liberty existing in Tryon county, he was ordered to march thither with a body of men to execute certain resolutions of his superiors. Influenced by motives of humanity, he said he desired to comply with his orders so that no blood should be shed. He asked him to meet him at any place between Schenectada and Johnstown, whither he should set out on the following day. He pledged his honor that his own person, and those attending him, should pass to and from their interview in safety back to their own homes. He dispatched his letter by Rutgers Bleecker and Henry Glen, believed to be of the Albany and Schenectada committees, through whom he expected to hear from him ; assuring him also that, whatever might be the result of their interview, Lady Johnson might rest satisfied that no indignity should be offered her.

Schuyler moved forward on the 17th, and was met by Sir John, it is said, 16 miles above Schenectada, which would bring the interview at Guy Park. I desire to present this movement just as it took place, because some of the friends of Sir John complain that he was not well used, and even go so far as to say that he did not break his parole when he left Johnstown in such hot haste.

*The Terms Offered to Sir John Johnson* were substantially as follows: He stated to Sir John, and all such persons in Tryon

county as evinced their intention of supporting his Majesty's ministry—

*First*—"That Sir John should, upon his word of honor, at once deliver up all cannon, arms, and other military stores of all kinds in his own possession, or which he had caused to be delivered into the possession of any others, either directly or indirectly, or that were to his knowledge concealed in any part of the county. That he should distinguish such military stores as belonged to the crown, or were designed to arm the Indians, from those of a private character, that an inventory of the latter might be taken, that they might be returned or their value refunded when this unhappy contest should be over.

*Secondly*—"Out of respect for Sir John, and his rank, the General consented that he should retain for his own use a complete set of armor, and as much powder as might be sufficient for his domestic purposes.

*Third*—"That Sir John shall remain *upon his parole of honor* in any part of Tryon county which he may choose, to the eastward of the district of—[Kingsland as believed]—unless it should appear necessary to the honorable, the Continental Congress to remove him to some other part of this, or any other colony, in which case he is immediately to comply with such orders as they may think proper to give for that purpose."

*Fourth*—"That the Scotch inhabitants of the county should, without exception, immediately deliver up all arms in their possession, of whatever kind they might be; and further solemnly promise not to take up arms during the contest without the permission of the Continental Congress, or of their general officers, delivering six hostages for the faithful performance of this article.

*Fifth*—"That all other inhabitants of Tryon county as have avowed themselves opposed to the measures of the United Colonies, should also deliver up their arms, with hostages for its performance.

*Sixth*—"That all blankets, strouds, and other Indian articles belonging to the Crown, and intended as presents to the Indians, shall be delivered up to a commissary appointed by Gen. Schuyler, in the presence of three or more of the Mohawk chiefs, in order that the same may be dispensed among the Indians, for the purpose of cementing the ancient friendship

between them and their brethren of the United Colonies, for which sole purpose they ought to have been furnished."

*Seventh*—"If Sir John Johnson and the people referred to in the preceding articles should abide by the requirements therein, the General in behalf of the Continental Congress, promised that neither he or any of those people should be molested by any person in the thirteen U. Colonies; but should be protected in the peaceable enjoyment of their property: the sole intent of this treaty being to prevent the horrid effects of a civil and intestine war betwixt those who ought to be brothers. All arms thus delivered up, were to be valued by sworn appraisers. If the Continental Congress wanted them they were to be taken, if not they were to be delivered to their respective owners at the end of the contest."

It is stated that Sir John told Gen. Schuyler that the Indians would support him, many of whom were then at the Hall. They were probably mostly from the Upper Castle, that is the Mohawks, and quite likely the western nations were also there represented in the Canadian interest. The General told him that although he was averse to the shedding of blood, yet if the terms offered were not acceded to, force would be opposed to force without distinction of persons, and the consequences of resistance would be serious. Sir John asked until the evening of the next day to consider the propositions, which request was granted. The reader will perceive that sufficient time was given Sir John, if he chose to embrace it, to secretly send many of the guns and ammunition to a rendezvous among the Onondagas.

Soon after Sir John left Schuyler's camp, Abram and another chief from the lower castle called on the General, who professed not to credit Sir John's statement about the Indians being then at the Hall ready to defend him; saying the Mohawks would only interfere as mediators. The General gave him explicitly to understand that if they were there as foes, he should not hesitate to destroy them, with all others opposing him in arms.

The next day Gen. Schuyler moved up to Caughnawaga, four miles from Johnstown, where he was joined by Col. Herkimer with a body of the Tryon county militia, swelling his force to nearly 3,000 effective troops. At six o'clock that evening Sir John answered the terms in his own behalf and that of the people of Kingsborough and neighborhood as follows: That he

and his friends expected that all such arms as were their own property should remain in their possession ; that all other arms should be given up, and that he had no military stores belonging to the crown. That he, Sir John, did not expect to be confined to the county. That the Scotch inhabitants would deliver up their arms, and promise not to take up any during the contest without permission of the American authorities ; but could not give hostages, as one had no command over another : and thought women and children should not be included in the terms. He denied having any blankets or other presents intended for the Indians. If his propositions were agreed to he and his people would rely on the assurance of protection.

(Signed)

JOHN JOHNSON,  
ALLAN McDONELL.

Sir John's terms were unsatisfactory to Gen. Schuyler, and two hours later he dispatched another letter by Messrs. Adams and McDonell, bearers of the terms of the former, to Messrs. Johnson and McDonell. The General told them replies were omitted to several of his proposals, while answers were imperfect and unsatisfactory to others, saying the whole were exceptional except the last. He continued :

"I must therefore obey my orders, and again repeat, that, in the execution of them, I shall strictly abide the laws of humanity ; at the same time assuring you, that if the least resistance is made, I will not answer for the consequences, which may be of a nature the most dreadful.

"If Lady Johnson is at Johnson Hall, I wish she would retire, (and therefore enclose a passport,) as I shall march my troops to that place without delay.

"You may, however, still have time to reconsider the matter, and for that purpose I will give you until 12 o'clock this night, after which I shall receive no proposals ; and I have sent you Mr. Robert Yates,\* Mr. Glen,† and Mr. Duer,‡ to receive the

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\* Robert Yates was a jurist and statesman, born at Schenectada in 1738—died at Albany in 1801. He was educated and studied law in Albany, and became eminent in his profession. He was a patriot and a statesman in the Revolution, and established a reputation as a writer in defense of his country's liberty. He was a prominent member of the Provincial Congress, and also of the New York committee of safety.



ultimate proposals you have to make. This condescension I make from no other motive than to prevent the effusion of blood, so far as it can be effected without risking the safety of the county, or being guilty of a breach of the positive orders I have received from the Honorable Continental Congress.

"I am, gentlemen, with due respect,

"Your humble servant, PH. SCHUYLER."

Many interested Mohawks, who had not yet been seduced into the royal interest, came to Schuyler's camp just after he sent his last letter. They seemed anxious for an amicable arrangement, and hoped Sir John might not be taken from the county. He promised to grant that favor to *them*, in the hope as he said, flatteringly, that their example might influence him for good. Many of those Indians had not yet forgotten the pledge of neutrality they had made at Albany some months before.

By the time specified, Sir John's answer came to Schuyler's last letter. To the General's terms he replied substantially as follows :

*First and second* articles agreed to except in reserving a few favorite family arms.

*Third*—*Sir John having given his parole of honor not to take up arms against America*, for the sake of preserving peace and removing any suspicions or undue influence, consented not to go to the westward of the German Flatts and Kingsland districts. To every other part of the continent southward of the county he expected the privilege of going.

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He was chairman of the committee of military operations, in which capacity he was acting at the time which we are considering, etc.—*Drake's Biographical Dictionary*.

† Henry Glen was a staunch citizen of Albany county, and was May 10, 1775, chosen with Robert Yates and nine others, a delegate from that county to the Provincial Congress, to which body he was also returned May 26, 1776. In the disbursement of public moneys placed in the hands of different persons, he held June 13, 1776, as *bounty money*, £1,152 (\$2,280).—*N. Y. Calendar of Rev. Incidents*.

‡ Col. William Duer was born in England in 1747, and came to this country some years before the Revolution. He warmly espoused the cause of American liberty. At the beginning of difficulties he was a resident of Charlotte county, N. Y. (now a part of Vermont, from which he claimed a seat in the Provincial Congress. He was from time to time a member of several important committees, one of which was to co-operate with Gen. George Clinton, in disposing of the militia of Orange and Ulster counties. He was also chairman of the committee on conspiracies, etc.—*Drake's Biog. Dic., and New York Calendar*.

Thus the reader will see that Gen Schuyler was surrounded by able advisers in this delicate business. Who Allan McDonell was, I am not informed, but suppose him to have been one of Sir John's best informed Scotch neighbors.

*Fourth*—This article was agreed to, except that part regarding hostages. He stated that after the Scotch inhabitants had surrendered their arms, the General could take six prisoners—such as he chose among them—without resistance. He said they would expect to be maintained agreeable to their respective rank, with the privilege of going to any part of the province of New Jersey or Pennsylvania, which the General or the Congress might appoint. They would expect the General to make provision for the maintenance of their wives and children in their absence. Yet, he added, that for the harmony of the country, they would not break off the treaty on that account, if the General thought he had no discretionary power in the matter; in which case they hoped for the General's influence with the Congressional Congress to be charitable toward those wives and children. The prisoners would claim a few days' time to get ready, and, if gentlemen, hoped to wear their side arms.

*Fifth*—Sir John said that neither he or the Scotch gentlemen could make any engagement for any any other persons than those over whom they might have influence. Neither could they possibly know the names of all such as have shown themselves averse to the measures of the United Colonies. They, however, pledged their word and honor that, so far as depended on them, the inhabitants should give up their arms, and enter into a like engagement with the Scotch settlers. Neither would they adopt the quarrel of any such persons as their own.

*Sixth*—Sir John gave his word of honor that he had no blankets, strouds, or other presents belonging to the crown and intended for the Indians: of course, could not comply with the requisition.

*Seventh*—Sir John said if the above proposals are agreed to, and signed by the General, he and the people referred to would rely on the assurances of protection; but added, that as it would be impossible to collect the arms before Saturday noon (the 20th), he would then have the men paraded in Johnstown, and ground their arms in the presence of such troops as the General might appoint.

(Signed)

“JOHN JOHNSON,  
“ALLAN McDONELL.

“JOHNSON HALL, *January 13, 1776.*”

The Mohawks were yet at Gen. Schuyler's quarters when this message came from the Hall, and, being informed that matters were shaping amicably, they left much gratified. This was a most exciting time at Caughnawaga ; and the reader, to appreciate it, must remember that it was past midnight, with the cold winds of mid-winter whistling among—as must be supposed—the poorly sheltered army. How they were quartered is unknown, but it is presumed that the ancient church of that village contained as many of the troops as could be crowded into it. The ground was covered with snow, and the streams were ice-bound.

The following day—January 19th—Gen. Schuyler closed up the correspondence with Sir John Johnson, writing from Caughnawaga, in substance, as follows : Sir John was permitted to retain his family arms by making a list of them. He was to be allowed to go as far westward as the German Flatts and Kingsland districts in Tryon county, and to every other part of the colony southward and eastward of said districts, except into seaport towns. The General believed if his business should require him to go to other English colonies, Congress would allow him to do so. The General would take six of the Scotch inhabitants prisoners, if they preferred to go as such, instead of hostages ; gave them to understand they should be treated humanely ; could not tell where Congress would send them, but, for the present, they would go to Reading or Lancaster, Pa. ; could not speak definitely about the maintenance of their families, but would recommend that subject to Congress. The General expects that all the Scotch inhabitants of all ranks, not confined to beds of illness, will attend with their arms, and deliver them up at 12 M. on Saturday ; and if this condition was not faithfully performed, he would consider himself absolved from any engagement entered into with them ; said he never refused a gentleman his side arms. The prisoners taken were to be removed to Albany immediately, where they might remain a reasonable time to settle their family affairs. If his terms of the 17th inst. were accepted with the above qualifications, fair copies would be made out and signed by the parties, one of them to be delivered to Sir John and McDonell, signed by the General ; and, to save time, he wished for an immediate answer.

Sir John acceded to the terms, and on the same day—Friday the 19th—Schuyler marched to Johnstown. Some of his troops also scoured the county, to bring in such disaffected as were not comprehended in the Johnstown arrangement. The same afternoon Sir John delivered up the arms and ammunition in his possession, the quantity being smaller than was expected. On Saturday, at noon, Gen. Schuyler paraded his troops, as we imagine, not far from the old colonial court house, where the Highlanders—between 200 and 300 in number—marched to the front and grounded their arms, which, having been secured, the Scotchmen were dismissed with an admonition to remain quiet at their homes, with an assurance of protection if they did so.

It had been stated, even upon oath, by one Connel, before the visit of Schuyler, that arms and ammunition had been secreted by burial near Johnson Hall; but the parties he would criminate pronounced the witness to his face a perjured villain, and a search was now made at the place indicated by digging through the snow and mud; and such articles were not found, nor have they been since. There is no doubt the rascal perjured himself from some motive; possibly to spite some of the accused for an old grudge.

Gen. Schuyler returned the same evening to Caughnawaga, where, on the two following days, over 100 tories were brought in from different parts of the county. Col. Herkimer was left to complete the disarming of the disaffected, and receive the hostage prisoners, and Gen. Schuyler returned to Albany. Mr. Dean, Indian interpreter to Gen. Schuyler, was sent west with a belt, to explain the nature of this bloodless enterprise to the five Indian nations to the westward. It would seem, at this distant day, that this strategic movement did not take place one day too soon for the popular cause in Tryon county, as it was seemingly an easy matter for the tories to keep up their clandestine intercourse for evil with their Canadian friends, hemmed in, as most of the pioneer settlements were, by dense forests, to conceal their approach and retreat. And it is very fortunate for the American reader that Col. Stone was able to secure the details of this very important transaction, as regarded civilization, in what was then Western New York. The Continental Congress gave Gen. Schuyler very flattering com-

commendation for the prudent and faithful achievement of this enterprise.

That the Indians and tories from Canada, continued to come into the settlements around Johnstown clandestinely by the Sacandaga route, and there found a welcome after so many had been disarmed, there can be no doubt. Indeed, for several years they had their safe retreats, coming and going at their pleasure; few such visits becoming known to the whigs until long after they transpired, if ever. Whether any arms were really ever concealed by the Johnstown loyalists, by which any number of Sir John's Scotch tenantry could again be armed, is now unknown; but, if they were, it was doubtless on the outskirts of civilization, or in the unbroken forest. Some arms and ammunition may secretly have been brought hither from Canada.

I believe all American writers agree in stating that Sir John Johnson violated his *parol*, which act was repeatedly so stated to the writer many years ago by people who lived in his vicinity at the time he left Johnstown. Their statements were, in substance, that he and his political friends were not only restless, but were secretly endeavoring to thwart the doings of the whigs, and were constantly growing to be a more dangerous leaven in the county; which matter, being submitted to Gen. Schuyler, he sent Col. Elias Dayton, in May, 1776, with a part of his regiment to arrest him. Sir John had friends in Albany, by whom he was fore-warned of Dayton's coming; and as the latter arrived in Johnstown in the evening—having made, though hastily, some seasonable arrangements—he gathered a large body of disaffected tenants and retainers, and, during the night, or, as often expressed, *between two days*, took his departure from Johnson Hall for Canada by the Sacandaga route. The party was illy supplied with food, and suffered much in a 19 days' journey—such as few of them had ever experienced—between their homes and Montreal, whither they traversed with Indian guides through an unbroken wilderness.\* The county breathed much more freely for a time for this opportune exodus. Col. Dayton remained with his troops awhile in Johnstown, until the excitement attendant on this

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\* Stone's Life of Brant, vol. 1, p. 143.

remarkable change in the condition of things in that vicinity had somewhat subsided.

Mrs. Johnson was removed to Albany, where she is said, for a time, to have been retained as a hostage for the conduct of her husband. She chafed under durance, as it is natural to suppose she would; but it was her misfortune, just then, to have been the wife of a man who stood in the path of human progress; and she had, to some extent, to suffer for his conduct.

An intelligent gentleman\*—who claims kindred to Sir John—in an article entitled *Sir John Johnson's Life*, in the *New York Times* of July 13, 1879, says, on borrowed authority, "*Sir John did not break his parole*," but says "he was to be released from his parole and made prisoner *simultaneously*." The fact is, he was not made a prisoner, and hence no such *simultaneous* action: how, then, could the one condition transpire and not the other? But, says the able writer quoted, "The General commanding discharged him from his parole." How, we ask, by simply ordering his arrest? This seems a very fine-spun theory. Because some political friend in Albany privately, clandestinely, informed Sir John that measures were being taken by which he was to be arrested and held a prisoner—which caused his precipitate flight to Canada—I fail to see how that was honorably to absolve his *parole of honor*, given several months before.

If a prisoner is held to bail for a slight offense, and is about to be arrested for a more aggravated phase of that offense, and he succeeds in making his escape before his arrest for the second offense takes place, I can not see how his escape will honorably absolve him from the one condition until the other actually transpires. I am not versed in the technicalities of law, but I suppose that all wise laws are intended to be based upon reason and common sense. Everybody in and around Johnstown, so far as I have knowledge of their expressed opinions upon this action of Sir John, have said that he *broke his parole*; and the expression thereabouts is to-day not only among the descendants of those considered Sir John's foes, but of those of his political friends—for there have always been some such there—

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\* Gen. John Watts de Peyster.

that they would think more highly of the memory of Sir John Johnson, if he had not broken his parole to go to Canada, and come back among his old neighbors with a party of savages to drag them from their beds and murder them at midnight.

On his arrival in Canada, Sir John was commissioned a Lieut.-Colonel in the British service, of a regiment composed of loyalists who had left Johnstown and its vicinity. Col. John Butler was also instrumental in raising a similar regiment for his command, many of whom accompanied him and Col. Guy Johnson in their flight to Canada the summer before. Numbers of men in those regiments, went from Albany county, and some from New England. When embodied, they were designated as Royal Greens, from the color of their coats; but from the cruelties they practiced on their former neighbors, with the Indians associated with them in mercenary enterprises, they might not inappropriately have been called *Royal Reds*.

*General Nicholas Herkimer, when commissioned as such—*As chairman of the Tryon county committee, under date of June 29, 1776, John Frey wrote to the Provincial Congress, that the county was great (in extent), and the frontier large, weak and greatly exposed to the enemy, the militia of which were divided into four battalions. He suggested that the Congress should without delay, appoint a Brigadier-General to command those troops residing in the county. This desire of Tryon county, was acted upon September 5th following; when Gen. Ten Broeck, of Albany, to whose brigade the Tryon county militia belonged, was present and informed the convention, that it was not only a disadvantage to those troops but to himself to have them in his brigade, especially as the Major then resided in Tryon county. It was therefore unanimously resolved, that Nicholas Herkimer, who was recommended not only by the Tryon county committee, but by Gen. Ten Broeck, for the office, be appointed such Brigadier, and that Major John Frey as such Brigade-Major, be transferred to Gen. Herkimer's Brigade.\*

*Powder and Ball.*—Here is the copy of a paper preserved by the descendants of Capt. Christian Getman, of the Stone Arabia settlements.

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\* Journal of Prov. Convention, vol. 1, p 610.

PALATINE, Oct. 1st, 1776.

"Sir—I have received powder and ball for your Company : you will be pleased to send for your proportion, I am,

"Sir, your most humble servant,

"JOHN FREY."

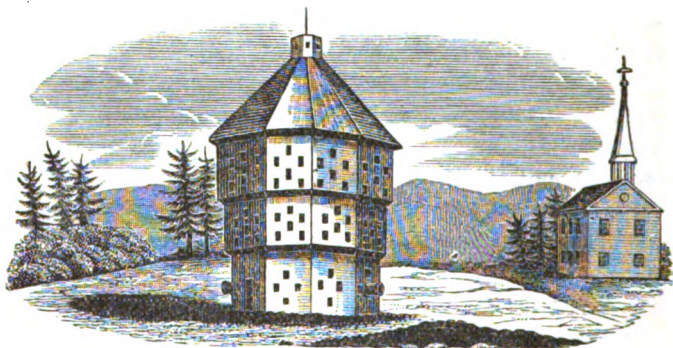
"To Capt. CHRISTIAN KITTMAN [Getman.]"

*Forts in the Mohawk Valley.*—Colonel (afterwards General) Elias Dayton, a native of New Jersey, after his unsuccessful attempt to arrest Sir John, in the summer of 1776, was sent by Gen. Schuyler to look after the defenses in the Mohawk Valley, and especially to reconstruct *Fort Stanwix*, which work, however, was not entirely completed, when invested the next season by the enemy. We may suppose that his counsels were heard in putting old *Fort Herkimer* in a state of defense on the south side of the Mohawk, below Mohawk village ; and also in constructing the new work which took on his name at the German Flatts, (now village of Herkimer), distant a mile or two from the former, and across the river. They were both established in 1776, *Fort Dayton* was entirely new, and although important posts through the war, their importance would seem to have been especially so after Fort Stanwix—the name of which was changed to *Fort Schuyler*—was accidentally destroyed by fire in the spring of 1781.

*Fort Plain* was also established in 1776, but whether Col. Dayton or any continental officer was consulted in relation to it, is now unknown. Eye witnesses have assured me that the structure was found too limited for the public need. It was situated on the next eminence westward of the cemetery hill, and directly above a living spring ; and was made by inclosing less than half an acre of ground with palisades, with bastions or block-houses in two diagonal corners, each constructed so as with cannon to command two sides of the inclosure. Its entrance gate was on the easterly side. Who commanded this post at first is not known—possibly it was not much garrisoned until the spring of 1777. After the enemy began to destroy the farm-houses and families were compelled to seek safety at this place, the room was found inadequate within the inclosure, and three or four comfortable huts were made along the verge of the hill below the pickets ; one of which nearest the spring



was occupied by Col. Willet when in command here. Although at times crowded by citizens and soldiers, they managed to get along until 1780, but in that year so many became houseless, that other accommodations were necessitated. The boss carpenter, Jacob Dederick, was allowed to name this first fort, who so called it not because it was situated on an extensive plain, but because of its fine prospective view. The village of Fort Plain took its name from this military post. Standing upon its site in 1856, with the venerable Lawrence Gros, who was a boy residing here in the war, I learned much of what is here said of it. This church, seen on the right, was one-third of a mile distant from the fort.



*Ancient Blockhouse, Fort Plain*

*Fort Plain Block-House.*—This was erected in the fall of 1780 and spring of 1781, and was constructed of pine timber 8x14 inches square, dovetailed at the ends, and Thomas Morrel, of Schenectada, father of the late Judge Abram Morrel, of Johnstown, superintended its erection. It was octagonal in form, three stories in height, the second projecting five feet over the first, and the third five feet over the second, with port holes for cannon on the first floor, and for musketry on all its surfaces; with holes in the projecting floor for small arms, so as to fire down upon a closely approaching foe. The first story is said to have been 30 feet in diameter, the second 40 and the third 50, making it look top heavy for a gale of wind. It mounted several cannon for signal guns and defense—one of which was a 12-pounder—on the first floor; where was also an immense oven. French's Gazetteer erroneously states that

this block-house was erected in the French war and by a French engineer. Had it been erected 20 years earlier, it would hardly have been done by a French engineer, when we were at war with France. Who planned this structure is unknown, but as Col. Willet was in command of the garrison when it was done, he no doubt held some supervision of the work. It stood upon a gentle elevation of several feet—which at the end of an hundred years, the plow and cultivator have nearly obliterated—and about 20 rods from the palisaded inclosure, which was constructed mainly by the farmers. The block-house was not palisaded, but a ditch or dry moat several feet deep and ten feet wide, extended around it, requiring a draw bridge to gain its entrance.

The land on which the defenses at Fort Plain were erected, was owned by Johannes Lipe in the Revolution, and afterward by his son David. The ownership is now in Seeber Lipe, a son of David. With his approbation and that of his brother William, who owns part of the ground which the Fort proper inclosed, August 30, 1882, Homer N. Lockwood, Esq., and myself, placed small marble monuments upon the sites of those structures, designating the Fort as erected in 1776; and the block-house in 1781. The stones were firmly set by the united labor of Mr. Seeber Lipe, Mr. Lockwood, Mr. Harvey Wick and the writer; Hon. P. J. Wagner, in his 88th year, being present in a carriage, he having seen the block-house in his boyhood. Mr. Lipe has agreed to protect those monuments for the benefit of posterity. Mr. Lockwood generously defrayed the expense of them.

*Fort Plank.*—This post established in 1776, was situated two miles and a half westward of Fort Plain, and one and a quarter miles in a direct line southerly from the Mohawk. Here, then, dwelt Frederick Plank, a whig, whose house was palisaded in a square inclosure with block-house corners. From its contiguity to the settlements of Dutchtown and Geissenburg, it served as a safe retreat for a score or two of families. Capt. Joseph House, a militia officer who was living with Plank, usually commanded this post in the absence of field-officers. Col. Stone copying from Campbell's *Annals*, supposed Fort Plank and Fort Plain were synonymous names for the same fort. More or less troops were kept at this station through the war; and it is believed

that for the first few years, it was regarded as of greater importance than Fort Plain, while the latter from 1780, became the head quarters of the commanding officer, for several military posts in its vicinity, Fort Plank included. Facts from *Lawrence Gros and Abram House*, the last named residing, in 1846, on the old Plank farm, now owned by Adam Failing.

*Fort Paris.*—This was a palisaded inclosure of strong block-houses, within the grounds, and was intended to accommodate a garrison of 200 or 300 men, if necessary, as also its exposed inhabitants. It was commenced in December, 1776, and completed in the spring of 1777. It was situated between three and four miles to the northeast of Fort Plain, and stood upon the summit of ground half a mile north of the Stone Arabia churches, a dozen rods from the road, almost east of a now district school-house. The station was a sightly one, and springs issuing a little to the north of it would run to the Sacondaga, while those on its southerly side would flow to the Mohawk. This was an important post, and was usually manned by a company or two of rangers. Col. Klock and his Lieut.-Col. Wagner, had much to do with its immediate command. In the fall of 1779 and winter following, it became the headquarters of Col. Frederick Visscher, who commanded that and its adjacent military posts. The merchant Isaac Paris, one of the most influential and reliable men its vicinity, was complimented with its name. At this post, and in its neighborhood, were enacted many a thrilling scene, too many of which, alas, are now forgotten. Since this account was written, the following paper has turned up—possessed by Mr. Nellis Getman, of Ephratah—which discloses another reason why the fort took on the name of Paris :

“IN COMMITTEE CHAMBER OF TRYON COUNTY, }  
December 19th, 1776. }

“*Resolved*, That the Rangers of Capt. Christian Getman’s company, stationed at Stone Arabia, shall, in the time of their leisure, when and which of them are not employed in *ranging*, cut timber for building a certain fort in the said place, under the sole direction and command of Isaac Paris, Esq.

“Extract of the minutes.

“JNO. EISENLORD, *Secretary.*”

*Fort Clyde.*—To protect the citizens of Freysbush, this post was established, as supposed, in the absence of records, in the spring of 1777. It bore the name of Col. Samuel Clyde, of Cherry Valley, who doubtless superintended its construction. As at Forts Plain and Paris no dwelling was here palisaded; but a block-house was inclosed with room within the pickets for the huts of exposed settlers, and, like those forts, was furnished with a six-pounder signal gun, one discharge of which announced the enemy abroad, while two or three discharges in quick succession, said : *find a hiding place in the bush, as the foemen are between you and the fort.* It stood on the old Gen. George H. Nellis farm, which is still owned by his descendants. It was on a knoll with a fine prospect. The dwelling of John P. Dunkel is now (1880) the nearest one to the site of this post, over which it is believed Col. Clyde held a paternal supervision. It stood over three miles southerly from Fort Plain as the road then ran. Part of a company of rangers or drafted militia were usually stationed here. As the road now passes over the knoll on which this fort stood, its site may easily be determined.

*Fort Windecker.*—This was one of the better class of stockaded dwellings, and stood on the river road in Mindenville, two miles above St. Johnsville. A picketed inclosure containing a block-house for a cannon encircled the dwelling of Johannes Windecker, where half a dozen patriotic families found refuge. The inclosure was a small one, as I learned from a soldier who was occasionally on duty there. It was about eight miles from Fort Plain, and two miles from Fort Willet, when that was erected. One very interesting event transpiring at Fort Windecker, is given in the second volume of this work. It is believed this house was fortified in the spring of 1777.

*Fort Willett.*—The general destruction of the Dutchtown settlement in 1780 necessitated some place of defense, and one was erected that fall and completed in the following spring, on a rise of ground now (1880), owned by William Zimmerman. An acre was inclosed in palisades, mostly of oak a foot thick, cut 15 feet long and set three feet in the ground. The timber was cut from the farms of those to be benefited; and in 1849 George Countryman, who was a name-sake of his father, assured the writer that he, a lad at the time, drove the team to draw a part of it; and, at the close of the war, the farmers divided and

used the palisades. The following citizens are remembered as having huts within the square inclosure, viz.: George, Marks, and John Countryman, John Pickard (school-master), Henry Sanders (the most distant settler), Frederick Walrath, Isaac Van Camp (father of the young blacksmith who killed an Indian with his hammer), Henry Apple,\* George Bryce and Henry Walrath, Esq. Some distance from the house of the latter, a block-house was erected and called Fort Walrath; but there being no one in it to defend it, the Indians burned it at the August invasion of 1780. Fort Willet, which was one and a half miles from Fort Plank, had two block-houses in its northeast and southwest corners. A wagon entrance was on the east side, and a small gate on the north side led to a well. The inclosure, if necessary, would accommodate a thousand men. The families had stables built of logs, but outside of the inclosure. Powder was secured in the hut of George Countryman. An eccentric soldier at this post once had a live snake in his bosom, and with it he frightened women and children. This fort got its name as follows: Col. Willett, a rather large and coarse-featured man, then in command of Fort Plain, rode out to visit it when nearly completed. Said he: "*Boys, you have a nice fort here; what do you call it?*" It has no name, was the reply; can you not give it one?

"Well," said the colonel, "*this is one of the nicest forts on the frontier; and, if you choose to, you can call it after me.*" They did so.

After the destruction of grain in 1780, some of the families at Fort Willett gathered acorns on which to fatten their hogs; while others allowed them to run in the woods and gather their own living, and shot them in the winter.—*George Countryman.*† He died August 3, 1851, in his 79th year.

*The Johnstown Fort.*—Soon after Sir John Johnson—who claimed the ownership of the jail—abandoned Johnson Hall and his princely possessions, the patriotic citizens secured the jail, palisaded it, and increased its accommodations by the erection

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\* He was so named because, when an infant, he was found under an apple tree, where he had been mysteriously left.

† Mrs. John Plank, a sister of this man, assured the writer at the age of 75, that she was born in Fort Willet, and her sister, Mrs. Jacob Copeman, was born in Fort Plank, then their place of refuge three years before. *Fort Johnson*—the old residence of Sir William Johnson—more than once sheltered American soldiers during the war.

of block-houses in the diagonal corners of the inclosure. This was a very important post during the war, and was generally guarded by a company or two of troops, who were looked after by Colonel Visscher and Lieut.-Col. Veeder. Capt. Little was usually its local commandant. It became the rallying centre for a large district of country, and the jail was used for both civil and military prisoners.

*Fort Hunter*, at the mouth of Schoharie creek, is elsewhere mentioned. This was a post of less importance than the Johnstown Fort, nine miles distant, but served a good purpose in that locality. In that part of Tryon county small predatory parties were seen less frequently than in its western districts. Here and there a private dwelling was fitted for defense, but such were less numerous than they were 20 or 30 miles farther to the westward.

*Events in the Life of a Soldier.*—I have in detail the experience of several soldiers serving in the war; which, as they reflect much of camp life, I copy for the reader's benefit. Items make up the sum total of history, as they do the merchant's store of goods; and each seems necessary in its place to complete the variety, whether of narrative or merchandise.

James Williamson, with whom the writer had several interviews late in his life, and of whom several anecdotes will be elsewhere published, was born at Southold, Long Island, June 12, 1759. In April, 1776, being then nearly 17, he enlisted into the American army under Capt. Daniel Roe, for a term of nine months, and at the expiration of that time he re-enlisted to serve during the war. Subsequent to the first enlistment, he served under Captains Pell, Sacket, Gray and Fowler. In the autumn of 1777, after witnessing the surrender of Burgoyne, the regiment of Col. Henry B. Livingston, to which he belonged, joined the army of the Commander-in-chief in Pennsylvania.

Much of the month of November and early part of December were spent by Generals Washington and Howe, in fruitless attempts to gain some advantage over each other. At this time Livingston commanded a picket guard of 80 men, and was sent forward in the hope of bringing Howe to an engagement; the result of which was, a severe skirmish with the enemy at White Marsh. Livingston was met by a superior force and retreated, but could not draw the wary foe after him. In the collision

between the pickets, Williamson had several bullets through his coat, but escaped without a scratch.

Soon after the skirmish mentioned, Williamson obtained permission for himself and two others to reconnoiter between the armies, to pick up stragglers. While thus engaged, his attention was drawn to a small house at some distance, by seeing a horse tied at the gate, and thither he went. As he neared the dwelling, he heard a female voice calling for help. He ran there followed by his companions, and at the door he observed two soldiers, a Hessian and an Englishman, in the wanton act of destroying furniture. The woman of the house would seize first on the property and then on the persons of her intruders to prevent their violent conduct; begging, crying and shouting *murder and help* at the top of her voice. Williamson stepped in at the door unobserved, and in a stern manner demanded:

*What are you 'bout here?* Had the ghost of Saul risen before them, these vagabond soldiers would not have been taken more aback. The property they had just grasped to destroy fell from their hands, while the woman, regarding her last visitant as a *friend indeed*, looked a welcome through her tears. *Surrender yourselves my prisoners!* exclaimed the sergeant in a voice of thunder, presenting his musket. At this moment his companions entered the door, and seeing themselves outnumbered—and they at the moment unarmed—these hirelings of Britain yielded sulkily to American authority.

Compelling both prisoners to mount the horse they had tied at the gate, with the Hessian in front, one of his friends took the bridle-reins, while Williamson and the other with the guns of their captors brought up the rear; and thus they marched to the quarters of Col. Livingston, to the merriment of his command. The Hessian could speak but little English, and the Colonel interrogated young John Bull—who feigned it, or was really very drunk—as to the object of their diabolical deeds when taken: but, to all his questions, the culprit simply replied in a squealing voice: *Hang me! hang me!* “You dirty son of a b—,” said the Colonel, “*you are not worth hanging!*” and out of all patience with the knave he ordered the prisoners to the guard-house.

In the summer of 1778, Williamson was an actor in the battle of Monmouth, at which time a bullet passed through his hat,

just shaving the hair from the top of his head. He supposed, at the moment, some one had struck him, and was not undeceived until the action was over. In the latter part of the season he was on duty in Rhode Island, at which time Col. Livingston's regiment was broken up. Capt. Pell's company, of which Williamson was a sergeant, then became incorporated in Col. Cortlandt's regiment, and soon after went into winter quarters at Johnstown, N. Y.

There are some seasons in the lives of all men, no matter what their occupation, that afford a relaxation from the mind-engrossing topic, and allow them to recruit. Indeed, if it were not so, one-half the world would die of ennui. The sailor,

Whose home is on the rolling wave,

when his barque, after long buffeting with storms, is again safely moored, spends a little time and much money in seeking enjoyment. Men of all occupations find seasons of rest, and with them the soldier; and although he may not part with his earnings as freely as the tar, yet he meets with new scenes, which, in reality—turning over a new leaf in the ledger of his existence—serve to keep his mind properly balanced, and make his life agreeable.

Soon after our hero went to Johnstown, he found a new foe grasping at his heart-strings; and becoming careless of its *keys*—although he had escaped the bullets of the British—he soon found himself a prisoner to Cupid, imploring the smiles of a blushing and beautiful maid, who seemed to hold over him the bag-*I*-knit. To make a long story short—for it is one of many winter evenings' length, ere the spring buds of 1779 began to swell or the soldier enter a new campaign (I must say it for Jimmy, for he can't say it for himself)—he had vowed to love and promised to marry, at the earliest practicable moment, Miss Eleanor Beadle.

In the spring of 1779, the company to which Williamson belonged joined Gen. James Clinton's division of the army at Canajoharie, which was destined, under Gen. Sullivan, to desolate the Indian settlements in the Genesee country in retaliation of their depredations the preceding two years. It seems a melancholy fact that necessity should require thousands of fruit trees—the growth of many years, and in full bearing—to be destroyed. Large apple-trees with fruit just ripening,



thrifty peach-trees loaded with blushing rareripes, and extensive fields of corn with ears a foot and a half long, were all cut down, and the latter, when practicable, if not used for forage, cast into a river or lake. Beans, potatoes, squashes, etc., were collected with corn, when not otherwise disposed of, piled in heaps with dry wood and other combustibles and burned.

In this expedition Williamson belonged to the Second New York Regiment, then commanded by Col. Rigne, a well-made, jovial French officer of merit. Having a blanket assigned him while Clinton's army was at the foot of Otsego lake—now Cooperstown—which was rather small, the sergeant thought to get a larger one from the public chest. He put on his, and turning in the edges so as to make it appear small, he proceeded to the tent of his good-natured Colonel. He told a pitiful story about the blanket—which grew very small as he advanced—with as good grace as he could command, and closed by saying: “*See, it will not reach to my feet nights.*” The good-humored Frenchman, who had readily penetrated the trick, left his seat, and, seizing a corner of the covering, he said: “Let me see him,” and he drew its concealed edges out and increased its dimensions, notwithstanding the sergeant's attempt to prevent it. The officer, who was much amused at the device, broke forth in the following strain: “Ha, you pe von tam nice leetle Yankee! Your planket pees no big enough, eh? ha, ha, ha. You pees von nice, leetle, long, short mon, be gar!” he added, raising the blanket above his head at the word *long*, and restoring it to his shoulders with the close of the sentence. Williamson had made himself tall in his anxiety to get a more desirable blanket; but he was, in truth, a short and stout built man. Foiled, but greatly amused at the playful manner in which his Colonel had received his request, the sergeant gathered up his blanket and returned to his tent.

In the fall of 1780, Williamson was on duty in the valley of the Hudson, and witnessed the execution of the unfortunate Andre, on which occasion he said there was scarcely an eye present that was not moistened by pity's sympathetic tear. Shortly after this event his company went into winter quarter's at Fort Stanwix, under Col. Cortlandt. During his stay at this fort, he was the sergeant who bore the monthly returns from Col. C. to the commandant at Albany. He usually went

alone, armed only with a broad-sword : and leaving the fort just at night, he would arrive as near as possible to Fort Herkimer by daylight, a distance of about 30 miles. Much of the way between those posts was then a primitive forest, and his path beset by Indians and wild beasts. To avoid a surprise of the enemy he traveled in the night. While on this journey late in the fall, wolves were howling upon his track for miles ; and, as they neared him, he would flourish his sword at them, and unaccustomed to fencing they would fall back, to renew their pursuit and terrific baying as he moved on again. After daylight they left him to pursue the remainder of his journey unmolested.

When carrying one of those monthly dispatches late in the winter, three others of the garrison made it convenient to accompany him—Capt. Moody, of the artillery, going on duty to the forts below ; Lieut. Fralick going to see his lady-love, and Seth Howell, who had a furlough, to visit distant friends. The weather was extremely cold, and the snow deep ; and before reaching Thompson's creek—since called Steele's creek—at Ilion, Howell had frosted his feet. They found the stream open and swollen, and, not able to cross it dry-shod, they forded it, soon after which Howell gave out. An enemy might be about on snow-shoes—but Howell would perish without it—and soon a good fire was made for him, and his comrades journeyed on. By great exertion to keep awake the three kept moving, and, when nearly exhausted, just at daylight—and still a mile or two above Fort Herkimer—they approached and entered a dwelling, probably that of Rudolph Shoemaker. On entering the house, sleep soon overcame Williamson ; but his friends, revived by warmth and nourishment, proceeded on to the fort. When the sleeper awoke he was helpless ; but the family treated him kindly, bathing his limbs in spirits : he recovered his strength and gained the fort, where, to his great surprise, he found Howell in good condition. Impressing a sleigh—as he had authority from Col. Cortlandt to do—the messenger took in his companions, who were glad fortune had given them a ride. Parting company with them and the sleigh at Fort Plain, the express proceeded to Albany.

Returning to Fort Herkimer on this errand, Williamson learned that two boys living near the fort, who had gone back

of an orchard that day to drive home cows, had been captured by a party of seven Indians and two Tories. The commanding officer of the fort advised the sergeant to delay his return to Fort Stanwix for a day or two ; but duty, he said, must prevail, and he set forward that evening. Proceeding several miles, he came to a deserted log-house, and, seeing a light, he thought it in possession of an enemy ; but by a nearer approach he discovered that he had been alarmed by the glimmer of a bright star, which peered through the crannies of the building. Soon after daylight he reached the bridge over the Oriskany creek, on which he halted to rest. Just at this moment he heard the report of a rifle, fired but a few rods distant. Looking in the direction whence the sound came, he saw a column of smoke, and believing the gun had been discharged at him, he ran two miles to the Oriskany battle-ground, where, greatly wearied, he sat down to rest upon the skull of a victim of that contest. After another run of about four miles he struck the river bank, and two miles more brought him to the fort in safety. He learned subsequently that the party which had captured the Fort Herkimer boys had that morning halted near the Oriskany, and, while there, one of their number had shot a duck. But for the discharge of that gun, he would probably have lost his life or his liberty. They soon after struck his track in the snow near the bridge, and knowing, by their wonderful discrimination, that it had been made within the hour, they followed it for some distance ; but encumbered with prisoners—and his speed increased—they did not overtake him.

While bearing another month's dispatches to Albany, Williamson's duty required him to go via Fort Paris and Johnstown. Between the posts mentioned, there yet remained quite a body of snow ; and having plowed his weary way through it for miles, he arrived at a bare spot upon a knoll, where he stopped to rest. He was very sleepy and essayed several times to proceed ; but the repose was so agreeable that he was losing the fear of freezing when the nearest to it. Suddenly he was startled by the howl of a wolf, and looking back he saw a large one upon his track scarcely two rods distant. Springing to his feet he drew his old sword, well sharpened for an emergency, and brandishing it with fearful gyrations, accompanied by a yell that told favorably for his lungs, his four-footed foe took

the back track. Completely aroused from his drowsiness, he started on and arrived safely at the Johnstown fort. The circumstance of this wolf's striking his path, possibly saved his life: certainly it was the means of hastening an interview with his beloved Eleanor.\*

March 2, 1781, Sergeant Williamson with half a dozen soldiers and as many wood-choppers, went a mile from Fort Stanwix; he to measure a pile of wood, and superintend the cutting of more. They had been engaged in the woods but a short time, when Brant sprang from a covert near by, at the head of a strong force of Indians and Tories, and made the whole party prisoners, except William Moffatt—a soldier who was left mortally wounded—and our hero, who escaped by flight amidst a shower of bullets to the fort. The captives were hurried off to Canada, and experienced their full share of suffering from cold, hunger and gantlet running.†

Some time in the summer of 1781, Williamson visited Johnstown on a furlough, when the knot which unites two willing hearts joined him and Miss Beadle in wedlock. After too brief a honeymoon to determine whether or not he could bless the inventor of matrimony, he was called away to join the troops destined to capture Cornwallis and his army.

During the siege of Yorktown, and believed on the night before Col. Scammel was killed, Sergeant Williamson was ordered to take a few volunteers and reconnoitre the enemy's picket. When the soldiers enquired the nature of the duty, he replied: *To capture Cornwallis!* and so eager were the men to join him, that the scout contemplated was nearly doubled. They approached a fire between the posts of the enemy, and he was watching an opportunity to capture a British soldier; when his proximity became known to a sentinel, who fired his gun and retreated. In a short time a large party of the enemy

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\* For those hazardous journeys Williamson made between Fort Stanwix and Albany, he was to have \$25 each. For his pay for four or five of them he gave Michael Connelly an order, who reported no money in the treasury; soon after which he went to Europe, and died on his passage home. The records at Albany were afterwards searched, and it was found the agent had drawn the money and used it. This money—a hundred dollars or more—was too dearly earned by this faithful soldier to be pilfered by a dishonest agent.

† Seth Howell and Ephraim White, two very large men from Rhode Island, who were usually called by their fellow-soldiers *Babes in the woods*, on account of their size, were with the escort and taken to Canada—said Samuel Pettit, a soldier in the fort at the time.

had nearly surrounded the daring provincials with whom they had exchanged shots, when the sergeant resorted to a successful *ruse*, that would have done credit to a veteran officer. Turning round he called aloud the names of several American Generals, ordering them to *advance and display column*. Darkness favored the project, the foes of liberty fell back panic stricken; and improving his opportunity, Williamson drew all his men off safely—except that *he* received a bullet wound in one leg. He would probably have been captured by the enemy, had not Nicholas Stoner, one of his volunteers, heard him call on a black volunteer for assistance. The call was disregarded by the soldier addressed, but Stoner—as he assured the writer—lent him a helping hand, and both regained their own camp. The sergeant was at first quite angry toward the negro for running by and leaving him in the moment of peril.\*

The following singular incident, said Williamson, took place at this memorable siege. When one of the American batteries was nearly completed, a party of British troops attempted one night to capture it. In the battery was a soldier named Lowder, who was there on sentinel duty; but whose somnific tendency got the mastery of him. The angel of LIBERTY did not slumber, however, and as danger threatened, whispered in the ear of the drowsy sentinel a note of alarm. At the top of his voice he shouted: "*Parade! parade! my lads, the enemy is upon us!*" The men did parade and drove back with some loss the presumptuous foemen, who were just ready as they believed to enter the little fortress in triumph. Lowder, whose voice sounded the alarm which had saved the battery, not being observed among his companions, was at first supposed to have been slain; but his prostrate body only needed a good shaking to bring it again to life. He declared on being fully aroused that he had not the least knowledge of what had transpired;

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\* The black soldiers of the Revolution were generally as brave and faithful as were the whites; going to prove which is an incident told the author by Capt. Eben Williams. One night while the siege of Yorktown was in progress, and the British artillery was serrenading the allied army; two black sentinels were posted together. A cannon shot killed one outright and wounded the other in a leg; awhile after which the officer of patrol came to relieve them. Arriving at the wounded hero, he enquired where his comrade was, thinking he had deserted his post. "I dont know where he is," was the reply, "But I guess him dead, for he no 'poke for sometime." And sure enough, on examination, his body was still at the post of honor, but his spirit had winged its flight.

and said that if he had thus called the men to arms, it had been prompted by a dream. This novel narrative was corroborated by Maj. Nicholas Stoner.

Some of Mr. Williamson's services will necessarily appear elsewhere, and especially his honorable designation to receive half the British standards at the surrender of Cornwallis. He performed the duty of orderly sergeant for several years under different Captains, and no doubt merited a commission. Influential friends procured promotion for many less deserving in that war—indeed, it is thus in all wars, preferment not always following true merit. After the war he became a resident of Johnstown, where for years he taught school and did public writing for a living—later in life he lived upon a pension from the government. In 1834 he became a widower, and in 1840, he married a Mrs. Shear, a widow. He died in Fultonville, April 19, 1842. His funeral took place at the court house in Fonda, April 22, when Rev. David Dyer gave an interesting discourse from Ecc. 8: 8. He was buried with military honors, Gen. P. H. Fonda directing; and was interred in Veeder's ground, a mile to the westward of the village.

*Notes from an Old Soldier, in July, 1851.*—Flavel Clark, of Mohawk village, Herkimer county, was 90 years old April 3d, preceding our interview. He was a son of Simon Clark, of Lebanon, Ct., in which town the Rev. Eleazer Wheelock established his *Indian Charity School*. Mr. Clark entered the republican army at the age of 15, and was in active service most of the time during the war. He was in action on Long Island under Gen. Parsons, who was repulsed in attempting to take a fort. He was in the battle of Germantown, October 3, 1777; at the Monmouth conflict June 28, 1778; and under the gallant Wayne at the storming of Stony Point July 16, 1779. In the latter affair his Captain (Phelps) was under Col. Meigs. Gen. Washington visited the fort the morning after its capture, before sunrise.

This post was not so completely surprised as it was designed it should be; and why not, the following incident will show. At a place where the Americans halted on their march for definite instructions, a British drummer who had deserted and joined the Americans a week or two before, clandestinely left the camp, and as supposed fled directly to the fort; as a guard not

only met the invaders without the garrison, but the latter proved to be awake and ready for resistance. But the impetuosity of *mad* Anthony was irresistible and his daring followers soon planted freedom's stars where the British lion had frowned. The drummer was not again seen, and it was supposed he had been sent at once on board of a British vessel, to escape merited vengeance.

A day or two after the capture of Stony Point, one of those painful scenes came off so trying to the feelings of a soldier. Five men were tried for offenses which forfeited their lives, three of whom were condemned to be hung. A Connecticut soldier named Chase, who had deserted a second time was one of the sufferers, the other two were tories and possibly were executed as spies. Near the center of the fort two crotches were set up, across which a pole cut from a flag-staff was laid, and from it were suspended the quivering forms of the unfortunate victims. They ascended on a ladder to have the rope adjusted, and from it were thrown off into eternity. In 1777, Mr. Clark was on duty—mostly night service, in the vicinity of Philadelphia, when that city was occupied by the enemy, and so scantily was the larder of the troops supplied, that for three days the daily ration per man was only half a gill of rice. Clark had husbanded a little store of food when this allowance began; but before even a lean "calf was killed," he with others was nearly starved. At this time Clark and many of the men were nearly bare-footed. Not only did the American soldier suffer for food in this campaign, but often had he to camp down for a time, where his blanket would be frozen to the ground in the morning. At one place where they built a fire and camped around it for the night, a poor Connecticut soldier named Cook, rather a weakly man, was found dead at day light.

The historian, *Botta*, says that Gen. Stephens was cashiered for misconduct on the retreat of the Americans from Germantown. The circumstances leading to his disgrace, said Mr. Clark, who was a soldier under him, were much as follows: The British moved on to Philadelphia, leaving a body of Hessians behind them. Gen. Stephens wishing to distinguish himself, obtained from Gen. Varnum's brigade, three regiments, two of Connecticut troops, commanded by Colonels Duryea and Chandler, and one of Rhode Island under Lieut.-Col. Olney.

With this body of men he crossed the Schuylkill in the night with the water several feet deep and ice forming upon it, and marched down several miles and almost in sight of the enemy ; and in the morning he marched back again. On the following night the farce was re-enacted, and the troops again endured a fatiguing march to a close proximity to the foe. No demonstration was made to attack them in their camp, however, and on the second morning it was broken up. The Hessians crossed the river on a bridge which they took up without molestation, and moved on toward the city. After his foes had placed an insuperable barrier between the armies, the river not being fordable at that place ; Gen. Stephens led his command with a flourish of trumpets to the abandoned camping ground, still cheered by burning camp fires ; but a field as barren of glory for a military hero, as an empty oyster shell of comfort to an epicure. The soldiers thought their General was very bold when the enemy were out of sight. He again marched back to camp, having led his men at the end of his second fool's errand, a fourth time through the chilling Schuylkill,\* three times out of four at the same ford. For this evident want of courage, he was tried by court-martial and cashiered.

In the winter of 1777 and 1778, Mr. Clark was in Capt. Henderson's company, which performed a ranging duty in the vicinity of Philadelphia ; such as arresting tories, watching the motions of the enemy, and preventing so far as possible supplies or information of the *rebels* from reaching the city. The company was small, there being only 29 privates a part of the time, and the duty arduous ; the men being obliged often to change their position in the night to avoid surprise. Some time in February a party of seven British soldiers were conducted by a tory to the house of a patriotic Quaker living 12 or 15 miles from the city, to make him a prisoner. He was a resolute fellow, and if not a fighting man, was ready to defend his own dwelling. A midnight rap summoned him to the door, and readily divining what it might be for, he opened the door with a cutlass in one hand. In an instant several armed men attempted to cross the threshold, but a blow from his

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\* This word which he wrote *Schuilekill*, an intelligent gentleman from Copenhagen assured the writer, was of Danish origin, and signified *hidden springs*.



strong arm cleft the head of an assailant, and his fellows shrank back from a like fate in terror. The door was instantly closed, and just in time to receive several bullets, intended for the breast of the Quaker.

The enterprise was abandoned, and his comrades determined as soon as possible to take their friend to the city for medical aid. By dawn of day an express reached Capt. Henderson, encamped not very far off, and soon his Lieutenant with nine men—one of whom was informant—was on the trail of the enemy; easily followed by blood on a light fall of snow. The Americans did not come up with the city guests, but at the end of nine miles, they found their guns and accoutrements deposited in a fissure of rock, clotted blood being frozen upon the belt of a cartridge-box; and having secured them, they proceeded to a house near by to search for *red coats*. Instead of the latter they found concealed in some rubbish under a stairway, a man, who, as it subsequently turned out, had informed at the city and had led the enemy to the house of the Quaker. He was arrested and with the owner of the house taken to the camp of the captors. On arriving at the Friend's house named, his wife who possessed a heart as large as a half bushel measure, had a fine supper prepared for the wearied soldiers, to which they did ample justice. The prisoners were delivered to the army at Valley Forge, were tried, and the tory who led the enemy to the Quaker's house was found guilty and hung as a spy. The other man was dismissed with sage counsel for his future conduct.

Among other important events of the war, Mr. Clark witnessed the surrender of Cornwallis. He never was wounded. At the storming of Stony Point, he was forced *sans ceremony*, by the force of a cannon ball passing near him, several rods down a declivity; with no injury except the loss of a blanket. In January, 1800, he removed to New York and settled in the town of German Flats, where he ever after resided, a respected citizen. In the latter part of his life he went to a physician in Boston, and was effectually cured of a cancer upon his mouth. He died at Mohawk, January 29, 1852.

*Recollections of a Revolutionary Soldier.*—Joseph Moors, with whom the writer had several agreeable interviews, at his residence in Plainfield, Otsego county, where he settled after

the Revolution, was born October 13, 1761, at Groton, Middlesex county, Mass. His father, after whom he was named, was a soldier in the French war, and was at the capture of Louisburg. In the Revolution he was a captain of Militia, and in that capacity was under Col. Prescott in the battle of Bunker Hill. Just after that battle the subject of this notice, then but a lad, enlisted into the regiment of the brave Prescott. In the spring of 1776 his regiment was stationed on Governor's Island, where it remained until after the Long Island disasters, when it moved up to Fort Washington.

While constructing a fort on Governor's Island, Prescott's men dug up the body of a sailor; and no little fear was manifested in camp, lest the tar had died of small-pox. Some cannon were one day being proved by double charges on the Battery, when one of them, an old piece, exploded and killed several men, who were buried in the lower end of Broadway. At this point in the pretty little park—now Bowling Green—there then stood an equestrian statue of King George. It was of lead, bronzed. In another part of the city stood a stone statue of Pitt, then Lord Chatham. One hand was extended, with the fore-finger thrust out at length. Some person had broken the finger when informant saw it. While stationed at Governor's Island, Moors witnessed the execution of a sergeant who was one of Gen. Washington's body-guard. He was condemned, with three others, to be hung for an attempt to poison Gen. Washington at New York. The sergeant, who was a fine-looking fellow, and an Irishman by birth, was hung near the Bowery. The other three conspirators, whose execution was delayed for some cause, were put in prison, where they still remained when the British took possession of the city and liberated them.

The news of the Declaration of Independence was received at Fort Washington while Moors was in it. Gen. Mifflin bore the dispatches, and, on his arrival the army formed a hollow-square to hear him read it. This instrument, that was forever to tear the richest jewel from the Crown of England, was hailed with enthusiasm by the troops. Informant recognized Gen. Mifflin at this time, having seen him at Cambridge the year before with a load of deer-skin breeches—possibly for the army. Gen. M. was a well-made man, with a dark complexion. While

at Fort Washington, Moors had the *camp distemper*, and was removed with a load of sick some miles into the country, soon after which the fort was taken by the enemy. On his recovery, the term of his enlistment having expired, he returned home.

In 1777 Moors was on duty in Rhode Island three months. In 1779, he again enlisted for nine months, at which time he went on duty near West Point. While marching from Connecticut to the Hudson, he saw a soldier hung near the Croton river. He was in a trooper's dress, with boots on. Private soldiers in the infantry, said an old pensioner, were not allowed to wear boots, and were liable to a fine if seen with them on.

Near West Point he saw a sergeant, a corporal, and two privates stripped and flogged one cold morning, each receiving *one hundred* lashes upon his bare back. These soldiers belonged to Gen. Glover's brigade, and left the army with several others to go home, insisting that their term of enlistment had expired. Their officers declared the time was not up, and the men were overtaken and brought back as deserters. The four mentioned were tried by court martial and punished; the two privates being the two youngest boys in their regiment. Pease, the sergeant, who was in Col. Shepard's regiment, had been a brave soldier, having served under the daring Montgomery at Quebec. Much sympathy was felt among their fellow soldiers for these sufferers, particularly for the boys. The latter did not utter one word of complaint; but each taking a leaden bullet in his mouth, bit upon it as the punishment was inflicted. Public whipping in the army was undoubtedly productive of more evil than good; an ambitious spirit being injured, rather than improved, by so degrading a ceremony. The duty of whipping devolved on drummers; and as Moors was a drummer on Governor's Island, he once had to perform the disagreeable task. If a culprit was to receive 40 stripes, four drummers were called up, each to inflict ten blows. Early in the war, Moors witnessed an unusual amount of whipping, especially in the Pennsylvania line.

The soldier's larder is often supplied surreptitiously. On the lines between Connecticut and New York, Moors was cook for a sergeant's mess, and went one evening two miles from camp, with a friend, to forage for their own table. Their attention

having been arrested by the quacking of geese in a field near a house, they hastened to it, each provided with a long pole. As the descendants of that flock which saved Rome thrust up their necks in the uncertain light, the poles were put in requisition, and the young rogues soon after returned to camp with their plunder. Expecting a search would be made the next day for the missing geese, the soldiers buried them under their tent. In the course of the day after this adventure, the young commissaries had the audacity to go to the very house, near the goose pasture, to learn what the family might say about their loss. The lady of the house—a kind-hearted old woman, expressed her regret at her loss, but manifested great sympathy for her visitors, making the young scape-goats as comfortable as possible, regaling them with hasty-pudding and milk. Suspicion not attaching to their tent, and a suitable quantity of potatoes and turnips having been levied elsewhere, the poultry was taken up the next evening and feasted on by the soldiers—

Who concluded as "stolen waters sweet,"  
Were goslings doomed to suffer in a cause;  
*Which did not prosper without meat,*  
Obtained at times through stealthy martial laws.

Soldiers played cards in camp for amusement: not often for money, unless for small sums, but frequently for grog or a day's rations of food. Many a time has the loser gone hungry a day, unless he could purchase part of a fellow soldier's rations.

In 1781, a sea captain named Scott, went to Groton, Mass., to enlist recruits for the ship *Venus*, then at Boston, and bound on a privateering voyage. Not a few valuable prizes had been taken by the daring Yankees—many fortunes had been made; and all things considered, the enterprise promised to prove more lucrative, than farther service in the army. Accordingly, Moors, and three other young men of the same town named Peter Stevens, John Trowbridge, and one Ames enlisted for the voyage and repaired on board of the *Venus*, a vessel carrying 20 guns—16, 18, and 24 pounders, and four possum guns. The latter were dangerous looking engines, but being of wood were not expected to thunder very loud.

The *Venus*, under the command of Capt. George Babcock, an old salt who had made several successful voyages of the kind,

set sail with a crew of about 100 men, representing nearly all the nations of the earth. The first landing the ship made, was on the Island of Shoals, near Cape Breton. The island is low and can be seen only at a short distance. Cattle were put upon it at an early day by some European nation, that its mariners might there obtain provisions. The next landing of the *Venus* was on the coast of Newfoundland. From a small cove in which she was moored, thirty mariners were sent on shore to visit a small English settlement two miles distant, where they hoped to find an English vessel. The village was inhabited by fishermen, and not finding any shipping there, the boats sent round to act in concert with the mariners in case of necessity, took the liberty to plunder a quantity of fish their owners were drying.

The fishermen were armed with guns, but the marines having succeeded in cutting off retreat to their dwellings, they made no resistance, and saw them transfer to their boats the fruit of many day's labor. The party on land scattered about the hamlet in the mean time, eagle-eyed for plunder. Moors entered a large house alone to make *discoveries*. In a spare room, which contained some drugs and a hogshead of coarse woollens, he espied a nice vest, which he lost no time in concealing behind the cask. He was yet in the room when a man entered it, took off his coat and reached for the vest—it was gone: he looked daggers, but said not a word. Before leaving the place, Moors secured the vest, and at the same house a flask of rum and a ham, being all the plunder he made among the fishermen. The Americans sunk about a dozen fishing schooners after taking out the fish, and making part of their owners prisoners, returned to the ship. One of their best boats had been saved, and in it the prisoners were sent back to their homes, there to mourn over the hard fate meted to them by the war-god.

The *Venus* now shaped her course for Europe; and after several days sailing, the crew were cheered about 11 o'clock one foggy morning, by discovering the topsail of a noble ship close by; and scarcely had they made the sight, when another and another sail met their vision. Capt. Babcock hailed the first ship, and to feed the hopes of his men came the response: "An English merchantman from England bound for Halifax."

The speculating mariners now began to dream of realizing the desires of Ortugal, or of the more modern gold hunters of California—by becoming suddenly rich. Those who had wives already saw them clad in India silks and sipping India tea on the sly, and those who had none thought their chance enhanced for obtaining them, among the patriotic maidens of New England.

The presumptuous Yankees were about to bid the first merchantman haul down his pendant, when lo ! to the mortification of the fortune hunters, a gentle breeze lifted the clouds, and they found themselves in the neighborhood of a fleet of English merchantmen under convoy of two British *frigates*, the *Surprise* and *Diana*.

A sailor's dreams of wealth at sea,  
Alas ! how soon may wing and flee :  
How suddenly 'his hopes of bliss  
Erebus sends to her abyss,  
When force superior gains the helmsman's lee.

The deck of the privateer suddenly became one of bustle and confusion, preparation being made for an engagement : but the hazard was too great, and now every possible effort was made to claw-off. But it was no go ; the *Surprise* had given chase—was fast bearing down on them, and soon a leward gun from her bows brought up the *Venus*. She found a new commander, and Capt. Babcock and his crew were prisoners of war. In the day time the prisoners, officers excepted, were placed on deck back of the mizzen-mast, among a lot of hen-coops. What a change had passed over the young privateers' dreams. The prisoners were confined below deck at night, entering the hold at six o'clock, from which at the same hour in the morning they were let up. They received two-thirds British allowance while on board the *Surprise*, the officers of which were courteous and gentlemanly towards them. Several other privateers were no less agreeably *surprised*, than had been the *Venus* before they reached Halifax. The new governor of that place, Sir Andrus Snap Hammond was on board of one of the transports, which was fastened nights to a frigate. The weather was rough, and it was several days before they made the destined port, where the prisoners were transferred to a prison-ship—an old vessel of French construction. The pri-

vates were afterwards placed on a new ship and held in durance under a British sergeant.

Moors became afraid to remain a prisoner through the winter, and as fall approached he resolved to make his escape. The ship had a bulk-head in which provisions were kept, of which it became necessary to obtain a supply. The plank for the bulk-head were in an upright position, fastened at the top and bottom. On a dark night, with a knife and crowbar, Moors soon entered the ship's larder and obtained a supply of biscuit. This accomplished, he proposed to his fellow townsmen their escape, and they all agreed to hazard the attempt. The ship was moored nearly a mile from the shore; to reach which no chicken-hearted landsman would have tried: but what was danger to the young men of the Revolution? It was agreed that Stevens and Trowbridge should start first, and after an allowance of sea-room their companions were to follow.

There were two port holes in the ship's stern, from which the prisoners could escape. With bundles fastened upon their backs, each consisting of a green baize jacket with a quantity of biscuit in the centre, Trowbridge and Stevens set out for the shore. Between the prison-ship and the shore lay the Vulture, the sloop of war from which Maj. Andre was landed the year before, below West point. She had recently been engaged with an American vessel, and her pretty yellow sides needed important repairs. Around her was a float of timber and plank, and as Trowbridge passed it, his companion, who was not the best swimmer in the world, gave out and got upon it.

After the two named left, Moors attempted to procure a boat which was fastened to the ship's side. He swam round to it, and while loosening it the noise attracted the notice of a sentinel, who caught hold of the painter and drew it up. Leaving his hat in the boat, he dropped into the water silently, and swam back to Ames at the vessel's stern unobserved. Securing their scanty wardrobe to their shoulders, they also trusted to the waves, and ere long joined Trowbridge on the beach. They were attracted to the same landing by a blazing fire on shore.

Stevens was discovered crawling up on the float and an alarm given, when he was taken on board; and after a day or two he enlisted to remain upon her. Only a few days after, long

enough to repent of serving his country's foes, a fire broke out in Halifax, and the Vulture's men were taken on shore to aid in extinguishing it. In marching back to the boats, Stevens resolved to escape, and sprang into a lane. The darkness favored his flight. He left the city, found friends to aid him, and after a while reached his native town in safety.

The country was somewhat marshy around Halifax, and the trio who had gained the shore wandered about for some time to find a road by which to leave town, still hoping that Stevens would join them. Daylight overtook them yet in sight of the city, and fearing they might be arrested, they concealed themselves in woods not far from the road. The day was one of anxiety and fasting, the sea water having saturated their biscuit. The first house the party arrived at in the evening, was a tavern, which they dare not enter. They halted at a log house, and Trowbridge entered it and made known the wants of the party, and as the family was friendly to the American cause, they were given food and told to avoid Windsor, a town they were approaching; and some two miles distant to take a by road which would lead them to a settlement, where they would find friends.

They traveled a great distance that night and gaining the place foretold, were treated with marked hospitality. They went to work for a time, and the employer of Moors bought him a *fashionable* beaver hat. He had proceeded thus far from Halifax bare-headed. After a stay of several weeks at this place, the trio went to Port Royal—now Annapolis, and were there temporarily safe with a friend. Trowbridge had an uncle near this town, and going to see him became an object of suspicion, was taken up and sent to the guard-house. This was a result anticipated by his comrades, for while they were concealed in a barn, the former got a boat and crossed the river in the night to his uncle's. Next day he imprudently exposed himself and was arrested. He was paroled under the security of his uncle, with whom he remained to the close of the war.

Near the mouth of the Bay of Fundy was a port, where sometimes chanced a British and at others an American vessel. To this place Moors and Ames repaired, and there they found an American privateer, and small prize she had taken. They



readily agreed to work their passage to Boston, and Moors was put on board the prize ; and as she leaked badly, he was kept most of the time at the pumps. There were only two of the privateersmen on board of her, one of whom was an old Skipper and had the craft in charge. Parting company with her captor the prize moved across the bay to a small island, near which they awaited for fair weather. After remaining in this position for nearly a week, Moors pumping in the mean time, fair weather came and they crossed over to the main land.

Having been treated severely on board the prize, Moors resolved to leave it. The old Skipper with a small boat at his service, concluded to go on shore and get some milk, but instead of heeding a call to breakfast, Moors stepped into the boat and pulled for the shore himself. It was the only boat the vessel had, and seeing his man escaping, the Skipper brought an old gun from the cabin, and threatened to shoot him if he did not return. If loaded it would not discharge, for the deserter gained the shore unharmed, although he swamped the skiff before reaching it. At some distance from the shore he received the hospitality of a kind hearted woman, who, having furnished him with provisions and good advice, sent him to Machias, in Maine, eight miles distant from her own dwelling. Blessed be the memory of this and all similar women, who aided the men who battled for freedom. At Machias, Moors found a family which had removed thither from Groton, with which he remained a week, when a Boston schooner came along and took him home. Thus ended his first and last voyage as a privateer. His fellow townsmen regained their homes in safety, Ames\* on a privateer belonging to Salem ; but like him they all failed to realize their dreams of sudden wealth as many had before, as many have since, and as still more will hereafter. Mr. Moors died highly esteemed in the community in which he long lived, on Monday, March 5, 1849, in the 88th year of his age. His amiable wife followed him to the spirit land August 20, 1850.

#### FORTIFICATIONS IN THE HIGHLANDS OF THE HUDSON.

*An Error in History.*—Several early writers have stated that

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\* At Annapolis Moors and Ames fell in with a deserter from a British frigate, a native of Philadelphia, who had been pressed into the British service ; and who returned with the latter to the States.

skillful engineers were sent out by the King of France, to explore the passage of the river through the Highlands, and locate suitable defenses ; and that they there superintended the erection of forts and obstructions to the navigation, *for which service they were never paid.* This is untrue. When the valley of the Hudson was being cared for in a military way, the King of France had manifested no sympathy with the patriotic cause. May 25, 1775, the Continental Congress passed resolutions recommending immediate measures to be taken to fortify the river at different points ; and four days after, those resolves appear on the Journal of the Provincial Congress of New York. May 30, committees were appointed by that body, one to view the river at King's Bridge—a structure about 60 feet long over the Spuyten Duyvel, or Harlem river—and the other to visit the Highlands and report a proper place for erecting one or more fortifications. That for the latter consisted of Col. James Clinton and Christopher Tappen, both delegates in the State Convention from Ulster county. They associated with them Captains Samuel Bayard and Erasmus Williams, and June 10 they reported progress. They assigned good reasons for selecting West Point as the most desirable place on which to erect fortifications.

June 16, the Provincial Congress ordered that a committee inquire into the depth of the Hudson from New York to New Windsor, and on the 17 of August, it resolved, that the fortifications formerly ordered by the Continental Congress, to be built in the Highlands, be immediately erected. Those works were on the east side of the river at West Point, and not at Poplopins Kill on the west side of the river some six miles below, as is erroneously stated on pages eight and nine of Mr. Ruttenber's, *Hudson River Obstructions.* The erection of Forts Montgomery and Clinton at that point was an after consideration.

August 30, six commissioners were appointed to take charge of the works in the Highlands. Bernard Romans, then a pensioner under the British crown, came to West Point about the first of September, 1775, to act as engineer ; but he was so constantly at loggerheads with the commissioners whose counsel he ignored, that they complained of his action September 28, to the State convention. The Continental Congress having de-

sired an examination of the Hudson by the engineer, with reference to its defense and obstructions at other points, Mr. Romans made a report to the State convention, October 16, sanctioned by Messrs. Bayard and Bedlow of the commission ; in which he suggested fortifications at Poplopins Kill, nearly opposite to Anthony's Nose.

October 17, the State convention wrote to the Continental Congress, that they expected in about six weeks to have the cannon mounted, in the fort then constructing in the Highlands. This became known as Fort Constitution, and was situated on "Martelair's Rock Island," afterwards called Constitution Island.

The difficulties continuing between the construction commission and Mr. Romans, the State convention sent a committee of three of its members, Messrs. Nicoll, Drake, and Palmer to West Point, if possible to restore harmony and report progress. December 14, they reported in substance, that Mr. Romans had either mistaken the charge committed to him, or had assumed powers with which he was not intrusted. Works the commissioners objected to be completed, and those they suggested he refused to erect. They said that from Fort Constitution, which he had planned, erected and nearly finished, the cannon could not be effectually used upon a vessel ascending the river, until she was 100 yards past the West Point. Other intended works they considered impracticable and too expensive. They recommended the erection of a battery on a gravel hill, to control the river at the point. They closed a lengthy report by recommending a fortification at Poplopins kill, on the west bank of the river some miles below that Point.

Romans continued about Fort Constitution—much of the time unemployed—until February, and about the 20th of that month he was finally settled with and took his departure.

Several batteries were erected during the war on the hills at West Point, and one of them erected by Thomas Grennell, on an eminence 714 yards from the Point, completed in January 1776, was called Fort Grennell.

Capt. William Smith, an engineer under Gen. Lee, was sent into the Highlands late in February, to succeed Mr. Romans, and on the first of March he reported progress. He suggested other batteries on the hills commanding West Point ; and then

directed attention to the contemplated works at Poplopins kill. This kill was a mill stream falling into the Hudson upon its west side, about six miles below West Point, and was there the dividing line between the counties of Orange and Rockland. As stated by Engineer Smith, in his report of March 1st, he had surveyed the ground at this kill, and staked out an intended fortification. This was the one erected on the north estuary of the stream in Orange county, and became known as Fort Montgomery. Subsequently another fort was built less than a mile distant, upon an eminence on the south side of the kill, known until destroyed as Fort Clinton. The construction of this post began on the 14 day of March, the men at work being quartered on vessels near by. This work was completed some time in the summer; but like its fellow across the kill, was built more with reference to a river than a land attack.

Engineer Smith is not mentioned as having had any connection with the works in the Highlands, after the early part of March, 1776. The winter following we find he had left the army and was engaged in moving merchandise. The commissioners got along as best they could with the works they had laid out, and their own judgment had devised, until Gen. Washington sent Capt. Thomas Machin,\* to their assistance. Owing to the skillful manner in which he had discharged the important duty of

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\* Mr. Machin received his first commission in the American service, as second lieutenant in the regiment of artillery, commanded by Col. Henry Knox, which was dated January 18th, 1776. That the patriots of Massachusetts were not only acquainted with Lieut. Machin's skill as an engineer, but actually called it into requisition in laying out the fortifications for the American camp around Boston, the following papers will show:

" BOSTON, June 19, 1776—Wednesday evening.

" To Lieut. Machin, at Nantasket:

" SIR—I informed the committee that you could go to Sandwich on the survey if it could be taken this week; in consequence of which, we agreed that you might set out as soon as you thought proper, and begin the survey, and that we would follow, and be there next Tuesday. I beg you would let me see you to-morrow evening, that the committee may hear what to depend on.

" Sir, your most humble serv't.,

" JAMES BOWDOIN."

" Lieut. Machin, the bearer hereof, being employed in y<sup>e</sup> Colony service, it is desired he may pass from hence to Sandwich and back without interruption.

" BOSTON, June 20, 1776

JAMES BOWDOIN."

" CAMP AT WHITE PLAINS, August, 9, 1778.

" These are to certify, that the subscriber, being Aid-de-Camp to Maj.-Gen'l Ward, in the year 1776, while stationed at Boston: General Ward directed Lieut. Thomas Machin, of the Artillery, to act as Engineer to erect fortifications for the defense of the

laying out fortifications around Boston earlier in that season, he was selected by the Commander-in-Chief for the arduous duty of securing the passage of the Hudson against the foe through the Highlands. The following letter carefully preserved by this engineer with other papers, first published in my *History of Schoharie County, etc.*, in 1845, will show at what time his labors there began :

“HEAD-QUARTERS, NEW YORK, 21st July, 1776.

“To Lieut. Machin :

“SIR—You are without delay to proceed to Fort Montgomery, or Constitution, in the Highlands, on Hudson’s river, and put yourself under command of Col. George Clinton, or the commanding officer there—to act as engineer in completing such works as are already laid out—and such others as you, with the advice of Col. Clinton, may think necessary : ’Tis expected and required of you, that you pay close attention to this business, and drive on the works with all possible despatch. In case of an attack from the enemy, or in any action with them, you are to join and act with the Artillery on that station ; and to return to your duty in the regiment as soon as you can be spared from the works.

“I am, sir, your most humble serv’t.

“GO. WASHINGTON.”



*Fac-simile of George Clinton's signature.*

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Town and Harbor of Boston, from the first of April, 1776, to the month of June following, which service he faithfully performed.

“JOSEPH WARD.”

Capt. Machin's commission subsequently dated his rank as Captain Lieutenant of U. S. Artillery, on the first day of January, 1777, although it did not pass the office of the Board of War, until April 21, 1780.

To the letter of instructions we find wafered the following paper :

“FORT MONTGOMERY, *August 9th*, 1776.

“A list of the carpenters that have entered into the Continental service under Capt. Burns : Stephen Concklin, Joseph Halsted, Joshua Sager, Silas White, John Young, John Homan, Gilbert Roberts, Barzilla Tuthill, Cornelius Van Vlack, James Scoldfield.”

“Capt. Burns—The above persons belonging to your company, being Artificers employed in the works here, you are therefore to have them at this place to be employed by and under the direction of Mr. Machin, the Engineer.

“GEO. CLINTON, Brig'r Gen'l.”

Gov. Clinton was promoted about the time Gen. Washington's directions to Lieut. Machin were dated, and having occasion to leave the works, he placed his brother, Col. James Clinton, in temporary command to oversee them, as the following paper will show :

“FORT MONTGOMERY, *10th August* 1776.

“To Lient Machin—As I am now ordered to march with the new levies to Kings Bridge, and as you will want many necessities for completing the new works we have begun on the south side of Poplopin's kill, and the works to be erected for securing the pass of Anthony's Nose. You are to use you best endeavors by all means in your power, (applying to Col. Clinton from time to time for his aid and advice) to purchase and procure such articles as may be wanted, of which the clerk of the Check is to keep a correct account. The artificers already employed and such others as may be wanted, are (in the erecting of these works) to be under your directions, for which purpose Col. Clinton will be given the necessary orders.

“I am your humble serv't,

“GEO. CLINTON, Brig. Gen.”

Gen. Schuyler early saw the necessity of obstructing the navigation of the Hudson in the Highlands, to prevent the passage of British shipping to Albany ; and communicated to the New York Council of Safety, Nov. 3, 1776, a wish to have the river's depth surveyed with reference to its obstruction ; and as the

papers relating to it are preserved with his own, Capt. Machin no doubt made that survey.

Col. Rufus Putnam, an officer of merit, commanded the 5th Massachusetts regiment, and was promoted to Brig. Gen. near the close of the war. He was wall-eyed. The following paper from Col. Putnam\* no doubt refers to the survey of the Hudson made agreeable to Gen. Schuyler's request.

“PEEKSKILL, December 13th, 1776.

“SIR—I beg you will not delay sending a sketch of the North river through the Highlands, with a geographical description of the country on the west side ; as I am going in a few days to wait on His Excellency with the best account of this part of the country that, without an actual survey, I am able to give. If you cannot send to me in two days, you must send it to His Excellency as soon as possible, for I can wait no longer.

“Sir, your humble servant,

“R. PUTNAM.”

“To Lieut. Machin, Engineer.”

*The Hudson River Obstructions.*—Having in possession many important papers preserved by Capt. Thomas Machin,† an Engi-

\* While Col. Putnam was on duty in the neighborhood of West Point, he ascended Butter Hill with a party of his troops, and with their aid succeeded in prying off from its summit a rock which weighed many tons. Started from such an eminence, the immense mass came thundering down the mountain crushing the forest trees which impeded its onward course, and dashed into the Hudson. Sloops navigating the river sometimes pass it inland. Its course upon the mountain side was long visible from the water to the summit of the Hill, and was called PUTNAM'S PATH. The rock is called PUTNAM'S ROCK to this day. Some writers have fallen into the error of supposing the rock and its path called after Gen. Israel Putnam —*Capt. Eben Williams.*

† Among the officers of the American army deserving of notice, was Capt. Thomas Machin, engineer, distinguished alike for his mathematical skill and patriotic bravery. He was born March 20, 1744, O. S., four miles from Wolverhampton, Staffordshire, England. His father, John Machin, a distinguished mathematician, had two sons, John and Thomas. The former was killed at the siege of some town near the outlet of the Red Sea; and the latter was one of a corps of English cadets, which with the British Infantry became so distinguished for their bravery in the battle of Minden, Germany. The cadets, or fencibles, as called, were almost annihilated in that battle, which took place between the allied army under Ferdinand and the French, in August, 1759.

The Duke of Bridgewater, who may justly be styled the father of the canal navigation of Great Britain, projected at his own expense a canal from the coal measures on his lands in the town of Worsley to Manchester, a distance of some ten miles; obtaining his first act for the same at the session of Parliament for the winter of 1758 and 1759. A few years after he obtained an act for carrying a branch of it to Liverpool, nearly 30 miles. The former canal was carried by a stone aqueduct over the river Irwell, 40 feet above its surface, so that shipping might pass under it in the river; and the latter over the Mercer. Those great works which were looked upon at their com-

neer and Superintendent on duty for several years in the Highlands, I consider it important to give the American reader some idea of the character of those obstructions, as the preservation of the navigation of the river was of vital importance in retaining a communication between the Eastern and Middle States, if, in fact, it were not a hinge upon which hung the final success of freedom's cause. On the evacuation of New York—which followed the disasters on Long Island in 1776—the Americans hoped to hold Fort Washington, then eight or ten miles above New York, and Fort Lee on the pallsades, a mile or two below upon the New Jersey shore.

*The First River Obstruction*, placed in the Hudson to impede its navigation, was just below Fort Washington. It was called a *chevaux-de-frize*, and consisted in part of docks or cribs of timber filled with stone, and of sunken vessels. This was an expensive experiment, as the river's channel there was some 5,000 feet, and it failed to meet the public expectation. In fact it was far from a state of completion when (July 12th) two of the enemy's vessels—the *Phoenix* of 44 and the *Rose* of 36 guns—although saluted by the batteries upon both shores, passed it and found a safe anchorage above.

On the night of August 16, those vessels with a bomb ketch and two tenders were moored not far from Yonkers, when an attempt was made to burn the flotilla by FIRE SHIPS, a plan for river defense devised by Capt. John Hazelwood, of Philadelphia. Two sloops filled with combustible materials were used for the occasion, and were conducted with whale boats for the escape of the crews, by Captains Ross and Thomas, each with nine men. The former first grappled with the Ketch, which was burned to the water's edge, and he fortunately

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mencement by the incredulous as wholly impracticable, were prosecuted to completion under the direction of the celebrated engineer and mechanical inventor, James Brindley. Soon after Brindley began those works, Thomas Machin entered his employ; and it is not surprising that, under such a tutor, he, too, should have become a good practical engineer. He was engaged in taking the levels for the Duke's canal; and, as clerk, paid off many of the laborers employed by Brindley.

After making a voyage to the East Indies, Machin sailed for America, and, arriving in 1772, took up his residence in the city of New York. The principal object of his voyage was to examine a copper mine in New Jersey. After a short stay in New York, he went to reside in Boston, and evidently intended a permanent residence, as he warmly espoused the cause of the Bostonians against his "father land." He was one of the celebrated Boston *tea party* of 1773. He was engaged and wounded (in one arm) in the conflict on Bunker's Hill, while acting as Lieutenant of artillery.



escaped with all his men. His fire being first kindled, the approach of Capt. Thomas was discovered, but he nothing daunted grappled with the *Phoenix*, which was set on fire, but having a moment's warning she was saved by slipping her cables, getting free from her lurid adversary, and clawing off into the stream to extinguish her fires. Capt. Thomas and five of his men, finding their escape to their boat cut off by the flames on their own vessel, threw themselves into the river, and unable to reach their boat, were all drowned. Many of the inmates of the *Ketch*, are said to have been drowned. So alarmed were the captains of those ships, that they soon returned to New York; although they were somewhat injured in running the gauntlet between Forts Washington and Lee.

*The Second River Obstruction.*—This was a chain drawn across the Hudson near Fort Montgomery, in the autumn of 1776. Its management was given to a secret committee, from the members of the State convention: nor is it known that any professed engineer rendered them any essential assistance. A chain that had been used or designed for the river Sorel, was brought down and used, and the remainder was manufactured at Poughkeepsie. A letter from one of the Townsend family stated that the Fort Montgomery chain was manufactured at the Ring Wood Iron Works, New Jersey, and from *cold short* iron. Some of its iron may have been there wrought into bars, or the Sorel chain may possibly have been manufactured there in whole or in part; but the chain under consideration was much of it wrought and the whole of it arranged at Poughkeepsie. It was made of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch bar iron, but from what mines it was forged, it is difficult to determine.

August 28, the secret committee reported the work of making the chain greatly delayed for the want of blacksmiths, and asked for the services of men at work there on a continental frigate: and September 3, the State committee granted their request. Again September 17, Gilbert Livingston, one of the chain committee reported to the State convention, that the chain had been delayed for the want of iron. October 22d, the convention directed Mr. Livingston to be sent down with the utmost dispatch to Fort Montgomery, with such parts of the chain as were fixed in the logs. The chain was evidently given its place about the middle of November, and soon after it

parted twice, for on the 23d of that month the State Convention resolved that the blacksmiths making it should not be paid until a proper examination be made respecting it. The following certificate found among the Machin papers, explains the cause of the accident :

“FORT MONTGOMERY, Dec. 9, 1776.

“These are to certify that the chain that has been stretched across the North river at this fort, has been broke twice ; the first, a swivel broke, which came from Ticonderoga, which was not welded sound ; the second time, a clevin broke, which was made at Poughkeepsie, in a solid part of the chain, and no flaw to be seen in any part of said chain. Which we do certify at the request of Messrs. Odle and Vanduzer.

“JAMES CLINTON, B. GEN.

“ABM. SWARTWOUT, CAPT.

“JAS. ROSECRANS, CAPT.

“DANL. LAWRENCE, LIEUT.”

In preparing a report of the chain difficulties for the Continental Congress, the State committee say : “In perfecting the obstruction between Anthony’s Nose on the eastern shore and Fort Montgomery, we endeavored to avail ourselves of the model of that which had proved effectual in the river Delaware, and were assisted by the advice and experience of Capt. Hazelwood, but the great length of the chain, being upwards of 1,800 feet, the bulk of the logs which were necessary to support it, the immense weight of water which it accumulated, and the rapidity of the tide, have baffled our efforts ; it separated twice after holding only a few hours.” The chain was required to sustain too much bulk of timber for its dimensions. It was supported by logs, which are believed not to have been much scored or seasoned, and not anchored, or if at all not sufficiently, hence the chain was broken. The logs were lengthwise across the stream.

In this condition of things, Mr. Livingston sought a consultation with Gens. Heath and Clinton, and Engineer Machin, when the latter, comprehending the difficulty, said he could still make it subserve its intended purpose. Mr. Livingston laid the result of this meeting before the State Committee November 30th, and on the same day that body “Resolved, That Mr. Machin

be requested and authorized to alter and fix the chain intended for the obstruction of Hudson's river, in such manner and at such place as he may think best calculated to answer the purpose for which it was intended, and that this committee will advance the money necessary to defray the expense thereof." Capt. Machin so altered and lessened the bulk of its timber, and so sustained it upon floats of long-spars anchored by the aid of caisson-cribs filled with stone, that the chain met the expectation of its projectors. He completed that work in April, 1777, it is believed, and left it nearly or quite in its original position.

*The Third River Obstruction.*—This consisted of a boom of some kind, placed in the river in front of the chain at Fort Montgomery. Tradition has not only said that a chain and boom were there in the summer of 1777; but the British account of its doings at that point in the autumn of that year, says that they destroyed a boom and a chain at that place, and another boom near Fort Constitution six miles above. We are led to infer that the first structure placed in the river and designated as a boom at Fort Montgomery, was of an imperfect and unfinished character, constructed of logs, and designed by the committee, which originally superintended the construction of that chain, and was intended to be superseded by the one making, as the British account says, near Fort Constitution, some distance up the river. In certifying to his public services subsequently, Gov. Clinton said: "Capt. Machin was employed in constructing and making booms to draw across the river in front of the chain (in 1777) till the reduction of that fort by the enemy." And on the 13th of January following the passage of the obstruction by the enemy, Gen. Putnam in a letter to the Commander-in-Chief, and dated at West Point, speaking of the condition of things there—where preparations were then making to place other obstructions—says: "Parts of the boom intended to have been used at Fort Montgomery sufficient for this place, are remaining." Now, as the breadth of the river would require 300 feet less of boom at West Point than at Anthony's Nose, it is easy to conjecture that it had not been in the river or the enemy would have set it afloat; and it was too bulky an affair for the foe to attempt its entire destruction upon land. Besides, had it been in place, why would he have said *intended* to have been used? or why should Gov. Clinton

have said Mr. Machin was employed in making this boom until the enemy came, if it were in the river before ?

*Object of a Boom.*—The reader is ready to ask the character and object of a boom. It was constructed of logs or scored timber, held together by chains at their ends, and was intended to be drawn across the river a little below the chain, which it was designed to protect. The second, or West Point boom, was constructed of timber scored and wrought into a desirable form, with no little labor and artistic skill. If I may express an opinion, I should say that the boom was not as taut in the water as the chain, and was just far enough below that to be carried to it by force. That it was intended to receive a ship under full sail, and by the time the whole mass was animated—so as to be brought upon the chain—its force would be far spent ; and thus enable the chain to receive and withstand any shock abreast with the force of a ship thus blunted ; besides, the chain must, of necessity, have had a little slack. It is believed that the boom and chain at West Point could have successfully withstood the shock of several ships at once.

*The Fourth River Obstruction.*—On November 26, 1776, the State Committee “Resolved, That the navigation of Hudson’s river be obstructed near Pollopels Island, at the northern entrance of the Highlands, agreeable to the plan recommended by Gen. James Clinton, and that the committee of this State will exert every measure necessary for that purpose.” This is a small island near the eastern shore, nearly opposite New Windsor. The obstruction was placed between the western shore of the river and the island, and known as a chevaux-de-frize. It was planned and constructed by Mr. Machin, in the fall of 1776 and spring of 1777 ; and the better to define the position of the engineer, the State Committee took action in the matter January 6, 1777, as follows : “Resolved, That Capt. Machin be empowered, with the advice and under the direction of Gen. George Clinton, to employ such and so many laborers and artificers as will be sufficient to perfect the obstructions in Hudson’s river, and to lay out and erect such works as will be necessary for the defense thereof.” This obstruction consisted mainly of square cribs of round timber, locked at the corners as log dwellings were formerly made. Those cribs were filled with stone to hold them down, and in them were iron-pointed

spars projecting southward and upward at an angle of 45 degrees, intended to pierce the bottom of a ship in an attempt to pass over them. This work was not entirely completed when the enemy passed it in the fall.

The succeeding papers directed "To Capt. Thomas Machin, at Murderer's Creek," one of which was without date, were evidently written while the navigation of the river was being obstructed in 1777 :

*"To Capt. Machin :*

"SIR—I have already directed that no more timber should be cut on Mr. Ellison's land for the obstructions to be made in the river (except it should be such long walnut pieces as could not be so conveniently had anywhere else), until a proportionate share of timber for that use was also got on lands lying equally near the river. I am surprised, therefore, to hear that a company of carpenters are in his woods cutting away timber of every kind, which I trust may be without your order or knowledge. He is willing you should take such long walnut pieces as you want and can't get as conveniently elsewhere ; other kind of timber we certainly can, and more so. I expect, therefore, you will direct the carpenters to desist cutting in his woods till further orders from me.

"I am your most obd't serv't,

"GEO. CLINTON."

"NEW WINDSOR, 31st, Jun'y, 1777.

"DR. SIR—I set out for Kingston to-morrow morning, where business will detain me a few days. I wished to have seen you before I set out. I cannot now expect it. I think the artificers neither go out early enough in the morning, or continue late enough in the evening, at work. I was surprised this day to see many break off a little after three in the afternoon. It was said that they had not been home to dinner, but allowing that to be the case, from nine in the morning until three in the afternoon is not by any means a day's work. To cure this mischief I enclose you an *order* which you'll publish among those employed, and endeavor to carry it into execution. If you think the hours are too long, make any alteration you think right ;

but pray, whatever hours are fixed on, contrive to make them work.

"I am in great haste your most obed't,

"GEO. CLINTON."

"Capt. Mashin."

*"Orders to be observed by the artificers and others employed in obstructing the navigation of Hudson's river, 13th, Jun'y, 1777.*

"As high wages are given by the public at this season of the year, when the days are short and the weather fickle, in order to have this most necessary work (on which not only the safety of this State, but of the whole continent depends,) completed in due season :—It is therefore expected that those who are employed and receive the public money, will be faithful in the service and do the most they can. It is the business of the master workmen who have contracted to carry on the work and taken the charge of small parties under them, to see that they are diligently employed and work faithfully. It is for this they are allowed extra wages, and it is expected that in this way they will earn, or in justice they cannot expect to receive it. The monthly pay rolls must be attested (if required) by the master workmen, and an honest man can never return a man for a full day's pay who has not done a full day's work. This would be dishonest and punishable ; but that every possible guard may be set against deception, and that all account for pay of artificers and others may stand fair and uncontrovertible, the engineer is to fix upon the hour in the morning at which all hands are to be at work—the hour they are to quit for dinner, the time when they are to return to work after dinner, and break off in the evening ; and to cause the rolls to be called over by such person or persons as he shall appoint at those and such other times as he shall see fit ; and mark the defaulters (if any) that a proper deduction may be made from their wages. It is expected at present that those employed near the barracks will work at least eight hours every day, and those employed where the timber now lays, or at that distance, at least seven. The time for working each day to be lengthened when the days grow longer.

"GEO. CLINTON, B.-Gen'l."

14  
Morris Town Jan: 29<sup>th</sup> 1777

Dear Sir,

I have no doubt but  
that in the new appointments  
of artillery officers, you thought  
of Mr. Mackin in the manner  
he deserves - he is ever, as he is  
now here, and has heard no-  
thing from you on this subject.  
I cannot help reminding you  
of him, as he appears from  
observation, and information,  
to be a person of merit. -

He has also mentioned  
something to me respecting  
his pay, which you will care  
to be enquired into - he has  
received none, he says, since the  
month of May.

I am D<sup>r</sup> Sir Y<sup>r</sup> Obedient  
ob<sup>d</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup> G<sup>t</sup> Waples

Opposite is the fac-simile of a letter from Gen. Washington "to Brig.-Gen. Knox, commanding the corps of artillery." It was written during the visit of Capt. Machin to the Commander-in-Chief, at his winter quarters.

The following paper, which is without date, will explain itself :

"SIR—I am informed that the Inhabitants of Kingston are desirous of making some Works for the Defence of their town. I approve of their intentions, and wish to give them every assistance in my power in the execution of this business; and that the works may be constructed on a Plan most efficient and least expensive, I request you will repair to that place and assist in laying them out, in which Col. Bruyn will advise. It will not be practicable, neither do I conceive it necessary to enclose the town, as the houses are stone, and will form (if the Windows and Doors are properly secured) good Lines of Defence. Small Redoubts or block-houses, therefore, at the different and most commanding quarters of the Town, are all that to me appear necessary; which ought to be constructed each for a Piece or two of artillery, so as to clear the lines formed by the houses; and when it can be, conveniently, these should be so contiguous to each other as to be within the reach of Musketry, which will be a saving of Ammunition. In constructing these works, it is to be observed that Artillery against them is not to be apprehended.

"I am your most obed't serv't,

"GEO. CLINTON.

"*Capt. Machin.*"

By the next paper we perceive that Capt. Machin was given discretionary power by Gov. Clinton, to act in certain emergencies :

"*To Capt. Thomas Machin :*

"DEAR SIR—I received yours of this date. I approve your conduct in marching your men against those *Parricides*, and no pains must be spared to apprehend or destroy them. Major Logan, and every other Officer in both Counties, I know will exert themselves on this occasion in drawing out the Militia



for quelling this dangerous insurrection ; nor must any risk be run in taking prisoners.

"I am your most obd't serv't,

"GEO. CLINTON, *B.-Gen.*

"*March 10th, 1777.*

"P. S.—A party will march towards the Forest of Dean, to guard the defiles there."

"*To Capt. Machin, at Capt. Nicolls' :*

"DEAR SIR—This will be handed you by Mr. Chambers from Marble Town, who has come down with six or seven carpenters, to be employed in our works ; and in a few days I expect as many more will be here from that quarter as will complete his company to 12. As these are men who were engaged at our request, when the others misbehaved and quit work, they must be employed ; indeed, we can't have too many now. How you will find room for them I can't tell, but you are good at contrivance.

"I am your H. S.,

"GEO. CLINTON.

"*11th March, 1777.*"

The following paper from Gov. Clinton to Capt. Machin, shows the preparation making for the enemy's reception in the Highlands :

"DEAR SIR—Let one know immediately whether twelve Pounders, having the trunions broke off, can be quicker repaired by stocking them, or fixing new trunions to them. If the former way is the speediest and best, I beg you would come down here immediately and bring such Artificers with you as can do them directly. If the latter way is the best, can't you spare Van Houton, your Smith, to work a while at this business at *Fort Constitution* ? He shall be well used, and Barney will stay with him. On receipt hereof you will send down the two twelve-Pounders at New Windsor, with the ammunition and stores belonging to them, to this Port. In their room I have ordered you the Brass 24-Pounder\* from Fishkill;

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\* As the reader would know the fate of this gun on the success of the enemy in the Highlands, I anticipate that event to say that it no doubt remained in possession of the Americans. In Gov. Clinton's report to the State Council of the loss of the forts in the Highlands, he says: "As soon as ever I find the shipping are likely to pass the

it will suit you better, and you are to preserve her at all events; if she should be lost at your Port you will be in Disgrace forever. I expect you will have the 24-lbr. to-morrow at your Port. If you come here yourself on an alarm, you will take care to leave behind you some persons who can use the 24-lbr., and who will guard and save her. Gen. Putnam wants to know how you come forward with your boom, and whether you meet any Obstructions in that Business which you did not foresee.

"I am your most obd't serv't,

GEO. CLINTON.

*"Fort Montgomery, 3d July, 1777.*

"P. S.—Wont your scow, well manned, bring the guns down quicker and easier?"

By a memorandum, found among the Machin papers, it appears that the sum of *one hundred and fifty pounds* was paid in one month for teams "Employed in drawing Timber for the use of the works Obstructing the navigation of Hudson River," under his individual direction. Thirty shillings was the regular price paid per day for a teamster with two yoke of oxen.

In anticipation of an attack from the enemy, under Sir Henry Clinton, the following orders were issued by Gen. James Clinton :

"HEAD-QUARTERS, FORT MONTGOMERY, }  
July 10th, 1777. }

"The signals to be given on the approach of the enemy : On the firing of Two Cannon at Peekskill by Gen. Varnum, one minute from each other ; Two will be fired by Gen. Huntington ; Two by Gen. Parsons, to be answered by Two at Fort Independence ; Two at Fort Montgomery ; Two at Fort Constitution ; and the Beacon there to be fired as usual ; to be answered by two from the Brass twenty-four-Pounder, near New Windsor : upon this Signal, the Militia on the West side of Hudson's River, in the Counties of Orange and Ulster, as far up as Col. Harbrouk's Regiment, including the same, are to march by detachments, without further notice, as a Reinforce-

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chevaux-de-frize, I will, by a forced march, endeavor to gain Kingston and cover that town. I shall have one brass, 24 pounder and six smaller brass field pieces, which will make a formidable train. His effort to succor Kingston was made in vain, but we suppose the gun was saved.

ment of this Garrison, and the Militia on the East side of the River, as far up as Poughkeepsie, including Col. Freus' Regiment, to march for the reinforcing the Garrison under Gen. Putnam.

"This order is immediately to be published by the Commanding officer at Fort Constitution, and copies of it transmitted by him to Capt. Lieut. Machin of the Artillery at New Windsor, that he may cause the same to be published there."

In the month of September, Capt. Machin was engaged in the *recruiting service*, as his correspondence with Col. John Lamb, his commanding officer doth show. The following letters directed "to Capt. Lieut. Machin," and here first published, will explain themselves :

"FORT MONTGOMERY, 2d September, 1777.

"SIR—The bearer, Lieutenant Kollock, is appointed a First Lieutenant in Capt. Bliss' company, to which company you are, with the men which you have enlisted, annexed. I have directed him to call on you at New Windsor, and take your directions respecting the Revolutionary service, in order to complete the company as soon as possible. I shall furnish you with money in a few days for the purpose of recruiting, and am,

"Sir, your most hum'l serv't,

"JOHN LAMB, *Colo. Artillery.*

"To Capt. Lieut. Machin.

"PEEKSKILL, 8th September, 1777.

"SIR—I have received (per Corporal McBride) your Pay-Roll and Weekly Return, and am pleased to find per the letter that you have enlisted one man since I saw you last, and have no doubt of your assiduity in the business of Recruiting. The Pay-Roll is not made out exactly in the form prescribed by the Pay-Master General : this Colo. Oswald will do, and send it up by our Pay-Master, Mr. Grimshier, for you to sign, and I will give him directions to draw the money, in order to pay off your men. I have not to add, and am, sir,

"Your friend and servant,

"JOHN LAMB, *Colo. Artillery.*

"To Capt. Lieut. Machin."

"FORT MONTGOMEY, 19, Sept., 1777.

"SIR—As I am under an absolute necessity of furnishing Gen. Putnam, with a weekly return of that part of my battalion, which is now in this department, I have to request that you will punctually send me a return of the Men under your command, every Monday, to enable me to comply with the General's order. If you make your Return early, and send it to Fort Constitution, in time, Capt. Mott will forward it to me, with that of his company. You are to observe that you are to furnish Gen. Clinton, with a Return, on Thursdays; which you may send to Fort Constitution, likewise, and it will be forwarded to the General thro' the same channel as the other. I have not to add, and am,

"Sir, your friend and servant,

"JOHN LAMB, *Col. Artillery.*

"P. S.—I wish you would make out your account for the Bounty of those men you have Enlisted since I settled with you, as I want to pay it off.

"*To Capt. Lieut. Machin.*"

Gen. Lamb was a fine scholar, and at the beginning of Revolutionary difficulties was among the active "Sons of Liberty," in New York city. He was an efficient Colonel of Artillery through the war. Isaac Q. Leake, Esq., a nephew of his, published in 1850, the "*Life and Times of Gen. Lamb,*" a work I can commend as one of great merit; as it reflects much light upon certain events not properly ventilated elsewhere. I enjoyed the pleasure of meeting Mr. Leake several times in 1850, and found him an intelligent gentleman.

*Movement of the Enemy.*—Early in October, to make a diversion in favor of Gen. Burgoyne, Sir Henry Clinton ascended the Hudson with his army, and succeeded, with a severe loss, in storming Forts Montgomery and Clinton. He landed his troops some miles below and led them in person through defiles of the forest to attack those defenses in the rear. During the assault upon the former fort, in which Col. Lamb supervised the artillery; Capt. Machin there managed a heavy gun which did fearful execution in the ranks of the assailants. As the army drew near the fort, late in the afternoon, Machin saw a man step from the ranks of the enemy and poise his musket to fire

at him. He had just prepared his ordnance for a discharge, loaded to the muzzle with round, grape and double headed bar shot, the latter projecting from the gun ; as he caught the eye of the soldier who had raised his piece to fire on him. Machin's gunner in the act of applying the match, was shot down by his side, and the former snatching the linstock from the hand of the fallen hero applied it to the gun, the contents of which mowed a fearful swath, causing the assailants to fall back. At the instant the match was applied, Machin received a bullet in his body, and retired with the wounded. The ball entered his breast and came out under his right shoulder. A man who was aiding the wounded captain, near sundown, in his retreat, was shot and fell upon him, and it was with no little difficulty he extricated himself from his dying comrade. It began to grow dark, when Machin asked a retreating soldier *if he could not help him*. "*It is a d—d good fellow who can help himself*," was the unfeeling reply, as the man passed on. Capt. Machin was soon after taken into a boat and thus made his escape. On the morning following, Capt. Milligan of Orange county, who had been wounded the preceding evening in one knee, was discovered near the river, by the enemy, of whom he begged for quarters ; instead of granting which, his unfeeling foes bayoneted and threw him down the rocks. While recovering from his wounds Capt. Machin was entertained at the house of Gov. Clinton, from whose family he received the kindest treatment. The Americans, on losing Forts Montgomery and Clinton, abandoned Fort Constitution and the hill-batteries as untenable, leaving in their retreat considerable booty to the enemy. Gen. Vaughn then ascended the river as far as Kingston,\* burning it and destroying a large quantity of military stores there collected ; soon after which most of the army returned to New York city ; evacuating the captured forts, but retaining and fortifying Stony Point, a few miles below Fort Clinton. The loss sustained by the garrisons at these forts was about 250 men, in killed wounded and prisoners.†

*Execution of a British Spy.*—On the day after Fort Mont-

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\* Tradition says that Richard Everett, an old tory who died at Poughkeepsie about 1825, piloted the British vessels over the chevaux-de-frize, on their way to Kingston. This obstruction was not entirely completed until in the summer of 1778.

† Holmes' Annals.

gomery fell into the hands of the British, the following incident occurred near the Hudson. Col. Samuel B. Webb's regiment of Connecticut, wore a scarlet uniform much resembling that of the British. Two men who had been deputed to convey to Burgoyne, an account of the success of the enemy in the Highlands, approached a picket guard of Webb's troops, mistaking them for an out-post of their friends. Being told they must be taken to the camp of Gen. Clinton, they said that was what they desired. On being ushered into the presence of Gen. George Clinton, instead of Sir Henry Clinton as they had expected; one of them was observed by Col. Webb, as about to swallow something, which he in vain drew his sword to prevent. He was forced by Gov. Clinton\* to take a strong emetic, and disgorged an oblong silver bullet screwed together, which contained in figures, a message from Sir Henry Clinton; which interpreted read as follows:

"FORT MONTGOMERY, Oct. 8th, 1777.

"Nous voici—and nothing between us but *Gates*. I sincerely hope this *little* success of ours may facilitate your operations. In answer to your letter of the 28th of Sept. by C. C. I shall only say, I cannot presume to order or even advise, for reasons obvious. I heartily wish you success.

"Faithfully yours,

"H. CLINTON.

"*To General Burgoyne.*"

The name of the spy having the bullet and who was executed, was Daniel Taylor, who was hung on the limb of an apple tree at Hurley, near Kingston.—*Joseph Balch*, an intelligent soldier under Webb, who witnessed the execution. Mr. Balch died in a church in Johnstown, N. Y., at an advanced age, about 1855. An obituary giving his military life, was published by the author, at his death, in the *Albany Argus*.

*Success of the Enemy in the Highlands.*—Let us stop to notice briefly the British account of the capture and demolition of the Highland forts, as found in Robert Beatson's *Naval and Military Memoirs*.† After speaking of the guns and ammuni-

\* For Clinton's account of this affair, see *Journal Prov. Convention*, vol. 1, p. 1068.

† Vol. 6, p. 77 of Appendix.

tion captured, he adds to the trophies : "Other stores such as port-fires, match, harness, spare gun carriages, tools, instruments, etc., etc., in great plenty. A large quantity of provisions, the boom and chain which ran across the river from Fort Montgomery to St. Anthony's Nose which is supposed to have cost the rebels £70,000. Another boom which we destroyed near Fort Constitution, must likewise have cost the rebels much money and labor. [This boom was not very effectually destroyed, and was re-constructed and used at West Point.] Barracks for 1,500 men were destroyed by Maj.-Gen. Tryon at Continental village, besides several store-houses and loaded wagons, of articles of which no account could be taken." In the capture of these works the same account reported the British loss at about 100 killed and wounded, and 250 made prisoners. "Their loss"—meaning that of the Americans—he adds, "in other respects was immense." Gen. Sir Henry Clinton led this expedition, accompanied by Generals Tryon and Vaughn, and Lieut.-Col. Campbell. The latter officer was killed on the first fire, and was succeeded by Col. Robinson.

"Fort Clinton," says this account, "is situated on a circular height, defended by a line for musketry, with a barbed battery of three guns in the centre and flanked by two redoubts. The approaches to it were through a continued abatis of near 400 yards in length, defensive in its whole course, and exposed to the fire of 10 pieces of cannon. Maj.-Gen. Vaughn led the attack on this fort, assisted by Gov. Tryon. It has been the wonder of the general American reader, what became of the Fort Montgomery chain. This writer says : "This chain was of most excellent workmanship ; it was sent to England and from there to Gibraltar, where it was of great use in protecting the shipping at the moles."\* All early American writers seem from ignorance, to have remained silent upon the fate of this chain.

In ascending the river the enemy's shipping had to pass the chain at Fort Montgomery, and in my account of this affair in 1845, I said that they broke it. I so stated, because misled by all previous writers ; but the father of the late Rev. William H. Watson, of Cobelskill, who was a soldier at the time in the

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\* Beatson, vol. 4, p. 236.

Highlands, sent me word by his son that I was in error in saying that the enemy *broke* that chain. He said that after they had taken the forts, they made several ineffectual attempts to break it by running their vessels upon it, when, finding they were injuring and likely to sink them, they severed the chain by filing. Capt. Ebenezer Williams, much on duty in the Highlands, also assured the writer that the enemy *cut* this chain. Some writers have said that the enemy severed the West Point chain. This is wide of the truth : the nearest approach to that by any British craft was made by the *Vulture*, while she was engaged in the Arnold conspiracy.

Early in December Capt. Machin was so far recovered from his wound as to be engaged in his regular duties, as the following Clinton papers will show :

“LITTLE BRITAIN, 1st Dec'r, 1777.

“DEAR MACHIN—I wrote to Doctor Tappen and Maj. Billings some time ago to endeavor to provide me a house at or near Poughkeepsie, providing the legislature determined to meet at that place ; since which I have not heard from them. Mrs. Clinton is anxious to get settled again, and as I believe Poughkeepsie would be her choice as well as the place where the legislature will meet, I will be much obliged to you if you will be kind enough to take a ride there, consult with Maj. Billings and Doct. Tappen, and concert with them—endeavor to procure some convenient house for me. It will be no objection should it be a mile or two out of town.

“I offered Capt. Harris the use of my house this winter for his family. He thinks it would be too lonesome for her [his wife]. But as Mrs. Bedlow is not to move to New Windsor, suppose Capt. Harris was to move into my house and you was to take your lodgings with them ; and, indeed, Capt. Harris will be at home great part if not the whole of the winter. Will you mention this to the captain ?

“I have a cot at my house out of which the militia stole the irons : will you get it repaired for me, as I have no other bed or bedstead.

“I am Dr. Sir, yours sincerely,

“GEO. CLINTON.

“P. S.—If you go to Poughkeepsie, advise me of it by a line. Maj. Taylor will furnish you with a horse for the purpose.”



"POUGHKEEPSIE, 13th Dec., 1777.

"DEAR MACHIN—There are some mahogany boards in and about our mill which Mrs. Clinton brought from Capt. Nevin's, which I wish you would measure and secure for me. You forgot to send my razors ; pray let me have them by first good conveyance.

"Yours sincerely,

"GEO. CLINTON.

"P. S.—We are all well. Mrs. Clinton's compliments to you."

"POUGHKEEPSIE, 19th Dec'r, 1777.

"DEAR SIR—I am much obliged to you for the wood, &c., you have sent me by Serg't Halsted. The sloop carries but six and a half cords of wood : I have therefore got but that quantity. The Sheep the sergeant tells me he put up in my stable and gave them in charge of some militia that were threshing : in the morning they were gone, so that I have not got them. I suppose, or, at least, it is likely, they stole them. I wish you would try to find them again, and when you come to see us throw them in the bottom of your sloop [sleigh] and you shall eat part of them. Sam gave your saddle-bags to Col. Dubois' Bob, who promised to take care of them for you. Col. Taylor promised to send Mrs. Clinton two pots, which he has forgot ; perhaps you may have an opportunity to send or bring them. As to my house and farm, I leave it entirely at your discretion and disposal. I wish to oblige Capt. Harris, but if he declines you can let it to who [whom] you please. I wish to have the timber saved as much as possible.

"I had letters from Head Quarters dated the 3d and 10th instant. No News there. Gen. Washington is anxious about securing the river. Putnam is ordered to turn his whole attention to that business, and will be up with his troops in a few days. Colonels Webb and Ely were taken in a sloop with about thirty men, crossing to Long Island, by an armed brig. Gen. Parsons has had a brush with the Hessians, beat them and took one field piece, it is said, but wants confirmation. Ensign Adamson about a week ago broke his parole and went off, but was fortunately taken with six other rascals in Mile-Square—two of them

negroes he had seduced off. Mrs. Clinton joins in best respects to you and love to Caty. I wish to see you soon.

"Yours sincerely,

"GEO. CLINTON."

#### THE GREAT WEST POINT CHAIN.

*The Fifth River Obstruction.*—The success of the enemy in the Highlands in the autumn of 1777, wonderfully deranged the plans of the patriotic Americans: for they had not only caused the destruction of all the forts along the river and opened nearly a free passage to Albany—had they dared to go there—but they had absolutely carried away the chain that, while it defended, made a barrier in their pathway. Gen. Putnam was then in command in the valley of the Hudson, and December 2d, Gen. Washington in great anxiety wrote to him urging the importance of defending the river passage as follows: "It is the only passage by which the enemy from New York, or any part of our coast, can ever hope to co-operate with an army from Canada; the possession of it is indispensably essential to preserve the communication between the Eastern, Middle and Southern States; and further, upon its security in a great measure, depends our chief supply of flour for the subsistence of such forces as we may have occasion for in the course of the war, either in the eastern or northern departments, or in the country lying high up on the west side of it. These facts are familiar to all; they are familiar to you. I therefore request you, in the most urgent terms, to turn your most serious and active attention to this important object. Seize the present opportunity and employ your whole force and all the means in your power for erecting and completing, as far as it shall be possible, such works and obstructions as may be necessary to defend and secure the river against any further attempts of the enemy. You will consult with Governor Clinton, Gen. Parsons, and the French Engineer, Col. Radière upon the occasion, etc.;" and adds, "I shall expect that you will exert every nerve, and employ your whole force in future, while and whenever it is practicable, in constructing and forwarding the proper works and means of defence, etc."

Gen. Putnam brought this matter before the State Convention, and that body appointed a committee of its own members

to consult with military men on the ground. This commission selected West Point as the Gibraltar of the Highlands—because for a chain obstruction it would require 300 feet less than at any other point, while the angles of the gorge were such as to cause counter-currents of wind to change the course of vessels—and better than all, batteries could be erected on the shores and on the hills which would completely command obstructions placed there, and cast a sinking weight of shot upon any vessel having the temerity to put in its appearance there. The report of the committee to the State Convention was dated at Poughkeepsie, January 14, 1778.

Forts Montgomery and Clinton at Poplopins kill were not rebuilt, but the erection of forts and batteries at West Point was commenced early in the spring of 1778. At each end of the chain a water battery was constructed, with several heavy guns to protect it. Fort Constitution which had stood upon Martlair's Rock on the east side of the river was rebuilt; and several strong redoubts bristled upon its hills to command the obstructions and the pass; while on the west shore the largest fort was erected and called Fort Arnold, until the treason of that officer, when its name was changed to Fort Clinton. Far above this towered Fort Putnam, with redoubts known as Forts Webb and Wyllys southerly from it. In the report of military posts of all kinds at this place, the list found in the stocking of Major Andre, numbered a dozen or more, mounting nearly 100 cannon.

*Gen. Washington at West Point.*—Very little has ever been said about the personal interest manifested by Washington in the West Point defenses upon the ground. In the summer of 1779, he established his headquarters at New Windsor; and in a private letter from Cornelius Tenbroeck, a soldier there to his father, dated at that place August 11, 1779, recently first published,\* he says: "Washington continues at the forts and has near a thousand men at work daily, in order to make them yet stronger; so as a less number of men may garrison them and be secure in case of an attack, if the enemy continue in their present position. It is said Washington will remain at the fort until it is finished." The enemy in numbers were about a dozen

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\* Stevens' Mag. of Amer. His., March No., 1878, page 171.

miles below. What fort was then being re-constructed or strengthened we do not know ; but think it was Fort Putnam. The letter spoke of Fort Constitution on the east side of the river, as also of Forts Arnold and Putnam on the west side. He mentioned Fort Arnold as the principal fort ; and referred to the batteries on both sides of the river without naming them. A visit from the enemy was anticipated while they were near by ; but they did not seem to care about closing their final accounts just yet, and no attempt was made to storm any of the works.

*Contract for Chaining the Hudson.*—When it was resolved to chain the Hudson at West Point—as appears by the Gov. George Clinton papers in the State Library—Col. Hugh Hughes, Deputy Quarter-Master-General, visited the Sterling Iron Works to contract, in behalf of the United States, with Messrs. Noble, Townsend & Company for its manufacture. In my account of this affair in 1845, I stated that Col. Pickering was the government agent, having been so informed by a descendant of the Townsend family, who, no doubt, inferred so, because Col. Pickering was Quarter-Master-General later in the war, succeeding Gen. Greene in that office August 5, 1780. From the letter of Peter Townsend, of New York, to Franklin Townsend, of Albany, in 1845, I learned the following particulars about this transaction : Capt. Thomas Machin, Engineer, accompanied the Quarter-Master to the house of Peter Townsend, in Chester, where they arrived late on Saturday evening, February 1, 1778. There the contract was agreed upon by Mr. Townsend for the firm ; and so great was their zeal in the popular cause, that the parties left Chester at midnight in a violent snow storm and rode to the Sterling works, a distance of *fourteen miles*, to commence the job. This enterprising furnace firm had all their forges in operation by daylight on Sunday morning, February 2d ; the manufacture of the chain was begun and prosecuted without interruption, and the herculean task was finished and the chain carted in sections to New Windsor by New England teamsters, and there delivered—says the letter of Peter Townsend—in *six weeks*. The chain was delivered in an incredibly short period. Mr. Machin, in his bill of items for extra expenses that season, did not make a charge of going to

Sterling at that date, and the presumption is that Quarter-Master Hughes defrayed his traveling expenses there and back.

This contract was dated on the 2d day of February (Sunday morning), having, no doubt, been drawn up at Mr. Townsend's house in Chester, and consummated at Sterling. The work was virtually to be warranted in every particular. In a published account in 1845, accrediting the statement to a geological report made by W. Horton some years before, I gave the weight of the chain at 186 tons; but this was an estimate approximating more nearly to the weight of all the iron used in the river obstructions at West Point. I am prepared now to make a safer estimate upon the weight of the chain proper. November 20, 1848, through the politeness of Col. E. J. McCarthy, of Saugerties, Ulster county, I received a link of this chain, which was made of two and one-half inch square bar iron, was two and one-half feet long, and weighed  $102\frac{1}{2}$  pounds. Having seen other links of the chain, I should average their length from two to three feet, weighing, say, from 80 to 120 pounds each. The river at the point spanned by the chain was 1,500 feet wide: 1,700 feet of it was forged, though possibly not all needed. Suppose the links to have averaged two and one-half feet in length, with a loss by the lap of two and one-half inches at each end, leaving the actual stretch 25 inches, then the chain would require in the whole 1,700 feet (816 links); and suppose those averaged  $102\frac{1}{2}$  pounds, the whole weight would be 83,640 pounds, or something less than 42 tons. I have no doubt that 50 tons would quite cover the entire weight of the single chain outside of its anchorage.

The Sterling Iron Works were situated in the present town of Warwick, Orange county, nearly 25 miles back of West Point, and have been in successful operation since about 1750. The contract for the Great Chain specified that it should be made of the best Sterling iron, ever celebrated for its goodness; was to be 500 yards in length (1,500 feet); each link about two feet long, two and one-quarter inches square, or as near so as possible, with a swivel at every 100 feet, and a clevis to every 1,000 feet; to be made in the same manner as those of the former, or Fort Montgomery chain. The contract also called for the manufacture of 12 tons of anchors of sizes to be specified. The United States were to pay £440 per ton for those articles,

subject to a trade regulation that might reduce the obligation to £400 per ton. An exemption was also made in the contract in favor of the firm from military duty, for nine months from the date, for 60 artificers, to be steadily employed at the chain and anchors till completed. The teams of the company were to have the same pay as other teams had, if any work they carted to destination, being exemptd from liability to impressment. The company agreed to keep seven fires at forging and 10 at welding, if assisted, if necessary, and could be by hands from the army, in case other hands could not be procured, a deduction from the price being allowed for their labor.

Under the direction of Gov. Clinton, Capt. Machin had nearly the entire management of the manner of making the chain, and of supporting it in the river. In his anxiety for the public welfare at this critical time, he wrote the three following letters to local committees in his neighborhood at about the same date, copies of which he kept folded together. The first one here given I published in 1845, the other two have never before been in type. That to the "New Marlborough committee," the reader will observe is a very important one :

*"To the Honorable Committee of New Windsor :*

"GENTLEMEN—It will be needless for me to point out to you the great necessity of some speedy obstructions being made in Hudson's river, against gun-boats, galleys and small crafts that will probably come up at the first opening of the spring, and prevent our making such necessary works as may preserve the good people on the banks of the river, from the revenge of a merciless enemy (*remember Kingston*), towards effecting which, much time has already elapsed and but little done, which drives me to the necessity of applying to the Honorable Committee on this occasion.

"We shall want a large quantity of timber for the Chain, which cannot be got up the river on account of the frost ; and when the frost breaks up it will be too late for our business. I shall not think it consistent with my duty to distress any individual by cutting all the timber off one man's land, and thereby render a good farm of little value ; and I cannot always be with men in the woods ; useless destruction may be made by them unless over-seen by somebody to prevent it. For this pur-

pose I should be glad if the Honorable Committee will appoint a Wood Ranger to oversee the business, that the Master Carpenters may apply to him for such timber as they shall receive orders to get. It ought to be a person in disinterested circumstances, a man of honor, resolution and stability. A compliance with this will much forward the present business, and oblige, gentlemen,

“Your humble servant,

“THOS. MACHIN.

*New Windsor, 22d Feb., 1778.*

*“To the Honorable the Committee of Kingston :*

“GENTLEMEN—[The first section in this letter omitted, because it is substantially like the first one in the preceding paper.]

“We are now stocking cannon at this post for the immediate defence of West Point : we have a number of stocks and carriages with the guns ready for fitting, which cannot be done without the wheels, which lie in a sloop at the strand, and as the river breaks up much sooner in the Highlands than at Kingston, it is a query whether the enemy will wait for our fitting them after the river is open. If the amount of forty wheels should be sent down by sleighs, we should be able to put ourselves in some state or posture of defence. Your advice or assistance in this will oblige

“Your Humble Serv’t,

“THOMAS MACHIN.”

*“To the Honorable the Committee of New Marlborough :*

“GENTLEMEN—[The first clause of this epistle is also nearly a transcript of the first one in the two papers copied.]

“We shall want 60 white-wood logs 50 feet long and 18 inches diameter at the centre, and if large cannot be got that length, we shall want a larger quantity in proportion to the solidity of the above dimensions. The yellow sort of white-wood is much the best, it being *six* pounds less specific gravity per cubic foot than the white sort. We shall also want 60 pieces of white oak scantling 12 feet long, 4 by 10 [inches]. The timber must all be peached and dried [literally to be hewed and lifted from the ground]. The bearer, Mr. Ebenezer Young, will find a proper place to frame and dry them. A large quantity of fire

wood will be wanted to be cut and drawn to the place, which can best be done by people on the spot. I should be glad if you would fix the wages and collect hands for the same.

"A compliance will much forward the present business, and oblige, gentlemen, Your Humble Serv't, with due respect,

"THOS. MACHIN."

This letter calls for the cutting of the spars upon which the chain floated, and the oak scantling with which they were connected. Just how many were used for floating the chain is not known. The late Gen. Thomas Machin, a son of the engineer who gave the specifications for making the chain and manner of supporting it, assured me that the timbers were got out—so his father told him—as long as the largest trees would afford. Tradition has always made the floats from 40 to 50 feet in length; and it is not improbable the spars were scored full 50 feet. If a buoy was required at about every 100 feet, it would have taken 14 or 15, and one would suppose that for two or three tons of iron, one would be required for their support or use: as it was, the chain was usually out of sight much of the way, and this is probably the reason why Dr. Thacher and others described the boom for the chain.

The oak timber being 12 feet long would, with the 60 spars, make 15 floats, each to contain four timbers of one and a half feet diameter, leaving three spaces between them of two feet each for the flow of water. Those spars were cut to an angle or spear shape at each end, so as to afford the least resistance to the current or tide of the water, and each float would seem to have been connected by four bars. The fire-wood required to be cut with the timber was used where the timber was drawn together in artificially drying it, at a place then known as "Jews' Creek," in New Marlborough. The timber must in some manner, to an extent, have been kiln-dried. I may observe that if the floats were not all required under the chain, the balance were, no doubt, used under the boom, which also required more or less, though possibly not all as long. The floats, says tradition, were also in some manner anchored to the bed of the river—probably by *cassoons*, or cribs of timber filled with stone, to which they were fastened with small chains.

Here is a copy of the original bill of the expenses for pro-



curing the timber for the floats above mentioned, not before published.

"New Marlborough, in Ulster county, in the State of New York ; Capt. Thomas Machin, superintendent, Dr. To Samuel Edmonds, for chopping of fire wood and cutting the same, and drying the logs for the chain, April 7, 1778 :

|   |                     |
|---|---------------------|
| To 16 days, myself [Edmonds], at 16s. per day.....                                | £12 16 0            |
| To 21 days, William Lineson, at 8s. per day .....                                 | 8 8 0               |
| To 10 days, Ananias Valentine, at 8s. per day .....                               | 4 0 0               |
| To 7 days, Samuel Edmonds, at 8s. per day .....                                   | 2 16 0              |
| To 2 days, Samuel Smith, at 8s. per day .....                                     | 16 0                |
| To 5 days, John Wygant, at 8s. per day.....                                       | 2 0 0               |
| To 6 days, James Van Blarekum, at 8s. per day .....                               | 2 8 0               |
| To 15 days, Benjamin Carpenter, foreman of the carpenters, at<br>12s per day..... | 9 0 0               |
| To 12 days, Richard Williams, at 12s. per day.....                                | 7 4 0               |
| To 10 days, Thomas Campbell, at 12s. per day.....                                 | 6 0 0               |
| To 4 days, Allen Lester, at 12s. per day .....                                    | 2 8 0               |
| [The following teams, no doubt, consisted each of two yoke<br>of oxen.]           |                     |
| To 4 days, Solomon Waring, team and teamster, at 23s. per<br>day .....            | 4 12 0              |
| To 3 days, Mathew Wigant, at 23s. per day .....                                   | 3 9 6               |
| To 5 days, Terril Lester, at 23s. per day.....                                    | 5 15 0              |
| To 5 days, George Stanton, at 23s. per day.....                                   | 5 15 0              |
| To 1 day, James Waring, at 23s. per day.....                                      | 1 3 0               |
| To 2 days, John Bond, at 23s. per day .....                                       | 2 6 0               |
| To 1 day, John Wigant, at 23s. per day.....                                       | 1 3 0               |
| To 3½ days, Nathaniel Celsea, at 23s. per day.....                                | 4 0 6               |
|   | <hr/> £86 0 0 <hr/> |

This paper, which is almost obliterated in some parts, is indorsed "Accounts of drying the Chain Logs at Jews' Creek. Signed and directed 17 April, 1778. The old Chere Man's Account."

The following letter from Gen. James Clinton to Capt. Machin, is of a private rather than public character ; and shows that some men even at that early day, were rather above their business : or had conceived that sickly notion of its being dishonorable or disgraceful to labor. If it be *honorable* to disobey the commands of God, then indeed is it *dishonorable to work*—but if not—*not* :

"LITTLE BRITAIN, *March 4th*, 1778.

"DEAR SIR—I received your favor by Lieut. Strachan with a few lines from Col. Taylor inclosed, concerning a complaint that Capt. Young has made against Capt. Mills, (both of the Artificers,) but as Col. Taylor does not set forth what injury Capt. Mills has done Capt. Young, I can't give you any advice about the matter.

"I think your letter seems to confirm the charge against both of them ; for what can stain an officer's character more than not doing his duty ? A captain of a company of artificers, if he does his duty, will have harder work than any of the privates, and I think you are answerable for their conduct, as you have the charge of the work ; and if they don't do their duty you must arrest them, if nothing else will do.

"If they be gentlemen of such high spirits as to think it a scandal for them to work because they bear the title of captain, I think they might decide such disputes between themselves without troubling any officer with it. Inclosed you have Col. Taylor's report, and if I must give my opinion of the matter, let me know what stories Capt. Mills has propagated against Capt. Young.

"I am, Sir, Yours,

"JAMES CLINTON, *B. G.*"

The next two papers will serve somewhat to show the varied duties performed in the Highlands by Capt. Machin ; proving that Gen. Washington was right, when, in the midst of their troubles with engineer Romans, he assured Messrs. Deming and Sands, a committee from the Provincial Congress,\* June 13, 1776, that he would send them an Engineer who would take the sole direction of the fortifications in the Highlands, and relieve the commissioners of further service in that direction ; for he it was who sent them Capt. Machin. Gen. Parsons succeeded Gen. Putnam in his duties in the Highlands in the spring of 1778 ; and in his brief letter to Capt. Machin, he speaks of Col. Laradiere. This is the only French Engineer named as ever having been consulted in relation to any of the fortifications there, and he would seem to have done but little

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\* See Journal of Prov. Congress, p 493

in his brief stay at West Point. This letter proves that, although he may have planned some of the work; yet the local engineer was still consulted in its execution. Thaddeus Kosciusko, a Polander, says a biography of him in Drake's *Dictionary of American Biography*: "was the principal engineer in executing the works at West Point." Lossing says (in his *Field Book*, vol. 1, p. 704,) that Kosciusko arrived at West Point, March 20, 1778; but does not tell how long he remained there: but some of the most important works were not only planned but well under way before that date. He no doubt rendered some important service there, but it is very certain that Gen. Parsons, as well as Gen. Clinton, and Deputy Quarter-Master General Hugh Hughes, well knew what engineer to consult as the most at home in the Highlands.

"*Capt. Thos. Machin* :

"SIR—As Col. Laradiere has left us, I wish you, if you can be absent from New Windsor for a day, to come to this port to-morrow or the day after, to advise about the proper method of fortifying this place.

"From, Sir, your humble servant,

"SAM'L H. PARSONS.

"WEST POINT, 11th March, 1778."

"MONDAY AFTERNOON, *March 11th*, 1778.

"MY DEAR CAPTAIN—You will receive by the bearer some paper and all the white rope of the size mentioned we have. I have sent off Charlie this minute to forward the cordage from Danbury, as well as from Fairfield, but cant say what size there is at the latter [place], as it is sent by Mr. Shaw, of New London, at the request of Gen. Putnam, who never told me the sizes he ordered. I believe there are no more cables to be expected of Mr. Ives till he gets more hemp—at least, I understood him so. In my letter to Gen. Putnam, I informed him, while he was in Connecticut, that all sizes would be wanted, and advised that the whole cargo should be bought.

"He referred the matter to Governor Trumbull, (and I imaginè) the Governor to Mr. Shaw, who may, possibly, serve himself first. However, as I said before, Charles is gone to learn the true state of what is on the road, and forward it

along. When he returns, which will be in two or three days, I expect, you shall hear further. I will wait on the general, and let you know his orders concerning the hands. Inclosed you have the general's order for the men required.

"I am, Dear Captain,

"Yours in truth,

"H. HUGHES."

"P. S.—You have also an order on Sheaf at Wappinger's creek."

"LITTLE BRITAIN, *March 20th*, 1778.

"DEAR SIR—I expected to have been to see you before now, but the riding was so bad I deferred it a little while, as I want to go to the West Point. I sent my boy for the papers if they are come.

"I suppose you begin to ketch [catch] some fish this fine weather; if so, I would be glad you would send a few up here—and you will oblige,

"Yours,

"JAMES CLINTON."

The following paper, which is without date or signature, is in the hand writing of Gov. Clinton, and was filed by Capt. Machin as received from him March 20th, 1778 :

"Mr. Machin will write to Samuel Bronson, at Goshen, to know if he has any knowledge of a lead mine in the mountains, about nine miles off the river, of which he once spoke to Thos. Smith, Esq.

"Mr. Machin will also go to Wawarsink and see the mine there now working by one McDonald, and what prospect there is of working it to purpose. It is said there is a lead mine near Mamecottang [Mamakating, as now written], and one on this side the Shawangunk mountains, of which make inquiry—of the latter from Col. Palmer, the former from everybody. Mr. Wisner has the samples of them; get those from him—in those of Wasink in Duchess and ———." [Several words at the close of this paper are rendered unintelligible.]

"*Capt. Machin :*

"SIR—If 'tis possible to spare any timber from the creek, I

beg you to order it rafted immediately for this place, where we are in the greatest need of it ; it ought not to be delayed a moment, our information being of a nature which requires immediate attention to completing the batteries. [Probably in the vicinity of West Point.]

“Your obedient serv’t,

“SAML. H. PARSONS.

“3d April, 1778.”

Here is a letter from Capt. Machin to Gen. McDougal, which shows the West Point chain finished at its forges, while the next one from Gov. Clinton proves it floating in the river, just three months from the day its iron work was contracted for ; a wonderful dispatch of labor :

“HONORED SIR—Lieut. Woodward, who I told you was at Sterling iron works inspecting the chain, is now returned, and informs me that seventeen hundred feet of the Great Chain, which is more than equal to the breadth of the river at the place last fixed upon, is now ready for use. The capson [capstan] and docks are set up at the lower place ; the mud blocks are launched and only wait for good weather to carry them down : four cannon—twelve and nine pounders—are at the beach, also waiting for weather to go down : four more will be ready by Saturday ; and if no unforeseen accident should appear, I shall be able to send down four cannon next week. If the weather should be favorable, I am in hopes we shall be able to take the chain down all fixed in about 6 days. Lieut. Woodward was ordered by Gen. Parsons to assist me at those works, and as he is a gentleman well skilled in mechanical powers, and a person of steady application, it will put me much out of the way to have him removed at this time. Should therefore be glad if you will continue him in the work, as somebody must be in his place, and to take an entire stranger at this time will be onerous and dangerous.

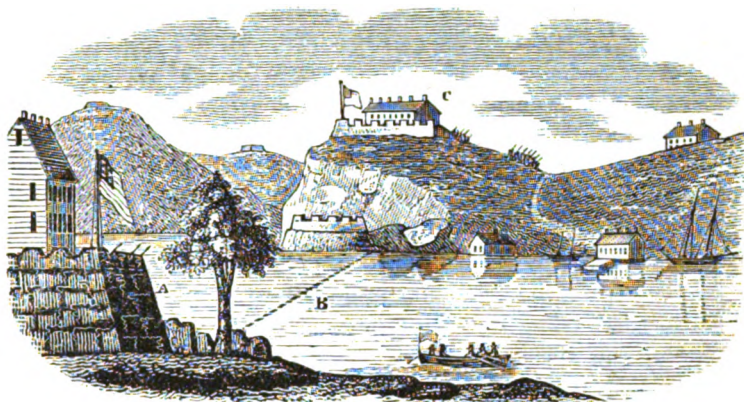
“I am, dear sir,

“Your humble servant,

“THOS. MACHIN.

“*The Honorable Maj.-Gen. McDougal.*

“*April 20th, 1778.*”



West Point, as seen in the fall of 1778.

*Explanation.*—A, a battery on Constitution island. B, the great chain suspended across the Hudson. C, Fort Clinton on the West Point. The latter, which occupied nearly the present site of the *Military Academy*, commanded a southern approach to the Point.

“POUGHKEEPSIE, 3d May, 1778.

“DEAR SIR—I received your letter of yesterday and am happy to learn that the chain is across the river, and that you had the good fortune to accomplish it so expeditiously and so much to your satisfaction.

“I am informed that old Mr. Teabout, who lives (or did lately) at Van Deuzen’s, near the Clove, has a phaeton that he will dispose of. If so, and it is a neat, good one, as I am told it is, I wish to buy it, provided it can be had at a reasonable price. A new one used to cost about £80. I would be willing to give something more now. Will you call and take a look at it—know the price, and if good and reasonable, purchase it for me. The sooner you see it the better.

“Yours sincerely,

“GEO. CLINTON.

“*Capt. Machin.*”

The following paper tells credibly for the skill, industry and character of Capt. Machin :

“I hereby certify that about the middle of July, 1776, Capt.

Machin, of the Artillery, came to Fort Montgomery, and by the direction of His Excellency, Gen. Washington, was there employed in laying out and erecting works for the defence of that place, and for securing the pass to Anthony's Nose, until towards the latter part of August, when Gen. James Clinton took the command of that post. That in December following, Capt. Machin was employed in constructing chevaux-de-frize for obstructing the navigation of Hudson's river, opposite Pollopel's island; and that he continued in that business, sinking the same, making the necessary preparations for fixing the chain across the river at Fort Montgomery, and occasionally superintending the works at that place, until some time in June, 1777, when Gen. Putnam took the command of the army in the neighborhood of the North river, and by his orders Capt. Machin was employed in constructing and making booms to draw across the river in front of the chain, till the reduction of that fort by the enemy, at which time he was badly wounded. And I have reason to believe that, upon his recovery, he has been steady employed to this time in the necessary preparations for fixing the new chain across the river, completing one of the booms, the chevaux-de-frize, and raising the galley which was sunk on the enemy's advance up the river. In justice to Capt. Machin I am bound to add, that, while he was under my command he discovered great diligence and industry in forwarding the different works committed to his care, and that in the execution of them he experienced an uncommon share of labor and fatigue, being often necessarily exposed to work in the water in very cold weather.

"Given under my hand at Poughkeepsie, this 17th of August, 1778.

"GEO. CLINTON."

#### THE WEST POINT BOOM.

*The Sixth River Obstruction.*—On the completion of the chain at West Point, Capt. Machin set about finishing the boom intended for use at Fort Montgomery, to be drawn across the river in front of the chain—a little below it—still more effectually to obstruct the river against British shipping. The boom destroyed by the British at Fort Montgomery was never a reliable

and perfect structure. This new work consisted, as is proven, by a small portion of it recovered in 1855 and taken to Newburgh, agreeable to a description of it by Mr. Ruttenber, in his *Hudson River Obstructions*, page 139—of spars about 15 feet long, 12 inches in diameter, which were round, being fluted or wrought to an octogon in the centre. "These logs," says Mr. R., "are united to each other by an iron band around each end, and two links of chain of nearly two inch bar iron." Such was, no doubt, the character of the work extending from shore to shore.

And although the boom consisted of so much timber, yet it was evidently buoyed up by some anchored floats of long spars. This is inferred from the fact that Gov. Clinton and others (as I learned 50 years ago by an old gentleman named James Wood, of Springfield, N. Y.) walked across the river on the chain; and Wood said he thus crossed the river. But he spoke of only one obstruction, and that being always visible and the chain generally submerged, he undoubtedly called the boom the chain, as did Dr. Thacher and other early writers. It would have been but a little trouble to have tacked boards upon the boom across the river; nor is it improbable this was done, as there was much need of foot-crossing there, which would thus be less hazardous than stepping upon the chain links between the spars, if possible, and obviate the constant use of small boats.

After the chain was afloat, nearly a dozen companies of artificers were engaged in completing the boom. It would be a gratification to show the cost of each obstruction, but the vouchers among the Machin papers for labor and material in different obstructions, are often so blended as to render this impracticable. I will, however, copy several of them to convey an idea of the labor and expense incurred principally upon the chevaux-de-frize at Pollopel's island, and the chain and boom at West Point.

"General abstract of money due to boatmen, teamsters, etc., employed in the service of the United States, for obstructing the navigation of Hudson's river, under the direction of Capt. Thos. Machin, superintendent, and by order of Maj.-Gen. Putnam [this service began under Gen. Putnam, and ended under



Gen. Parsons] from 15th January till September, 1778." The dates don't show when the labor was performed, but when the bills were made.

|  |          |
|--|----------|
| April 4, 1778, John Nicholl, A. D. Q. Mr. G., balance due to him .....   | £961 7 4 |
| February 3, 1778, John Nicholson, sup't (as dep. sup't at \$75 per month).....   | 92 0 0   |
| June 30, 1778, Nehemiah Denton (as dep. sup't at \$75 per month).....  | 339 1 0  |
| April 12, 1778, Samuel Auther, (for 5½ lbs. sole leather for pumps) .....  | 2 15 0   |
| February 18, 1778, John Allison and Thomas McDuell .....   | 40 16 0  |
| [This bill was for drawing timber with ox teams, embracing this item—8 large white oak trees for carriage and carriage wheels, at 8s. each.]   |          |
| January 15, 1778, Moses Gale, Qr. Mr. ....   | 22 0 0   |
| February 28, 1778, Thomas Mills and Simon Cumington (for ox teams).....  | 12 0 0   |
| April 7, 1778, Josiah Wood and Stephen Wiman, (burning coal) .....   | 51 0 0   |
| October 6, 1777, Samuel Brewster, due him .....  | 3 4 0    |
| April 13, 1778, Daniel Sherwood.....   | 280 18 0 |
| January 3, 1778, John L. Moffatt, (acting as clerk at New Windsor) at \$27 per month.....  | 35 9 8   |
| October 4, 1777, Leonard D. Nicholl and others, (ox teams 15s. per yoke per day) .....   | 104 5 0  |
| June 20, 1778, Leonard D. Nicholl and others, (drawing timber for boom) .....  | 24 0 0   |
| June 4, 1778, Leonard D. Nicholl and others, (two yoke oxen 21 days at 11s. per yoke).....   | 23 2 0   |
| March 14, to August 12, Lewis Clark, (bill for use of sloop Lydia, and men on chevaux-de-frize).....   | 262 12 8 |
| March 1, 1778, Samuel Auther and David Mandevil, (for use of horse teams).....   | 10 8 0   |
| November 1, 1777, Francis Mandevil, (for 30 yoke of oxen at 10s. per yoke, and 5 span of horses at do. drawing timber for chain and boom)..... | 724 0 0  |
| March 2, 1778, Francis Mandevil and others, (drawing iron for chain .....  | 411 12 0 |
| April 12, 1778 Francis Mandevil and others, (bill for teaming) .....   | 298 2 8  |
| July 5, 1777, David Southerland and others, (drawing timber for boom).....   | 150 0 0  |
| November 1, 1777, David Southerland and others, (drawing timber for boom).....   | 64 2 6   |

|  |             |
|--|-------------|
| June 2, 1778, David Southerland and others (drawing iron for boom) .....                                     | 103 11 8    |
| February 16, 1778, Henry Palmer.....   | 37 4 0      |
| October 7, 1777, Henry Palmer.....   | 103 4 0     |
| December 1 to 31, 1777, Henry Palmer, (pay roll of a company of watermen) .....                              | 108 7 0     |
| [No date] Henry Palmer.....  | 12 8 0      |
| March 16, 1778, Samuel Brewster.....   | 14 8 0      |
| November 10, 1777, William Matteman .....  | 13 13 4     |
| June 2, 1778, Jonathan Belknap.....  | 19 13 3     |
| August 14, 1777, John Nicholl, Esq., and Henry Palmer ....   | 22 16 0     |
| October 11, 1777, Henry Ketcham.....   | 24 0 0      |
| June 16, 1778, Jonah Wood and Zebulon Pierce, (balance of account for burning coal for chain and boom) ..... | 45 0 0      |
| January 29, 1778, Joseph Belknap .....   | 12 8 0      |
| [No date] William Cumming.....   | 13 0 0      |
| [No date] Robert Boyd.....   | 24 0 0      |
| June 6 to November 12, William Hubbard Ass't Qr. Mr .....  | 100 14 4    |
|  | <hr/>       |
|  | £4,627 17 5 |
|  | <hr/>       |

Certified—"A true copy of an Abstract."

Here are bills footed together for accounts previously incurred but not settled on the first of September, 1778, amounting in Federal currency to \$11,569.68.

Here is an account current of some 25 tons of iron used in making the boom intended for Fort Montgomery. It is doubtful if any of it had been removed from New Windsor until it was taken to West Point. The early part of the year 1777 was required in restoring the Fort Montgomery chain, old boom and chevaux-de-frize; and the making of the West Point boom began later in the season.

*"Quarter-Master-General by Messrs. Thomas Machin and John Nichol: To Noble and Townsend, Dr.*

| 1777.                  | No. clips. | No. chains. | No. swivels. | No. clevises. | No. bolts. | No. bands. | By whom sent.                     |
|------------------------|------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|------------|------------|-----------------------------------|
| Aug. 6 ...             | 24         | ....        | 6            | .....         | 24         | ....       | Daniel Meloun.                    |
| Aug. 21....            | 24         | ....        | 6            | .....         | 24         | ....       | Francis Welding                   |
| Aug 21 ....            | 20         | ....        | 5            | .....         | 20         | ....       | Amos Mills                        |
| Aug 23 ....            | ....       | ....        | 3            | 6             | ....       | 6          | Francis Welding.                  |
| Sept. 2 ....           | 16         | 8           | ....         | ....          | 16         | ....       | David Sutherland.                 |
| Sept. 6....            | 12         | 6           | ....         | ....          | 12         | ....       | Daniel Meloun as far as Thorne's. |
| Sept. 17....           | 12         | 8           | ....         | ....          | 12         | ....       | Patrick Sutherland.               |
| Sept. 25 ....          | 12         | 9           | ..           | ....          | 12         | 2          | David Sutherland.                 |
| Oct. 2 ....            | ....       | 9           | ....         | ....          | ....       | ....       | Daniel Meloun                     |
| Nov. 13 ....           | 22         | ....        | 1            | 1             | 22         | ....       | Solomon Curtis.                   |
| Still at the works ... | ....       | 18          | ....         | ....          | 36         | ....       |                                   |
|                        | 142        | 58          | 21           | 7             | 184        | 8          |                                   |

One load was sent by the Clove that I have not got the number, clips, etc.

|               | Tons. | H. | Qu. | Lbs. |   | £     | s. | d. |
|---------------|-------|----|-----|------|---|-------|----|----|
| 1777.         |       |    |     |      |   |       |    |    |
| The weight is | 17    | 10 | 1   | 21   | Of boom iron, etc., at 140s. (being 39,249 lbs clips, chains, etc.... | £2453 | 1  | 3  |
|               |       |    |     |      | To making 39,249 lbs. clips, chains, etc., at 1s. 3d.....             | 2453  | 1  | 3  |
| June 19 ..... | ..    | 20 | ..  | ..   | Bar iron by my team, at 140s .....                                    | 140   | .. | .. |
| June 24 ..... | ..    | 30 | ..  | 14   | Bar iron by my team, at 150s .....                                    | 210   | 17 | 6  |
| June 28 ..... | ..    | 20 | ..  | 4    | (extended) .....  | 140   | 5  | .. |
| July 7 .....  | ..    | 21 | ..  | ..   | Bar iron by Col. Curries, at 140s .....                               | 140   | .. | .. |
| July 7 .....  | ..    | 8  | ..  | 14   | Bar iron by our team, at 140s .....                                   | 140   | .. | .. |
|               |       |    |     |      | Bar iron by S. Brewster, at 140s. ....                                | 56    | 17 | 6  |
| 1778.         |       |    |     |      |   |       |    |    |
| Jan. 22 ..... | ..    | 10 | ..  | 14   | Bar iron by Mandeville, at 330s. ....                                 | 167   | 1  | 3  |
| Jan. 28 ..... | ..    | 10 | 1   | 14   | Bar iron by Mandeville, at 330s. ....                                 | 171   | 3  | 4  |
| To carting .. | ..    | 79 | ..  | ..   | Of the boom bar iron .....  | 121   | 16 | .. |
|               |       |    |     |      |   | £5945 | 3  | 1  |

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| August, by cash paid Mr. Hauxhurst.....           | £500 0 0   |
| September 14, by cash paid Mr. Hauxhurst.....     | 1,000 0 0  |
| November 14, by cash paid Nathaniel Satly .....   | 240 0 0    |
| February 2, by cash received by Col. Hughes ..... | 4,027 0 0* |
| Balance due .....                                 | £5,747 0 0 |
|   | £198 3 1   |

The amount of this bill in federal money is \$14,862 89

Here is an abstract which shows where much of the boom iron was forged.

\* Here is an error of 20 pounds in footing.

"The United States of America Dr. New Windsor June 2, 1778. To David Sutherland, Jr., and others for their teams employed in drawing Iron from Ringwood, Sterling and Chester, for the use of obstructing the navigation of Hudson's river by order of Maj.-Gen. Putnam, and under the direction of Capt. Thomas Machin, sup't, from Aug. 20, till Oct. 12, 1777, agreeable to the amt. here-under.

|                          | No. of tons<br>of Iron. | Price per<br>ton. | From where<br>drawn. | Amount.   |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|-----------|
|                          | tons c. qr.             |                   |                      | £ s. d.   |
| David Sutherland .....   | 4 15 0                  | £3 4 0            | Chester .....        | 15 4 0    |
| David Sutherland .....   | 1 0 0                   | 7 0 0             | Sterling .....       | 7 0 0     |
| David Sutherland .....   | 1 0 0                   | 7 0 0             | Ringwood ..          | 7 0 0     |
| Patrick McDonald .....   | 19 2                    | 7 0 0             | Ringwood ..          | 6 16 6    |
| William Clerke .....     | 15 0                    | 7 0 0             | Ringwood ..          | 5 5 0     |
| Richard Goldsmith .....  | 15 2                    | 7 0 0             | Ringwood ..          | 5 8 6     |
| James Matthews .....     | 1 1 1                   | 7 0 0             | Ringwood ..          | 7 8 9     |
| Jonathan White .....     | 1 10 1                  | 7 0 0             | Ringwood ..          | 10 11 9   |
| James Reynolds .....     | 15 3                    | 7 0 0             | Ringwood ..          | 5 10 3    |
| Coleman Curtis, Jr. .... | 18 2-7                  | 7 0 0             | Ringwood ..          | 6 9 11½   |
| John Mandevil .....      | 15 1                    | 7 0 0             | Ringwood ..          | 5 6 9     |
| Henry Vandever .....     | 15 3                    | 7 0 0             | Ringwood ..          | 5 10 3    |
| Amos Mills .....         | 1 0 0                   | 3 4 0             | Chester .....        | 3 4 0     |
| Francis Welden .....     | 2 0 0                   | 3 4 0             | Chester .....        | 6 8 0     |
| Coleman Curtis, Jr. .... | 2 0 0                   | 3 4 0             | Chester .....        | 6 8 0     |
|                          |                         |                   |                      | 103 11 8½ |

"Due as per above Acct. one hundred and three pounds, eleven shillings and eight pence one farthing—a true copy." This account shows over 19 tons of iron drawn to New Windsor, nearly half of which came from Ringwood, N. J. It was probably in bars. Some of it may have been used in making the chevaux-de-frize, but the most of it is believed to have been used on the boom: it having been forged before the West Point chain was determined upon, and intended to supply the place of the weaker boom obstruction of Fort Montgomery.

Here is an account current of a part of the expense in preparing the timber for the West Point chain and boom.

"A general Abstract of several companies of Artificers employed in the works obstructing the navigation of Hudson's River, under the direction of Capt. Thomas Machin, Sup't.

| NAMES.                                | Pay<br>rolls. | Commence-<br>ment of pay. | To what<br>time paid. | Amount<br>paid. |
|---------------------------------------|---------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
|                                       |               | 1777.                     | 1778.                 | £ s. d.         |
| Ebenezer Young, Assistant Sup't ..... |               | August 13,                | June 7,               | 290 0 0         |
| Capt. Plumsted and company .....      |               | December 1,               | June 1,               | 1,182 11 6      |
| Capt. Hoagland and company .....      |               | December 1,               | June 1,               | 760 10 0        |
| Capt. Parshall and company .....      |               | January 1,                | June 1,               | 417 3 0         |
| Capt. Frazer and company .....        |               | January 10,               | June 1,               | 5 0 5 9         |
| Capt. White and company .....         |               | December 1,               | June 1,               | 724 11 3        |
| Capt. Ransom and company .....        |               | March 1,                  | March 23,             | 52 5 0          |
| Capt. McKinney and company .....      |               | March 1,                  | June 1,               | 194 4 6         |
| Capt. Marriner and company .....      |               | March 1,                  | June 1,               | 107 3 3         |
| Mathew McMullin .....                 |               | 6 months                  | March 28,             | 13 17 6         |
| Wm. Hubbard and Sutherland, Qr.       |               |                           |                       |                 |
| M's account .....                     |               | November 6,               | June 6,               | 77 0 0          |
| John Buchanan, sergeant .....         |               | May 1,                    | April 1,              | 116 4 10        |
|                                       |               |                           |                       | 4,435 16 7      |

Equal to \$11,089.57. Filed—"General abstract for pay."

The next abstract shows a part of the expenses for teaming, while the timber and iron were being drawn to New Windsor, for the river obstructions at West Point. It will be seen that a man with two yoke of oxen then commanded four dollars a day.

"The United States of America Dr. for a Brigade of teams under Joseph Robins, Conductor, Employed on the works for obstructing the navigation of Hudson's River, by order of Brig. Sam'l H. Parsons, and under the direction of Capt. Thos. Machin, Sup't, commencing 1st day of February, and ending 2d day of March, 1778, inclusive.

"NEW WINDSOR, *March 2d*, 1778.

|   | No. of yoke of<br>oxen. | No. of days<br>inclusive. | Pay p r yoke<br>per day | No. of span of<br>horses. | No. of days of<br>service. | Wages per<br>day. | Amount.   |
|---|-------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|-----------|
|   |                         |                           |                         |                           |                            |                   | £ s. d.   |
| Francis Mandevill .....                 | 2                       | 24½                       | 16s.                    | .....                     | .....                      | .....             | 38 16 0   |
| Stephen Peete .....                     | 16½                     | 16s.                      | .....                   | .....                     | .....                      | .....             | 26 16 0   |
| Daniel Sherwood .....                   | 13½                     | 16s.                      | .....                   | .....                     | .....                      | .....             | 22 0 0    |
| Francis Welden .....                    | 17                      | 16s.                      | .....                   | .....                     | .....                      | .....             | 27 4 0    |
| David Sutherland .....                  | 17½                     | 16s.                      | .....                   | .....                     | .....                      | .....             | 28 8 0    |
| William Ellison .....                   | 12                      | 16s.                      | .....                   | .....                     | .....                      | .....             | 19 4 0    |
| Leonard D. Nicholl .....                | 13                      | 16s.                      | 1                       | 16½                       | 16s.                       | .....             | 34 0 0    |
| Samuel Arthur .....                     | 19½                     | 16s.                      | .....                   | .....                     | .....                      | .....             | 31 4 0    |
| John Nichol .....                       | 1½                      | 16s.                      | 1                       | 15                        | 16s.                       | .....             | 27 12 0   |
| David Mandevill .....                   | 16½                     | 16s.                      | .....                   | .....                     | .....                      | .....             | 26 8 0    |
| Jacob Vandevill .....                   | 19                      | 16s.                      | .....                   | .....                     | .....                      | .....             | 30 8 0    |
| James Southerland .....                 | 16½                     | 16s.                      | .....                   | .....                     | .....                      | .....             | 26 0 0    |
| Wedon Peete .....                       | 16                      | 16s.                      | .....                   | .....                     | .....                      | .....             | 25 12 0   |
| Kamp Wise .....                         | 16½                     | 16s.                      | .....                   | .....                     | .....                      | .....             | 26 0 0    |
| Joseph Robins, Conductor, 30 days ..... | 8s.                     | .....                     | .....                   | .....                     | .....                      | .....             | 12 0 0    |
|   |                         |                           |                         |                           |                            |                   | £411 12 0 |

"Due per above acct. four hundred and eleven pounds, twelve shillings—a true copy."

This account is footed ten pounds too much : and would be \$1,004, in currency. This bill appears in a general abstract given in this connection.

I have shown that the first boom of much importance placed in the Hudson, was at West Point. I have before me a pay roll, showing the services of Benjamin Thorne, a master carpenter and 14 men, from September 1, to October 1, 1777 :

"Employed at building the Capson, Dock, Anchor and Boom for obstructing the river at Fort Montgomery, etc." This shows as I infer, that these preparations making for the new boom, were not in readiness nearly up to the time when the enemy passed that point : besides, the boom the British spoke of destroying, could not have been a very reliable obstruction.

The chain at West Point was completed on the first of May, and a previous Abstract given, embraced the services of the *artisans* during that month, which was upon the boom. Here is another Abstract for labor mostly on the boom, which may have been completed in August, yet some of its *pay rolls* end in September, and October.

"An Abstract of money due to the Artificers, Boatmen, etc., Employed in the works near New Windsor, obstructing the navigation of Hudson's River, under the direction of Capt. Thomas Machin, Superintendent, from the 1st June till October 13, 1778."

|  |      |    |   |
|--|------|----|---|
| Ebenezer Young, Ass't Sup't.....                           | £120 | 0  | 0 |
| William Hubbard, Ass't Sup't.....                          | 76   | 16 | 0 |
| Hezekiah White, Foreman (and men) .....                    | 179  | 5  | 0 |
| Benjamin Hogland, Foreman (and men).....                   | 380  | 18 | 0 |
| Benjamin Thorne, Foreman (and men).....                    | 121  | 19 | 6 |
| William Frazer, Foreman (and men).....                     | 518  | 10 | 3 |
| Joshua Marriner, Foreman (and men) stocking cannon, etc..  | 61   | 12 | 0 |
| Joshua Plumsted, Foreman (and men) .....                   | 637  | 15 | 0 |
| James Johnston, Foreman (and men).....                     | 235  | 4  | 0 |
| Nathaniel Hull, Foreman (and men).....                     | 38   | 4  | 6 |
| John Parshall, Foreman (and men) .....                     | 348  | 3  | 0 |
| William Tobey, Foreman (for use of Sloop Polly and men) .. | 169  | 4  | 0 |

|   |              |
|---|--------------|
| Barnabas McKinney, Foreman (and men)..... | 184 6 0      |
| Hugh Turner, (for use of a boat) .....    | 1 0 0        |
|   | <hr/>        |
|   | \$3,067 17 3 |
|   | <hr/>        |

Equal in Federal money to \$7,669.66.

Besides the expenses here shown for obstructing the Hudson, numerous bills were never entered in abstract. In fact those for Capt. Machin's services are none of them shown except one for his traveling expenses and subsistence money, a copy of which was among other vouchers ; and this account was only for the year 1778 ; which footed £126, 1s. 6d. Among the items are the following :

|  |         |
|--|---------|
| January 1st, expenses exploring Hudson's river with 7 men 6 days.....                        | £6 10 0 |
| [This indicates the river open the last week in December.]                                   |         |
| January 16th, expenses on the road to Chester to agree for the new chain, 3 days .....       | 3 12 6  |
| [This initiatory act was a fortnight before it was under a written contract.]                |         |
| February 2d, expenses for 10 quires paper, at the rate of \$12.50 per ream.....              | 2 10 0  |
| March 5th, expenses getting the logs to dry for the chain at New Palts .....                 | 3 10 0  |
| April 7th, expenses getting down the chain logs with 40 men 4 days.....                      | 6 0 0   |
| April 16th, expenses taking down the chain .....   | 16 0    |
| April 30th, while getting the new chain at work .....  | 11 0    |
| May 3d, expenses when reascending the Lady Washington Galley at Kingston creek 20 days ..... | 9 10 6  |
| [This vessel was purposely scuttled on the approach of the enemy.]                           |         |

*Wages in the Highlands.*—As already shown, a man with two yoke of oxen or two span of horses usually commanded \$4. a day ; carpenters 7-6 or \$0.93½, foremen \$1.50; blacksmiths \$1.37½ to \$1.50, foremen \$2; artificers same as blacksmiths; ship-wrights \$1.50, foremen \$3.12½; captains of companies \$3; female cooks for different companies 5s 3d, or \$0.65½.

*The Obstructions at West Point, how Handled.*—Every season on the approach of winter, the chain and boom were taken on shore with their floats, and replaced in the spring. This, as the reader may suppose, was to prevent the ice from carrying them off. Capt. Eben Williams, who cantoned two winters in the

Highlands, assured the writer that he, with his company of Massachusetts infantry, assisted both seasons in removing and replacing those obstructions. Two other companies of troops were engaged with his own in this arduous duty, making a force of about 100 men ; and we may conclude that the *modus operandi* was directed by Engineer Machin, as he usually wintered at New Windsor. Capt. W. assured me that they had at command all the boats they needed, and, at times, one or more sloops. They used a large windlass, loosened one end of the chain and its floats, and gradually drew it upon the opposite shore, where he said it made a huge pile, and such would especially be the case with the boom. Mr. Rutenber in his *Hudson River Obstructions*, page 146, alluding to this statement, scouted the idea of the labor being thus performed, by saying : "The simple fact in reference to this is, that one end of the chain and of the boom, being loosened from its fastening, a windlass was employed to swing the body around to the shore, a very simple process and easily accomplished."

This were easier said than done. Possibly the writer who penned this sentence, knew better how the labor was performed than did the men who executed it. My informant assured me it could not be done in the manner here guessed at. He said those works had to be drawn directly across, for if they swung round to the shore—as they would with the tide, if they did not break themselves loose—they could not possibly be drawn up the stream again : and we may readily imagine that if the chain had been allowed to swing by the current of the stream to one shore, the floats would most likely be broken if not lost. The greatest difficulty to overcome in the labor was to keep the moving mass up the stream as much as possible. The windlass was arranged to draw across and not up the stream.

Joseph Gilbert, of Oswego county, assured the writer in 1862, that his grandfather was at West Point in 1778, and aided in putting the great chain across the river. He told his friends that while it was being done one end of the chain swung down the stream a little, and it was with very great labor got back and restored to its intended position.

*Modern Events Connected with the River Obstructions, or a Vindication Explaining Itself.*—In June, 1855, the following notice appeared in the *Albany Argus*: "Efforts are being



made at West Point to raise, by means of Bishop's Floating Derrick, the massive chain which was stretched across the Hudson river at that point during the Revolution, to intercept the passage of the British vessels above that place. Its weight was 500 tons, and it was broken at each end a few years after it was put up, and has remained ever since at the depth of 125 feet." Under the date of June 29th, following this notice, thinking some one might make a fruitless waste of time in the search—knowing that the weight of the chain proper could not have been more than about 40 tons, and knowing also that it was never left in the river over winter on account of frost, and that iron was too valuable in the impoverished condition of the country to allow the chain at the close of the war to be lost—I stated through the *Argus* about what the chain must have weighed, and that probably no part of it would be found in the river; that, on the contrary, a portion of it was formerly at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, while much of it had been worked up by blacksmiths, and not a few of its links had gone into antiquarian cabinets.

The derrick was taken there, however, and, as a reward for the effort, two spars chained together were raised from the river's bottom close in shore, in 160 feet of water, which serve to show how the boom was made. How this fragment of the obstruction came there is a mystery, but I think it was dumped into the river by the enemy—as they claimed to have destroyed this boom, and did, some part of it—and sunk to the bottom, and remained there until thus recovered. These relics were taken to Newburgh, and subsequently deposited, says Mr. E. M. Ruttenber, at Washington's headquarters. Mr. Ruttenber figured those relics in the *Newburgh Telegraph*—a newspaper of which he was editor—August 5, 1855, and then said: "The length of the logs are 19 feet; diameter, nearly two feet. Three links of chain are between each end; links about 18 inches long." In 1860 Mr. Ruttenber published a very creditable work entitled *Hudson River Obstructions*, in which he figured the relic, and described it, "to consist of two logs, one of white wood and the other of white pine, about 15 feet in length, and about 12 inches in diameter, dressed in the centre in the form of an octagon and rounded at the ends. These logs are united to each other by an iron band around each end, and two

links of chain of nearly two-inch bar iron, etc." I mention these two descriptions to show the shrinkage of the relics in five years ; the spars from 19 to 15 feet in length, and from two feet to one foot in diameter, while a whole link of chain fell out at each end. Probably the last account is given under the least excitement, and, of course, entitled to credit.

Mr. Ruttenber, in our newspaper controversy in 1855 and 1856, was disposed to discredit nearly all I said of the river obstructions ; claiming that the relic found was a portion of the only impediment in the river at West Point, which he thought, "by his superior knowledge," would lead me to understand *the precise manner in which the river was obstructed*. When I said there was a double obstruction, consisting of a massive, contiguous chain, and a boom of timber and chains at West Point, he said I was in error, and "had confused the several obstructions placed in the river—which he thought it was natural should be the case—from the crude and conflicting testimony to which I had been compelled to resort ;" and yet ten years before, with all the papers of the engineer upon that subject before me, I had published to the world the fact of the double obstruction. And so elated was he with the conviction that he was all right and I was all wrong in the matter, that he closed his letter of January 3, 1856, by saying, that "only one chain was ever placed across the Hudson, and that was at Fort Montgomery ;" and very flippantly added : "*History* fixes the fact of a chain at Fort Montgomery : *tradition* furnishes the evidence of a chain at West Point." This precise sentiment he reiterated at the close of another letter dated February 8, 1856.

In a letter written by Robert Townsend, Esq., October 16, 1858, to H. A. Homes, Esq., of the State Library, after inserting the last sentence above quoted, says : "This is a cool and bare-faced assertion : and it indicates a peculiar obliquity of the mental vision, when we contrast it with his own quotations from cotemporary evidence (Gov. Clinton, Capt. Machin, Lieut. Woodward and Dr. Thacher), all speaking explicitly of the obstruction at West Point as a *chain*. Every *history* that mentions the subject speaks of it as a chain, and persons yet living have seen large masses of it piled up at West Point. If all this evidence is only tradition, what are we to regard as history ? Although this singular arguer makes a great flourish about

documentary evidence" as opposed to "tradition," he does not seem to produce any. But his arguments are all of the same order: Mr. Simms' positive evidence is to him only "tradition," and his own "documentary proof" is, to men of ordinary apprehension, nothing but unsupported assertion, etc." I should remark that, very kindly, Mr. Townsend requested Mr. Homes to send the letter containing the above to the author, who would here express his thanks for it.

Four years later—having, in the meantime, had access to a portion of the Machin papers—he issued his book; and what is surprising, after what he had said about my ignorance in the matter as implied, he says on page 139: "From the facts stated, it is apparent that the obstructions at West Point consisted of a *boom* and a *chain*." When, in 1855, I said the derrick had raised a portion of the *boom*, he ignored such an opinion, only to fall back into the belief that the boom must be considered by his readers as the *chain*. Verily *history* could now establish the fact of a chain at West Point: but what surprised me on the appearance of his book was, not so much the fact that with the same testimony, *he* had come to learn the "precise nature of the several obstructions," but that *he* should use *my thunder* without one word of apology or explanation, for previously attempting, so repeatedly, to place me in a false light before the American reader. I would not be considered captious or egotistical, but when I publish a fact with satisfactory proof that I am correct, and my statement is ignored by one who, without proper testimony, is disposed to exult in his ignorance, I claim that gentlemanly candor, when one is convinced that he has been in error, should be sacredly observed between man and man, whether strangers or not, when both are seeking for truth. Mr. Ruttenber very properly gives a cut in his book of the relics raised by Bishop's derrick *as a portion of the boom*—instead of *chain*—and also figures a *coil of chain links* to show the character of the continuous chain. Mr. Ruttenber, although he was not disposed to treat me courteously in a matter in which my historical reputation was at stake, has, nevertheless, done a good work for posterity, on which account I commend his book to public favor.

I beg leave to say in this connection, however, that the floats for the West Point chain were not made as is shown in a figure

upon page 64 of Mr. Ruttenber's *River Obstructions*, as in that form they would too much impede the flow of water ; but they were more like the figure on page 62 of that work, though evidently held together as I have before shown, by four bars. The tradition of the late Gen. Machin, a son of the engineer, as also that of Col. McCarthy, of Ulster county, as given me in 1845, each corroborated my present position. Besides, the spars for the floats were 50 feet long and the oak crossings but 16 feet, proving that the floats had only four spars in each. Mr. Leake in his *Life and Times of Gen. Lamb*, erroneously figured the boom as above instead of below the chain ; at Fort Montgomery, as indeed several other writers have. The truth is the booms were both below the chains, at Fort Montgomery and West Point.

The Machin papers as published in 1845, I have still placed together, except those relating to Sullivan's expedition, which will be found in a history of that event. Some of the papers although in themselves unimportant ; still serve to show the bent of thought and what experiences all grades of actors in the times must have passed through—hence they are inserted. Here is a letter from Dr. Freeman, to Capt. Machin when so busy with the boom.

“SANDWICH, *August 10th*, 1778.

“DEAR SIR—Your favor by Mr. Williams I received, also one before ; am very glad to hear you are well, and employing your ingenuity and abilities in such a glorious cause, and with such promising aspects.

“Your chest of books and instruments are safe here, and ready to be delivered to your order at any time, and should be very happy to see you here yourself, which hope shall have opportunity for ere long. Mr. Williams can tell you all y<sup>e</sup> news from this quarter, to whom I refer you. He manifests a great regard for you, and any favor you can show him will meet my sincerest gratitude, as he is my neighbor and friend. Your letters give me much satisfaction, and would have been answered before, but for want of opportunity. As often as you write me you will greatly oblige you affectionate friend and humble serv<sup>t</sup>.

“N. FREEMAN.”

“Mrs. Freeman sends her compliments, etc.”

"P. S.—Our report respecting the channel was seasonably made and in favor of it, but nothing done."

Lieut. Woodward, mentioned by Capt. Machin as being his assistant at West Point, became after they separated his constant correspondent. The following is one of his letters.

"WHITE PLAINS, 5th Sept., 1778.

"DEAR CAPTAIN—This is the fourth time of my writing without hearing or receiving from you. I believe you to be buried by this. Give me joy; I am ordered to join Capt. Walker, who is annexed to Gen. Huntington's Brigade near the Artillery Park. We live exceedingly happy on rum, beef and bread. The board of officers are sitting to settle the rank of the regiment, which makes me sorry you are not present. I waited on Gen. Parsons yesterday, who expressed surprise that you had not got down yet. Your lads are all well and want to see you. Our Captains are all high for rank. I hope you will not forget my *foiles*, but send them down by the first opportunity. I should be very glad if you can send down my ward, which is in my chest at Mr. Fraser's. Give my tender regards to Mrs. Logan and the Major if returned—also to all your friends as well as mine.

"Your friend,

"PETER WOODWARD."

The following letter from Gen. Clinton again found Capt. Machin at New Windsor :

"LITTLE BRITAIN, Oct. 31st, 1779.

"DR. SIR—I received your favor and am much obliged to you for the trouble you have taken : the key of my case is in the major's chest, I believe, so that you have done all for me I expected or could wish you to do.

"I left East Town last Wednesday, at the time the army set off for Warwick, and had Gen. Sullivan's permission to go on before the brigade to visit my family : when I got to Sussex Court House there arrived an express from head quarters for our army to march from East Town to Pumptown, but as our army was then at Log Gaol, within ten miles of Sussex Court House, I don't know what route they have taken, but it was

thought they would march from thence to Hacket's Town and so to Pumtown.

"As I consider myself on furlough I can't pretend to order you for the above reason, but would advise you to send the baggage agreeable to Lt. Hervey's orders. I expect to go to head quarters on Tuesday next, where I expect to receive orders what to do with the troops of the brigade, &c. at New Windsor. In the meantime let the commanding officer know that it's my orders that he hold them in readiness to march on the shortest notice.

"I am sir, yours, &c.,

"JAMES CLINTON."

"P. S.—I expect to be at N. Windsor on Tuesday as I go to head quarters, when perhaps I will see you."

The following extract of a letter from Lieut. Woodward to Capt. Machin, dated "Newburgh, Nov. 20, 1779," shows Cupid recruiting for *his* service in the American army.

"We have had the most surprising accident happen that ever you could hear of, which is, that a sergeant of our company has run away with a young lady of this place by the name of Fauster, who is the first fortune in town, and she is the only heiress."

In May, 1779, Capt. Thos. Machin was engaged in taking a water-level between Albany and Schenectada, with a view of supplying the former city with water. He submitted a plan for this object to the city corporation, with drawings to show the manner in which an aqueduct and reservoir should be constructed. Agreeable to his table of levels, a mark on the post at the *watering trough at Bratt's half-way house*, was 277 feet  $3\frac{5}{10}$  inches above the *City Hall wharf*. The first mile stone out of Albany was 211 feet  $5\frac{2}{10}$  inches below the mark at Bratt's. This survey, said Gen. Thomas Machin,\* son of Capt. Machin, was also made with reference to an inland water communica-

\* Thomas Machin, Jr., died at his residence in Albany, May 18, 1875, in his 90th year. He had the misfortune to be born club-footed; but his father, a stern man in his day, at once twisted the infant toes forward and they grew so. The son was an officer of some grade in the war of 1812. His residence for nearly his life-time was in Charleston, Montgomery county, where he is remembered as a surveyor, often appearing at courts as a witness in land cases; and also as being for many years what was termed a member of the 3d house, or a lobbyist upon the State Legislature.

tion, between the Mohawk river at Schenectada and the Hudson at Albany, with the contemplated design of its being extended westward from Schenectada. Here was the embryo thought of that water communication, which 50 years later united the Hudson River with Lake Erie.

I have before adverted to the suffering of the American army in the winter of 1779 and 1780; the following letters from Henry Rutgers, Esq., and Dr. Young, allude to the same subject:

“NEW WINDSOR, Jan. 18, 1780.

“MY DEAR SIR—I was this moment favored with your letter of the 14th inst., and with pleasure read its contents, as your troubles were beginning to cease by the necessities of life coming in again. By this time, I make no doubt, you have experienced every vicissitude of fortune in almost every stage of your life—hunger, cold and every inconveniency attending a soldier, you are no stranger to. It is needless for me to moralize or philosophize on the subject, to encourage your perseverance, as such arguments are familiar to you. One thing I would only beg leave to mention, which is, that this spring, in my opinion, the war will either cease or be transferred to some other part of the world; as I conceive it impossible for Britain to continue it at so great an odds. In either case I shall be content, as my country will then be enabled to recruit from the depredations committed upon her by the cruelty and tyranny of Britain.

I was just now entertained with an agreeable view: 2 or 300 cattle passing to Windsor on the ice, for head quarters. If entertaining to me, what will you feel upon their arrival! I flatter myself that I anticipate the pleasure. Want of time and paper prevent my saying more, than that I wish you every succession of happiness with the blessings of the year. Mr. and Mrs. Bedlow, with Miss Caty and Polly, join me in their professions for the same, and believe me, dear Sir, that I remain

“Your friend and very humble servant,

“HENRY RUTGERS.

“*To Capt. Machin, at Morris Town.*”

“DEAR SIR—I received your kind epistle of the 14th instant, and most feelingly sympathize with the noble boys who have

suffered such uncommon hardships without complaining. If this is not patriotism, I will thank the British Despot that will inform me what it is. However, I rejoice that you have obtained a supply of provisions, and hope you will not experience such another trial.

"We have nothing new in this quarter worth your notice, but hope, if Lord Sterling succeeds in his enterprise against Staten Island, you will embrace the first opportunity to inform me of the particulars, together with what other news you may hear from any other quarter.\* I hope soon to have the pleasure of seeing you in Albany, when I will show you with what dexterity and pleasure I ride my Electrical Hobby Horse. Till then I am

"Your sincere friend and humble servant,

"JO. YOUNG.

"P. S.—My kindest compl'ts to all my friends in camp.

"*Albany, Jan'y 24, 1780.*"

The following letter from Lieut. Patterson to Capt. Machin, is inserted because of its historic interest :

"FORT PITT, *July 3d, 1780.*

"DEAR SIR—Nothing can contribute more to my happiness, in this distant and remote part of the world, than a correspondence with a gentleman of your natural and acquired abilities, upon the genuine principles of true and disinterested friendship, and nothing prevented me from writing sooner but a diffidence of my own abilities.

"As the bearer is waiting, I have only time to inform you of our safe arrival at this post the twenty-fourth ult., very much fatigued, after a long and tedious march, of near five weeks, from Carlisle. I begin to find we shall not be so fond of the place as we imagined before we arrived, for there is nothing but repeated scenes and ideas, and such a sameness in every day's transactions, that will make time glide on a very slow pace.

"The Fort is very pleasantly situated in the forks at the con-

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\* The enterprise on the ice from New Jersey to Staten Island proved a failure, the American troops not arriving in sight of the British garrison - they were sent to surprise—until after daylight. Nearly a sleigh load of black soldiers, sent on the expedition, were frozen to death. Col. Angel's regiment of blacks, although said to have been as brave, could not endure the cold as well as white soldiers.—*James Williamson.*



flux of the Mahangahela and Alleghana Rivers. It is very strong, but the walls and barracks are much decayed, and the best buildings were destroyed by the English when they evacuated the garrison. The town, which consists of about fifty log-houses and cabins, is situated on the bank of the Mahangahela, about two or three hundred yards from the Fort. There is [are] about fifty Delaware Indians and a number of Squaws at this place, which [who] brought in a quantity of skins and furs, but it is hard for the officers to get enough to supply their wants, there is such a number of old traders that can talk Indian, and they are much fonder to exchange them for shirts, blankets, &c., than any other way. I am informed there are continually a number of them loitering about town to draw provision.

"I shall inform you more particularly of the place the next opportunity, by which time I will be better acquainted, and therefore in my power to do it with more exactness. Please to write every opportunity and inform me of your transactions at Head Quarters, for we have scarcely ever any news here that can be depended on. I am, with the greatest—

"Your most obedient and very humble servant,

"EZRA PATTERSON.

"Present my best compliments to Mr. Woodward and the Gents. of my acquaintance."

The following copy of a letter of instruction to the committee of conference with the Legislature of New York, shows the poverty of the army in a pecuniary view. I regret that I am not able to give the names of the officers under whom the committee, on the part of the army acted :

"CAMP STEENRAPIN, *Sept. 6th*, 1780.

"GENTLE'N.—We have chosen you our Committee to wait upon the Legislature of the State of New York, for the important purposes of representing to that body the unhappy and distressing situation of the troops under our command, and *their* immediate care and direction, and of enforcing a speedy execution of the resolves of Congress relative to the supplies necessary for the comfortable subsistence of the army ; and as well to ascertain and liquidate the loss sustained by the army

by the depreciation of the currency, as to obtain proper security for the payment thereof. These, Gentle'n., are the essential objects to which we would call your attention. The real depreciation upon the monies received and expended by the Army you are well acquainted with, and the most eligible mode to ascertain it, we conceive, will be by taking a comparative view of the prices of articles most needed in camp, beginning at the first establishment of our present pay, and thence computing at different periods the advance upon such articles. You will please to have in view, that the pay of the troops has been very irregular, and that they have seldom been with less than three months' pay in arrears, and often with more; especially in the present year, the pay for which from the 1st of January is still due, the depreciation on which can be computed at nothing less than the real value of the money on the first of August. With respect to the payment of such depreciated money as may be due us, we think that cash, or nothing less than a real security or Transfer of lands, will by any means answer the good intentions of the state, or relieve us.

Certificates, or notes for payment, we find by long experience, like other paper credit, are subject to the ebbs and flows of the times: we have had melancholly instances of this in the Eastern States, where the notes given to the troops have been sold at the most enormous discount, and the distresses of their army; which the Legislatures had in view to relieve, have by no means been removed. Good landed interest is secure from these failures, and is the security we wish to receive; it is such, if conveyed to us firmly and *bona-fide*, will always form a capital upon which we can draw without any discount. When we say landed interest, we mean, Gentlemen, improved estates, such as have a real and immediate value, of which the state to which we belong have an abundance, by the attainer of many of its inhabitants who have withdrawn themselves from its allegiance. In settling the value of these lands, it will be necessary for you to pay particular attention to the mode to be adopted. We would recommend that three different men may be appointed under oath for that purpose, and that we may have a voice in nominating as well the persons to value, as the lands to be appraised. As Congress has, by a resolve of the 24th of August last, recommended to the differ-

ent states to make provision for the widows and orphans of Officers who have died or may die in the service, we request your attention thereto, and that the provision therein recommended, or some other, may be extended to the widows and orphans of the Non-Commissioned Officers and soldiers in the like circumstances.

"We beg gentlemen that you will proceed as soon as possible upon the important business to which you are delegated, and we have the utmost confidence in your zeal and abilities to serve us, we would wish you to consider these instructions more or less absolute as you shall find circumstances require, and to do whatever else may be necessary for our interest, tho' not particularly mentioned herein. We wish you, gentlemen, a pleasant journey and happy success in your endeavors to serve us.

"We are, gentlemen, yours, &c."

"To Lieut.-Col. Willet, Major Fish, Capt. Machin."

The following letter from Lieut. Bradford directed to Capt. Machin at the assembly, Poughkeepsie, or Esopus, affords another evidence of the sorry condition of the army in the fall of 1780, and the importance of the committee's visit to the Legislature.

"HEAD QUARTERS, 17th September, 1780.

"DEAR SIR—This being the first conveyance since you left us, you will permit me to enquire after your welfare, and to inform you of that of your friends and acquaintances in this quarter: Capt. Mott and Lieut. Ashton excepted—the former is very ill, and the latter much indisposed—since your departure we remain in the same position, no alterations in the army in general, and but few in our regiment. One circumstance which probably will not be unexpected, [is,] that of the desertion of Mr. Gable; he left Capt. Moodie on the 14th inst., since which we have heard nothing from him. The night before he went off, Lieut. Brewster lost every article out of his tent, the shirt on his back excepted, and at the smallest computation his loss must amount to £4,000. Mr. Brewster's situation is truly chagrining; and from some circumstances appearing against Mr. Gable, that of his leaving his blanket and

knapsack, and stealing two empty ones before he went off, gives every suspicion of his being the thief. In consequence of those circumstances appearing against the deserter, Mr. Brewster with two mattresses set out to Bloominggrove in expectation of coming up with the scoundrel. Corporal McBride and James Whitmore set out for Morris Town, in some hopes of meeting with him there. I sincerely wish Mr. Brewster every success, tho' I much despair of his meeting with the fellow.

"The situation of our army since you left us has been truly distressing. *Six days* out of fifteen have the principal part of our army been without provisions' tho' it has not been the case with us; but we have had some small share in the disappointment: these circumstances are much against us, tho' it would not be thought so much of, was it not for a d—d rascally resolve of Congress; who say that if any officer or soldier does not draw the rations on the day they are due, they shall not receive them afterwards; from those circumstances we may naturally suppose, if we judge from the present, we shall be starved one-third of the time. From this, and almost every other proceeding of that August Body, they seem as tho' they had positively determined to injure the most Virtuous Body in the United States (that of the army); permit me, Dear Sir, to say things with us appear very gloomy. It is confidently asserted that the state of Connecticut has refused to supply the army with any more *beef*, in consequence of which one of the general's aids, Capt. Humphrey, set off with letters to Governor Trumbull to know (as we suppose) the reasons.

"Of the accounts from the southward, the newspapers will give you more particular information than I can. We have it confidently reported, and, indeed, generally believed, that Admiral Rodney, with thirteen sail of the line are arrived at New York from the West Indies, and the French fleet, consisting of eighteen sail of the line, are arrived at Rhode Island; should this be the case, we are in hopes the French will be able to give a good account of Mr. Graves.

"Mr. Burnside requests me to inform you that, as he was not on the New Windsor side, and being disappointed in not succeeding agreeable to his wishes, he entirely forgot to leave your letter for Mr. Rutgers; a neglect for which he is very sorry.

Dean has returned to us from Capt. Moodie, being very much indisposed. By the same post as this is sent, I have forwarded you a letter from Capt. Wool. Thus have I agreeable to my promise, given you a short and as minute a detail of circumstances as my abilities will admit, and hope they may prove agreeable. I am joined with Mr. Burnside and the remainder of the officers, with best wishes for your happiness. Believe me, with every sentiment of respect and esteem,

"Your obedient, humble servant,

"JAMES BRADFORD."

Capt. Machin appears to have been engaged at New Windsor much of the year 1781, in the recruiting service, having the principal direction of that business; and to have disbursed much money.\* The following paper from Capt. Hubbell shows in truth the situation as regards funds, of very many of the officers of the American army in the latter part of the war :

"DEAR SIR—I am under the necessity of sending a man off into Connecticut to-morrow morning, and have not a shilling of money for the poor fellow to bear his expenses ; should therefore be exceedingly obliged to you for some money. As his going is a matter of moment to a number of the gentlemen of the regiment, beg you would oblige me in this request—12th March, 1781.

"I am, respectfully yours,

"J. HUBBELL.

"*Capt. Thomas Machin.*"

Difficulties in the recruiting service were unavoidable, as the following paper directed to "Capt. Machin, Artillery Park, New Windsor," will show :

"POKEEPSIE, *April 20th*, 1781.

"DEAR SIR—Mr. George Thompson informs me that one of your recruiting parties pretended to have enlisted his son, and that he apprehends difficulties will arise on the subject. If Mr. Thompson's information is right, it would appear that the business was unduly managed ; however, as the old gentleman is of respectable character, I would not wish you to carry the

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\* In furnishing recruiting officers with orders, it was particularly specified that they should enlist no slave, tory or individual who had been in the service of the enemy.

matter to any extremity ; but to submit it to the determination of the civil magistrate. He is ready to appear before any in the neighborhood.

“ I am yours sincerely,

“ GEO. CLINTON.

“ *Capt. Machin.*”

In the fall of 1781, Capt. Machin accompanied the park of Gen. Washington's army, and, as engineer, aided in laying out the American works at the memorable siege of Yorktown. His skill in gunnery, which caused Gen. Sullivan to exclaim of the cannonading at Newtown, near Elmira, that it *was elegant*; was again manifested in the early part of this siege, by sending a shell, agreeable to the orders of Gen. Knox, into the magazine of a small British vessel lying in the river, and blowing it to atoms. Gen. Knox is said to have remarked, with evident satisfaction, as the shell performed its mission, and the men were blown into the air—“ See the d—d rascals go up.”—*Thomas, son of Capt. Machin.*

The following paper from His Excellency, affords additional evidence of his friendship and confidence :

“ POKEEPSIE, 13th January, 1782.

“ DEAR SIR—I was favored with your letter of the 16th ultimo, a few days ago. I am happy in the good opinion entertained of Mr. Tappan, and particularly obliged to your friendly offers respecting him, which shall be communicated to his father. The warrants for the several gentlemen lately appointed to your regiment will be forwarded by the present conveyance to the Colonel, as also certificates of their appointment to the War office.

“ I have nothing worth communicating. Mrs. Clinton begs you to accept the compliments of the season ; and believe me,

“ Dear Sir, with great regard,

“ Your most obed't serv't,

“ GEO. CLINTON.

“ *Capt. Thomas Machin.*”

Here is a paper from Maj. Popham, without date, which gives another evidence of the straitened condition of an American officer :

"DEAR MACHIN—The situation of my finances at present, obliges me to apply to you as a *dernier resort*. It must be hard times when a soldier is obliged to sell or pawn his arms. If you could dispose of my sword at Head Quarters, it would be infinitely agreeable to me; and if it was in your power to spare me a few dollars for present use, until your return, you would add much to the happiness of your friend. Nothing but extreme necessity could induce me to write what I could not speak last night when I saw you.

"Adieu.

"W. POPHAM.

"*Capt. Machin.*"

"Paid £3 4s 0 specie.

" " 3 4 0 new emission.

"May 14— 3 4 0 specie."

By the memorandum on the paper, we may suppose the major's sword was sold for \$24.

After the publication of my history in 1845, which contained the above letter; an article appeared in the Cooperstown *Freeman's Journal*, expressing very strong doubts about the genuineness of the letter: on which account through my friend Mr. Prentiss, editor of that paper, the original was submitted to the inspection of the critic; who in the same paper of March 28, made the *amende honorable* in the following manly retraction:

"Having been instrumental in exciting doubts as to the authenticity of a letter purporting to have been written by my relation, Major Popham, of the Revolutionary Army, and published in the "History of Schoharie County, and Border Wars of New York," and being satisfied from inspection of the letter submitted to me by the historian, Mr. Simms, that it is genuine, I deem it an act of justice to him to publish the fact. I was well aware at the time of publishing the communication in this paper, signed "OTSEGO," that there existed no motive whatever for the fabrication of the letter, and I never imputed any such act to Mr. Simms. The long lapse of time since the letter was written, and the very advanced age of Major Popham, now over ninety-three, may well have obliterated all

recollection of the occurrence from his memory, and induced the mistaken supposition that the letter was a fabrication.

“JOHN C. MORRIS.

*“Butternuts, March 24, 1846.”*

The following extracts are copied from a letter from Lieut. Morris to Capt. Machin, dated Burlington, March 24th, 1782 :

“You express an anxiety to be acquainted with our movements after we reached Lancaster : to comply with your desire I am under a friendly injunction to give a relation of the expedition. We were ordered to that post to guard prisoners from thence to Philadelphia, but before we reached the place of our destination, we found ourselves fatigued to a great degree, from the deepness of the roads, and the summit of every hill we passed presented to our view the same sad comfort that we had just passed. However, a generous supply from the financier, and my own resources, rendered every obstacle a mere trifle, and soon erased from my memory that gloomy prospect I had pictured in my imagination.

“Suppose we change the subject and give you a little of the news. The French have at length succeeded on Brimstone Hill, in the island of St. Christophers, and are in quiet possession of that place. The British made an attempt to succor the garrison by landing 1000 men at Basseterre, but were repulsed with 400 of them killed.

“We are furnished with the debates of the House of Commons by a late arrival from France : the minority are thundering away against the prosecution of the American war, and the other party are strenuously opposing them. I am clearly of the opinion they will continue it a campaign or two longer. The Dutch, to my great astonishment, seem disposed to make a peace with England through the mediation of Russia. This circumstance, added to a little success the British have had in the East Indies, convinces me they mean to spend a few millions more. I must conclude ; and believe me to be,

“Your friend and humble servant,

“W. MORRIS.”

“P. S.—Remember me to my uncle Richard if you should see him.”



The period at length arrived when Capt. Machin's great skill in *engineering* could not construct a *breast-work* to guard him against an arrow from Cupid's bow. In other words, when he was to love one of the softer sex, and feel confident that a virtuous young woman reciprocated the sentiment. The following extracts of a letter from Maj. Doughty hint the existence of the skillful Captain's tender passion.

"BURLINGTON, *March 27th*, 1782.

"MY DEAR SIR—How goes on recruiting? Do you meet with encouragement? Is there any prospect of money from the State? These are questions I wish you would answer for me, for I feel interested in them all.

"You promised to write me on the subject of my *depreciated notes*, and the prospect of improving them to advantage by joining you in the purchase of the lands formerly Gen'l Clinton's: you have forgot your promise—perhaps your being in love, and the dear object that inspires that interesting passion so totally engrosses your attention, as to leave no room for your friend Doughty. I know he must give way both to the passion and its object, but still he must claim a share though a small one, of your friendship and attention; and believe me that he esteems them both not a little. Adieu—make my respects to Col. Bedlow and family, Maj. and Mrs. Logan, and believe me to be with the greatest truth,

"Your friend and servant,

"JNO. DOUGHTY."

The following paper relating to the service in which he was then engaged, was received by Capt. Machin per Col. Cobb:

"HEAD QUARTERS, *24th May*, 1782.

"GENT'N—You will proceed to Fisk Kill and there apply to Colonel Weissenfels for the proportion of the levies destined for your line, one half of which are for the regiment of artillery and the other half for the regiment of infantry.

"So soon as you have received your proportion of Col. Weissenfels' regiment, you will send them on to the regiments for which they are destined, under the care of an officer, and the remaining officers will wait at Fish Kill to receive those which will be sent from Col. Willet's regiment, which are to

be divided in the same manner. Before you send away the recruits you will make a return to me of the number you have received.

"I am, &c.,

"Signed GO. WASHINGTON."

|                    |   |                     |
|--------------------|---|---------------------|
| "To Capt. Machin,  | } | <i>York Line.</i> " |
| "Lt. Forman,       |   |                     |
| "En's'n Swartwout, |   |                     |

The following extracts are made from a letter from Lieut. R. Parker to Capt. Machin, dated George Town, July 6th, 1782.

"Capt. McClure and myself are stationed at this place. Its situation I suppose you are acquainted with : its trade is much increased within a short time past, a number of valuable prizes have been sent here. Rum, and most kinds of West India goods are plenty. The southern army and the country in general receive great advantages from it. I believe they could scarcely be supported without it.

"Here are a number of fine girls and rich widows. I have not yet got far in love—but can't promise for the future—some fair nymph may captivate my heart—and while guardian reason sleeps, Cupid's fatal *shaft* may wound my rising *heart* and make me own his superior power, &c., &c.

"We have no news : Gen. Greene lays near Goose Creek, twenty miles from Charleston. An evacuation of Charleston and Savannah is daily expected by our sanguine friends.

"I have hardly got over celebrating the fourth of July in a Bacchanal frolic—Impute my inaccuracies to a pain in the head, &c."

The following letter from Capt. Machin to Oliver Wendell, Esq., of Boston, discloses the fact at which Maj. Doughty hinted, and adds another evidence to the truism, that the course of true love is often a thorny one :

"NEW WINDSOR, 10th Aug't, 1782.

"HONORED SIR—An experimental knowledge of your philanthropy has emboldened me to address you on this occasion. Know, then, my Dear Sir, that I am at this time engaged to a young lady in the State of New York : the day for our union

was set, and we both, I am led to believe, waited with equal anxiety for the arrival of that happy period ; in which I think two feeling souls would have been happily united in the honorable bonds of Hymen. But to my great mortification, somebody was pleased to inform the young lady's friends that I had a wife in Boston. And as I always did, and I hope ever will, detest *deception*, be it of what kind soever it will : and much more that which is of all the most villainous ; I therefore, relying on our former friendship and your justice, make no doubt but you will give the bearer, Mr. Dunning, the young lady's and my friend, whatever information he may require, relating to my conduct when in Boston. Please to give my compliments to Mrs. Wendell, and believe me, Dear Sir, to be, with all the esteem that is due to honor and merit,

"Your hum'l serv't,

"THO'S MACHIN.

"*The Honorable Oliver Wendell, Esq.*"

The aspersions of some villain on the fair fame of Captain Machin were satisfactorily removed by Mr. Dunning's visit to Boston, and his marriage took place in August, 1782. He married Miss Susan, daughter of James Van Nostrand, who resided at or near Huntington, L. I. The marriage took place at the house of Timothy Dunning in Goshen, who had previously married a sister of Miss Susan.

The following letter from Lieut. Woodward, shows to some extent the popularity and influence of Capt. Machin in the army:

"WEST POINT, 26th Oct., 1782.

"DEAR SIR—While I was gone to Poughkeepsie the day before yesterday, Lt. Tappen was so imprudent as to give permission for William Ockerman to leave the Point to go to New Windsor, and return the same evening ; but in order to keep alive the *dignity* of his former conduct he has broke into Goshen goal. That is, I am informed he is taken by the constable for a tavern debt. Col. Stevens desires you will take upon you the trouble of procuring his enlargement and send him to Camp. His inducement for requesting you to undertake the task, is because that you, by some means or other, can accomplish it, while

another officer would not be able to succeed. You must give my best compliments to Mrs. Machin, &c., &c.

"I am, dear sir, with every sentiment of respect,

"Your ob't, humble serv't,

"PETER WOODWARD.

"*Capt. Machin.*"

At this period *general* officers were deficient in funds.

"LITTLE BRITAIN, *Nov. 9th*, 1782.

"DEAR SIR—I received your favor by Serj't Reino, and should have sent you the balance of Maj. Bush's account as you have made it out if I had the cash, which article I never was scarcer of than at present ; at the same time must inform you that you have not given me all the credit in your account that I ought to have ; but that is a matter we can easily settle when opportunity serves. I wish it was in my power to pay you the whole or half due on the account of your location ; as soon as it is I will do it : if I can't soon I will give you a note or bond with interest.

"I am, sir, yours, &c.,

"JAMES CLINTON.

"*Capt. Machin.*"

Considerable correspondence passed between Joseph Wharton, Esq., of Philadelphia, and Capt. Machin, in the year 1782. It began in the latter part of the preceding year, as the following letter will show :

"PHILADELPHIA, *Dec. 24th*, 1781.

"*Mr. Thomas Machin :*

"SIR—You have been so obliging as to offer me your services in the State of New York, I commit to your care two deeds from Col. George Croghan to me ; the first dated April 3d, 1780, for *twenty-five thousand four hundred and seventy-seven acres of land*, with a release for the same ; and the other for *eleven hundred and fifty-seven acres*, dated June 27th, 1780, with its release ; and both tracts situated on and near Lake Otsego in Tryon county in that State. These lands becoming more and more valuable, it's necessary the deeds should be recorded in the proper office. And as I have some reason to apprehend an assignment of the Mortgage on these lands to the late Governor Frank-

lin, is attempting to be obtained, when probably some *hasty* step may be pursued to recover payment by public sale, injurious to my property ; I earnestly press it upon your friendship to have the deeds recorded in Albany, or wherever the most suitable office is, in the most expeditious manner ; and for your assiduity herein as well as the necessary charges, I will gratefully pay due honor to your draft. The repossession of the deeds will give me great satisfaction ; yet I would not have them sent, unless a gentleman of character and whom *you know* can be found to be entrusted with them. In the meantime, I beg you will inform me by post the moment the deeds are enrolled, as well as any farther information you may receive of the value of these lands in consequence of any *rise* since your departure from their vicinity ; for surely the late glorious victory to the Southward, and our proximity to absolute independence must have started the value of such excellent tracts.

“I have shown you Mr. Hooper’s Field Book, containing as well his description of the exterior lines of my 15,074 acre tract on the Tenedena, as the qualities of the land of each 1,000 acres, the whole being surveyed into fifteen lots ; and you have read that the soil and other natural advantages are very good and exceeding great. Will you, sir, be pleased to enquire the utmost price that can be obtained for the whole of this tract payable in two months, or rather one-half in six weeks and the other in three months with interest in specie or sterling bills on France ? Because if this 15,000 acre Tract will command what I conceive it will, it will enable me to keep the Otsego Tract to a future day, and a far more beneficial price. I must also request you will have the offices searched to know what Mortgages and Judgments are on the Otsego Tract ; for although there may be a Judgment or two, yet whether the legal steps have been pursued to secure payment previous to the time you will have my Deeds enrolled is the question. Among other favors you are going to bestow on me, do let me know the Law of your State in regard to Mortgages, that is whether any time is limited for their recording ? Whether a second or third Mortgage being entered first does not supersede, or at least obtain *first* payment ? And if a Deed enrolled prior to a previous Mortgage (as in my case) will not bar a recovery by the Mortgagee ?

"It may be necessary to explain the hint I have given relating to Governor Franklin's\* Mortgage for £1,800 your money, which is, that his creditors here and in Burlington are endeavoring to procure his Assignment of Testatum (if I have the word right), and although it ever was my disposition that Justice should be done, yet prudence dictates a cautionary prevention to the sale of my estate to my disadvantage, which surely would be the circumstance if it was to be sold at this period. For I suppose in cases of sequestration your State, like ours, hath taken care that just creditors shall be satisfied as far as such estate will admit.

"I am, with respect,

"Your most obed't, humble serv't,

"JOS. WHARTON."

Under date of September 11, 1782, Mr. Wharton wrote Capt. Machin as follows :

"My situation in life requiring me to raise a capital sum of money in the course of the Winter, has determined me to sell the Otsego Tract, containing about 27,000 acres ; provided I can be paid one-third part on the sale, and the remainder in the Spring. My price will be *twenty shillings* this currency (*specie*) per acre. [He proposed to let 7,000 pounds of the purchase remain unpaid, with security. He considered the land worth, he said, *thirty shillings* per acre. He added]—Should my limit be thought too high, let me know the highest sum obtainable for the whole tract, payable in part down and the rest in six months with interest ; or if it would be more agreeable, I will take *twenty thousand pounds* for it, and the purchaser to be accountable for the incumbrances" [which were some £2,000 New York currency on that and a tract of 40,000 acres adjoining]. Col. Croghan was buried about ten days since."

The reader may here see what was once the value of the rich lands around Cooperstown.

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\* Lest my readers may not be aware of the fact, I here remark that the Governor Franklin above alluded to was a son of Doctor Franklin, and at the beginning of the war was Governor of New Jersey ; that not observing the just counsels of his father, he espoused the cause of the mother country which had honored him with the Executive authority of a colony. A desire to retain place has forfeited for many individuals the good opinion of the virtuous, and the rich inheritance of parental good deeds

The campaign of Gen. Sullivan in 1779, discovering the valuable lands in Western New York, was the means of their being brought into market. The following paper from Capt. Nestell, shows where some of the lands in the earliest transfers were situated, and the price they brought :

“April 17, 1783.

“Received of Ebenezer Burling the full sum of thirty pounds, which was his subscription for a Right of six hundred acres of land between Seneca and Cayuga Lakes. Received by me,  
“PETER NESTELL.”

On the 21st of January, 1783, Gov. Clinton sent the bounds of a certain lot of land to his friend, with the following request :

“Capt. Machin will please to take a view of the above Tract and see that the settlements are properly made, and no land cleared that will injure the Tract in point of timber. That the persons who live on it clear annually a proportion of swamp, and plant out *fruit-trees*, and make such agreement with them as shall be easy and reasonable ; but they are to be Tenants at Will, as I may conclude to sell. Fix on the most convenient place for a homestead, and erecting a dwelling-house, &c., supposing it to be divided into two farms.

“GEO. CLINTON.

“*Pokeepsie*, 21st Jan., 1783.”

On the 17th of April following, Capt. Machin wrote Gov. Clinton from *Murderer's creek*, that he had made a beginning of the works at the *Great Pond*—was cutting timber, and expected to have a dwelling ready to move into within five weeks from that time, etc., etc.; to all of which doings Gov. Clinton wrote an approving letter April 19th.

Mr. Machin was commissioned a Captain by Gov. Clinton, and the council of appointment March 12, 1793, to take rank as such from August 21, 1780. The appointment was confirmed by Congress on the 28th of the following April.

On the approach of peace, in 1783, we find Capt. Machin laying aside his war-like implements, and, Cincinnatus like, following his plow. He settled at a place called New Grange, Ulster county, a few miles back of Newburgh, where, in 1784, he erected several mills, as a grist-mill, saw-mill, etc.

The following order of the Quarter-Master-General, on Lieut. Denniston, is inserted to show the reader how particular that officer was in closing his business :

“NEW YORK, *April 10, 1784.*

“SIR—Capt. Machin will deliver you six spades and shovels, which he received last summer from the store at Newburgh. You will deliver him one band for the nave of a wagon wheel, and two wagon boxes, to complete a wagon he bought of the public.

“TIM: PICKERING, *Q. M. G.*

“*Mr. George Denniston, West Point.*”

About the 1st of September, 1784, Gov. Clinton removed from Kingston to New York, as appears by several letters to Capt. Machin, directed to his address at “Great Pond, Ulster county ;” by which it appears the Captain was to send down his winter’s stock of fire-wood.

The following credible voucher appears to close the correspondence between Capt. Machin and his former General :

“This is to certify that I have been acquainted with Capt. Thomas Machin ever since the year 1776, and have had considerable dealings with him, and I always found his accounts to be *just.*

“Given under my hand the 7th of March, 1786.

“JAMES CLINTON.”

The correspondence between Machin and Gov. Clinton closed with the following letter (until the latter was chosen Vice-President of the United States), which is inserted because it tells so credibly and justly for that honest Republican, who not only dealt honorably with the unprotected himself, but desired all others to do likewise. His honesty in the Revolution made him exceedingly popular wherever known :

“NEW YORK, *13th November, 1786.*

“DEAR SIR—The bearer is a brother-in-law and executor to Mr. Briggs, deceased. He has been here some time settling the affairs of the deceased. Among the little property he has left for his children, the location under a military right in your hands is a principal part. Mr. McClagley is anxious to know



how it stands, and whether you have done the needful to give a title to the executors for the use of the infants. For this purpose he means to call on you on his way home, and the regard I have for the widow and family has induced me to write you on the subject, not doubting, at the same time, that you will pay every attention to them and their business.

“Yours sincerely,

“GEO. CLINTON.

“*Capt. Machin.*”

*A Copper-coinage Firm.*—On the 18th of April, 1787, Capt. Machin formed a copartnership with Samuel Atlee (a porter brewer), James F. Atlee, David Brooks, James Grier and James Giles (an attorney at law), all of the city of New York. The term specified for its continuance was seven years, with a capital of £300. The firm seems to have been formed for the avowed purpose of coining copper, provided Congress, or any of the State Legislatures, enacted a law allowing individuals to coin money. As the object was to make money, a small capital was considered sufficient for the undertaking. On the 7th of June following, that firm formed a copartnership with one then existing, which consisted of four partners—Reuben Harman, Esq.; William Coley, of Bennington county, Vt.; Elias Jackson, of Litchfield county, Ct.; and Daniel Van Voorhis, goldsmith, of the city of New York—for a term of eight years from the first of the following July, that being the limitation of an act of the Legislature of Vermont to said Harman, for the coinage of copper. The first mentioned firm was to furnish a capital of £500 for the concern; £200 of which capital, with £400 more, New York currency, to be paid to the latter firm two years after, was to be theirs as an equivalent for admitting the New York firm into communion with them, the latter being required to furnish no capital. The ten partners were to enjoy equally “the benefits, privileges, and advantages arising from the coinage of copper in the State of Vermont, to be coined in that State, and also in Connecticut, New York, and elsewhere, as the parties should think fit.” On or before the first day of July the first mentioned, or New York firm, were required, by the copartnership, “to complete, at their own cost, the works then erecting at the mills of the said Thomas Machin, near the Great Pond, in the county

of Ulster," while the other part of the firm agreed, in the same time, to complete works they were then erecting, at Rupert, in the county of Bennington, Vt.

Agreeably to the written contract, Giles was to have charge of the writing and book-keeping; Harman and Coley were to manage the *money changers* at Rupert; and Machin and J. F. Atlee were to "manage, act and perform that part of the trade which concerned the coinage of money and manufacturing hard ware" at Machin's Mills; Grier was to be "cashier of the money coined at Rupert;" Van Voorhis, "cashier of the money coined at Machin's Mills;" Grier and Jackson were to have the general management of the expenses, purchase of necessary articles, etc.; while other joint business was to be performed by Brooks and Samuel Atlee. It was further stipulated that Giles should keep a "certain book of resolutions;" that the firm should meet, either in person or by proxy in other members, agreeably to a written form of authority incorporated, on the 1st day of February, June and October of each year, at Rhinebeck, New York, unless otherwise agreed upon. In case either of the partners obtained a grant from Congress or any of the States to coin money, the profits resulting from such act were to be shared by all the partners, who also bound themselves personally, "in the penal sum of one thousand pounds," for the punctual performance of the contract.

Whether the long firm of *money makers* ever found the business profitable, is uncertain; but from Mr. Machin's papers I am led to conclude they never effected much. At his mills perhaps a thousand pounds of copper was manufactured, as appears by the papers, in the year 1789; previous to which little seems to have been done. "What is everybody's business is nobody's;" and the saying seems to have been verified in the doings of this *copper firm*: for in a letter from J. F. Atlee to Mr. Machin, dated Vergennes, October 14, 1790, he expresses a wish that the concern might arrive at a settlement on *equitable terms*, and compromise their matters without a *tedious and expensive law suit*.

In January, 1791, Capt. Machin removed from New Grange to the town of Mohawk, Montgomery county, from which town were afterwards organized the towns of Charleston, Glen, and part of Root. The fall previous to his removal he had visited

his lands, accompanied by two hired men, and erected a log tenement, cleared a fallow, planted fruit-trees, currant bushes and sallad,—made sap-troughs, etc., etc., as is shown by a journal he kept at the time. His lands were situated 10 miles north of Schoharie Court House, and 20 south of Johnstown village.

Capt. Machin continued to practice surveying after his removal to Montgomery county, and several officers of the army were among those who profited by his skill, among whom were John Lamb, his former Colonel, and Gen. Nicholas Fish. His political influence was sought for years by the active Republicans of Montgomery and Schoharie counties, at that period when political parties were known as Federal and Republican. Among Mr. Machin's personal friends was George Tiffany, Esq., a native of Massachusetts, who settled in Schoharie about the time the county was organized.\* Capt. Machin took no little pains to educate his children, a son and a daughter.

At the close of the war, Capt. Machin became a member of the Cincinnati Society. He also belonged to the fraternity of Free Masons, and on the establishment of a lodge in Schoharie, he was appointed master to install its officers. Silas Gray was also appointed as senior and Johannes Dietz junior wardens of the same. The following is the evidence of Capt. Machin's appointment :

*"To all, Greeting :*

"Be it known that I, Ezra Ames, Grand High Priest of the G. R. A. Chapter of the State of New York, by virtue of power in me vested by the third Sec'n. and fourth article of the General Grand Constitution, Do hereby authorize and empower our worthy Brother, Thomas Machin, to install the officers of *Ames Mark Lodge*, in the town of Schoharie, County of Scho'e., agreeable to the Gen'l. Grand Constitution of the United States, and to make returns of his proceedings thereon, at the next session of the G. Ch.

"EZRA AMES.

*"Albany, 4th Feb., 5807."* [Year of the world.]

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\* Mr. Tiffany was a fine classic scholar, and while in Schoharie county was distinguished for his legal ability.

By the following letters from his old friend Gov. Clinton, who was then Vice-President of the United States, it appears that Capt. Machin sought for a pension, and, afterwards, its increase :

“ WASHINGTON, 14th April, 1808.

“ DEAR SIR—Agreeably to the request contained in your letter, I have done what was necessary on my part to give success to your application to be put on the Pension List. It gives me pleasure to render you this little service, being, with great regard,

“ Yours sincerely,

“ GEO. CLINTON.

“ *Capt. Thomas Machin.*”

“ WASHINGTON, 6th March, 1810.

“ DEAR SIR—Yesterday I received your letter of the 22d of last month. You may rely on every assistance in my power to afford, to obtain an increase of your pension. But the preparatory steps to an application can be done most conveniently to you in the State, under a commission from Mr. Talmadge, the District Judge. I have requested Mr. K. K. Van Rensselaer to communicate to you the manner in which this commission is to be obtained, as well as the necessary subsequent measures to be taken previous to your application ; to accomplish which, if expeditiously performed, may yet be in season for the present session of Congress. I am, with best respects to Mrs. Machin,

“ Yours sincerely,

“ GEO. CLINTON.”

“ *Capt. Thomas Machin.*”

Capt. Machin, after seeing the country of his adoption, in the defense of which he had freely shed his own blood, pass triumphantly through two wars with Great Britain, at the close of each gaining the admiration and respect of the world, died at his residence in Charleston on the evening of April 3, 1816, aged 72 years. A brief notice of his services and death appeared in the *Albany Gazette* of April 15th, which closed

with the following sentence : "*In the camp and in retirement his qualifications were holden in very high consideration.*" He was buried with Masonic honors.

In a letter of personal introduction from Col. Aaron Burr to Henry Remsen, Esq., dated at New York, December 30, 1830, I find the following sentence : "Capt. Machin, who will have the pleasure to hand you this, is the son of my friend and fellow-soldier, Capt. Machin, who was a distinguished officer in our Revolutionary war, and was probably known to you."

END OF VOL. I.

## ILLUSTRATIONS IN FIRST VOLUME.

---

|   | PAGE. |
|---|-------|
| Portrait of the Author.....                   | 17    |
| Stuyvesant, Gov. Peter, his autograph .....   | 18    |
| Stadt Huys at New Amsterdam .....             | 26    |
| Montgomery, Gen. Richard, his autograph ..... | 29    |
| Colden, Cadwallader, his autograph .....      | 41    |
| An Indian Treaty .....                        | 42    |
| A Silver Pipe .....                           | 48    |
| Map of Schenectada in 1695.....               | 91    |
| Canajoharie, view of.....                     | 92    |
| Canajoharie Falls.....                        | 200   |
| Johnson, Sir William, portrait of.....        | 249   |
| Johnson Hall .....                            | 266   |
| Johnsons and Butlers, autographs of.....      | 268   |
| Guy Park.....                                 | 278   |
| Caughnawaga Church .....                      | 286   |
| Lutheran Parsonage, Schoharie.....            | 287   |
| Map of Fountain's Town, Schoharie.....        | 312   |
| King Hendrick, portrait of.....               | 322   |
| Court House at Johnstown.....                 | 339   |
| Queen Anne's Chapel Parsonage.....            | 349   |
| Schuyler, Gen. Philip, his autograph.....     | 357   |
| Large Wagon .....                             | 397   |
| Clinton, DeWitt, his autograph.....           | 400   |
| Canal Locks at Lockport.....                  | 420   |
| Hamilton, Alexander, his autograph .....      | 552   |
| Hale's Monument .....                         | 572   |
| Fort Plain Block House.....                   | 610   |
| Washington, autograph letter of.....          | 633   |
| West Point as seen in the fall of 1778.....   |       |



# INDEX.

---

|   | PAGE.    |
|---|----------|
| Abeel, an Albany Low Dutch name.....  | 364      |
| Abeel, John, an Indian trader in western New York .....   | 364      |
| A Canadian prisoner.....  | 365      |
| Gov. Clinton's efforts for his release.....   | 365      |
| Disguised as an Indian.....   | 366      |
| Has a Seneca child known as Cornplanter.....  | 367      |
| His death.....  | 367      |
| His reputation as a tradesman.....  | 369      |
| Settles near Fort Plain.....  | 370      |
| Marries Mary Knouts.....  | 370      |
| A prisoner to Cornplanter.....  | 371      |
| Becomes insane and kills his slave.....   | 372      |
| Treats Mrs. Knouts unkindly.....  | 373      |
| Abeel, David, arrives at Fort Johnson to conclude upon an exchange<br>of prisoners.....           | 366      |
| Is allowed to remain in New York.....   | 366      |
| Abeel, Jacob, son of John, marries Elizabeth Fox .....  | 370      |
| Keeps tavern at the old homestead.....  | 404      |
| Abeel, George, son of Cornplanter, renders service to the Americans<br>in 1812 .....              | 374      |
| Abram, an Indian chief, brother of King Hendrick, and celebrated for<br>oratory and bravery ..... | 313      |
| Accidents, in Monawk river boating .....  | 351, 352 |
| At Fort Hunter Bridge, and Christian Service drowned.....   | 380      |
| At the Fultonville bridge .....   | 393      |
| At Schoharie Creek.....   | 406      |
| At Schenectada in 1815 while celebrating peace.....   | 426      |
| Adams, Samuel, of Boston, aids in preventing a riot.....  | 452      |
| Adams, Sheriff of Albany, how abused, rides Skimington in Schoharie                               | 149      |
| In what plight he reached Albany .....  | 150      |
| Adams, Robert, first merchant in Johnstown.....   | 206      |
| Came from Ireland .....   | 253      |
| Has a store at Fort Hunter.....   | 253      |
| Makes an affidavit about the business of Sir William Johnson....                                  | 253      |
| And about his books and papers.....   | 254      |



|   | PAGE.    |
|---|----------|
| Was clerk for Sir William at Lake George.....   | 254      |
| Adams, William, a brother of Robert, and physician; was a surgeon<br>under Sir William Johnson in the French war..... | 253      |
| Settled at Johnstown and afterwards at Schenectada.....   | 255      |
| Unwillingly rides a cow.....  | 425      |
| Vigorous at the age of 97.....  | 255      |
| Adaquitange, Indian name for Charlotte river .....  | 156      |
| Admirals, Warren and Pepperel, with Gov. Shirley in consultation ...  | 192      |
| Adopted prisoners, their new family relation.....   | 35       |
| Aganuschioni, Indian name for Five Nations, meaning united people.  | 27       |
| Agniez, an Indian leader at the destruction of Schenectada.....   | 49       |
| Albany, when first settled.....   | 14       |
| In 1812, its population.....  | 16       |
| Albany Argus newspaper, a notice in it lead to a newspaper discussion<br>about West Point chain.....                  | 643      |
| Alden, Rev. Timothy, describes Cornplanter.....   | 374      |
| Aleplane kill, runs into the Mohawk.....  | 95       |
| Alexander, William, an early merchant at Little Falls.....  | 428, 429 |
| Alexander, John,       "       "       "       "       ".....   | 428      |
| Alexander, H. P., son of William, goes to Congress ...  | 430      |
| Allen, Col. Ethan, demands the surrender of Fort Ticonderoga.....   | 472      |
| Allen, Hiram, on the plate of Cananjobarie bridge.....  | 384      |
| Allen, Paul, his sage remark.....   | 7        |
| What he says about the Continental Congress.....  | 459      |
| American Congress, first one held in the Colonies .....   | 218      |
| Plan proposed for a union for their better defense and security...  | 2, 9     |
| Effects of rum here glanced at.....   | 220, 221 |
| American flag, when adopted and how characterized.....  | 483      |
| American scalps, did the British government pay for them.....   | 9        |
| Ames, as a privateer, becomes a prisoner .....  | 591, 593 |
| Escapes and returns to Salem on a privateer.....  | 596      |
| Amherst, Gen., succeeds Abercrombie and prosecutes the invasion of<br>Canada.....                                     | 241      |
| Amsterdam, its location.....  | 95       |
| Bridges, when erected.....  | 391      |
| Serious calamity at the ferry.....  | 391      |
| Andrissen, Arent, a pioneer settler of Schenectada .....  | 21       |
| Anthony's kill, a small stream falling into the Mohawk.....   | 95       |
| Apple-trees, how first procured in Schoharie.....   | 171      |
| Aqueduct over Schoharie Creek .....   | 407      |
| Structure rests on 13 piers, is good work.....  | 408      |
| Arkell & Smiths, paper sack manufactory .....   | 90       |
| Arndt, John, attends funeral services for Washington .....  | 277      |
| Ashley, Benjamin and wife, go on a missionary enterprise to Oquago,   | 81       |
| Associated Exempts, in Schoharie and elsewhere.....   | 533      |
| Aubrey, D., repulsed and slain at Fort Niagara.....   | 241      |
| Aurie's Creek, a small stream in Glen.....  | 198      |

# *Index.*

677

|   | PAGE.         |
|---|---------------|
| Auriesville Bridge Co., bridge not built.....                                   | 394           |
| Autograph letter of Washington.....   | 610           |
| Babcock, Capt. George, sails ship <i>Venus</i> as a privateer.....              | 591           |
| Lands at the Island of Shoals and plunders fishermen.....                       | 592           |
| Is captured by British frigate <i>Surprise</i> and taken to Halifax.....        | 593           |
| Bachelor, Zephaniah, comes from Boston to work on Johnstown<br>Court House..... | 321           |
| Bagge, Andrew, one of Gov. Hunter's commission at East Camp.....                | 115           |
| Baker, Capt., commands a fort at Albany.....                                    | 44            |
| Balch, Joseph, witnesses the execution of Daniel Taylor.....                    | 617           |
| Baldwin, Rev. C. H., at Johnstown court house centennial.....                   | 334           |
| Ball, John C., marries a daughter of Bernard Frey.....                          | 100           |
| Ball, Peter, performs arduous duties.....                                       | 545           |
| Ball, Johannes, chairman of Schoharie committee.....                            | 542           |
| His small family.....   | 546           |
| An attempt to kill him.....   | 546           |
| Reward for his destruction.....   | 546           |
| His remark at a church door.....  | 547           |
| Bancker, Gerret, a pioneer settler of Schenectada.....                          | 21            |
| Barber, David, gate keeper at Little Falls.....                                 | 427           |
| Barber, Reuben, sees a deserter drowned and buried.....                         | 428           |
| Sees a bully flogged in a novel manner.....                                     | 429           |
| What he witnessed on his way to school.....                                     | 434           |
| Barclay, Rev. Henry, named in a marriage ceremony.....                          | 206           |
| Owns the farm attached to Queen Ann's Chapel.....                               | 339           |
| Barre, Col., friend of America in the British House of Commons.....             | 443           |
| Bartholomew family, remove from New Jersey to Charlotte river.....              | 159           |
| Bartholomew Boss, erects the stone church at Schoharie.....                     | 189           |
| Battle of Bunker Hill, first regular one of the Revolution.....                 | 473           |
| Its generals Howe, Clinton and Burgoyne.....                                    | 473           |
| Intense excitement it gave, incidents growing out of it.....                    | 474, 475      |
| Bayard, Col. Nicholas, obtains a large tract of land.....                       | 136           |
| Goes to Schoharie as agent of the British Crown.....                            | 145           |
| How unhandsomely treated.....   | 145           |
| Beadle, Miss Eleanor, becomes affianced.....                                    | 579           |
| Bear Stories, of Schoharie.....   | 176, 177, 178 |
| Beaverwyck, Fort Orange or Albany.....  | 19            |
| Beaver, residents of Schoharie county.....                                      | 179           |
| Becker, an emigrant drowned.....  | 122           |
| Becker, Jacob, tells a bear story.....  | 177, 288      |
| Becker, David, and inn-keeper.....  | 190           |
| Beckman, Col. Henry, obtains large land grants.....                             | 137           |
| Beebe, Decius, visits Johnson Hall.....   | 249           |
| Bellomont, Richard, an honest Gov. of New York.....                             | 137           |
| Makes an effort to stay the squandering of the public lands.....                | 139           |
| Dies making the attempt.....  | 140           |

|   | PAGE.    |
|---|----------|
| Belfour, Rev., at reburial of Domine Sommer .....   | 286      |
| Bell, Mrs. terribly wounded in the French war. ....   | 241      |
| Bell, Frederick, marries Magdalene Seeber .....   | 342      |
| Bellinger, Christopher, owns mills at Little Falls .....                                      | 428      |
| Bellinger, Frederick, county committee at his house .....                                     | 502      |
| Benson, Egbert, a noted lawyer of New York .....  | 23       |
| Benne kill, enters Mohawk at Schenectada .....  | 93       |
| Benson, Thomas, a chirurgicon comes over with emigrants .....                                 | 104      |
| Benton, N. S., on dream of Sir Wm. Johnson .....  | 315      |
| Bernard, Gov., of Massachusetts assumes a haughty position .....                              | 450      |
| Becomes a tool for Britain, and returns to England unhonored ..                               | 451      |
| Birdsall, Judge, makes a canal speech at Lockport .....                                       | 400      |
| Black soldiers, their bravery .....   | 584      |
| Blair, Robert, a tin peddler, whom to joke cost a life .....                                  | 440      |
| Bleecker, Henry N., marries the handsome Elizabeth Frey .....                                 | 101      |
| Bleecker, Rutgers, secures lands on the Otsquago .....  | 158      |
| Bleecker, William, witnesses a foot race .....  | 412      |
| Bleeding, a remarkable case of .....  | 393      |
| Bliven, John, gives information to Tryon county committee .....                               | 503      |
| Bloody-run, a surprise and massacre at "Devil's Hole" .....                                   | 243      |
| Blue Oven, in the hands of the Philistines .....  | 425      |
| Boating on the Mohawk, its difficulties and accidents .....                                   | 351      |
| Its description by an eye witness .....   | 353      |
| Boiles, Willie, a continental soldier drowned .....   | 548      |
| Bond, executed at an early day in Schoharie .....   | 182      |
| Bones, Thomas, marries Cathrine Frey .....  | 101      |
| Border territory, as considered at an early day .....   | 25       |
| Border troubles between whig and tory families .....  | 496      |
| Borsboom, Pieter Jacobson, a pioneer settler of Schenectada .....                             | 21       |
| Boston ostracised .....   | 556      |
| Its port bill .....   | 458      |
| Bowdoin, James, certifies to Capt. Machin's skill .....                                       | 599      |
| Bowman, Rebecca, a member of the Roof family .....  | 381      |
| Bowne, Robert, president of "Inland Lock Navigation Company" ..                               | 89       |
| Bouck, William C., acting canal commissioner .....  | 400      |
| Boyd, Col., marshal at Eacker's funeral .....   | 420      |
| Braddock, Gen. Edward, his official acts and death .....                                      | 221, 222 |
| Bradford, Lieut., writes to Capt. Machin sorry condition of the army<br>at headquarters ..... | 654      |
| Shows Gable a deserter and thief .....  | 654      |
| Bradstreet, Thomas, sells lands with indefinite bounds .....                                  | 186      |
| Brant, Joseph, gives signification of Canajoharie .....                                       | 92       |
| Cause of his death .....  | 316      |
| Accused cornplanter of too much influence .....   | 374      |
| Interpreter for Guy Johnson .....   | 498      |
| Is at the death of Lieut. Wormuth .....   | 391      |

|   | PAGE.       |
|---|-------------|
| Brant, Molly, her marriage and witness to it .....  | 205, 206    |
| Comes to Johnstown with two children to recover some of their inheritance—is indicted ..... | 256, 338    |
| Brant, Young, Kaghneghtago, named in the Will of Sir William Johnson .....                  | 293         |
| Breach between England and America how widened .....  | 486         |
| Breakabeen, its meaning .....   | 540         |
| Breckenridge, Judge, delivers an eulogy on the patriotic dead fallen in the war .....       | 485         |
| Bridge of ice from a cake lodged in the Hudson .....  | 66          |
| Bridger, John, superintendent of palatines at East Camp .....                               | 106         |
| Believed to have visited Schoharie looking for pine timber .....                            | 107         |
| British troops sent to New York and Boston .....  | 451         |
| Brodhead, John Romeyn, transcribes foreign records .....                                    | 6, 614      |
| Brick for Johnstown court house, where made .....   | 334         |
| For Gen. Herkimer's house, where probably made .....  | 335         |
| Bridges, first in the Mohawk valley was over Schoharie creek at Fort Hunter .....           | 379         |
| Accident at this bridge in 1814 .....   | 380         |
| A costly one at Trenton, N. J .....   | 382         |
| Over the Canada creeks .....  | 394         |
| Britain prohibits exportation of gun-powder .....   | 463         |
| And reiterates its illiberal position .....   | 48          |
| Brown, John M., writes a history of Schoharie, his parentage ..                             | 72, 73, 119 |
| 121, 122, 123, 124, 127, 128, 145, 150, 152, 171, 175, 185, 190, 541                        |             |
| Brooks, Peter, his marriage, a friend of G. I. Eacker .....                                 | 414, 417    |
| Brown, father of J. M., first wheelright in Schoharie .....                                 | 173         |
| Brunnendorf, first Schoharie village, how named in conveyances .....                        | 183         |
| Map of .....  | 287         |
| Budlong creek, tributary to the Mohawk .....  | 93          |
| Bullet-hole in a broad-axe .....  | 389         |
| Burgulary at Roof's tavern .....  | 381         |
| Burial of the slaughtered Bostonians .....  | 453         |
| Burke, Edmond, makes a conciliating speech .....  | 462         |
| Burnet, Gov., succeeds Gov. Hunter .....  | 134         |
| Exonerates himself .....  | 136         |
| Finds trouble bequeathed him .....  | 166         |
| Respecting location of Schoharie Palatines .....  | 167         |
| Discovers Gov. Hunter's duplicity .....   | 168         |
| Burnetsfield, as mentioned by Gov. Tryon .....  | 323         |
| Burning of the Failing-Frey mansion .....   | 101         |
| Burr, Aaron, interviewed by J. H. Tiffany .....   | 23          |
| Visits Fort Johnson .....   | 211         |
| Engaged in a law suit at Johnstown .....  | 326         |
| His politeness disarms his adversaries .....  | 329         |
| Fights a duel with Hamilton .....   | 420         |
| Burr, Theodocia, Makes a man experience the 11th commandment ..                             | 23          |
| She was at that time the best educated lady in America .....                                | 211         |

|  | PAGE.        |
|--|--------------|
| Burr, Theodore, erects a bow-bridge at Canajoharie.....      | 382          |
| Builds a bridge at Schenectada .....                         | 385          |
| Builds one at Little Falls.....                              | 392          |
| Also over the Canada creeks.....                             | 395          |
| Butler, Col. John, pays for American scalps.....             | 10           |
| Butler's rangers celebrated for cruelty.....                 | 99           |
| Buttons, those wearing them make their own.....              | 172          |
| <br>Cadaughrita, a local Indian name.....                    | <br>96       |
| Cady, Daniel, looks after claims of Mrs. Farley.....         | 257          |
| Cahohatatea, Indian name for North River.....                | 15           |
| Caldwell, George, his peril in a boat ride .....             | 383          |
| Calhoun family, notice of.....                               | 97           |
| Camden, Lord, sustaining Chatham.....                        | 462          |
| Campbell, Capt., at Bloody run .....                         | 244          |
| Campbell, Lieut. Col., killed at Fort montgomery.....        | 618          |
| Canada, its settlement .....                                 | 21           |
| Cananajoharie, origin of name .....                          | 91           |
| Its signification and falls.....                             | 92           |
| Canadian French war, beginning of last one .....             | 217          |
| Canajoharie Castle Church, when and by whom erected.....     | 275          |
| An incident while erecting .....                             | 312          |
| Canal locks on the Mohawk, when built and by whom.....       | 87, 349      |
| No. of locks at Wood Creek and Little Falls.....             | 356          |
| Canajoharie bridges, when and by whom constructed.....       | 382          |
| Incident at first bridge .....                               | 382          |
| A close shave and perilous position .....                    | 383          |
| Fate of Miss Edwards.....                                    | 384          |
| Canal panther story, scare of drivers.....                   | 399          |
| Canal celebrations, at Lockport.....                         | 399          |
| At Albany and New York .....                                 | 401          |
| At Cooperstown and Fort Plain .....                          | 402          |
| Guests at latter celebration.....                            | 403          |
| Canal boats, how they first crossed Schoharie creek.....     | 405          |
| An accident there .....                                      | 406          |
| Canal project to Fulton county.....                          | 407          |
| Canal navigation in the Mohawk valley first thought of ..... | 650          |
| Cannou, ready for West Point.....                            | 632          |
| Capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point.....                  | 472          |
| Captains of militia, given special authority .....           | 520          |
| Carr, Dr., son-in-law of Mary Brant.....                     | 256          |
| Carr, Capt., son of Dr. Carr, is at Johnstown .....          | 256          |
| Carrying Places on the Mohawk.....                           | 86, 348, 356 |
| Wood Creek .....   | 356          |
| Carteret commissioned to capture Fort Orange.....            | 17           |
| Castles, named in the Bible .....                            | 23           |
| Of the Mohawks.....  | 19           |

|   | PAGE.                   |
|---|-------------------------|
| How built, where situated .....   | 35, 55                  |
| Described by Greenhalgh .....   | 58, 341                 |
| Cast, a commissioner at East Camp .....   | 107, 111, 113, 115, 117 |
| Caughnawaga bridge, swept away .....  | 392                     |
| Caughnawaga Church, notice of erection, description of .....                                    | 274, 278                |
| Its bell on an academy .....  | 279                     |
| Its destruction .....   | 332                     |
| Causes leading to Revolution .....  | 440                     |
| Cayadutta creek, enters the Mohawk at Fonda .....   | 94, 291                 |
| Centennial celebration at Palatine Stone Church .....   | 280                     |
| At Johnstown court house .....  | 330                     |
| Chamberlain, Benjamin, relates facts about Johnstown .....                                      | 310                     |
| Champante, John, connected with land grants .....   | 137                     |
| Champlain, Samuel, a French navigator .....   | 21                      |
| Chauncey, Com. Isaac, commands on Lake Erie .....   | 423                     |
| Cheeseman, Calvin, his money .....  | 360                     |
| Cherry Valley, its settlement and petition of its settlers .....                                | 194, 535                |
| Contiguous settlements .....  | 196, 197                |
| Character and customs of the Five Nations .....   | 31                      |
| Charter Oak, holds colonial charter of Connecticut .....  | 47                      |
| Chickatawbut, a New England chief .....   | 46                      |
| Christianity among the Mohawks .....  | 84                      |
| Chuctenunda creek at Amsterdam .....  | 95                      |
| Churches, the first in Schoharie .....  | 285                     |
| Church bells and brass door-knockers, how disposed of .....                                     | 554                     |
| Churches of Stone Arabia, Lutheran and Calvinist .....  | 276, 277                |
| Church, Reformed Dutch of Canajoharie .....   | 277                     |
| Ciohana, Indian name of East Canada creek .....   | 93                      |
| Cider, first made in Schoharie .....  | 173                     |
| Clark, George, secretary of New York colony .....   | 167, 168                |
| Clarendon, Lord, thought unfavorably of Robert Livingston .....                                 | 111                     |
| Clark, Josiah, in a mock duel .....   | 350                     |
| Clark, John, how drowned .....  | 352                     |
| Clark, Flavel, notice of, witnesses a painful scene .....                                       | 585, 586                |
| Why Gen. Stephens was cashiered .....   | 587                     |
| In an enterprise near Philadelphia .....  | 587                     |
| At surrender of Cornwallis .....  | 588                     |
| Dies at Mohawk .....  | 588                     |
| Claus, Daniel, gets tobacco for a funeral .....   | 347                     |
| Clauver Wy, its meaning .....   | 75, 159                 |
| Cleveland, Timothy, saves breach of his gun .....   | 475                     |
| Clinton, George, Governor in colonial times, gives a permit to buy<br>land of the natives ..... | 183                     |
| Engaged in a Canadian war .....   | 192                     |
| His arrival in the colony .....   | 212                     |
| Appoints William Johnson Indian agent .....   | 212                     |
| His efforts for John Abeel and Anthony Van Schaaick .....                                       | 365, 366                |

|   | PAGE.       |
|---|-------------|
| Clinton, Gen. James, on scalping .....  | 9           |
| Left in charge of Hudson river fortifications.....  | 601         |
| Writes to Capt. Machin about a difficulty between two Captains.....                         | 629         |
| Returning from Sullivan's expedition .....  | 648         |
| Gives Machin a credible voucher .....   | 667         |
| Clinton, Gov. De Witt, asks Judge Brown to write about Schoharie..                          | 72          |
| Father of the Erie canal.....   | 397         |
| At Sandy Hook.....  | 401         |
| Serenaded at Fort Plain .....   | 404         |
| Clinton, George, first State Governor of New York.....                                      | 26          |
| Given by Washington principal direction in fortifying the High-<br>lands of the Hudson..... | 600         |
| Wants a house and fire-wood .....   | 619, 620    |
| Completion of West Point chain.....   | 633         |
| Testifies to Capt. Machin's skill and industry .....  | 634, 645    |
| Removes to New York.....  | 667         |
| For other of his acts see Fortifications in the Highlands.                                  |             |
| Clock, Jacob, committee at his house.....   | 502         |
| Clock, Col. Jacob, has much to do with Fort Paris .....                                     | 574         |
| Clyde, Col. Samuel, has supervision of Fort Clyde .....                                     | 575         |
| Cobelskill, town of, the stream .....   | 23, 24, 121 |
| Orthography and signification of.....   | 172, 248    |
| Cobel erects mills .....  | 172         |
| Coeman, Andrus, surveyor.....   | 146         |
| Cockburn, Capt., his marriage and death.....  | 98          |
| Coffin lid of Sir Wm. Johnson .....   | 310         |
| Cohoes Falls on the Mohawk.....   | 240         |
| Colden, Cadwaller, his history of Five Nations.....   | 27          |
| Sketch of his life.....   | 28          |
| His authority for .....   | 52, 336     |
| Acts as Governor .....  | 460         |
| Cole, W. P. M., a Yankee school master .....  | 404         |
| Communism among Indians.....  | 68          |
| Commissioners for confiscated property.....   | 271, 272    |
| Of Highways for Tryon county .....  | 318         |
| Sent to Canada.....   | 538         |
| Sent to France.....   | 548         |
| Committee of the army to State Legislature and their names....                              | 652, 654    |
| Complaints of Schoharie Germans.....  | 154         |
| Comrie, A. J.....   | 339         |
| Condition of things in England.....   | 483         |
| Of things in Tryon county.....  | 488         |
| Congress, first Continental .....   | 459         |
| Conkling, Alfred and Roscoe .....   | 98          |
| Cook-house, origin of name.....   | 157         |
| Cooper, Mr., second in a duel.....  | 418         |
| Connecticut river .....   | 16, 17      |

|  | PAGE.       |
|--|-------------|
| Conway, Gen., friend of America .....                                    | 443, 456    |
| Copeley, Ezra, a river boatman .....                                     | 352         |
| Copeman, Mrs. Jacob, where born .....                                    | 576         |
| Copper money-making firm .....   | 668         |
| Corlaer's lake .....   | 45          |
| Cornelissen Teunis, pioneer settler of Schenectada .....                 | 21          |
| Cornplanter, who he was and where first mentioned .....                  | 365, 368    |
| His memorial .....   | 368         |
| His character .....  | 373         |
| Friend of Washington and Jefferson .....                                 | 374         |
| His speeches to Gov. of Pennsylvania and to Washington ...               | 375, 377    |
| Visits Fort Plain .....  | 379         |
| Correy, William, patentee of lands .....                                 | 34          |
| Corteljou, Jacques, surveyor .....                                       | 20, 21      |
| Cost of clearing new lands .....   | 141         |
| Cost of a bridge at Fort Hunter .....                                    | 280         |
| Council of appointment .....   | 324         |
| Countryman, George .....   | 575, 576    |
| Court of sessions for Tryon county, and judicial bench .....             | 324         |
| Courselles, M. de, invades the Mohawk valley .....                       | 43          |
| Cowper and Crown, fast horses .....                                      | 408         |
| Cowilla kill .....   | 98          |
| Cox, Henry Frey, and family .....  | 98          |
| Cox, David .....   | 97          |
| Cox, Edward .....  | 98          |
| Crafts, Col. G. S., of Cooperstown .....                                 | 402         |
| Crandall, a singing-master .....   | 390         |
| Crane, inn-keeper at Little Falls .....                                  | 429         |
| His pluck .....  | 434         |
| Crane, Capt. John, informer .....  | 434         |
| Cranesville .....  | 93, 95      |
| Crosby, Alonzo, about Western turnpike .....                             | 359         |
| Crosby, Isaac, on number of taverns .....                                | 360         |
| Crouse, Maj. David, relates a story of big wagons .....                  | 358         |
| Cruelty, Bible record of .....   | 31          |
| Crum Creek .....   | 94          |
| Crown Point .....  | 241         |
| Crutzeus, Dutch Reformed Minister .....                                  | 239         |
| Cumming, John .....  | 101         |
| Customs of Five Nations .....  | 28          |
| Cutting, William .....   | 417         |
| Cuyler, Abm. C., going to Canada .....                                   | 503         |
| Dabbling in Saphic, old time poetry .....                                | 438         |
| Dadanaskarie Creek .....   | 59, 94, 198 |
| Dana, Capt. James, a Revolutionary captain, settles in Schoharie county, | 24          |
| At Bunker Hill .....   | 477         |
| Receives a general's commission .....                                    | 478         |



|   | PAGE.              |
|---|--------------------|
| Danks Benoni.....   | 383                |
| Dartmouth College .....   | 23                 |
| Dartmouth, Lord.....  | 112                |
| Dartmouth, Earl of, thought America would fight.....            | 463                |
| Davis, Dr. D. B., keeps Fonda hotel .....                       | 257                |
| Davy, Capt. Thomas, at Oriskany .....                           | 196                |
| Dawson, H. B., of, His. Magazine.....                           | 419                |
| Dayton, Col. Chas., sent to arrest Sir John Johnson.....        | 568                |
| Erects forts in Mohawk Valley.....                              | 571                |
| Day of enchantment, tradition of .....                          | 148                |
| Day of reckoning, for treatment of Sheriff .....                | 151                |
| D Belletre, Gen. M., destroys Palatines Village .....           | 233                |
| Debt of England .....   | 442                |
| Decanesora, on rum carriers .....                               | 67                 |
| Declaratory Act, follows Stamp Act.....                         | 450                |
| De Courselles, Gov. of Canada, invades the Mohawk Valley .....  | 43                 |
| Befriended by Van Corlaer.....                                  | 44                 |
| Dederick, Jacob, names Fort Plain .....                         | 572                |
| De Graff, Isaac, sees Sir Wm. Johnson's Bible .....             | 207                |
| Deihl, Henry, marries Maria Frey .....                          | 97                 |
| Deill, John K., a sportsman .....                               | 411, 413           |
| Deity, how regarded by Indians .....                            | 38                 |
| Delaware River discovered .....                                 | 15, 157            |
| Delancey, Oliver, heads a cabal.....                            | 216, 366           |
| Dellius, Rev. Godfrey .....                                     | 105, 135, 137, 140 |
| De Mantet, a French officer.....                                | 49                 |
| Dempster, Rev. W., preached in Fort Hunter Chapel .....         | 336                |
| Demooth, John, takes an oath.....                               | 518                |
| De Peyster, Gen. John Watts .....                               | 569                |
| De Prue, James .....  | 106, 112           |
| Depuy, Maj. Isaiah, erects a bridge.....                        | 278, 379, 405      |
| Deserters, at Little Falls, one drowned.....                    | 427, 428           |
| De St. Pierre, killed at Lake George .....                      | 222                |
| Devil's Holc, massacre at .....                                 | 243                |
| Devoe, Rev. David .....   | 285                |
| Dickinson, John, advocates union .....                          | 451                |
| Dievendorf, G. S., visits Fort Johnson and Guy Park.....        | 210, 270           |
| Diefendorf, Henry A., owns Fort Hunter parsonage .....          | 310                |
| Diefendorf, John I .....  | 402                |
| Dieskau, Baron, destroys forts at Oswego .....                  | 230                |
| Dillenbeck, Baltus.....   | 388                |
| Domier, Domine, wins a race.....                                | 410                |
| Dongan, Gov.....  | 45                 |
| Donker's kill.....  | 93                 |
| Dorf, signification of .....                                    | 125                |
| Doughty, Maj. John, lets a matrimonial cat out of the bag ..... | 660                |
| Downs, Timothy.....   | 391                |

|  | PAGE.         |
|--|---------------|
| Drayton, Wm. Henry, makes patriotic speeches .....               | 485           |
| Dream of Sir Wm. Johnson.....                                    | 313           |
| Drying flax, with an accident—manner of drying.....              | 431           |
| Dygart, Nicholas, his marriage.....                              | 370, 379      |
| Dygart, Maria .....  | 373           |
| Dyslin, Rev. John Henry, at St. Johnsville .....                 | 285           |
| Duchess of Gordon, ship.....                                     | 26            |
| Duchess county, its orthography.....                             | 26, 159       |
| Dudley, J. M. ....   | 334           |
| Duel, a bloodless one .....                                      | 350           |
| Duels, of Geo. I. Eacker.....                                    | 415           |
| Duer, Col. Wm. notice of.....                                    | 564           |
| Duke of Richmond, proposals for peace.....                       | 438           |
| Duke of Grafton, proposals for peace .....                       | 483           |
| Dunkel, Capt. George, bridge builder.....                        | 388, 389      |
| Dunkel, John P.....  | 575           |
| Dunlap, Rev. Samuel, at Cherry Valley, has a grammar school..... | 195           |
| Dunmore, Gov., becomes odious and burns Norfolk .....            | 483, 486, 536 |
| Durham Boats .....   | 87, 89, 451   |
| Dutch, settle at New York.....                                   | 14            |
| Dutch, East India Co .....                                       | 14, 15        |
| Dutch, West India Co .....                                       | 16            |
| Dutch Church of Albany and where its stove stood.....            | 280, 290      |
| Dutchtown and Mindenville, settlers of .....                     | 162           |
| Eacker, George I., delivers an oration. extracts from it.....    | 414, 415      |
| Fights two duels. Cause of his death .....                       | 418, 419      |
| Eacker, Jacob, father of George I.....                           | 414           |
| Eacker, Jacob, Jr .....  | 414, 417      |
| East Camp.....   | 106           |
| Eaton Gen. William, his war record and adventures in Egypt ...   | 479, 480      |
| Attempts to eat a fig.....                                       | 481           |
| Stopped for traveling on Sunday .....                            | 492           |
| Ecker, John, Blacksmith .....                                    | 174           |
| Eddy, Otis, builds Schoharie creek aqueduct .....                | 408           |
| Education, makes liberal minds .....                             | 153           |
| Edwards, Anna Mary, how drowned .....                            | 384           |
| Ehle, Herman I .....   | 413           |
| Ehle, Rev. Jacob H., and his family.....                         | 89            |
| Ehle, Peter .....  | 348           |
| Ehle's crank .....   | 348           |
| Eisenlord, John, clerk of Tryon county committee .....           | 502, 574      |
| Elliot, presents Jasper a flag .....                             | 537           |
| Elwood, Peter, anecdote from.....                                | 312           |
| Emmet, Thomas Addis, at Johnstown .....                          | 326           |
| His plea in the court room .....                                 | 330           |
| Enders, John .....   | 380           |

|  | PAGE.         |
|--|---------------|
| England and France at war, troops raised in the colonies.....        | 192           |
| French fleet, how scattered .....                                    | 193           |
| Death of French officers, D. Anville and Estournelle .....           | 193           |
| Erie Canal, its completion, how regarded.....                        | 89            |
| Construction of and how celebrated.....                              | 397           |
| Error, regarding the brick in Johnstown court house .....            | 334           |
| Esopus or Wildwyck, now Kingston.....                                | 19            |
| Eva's kill.....  | 95            |
| Evans, Capt. John, large land holder .....                           | 138           |
| Events of 1776.....  | 536           |
| Expenses of Tryon county for three years.....                        | 525           |
| Amonnt raised in each district.....                                  | 326           |
| State tax two seasons.....   | 326           |
| Expenses of Tryon Co. committee, how to be liquidated.....           | 500           |
| Failing, Jacob, innkeeper .....                                      | 412           |
| Failing, Henry.....  | 432           |
| Failing, Kennedy, drowned .....                                      | 351           |
| Failing, Simeon .....  | 352           |
| Falls in the Mohawk .....  | 86            |
| Farley, Mrs., daughter of Mary Brant at Johnstown .....              | 256           |
| Her juvenile recollections of Johnson Hall .....                     | 257           |
| Farms confiscated in Schoharie Co.....                               | 545           |
| Feltis, Rev. Peter .....   | 334           |
| Feu-de-joie, of cannon .....   | 397           |
| Fields, Erastus .....  | 209           |
| Fink, Andrew A .....   | 361, 395      |
| Fink, Maj. Andrew, how injured.....                                  | 363           |
| One of county committee, appointed Lieut.....                        | 490, 508      |
| Fire in New York, large one .....                                    | 550           |
| First white woman in Albany .....                                    | 16            |
| First through canal boat .....                                       | 398           |
| Fish, Gen. Nicholas .....  | 670           |
| Fish in Schoharie Co .....   | 176           |
| Fish house.....  | 258           |
| Fishing and hunting.....   | 260           |
| Fist fight .....   | 347           |
| Five nations, their general character .....                          | 27, 31        |
| Their cruelty and that of Israelites compared.....                   | 31            |
| Fletcher, Wm. A .....  | 25            |
| Fletcher, Gov. Benj., how expeditious, his immense land grants...66, | 105           |
| Fonda and Fultonville bridge, of iron.....                           | 392           |
| Fonda, Douw, killed by an Indian .....                               | 279, 340      |
| Fonda, Jelles, merchant, does a large business.....                  | 335, 340, 347 |
| Testifies against Sheriff White.....                                 | 512           |
| Fonda, John, tax collector, has difficulty with Thomas Hunt ....245, | 509           |
| Trouble with Sheriff White .....                                     | 528           |

|   | PAGE.              |
|---|--------------------|
| Forman, Lieut., a recruiting officer.....   | 661                |
| Foot-race at Weisersdorf.....   | 147                |
| Foot-race an important one.....   | 412                |
| Fort Bull captured.....   | 229                |
| Forts erected by England, among the Five Nations.....   | 70, 71             |
| Fort George, at New York.....   | 146                |
| Hunter, rebuilt, fortified and used.....  | 338                |
| Fort Hunter Suspension Bridge.....  | 394                |
| Fort Johnson.....   | 26, 95             |
| Visited and described.....  | 209                |
| Second visit.....   | 210                |
| A visit and explosion.....  | 213                |
| Scotch troops there.....  | 223                |
| King Hendrick's dream.....  | 316                |
| Fort Niagara.....   | 241                |
| Fort Orange, now Albany.....  | 14, 16, 17, 19, 21 |
| Fort Plain forts, how designated.....   | 573                |
| Fort Stanwix.....   | 26, 99             |
| Expects an invasion.....  | 503                |
| Fort Ticonderoga.....   | 241                |
| Fort Washington and Fort Lee, enemy obtain.....   | 550                |
| Fort Willet, why so named and families using it.....  | 576                |
| Forts, ancient ones in the Mohawk Valley.....   | 94                 |
| Revolutionary, in the Mohawk Valley.....  | 571                |
| Description of them.....  | 573                |
| Fort Plain bridge at the island and its commissioners.....  | 386                |
| Completion, how celebrated.....   | 386                |
| Fort Plain bridge at the village and its stockholders.....  | 388                |
| Removed and rebuilt.....  | 388                |
| Fort Plain free bridge movement and its effect.....   | 389, 390           |
| Fortifications in the highlands.....  | 596                |
| Error in history about their erection.....  | 597                |
| Provincial Congress orders a survey of the Hudson.....  | 597                |
| Bernard Romans, first engineer, plans Fort Constitution, gets at<br>variance with commissioners, and retires..... | 598                |
| Capt. Wm. Smith succeeds Romans.....  | 598                |
| Capt. Thomas Machin follows Smith and remains to the close of<br>the war.....                                     | 599                |
| Washington's letter to Machin.....  | 600                |
| Acts for a time under Col. James Clinton.....   | 601                |
| Gen. Schuyler wants survey of the Hudson.....   | 601                |
| Col. Rufus Putnam writes to Machin to make it.....  | 602                |
| Putnam's Path.....  | 602                |
| Machin's life.....  | 602                |
| Duke of Bridgewater's canal.....  | 602                |
| Hudson river obstructions as shown by Machin's papers.....  | 602                |
| First—A chev-aux-de-frize at Fort Washington.....   | 603                |

|   | PAGE-              |
|---|--------------------|
| Fire ships used at Yonkers .....  | 603                |
| Capt. Thomas and men drowned .....  | 604                |
| <i>Second</i> —A chain near Fort Montgomery .....                                     | 604                |
| It breaks, and Machin replaces it .....   | 606                |
| <i>Third</i> —A boom at Fort Montgomery .....   | 606                |
| British destroy the boom, take the chain to England. .                                | 606, 646           |
| <i>Fourth</i> —A chev-aux-de-frize near Pollopel's Island .....                       | 607                |
| Gov. Clinton directs cutting timber .....   | 608                |
| Inquires how best to repair cannon .....  | 612                |
| Has a brass 24-pounder .....  | 612                |
| Signals for a general alarm .....   | 618                |
| Sir Henry Clinton captures Forts Montgomery and Clinton, and burns Kingston .....     | 619                |
| Execution of Danl. Taylor, a spy, from Sir Henry Clinton, .                           | 617                |
| Generals Tryon and Vaughn with Sir Henry Clinton at Fort Montgomery ..                | 618                |
| Could not break the chain .....   | 619                |
| <i>Fifth</i> —A chain at West Point; Washington anxious about the river passage ..... | 631                |
| Contract for new chain .....  | 623                |
| Links described .....   | 624                |
| Machin writes to committee of New Marlborough about timber to float the chain ....    | 626                |
| Description of floats .....   | 627                |
| Bill of timber for chain .....  | 628                |
| Chain finished at the forges .....  | 632                |
| When afloat .....   | 633                |
| <i>Sixth</i> —A boom; Machin sets about its completion .....                          | 634                |
| Gov. Clinton, and others, cross the Hudson on it .....                                | 635                |
| Bills for iron and labor at West Point ..   | 638, 639           |
| General abstract for labor and teams .....  | 640                |
| Expenses on boom ....   | 641                |
| Wages in the Highlands ..   | 642                |
| West Point obstructions, how handled .....  | 642                |
| Character of the boom, relics of boom obtained .....                                  | 644                |
| Ruttenber's description of them .....   | 644                |
| My position vindicated .....  | 645                |
| My thunder used without apology .....   | 646                |
| Boom placed below the chain .....   | 647                |
| Fountain's town .....   | 183                |
| Fox, Abram R. ....  | 352                |
| Dr. Eli .....   | 11                 |
| Foxes dorf ..   | 126                |
| Foxes creek .....   | 121, 126, 150, 172 |
| Foxes mills, burned .....   | 94                 |
| Fox, Frederick, committee at his house .....  | 502                |
| Mr. in British Parliament would stay hostilities .....                                | 483                |

|  | PAGE.                  |
|--|------------------------|
| Philip W., his house burned .....                          | 494                    |
| Peter Wormuth .....  | 391                    |
| Gen. Peter C., about a church .....                        | 281, 386               |
| William, of Foxes dorf .....                               | 126                    |
| William, of Palatine .....                                 | 370                    |
| Franklin, Benjamin, at Albany .....                        | 221                    |
| Visits Grenville .....                                     | 443                    |
| Letter to Charles Thompson, and message to Ingersoll ..... | 444                    |
| Called to the English bar .....                            | 449                    |
| William, Governor of New Jersey .....                      | 665                    |
| Freeman, James, how killed, Richard, father of James ..... | 426                    |
| Dr. N., writes Machin from Sandwich .....                  | 647                    |
| French Topography of Mohawk Valley .....                   | 236-240                |
| French rule in Canada at an end .....                      | 242                    |
| Frey family .....  | 10, 96-101, 168        |
| Samuel C., on scalping .....                               | 10                     |
| Col. Hendrick, his grist mill .....                        | 98-98                  |
| Maj. John, chosen sheriff .....                            | 98, 489, 490, 504, 516 |
| Writes Capt. Getman .....                                  | 571                    |
| Capt. Bernard, his death .....                             | 100                    |
| Frey, Elizabeth, belle of the Mohawk Valley .....          | 101                    |
| Frey, S. Ludlow .....                                      | 489                    |
| Frey, Col. Joshua, his sudden death .....                  | 218                    |
| Freysbush .....  | 97                     |
| Fultonville .....  | 24, 25                 |
| Fultonville and Johnstown Plank-road .....                 | 394                    |
| Funerals, early customs at .....                           | 189                    |
| Liquor at .....  | 190                    |
| Rum and tobacco at .....                                   | 347                    |
| Furnace creek .....  | 90                     |
| Gage, Gen., succeeds Hutchinson .....                      | 558, 450, 471          |
| Issues a proclamation, returns to England .....            | 483                    |
| Gallissoniere, Gov., of Canada .....                       | 365                    |
| Gansevoort, Conrad, has a cushioned seat in church .....   | 277                    |
| Gardiner, Mrs. Henry S., at a wedding .....                | 280                    |
| Garlock, John Christian .....                              | 110, 125               |
| Settles in Stone Arabia .....                              | 162, 163               |
| Justice Elias, his sage decision .....                     | 164                    |
| Dorf .....   | 126, 128               |
| Garoga creek .....   | 94                     |
| Gaspee Revenue Cutter burned .....                         | 454                    |
| Gates on roads .....                                       | 187                    |
| Gebhard, Jacob, early lawyer in Schoharie .....            | 23, 337                |
| John, Jr. ....   | 25                     |
| German, immigration, third in the colony .....             | 164                    |
| German Flats patent, names of patentees .....              | 165                    |

|   | PAGE.                   |
|---|-------------------------|
| German settlement near Fort Herkimer invaded.....                             | 240                     |
| Germantown N., where located.....   | 511                     |
| German emigration with Gov. Hunter.....                                       | 103                     |
| How settled at East and West Camp.....  | 108                     |
| Their children apprenticed.....   | 108                     |
| Volunteer as soldiers.....  | 110                     |
| School at their camps on the Hudson.....                                      | 110                     |
| Number of families and cost of subsistence.....                               | 111                     |
| Won't make tar.....   | 111                     |
| What they subsisted on, speculators cheat them.....                           | 111, 113                |
| Become mutinous.....  | 114                     |
| General association of New York patriots.....                                 | 491                     |
| George I, King of England.....  | 146                     |
| Getman, Benjamin, as informant.....   | 227, 437                |
| John Frederick, and family, first of the name here.....                       | 485                     |
| Nellis.....   | 574                     |
| Capt. Christian.....  | 574                     |
| Giant-wa-chia—Cornplanter—John Abeel, Jr.....                                 | 368                     |
| Gilbert, Joseph, on the handling of West Point chain.....                     | 643                     |
| Given, William, fights and whips a bully.....                                 | 429                     |
| Charles A., son of William.....   | 430                     |
| Glance at a policy benefitting Pennsylvania.....                              | 160                     |
| Glen, Sander L., pioneer settler of Schenectada.....                          | 21                      |
| Henry, notice of.....   | 564                     |
| Goodwin, H. C., on signification of Kenneyetto.....                           | 258                     |
| Grauberger.....   | 110                     |
| Gray, Charles, a story from.....  | 214                     |
| Grave stone intended for Mrs. Johnson.....                                    | 210                     |
| Greene, Seth, wanted in Schoharie county.....                                 | 176                     |
| Great Western turnpike.....   | 359                     |
| Grenville, George, would tax Americans.....                                   | 442, 447, 448           |
| Grist Mills; their want, how supplied.....                                    | 124, 127                |
| Groat, Philip, his family settle at Cranesville; John L., notice of, 197, 339 |                         |
| Lewis, suggests a housekeeper for Sir Wm. Johnson.....                        | 203, 204                |
| Goes to Canada as a prisoner.....   | 223                     |
| Gros, Rev. John Daniel; Capt. Lawrence, his brother.....                      | 277, 344                |
| Nicholas; Lawrence, 2d.....   | 348, 388, 405, 447, 443 |
| Gros' crank, a bend in the Mohawk.....  | 348                     |
| Grosvenor, Thomas, at Burnt Hills.....  | 477                     |
| Guy Park, residence of Guy Johnson; owned by Mrs. Stewart....                 | 267, 574                |
| Hæyer, Rev. John Fr.....  | 110                     |
| Hale, Capt. Nathan, his fate, execution and dying words.....                  | 552, 553                |
| Halifax packet.....   | 26                      |
| Hall, Robert.....   | 403                     |
| Halters about their necks.....  | 517                     |
| Hamilton, Alexander; in a duel.....   | 23, 359, 415, 419, 430  |
| Hamilton, Henry.....  | 147                     |

|   | PAGE.             |
|---|-------------------|
| Hancock, John, deprived of commission, his company disband .....                | 459               |
| Hanson's patent .....   | 59, 96, 198       |
| Handy, Sir Charles, succeeds Gov. Clinton .....                                 | 222               |
| Hardenbergh, J. A. ....   | 279               |
| Hare, Henry, goes to Canada, returns and is hung as a spy .....                 | 504               |
| Haring, Judge Aaron .....   | 274, 305, 316     |
| Harris, James, scares Ben Nihoof .....  | 437               |
| Hartman's dorf, largest village in seven .....                                  | 125, 126          |
| Hartley, Mr., makes an effort for peace .....                                   | 483               |
| Haslet, Mrs. William A. ....  | 196               |
| Hawley, Rev. Gideon, a missionary .....   | 78, 79, 80, 81    |
| Hawley, Jesse .....   | 398               |
| Hawn, Frederick .....   | 345               |
| Hay, price of, to teamsters .....   | 362               |
| Hay forks, how made .....   | 174               |
| Hazlewood, Capt. John, plans fire-ships, used at Yonkers .....                  | 603               |
| Heagle, James .....   | 333               |
| Heath, David .....  | 388               |
| Hees Jacob, has a boat landing .....  | 353               |
| Helleburg, signification of .....   | 120               |
| Hendrickson, Philip ..  | 21                |
| Henry, Patrick, spirited resolution of, speaks first in Congress, 445, 454, 459 |                   |
| Herkimer, Gen. Nicholas, as Captain, order for brick. . . . .                   | 98, 118, 240, 335 |
| Commander for Tryon county .....  | 512               |
| Left to close business with Sir John Johnson .....                              | 567               |
| Commissioned as General .....   | 570               |
| Herkimer, George .....  | 414               |
| Highlanders ground their arms .....   | 567               |
| Hoffman's Ferry .....   | 93                |
| Holland, Capt. Har .....  | 115               |
| Holmes, Abiel .....   | 16                |
| Ebenezer, in peril .....  | 388               |
| Warren .....  | 389               |
| Jedediah .....  | 421               |
| Hopkins, Stephen, at Albany Congress .....                                      | 221               |
| Horning, Lyman .....  | 367               |
| Horse, first one in Schoharie .....   | 129               |
| Horse-race, remarkable one at Schenectada .....                                 | 408               |
| A genteel one .....   | 412               |
| Horse-racing, favorite places for .....   | 409               |
| Hostages from Sir John Johnson for his parole .....                             | 566               |
| House, Abram .....  | 574               |
| Capt. Joseph, commands Fort Plank .....   | 573               |
| Howe, Sir William, succeeds Gen. Gage .....                                     | 483               |
| Hubbell, Peter, inn-keeper in Johnstown .....                                   | 421               |
| Captain, recruiting officer .....   | 556               |
| Hudson, Capt. Henry, discovers Hudson river, his cruel fate .....               | 14                |



|  | PAGE.              |
|--|--------------------|
| Hughes, John .....   | 340                |
| Hull, William, drowned .....                                     | 351                |
| Hunter, Col. Robert, arrived as Governor.....                    | 103-115. 132, 138  |
| Motives suspected .....  | 107                |
| Before London Board of Trade on Schoharie troubles .....         | 134                |
| Would exonerate himself.....                                     | 136, 141, 140, 166 |
| Knows truth of maxim, "With what measure ye mete," etc ....      | 169                |
| Huntington, Edward .....   | 88                 |
| Hunt, Thomas, quarrels with John Fonda.....                      | 509                |
| Hutchinson, Gov., appears in a riot, becomes unpopular .....     | 452, 458           |
| Ignorance, people suffered for it .....                          | 153                |
| Immigrants to America paddle their own canoes.....               | 202                |
| Independence adopted, influence of the troops.....               | 539                |
| Who drafted the declaration for .....                            | 539                |
| Indian Confederacy considered .....                              | 27                 |
| Indian customs of the Five Nations, insignia or totems .....     | 28, 29, 68         |
| Cruelty and Bible record of it, enterprises, how started .....   | 31                 |
| Claims to distinction, memorials, as painted rock, etc.....      | 32, 34             |
| Treatment of prisoners and gantlet running.....                  | 34                 |
| Adoption of prisoners, implemtns of war, voices, how heard ..... | 35                 |
| Names, how given to whites; notions of liberty.....              | 36, 46             |
| Hospitality, how manifested; diet, embraces all food.....        | 36, 37             |
| Polygamy and condition of women; memory, how strengthened, 37,   | 38                 |
| Murder, how expiated; and how revenged .....                     | 38, 191            |
| Reverence for Deity; fortitude, how manifested.....              | 38, 39             |
| Theft, a scandal; pronounciation of English.....                 | 39                 |
| Burials, how conducted; tokens, hatchet, chain and calumet ..    | 39, 40             |
| Covenant chain; Tohajadoris, speech of .....                     | 40                 |
| Diplomas from Sir Wm. Johnson; pipe, its history.....            | 41, 42             |
| Paints, on going to war; seasons, how distinguished.....         | 43                 |
| Piscaret, cunning of; skill in making arrow-heads .....          | 45, 74             |
| Villages in Schoharie; castle built by Sir Wm. Johnson.....      | 75, 76             |
| Names of Schoharie mountains; paths in Schoharie.....            | 76, 77             |
| Numbers in Schoh arie;mound near Sloansville.....                | 77, 78             |
| Protests against rum; lands purchased for emigrants.....         | 67, 168            |
| Hunter shoots deer with arrows; lands in Schoharie, extent of .. | 181, 182           |
| Indian characteristics; exhibition in London.....                | 190, 311           |
| Wit, to carry soup; tea party in Boston.....                     | 482, 465           |
| Letter found, its translation; superstition; language of ..      | 498, 541, 55       |
| Little Abram meets Gen. Schuyler; his speech .....               | 556, 557           |
| Indians, physically regarded; unprofitable neighbors.....        | 28, 191            |
| Return from Canada with powder; making friendly appearances,     | 508                |
| Schenevus and son .....  | 514                |
| India tea, accumulations in warehouses .....                     | 455                |
| Inglis, Rev. Charles .....                                       | 341                |
| Inland Lock Navigation Co .....                                  | 87                 |

|   | PAGE.                     |
|---|---------------------------|
| Ingolsby, Col. ....   | 115                       |
| Innkeepers on Western Turnpike .....  | 359, 360                  |
| Innkeepers on Mohawk Turnpike .....   | 361, 362                  |
| Interesting period, embracing life of Sir Wm. Johnson .....                               | 200                       |
| Interpreters, Dean and Bleecker with Gen. Schuyler at Johnstown ...                       | 559                       |
| Instructions to Gov. Hunter .....   | 104                       |
| Instinct, remarkable cases of .....   | 158                       |
| Invasion by Canadians and Indians in 1666 .....   | 43                        |
| By New England Indians in 1669 .....  | 46                        |
| Of Canada by Five Nations in 1687 .....   | 46                        |
| And destruction of Schenectada in 1690 by Canadians .....                                 | 49                        |
| Of Mohawk Valley, castles captured, 1693 .....  | 62                        |
| And destruction of Palatines Village, 1757 .....  | 233                       |
| Of other Palatine settlements in 1758 ..  | 240                       |
| Ireland, Thomas, visits Fort Johnson .....  | 210                       |
| Irish colony in Glen .....  | 340                       |
| Iron chest stolen .....   | 381                       |
| Iroquois, French name for Indian Confederacy .....  | 27                        |
| Isle Aux Noix .....   | 241                       |
| Janson, Jacob .....   | 19                        |
| Jasper and Newton, daring exploit of .....  | 538                       |
| Jealousies of England and France .....  | 191                       |
| Jefferson, Thomas, President .....  | 374                       |
| Jemison, Mary, life of .....  | 375, 376                  |
| Jesuits, French .....   | 19, 54, 70                |
| Jogues, Isaac, a Jesuit prisoner .....  | 19                        |
| Johnson, Sir William .....  | 8, 26, 29, 41, 76, 93, 95 |
| Interested in land sales .....  | 185                       |
| His services secured by Gov. Clinton .....  | 194                       |
| Remembered by J. L. Groat; parentage and arrival .....                                    | 198, 199, 200             |
| Disappointment in love sends him to America, and integrity se-<br>cures his fortune ..... | 202                       |
| Receives good advice from Admiral Warren ..   | 203                       |
| Begins his Indian agency; gets an Indian name .....                                       | 212, 213                  |
| Appointed Col. of Six Nations; bounty offered for his scalp ..                            | 213, 214                  |
| His great influence over Indians; is member of Prov. Council, 215,                        | 216                       |
| Succeeds Peter Schuyler as Indian agent .....   | 215                       |
| At first Congress at Albany; his protest against rum .....                                | 220                       |
| Commissioned a general and Indian superintendent .....                                    | 221                       |
| Gains a victory at Lake George and is wounded .....                                       | 222                       |
| That victory, how regarded by Parliament .....  | 223                       |
| Is rewarded by money and a Baronetcy .....  | 223                       |
| Receives Indian agency from the Crown .....   | 223                       |
| Sends troops to the Susquehanna .....   | 228                       |
| Notice of him from London Magazine .....  | 229                       |
| His wonderful influence over the Indians .....  | 230                       |

|   | PAGE.         |
|---|---------------|
| Finds it difficult to keep the indians in England's interest .....      | 230           |
| Wanted to assist Col. Monroe .....                                      | 231           |
| Possesses forts Niagara and Schlosser .....                             | 143           |
| His hall retinue; his portrait in Claus family .....                    | 251, 252, 255 |
| Establishes a free school; his heirs seeking a patrimony .....          | 255, 256      |
| Others seeking property; his Summer houses, fate of .....               | 256, 259      |
| Pleasing anecdotes of him; gives presents on gala days .....            | 260, 261      |
| Is taken at his word by a woodman; ransoms a prisoner .....             | 262           |
| His benevolence to Simon Clark; visits western military posts ...       | 263           |
| His white children; erects dwellings for his daughters, ...             | 263, 266, 267 |
| His children by Mary Brant; his failing health .....                    | 267, 272      |
| How taken to Saratoga Springs; goes to the sea shore . . . .            | 272, 273      |
| Erects grist mills; his dinner bell .....                               | 274, 279      |
| His sudden death .....  | 290, 366, 369 |
| Sent Indians to Wheelock's school; was not a sectarian .....            | 274, 556      |
| Favored its removal to the Mohawk Valley. . . . .                       | 274           |
| Erects a Masonic lodge room .....                                       | 274           |
| An Episcopal church at Johnstown .....                                  | 274           |
| Erects an Indian church at the Upper Castle; his will .....             | 275, 395      |
| His grave, how disturbed; his dream, how regarded .....                 | 310, 314      |
| He erects a castle in Schoharie . . . . .                               | 540           |
| What his course would probably have been had he lived .....             | 295           |
| Johnson, Sir John, his early life; courts Miss Clara Putman .....       | 265           |
| Shows an act of manhood; his knighthood .....                           | 265, 266      |
| Marries Miss Watts; goes to Canada . . . . .                            | 267           |
| Kills a horse when his father died .....                                | 201           |
| Invades Schoharie and Mohawk valleys .....                              | 375           |
| His letters to Sheriff White .....                                      | 574, 575      |
| Claims ownership of jail and court house .....                          | 518           |
| Would not let the Whigs use it; interrogated on his position ..         | 518, 520      |
| His final course, influence; put on his parole of honor .....           | 555, 565      |
| Clandestinely leaves Johnstown for Canada .....                         | 568           |
| His flight, how generally regarded; remains in Canada .....             | 569, 570      |
| Johnson, Col. Guy, born in Ireland, and long a deputy for Sir Wm.       |               |
| Johnson; marries his daughter .....                                     | 264           |
| Succeeds him in his Indian agency .....                                 | 291           |
| Corresponds with Gov. Penn .....  | 292           |
| Gives an account of Sir William's death and funeral . . .               | 293, 294, 295 |
| Writes to Schenectada and Tryon committees, and goes to<br>Canada ..... | 504, 505      |
| Johnson, John and Butler, John, in Canada .....                         | 570           |
| Johnson, Samuel P .....   | 368           |
| Johnson, George G., in a boat .....                                     | 383           |
| Johnson, Hethcoat, inn-keeper in Johnstown .....                        | 407           |
| Johnson, Abner A .....  | 407           |
| Johnson, G. W. M., an Indian, On-wan-on-syshon .....                    | 42            |
| Johnson, William, a quarrelsome Indian; makes threats .....             | 513, 524      |

|   | PAGE.                     |
|---|---------------------------|
| Johnson, Peggy, as interpreter .....                                | 507                       |
| Johnston, W. P. ....  | 11                        |
| Johnston, Allen. ....   | 11                        |
| Johnson mansions occupied in the war by Veeder, Harper and Kennedy  | 269                       |
| Johnson Hall, Brant hacks its stair hand-rail. ....                 | 249                       |
| Johnstown, first settlement of. ....                                | 248                       |
| Johnstown, what it owes to the memory of Sir Wm. Johnson .....      | 310                       |
| Johnston, Gov., predicts in Parliament an American confederacy .... | 456                       |
| Jorise, Arien, sails up the Hudson. ....                            | 16                        |
| Jones, David. ....  | 419                       |
| Jones family, how rescued .....                                     | 588                       |
| Jonquiere, Marquis de la, Governor of Canada. ....                  | 366                       |
| Journal of Tryon county committee. ....                             | 488                       |
| Journal of Provincial Congress .....                                | 554                       |
| Judge, Lynch. ....  | 153                       |
| Judiciary for Tryon county .....                                    | 324                       |
| Kalm, Peter, shows Pennsylvania benefited at expense of New York .  | 160                       |
| Kalondaggouh, (gentian root). ....                                  | 80                        |
| Kane, Col. Charles, at Schenectada .....                            | 424                       |
| Kanagara creek; an incident there. ....                             | 94                        |
| Kanjaragore ....  | 181                       |
| Karighondontee, a Schoharie chief. ....                             | 74, 75, 79, 121, 124, 182 |
| Kaughnawage, now Fonda. ....  | 20                        |
| Kayaderoseros creek .....   | 94, 208, 210, 248         |
| Keith, Gov. Wm., induces Germans to go to Pennsylvania .....        | 161                       |
| Kennyetto creek, its signification .....                            | 258                       |
| Keyser, John, Jr., made Lieutenant .....                            | 508                       |
| Keyser, Capt. John, trouble with Snyder. ....                       | 511                       |
| King George, I., Petition to. ....                                  | 152                       |
| King Hendrick, significant words of .....                           | 46                        |
| Certifies to Shirley's duplicity .....                              | 222                       |
| Dreams with Sir Wm. Johnson; killed at Lake George .....            | 223, 314                  |
| Kingsborough patent .....   | 248                       |
| Kinton, John, a witness. ....                                       | 510                       |
| Klock, Adam, a tory, his treatment and that of others. ....         | 374                       |
| Kneiskern, John Peter .....   | 109, 125                  |
| Knouts, Miss Mary, her birth place .....                            | 373                       |
| Knowlton, Capt., at Bunker Hill .....                               | 477                       |
| Names Capt. Hale to Washington. ....                                | 552                       |
| Knoxville. ....   | 123                       |
| Kockerthall, Rev. Joshua .....                                      | 111                       |
| Koke-house, branch of Delaware river .....                          | 186                       |
| Labaug, Rev. Isaac. ....  | 277                       |
| Lady day .....  | 185                       |
| Lady friends of Miss Clara Putman .....                             | 266                       |
| Lake Champlain .....  | 45                        |

|   | PAGE.                                       |
|---|---|
| Lake George; battle of .....  | 44  |
| Lamb, Col. John, his letters to Capt. Machin on recruiting.....       | 614, 615                                    |
| His life and times by Leake; Machin as his surveyor.....              | 615, 670                                    |
| Land patents.....   | 96  |
| Lands of Schoharie, why sold; lands in New Dorlach.....               | 145, 184                                    |
| Lands in Cobelskill, to whom granted.....                             | 184   |
| Land, large tracts considered, and what Gov. Belomont said of them .. | 188   |
| Lands, what value put on large tracts of them .....                   | 185   |
| Langdon, Matthias, boss bridge builder .....                          | 388   |
| Lansing, James .....  | 290   |
| Laraway, Simeon, owns first Schoharie mill .....                      | 172   |
| Lasell, Chester .....   | 187   |
| Lasher, Jacob .....   | 353, 398                                    |
| Lawes, Dr. James .....  | 129   |
| Lawrence, Mr. ....  | 418   |
| Laws, against Popery.....   | 55  |
| Lawyer, Johannes I.; Gen. Thomas; Gertrude .....                      | 24, 25                                      |
| Lawyer, John, first Schoharie merchant; Johannes .....                | 187, 188                                    |
| Lawyer, Lawrence: Jacob, J.....                                       | 188, 381                                    |
| Lawyersville, why so called .....                                     | 22, 23, 24                                  |
| Lawyers by profession, first in Schoharie county.....                 | 22  |
| Lead ore.....   | 93  |
| Leaden window sash, how disposed of .....                             | 554   |
| Leake, Isaac Q., writes Life and Times of Gen Lamb.....               | 549   |
| Lecture, Historical, by I. D. Rupp.....                               | 152   |
| Lee, Gen. Charles, anecdote of, at Boston; defends Charleston... 478, | 596   |
| Lee, Richard Henry, suggests Independence.....                        | 539   |
| Lee, James A.....   | 404   |
| Lefferty, attorney for Sir Wm. Johnson.....                           | 251   |
| Lendertson Glen.....  | 21  |
| Lesley, Dr. A. V .....  | 11  |
| Letters from the Mohawks to Guy Johnson.....                          | 495   |
| Lewis creek.....  | 95  |
| Lewis, Gov. Morgan, swings round the circle.....                      | 421   |
| Lice-kill, origin of name .....                                       | 123   |
| Lieber, Henry, builds a lake-boat.....                                | 398   |
| Lindsay, John, secures lands at Cherry Valley.....                    | 194   |
| Lintner, Rev. Geo. A .....  | 282, 286                                    |
| Lintner, Abram, killed horse-racing.....                              | 411   |
| Lipe, Casper, Reuben, Adam.....                                       | 387, 391, 495                               |
| Lipe, Johannes, David, Seeber, William.....                           | 573   |
| Little Falls, dwellings in 1812 .....                                 | 428   |
| Little Schoharie kill .....   | 124, 159                                    |
| Little, Capt. John.....   | 577   |
| Livingston, Robert.....   | 106, 107, 108, 110, 111, 112, 113, 115, 136 |
| Livingston, Brockholst.....   | 23, 414                                     |
| Livingston's Manor.....   | 169   |

|  | PAGE.         |
|--|---------------|
| Livingston, Schuyler .....   | 417           |
| Locks on the Mohawk river .....  | 25            |
| Lockport, canal locks at; canal celebration .....                            | 399, 400      |
| Lockwood, Homer N. ....  | 573           |
| Long, Jeremy, Schoharie affairs .....  | 135           |
| Long Island, possessed by the British .....                                  | 543           |
| Lossing, B. J.; on Hendrick's age .....                                      | 7, 9, 313     |
| Loucks, John .....   | 97            |
| Loucks, Andrew; tells a Bear story .....                                     | 177, 181, 286 |
| Loucks Adam .....  | 489           |
| Loudoun, Lord, unfitted for his mission; returns to England .....            | 230           |
| Lowder, a sentinel at Yorktown .....   | 584           |
| Lower Mohawk Castle .....  | 93            |
| Lutheran Church and parsonage of Schoharie .....                             | 286           |
| Lymam, Maj.-Gen., attests to Shirley's perfidy .....                         | 222           |
| Lynch, James .....   | 418           |
| Mabie, Jan P, at Rotterdam .....   | 102, 197      |
| Simeon, has oldest dwelling in the valley; Cornelius .....                   | 102, 387      |
| Machin, Thomas, engineer; wounded at Fort Montgomery .....                   | 10, 616       |
| Again at his post; superintends the West Point chain .....                   | 619, 623      |
| Evidence of being at home in the Highlands .....                             | 630           |
| Was in Sullivan's expedition; takes a water level above Albany ..            | 649           |
| Notice of him; his gunnery at Newtown and Yorktown. ..                       | 649, 657      |
| Is aspersed and sends a friend to Boston .....                               | 661           |
| Commissioned a Captain, and settles at New Grange .....                      | 666           |
| Removes to Montgomery county; continues surveying .....                      | 669, 670      |
| Installs a lodge of Masons; asks for a pension; Burr alludes to<br>him ..... | 670, 671, 672 |
| Mancht, Jacob .....  | 110           |
| Manhattan Island—New Amsterdam, .....  | 15            |
| Manly, Capt., success as a privateer .....                                   | 484           |
| Mann, George, as a witness .....   | 186           |
| Map of Schenectada; of State of New York—De Witt's .....                     | 48, 96        |
| Of State of New York—Tryon's; of Fountain's Town ..                          | 96, 287       |
| Markell, John, his death; his wife's escape and recovery ..                  | 226, 227      |
| Marlette, James J. ....  | 103           |
| Marlatt, John, delegate to Provincial Congress .....                         | 492           |
| Marcellus, Lawrence .....  | 425           |
| Maryland prepares for defense .....  | 461           |
| Marriage licenses, how obtained .....  | 97            |
| Massachusetts calls for a union .....  | 451           |
| Mathews, called Old Britannia, escapes at the "Devil's Hole" .....           | 244           |
| Matthias, Jacob, going to church .....                                       | 278           |
| Mauritius or Hudson river .....  | 15            |
| Mauverensen, Martin .....  | 21            |
| Maxwell, Dr. Samuel .....  | 393           |

|  | PAGE.         |
|--|---------------|
| McAuley, James, historian .....  | 336           |
| McCabe, Matthew, bridge-builder .....  | 382, 383, 386 |
| McCarthy, Col. E. J., sends me a link of West Point chain .....              | 634           |
| McDougal, Gen. Alexander; informed of West Point chain .....                 | 458, 633      |
| Meeby, Joseph, why arraigned .....   | 500           |
| Mechanics among the Germans in Schoharie; other early mechanics .....        | 173, 176      |
| Meebe, John Peterson .....   | 96            |
| Middleburgh; a tar-barrel burned; its first church burned, 76, 124, 178, 289 |               |
| Mifflin, Gen. Thomas; carries news to the army; at Cambridge .....           | 373, 589      |
| Miller Jedediah .....  | 24            |
| Miller, Samuel, D. D. ....   | 15            |
| Millbrook .....  | 150, 172      |
| Missionary enterprise to Oquago .....  | 81, 82        |
| Mitchell, Dr. Samuel L. ....   | 401           |
| Mohawks, heads of the confederacy; Mohawk castles .....                      | 20            |
| Valley, extent of; its topography .....                                      | 69, 85        |
| When first settled by whites; its rich scenery .....                         | 95            |
| Chiefs in Gen. Schuyler's camp looking after Sir John Johnson .....          | 564           |
| River, navigation improved; its tributaries .....                            | 88, 89—95     |
| Turnpike; chiefs interest themselves for Tories .....                        | 361, 523      |
| Michigan Indians .....   | 74—77, 124    |
| Money-cowry of Siam .....  | 30            |
| Monroe, Col., obliged to lose Fort William Henry .....                       | 230           |
| Montcalm, Gen., meets death like a hero .....                                | 242           |
| Montgomery, Gen. Richard; his marriage license .....                         | 26, 97, 438   |
| Congress directs a monument for him .....                                    | 484           |
| Montreal .....   | 241           |
| Monument to Cornplanter .....  | 308           |
| Moors, Joseph, interviewed .....   | 588           |
| His birth-place; enlists as a soldier and on duty on Long Island ..          | 589           |
| Saw in New York, statutes to King George and Lord Chatham ..                 | 589           |
| Witnessed the execution of a soldier for an attempt to poison                |               |
| Washington; was at Fort Washington when Gen. Mifflin read                    |               |
| to the army the declaration of Independence .....                            | 589           |
| Leaves the Fort with the camp distemper .....                                | 590           |
| Forages among geese for his larder; goes privateering .....                  | 591           |
| Is captured, taken to Halifax; swims ashore and escapes .....                | 594           |
| Finally gets back, as all his comrades did, to Groton, Mass. ....            | 596           |
| Morehouse, Ephraim .....   | 159           |
| Morgan, Lewis H., on Indian ethnology .....                                  | 58            |
| Morris, William, a justice; Lieut. W., states a French success .....         | 16, 659       |
| Lewis, Jr., surveyor; Capt., his parody .....                                | 146, 438      |
| Morrell, Thomas, erects Fort Plain block-house .....                         | 572           |
| Moseley, Rev. Richard, at Johnstown .....                                    | 274           |
| Morton, Perez, makes effective speeches .....                                | 485           |
| Mortekill .....  | 95            |
| Morter and Mary, slaves; how executed .....                                  | 142           |

|  | PAGE.              |
|--|--------------------|
| Mother creek . . . . .   | 94                 |
| Of Sir John Johnson and his sisters . . . . .                                  | 204                |
| Moulter, Dr., his eccentricities . . . . .                                     | 180                |
| Mount Joy, Pleasure Hall of Sir Wm. Johnson . . . . .                          | 259                |
| Moyer, William, foot race . . . . .  | 411                |
| Munro, Rev. Harry, dedicates a church . . . . .                                | 275                |
| Murder, first one in Schoharie county . . . . .                                | 141                |
| Mysterious pit . . . . .   | 85                 |
| Names, significant ones between Albany and Schoharie . . . . .                 | 150                |
| Of men of substance; persons indicted as tories . . . . .                      | 240, 247, 330      |
| Speakers on the Boston massacre; patriots at Middleburgh . . . . .             | 484, 543           |
| National drama, beginning at Lexington . . . . .                               | 471                |
| Navigation of the Mohawk . . . . .   | 88                 |
| Nellis, Gen. Geo. H., owned site of Fort Clyde . . . . .                       | 575                |
| Nestell, Adam A . . . . .  | 373                |
| New Amsterdam, see New York . . . . .  | 14, 17             |
| New York, when settled; when captured by the English . . . . .                 | 14, 17             |
| New Netherland, a Dutch colony . . . . .                                       | 14, 15, 17, 21, 23 |
| Newkirk, John, draws a petition to the King . . . . .                          | 152                |
| Newkirk, Peter I.; his brother John bleeds to death . . . . .                  | 336, 380, 440      |
| Nichols, Col. Richard, as Governor . . . . .                                   | 17                 |
| Nicholson, Gen . . . . .   | 107, 110, 185      |
| Nicholsby, Col . . . . .   | 110                |
| Nicholas and Flora, slaves of Sir Wm. Johnson . . . . .                        | 259                |
| Nihoof, Benjamin, last of the river boatmen; how frightened . . . . .          | 353, 437           |
| Nine partners, Schoharie . . . . .   | 42                 |
| Nine mile creek, below Rome . . . . .  | 93                 |
| North, Thomas . . . . .  | 97                 |
| Norton, Solomon . . . . .  | 404                |
| North, Lord, advocates oppression; his measure for the difficulties, . . . . . | 445, 462           |
| Nott, Dr., of Union college and others meet Com. Perry . . . . .               | 424                |
| Nowadaga creek . . . . .   | 90                 |
| Nutten, or Governor's Island . . . . .   | 103, 166           |
| Oath of secrecy . . . . .  | 507                |
| O'Callaghan, Dr. E. B.; animadversion of . . . . .                             | 8-16, 97, 207      |
| Oghrachie kill . . . . .   | 93                 |
| Ogilvie, Rev. John; marries Sir Wm. Johnson . . . . .                          | 207                |
| Old England district of Tryon county, what it embraced . . . . .               | 318                |
| Oliver, Andrew, burned in effigy . . . . .                                     | 445                |
| Onderdonk, Henry, historian and contributor . . . . .                          | 227, 228           |
| Oneidas with Tuscaroras meet Tryon county committee . . . . .                  | 22, 502            |
| Onistagrawa . . . . .  | 131                |
| Onondagas; their Church communion service . . . . .                            | 27, 241, 337       |
| Oothout, Mrs. Andrew . . . . .   | 387                |
| Onquehonwe the Indian Confederacy . . . . .                                    | 27                 |
| Oquago an Indian settlement . . . . .  | 186                |



|   | PAGE.              |
|---|--------------------|
| Oriskany creek; patent.....   | 90, 96, 118        |
| Osborne, Gov. Sir Danvers, commits suicide.....   | 217                |
| Oswegatchie .....   | 241                |
| Otskongo castle, prehistoric .....  | 56, 158            |
| Otsquago creek.....   | 90, 158            |
| Otsgaragee, Indian name of the Cobelskill.....  | 172                |
| Otsquene kill .....   | 158                |
| Otto Francis, first distiller in Schoharie.....   | 180                |
| Oxtdontee .....   | 121                |
| <br>Paine, Thomas, influence of his pen.....  | <br>534            |
| Painted rock and tree.....  | 33, 34             |
| Panther story from Maria Teabout.....   | 178                |
| Palatines, coming with Gov. Hunter, settle on the Hudson .....  | 106                |
| Their number; some volunteer in the army.....   | 108, 109           |
| Signification of their name .....   | 117                |
| Number going to Schoharie.....  | 117, 119, 121, 156 |
| Send grievances to England; have a washing.....   | 118, 123           |
| Send a delagation to England; number going to Pennsylvania, 152, 156  |                    |
| They revisit Schoharie; condition of those at Germantown.....   | 109                |
| Palatine Village, key to map of; details of its destruction....   | 231, 233-236       |
| Palatine Stone Church; its building subscription .....  | 280, 281           |
| Its re-dedication.....  | 282                |
| Its centennial celebration and Rev. C. A. Smith's address in the church .....   | 282                |
| Gov. Seymour's address at a field-stand .....   | 284                |
| Seymour's plea for the preservation of the old land mark.....   | 235                |
| Its novel bell and its fate.....  | 284                |
| Paris, Isaac, a merchant; member of Tryon county committee, 345, 387, 490   |                    |
| Paris, Peter, killed with his father at Oriskany.....   | 346                |
| Paris, Isaac, Jr., traded at Fort Plain; how honored in death .....   | 346                |
| Palatine district, holds the first committee meeting.....   | 489                |
| Names of its bold committee; take issue with the Johnson family, 492  |                    |
| Seventh committee meeting, one of all the delegates.....  | 497                |
| Patents adjoining Capt. Scott's .....   | 199                |
| Patriotic Information, how disseminated; men of Tryon county, 485, 488  |                    |
| Patterson, Culver, drowned.....   | 392                |
| Patterson, Ezra, at Fort Pitt .....   | 632                |
| Peck, Harmanus.....   | 24                 |
| Penn. Gov., of Pennsylvania, writes to Sir Wm. Johnson about difficulty with western Indians; answered by Guy Johnson.... | 291, 292           |
| Pennsylvania erects a monument to Cornplanter .....   | 368                |
| Percy, Lord, meets and succors the British at Lexington.....  | 471                |
| Permit to buy land .....  | 183                |
| Perry, Com. Oliver H., at Schenectada.....  | 423, 426           |
| Peters, Richard.....  | 375                |
| Petrie, John Jost.....  | 165                |

# *Index.*

701

|   | PAGE.    |
|---|----------|
| Petry, William, testifies against Sheriff White .....   | 513      |
| Philpot, Spencer.....   | 431      |
| Phillips family have a servant girl Sir Wm. Johnson obtains.....  | 203      |
| Pickering, Timothy, particular in closing business .....  | 667      |
| Pick or Peck, Rev. D. C. A .....  | 367      |
| Pinhorn, William, and others, land grant 50 miles long .....  | 138      |
| Piper, Peter.....   | 387      |
| Pitt, Lord Chatham, speaks against taxation; replies to Grenville, 447.   | 448      |
| His last effort to retain the colonies .....  | 461      |
| Pitcairn, Maj., goes to Lexington and Concord; battle followed.....   | 471      |
| And killed at Bunker Hill .....   | 477      |
| Plank, Frederick, his house fortified and called Fort Plank.....  | 573      |
| Plank, Mrs. John, where born.....   | 576      |
| Plattekill or Flat creek ... ..   | 93       |
| Plotter kill.....   | 93       |
| Pollock, James.....   | 386      |
| Popery, its influence.....  | 53       |
| Population of New York colony .....   | 463      |
| Pool, John H.....   | 407      |
| Popham, Maj. W., writes Capt. Machin to sell his sword .....  | 658      |
| John C. Morris of Otsego Co., published a doubt about the genuineness of the Popham paper, but on seeing it, made the amende honorable..... | 658      |
| Powder and lead procured .....  | 508      |
| Pownal, J., is at Albany Congress .....   | 220      |
| Practical joke that cost a life.....  | 440      |
| Praying Indians .....   | 54, 221  |
| Preble, Commodore Edward .....  | 480      |
| Prentice, Mr .....  | 383      |
| Prevost, Theodosia, wife of Aaron Burr .....  | 211      |
| Preston's company of troops, fire on citizens of Boston.....  | 452      |
| Prideaux, Gen., killed at Fort Niagara .....  | 241      |
| Proctor, Dr. Leonard.....   | 293      |
| Provincial Congress .....   | 26       |
| Public Demonstrations of liberty lovers .....   | 446      |
| Pucker Street.....  | 123      |
| Puchkill, origin of name.....   | 189      |
| Putman, Miss Clara, and Sir John Johnson .....  | 265      |
| Putman, Peter.....  | 330, 340 |
| Putman, Lodowick, testifies against Clement.....  | 514      |
| Putnam, Gen., invests Boston; at Bunker Hill.....   | 472, 474 |
| Putnam, Daniel, defends his father's fame.....  | 475      |
| Quackenboss brothers, Peter on Scott's patent .....   | 198      |
| Quackenboss, David, how he gets a wife .....  | 198      |
| Quackenboss, John S .....   | 337      |
| Quebec, when first captured.....  | 191      |

|  | PAGE.                                       |
|--|---|
| Queen Anne; dies in 1714.....  | 103, 108, 119, 131, 134; 147, 149, 169, 311 |
| Queen Anne's chapel at Fort Hunter, when built; when destroyed....   | 336   |
| Contract for its erection; farm attached; parsonage house .  | 337, 339, 340                               |
| Radnour, Jacob, marries Mary Abeel .....   | 370   |
| Racing, horse and foot, in the Mohawk valley .....   | 480   |
| Ramsay, Joseph.....  | 24  |
| Ramsay, David, patriotic orator.:  | 485   |
| Randolph, Peyton, president of Congress .....  | 450   |
| Rapids in the Mohawk named .....   | 348   |
| Rates of toll on the Mohawk river boats .....  | 88  |
| Rattle snakes, how exterminated .....  | 182   |
| Read, Joshua, inn-keeper .....   | 384   |
| Recruiting service of Capt. Machin .....   | 614   |
| Washington writes to Machin and others on the subject .....  | 661   |
| Redington, John .....  | 24  |
| Gets a commission.....   | 479   |
| Red Jacket .....   | 374   |
| Retrospective view of Central New York .....   | 170   |
| Religious prejudice.....   | 175   |
| Relic from Devil's hole, in State cabinet.....   | 245   |
| Remington's rifle works.....   | 90  |
| Rensselaerwick, vicinity of Albany .....   | 19  |
| Revolutionary calendar.....  | 463-490                                     |
| Reynolds, a blacksmith.....  | 435   |
| Rigne, Col., at Otsego Lake.....   | 580   |
| Ring found in the grave of Sir William Johnson .....   | 208   |
| River Indians .....  | 16  |
| Roads in Schoharie.....  | 187   |
| Robber, how foiled.....  | 435   |
| Roberts, Rev. Robert James.....  | 42 337                                      |
| Romeyn, Rev. Thomas .....  | 279   |
| Roof, Johannes—John, settles at Fort Stanwix.....  | 534   |
| Keeps tavern at Canajoharie.....   | 381   |
| Roof, Col. John, inn-keeper at Canajoharie.....  | 101-381                                     |
| Roof, Adam I. ....   | 101   |
| Roof's tavern gives place to Hotel Wagner .....  | 380   |
| Root, Gen. Erastus, notice of.....   | 157   |
| Rosencrants, Rev. Abram .....  | 276, 277                                    |
| Rules by which Tryon Co. shall be governed .....   | 510   |
| Rum, its effect .....  | 83  |
| Protest against it .....   | 220, 221                                    |
| Rupp, I. D., lecture on Germans going from Schoharie to Pennsylvania .....   | 155-161                                     |
| Rutgers, Henry, to Capt. Machin, on seeing cattle on the Hudson ....   | 650   |
| Ruttenber, E. M., in his obstructions to the navigation of Hudson's river, tells how chain and boom were handled ..... | 463   |

|  | PAGE.    |
|--|----------|
| Shrinkage of a fragment of the boom .....  | 644      |
| Discredited my statement about a double obstruction at West Point, but adopts it; makes a useful book which I commend... | 646      |
| Floats for chain not made as he has shown .....  | 647      |
| Sacket, Richard .....  | 115      |
| Sacia, David F. ....   | 413      |
| Sacondaga Patent .....   | 248      |
| Sadaquada, or Saquoit creek .....  | 90       |
| Sager—Warner mountain .....  | 187      |
| Sammons, Jacob, a bold champion of liberty .....   | 493      |
| Saratoga militia .....   | 533      |
| Sawyer's creek .....   | 106      |
| Scalps, taking of them celebrated .....  | 189      |
| Schenectada, its orthography and signification .....   | 14       |
| Its first settlement .....   | 21       |
| Burning of .....   | 46       |
| Map of .....   | 48       |
| Number and character of invaders .....   | 49       |
| Its population .....   | 49       |
| Number of the killed and captured .....  | 51       |
| Enemy pursued .....  | 53       |
| Names of suffering families .....  | 53       |
| Does milling for Schoharie .....   | 128      |
| Its first bridge falls and is rebuilt .....  | 385      |
| Peril of a boy on it .....   | 386      |
| Schmidt, Johannes George, where he settles; keeps first hotel .....  | 126, 145 |
| Schoharie, its signification; its dorfs and settlers .....   | 72, 126  |
| First children born; people at first go much to Schenectada .....  | 127, 129 |
| Lands to whom first patented; delegation to England .....  | 146, 152 |
| Names of people removing to Mohawk valley .....  | 162      |
| Remaining citizens secure land titles .....  | 183      |
| First churches; her militia organized .....  | 286, 533 |
| Makes an effort to restrain the Indians .....  | 540      |
| They go to Canada; committee of vigilance .....  | 540, 542 |
| Schoharie creek .....  | 93       |
| School house at Queensbury .....   | 110      |
| Schoolcraft—notes on the Iroquois; respecting Johnson's dream ...  | 7, 314   |
| Schoolcraft, Lawrence, makes first cider in Schoharie .....  | 173      |
| Schools—first in Schoharie .....   | 173      |
| Schuyler Peter .....   | 96, 311  |
| Schuyler, Maj. Peter; eats soup and is satisfied .....   | 65, 66   |
| Schuyler, Myndert, and others patent .....   | 146      |
| Schuyler, Mrs. Maj. Philip, perplexed with Canada guests .....   | 256      |
| Schuyler, Rev., long preached in Schoharie; church fees .....  | 289      |
| People how warmed .....  | 289      |

|  | PAGE.                                  |
|--|--|
| Schuyler, Gen. Philip, superintends the improvement of Mohawk river navigation and construction of its locks ..... | 349                                    |
| Goes to arrest Sir John Johnson .....  | 556                                    |
| Has an effective force of 8,000 men .....  | 563                                    |
| Puts him on his parole of honor .....  | 563                                    |
| Marches to Johnstown and disarms Tories .....  | 567                                    |
| Leaves Herkimer in command and returns to Albany .....   | 567                                    |
| Schuyler, Philip 2d, in a duel .....   | 350                                    |
| Schuneman, Herman .....  | 115                                    |
| Scott, Capt. John, of Fort Hunter; buys land .....   | 198                                    |
| Scott, Miss Anne, her romantic marriage .....  | 198                                    |
| Scott, Gen. Charles, meets an Indian preacher .....  | 430                                    |
| Search for concealed arms at Johnstown .....   | 567                                    |
| Seeber, Maj. William, and family .....   | 342                                    |
| Tryon county committee at his house .....  | 495                                    |
| Testifies against Sheriff White .....  | 513                                    |
| Seeber, William H. .... 278, 345, 373, 382,  | 434                                    |
| Seeber, Mrs. Wm. H., friend of Polly Young .....   | 432                                    |
| Selwood, Wm. H. ....   | 11                                     |
| Sergeants, Jasper and McDonald, their bravery .....  | 537                                    |
| McDonald's dying words; Jasper killed saving his flag .....  | 537                                    |
| Service, Christian, how drowned .....  | 380                                    |
| Service, Samuel, escapes death .....   | 380                                    |
| Settlement of Fort Orange, Manhattan, Delaware river, and Connecticut river .....                                  | 17                                     |
| Settlements of Otsego county before the war .....  | 197                                    |
| Seven partners, tract of land .....  | 146                                    |
| Shelp, Henry .....   | 340                                    |
| Sheriff Adams, treatment of .....  | 149                                    |
| Shew, Jacob, as a legislator; about a butternut tree .....   | 157, 548, 251                          |
| Goes to Johnson's free school .....  | 255, 263, 302, 304, 305, 306, 308, 321 |
| About Summerhouse Point .....  | 548                                    |
| Ship's Beer .....  | 111                                    |
| Shipley, Rev. Dr. Jonathan, against Boston blockade .....  | 456                                    |
| Shirley, William, Gov. of Massachusetts .....  | 192, 221, 222, 441                     |
| Shoes—where obtained for Schoharie .....   | 172                                    |
| Shoemaker, Rudolph .....   | 581                                    |
| Shuckbergh, Richard, patentee of lands .....   | 34                                     |
| Shultz, Christian, on Mohawk river boating .....   | 353-356                                |
| Siam—its money .....   | 30                                     |
| Simms, Chester L. ....   | 382                                    |
| Simms, Joseph .....  | 481                                    |
| Singing match—merits not decided .....   | 390                                    |
| Six-mile kill below Rome .....   | 93                                     |
| Slaves, how treated .....  | 174                                    |
| In Schoharie, their value; a duty to be paid on them .....   | 186, 187                               |
| Smith, William, historian .....  | 17                                     |

|  | PAGE.                      |
|--|----------------------------|
| Smith, Thomas.....   | 24                         |
| Smith's dorf.....  | 126                        |
| Smith, Col. William, land grant.....                             | 187                        |
| Smith, Rev. Charles A.....                                       | 282                        |
| Smith, a singing master.....                                     | 390                        |
| Smith, William A.....  | 398                        |
| Snell, Johnson I., drowned.....                                  | 392                        |
| Snowden, Samuel P.....   | 368, 374                   |
| Snyder, Henry Reme.....  | 511                        |
| Snyder, John Reme, in military trouble.....                      | 511                        |
| Sogemacklie, Solomon.....  | 21                         |
| Soldiers drowned.....  | 546                        |
| Sommer, Rev. Peter Nicholas, from blindness, sight restored..... | 285, 286                   |
| Sopus, now Kingston.....   | 16, 44                     |
| Southwick, Solomon.....  | 25                         |
| Spafford, Horatio Gates, on site of Albany.....                  | 15, 20, 22, 27, 87, 90, 93 |
| On scenery at Little Falls.....                                  | 95                         |
| On the castle church bell.....                                   | 275, 315, 329, 359         |
| Spalding, Dr. G. S., as a marshal.....                           | 403                        |
| Sparks, Abram.....   | 388                        |
| Sparks, Joseph, sets up a broad-ax.....                          | 389                        |
| Spinner, Rev. John P.....  | 276                        |
| Spinning wheels fashionable.....                                 | 450                        |
| Spooks at Fort Johnson and Guy Park.....                         | 269                        |
| Mystery at Guy Park explained.....                               | 270                        |
| Finding a secret chamber in the wall.....                        | 271                        |
| Relics found on the premises.....                                | 271                        |
| Spraker, Nancy, at Roof's tavern.....                            | 381                        |
| Spraker, George.....   | 381                        |
| Spraker, Maj. Jost; is governor for an hour.....                 | 281, 421                   |
| Spraker's basin bridge company.....                              | 394                        |
| Spraker, Livingston.....   | 412, 436                   |
| Spraker, David, wins a foot-race.....                            | 412                        |
| Staats, Doctor.....  | 108                        |
| Stadt, Huys.....   | 18                         |
| Stafford, John, builds 4th Canajoharie bridge.....               | 383                        |
| Starkweather, Samuel.....  | 402                        |
| Stage driver, meets with an accident.....                        | 381                        |
| Starin, Myndert.....   | 353                        |
| State Committee, to purchase necessities.....                    | 543                        |
| Statues, to King George and Lord Chatham.....                    | 569                        |
| Stedman, contracts for a road to Queenston.....                  | 243                        |
| Steele's creek.....  | 90                         |
| Steere, Samuel, at a funeral.....                                | 409                        |
| Steller, Nicholas, on death of Capt. Frey.....                   | 100                        |
| Witnesses disaster of a Durham boat.....                         | 352                        |
| Sterling creek, or Rasceloth.....                                | 93                         |

|  | PAGE.         |
|--|---------------|
| Sterling iron works, where situated.....                             | 624           |
| Sternbergh, Lambert.....   | 128           |
| Sternbergh, Henry.....   | 128           |
| Stevenson, James, receiver of tax money.....                         | 245           |
| Stevens, Arent, patentee of Johnstown lands.....                     | 248           |
| Stevens, Captain.....  | 102           |
| Stevens, Leo.....  | 181           |
| Stevens, Peter, goes privateering.....                               | 591           |
| St. Patrick's Masonic Lodge at Johnstown.....                        | 274           |
| St. Johnsville, first church; bridge.....                            | 285, 395      |
| Stickney, Jonathan.....  | 390           |
| Stockbridge Indians.....   | 74, 77, 124   |
| Stoddard, Capt. Benjamin; messenger to Canada.....                   | 365, 366      |
| Stone's life of Brant; says of Sir W. Johnson's bible.....           | 207           |
| Stone, W. L. 2d, what he says in life of Johnson, of his dream.....  | 314           |
| His dimensions of royal grant.....                                   | 315           |
| Stone, Arabia Patent, where and by whom settled.....                 | 162, 163, 199 |
| Stoner, Maj. Nicholas.....   | 585           |
| Stony creek.....   | 95            |
| Stoves, the want of.....   | 174           |
| Struthers, Thomas.....   | 394           |
| Stuart, Rev. John,.....  | 840           |
| Does not sign the compact, and goes to Canada.....                   | 504           |
| Stuyvesant, Peter, Dutch Governor.....                               | 17, 19, 21    |
| Suffering of American soldiers.....                                  | 551           |
| Suits at law, in partition with seven partners.....                  | 146           |
| Sullivans expedition, leads to sale of lands in Western New York.... | 666           |
| Summer House Point and its cottage.....                              | 258           |
| Visited by myself and others.....                                    | 259           |
| Fortified.....   | 548           |
| Surprise and massacre at Devil's Hole.....                           | 243           |
| Susquehanna railroad.....  | 24            |
| Suspicious persons arrested.....                                     | 526           |
| Swartara creek, Penn.....  | 157           |
| Swart, judge, Peter.....   | 189           |
| Names a band of patriots.....  | 543           |
| Swartwout, a recruiting officer.....                                 | 661           |
| Tallmadge, Col. Benj, his military journal.....                      | 548, 550      |
| Tar making a failure; quantity made.....                             | 115, 118      |
| Taschemaker, Rev. Petrus, killed at Schenectada.....                 | 50            |
| Tavern-keepers, see inn-keepers.....                                 | 359           |
| Taylor, Rev. John, Little Falls scenery.....                         | 95            |
| Taylor, John, an Irish school master.....                            | 405           |
| Tax lists on pages.....  | 245, 246, 247 |
| Teamsters on Great Western Turnpike.....                             | 360           |
| Teamsters on Mohawk Turnpike.....                                    | 363           |

|  | PAGE.                 |
|--|-----------------------|
| Teller, William .....  | 21                    |
| Tenbroek, a bully, how whipped .....                                     | 429                   |
| Testimony of an eye witness to American feeling.....                     | 486, 487              |
| Teughtaghnarow or West Canada creek .....                                | 93                    |
| Thacher, Dr James, on tea drinking.....                                  | 453                   |
| Thayer, Horace, shoots at a broad-axe .....                              | 389                   |
| Thomas, Lieut. Gov. of Penn., shows that State benefitted by Germans     | 162                   |
| Thompson, Charles, his significant words; is Sec. of Congress....        | 444, 459              |
| Threshing of grain, ancient process .....                                | 162                   |
| Tienonderoga Castle, when removed.....                                   | 50, 93, 105, 199, 336 |
| Tiffany, Gideon, Oliver, George .....                                    | 22                    |
| Two latter teach an academic school in Albany .....                      | 23                    |
| Tiffany, George, settles in Schoharie Co., one of its two first Lawyers. | 22                    |
| Removed to Canada.....   | 22, 670               |
| Tiffany, Isaac hall, sketch of his life .....                            | 22                    |
| On signification of Canajoharie.....                                     | 92                    |
| At Devil's Hole .....  | 243                   |
| On death of Brant.....   | 316                   |
| Procures commissions for patriots .....                                  | 478                   |
| Tiffany, John I .....  | 26                    |
| Tingue, Simeon .....   | 403                   |
| Tithing men; church officers .....                                       | 290                   |
| Tobacco, best use of it.....   | 75                    |
| Tories, Peter Brown and Lewis Clement testified against .....            | 514                   |
| Defy the Whigs.....  | 518                   |
| Baxter and Gordon reported to Albany committee.....                      | 517                   |
| Townsend, Charles, advocates taxing, Americans.....                      | 443                   |
| Townsend, Peter, writes Franklin Townsend about making West              |                       |
| Point chain .....  | 623                   |
| Townsend, Robert, letter to Dr. Homes on the position taken by Rut-      |                       |
| tenber on West Point chain .....   | 645                   |
| Town clerks with district organizations .....                            | 309                   |
| Tracy, M. de, invades the Mohawk valley .....                            | 43                    |
| Tradition, a true one.....   | 208                   |
| Traditions, strange ones from Judge Brown .....                          | 541                   |
| Transportation in Central New York.....                                  | 348                   |
| Trial, interesting one at Johnstown; Burr and Emmet there .....          | 326                   |
| Trio Catelyn, first white woman in Albany.....                           | 16                    |
| Trowbridge, John, privateering .....                                     | 591                   |
| Truax, first white man murdered in Schoharie Co. ....                    | 142                   |
| Trumbull, Gov., of Connecticut, a patriot .....                          | 451                   |
| Trumbull, Henry.....   | 36                    |
| Trumbull, Col. John, the artist.....                                     | 475                   |
| Tells how Gen. Putnam saved Col. Small.....                              | 476                   |
| Also of death of Warren .....  | 476                   |
| Tryon, Gov. William.....   | 26                    |
| Visits Johnson Hall; reviews militia .....                               | 223                   |
| Writes Earl of Dartmouth about tea.....                                  | 460                   |



|  | PAGE.              |
|--|--------------------|
| His cruel acts widen the breach; on shipboard .....                            | 486, 484           |
| Tryon's Map of New York .....  | 94                 |
| Tryon County organized; by whom accomplished .....                             | 24, 317            |
| Name changed; names and bounds of its districts .....                          | 26, 317            |
| Divided into towns .....   | 319, 320, 321      |
| When and by whom erected; its centennial celebration .....                     | 321, 330           |
| Tryon county committee, first meeting and spirited resolutions .....           | 489                |
| Sends delegates to Provincial Congress .....                                   | 492                |
| Meeting of all the districts but one; send for ammunition .....                | 495                |
| Agree to stand by each other; send a letter to Guy Johnson .....               | 496, 498           |
| Try to keep the Indians neutral .....  | 507                |
| Ask advice of Provincial Congress .....  | 509                |
| Organizes four battallions of militia and name their officers .....            | 512                |
| Call on Gen. Schuyler for aid .....  | 512                |
| Impose a fine on delinquent members .....                                      | 519                |
| Converse with the Mohawks .....  | 521                |
| Its last recorded meeting in the journal saved, and its members<br>named ..... | 526                |
| Tucks, John Christopher, list master .....                                     | 109                |
| Tuechtanonda creek, at Port Jackson .....                                      | 93                 |
| Tulpehocken creek, Pennsylvania, Palatines settle on it .....                  | 156, 161           |
| Tunncliff, commissioner of highways in old Otsego district .....               | 319                |
| Turner, Michael, drowned .....   | 392                |
| Tuscaroras join the Five Nations .....   | 22                 |
| Van Alstine, Mrs. Jacob, her death .....                                       | 226                |
| Her child goes to Canada, comes back and lives to old age .....                | 226                |
| Van Alstine, Nicholas G., wins a foot race and a horse race .....              | 412                |
| Van Alstine, Goshen, county committee at his house .....                       | 501                |
| Sworn to secrecy .....   | 524                |
| Van Benschoten, Rev. W. B., on church records .....                            | 277                |
| Van Buren, Martin .....  | 24                 |
| Van Buren, Cornelius .....   | 336                |
| Van Buren, Rev. J. M. ....   | 423                |
| Van Corlaer, Arent, important settler of Schenectada ..                        | 19, 20, 21, 44, 45 |
| Van Dam, Mr. ....  | 108                |
| Van De Bogert, Cherick, wins a race after death .....                          | 408                |
| Van Derwarker, Abram .....   | 437                |
| Van Dyck, Betsey, one of them .....  | 425                |
| Van Horn, Rev. Abram, long a pastor in Caughnawaga .....                       | 279                |
| Gets a liberal marriage fee .....  | 280                |
| Van Horn, James, marries a daughter of Sir John Johnson .....                  | 265                |
| Van Horn, Abram A., relates a story .....                                      | 347                |
| Van Ingen, Henry Glen, falls into a flax-kiln .....                            | 433                |
| Van O'Linda, Rev. Douw .....   | 279                |
| Van O'Linda, Benjamin .....  | 391                |
| Van O'Lindee .....   | 21                 |
| Van Rensselaer, Killian K .....  | 23                 |

# *Index.*

709

|   | PAGE.             |
|---|-------------------|
| Van Schaick Cornelius, tithing-man.....   | 290               |
| Van Schaick, Anthony, prisoner in Canada.....   | 865               |
| Van Sickler, Rebecca, witnessed Sir Wm. Johnson's marriage to Mary<br>Brant .....   | 206               |
| Van Slyck, Mrs. Susannah .....  | 78, 132, 159, 190 |
| Van Slyck, Harmon .....   | 414               |
| Van Vechten, Maj., cats rattle-snakes .....   | 182               |
| Van Vechten, Anthony, testifies against sheriff White .....   | 513               |
| Also against Peter Brown.....   | 514               |
| Van Voast, John, marries Letitia Adams .....  | 253               |
| Van Voast, William Johnson.....   | 321               |
| Ver Plank's Island .....  | 388               |
| Vert kill.....  | 95                |
| Von St. George .....  | 90                |
| Vedder, Aaron, addresses Com. Perry in Low Dutch.....   | 425               |
| Vedder, Harman .....  | 21                |
| Vedder, John, testifies against Sheriff White.....  | 512               |
| Veeder, Mrs. Rebecca, a friend of Sir John Johnson's first love.....  | 266               |
| Remembers position of the first box stove put in old Dutch<br>Church of Albany.....   | 289               |
| Veeder, Lieut.-Col.....   | 577               |
| Vigilance committee of Schoharie.....   | 540               |
| Villages at East and West camp, named.....  | 110               |
| Virginia takes strong measures for freedom.....   | 451               |
| Visscher, Col. Frederick .....  | 577               |
| Volckersten, Simon.....   | 21                |
| Vogel, Frederick .....  | 350               |
| Voorhees, Henry P.....  | 402               |
| Vrooman, Hendrick Meese .....   | 130               |
| Vrooman's land, settlement of.....  | 130               |
| Vrooman, Adam, secures an Indian title for land, 130, 131, 132, 136, 141, 144   |                   |
| Vrooman, Peter, son of Adam, becomes a permanent settler.....   | 132               |
| Vrooman, Col. Peter, a descendant of this family, preserved some of<br>the early records.....   | 130               |
| His character and services in the Revolution.....   | 547               |
| Vrooman, Tunis, captain of exempts.....   | 534               |
| Wack, Rev. John, his faith; a canal celebration.....  | 387, 403          |
| Wagner, Lieut. Col. Peter, has much to do with Fort Paris .....   | 574               |
| Heads subscription to erect a church.....   | 181               |
| See notice of his early life .....  | 530               |
| Wagner, George, Sen., bridge celebration at his inn.....  | 387               |
| Wagner, George, Jr., also an innkeeper.....   | 361, 387          |
| Singing match at his house; place for horse racing.....   | 390, 411, 436     |
| Wagner, Chauncey, resides on the premises.....  | 389               |
| Wagner, Joseph, marries Catharine Abeel; entertains cornplanter, 370, 379   |                   |
| Furnishes dinner for canal celebration.....   | 403               |
| Wagner, Peter J., presides at centennial celebration of Palatine stone<br>church; attends trial of Solomon Southwick at Johnstown, 284, 326 |                   |

|   | PAGE.    |
|---|----------|
| Prominent in canal celebration.....   | 403, 404 |
| Leads a band to serenade Com. Perry at Schenectada.....                       | 426      |
| Wagner, William, finds a hole in his broad-axe.....                           | 389      |
| Wagner, Webster, of palace car memory, erects a hotel at Canajoharie, .....   | 380      |
| Wagons, large ones used for transportation; an account of them. ....          | 89, 356  |
| Description of .....  | 359      |
| Waldruff, Martin .....  | 263      |
| Wallace, William, testifies against sheriff White.....                        | 573      |
| Wall, first school teacher in Johnstown.....                                  | 255      |
| Wallpole.....   | 167      |
| Walrath, falls from a bridge.....   | 384      |
| Walrath, John, has a ferry and blacksmith shop.....                           | 390      |
| Walrath, Tom and Gin, slaves of John Walrath, attend his ferry.....           | 391      |
| Tom loses his wig.....  | 391      |
| Walrath, John A., owns the John Warner store; store illuminated, .....        | 401, 405 |
| Walsh, John S.....  | 311      |
| Walton, Capt. Jonathan .....  | 424      |
| Ward Joseph, certifies to skill of Capt Machin.....                           | 599      |
| Warner John, a pioneer merchant of Fort Plain .....                           | 402      |
| His store illuminated.....  | 404      |
| Washburn, Philip, bridge builder.....   | 386      |
| Washington, Gen. George.....  | 10       |
| First notice of .....   | 217      |
| Defeats the French at Great Meadows .....                                     | 218      |
| Made commander-in-chief.....  | 473      |
| His first countersign at Boston.....  | 477      |
| An attempt to seize.....  | 548      |
| Retreats from Long Island .....   | 548      |
| His success at Trenton and Princeton .....                                    | 551      |
| His proverbial caution .....  | 551      |
| Attempt to poison him.....  | 589      |
| When at West Point.....   | 622      |
| His funeral, how observed .....   | 277      |
| Washington and Cornplanter.....   | 374, 377 |
| Ward, Gen., invests Boston .....  | 472      |
| Warree, a Schoharie squaw.....  | 541      |
| Warner, Col. Seth, Ticonderoga.....   | 472      |
| Warner, George, preserves a tradition.....                                    | 148      |
| Warrior tree.....   | 83       |
| Wampum described .....  | 30       |
| Warner, Nicholas .....  | 157      |
| Warren, Admiral, secures lands in Florida .....                               | 202      |
| Warren, Dr. Joseph, delivers addresses on Boston massacre .....               | 485, 452 |
| Watts, John, father of Sir John Johnson's wife .....                          | 267      |
| Wasontha kill.....  | 93       |
| Waterbury's mills .....   | 172      |
| Watson, Rev. Wm. H., what his father said about Fort Montgomery<br>chain..... | 619      |

|   | PAGE.                             |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| Watching with the dead, a custom.....   | 437                               |
| Waters of Lake Erie and the Atlantic ocean mingle .....                                 | 401                               |
| Weatherby house.....  | 351, 437                          |
| Weaver, Henry, introduces bolting cloths .....  | 172                               |
| Webb, Gen. lacks true courage.....  | 231                               |
| Webster, Noah .....   | 20                                |
| Webster, Dr. Joshua ....  | 364, 390, 403, 405, 432, 433      |
| Webster, Rugene.....  | 404                               |
| Webster, Wm. P. ....  | 11                                |
| Weiser, John Conrad.....  | 109, 125, 130, 132, 133, 134, 136 |
| Goes to England.....  | 152, 153, 154, 155                |
| Goes to Pennsylvania; becomes an influential man.....                                   | 156, 158                          |
| Weiser, Conrad Jr., wins a foot race.....   | 147                               |
| Distinguished as an interpreter.....  | 158, 220                          |
| Weiser's dorf.....  | 125, 132, 148, 149, 172           |
| Wells, John .....   | 334                               |
| Wells, Eleazer, at Johnson Hall .....   | 240                               |
| Has an early visitor; looking for a butternut tree .....                                | 250, 251-257                      |
| Wemp, John B .....  | 21                                |
| Wemp, Myndert, a blacksmith.....  | 368                               |
| Wendell, Oliver, lifts a veil for Capt. Machin.....                                     | 662                               |
| Wert, Rev. Nicholas .....   | 182                               |
| West Camp .....   | 106, 170                          |
| Western New York, passing its chrysalis state.....                                      | 200                               |
| Wetmore, Geo. P .....   | 11                                |
| Wharton, Joseph, employs Capt. Machin to look after his lands about<br>Otsego lake..... | 663                               |
| The value of land around Cooperstown .....  | 665                               |
| What's in a name .....  | 35                                |
| Wheat—first sown in Schoharie .....   | 128                               |
| Wheeler, J., sells rum for the funeral of Col. Peter Wagner .....                       | 387                               |
| White settlers in central New York.....   | 68, 95                            |
| Settlements in and near the Mohawk valley.....  | 189                               |
| Whiting, Henry, tests Indian wit.....   | 422                               |
| White, Joseph, in a foot-race.....  | 412                               |
| White, Alexander, sheriff of Tryon county, in bad oder .....                            | 510                               |
| Testimony against him; abusive at William Seeber's.....                                 | 512, 513                          |
| His flight; his arrest.....   | 514, 528                          |
| His wife obtains his parol; is banished the country .....                               | 529                               |
| Wick, Harvey .....  | 573                               |
| Wilcox, Elisha.....   | 389                               |
| Wilkes, John, for reconciliation .....  | 483                               |
| Williams, Harvey E.....   | 431                               |
| Williams, Capt. Eben; relates an incident at Yorktown.....                              | 552, 584                          |
| About cutting chain.....  | 619                               |
| Assisted in handling boom and chain at West Point.....                                  | 643                               |
| Williamson, James, wants a gun flint; officers he served under....                      | 549, 577                          |
| Takes prisoners; Is at Monmouth; finds a new foe .....                                  | 578, 579                          |

|   | PAGE.              |
|---|--------------------|
| Wants a larger blanket; sees Andre hung.....                          | 580                |
| Carries dispatches to Albany; his companions on one occasion...       | 581                |
| His danger at Oriskany; escapes from Brant; his marriage....          | 582, 583           |
| His ruse at Yorktown; his death and burial.....                       | 585                |
| Willet, Col. Marinus, at Fort Plain.....                              | 573                |
| Wilder hook, Indian's corner; castle there .....                      | 86, 341            |
| Wild cat, encounter with.....   | 179                |
| Will of Sir Wm. Johnson, with notes.....                              | 295-309            |
| William or Tegawirunta .....  | 298                |
| Winchell, Rev.....  | 400                |
| Windecker, Hartman; settles in the Mohawk Valley....                  | 109, 125, 158, 162 |
| Wolfe, Gen.; success in death .....                                   | 191, 241, 242, 484 |
| Woman, a plucky one .....   | 423                |
| Woodbridge, Dea. Timothy .....  | 81                 |
| Wood, James, crosses the Hudson on the boom.....                      | 635                |
| Woodward, Lieut. Peter, at Sterling Iron Works .....                  | 623                |
| Writes to Capt. Machin to get Ockerman out of jail.....               | 662                |
| Women as patentees .....  | 166                |
| Wood creek, mention of.....   | 90                 |
| Wormuth, Lieut. Matthew, his death .....                              | 98, 194, 391       |
| Wormuth, Peter.....   | 98, 99             |
| Wrexall, Capt. Peter, secretary to Sir Wm. Johnson .....              | 220                |
| Wulfin, Godfrey .....   | 115                |
| Wynkoop, a justice.....   | 344                |
| Yahnundahsis crossing at the old ford, now Utica.....                 | 239                |
| Yates, Christopher P., his marriage; as committee man.....            | 97, 490            |
| Delegate to Prov. Congress; chairman of county committee..            | 492, 495           |
| Appointed a captain of a company he had enlisted .....                | 508                |
| In Gen. Schuyler's army .....   | 535                |
| Yates, Henry Frey, on the wives of Sir Wm. Johnson.....               | 204, 205, 206      |
| About Sir William's dream.....  | 313                |
| Yates, Mrs. Evert, tells anecdotes of Sir Wm. Johnson .....           | 261                |
| Yates, Evert .....  | 393                |
| Yates, Fonda .....  | 393                |
| Yates, Joseph N.....  | 409                |
| Yates, Robert, notice of .....  | 563                |
| Yost, Jacob, saw a butternut tree at Johnson Hall.....                | 251, 263           |
| Yost, George .....  | 334                |
| Younglove, Dr. Moses .....  | 9                  |
| Young, Peter, his family and home .....                               | 432                |
| Young, Miss Polly, her sad fate .....                                 | 432                |
| Young, Joseph, speaks of hardship of troops, and alludes to his hobby |                    |
| Zantzer kill .....  | 93                 |
| Zeh, Magdalena, as a captain; gets into jail .....                    | 149, 151           |
| Zielie, Col., after a panther.....                                    | 179                |
| Zielley, David I., rebuilds Canajoharie bridge .....                  | 383                |
| Zimmerman, William.....   | 575                |
| Zimmerman's creek.....  | 94                 |

## NOTE TO THE READER.

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The second volume of this work, soon to be issued, will commence with the year 1777, when serious difficulties began on our frontier. It will contain the first settlement of many localities, the citizens of which were slain or driven from their homes; and will embrace not only the Border-warfare of the State, but will give a bird's-eye view of the principal events of the entire war. Some things looked for in the first will necessarily fall into the second volume, and the two completed will be found to contain much matter of interest, which the reader will seek in vain to find elsewhere.

J. R. S.

NOVEMBER, 1882.







