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OS. SA. HIN. TA.

( CAPTAIN FROST )

*Head Chief of the Iroquois.*

1845

*Edward Weston Page*

ONONDAGA;

OR

REMINISCENCES

OF

EARLIER AND LATER TIMES;

BEING A SERIES OF HISTORICAL SKETCHES RELATIVE TO ONONDAGA; WITH  
NOTES ON THE SEVERAL TOWNS IN THE COUNTY,

AND

OSWEGO.

---

By JOSHUA V. H. CLARK, A. M.

CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

SYRACUSE:

STODDARD AND BABCOCK.

.....

1849.

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## P R E F A C E .

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THE collection of materials for these volumes, was first suggested to the author, by the members of Manlius Lyceum, before whom, in the winter of 1841-42, he was solicited to deliver a Lecture upon the Early History and Settlement of the town of Manlius and vicinity—the task was reluctantly accepted.

In entering upon a subject, at first thought to be unfruitful in incident and barren of interest, materials multiplied and facts accumulated to such an extent, that instead of a single Lecture, two was the result.

The field of investigation already entered, was found to be unexplored, and the author was borne on involuntarily, if not irresistably, to glean fresh materials from sources the most prolific.

In viewing the ancient fortifications, burying grounds and relics, so numerous in this county, and becoming satisfied that the history of these works was imperfectly understood, and that the materials for bringing it to light, were widely scattered—although unqualified, in many respects, to do justice to so important a subject, nevertheless, the author felt it a duty to proceed.

The success which has attended the undertaking, in the collection of a mass of materials, has greatly exceeded anticipation.

The matter for this work, has been digested and arranged amidst the cares and perplexities, toils and trials, incident to the life of a laboring man. It has been only in leisure moments, snatched at intervals when the plow was at rest, and the sythe and sickle were suspended, that the materials have been gathered and put in order for the press.

Since the time these labors first commenced, the Libraries of Cambridge University, Mass.; Brown University and Athenæum, of Provi-

dence, R. I.; and the New-York Historical Society, New-York Society Libraries of New-York and the State Library at Albany, have been visited; to each individual Librarian of which, the most grateful acknowledgements are due, for the gentlemanly courtesy and kindness, afforded to the author in his researches.

To the Hon. John Carter Brown, of Providence, R. I., the most unfeigned thanks are tendered, for his partial favor, in placing at the author's disposal, the "JESUIT RELATIONS," relative to our county's history. Mr. Brown has a rare collection of these works, published about two hundred years ago, at Paris, in the French language.

These Relations are to a considerable extent, our history, and as such, their introduction is pardonable—yea, necessary to its perfection.

In the progress of this undertaking, the author has consulted, and in some instances, (for which he hopes to be pardoned,) has drawn largely from the following works, viz:—Charlevoix' *Historie de Nouvelle France*; Charlevoix' letters to the Duchess Delesdiguieres; Francis Creuxius' *Historæ Novæ Franciæ*; Father Henepin's *Travels in North America*; *Jesuit Relations from 1642 to 1702*; Loskiel's, La Hontan's and Heekewelder's *Indian Histories*; Colden's *Five Nations*; Smith's *History of New-York*; Brodhead's *London Documents*; Marshall's *Life of Washington*; Smollett's *History of England*; Stone's *Life of Brant*; Schoolcraft's *Notes*; Kip's *Jesuits*; *Natural History of New-York*; *Canal Documents*; *Balloting Book*, &c.

To numerous individuals, who to a greater or less extent have aided in this undertaking, the author is under peculiar obligations, for hints, suggestions and the furnishing of materials. Among these, he takes pleasure in naming Professor William Gammell, of Brown University; Jacob B. Moore, Esq., Librarian of the New-York Historical Society; Hon. Archibald Campbell, Deputy Secretary of State; Mr. Van Rensselaer, Assistant Surveyor General; Alfred B. Street Esq., State Librarian; and E. B. O'Callaghan, M. D., Albany.

To the Rev. Messrs. Saltern Givens, Adam Elliott and Abraham Nelles, Missionaries among the Mohawks, Onondagas and Oneidas, in Canada West, respecting their interesting missions and also to the

Rev. Eleazer Williams, long time a Missionary among the Onondagas and Oneidas, at Oneida and Green Bay, and to the Rev. Ezekiel G. Gear, Chaplain U. S. A., Fort Snelling, the most sincere thanks are due for valuable communications.

Also to the late Rev. John C. Rudd, D. D., of Utica; Rev. Henry Gregory, D. D., of Syracuse; Rev. John L. Gay, of Manlius, and Rev. Geo. E. Delevan, of La Fayette. Also, to Harvey Baldwin, John Wilkinson, Lewis H. Redfield, Thomas Spencer, Amos P. Granger, Phares Gould, E. W. Leavenworth and Rufus Stanton, Esqrs., of Syracuse. Also, to the Clerk of Cayuga County, and to V. W. Smith, Esq., Clerk, and L. J. Gillet, Deputy Clerk of Onondaga County; Hon. Squire M. Brown, of Elbridge; Hon. George Geddes, Hon. David Muro and D. C. Le Roy, Esq., of Camillus; Messrs. Baldwin and Bigelow, of Lysander; Thomas Wheeler, Esq., of Salina; Simeon Clark, of Otisco; Cha's O. Ronndey, of Spafford; Warren Hecox, Esq., of Skaneateles; Rev. Levi S. Parsons, of Marcellus; H. C. Van Schaack, Esq., of Manlius; Jeremiah Gould and Isaac Keeler, Esqrs., of La Fayette; Hon. Daniel Moseley and Oliver R. Strong, Esq., of Onondaga; Asa Eastwood and John Stevens, Esqrs., of Cicero. Also, to Edwin W. Clarke, B. B. Burt and Matthew McNair, Esqrs, of Oswego, and A. G. Hull and Peter Schenck, Esqrs., of Fulton, the author is under special obligations for important suggestions and materials.

The names of Mrs. O'Blennis, of Salina, and Mrs. Wood, of Onondaga Hollow, should not be omitted, both of whom have resided in the county from its earliest settlement, and whose vigorous minds are stored with an almost unlimited stock of valuable information.

Last, are acknowledged the MSS. and papers furnished by the Rev. J. W. Adams, D. D., who for several years, had been engaged upon a similar work. These had been collected by the Rev. Dr., with a view of ultimate publication, but his parochial duties, and other uncontrollable circumstances interposed, and the idea was abandoned. So far as available, these papers have been drawn from.

In addition to the acknowledgements already made, there are hundreds of individuals throughout the county, who have been scarcely

less serviceable in furnishing materials for this work, and should all their names receive a place, we should be bound to give a complete muster roll of the county. To these who have been named, and to all those who have by word or communication, in anywise assisted the author in his researches, he returns his heartfelt acknowledgements; for without such assistance, he feels assured he would have made but little progress.

With these preliminary remarks and explanations, the following pages are submitted to the public.

JULY, 1849.

THE AUTHOR.

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## INTRODUCTION.

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PERHAPS there is no subject, which has been in all ages, so much a labyrinth of perplexity and philosophical speculation, as the continual changes that are going on in respect to different nations and races of men, conquering and supplanting those of other nations and other climes. Almost from the creation of man, the world has exhibited these changes; and none, perhaps, in the whole catalogue, would take higher rank, or have been more fruitful of consequences than the changes wrought on the continent of North America. Three hundred and sixty years ago, America had no place or name among the nations of the civilized world. Three hundred and sixty years ago, the voice of the white man had not been heard in this land. Since then, he has gradually extended his dominion over the whole of our wide-spread country.

Two hundred years ago, the voice of the "*Black Robes*" was first heard in the wilds of Onondaga: before them was borne the bough of peace; their only ornaments were the cowl and cassoek—their only arms, the cross and erosier. Rude chapels of barks and brushwood arose at their desire, and the deep-toned bell, called forth their untutored proselytes, to vespers, mass and matins, and for the first time the red man utters in chaunts and songs, and hymns of praise, the glories of the Redeemer.

A century ago, the hills which surround us were shaded with lofty trees; bogs and swamps, were more extensive than now; the beaver and the flood, made the only dams that impeded the streams; the trout, pickerel, and salmon, glided through them unmolested; the hawk and eagle towered in their pride of height, far above the loftiest crags; and the partridge and turkey whirred low among the trees. The fox

and wild deer roamed in perfect freedom through the dark forest, and the panther, the wolf and bear, prowled about our hills, unheeded and unharmed. The kingly savage, pure and untainted as the Great Spirit formed him, swayed his mild sceptre in peace.

A change comes over this scene; the red man is proscribed, banished, hunted as it were from the home of his fathers, and is doomed to roam, spirit broken and disconsolate, in a strange land, beyond the influences of civilization, and his degraded offspring creep here and there, upon the soil, where once their proud ancestors stalked abroad in majesty sublime. His hunting grounds, once his own domain, how changed! The white man settles on them; farms become cultivated; the hum of business is heard; settlements soon become the depots of produce; these rapidly increase to cities. The wilderness is changed to busy and neat villages, redolent with wealth and comfort, adorned with temples for Christian worship, and made cheerful by the halls of science. Scarce sixty years have rolled around, since the very ground, beneath and about us, was one wide, unbroken wilderness. Mark the contrast now,—all around we see, hill and valley, checkered with glade and woodland, beautified with comfortable dwellings, rejoicing in all the blessings civilization can bestow.

There is probably no portion of the United States whose Indigenal annals are of so much importance as those of Onondaga, and the region contiguous; and strange as it may appear, the history of this important country, which of all others is the most interesting, will only attract the attention it demands, in the remote periods of future ages. The records of memory are fast fading away. The remnant of a once mighty nation is rapidly disappearing. Indian tradition, with all its vivacity and interest, is fearfully becoming extinct. A few short years and nothing new can possibly be gleaned.

It is certain that the French traders and Jesuit priests, visited Onondaga as early as 1643, and continued their labors among the natives for a period of near one hundred years, as their "RELATIONS" in the succeeding pages will show.

The Onondagas are by them described as a powerful nation, of the confederacy of the Iroquois, who held the ascendancy over all the North American tribes, and with their colleagues could furnish over three thousand warriors for the field. The Dutch, through their traders at New-Amsterdam and Fort-Orange, secured a profitable traffic with the natives—pushed boldly into their country, and by acts of moderation and kindness, won their confidence and esteem.

A new era succeeds—the dynasty of the Dutch is superseded by the English; the French are bereft of their titles and claims to any portion of the then United States and Canada, and the arms of Britain are everywhere triumphant. After the war of the American Revolution, the Onondagas, with the other Indian Nations, by the treaty of Fort Stanwix, in 1788, become subject to the jurisdiction of New-York. Directly after this commences the settlement of Onondaga County.

We shall see that our beautiful fields were first purchased, by the services, and sufferings, and blood of our fathers, the soldiers of the Revolution, very few of whom now linger among us. To those who survive, and to the memory of those who are departed, we should never be ungrateful.

In our prosperity let us never forget the energy, generosity and privations of that hardy, industrious race of pioneers, to whose enterprise and perseverance, we are mainly indebted for the bountiful blessings we so richly enjoy.

Where we find one of these solitary sojourners, should we not make smooth his path, and cherish his memory? For only here and there, lingers one and another, like an aged oak, to inform us where, and when, the forest first gave way, and where, was the red man's lonely path.







ONONDAGA COUNTY & ADJACENT TERRITORY  
 DRAWN TO ACCURACY  
 CLARK'S HISTORY OF ONONDAGA CO.  
 Published by Hoadlands, Babcock Syracuse 1858

# ONONDAGA.

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## CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN OF THE TERM INDIAN—NAMES OF DIFFERENT TRIBES ONCE INHABITING NEW-YORK—FIVE NATIONS—ORIGIN OF THE CONFEDERACY—MOHAWKS—ONEIDAS—ONONDAGAS—CAYUGAS—SENECAS—GENERAL REMARKS.

In commencing our reminiscences of Onondaga, we are met in the outset by a people who from time immemorial have occupied our soil—a nation who have hitherto held a conspicuous place and an important position among the aboriginal inhabitants of North America. Finding them so, it is but just to give them a passing notice.

At the time the scheme of discovery was most strongly agitated and urged by Columbus, it was supposed that by sailing westward from Europe he would arrive at the eastern coast of India. And it was confidently believed even at the period of the discovery of the islands and continent of America, that he had actually discovered a western passage to the continent of India. Many of the navigators who followed Columbus, were of the same erroneous opinion. Hence it was, that the people of America, found here by Europeans, were at first improperly called Indians. The truth was not clearly ascertained, until the name had been so long in use that it could not well be changed. By Americans, the term is seldom used except as applying to the aborigines of the country. But among Europeans, in the correspondence between persons of different countries, it oftentimes produces confusion and inconvenience.

When the first Europeans visited this continent, they were greatly surprised to find a race of beings so entirely different from themselves, in complexion, dress, language, manners, and mode of living. Savage, indeed, in many respects, they ap-

peared to be—yet the kindest hospitality, from the purest motives, was always most readily extended to their foreign guests. And perhaps would forever have remained unbroken the golden cord of friendship, had the red man been the first to try his strength upon it. “*Welcome, Englishmen; welcome, Englishmen,*” are words intimately associated with early American history. These were the first accents our Pilgrim Fathers heard on the American strand, and ever have the same grateful sounds greeted the ears of the whites, upon their first interview with the rude sons of the forest. Had the disposition of the aborigines been any other than friendly, the feeble colonies first planted on American soil would have been speedily annihilated.

At the time of the settlement of New-York by the Dutch, in 1610, there were in their immediate vicinity, numerous tribes of Indians denominated from their weakness and inferiority “*the Bushes,*” by their more powerful neighbors the Five Nations. As many as thirteen different tribes, all of whom are now extinct, are supposed to have had their allotted territories on Long Island, and exercised exclusive jurisdiction and control over their several portions of domain. They were known by the name of Canarsees, Rockaways, Merrieks, Massapeguas, Mantineeocks, Nassaquakes, Setaukets, Corchaugs, Manhassets, Secatogues, Patelogues, Shineeocks and Montauks. In 1786, the remnants of the two last named tribes took up their abode among the Oneidas, whither they had been invited. The Manhattoes occupied the Island of New-York. The Nyacks inhabited in the vicinity of the Narrows below New-York, and about Westchester county. The Moheakenunks inhabited a large portion of country, from the Nyacks up the Hudson near to Albany. The Seaghtakooks, occupied a large tract of country north of Albany; one of their principal villages was near where the city of Troy now stands. Other tribes of obscure origin and inferior note, undoubtedly occupied other localities within the state of New-York, some of which will be noted in their proper place. Many of these Indian tribes, during the years immediately sue-

ceeding the arrival of the first colonists among them, evinced a hostile disposition towards their new neighbors, and were continual sources of alarm to the white inhabitants; nevertheless, they were all tributary, and otherwise subject to the powerful confederacy of the "Five Nations."

These distinguished nations, firmly bound and concentrated in one, held the ascendancy over all the North American tribes. Their territory proper extended from Hudson's river on the east, to the Niagara on the west; from lake Ontario on the north, to the Alleghanies on the south. At one time their actual domain extended from the Sorel, south by the great lakes to the Mississippi west, thence east to the Santee, and coastwise back to the Hudson. They occupied a wide-spread country, comprising a greater body of more fertile land, combined with a temperate and healthy climate, greater facilities for water communication, not only within their own territory, but extending from it in all directions, with more extensive hunting grounds and fisheries, than any other tract of the same extent in the world. They were called by the French "*Iroquois*," by the English "*The Confederates*," or "*Five Nations*," by the Dutch "*Maquas*," and by themselves "*Min-goes*," meaning by all, "*United People*." The English retained the name *Maquas* for the Mohawks, for a long time after the Dutch had relinquished the country. The name *Iroquois*, according to Charlevoix, is purely French,\* and is derived from "*Hiro*," signifying I have said it—answering to the Latin *dixit*—according to the words most frequently made

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\* "Le nom d'Iroquois est purement François, et a été formé du terme *Hiro*, ou *Hero*, qui signifie, j'ai dit: et par quel ces sauvages finissent tous leurs discours, comme les Latins faisoient autrefois par leur *Dixi*; et de *Koué*, qui est un cri, tantôt de tristesse, lorsqu'on le prononce en traînant, et tantôt de joye, quand on le prononce plus court. Leur nom propre est *Agomonsionni*, qui veut dire Faiseurs de Cabannes; parce qu'ils les bâtissent beaucoup plus solides, que la plupart des autres sauvages."—Charlevoix, I. 270—1.

"Ces barbares ne sont qu'une seule nation, et qu'un seul intérêt public. On pourroit les nommer pour la distribution du terrain, les Suisses de ce continent. Les Iroquois sont partager en cinq cantons, sçavoir les Tsonontouïans, les Goyogans, les Onnotagues, les Onoyouts et les Agniés."—Lahontan, I. 35.

use of at the close of all Indian speeches, and "*Koue*," a term denoting sadness when spoken slowly, and joy when spoken rapidly.

The term Aquinuschioni, according to the same author, is translated "*Faiseurs de Cabannes*," or Makers of Cabins or Wigwams, which they supposed they themselves built stronger than any other people. Another name by which they always boastfully termed themselves, was Ongwe Honwe, signifying a people surpassing all others. As the term Aquinuschioni is usually accepted, it means the people of the *long cabin or long house*, but when used in a national sense it means a *United People*. The limits of this imaginary house, was of the same area as their territory proper, and may be considered the broadest, longest and highest cabin as yet erected by human hands.

At what period or for what purpose this league was originally formed, is a matter wholly speculative, as the records of history and Indian tradition are alike uncertain, and throw but feeble light upon the subject. It is supposed, however, that anciently, they were separate and independent nations; and probably warred with an equal relish upon each other as upon their neighbors, and perhaps finally united themselves for purposes of greater strength and security, thereby enlarging their power and importance at home, enabling them to prosecute more vigorously their conquests abroad. Common danger or a desire for conquest were the motives, rather than a far-seeing policy, which must have actuated these people to form a league of consolidation.

By some authors the time of the formation of the great league of confederation, was about the life of one man before the Dutch landed at New-York. By others, about an hundred years before that period. Webster, the Onondaga interpreter, and good authority, states it at about two generations before the white people came to trade with the Indians. But from the permanency of their institutions, the peculiar structure of their government, the intricacy of their civil affairs, the stability of their religious beliefs and the uniformity of

their pagan ceremonies, differing from other Indian nations in important particulars, we are inclined to the opinion that their federative existence must have had a much longer duration. And from the following tradition, we are inclined to the opinion, that the period is unknown, and the time lost, in the clouded uncertainties of the past.

Hundreds of years ago, Ta-oun-ya-wat-ha, the Deity who presides over fisheries and streams, came down from his dwelling place in the clouds to visit the inhabitants of the earth. He had been deputed by the Great and Good Spirit Ha-wah-ne-u, to visit the streams and clear the channels from all obstructions, to seek out the good things of the country through which he intended to pass, that they might be more generally disseminated among all the good people of the earth, especially to point out to them the most excellent fishing grounds, and to bestow upon them other acceptable gifts. About this time two young men of the Onondaga Nation were listlessly gazing over the calm blue waters of the "Lake of a Thousand Isles." During their reverie, they espied, as they thought, far in the distance, a single white speck, beautifully dancing over the bright blue waters—and while they watched the object with the most intense anxiety, it seemed to increase in magnitude, and moved as if approaching the place where they were concealed, most anxiously awaiting the event of the visitation of so singular an object, for at this time no canoes had ever made their appearance in the direction from whence this was approaching. As the object neared the shore, it proved in semblance to be a venerable looking man, calmly seated in a canoe of pure white, very curiously constructed, and much more ingeniously wrought than those in use among the tribes of the country. Like a cygnet upon the wide blue sea, so sat the canoe of Ta-oun-ya-wat-ha upon the "Lake of a Thousand Isles." As the frail branch drifts towards the rushing cataract, so coursed the *white canoe* over the rippling waters, propelled by the strong arm of the god of the river. Deep thought sat upon the brow of the grey-haired mariner; penetration marked his eye, and deep, dark mystery pervaded his

countenance. With a single oar he silently paddled his light-trimmed bark along the shore, as if seeking a commodious haven for rest. He soon turned the prow of his fragile vessel into the estuary of the "*double river*," and made fast to the western shore. He majestically ascended the steep bank, nor stopped till he had gained the loftiest summit of the western hill. Then silently gazing around as if to examine the country, he became enchanted with the view; when, drawing his stately form to its utmost height, he exclaimed in accents of the wildest enthusiasm, Osh-wah-kee!! Osh-wah-kee!!\*

During the observations of the spirit-man, (for so he was afterwards called,) the two men who had lain concealed, cautiously watching all his movements, discovered themselves. Ta-oun-ya-wat-ha very civilly approached them, and after the greetings usual at the first meeting of strangers, very gravely made inquiries of them respecting their country and its advantages, of their fisheries and hunting grounds, and of the impediments in the way of the prosperity of the nations round about. To all of which the hunters, (for so they were,) could give no very favorable answers, but briefly stated to him the disadvantages they had ever been doomed to labor under, and the sufferings they had borne in consequence.

A degree of familiarity and mutual confidence had by this time become awakened in the bosoms of the parties, and the greatest freedom of conversation proceeded without restraint. The hunters provided for their venerable guest a repast of roast venison, who received it in thankfulness; they smoked the calumet together and were refreshed.

Ta-oun-ya-wat-ha disclosed to the hunters the spirituality of his character and the object of his mission, after which, he invited them to proceed with him up the river, as he had

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\* It is known, perhaps, to comparatively few, that Lake Ontario and the outlet of Oswego river was anciently, and is now known to most Indian nations, especially the remnant of the Five Nations, as the Osh-wah-kee, which being interpreted literally, signifies from the circumstance here related—"I see everywhere and see nothing." From this our English name for the river Oswego is derived.

important business to transact, and should need their services. After a moment's consultation together, the hunters consented to accompany him, and forthwith joyfully attended him to his canoc.

Of the events which immediately succeeded, we have not now time or disposition to speak, only that many of them were truly marvellous, and worthy a place only in the pages of Indian Mythology.

From this, Ta-oun-ya-wat-ha ascended all the lesser lakes and explored their shores, placing all things in proper order, for the comfort and sustenance of all good men. He had taught the people of the various tribes the art of raising corn and beans, which had not before been cultivated among them. He also encouraged them to a more faithful observance of the laws of the Great and Good Spirit. He had made the fishing grounds free, and opened to all the uninterrupted pursuit of game. He had distributed liberally among mankind the fruits of the earth, and had removed all obstructions from the navigable streams.

Pleased with the success of his undertakings, the spirit-man now resolved to lay aside his divine character, and in after years to make his abode among the children of men. He accordingly selected for his residence a beautiful spot on the shore of the Cross Lake, (Te-ungk-too, as called by the Natives). After awhile, he totally relinquished his divine title of Ta-oun-ya-wat-ha, and in all respects assumed the character and habits of a man. Nevertheless, he was always looked up to as an extraordinary individual, as one possessing transcendent powers of mind and consummate wisdom. The name Hi-a-wat-ha, (signifying very wise man) was spontaneously awarded him, by the whole mass of people who now resorted to him from all quarters for advice and instruction. The companions of the spirit-man, at a subsequent council, were rewarded by a seat in the councils of their countrymen, and became eminently distinguished for their prowess in war and dignified bearing in the council room.

After a quiet residence of a few years at his new location,

the country became greatly alarmed, by the sudden approach of a ferocious band of warriors, from north of the great lakes. As they advanced, indiscriminate slaughter was made, of men, women and children. Many had been slain and ultimate destruction seemed to be the consequence, either of bold resistance, or of a quiet relinquishment of absolute right.

During this signal agitation of the public mind, people from all quarters thronged the dwelling place of Hi-a-wat-ha, for advice in this trying emergency. After a deep and thoughtful contemplation of the momentous subject, he informed the principal chiefs that his opinion was, to call a grand council of all the tribes that could be gathered from the east and from the west, that the advice of all might be received; "for" said he "our safety is in good counsel, and speedy, energetic action." Accordingly, runners were dispatched in all directions, notifying the head men, of a grand council to be held on the banks of the lake Oh-nen-ta-ha.

This council is supposed to have been held on the high ground where the village of Liverpool now stands. In due time the chiefs and warriors from far and near were assembled, with great numbers of men, women and children, to hold this important council, and to devise means for the general safety. All the principal men had arrived, except the venerable Hi-a-wat-ha.

The council-fire had been kindled three days, and he had not yet arrived. Messengers were dispatched, who found him in a most melancholy state of mind. He told them that evil lay in his path; that he had a fearful foreboding of ill-fortune, and that he had concluded not to attend the great council at Oh-nen-ta-ha. But, said the messengers, we have delayed the deliberations of the grand council on account of your absence, and the chiefs have resolved not to proceed to business, until your arrival.

The White Canoe had always been held as a sacred treasure, and next to the wise man himself, was regarded with awe and reverence. It had been deposited in a lodge, erected especially for its security, to which none but the most worthy and noted

of the chieftains could have access. Hither on this occasion Hi-a-wat-ha repaired, and in the most devout and humiliating manner, poured out his soul in silence to the Great Spirit. After a protracted absence, he returned with a countenance beaming with confidence and hope. Being over persuaded by his friends, he reluctantly yielded to their earnest solicitations. The White Canoe was carefully removed from its sacred resting place, and reverently launched upon the bosom of the river. The wise man, once again took his accustomed seat, and bade his darling and only daughter (a girl of some twelve years of age) to accompany him. She unhesitatingly obeyed, took her place beside her venerable parent in the devoted vessel, and directly, they made all possible speed to the grand council ground.

On the approach of the aged and venerable Hi-a-wat-ha, a general shout of joy resounded throughout the assembled host, and every demonstration of respect, was paid to this illustrious sage and counsellor. As he landed and was passing up the steep bank towards the council ground, a loud sound was heard, like a rushing and mighty wind. All eyes were instantly turned upwards, and a dark spot was discovered rapidly descending from on high among the clouds. It grew larger and larger as it neared the earth, and was descending with fearful velocity into their very midst. Terror and alarm seized every breast, and every individual seemed anxious only for his own safety. The utmost confusion prevailed throughout the assembled multitude, and all but the venerable Hi-a-wat-ha, sought safety by flight. He gravely uncovered his silvered head, and besought his daughter, to await the approaching danger with becoming resignation; at the same time reminding her of the great folly and impropriety of attempting to obstruct or prevent the designs or wishes of the Great Spirit. "If," said he, "He has determined our destruction, we shall not escape by removal, nor evade his decrees." She modestly acquiesced in her kind parent's suggestions and advice, and with the most patient submission waited the coming event. All this was but the work of an instant;

for no sooner had the resolution of the wise man become fixed and his last words uttered, than an immense bird, with a long and pointed beak, with wide extended wings, came down with a mighty swoop, and crushed the beautiful girl to the earth. With such force did the monster fall, and so great was the commotion of the air, that when it struck the ground, the whole assembly were forced violently back several rods. Hi-a-wat-ha alone remained unmoved and silently witnessed the melancholy catastrophe of his child's dissolution.

His darling daughter had been killed before his eyes in a marvellous manner, and her destroyer had perished with her. The dismayed warriors cautiously advanced to the spot and calmly surveyed the dismal scene. It was found upon examination, that the animal in its descent, had completely buried its beak, head and neck, up to its body, in the ground. It was covered with a beautiful plumage of snowy white, and every warrior, as he advanced, plucked a plume from this singular bird, with which he adorned his crown; and from this incident, the braves of the confederate nations forever after made choice of the plumes of the white heron as their most appropriate military ornament, while upon the war-path.

Upon the removal of the carcass of the monster, the body of the innocent girl was found to be completely ground to atoms. Nothing could be seen of her, that would indicate she had ever been a human being. At this appearance, the bereaved and disconsolate parent gave himself up to the most poignant sorrow. Hollow moans and distressing grief, told too plainly the bitterness of his heart. He spurned all proffers of consolation and yielded to the keenest feelings of anguish and unbounded sorrow.

He became an object of perfect despair, and threw himself down upon his face to the earth, dejected and disconsolate. The shattered fragments of the innocent girl were carefully gathered together, and interred in all the tenderness and solemnity of bitter grief. Every one seemed to participate in the afflictions of the aged and venerable counsellor, and to sympathize in his sufferings and woe. Still, no comfort came to

his soul. He remained in this prostrate situation three whole days and nights unmoved. The fears of the assembled chiefs were awakened lest he might become a willing victim to his own melancholy and misfortune. Nothing had been done as yet, in the Council, and such had been the causes of delay that many began to despair of accomplishing any thing of consequence. Some even thought seriously of returning to their homes without an effort. At length a few of the leading chiefs consulted together, as to what course it was most expedient to pursue. It was at once resolved, that nothing should be attempted, without the voice of the wise man could be heard. A suitable person was thereupon dispatched to ascertain whether he breathed. Report came that he was yet alive. A kind hearted, merry chief, named Ho-see-noke, was directed by the council to make to the prostrate mourner a comforting speech, to whisper kind words in his ear, and if possible arouse him from his revery.

After a deal of formal ceremony and persuasion, he gradually recovered from his stupor and conversed. After several messages had passed between the assembled chiefs and Hi-a-wat-ha, he arose and manifested a desire for food. He ate and drank of such as was hastily prepared for him, and acknowledged himself strengthened and refreshed.

He was conducted to the presence of the council, a conspicuous place was assigned him, and all eyes were turned towards the only man who could with precision foretell their future destiny. The subject of the invasion was discussed by several of the ablest counsellors and boldest warriors. Various schemes were proposed for the repulsion of the enemy. Hi-a-wat-ha listened in silence till the speeches of all were concluded. His opinion was gravely and earnestly sought by many of the surrounding chiefs.

After a brief reference to the calamity which had so recently befallen him, the wise man said:—"This is a subject that requires mature reflection and deliberation. It is not fitting that one of so much importance should be treated lightly; or that our decision should be hasty and inconsider-

ate. Let us postpone our deliberations for one day, that we may weigh well the words of the wise chiefs and warriors who have spoken. Then I will communicate to you my plan for consideration. It is one which I am confident will succeed, and ensure our safety."

After another day's delay, the council again assembled, and all were anxious to hear the words of Hi-a-wat-ha. A breathless silence ensued, and the venerable counsellor began :

"Friends and Brothers:—You are members of many tribes and nations. You have come here, many of you, a great distance from your homes. We have convened for one common purpose, to promote one common interest, and that is to provide for our mutual safety, and how it shall best be accomplished. To oppose these hordes of northern foes by tribes, singly and alone, would prove our certain destruction; we can make no progress in that way; we must unite ourselves into one common band of brothers. Our warriors united, would surely repel these rude invaders and drive them from our borders. This must be done and we shall be safe.

You—the Mohawks, sitting under the shadow of the "*Great Tree*," whose roots sink deep into the earth and whose branches spread over a vast country; shall be the first nation, because you are warlike and mighty.

And you—Oneidas, a people who reline your bodies against the "*Everlasting Stone*" that cannot be moved, shall be the second nation, because you give wise counsel.

And you—Onondagas, who have your habitation at the "*Great Mountain*" and are overshadowed by its crags, shall be the third nation, because you are greatly gifted in speech, and mighty in war.

And you—Cayugas, a people whose habitation is the "*Dark Forest*" and whose home is everywhere, shall be the fourth nation; because of your superior cunning in hunting.

And you—Senecas, a people who live in the "*Open Country*" and possess much wisdom, shall be the fifth nation; because you understand better the art of raising corn and beans, and making cabins.

You, Five great and powerful nations, must unite and have but one common interest, and no foe shall be able to disturb or subdue you.

And you—*Manhattoes, Nyacks, Montauks* and others, who are as the feeble "*Bushes*"; and you, *Naragansetts, Mohegans, Wampanoags* and your neighbors who are a "*Fishing People*," may place yourselves under our protection. Be with us and we will defend you. You of the South, and you of the West, may do the same, and we will protect you. We earnestly desire your alliance and friendship.

Brothers—if we unite in this bond, the Great Spirit will smile upon us, and we shall be free, prosperous and happy. But if we remain as we are, we shall be subject to his frown; we shall be enslaved, ruined, perhaps annihilated forever. We shall perish and our names be blotted out from among the nations of men. Brothers; these are the words of Hi-a-wat-ha—let them sink deep into your hearts—I have said it."

A long silence ensued, the words of the wise man had made a deep impression upon the minds of all. They unanimously declared the subject too weighty for immediate decision. Let us, said the brave warriors and chiefs, adjourn the Council for one day, and then we will respond. On the morrow, the Council again assembled. After due deliberation, the speech of the wise man was declared to be good and worthy of adoption.

Immediately upon this was formed the celebrated Aquinuschioni or Amphietyonie league of the great confederacy of Five Nations, which to this day remains in full force.

After the business of the great Council had been brought to a close, and the assembly were on the eve of separation, Hi-a-wat-ha arose in a dignified manner, and said:

"Friends and Brothers:—I have now fulfilled my mission upon earth, I have done every thing which can be done at present for the good of this great people. Age, infirmity and distress, sit heavy upon me. During my sojourn with you, I have removed all obstructions from the streams. Canoes can now pass safely everywhere. I have given you good fishing

waters and good hunting grounds. I have taught you the manner of cultivating corn and beans and learned you the art of making cabins. Many other blessings I have liberally bestowed upon you.

Lastly, I have now assisted you to form an everlasting league and covenant of strength and friendship for your future safety and protection. If you preserve it, without the admission of other people, you will always be free, numerous and mighty. If other nations are admitted to your councils, they will sow jealousies among you, and you will become enslaved, few and feeble. Remember these words, they are the last you will hear from the lips of Hi-a-wat-ha. Listen my friends, the Great Master-of-Breath, calls me to go. I have patiently waited his summons. I am ready; farewell."

As the wise man closed his speech, there burst upon the ears of the assembled multitude, the cheerful sounds of myriads of the most delightful singing voices. The whole sky seemed filled with the sweetest melody of celestial music; and Heaven's high arch, echoed and re-echoed the touching strains, till the whole vast assembly were completely absorbed in rapturous ecstacy. Amidst the general confusion which now prevailed, and while all eyes were turned towards the ethereal regions, Hi-a-wat-ha was seen majestically seated in his white canoe, gracefully rising higher and higher above their heads through the air, until he became entirely lost from the view of the assembled throngs, who witnessed his wonderful ascent, in mute and admiring astonishment—while the fascinating music gradually became more plaintive and low, and finally, it sweetly expired in the softest tones upon their ears, as the wise man Hi-a-wat-ha, the godlike Ta-oun-ya-wat-ha retired from their sight, and quietly entered the mysterious regions inhabited only by the favorites of the Great and Good Spirit Ha-wah-ne-u.\*

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\* The substance of the foregoing tradition may be found in the "Notes on the Iroquois," pp. 271 to 283. It is but simple justice to the author of this work to say, that the article in the "Notes," was framed from a MS. furnished by the author of this, to the Editor of the Commercial Advertiser of New York, for publication in that paper.

Such is the traditionary account of the Onondagas, of the origin of the very ancient and honorable league first formed by the illustrious Five Nations, given to the author by the late Captain Frost, and La Fort, head chiefs of the Onondagas, 6th February, 1845.

This tradition, like all others, proves nothing positively, further than that the Iroquois themselves know little of their own origin, history, or the antiquity of their most prominent characteristics and institutions. These being orally transmitted from generation to generation, and their minds ever deeply imbued with superstition, events are magnified to miracles, distinguished men are deified, and every circumstance of note is mystified and mingled with ignorance, barbarism and extravagance.

By the early French writers, the Mohawks and Onondagas were styled the lower or inferior Iroquois; while the Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas, were denominated the upper or superior Iroquois, because they were located nearer the sources of the St. Lawrence. The Mohawks who are commonly supposed to be the first nation in the confederacy and were considered the most "warlike people in the land," were also styled elder brothers, of the other nations, and so esteemed themselves. Like their brethren of the Five Nations, they have a tradition that their forefathers came from the far north. However this may be, they occupied the valley of the Mohawk, at the time of their first intercourse with the whites. Charlevoix thus speaks of them as they were in 1646: "*Dans le Canton d'Agnié qui autems dont nous parlons, étoit le plus peuple de tous; une jolie riviere serpente agreablement l'espace de sept a huit lieus entre deux belle Prairies.*"\* Other early historians give the same locality." To the Mohawks was always accorded the high consideration of furnishing the war captain or "Tekarahogea" of the con-

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\* Translation—In the Canton of the Mohawks, of which several authors speak, is the most numerous population of all; a beautiful river winds agreeably through their country for seven or eight leagues, between two handsome meadows.

federacy, which distinguished title was retained with them, till the year 1814, when the celebrated Hoa-ho-a-quah, an Onondaga, was chosen in general council at Buffalo, to fill that important station. (*See close of Political History.*)

The Oneidas were considered the second nation, and a faded tradition once existed, that they were a branch of the Onondagas, to whom they were always nearly allied, by relationship and language. Their earliest recollected residence, was on the southern shore of Oneida lake, near the mouth of Oneida creek. They afterwards took up their abode higher up the valley, and the famous "ONEOTA," or ONEIDA STONE became their talisman and the centre of their attractions. They were a people less warlike than the Mohawks, but many of them were distinguished as orators and statesmen. They were usually considered more susceptible of instruction from the missionaries who early visited them, and were often first resorted to in negotiations with the confederate nations, to win them, and thus prepare the minds of the remaining cantons.

The Onondagas were considered the third nation. They became, from their central position and numbers, their strength of mind, skill in diplomacy and warlike bearing, the head or leading nation of the confederates. The grand council-fire of the union was usually kept with them. They kept the key of the great council house of the Five Nations; the Mohawks holding the door on the east, as did the Senecas on the west. No business of importance, touching the interests of the Five Nations, was transacted elsewhere but at Onondaga. This nation is divided into eight several tribes or clans, called by themselves, the Wolf, the Bear, the Beaver and the Tortoise. These are called superior clans, and from these may be selected the chiefs of the nation. The inferior clans are the Deer, the Eagle, the Heron and the Eel; from which civil chiefs, may not be elected. Individuals belonging to these latter clans are not considered eligible to office. Though there formerly were instances where, by great individual merit as warriors, they have occasionally been selected as war chiefs; considered the lowest class of officers known to their laws.

The duty of this dignitary was to attend to all the military affairs of the nation, and to conduct the warriors in battle. He was also allowed a seat in the national and confederate councils. The term tribe, as understood by the Onondagas, applies only to these clans separately; and they, when taken collectively, comprise the nation. There is nothing will sooner excite the indignation of a chief, than the application of the term tribe, to the nation.

Tribe, to them, is diminutive—nation conveys to them the idea of greatness and magnificence.

Among the Onondagas, the line of descent is emphatically in the female branch of the family. For instance, La Fort was the son of a chief, but on that account had no claim to chieftainship, and had not his mother been the sister of Oundiaga, (or a relation of some other chief) he would have been excluded, not having any hereditary right to an election. The son or grandson of a chief's daughter or sister, is eligible to office, but his own son would not be eligible. The inference to be drawn from this is, that the son is certainly derived from the mother, but may not be from him whom he acknowledges as father.

Among the Onondagas, are five civil chiefs and one war chief; all of whom are subject to removal at any annual national council which may be fully represented by a majority of those entitled to seats in council, or in other words, by the voice of the nation. Anciently they had a greater number of chiefs, sometimes as many as twelve or fourteen, with as many sub or vice-chiefs, who acted as advisers, but took no direct or active part in the management of great councils.

The Pagan party being the most numerous, bear rule on questions where they are united; consequently, the Christian party are at this time excluded. For example, David Hill, who is now the leader of the Christian party, and an exemplary man, who was lately a chief of influence, has been removed, and his place supplied by one who still adheres to the ancient customs and principles of their primitive institutions.

Among the earliest traditions of the Onondagas, it is noted,

that they at first came from the North, many hundred moons ago, and once inhabited a region along the northern banks of the St. Lawrence, and that straggling parties of hunters, isolated themselves in the country since occupied by the Six Nations. That in process of time, the remaining part of their nation followed, and set themselves down in the valley, and on the hills of Onondaga. The Onondagas have also a tradition that the Bear and Wolf tribes originated or sprung from the ground near the Oswego Falls; that the Eel and Tortoise tribes sprung from the same source on the banks of the Seneca river; that the Deer and Eagle tribes first had existence on the hills of Onondaga; and that the Beaver and Heron tribes, sprung from the earth, on the shores of lake Ontario. Whatever of truth may attach to the foregoing traditions, only goes to show, that on those localities, they may at first have received their distinctive appellations, or there assumed their respective titles. It is not uncommon among Indian nations to declare, that wherever they have long resided, there they have sprung from the earth, or there first had existence. It is a fact well established by the Jesuit Fathers, that the Onondagas had considerable villages at Oswego Falls; on the shores of lake Ontario; on the banks of the Seneca; and on the hills of Onondaga, and at those places may have originated the several clans agreeably to their traditions.

On a celebrated land trial held at the Court House in this County some five years ago, one of the chiefs testified, that the Onondagas first came to Onondaga by way of Oriskany, where they had previously resided for several years. Upon the cross examination, counsel being rather hard upon him, by expressing doubt upon the subject, he indignantly replied: "*Do you think I would lie!*" These are the accounts these people give of their own origin.

The history of the Cayugas is the most obscure and unsatisfactory of any of the Five Nations. Although they were never deemed deficient in native energy, or inferior in intellectual capacity, and have also produced warriors, orators and statesmen of the greatest ability, yet their course has been

signally marked by decay and desolation. Logan, the prince of Indian orators, was a Cayuga. His father, Shikellimus, was a noted chief of this nation, who aided Count Zinzendorff and Bishop Zeisberger, in the establishment of a mission at Shamokin in 1747.

Distinguished chiefs of this nation were almost universally present at all the conferences of the Five Nations, with the Dutch, English and French, during the early periods of their history; and in the campaign of General Sullivan, in 1779, the extent of their settlements, and their determined resistance, in their defense, shows that they were by no means a despicable people. Very few now linger about their ancient hunting grounds. Civilization has made sad inroads upon them.

The Senecas, from the earliest times, have been the most numerous and powerful of the Five Nations. They have always been farther advanced in agriculture and the arts than their neighbors, and if oratory, statesmanship, and determined opposition to the encroachments of the whites, be taken into account, they may be said to stand in the foremost rank. With their neighbors, the Tuscaroras, they have yielded more readily to the advantages of education. Several of their young men and maidens have entered the schools of the whites, and become noted for their scholarship and learning. They are sometimes styled the People of the Hill, from a tradition that they originated from a hill at the head of Canandaigua lake.\*

The tradition is, that the Senecas anciently encamped on this hill, upon which they had a fort surrounded with palisades. An enormous serpent encircled the fort, with his head and tail joined at the gateway, through which none could pass without being destroyed.

“When famine raged within their guarded hold,  
And wan distemper thinned their numbers fast.”

At length all fell a prey to famine, pestilence, or the devouring jaws of the monster, except a youth and his sister.

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\* See Hosmer's Poem, before G. O. I., 1845.

The young warrior dreamed that should an arrow be directed to the monster's heart, beneath "The rounded scale that wall his side," he would slay him and secure himself from further harm, and thus prevent the total annihilation of his nation.

It was done as he had been forewarned, the monster was slain, and the nation was finally established on the western shore of the Seneca lake. The Senecas have always been noted for the talents of their orators and statesmen. Corn-Planter, Red Jacket, Farmers Brother, Handsome Lake, and others of scarcely less distinction, during the last century have wielded a power and influence among the Indian nations, that will long cause them to be remembered as a noble and illustrious nation.

The government of the Iroquois in their palmy days, when their power was supreme, and their prosperity unbounded, was a sort of Oligarchy mixed with democracy; having a representative and popular voice. It consisted of a republican and hereditary form combined. Business transactions of a national character, were carried on by the head chiefs of the nations, and were ratified or rejected in general councils. Decisions made by the chiefs of a nation, only affected that particular nation. But all decisions of the united chiefs of the confederacy, when rejected in general council, became decrees from which there could be no appeal.

The organic laws of the Indians, are little understood. Few persons can have the patience or opportunity, to study the polity and government of these mysterious people, as conducted in their councils, in a language almost totally unintelligible. None can know all the intricacies and details where so much obscurity and circumspection exists. Everything is dark and mysterious. They prefer, rather to mystify than explain; to darken the understanding rather than enlighten it. Their habitual distrust gives but the slightest opportunity to study their unwritten code. Even those who have enjoyed their confidence longest, and who have been on terms of the most perfect intimacy with them, but feebly and uncertainly elucidate and explain the genius of their institutions.

## CHAPTER II.

## TRADITIONS OF THE ONONDAGAS.

ASCENT OF THE SENECA RIVER BY TA-OUN-YA-WAT-HA—HIS SLAUGHTER OF A MONSTROUS SERPENT—OPENING OF THE CHANNEL OF ONONDAGA RIVER—THE ENCHANTRESS—FEATHERED MONSTERS—GREAT EAGLE—ALLUSION TO OTHER TRADITIONS—WITCHES AND WIZARDS—EVIL SPIRITS—TRADITION OF A COLONY—BELIEF IN THUNDER AND LIGHTNING—~~MARRIAGE—FAMILY DISCIPLINE—TREATMENT OF THE SICK—BURIALS.~~

In the annals of the world, perhaps there never was a people whose true history has been so completely wrapt in mystery and so wonderfully mingled up with false traditions, many of which may have had foundation in fact, interspersed with fables, fictions, types, symbols and allegories, as that of the aborigines of our land. In tracing the progress of their ancient history, we find no distinctive lines, whereby to distinguish what may be true from what is actually false. There is no discrimination made by themselves, and among them, the most extravagant fictions pass for truth. [The Indian is acted upon by his superstitions and fears. Seeing some things mysterious and incomprehensible, he believes all things he cannot explain by the evidence of his senses to be so.] Thus we find him drifting about without a system or without direction, on the broad ocean of ignorance, driven onward by the accumulating waves of superstition. "He sees God in clouds and hears him in the winds," every strange event is magnified into a miracle, and is transmitted from sire to son, as the work of an invisible hand—the doings of the Great Spirit. His credulity impels him to believe everything marvellous that he hears, and the basest fabrics of the imagination, and the simplest truths, enter alike into his systems of history,

philosophy and theology. Although exceedingly extravagant, and perhaps unworthy of credence, we here would insert a few of the most prominent traditions and beliefs held in repute among the Onondagas.

They have a tradition that Ta-oun-ya-wat-ha, the deity who presides over fisheries and hunting-grounds, came down from above in his White Canoe, and selected a couple of warriors from among the Onondagas, who met him at Oswego. They together passed up the Oswego river, removed all obstructions to navigation at the falls, so that canoes could pass in safety without carriage. As the tradition goes, the devoted trio proceeded up the river until they had passed (Te-u-ung-hu-ka) Three-River-Point. They here came to a place where the water was perfectly still for a long distance. The channel was straight, the water deep and unruffled. Looking far ahead, they distinctly saw an object lying directly across the stream, apparently like the trunk of a large tree. As they advanced, it seemed gradually to heave and fall; the waters became strangely agitated, and rolled in large waves from the sides of the obstruction. Upon a nearer approach, the object proved to be an enormous serpent, whose body lay across the stream, and such was his unparalleled length, that his head was not in view, but extended far into the country on one side of the river, while his tail was far out of sight on the other. The god of the rivers bade him retire, but the reptile would not obey. Then said Ta-oun-ya-wat-ha, die, thou dreadful beast, and know that the Great Spirit rules. He then raised his paddle, which in its descent cleft the hideous beast in twain. So firmly had the extremities of the monster become fixed, that the separation was accompanied with a terrific sound, like a startling peal of thunder. The earth trembled and shook with a rumbling noise, the waters ran red and were violently agitated, while the sudden contractions of the dissevered parts were so violent, that each portion immediately disappeared, and was never heard of more. But the print of the place where the fell destroyer had lain, was plain

to be seen through all succeeding generations, till the white man came and leveled the ground with his plow.

The canoc again passed on without interruption. It was the first that had ever moved over the waters, past this appalling spot. All who had before this attempted the passage had been killed and devoured.

A few miles further up the stream, they met with another obstruction of a like nature, which was removed with similar consequences and results.

Upon a more critical examination of the space in the river between the positions of these huge monsters, it was found to be richly stored with an abundance of eels and other delicious fish; the taking of which had not been enjoyed by the natives, because of these terrific spoilers who had constantly guarded it and destroyed all who dared to approach—under the auspices of the wicked spirit, O-nees-hoo-hugh-nu. After Ta-oun-ya-wat-ha, had vanquished the huge serpents, he gave all good people permission to fish there without hindrance or molestation, which beneficent privilege they have so richly enjoyed to the present day.

Ta-oun-ya-wat-ha and his companions now proceeded onward, to where the Seneca river makes its greatest bend to the south. They here made a landing on the southern shore. At this place they were much surprised at hearing an incessant screaming of wild birds. "This," said Ta-oun-ya-wat-ha, "is portentous of some remarkable event—let us examine and see." They proceeded south a short distance, and behold, a great lake lay beautifully spread out before them, extending far away to the south. It had no visible outlet—no communication with the river. "We must open a free passage here," said Ta-oun-ya-wat-ha, "for the canoes of good people to pass. Our business is to remove all obstructions to their prosperity and to make them happy." Then the spirit of the rivers took the magic paddle which he had carried with him, and with it made a mark or furrow, from the lake to the river, through which at first the water gradually flowed and in time wore the channel sufficiently deep for canoes to pass

with ease and facility. This, according to Indian tradition, was the first outlet of the Onondaga Lake. Previously to this, the lake extended the whole length of the Onondaga valley.\* Year succeeded year, and this channel became broader and deeper, and as time rolled on, the lake lessened in size, the water became shallow which before was deep, and trees soon appeared where once the earth was overspread with water; and finally the boundaries of the lake gradually subsided to the ordinary limits of the water, and left the salt springs on its shores bare, which previous to this event, had been covered by fresh water, and were before entirely unknown; so that by this special kindness and interposition of the Great Spirit, salt was introduced for the health and comfort of the Indians, and has ever since been considered by them an inestimable blessing.

After the removal of this barrier, the party again moved up the river a few miles, and at a distance, discovered in a beautiful chesnut grove, a single cabin, from which the smoke ascended in graceful curls, while every appendage about it looked cheerful and inviting.

Here was the residence of a wicked enchantress, called Oh-cau-nee, who had hitherto prevented the gathering of nuts, which were every where abundant around her dwelling.

After a protracted and violent struggle between the enchantress and one of the followers of Ta-oun-ya-wat-ha, in which she was slain, the god of the rivers, waved the paddle of his magic canoe over the trees, which were literally covered with nuts, and the rich and tempting fruit came rattling to the ground in the greatest profusion. The party regaled themselves merrily, gathered in the sacred harvest, and Ta-oun-ya-wat-ha, with his hand scattered the hard earned treasure broadcast among all the nations of the earth, thus disseminating this rich blessing every where, which previously had not

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\* It may be well to remark, that there are evidences along the acclivities from the valley, that this tradition may have its origin in truth.

been known beyond the grove of Oh-cau-nee the enchantress, who had always been their keeper. After this event, all good people were permitted to come to this place without fear or hindrance, to gather chesnuts.

The country about Cross Lake, (Te-ungk-too) was so inviting in appearance, that Ta-oun-ya-wat-ha resolved to explore it. While upon the water he observed in all directions skeletons of men, swimming about on the surface. "Some murderous monster" he exclaimed "must be stationed near the stream above and must be destroyed." When they had arrived at a spot some distance above where the Skaneateles empties itself into the Seneca river, they discovered two monstrous red feathered animals with long and arched necks. One was stationed upon one side of the river and the other on the opposite bank. Their long and pointed beaks crossed each other like two sharpened swords, suspended over the centre of the stream. Whenever canoes passed underneath, the occupants were sure to become food for these rapacious monsters, who, after picking off the flesh would send their carcasses down the stream, most of which lodged in Cross Lake. "These destroyers of our race must be removed," said Ta-oun-ya-wat-ha, "or the braves of our nations will be devoured, and their wives and little ones slain. We must be wise and cautious, or we shall be overcome. I am aware that the Wicked Spirit has placed these obstructions in our way and is determined good people shall not navigate these waters. But if we are wise and prudent and reverently keep the Great and Good Spirit ever in view, we shall conquer these monsters, overcome all obstacles and finally come off triumphant in all our undertakings." The White Canoe was paddled to the shore, and Ta-oun-ya-wat-ha, after invoking the blessing of the Great and Good Spirit, raised his magic paddle and smote one of these monsters, which brought him to the ground. After a furious struggle he succeeded in killing him. Composing himself and taking rest, Ta-oun-ya-wat-ha crossed the river with a view of attacking the remaining one, but he could nowhere be found. The god of the rivers, placed his

ear to the ground and heard him in the distance, treading heavily with measured steps, as if seeking a hiding place for safety. The sagacity of Ta-oun-ya-wat-ha, soon discovered the course he had taken, and directly proceeded in pursuit. He diligently traced the monster by his tracks through various windings, over hill and through valley, till he came around to the place from whence he had departed. The frightened animal now took wing and never rested till he came to Onondaga, when he alighted on the sandy plain, between the Onondaga village and the lake. His tracks where he rested were plain to be seen many years afterwards, and to this day the spot is pointed out with particular precision. Ta-oun-ya-wat-ha in full pursuit soon overtook him at this spot, and the place of his resting is still designated as a sacred place by the natives. The strange animal again started, nor rested till he had arrived at Oneida, when becoming much fatigued, he again settled down near the Oneota or sacred stone of the nation. Ta-oun-ya-wat-ha, still pursuing, again came up with the monster and both pushed forward with great earnestness towards the west. The winged monster at length began to lag, his wings drooped, he panted severely and at last he was overtaken on the sandy grounds north of Salina. After a desperate struggle, he was finally slain, and the sand knolls, so frequent in that neighborhood, were thrown up by his dying exertions. So swiftly had the monster flown, and so closely had he been pursued, that the whole transaction had occupied but a very short space of time. At length he began to decay, and myriads of musketoes were the offspring of the decomposing mass, which completely filled the country. A disagreeable effluvia arose from it which spread far and wide and was frequently the cause of fatal and violent diseases; the decaying matter also discolored the water in the swamps and ever since they have been considered unfit for drinking.

Ta-oun-ya-wat-ha and his companions again ascended the Seneca river, and cleared the channel of all obstructions, till he came to the Cayuga marshes. When near them, they became greatly alarmed by a constant humming sound, and a loud

and continual cackling of ducks, geese and other aquatic birds. The party were surprised to find their course obstructed by two enormous Eagles, who had long been the guardians of the water-fowl, which were in the habit of congregating in the marshes. Such had been their watchfulness, that none could escape, and all people had hitherto been prevented from taking them for food. These monstrous Eagles were also slain and the wild fowl, now no longer restrained by their rapacious guardians, arose on their wings in all directions, and scattered themselves abroad in all the surrounding lakes and streams, and became ever afterwards a precious article of food for man. These were some of the principal deeds of Ta-oun-ya-wat-ha, the god of the fisheries, rivers and hunting grounds, as held in estimation among the traditions of the Onondagas.

Ta-oun-ya-wat-ha afterwards took up his abode at Cross lake and assisted to form the great league of the Five Nations as related in a former chapter.

The tradition of the flying heads, which greatly disturbed their quiet, and defied all human power successfully to combat, may be enumerated among their singular fancies. These heads of monstrous size, enveloped in beards and hair of flaming fire, rushed through the air like shooting stars or falling meteors, threatening the destruction of their nation. The priests, prophets and medicine-men were alike unsuccessful in subduing these supernatural monsters. They were at last dispelled by the machinations of an old woman.

The Quis-quis, or great hog, was another monster which gave the Onondagas great trouble, as did also the great bear, the horned water-serpent, the stone giants and many other equally fabulous inventions, bordering so closely upon the truly marvellous, that the truth would suffer wrongfully if related in full; but nevertheless are found among the wild and unseemly traditions of the race.

A belief in witches and wizards prevailed extensively throughout the Six Nations, and in none of the Iroquois cantons was the belief more prevalent, than among the Ononda-

gas. To such a height was the delusion sometimes carried, that it seemed its effects would desolate the whole country, and if their traditions are worthy of credit, it did seriously affect their population and prosperity. These witehes and wizards, were supposed to hold nightly meetings, to devise and perfect mischief, and to bring disgrace and trouble upon the nation. They were supposed to be bound by a solemn oath of secrecy; could change themselves to various wild animals, as wolves, foxes, hawks and turkeys, and to shapes of various substances, as trees, rocks and logs; could be present and invisible in the assemblies and councils of the nations; could infuse poison and disease among the people, and even affect the dispositions and control the actions of individuals. In fact, there was scarce anything however ludicrous or extravagant which the wizards and witeches could not accomplish.

Mr. Webster, in his conversations with the old settlers, said that an old Indian of the Onondagas used to relate, that at an ancient period, when a portion of the Onondagas had an extensive settlement and populous village on the flats east of Jamesville, that he resided there, and stepping out of his cabin one evening, he sunk down deep into an immense cavern, which was brilliantly illuminated with flaming torches. No sooner had he reached the floor, than he found himself instantly surrounded by hundreds of witeches and wizards, who rather unceremoniously ejected him. The circumstance lay heavy upon his heart. Early the next morning he proceeded to the council-house, and laid the matter before the assembled chiefs. They asked him, if he could identify any of the persons he had seen. He replied that he thought he could. He straightway proceeded through the village and pointed to this and that one, whom he thus signified as delinquents. They were at once doomed for execution, and without trial or ceremony, upon the evidence or whim of a single individual, numbers of both sexes were killed. According to the tradition the slaughter was immense; it seemed there could be no end to the alarming panic; many of the people dispersed, and for a season it was feared the nation would be completely broken up. It is

said that more than half of those who remained at home were killed, amounting in all to hundreds. Other and similar instances are still related among their traditions of witchcraft. Sometimes these witches were burned and sometimes summarily dispatched with a tomahawk. Usually, however, they were permitted to speak in their own behalf, frequently owning the charge, thus becoming voluntary victims to the grossest infatuation and superstition. They believed that the witches and wizards had power to send fireballs, a ball of hair, or a dog, or cat, to inflict some punishment upon any person, upon whom they chose to practice their deception, and if the principal persons of the nation were satisfied of their guilt, they were instantly sentenced to death. Upon this, some of the most influential men would proceed to a high ledge of rocks, roll some of them out sufficient to make a large and deep hole; they would then return to the Castle and inform those whom they intended to execute, of what they had done, and that they must forthwith depart for the place of execution. If it was a female who was to suffer, she instantly drew her blanket over her head, and without a murmur or word of repining, repaired to the place already prepared. The Indian women understanding the import of these proceedings, immediately left the village and were not seen again on that day, and long afterwards continued their demonstrations of grief and mourning. After the victim had departed for the place of execution, the men followed after. When they arrived at the spot, the doomed one was found ready for the execution of her sentence, standing upon a rock at the edge of the hole, with her blanket drawn closely over her head. One of the men would walk deliberately up to her, remove her blanket and let it fall to the ground. At this instant two Indians with tomahawks would step forward and cleave the victim's head in twain, being careful to direct her fall into the opening in the rocks already prepared. They then rolled rocks upon the slain one till she was deeply buried. They after this raised the cry, "thus perish all witches."

The mode of executing wizards was the same, but when the

wizard was singled out and informed of his fate, he uttered a deafening yell, and then ran with all his might to the place of execution and his executioners after him. Several instances of the above mode of punishment have occurred since the first settlements were made by the whites, and have been related to the author by the older inhabitants, some of whom were witnesses. As late as 1803, four squaws were accused of witchcraft at the Castle, three of them were executed according to their customs. One of them agreed to deliver up all her implements of incantation, and requested the Indians to assemble at a place near the Castle. She then directed them to build a fire of white-ash wood, to set up some croches and lay poles across. This being done, the supposed witch suspended from a pole a roll of white cotton cloth wound tight around with cords. It soon took fire, and then followed several explosions in quick succession, similar to a loaded musket. Several white people were present, who exerted their influence without effect, to prevent disaster. The three who were executed acknowledged all that was alleged against them, but not promising reformation, were therefore disposed of in a summary manner. The ground upon which one of the three was condemned was like this: the Indians had purchased a beef of Mr. Webster, for the purpose of making a great feast. During the transaction, a young man who was master of ceremonies, was charged by an Indian woman with partiality, in the distribution of the good things which were served. The following night the young man rose in great agony, saying, this woman had choked him, and that if she did so the following night, it would surely kill him. The succeeding night he was heard to utter a terrible cry, and as he screamed, his friends rushed in, but he was dead. No one was discovered in the room who could have effected his death. It has been said that Mr. Webster himself saw the prints of fingers upon his throat. The supposed witch, when asked if she was guilty, acknowledged she was. She was taken to the top of the hill east of the Castle, killed with an axe and buried among the rocks.

Another of the three was accused of killing five persons. They said she plucked deer's hairs and made them sharp like arrows, and sent them deep into their flesh, in an invisible manner, which finally found their way to the heart and produced death. Although exhorted to retire out of the way, she voluntarily went to the usual place of execution, and was dispatched with a tomahawk.

The last one, had been suspected for a long time of dealing with the wicked spirit. Flaming heads and fiery serpents, had been seen to enter her wigwam for several successive nights. Strange noises were heard after their entrance, as if persons were struggling for life. Whereupon she was accused, adjudged guilty of witchcraft, and sentenced to death, which sentence was executed like the former. In all these cases, there seemed to be a desire in the accused persons to receive the accorded sentence, and they invariably courted death, with all the fortitude of martyrs to a holier cause.

The Indians had a practice to which they sometimes resorted for conquering witches, or "*laying*" the evil spirit, the father of them. The wicked spirit, they believe to be a great serpent under ground. Where he was present, there would rise a knoll, and whenever he moved away, the place would sink again to a level.

The reason why they never destroyed rattle-snakes was, because they believed them the offspring of the great serpent, the devil, and if they destroyed any of his offspring, they could have no success in hunting. Hence they always passed them unharmed. The mode of allaying the wrath of the great serpent, the father of wizards and witches, was, for a number of the most resolute warriors to proceed to the spot where it was most likely he then inhabited, climb a small sapling, lay hold of the topmost branches and bend it down to the ground, binding the branches around the body of the tree, quite down to the root, making all the time a peculiar noise. If they met with no interruption and succeeded in fastening the top of the tree securely to the bottom, the devil was allayed and the power of the witches dispelled.

There is an opinion prevalent among them, that the evil spirit can be kept at a distance by the application of ashes to the body. As an instance in point, an Indian woman came into the house of a white neighbor one day terribly frightened; she ran to the hearth, spat upon her hands, dipped them in the ashes and with her finger made a cross upon her face; then turning suddenly round exclaimed, "there, I defy you." If we mistake not, here is a relic of ancient Roman Catholic teaching, two hundred years ago—repent in ashes,—remember the cross.

On the authority of some of the older inhabitants of Onondaga, it is stated that on a ledge of rocks, about a mile south of Jamesville, is a place which used to be pointed out by the Indians as the spot where the Great Spirit once came down and sat and gave good advice to the chiefs of the Onondagas. That there, are the prints of his hands and his feet left in the rocks still to be seen. In former years the Onondagas used annually to offer at this place, tobacco and pipes, and to burn tobacco and herbs as a sacrifice to the Great Spirit, to conciliate his favor and which was a means of preventing diseases.

There is a tradition among the Onondagas, that some twenty years before the revolutionary war, about thirty families came from Canada and settled among them. Some of these people settled along the hill west of the Castle and others in the present town of La Fayette. After a while the Indians became dissatisfied with them and drove them away. Pretending to fill their sacks with pounded corn, they only put in them ashes, covering the mouth of the sacks with meal. The company all miserably perished on the shores of lake Ontario.

The colonists had brought out a blacksmith with them, who refused to return with his countrymen to Canada. His stay among the Indians, was in no way agreeable to them. They took him and bound him to a tree, heated a large chain, with an axe attached to it, hung it around his neck and roasted him to death.

Their notions of thunder and lightning are peculiar. Thun-

der, they call Ee-soot-a-haut, which means the grandfather of the power of the Great Spirit, and they believe he manifests his power by the roaring, and by shaking the earth, thereby commanding his children, the people of the earth, to reverence his power and to obey him.

Lightning, they call Oe-hees-taw, which they say, shows how quick he can send his power and destruction among those who are disobedient.

The Indians seem to have no true knowledge of the origin or cause of the phenomena of lightning and thunder, but judge of them entirely as they appear to their senses.

The ceremony or institution of marriage, among the Indians scarcely deserves a name. Marriage of near kindred is however prohibited, and those of the same clan may not intermarry. An Eagle may not marry an Eagle male or female; a Bear may not marry a Bear, and so of the rest. Marriages among the superior clans of a different name is encouraged, and so of the inferior; but intermarriage between the superior and inferior clans, is by no means interdicted. The different nations frequently intermarry, and these marriages are also encouraged. Thus the league itself is more strongly cemented, and by the due observance of these rules, the clans are more closely united, intermixture of blood is prevented and their whole system magnified and firmly established. Whatever of sanctity may attach to the contract of marriage in the outset, the simple covenant is easily broken, and the wife or husband is often repudiated on the slightest cause, and the family usually left to follow the fortunes of the mother.

Rights of property are not conveyed by marriage. The husband only retains his own, and has no claim upon that of his wife; and if separation takes place, each individual retires with his or her original fortune. If the connection is not a happy one, or difficulties arise between parties, they resolve to separate. Neither is marriage or divorce subject to any particular form or ceremony or restraint. They follow the inclination of their own uncontrolled will and pleasure; and

disgrace is no concomitant of marriage, repudiation or divorce. Notwithstanding the laxity of the laws of marriage, a great majority of instances are crowned with happy results. The wife enters the cabin of her lord, prepared, according to custom, to fill her allotted station, which is to do all the drudgery and labor of the cabin, and much of that of the field—a hewer of wood and drawer of water to him who is only to be employed as a warrior, a hunter, or counsellor. At the present time the labors of the women are not as slavish or arduous as formerly; but even now, the female is not only sometimes engaged in the culture and harvest of corn, but in the more laborious occupation of gathering and preparing fuel for the cabin.

Among the Indians, family discipline is exceedingly lax and not often resorted to. Among them, one of the most common methods of correcting children, is in the application of water. If a child is disobedient and will not heed reproof, the parent often takes water in the mouth and spurts over the child. If the child still remains refractory, it is divested of its clothes and plunged into cold water until it yields and become submissive.

The Indians have a singular practice in cases of extreme sickness, especially among persons of distinction. In the case of the illness of the wife of Ca-whic-do-ta, which occurred in 1793, fearing she would die, the Indians gathered eight or ten bushels of ashes and placed them in a pile near the hut in which she lay. They then rolled one of their number closely in blankets, sewed them firmly around her, then placing her at a corner of the cabin in which the sick patient lay, they expected the Great Spirit would communicate to the one wrapped in blankets, whether the patient would recover or die. Ashes were then scattered all around the cabin high in the air. By these manœuvres they hoped to call down some guardian spirit, who should inform the person wrapped in blankets of a speedy recovery of the patient. At this time the enveloped prophetess gave answer that the patient would recover, which eventually took place. The same practice still

prevails to some extent, though occurrences of this kind are far less frequent.

The most ancient mode of burial by the Iroquois, says La Fort, was first to place the corpse upon a scaffold some eight feet high, made by setting crotches and laying poles across, attached or near to one corner of the cabin of the nearest friend of the deceased. There the body was left exposed till the flesh had completely fallen off. After this, the skeleton was buried, placing the bones of the feet first, crowning the pile with the skull. This method is said to be practised at the present day among some of the far western nations. When numbers were slain in battle, the same authority observes, they were gathered and laid in tiers one above another and a high mound raised over them.

How late the practice of letting the corpse remain exposed, till the flesh disappeared from the bones, prevailed, we have not the means of knowing. But the practice pursued when the whites first came among the Indians at Onondaga, was like this: They dressed the corpse (if a man) in a shirt, a coat and leggings, sometimes made of skins, at other times of cloth, as was most convenient. A pair of deer-skin moccasins covered the feet, and a cap of fur the head. The corpse was then ready for the burial. Their graves were usually dug about three feet deep. Barks were cut and peeled, of the length of the grave, pieces were fitted for the bottom, sides and ends, and then placed in the grave; a single broad piece was fitted for a covering. The corpse was then brought to the grave on poles bound together for a bier. He was then lowered into his bark coffin, when an Indian woman approached with a kettle of provisions, a pair of moccasins, with pieces of deer-skin, and with sinews of the deer to sew the patches on the moccasins which it was supposed the deceased would wear out on his journey to the land of spirits. These were carefully deposited in the bark coffin. Then came an Indian with bows and arrows, (or sometimes, if a distinguished person, a rifle,) a tomahawk and knife. These also were ceremoniously laid in the coffin, and were considered indispensable to a prosperous and

happy journey, in procuring provisions on the way to the blissful regions of Ha-wah-ne-u. After these things were deposited, the final covering was carefully placed over the whole, and the grave closed with earth. This done, the Indian women kneeled down around the grave and wept. The men for a time were silent, but after a while they set up a doleful cry, chaunted the death dirge, and all silently retired to their homes.

In former years, after the burial of a friend, the Onondagas used to visit the grave for twelve successive days, before sunrise and after sunset, and there with sighs and moans make great lamentation over it. Whenever they lost a dear friend away from home, they buried him with great solemnity, setting a mark upon the grave, and ever after, when they passed that way, visited the spot, usually singing a mournful song, and casting stones upon it.

At this day their burials are conducted similar to those of the white people. The Indians themselves speaking the eulogy of the deceased as they are moved before burial.

Father Henepin, Lib. II, page 115, speaking of Indian burials in 1678, says: "The savages bury their dead with the greatest magnificence they can devise; especially their relatives, and more particularly their captains or heads of tribes. They place them in a sort of coffin made of the barks of trees, and they polish the outside neatly with pumice stones, and they form the place in which they bury them in the manner of a mausoleum, which they encompass with palisadoes twelve or thirteen feet high. They bury with the deceased whatever is esteemed valuable, sometimes to the amount of two or three hundred crowns. If a man, they bury with him a gun, powder and balls. But those that have no fire-arms are content with putting in the coffin their bows and arrows, a potful of sagamite or pottage of Indian corn and some fat meat." This agrees with what other early French writers say upon this subject.

CHAPTER III.

PAGAN RITES AND CEREMONIES.

RELIGIOUS BELIEF—ANNUAL FEASTS—SACRIFICES—DANCES—REMARKS.

It is not at all surprising, that a people as wise, warlike, and sagacious, as were the Iroquois, should be marked by peculiar religious institutions. From time immemorial, having been shut out from the lights of civilization and the influences of pure religion, with the traditionary faith of their forefathers always orally transmitted; it is not to be wondered at, that their religious opinions are implicitly believed, most scrupulously adhered to, and practiced with a zeal and fidelity worthy of all commendation. Among the Pagan portion, there is no difference of opinion in religious matters. They are agreed in sentiment; their aim is the public good. Individual virtues are cultivated, and these are explained and illustrated in their Pagan ceremonies.

They believe in one Great and Good Spirit, styled in the language of the Onondagas, Ha-wah-ne-u, who is the Creator of the World; the Holder of the Heavens; the Master of Breath; the maker of men and useful animals. He is the controller of events; He rules the destinies of men; supplies them with the comforts and conveniences of life; makes abundance of game in the hunting grounds, and supplies the streams with fish and the air with birds. He is believed to be the peculiar Deity of the red man, and they are his peculiar people.

To this Great and Good Being they address their prayers, render thanks for success in hunting, and for victories in war.

To him they offer sacrifices, and chaunt their songs of praise. These things they do with a regularity, devotion and reverence, in the midst of a Christian people, within the influences of the Gospel; and adhere to them with a tenacity that should make their Christian neighbors ashamed.

In each year, they hold five stated festivals, for a general assembling of their clans. Upon these occasions, all join in thanksgiving to the Great and Good Spirit, for blessings received at his beneficent hand; and the old men converse upon the best means of meriting his favors, and of continuing them in future.

The first of these festivals is held in spring, directly after the season for making sugar is past. They give thanks for the abundance of sap, and for the quantity of sugar they have been permitted to make. The aged chiefs harangue the people in expressions of thankfulness, urging the necessity of national gratitude, describing the course which the young men ought to pursue, in order to merit a continuance of the favors of Ha-wah-ne-u. A straight line is pointed out, upon which all good people are directed to walk, by placing one foot directly before the other, and so proceed until they come to the end. They are admonished that there should be no deviation, to the right hand or to the left, into the paths of vice, but keep straight forward in the ways of rectitude and virtue, which in the end leads to the mansions of Ha-wah-ne-u. This festival is usually closed with dances, singing and games.

The second festival is immediately after corn-planting, at which time they return thanks for the fair weather they have had during the preparation of the ground, for the good seed-time, and are instructed by the aged men, in the means to be used to secure an abundant harvest, and invoke the Great Spirit to promote a rapid and luxuriant growth, and that the green corn may come early to maturity.

When the green corn becomes fit for use, and directly after the first ears are broken off, they hold the third festival, called the green corn feast.

At this festival thanks are rendered for the peculiar gift of this inestimable blessing. Large quantities of eorn are provided, both boiled and roasted, upon which all partake with unscrupulous relish. Songs and danees enter largely into the ceremonies on this occasion, and the famous succotash danee concludes the whole. The pipe of peace is usually smoked on these festival days by the head men of the nation, from the eldest to the younger, in succession to the last. This is one of the most joyous and merry-making festivals in the Indian calendar. The women are engaged, days beforehand, in making preparation, and have the principal management of the feast. The aged matron and the coy maiden are alike active and busy in proeuring materials, and in distributing the contents of the kettles in which the eorn has been boiled, and it is truly amusing to see with what cunning, archness and address they will palm off an ear of hot eorn upon an unsuspecting youth.

Their fourth festival is celebrated immediately after eorn harvest; usually about the first of November. At this time, they return thanks for the harvest, and the usual festivities are gone through with, of music, singing and daneing. The whole concluding with the peace danee.

The four preceding festivals occupy but one day each. In former times, three days were allotted to each.

The fifth or last festival, the crowning one of the year, and the one to which most importance is attached, is celebrated late in the month of January, or early in the month of February, according to the phasis of the moon. The Indian year is reckoned by moons, and this great national festival is held in the old moon nearest to the first of our month February.

The hunters having all returned from the chase, and having brought in their venison and skins that have been taken, and a portion of these trophies having been deposited in the council-house, two sets of managers are appointed, numbering from ten to twenty young men on a side. These are chosen to superintend all the concerns relative to the grand festival, thanksgiving and saeriffee, which are immediately to take place.

Arrangements are made at the council-house for the reception and accommodation of the whole nation. This being done, the managers are ready to commence their appropriate duties, during the whole of which they act with great formality, order and decorum.

On the first day a select number from each party of the managers, some four or five, start from the council-house, and run with all possible speed to every cabin in the nation, knocking on the doors and sides of the houses, informing the people that all things are now ready, and that they must immediately repair to the council-house and partake of the festivities of the occasion. At this time, this portion of the committee of arrangements, are nearly naked, covered only by a waist-cloth girded about the loins reaching down nearly to the knee, with moccasins on their feet, their faces and bodies painted, and plumes upon their heads. The fire is now extinguished in every cabin, the committee enter the dwellings (the inmates expecting them,) and with a small wooden shovel scatter the ashes about in every direction. The hearths are made clean; new fire is struck from the flint and rekindled; thus they proceed from house to house till every one is visited and purified. During these proceedings, the remaining part of the managers are engaged at the council-house, in firing guns, hallooing, shouting &c., to inform the people, that the ceremonies have commenced. They meet all those who come to the festival, greet them most cordially and conduct them into the council-house.

This is the course pursued on the first day. The second day, the managers assemble early at the council-house, and receive from the master of ceremonies, instructions for the day. When ready to depart, several guns are usually fired accompanied by shouting and hallooing. On this day the managers are fantastically dressed, and proceed from house to house with baskets, collecting the gifts of the people with which to grace the festival. These gifts consist of pork, beef, bread, beans, peas, ears of corn, tobacco, savory herbs, small handfuls of straw nicely bound, and every article is received,

that is useful for food, for incense or for sacrifice. Every one is bound to give something, or he is not to be included in the general absolution. Each manager in his round of alms-gathering, carries a large rattle made of dried tortoise-shell, in which are small stones, peas or beans. These they rattle violently in the several cabins, earnestly inviting the people to bestow their gifts. These proceedings are continued for several days, according to the time allotted for the continuance of the festival. During all this time, the people who are assembled at the council-house, are engaged in leaping, running, dancing and their native sports.

On the first of the last three days, the committee cover their faces with masks, dress themselves in old blankets, fragments of old buffalo robes, &c., bedaubing themselves with soot and grease, in which frightful and ludicrous appearance they run from house to house with baskets, crying, "give, give." Every individual who refuses to comply with this reasonable request, is saluted with a *rub* from these solicitors, which leaves a mark of disgrace not easily effaced.

While these things are going on, it is supposed they are collecting the sins of the people, and concentrating all the evils of the nation within themselves, which are to be expiated by the approaching sacrifice. On the evening of this day, they hold a most ludicrous dance, called by the white people "the devil's dance," in which they "dance off the witches." Nothing can appear more loathsome and abhorrent than do the participators in this dance. Covered with grease, coal-dust and soot, dressed in old worn out rags of blankets, tattered buffalo robes, hair side out, with masks of paper, bark, and husks of corn; add to this the yells and rude music of the savage, and indeed it may well be styled "a dance of devils."

On the day preceding the last, the managers having gathered all the ills of the nation to themselves, and made a full report of all their proceedings to the person who officiates as high priest or master of ceremonies, the day is spent in preparation for the great day of sacrifice which is to take place on

the morrow. This day is concluded with demonstrations of joy, festivity and dancing.

The last day, and the one to which most consequence is attached, being the great day of sacrifice, the people assemble at the council-house in great numbers. The exercises commence by building large fires early in the morning, by firing guns and loud hallooing. The wood for the sacrificial offering is arranged near the council-house, by laying near half a cord, in alternate layers crosswise. This is done by a select committee of the managers, who proceed with considerable ceremony.

A house near the council-house is selected as a place in which to make preparation. To this the managers proceed, and prepare themselves for the occasion. One from each party is selected as a leader. They are dressed in long loose shirts of white, and others are appropriately dressed, as managers &c., according to the duties they are expected to perform. The grand master of ceremonies or high priest, takes his station at the council-house, and to him, reports are made of the progress of proceedings, and he in turn gives new directions. Messengers are continually passing and repassing from the council-house to the house of preparation. On the occasion at which notes for this article were taken, the venerable Captain Hounos, (Oh-he-nu) presided with great dignity. Having arrived at an early hour, we found this gray-headed chief, gravely seated near the centre of the council-house, discoursing to his people, receiving messages and giving directions. One of these messengers, a female, particularly attracted attention. She was dressed throughout in a new suit of fine blue woolen cloth. Her leggings (pantalets) were most fancifully adorned with small white beads and brooches, and the lower part of the skirt, which came below the knee, was ornamented in the same manner. Over the whole was an ample covering of plain blue cloth, sweeping the ground at every step. Upon her, seemed to devolve the duty of superintending the feast. She had as associates, two young maidens dressed precisely like herself. To these every one gave

way, and throughout the ceremonies they were treated with the greatest deference and respect.

About nine o'clock, the managers rushed out of the house of preparation, and two white dogs fantastically painted with red figures and adorned with small belts of wampum, feathers and ribbons tied around their necks, legs and tails, followed them. A long rope with a single knot in the centre was instantly passed over the head of one of them, when some eight or ten of the managers seized the rope on either side, commenced pulling lustily, each party occasionally yielding to the other, as if to give greater force to their operations. After a few struggles, the dog was suffocated and hung up on a ladder which leaned against the house. The other dog was disposed of in precisely the same manner, and hung beside his fellow. Guns were now fired, and some thirty or forty persons rushed out of the council-house, gave three tremendous yells, and retired. After about half an hour, the dogs were taken down and carried into the house of preparation. To this house spectators were not admitted, and what particular ceremonies were there performed, we have no means of knowing.

These dogs are always white, or as nearly so as they can procure them; spot or blemish renders them unsuitable for sacrifice. A wound producing an effusion of blood, would be productive of the same consequences.

By some peculiar manœuvering, the sins of the people which had become concentrated in the managers are now transferred to the two individuals who are clad in the white garments. These by some peculiar ceremony, again work them off into the dogs. These animals, thus laden with the sins of the nation, are raised upon the shoulders of two persons appointed for the purpose, (their legs being tied so as to admit of their being slung like a pack). A procession is formed in ranks of double files, preceded by the two men dressed in white, and others of the managers, followed by as many others as may choose to join them. The procession moves slowly and silently with measured step, around the

house of preparation, through the council-house which has two doors, one opposite the other, and around it. After which, they are brought in, and the dogs laid upon a platform about a foot from the floor. As they enter the council-house for the last time, they break into single file. While these ceremonies were going on at the house of preparation and out of doors, others of importance were observed in the council-house.

The offerings which had been collected were disposed of upon pins around the council-room. The master of ceremonies, during the whole progress of proceedings, remained stationary, seated in the centre of the council-room. To him were brought, at different times, at intervals of about two minutes, every article which had been deposited. Every person who brought a piece of pork, a paper of tobacco, a bunch of herbs, or handful of straw, stopped about three paces from him, holding it towards him, looking him full in the face with the greatest attention. After he had said a few words, the old chief took it in his hands, over which he uttered a short ejaculatory prayer or thanksgiving, after which a hearty response was made by all present. It was then returned to the place from which it had been taken. Every article of the offerings was presented and returned in like manner. The females present participated in these ceremonies. All the messengers who addressed the chief halted at a respectful distance, and stood a moment in silence before they made their communications. These events all transpired at the council-house before the dogs were brought in. After the dogs were brought in, the procession, in single file, moved three times around the platform, before they were laid down. At each round, the master of ceremonies rose in a sedate and dignified manner, clapped his hands on the shoulders of the bearer of the dog, who was foremost in the procession. He stopped in the precise position he was in, when the hand of the chief was laid upon his shoulder, and there remained as motionless as a statue, for the space of a minute, during which he was addressed in a whisper by the master of cere-

monies. Several other chiefs, addressed those who carried the dogs, in the same manner, and again the procession moved on. After this the dogs were laid upon the platform, and all joined in loud singing and chaunting, while the procession continued slowly moving around the dead carcasses of the dogs, with the most devout solemnity.

While these ceremonies were proceeding in the council-house, fire had been applied to the altar of wood out side. The pile had become nearly half consumed and yielded great heat ; while around it, in a circle had been drawn a line, within which it was not intended spectators should pass. This, however, availed nothing, for the moment the procession had drawn around the fire, the area was crowded to its utmost capacity.

Under the direction of Captain Honnos, the bearers of the dogs again resumed their burdens ; a procession was formed in single file, the master of ceremonies taking the lead. Then followed the men in white robes, the persons who carried the dogs, the managers and others, promiscuously. As the procession moved along, the principal actors in the scene commenced singing, which continued while the whole marched around the council-house to the place of sacrifice. Around the burning pile they moved three several times, the last of which, the master of ceremonies stopped on the west side, with his face to the east and towards the fire. The remainder of the procession formed around the circle ; the persons in white being on the left hand of the high priest, and those bearing the dogs near to them.

The leader of ceremonies offered a short prayer to the Great Spirit, a sacrificial chaunt was sung, the dogs were laid at the feet of the officiating priest, another prayer was offered, another chaunt was sung, when one of the dogs was cast into the fire by the high priest. A like ceremony was performed and the remaining dog was also thrown upon the burning pile, and again followed the chaunting. Different individuals now brought forward baskets of herbs, tobacco, and such like, which were at intervals thrown upon the fire, and with the

consuming dogs produced a variety of scents, not easily comprehended. After the dogs were nearly consumed, the procession was again formed and returned to the council-house, and the committee were directed to go to the preparation house. The solemnities of this day being concluded, they formally adjourned. The accustomed ceremonies of this interesting season are usually concluded by a war-dance and feast, on the same day, after the sacrifice. But on this occasion it was adjourned till the following day, when the season of oblations, invocation, sacrifice and thanksgiving, were concluded with the WAR-DANCE.

This most singular and interesting of all the Indian ceremonies is worthy of particular remark.

For this important ceremony about thirty young braves were selected, each of whom provided himself with a horse, and left the Indian village alone, and by different ways approached a place previously appointed. When all were gathered at the place agreed upon, painted in the most frightful manner, they mounted on horseback, without saddles, with no clothing except a short and scanty garment extending from the waist nearly to the knee. Each man was armed with a rifle, tomahawk and scalping knife, and adorned with a bundle of scalps, or something resembling them, hanging from his girdle, and a few rude ornaments besides. They proceeded leisurely along, till within sight of the council-house, when the deafening war-whoop was raised and thrice repeated, and their horses were at once put to their utmost speed. On arriving at the council-house, the horses were speedily tied, the warriors during the time maintaining an air of immovable gravity. They proceeded in a body to the council-room, where the chiefs and aged men, who had all the while been anxiously waiting their return, most cordially received them; asked them what success upon the war-path; how many trophies of victims slain they had secured; of the fortitude of the tortured captives; the snares and ambuscades they had escaped; the feats of daring they had themselves performed; and if they were still willing and resolved again to try their skill and courage, and

to strive to add new trophies of valor to enrich their former fame.

All was gone through with in the most solemn and affecting manner. Their stories were told with much gesticulation and earnestness. After the preceding ceremony, commenced the war-dance, which, for singularity and effect, and the thrilling animation it imparts to the actors, cannot be surpassed by any rite of modern times. The fantastic figures and devices painted on their almost naked bodies, the rude head-dresses and ornaments, consisting of bells, brooches, rings, a profusion of ear and nose jewels, with deers' hoofs dangling about their aneles, gave the performers a most singular and grotesque appearance. Each warrior held in his hand a hatchet, a war-club, or a bow and quiver full of arrows. One of the party was firmly bound to the stove pipe as if to a tree, and personified a prisoner. A young brave, with long false beard and hair of perfect whiteness, represented by his appearance and movements an old and wrinkled man. He approached the supposed prisoner, and with great vehemence and earnestness of manner, addressed him, saying, "his glorious deeds were now at an end,—that he must prepare himself for torture by fire,—that no mercy could be shown him,—that his character for heroism should be established by the fortitude with which he withstood his sufferings." After the old man had finished his speech, the whole party gave the tremendous war-whoop. It seemed as if the lower regions had been suddenly broken up, and that the inhabitants thereof had made a hasty and unceremonious ascent to the earth. The substitute beheld all their mock preparation for his manifest destruction with as much apparent seriousness as if the whole had been real, and appeared as perfectly unconcerned and indifferent to all their movements, as the coldest stoicism could make him. Their rude music now struck up, consisting of blows with a stick upon a barrel-head and a kind of half-drum, accompanied by the voice. It would be utterly impossible to describe the various attitudes in which they presented themselves, and the rapidity of the transition of one posture to an-

other was so sudden, that the eye could not follow them. Look at a man in one position, and instantly his form would be imperceptibly changed to another. During the dance the prisoner was frequently menaced as if to be instantly dispatched with a war-club or hatchet. At another time a bow would be drawn with its arrow to the head, as if death was to be the immediate consequence.

Through the whole he stood as composed as if no threats had been made, and occasionally sung of his own achievements in the wars and of the ignorance of his enemies in the arts of torture. During the dance there was a continual flourishing of war-clubs and hatchets, and an unearthly exhibition of the most horrid grimaces, and protraction of the war-whoop. The warriors exerted themselves to the utmost of their capacity; the sweat rolled from their naked limbs and bodies in profusion; their breasts heaved from excessive fatigue; their nostrils were dilated to an unaccountable extent; their eyes flashed with delight, and their countenances showed the workings of passion intermingled with pleasure, and the whole scene was one of the most perfect enthusiasm and phrensy. Just at the close of the grand drama, which had lasted with short intervals for more than two hours, the prisoner was liberated, his bands having been cut by a stroke from a hatchet. He gazed wildly all around to see if the coast was clear; an opening was made for him to escape, he bounded like a panther to clear the ring, but the war-clubs and hatchets were flourished over his head; the most terrific yells were uttered, and he finally sunk, as if beneath their blows, and personified a dying man in the most perfect manner. An agonizing cry proclaimed his death; the slow, melancholy death song was chaunted while the whole party moved solemnly in single file around the apparent dead body of their prostrate prisoner. After this, all passed out into the open air reeking with perspiration as they were, and after a short conversation they severally retired to their homes. After the warriors had left the council-room, the young man who had so really acted the part of a suffering captive, gradually raised

his head and groaned, as if in excruciating agony; and finally collected himself, passed out and rejoiced with his companions. After a recess of about an hour large numbers of both sexes, young and old, assembled to participate in the PEACE-DANCE. This interesting ceremony is performed to music without words, and females, as well as males engage in it. In the performance, the males form as large a circle as the room will allow, facing inwards, the females then glide shyly into the circle and range themselves forward of the males. After these arrangements are made, the rude music strikes up, and the females proceed by placing their feet close together, then raising their toes, pass them about four inches to the right, and then their heels in the same manner, thus keeping time they pass noiselessly around the circle until the music ceases. During this movement of the females, the males retain their position, beating time with their heels and toes without moving at all, to the right or left.

This course is gone through with several times, which finally closes the dancing for the season.

Early in the morning, previous to the commencement of the war-dance, several large kettles had been placed over the fires in which were cooking the ingredients upon which the whole nation were at liberty to feast. The contents were composed of meat, corn, beans, peas, potatoes, turnips, some garden herbs which served for seasoning and other things which had been previously gathered in the baskets. After the close of the war-dance and the peace-dance, the feast was made ready, by removing the kettles to a convenient distance from the fires.

The mass was frequently stirred till the whole became completely mixed. The contents of the kettles were devoured without regard to politeness or ceremony; some dipped from the kettles with spoons, others skimmed out the more substantial parts, with chips, some were provided with bowls and spoons, while others as soon as the sealding aliment was sufficiently cooled, thrust in their fingers and thus obtained their share. After a reasonable time, the whole had vanished, and

all appeared to be refreshed and satisfied. The pipe of peace was now lighted, and the presiding officer of the past ceremonies drew the first draught, puffed the first whiff, and was very careful that a large quantity of smoke should issue from his mouth at a time, which he took great pains to make ascend in graceful curls and watched them with peculiar enjoyment. The pipe was passed from him to the other chiefs present, and from them to the old men, who all partook of it with a commendable relish.

Having concluded the ceremonies of the great festival, and all its requirements being fulfilled, every one feels himself absolved from the sins of the past year, and forms new resolutions for the time to come. Congratulations are exchanged, and new hopes excited,—free from iniquity and resolved to follow the path of evil no more; each one repairs to his home, happy in the propitious commencement of a new year, in perfect readiness to embark in all the operations of war, the chase, the council or the cabin.

Such were the proceedings of the great annual festival held at the Onondaga Castle in January 1841, taken from notes made by the author on the spot, and explained by the late Abraham La Fort. It may be proper to add that in all their ceremonies, none but the Indian language is used, consequently there is great difficulty in the way of obtaining a full and comprehensive knowledge of all their practices.

During the celebration of these ceremonies, the Indians observe the strictest sobriety and propriety of conduct, and seem pleased with the company of visitors and strangers who are disposed to treat them respectfully. But on some occasions, having been harshly treated, they are indifferent, except to those of their acquaintances whom they esteem as friends.

These dances of the Onondagas, which are similar to those of the other five nations, may with propriety be called descriptive dances. They are intended to exhibit some action or series of actions generally relating to war, and the imitation is often so close and so exactly executed, that the most indifferent spectator can follow the intentions of the performers.

Dances are rather a business than a pastime. They mingle with all the occupations and enterprizes of life. When war is declared and proclaimed, it is by means of a dance, and the warriors who engage in it are thereby enlisted. When an alliance is concluded, or peace restored, the event is celebrated by a dance, corresponding to the change of circumstances. The war-dance is the exact image of a campaign. It represents the preparation and arming of the warriors for battle; their departure from their own country; their arrival at the confines of the hostile nation; their mode of encampment; the attack; the scalping of such as fall into their hands, and the torture and heroism of prisoners. In their countenances they express the passions of anger, courage, resentment and revenge. With such power and force do these acts of enthusiasm often strike the mind of the beholder, that he is led to forget, in the moment of excitement, that it is only a representation passing before him; and the spectator often shudders as if the whole was a positive reality.

Although these people have no wars, nor can ever be expected to have any in which they may act as principals, yet these ancient customs are continued to commemorate the past, and to transmit to posterity their former achievements, and the glory of departed days!

The Baron Lahontan, speaking of the dances of the American Indians says: \*These dances may be compared to the military dance of Minerva: for these savages observe, whilst dancing with singular gravity, the harmony of certain songs, which the Greek soldiers of Achilles called Hyporchematiques.

It is not easy to decide whether the savages learned them of the Greeks or the Greeks of the savages.

Charlevoix, upon the same subject, remarks, (translation)—

\* "Toutes ces danses peuvent être comparées à la pyrrhique de Minerve, car les sauvages observent, en dansant d'une gravité singulière, les cadences de certaines chansons, que les milices Grecques d'Achille, appelloient hyporchematiques. Il n'est pas facile de sçavoir si les sauvages les ont a prises des Grecs, ou si les Grecs les ont prises des sauvages."

that the greatest part of their feasts, their songs and dances, appear to have their origin in religion, and still do preserve some traces of it. I have met with some, who could not help thinking, that our savages were descended from the Jews, and found in every thing some affinity between these people and the children of God. Indeed, there are in some things a strong resemblance. But in all their opinions there is nothing certain. Some have maintained that the Calumet, took its origin from the Caduceus of Mercury (which has been compared to the rod of Moses), and that in its institution, it was esteemed a symbol of peace. Calumet is a Norman word, signifying a reed, and the calumet of the savage, is properly the stem or tube of the pipe; but they comprehend the pipe also. On state occasions it is often highly ornamented with feathers, beads, &c.

CHAPTER IV.

PAGAN RITES AND CEREMONIES.

COMPARED WITH THOSE OF THE JEWS, EGYPTIANS, GREEKS AND ROMANS.

Having in a foregoing chapter alluded to the subject of the origin of the Indian nations from the Jews, through Charlevoix; and other authors having affirmed this opinion, it may not be considered improper in this place to note briefly some of the coincidences which may by some be supposed to exist between the rites and observances of the aborigines of our land, (particularly the Onondagas) and those of the Jews, Egyptians, Greeks and Romans. Without endorsing any particular theory, or without attempting to decide upon a subject wrapt in so profound mystery, where even learned Doctors disagree, we will be content with a simple detail of circumstances, without entering upon the solution of a doubtful problem.

How long the Indian nations had inhabited our country when first known to the whites, or at what period originated their peculiar religious institutions, we have not the means of knowing. When the white people first came among them, their practices in all respects were nearly the same as at the present. It may be possible, and if we admit, (and we must) the testimony of divine revelation, it must be true that they and their institutions originated in a more enlightened ancestry than they themselves exhibit. But it would perhaps appear unphilosophical to search for their origin from an exalted and civilized people. Still, among all their dark and unseemly institutions, we occasionally observe some faint

glimmerings of light, and perceive in the general wreck the ruins of a more elevated and loftier order of things.

Sacrifices have in all ages, and by almost every nation, been regarded as necessary to appease divine anger, and to render Deity propitious. The origin of the institution of sacrifice is clearly traceable to divine authority, and to that pure primeval period, when our original ancestor and his sons, were yet upon the earth. Cain brought of the fruits of the ground an offering; and his brother Abel, of the firstlings of his flock and the fat thereof. Of the particular details of this offering and sacrifice, there is no account, only that the offering of the former was rejected, while that of the latter was respected and approved. From the examples of the early chosen people of God, the Gentile nations received or retained their notions of sacrifice, and on this account we need not wonder to find so many coincidences in the sacrificial systems of the Jews and the neighboring nations. All false religions can be esteemed only as departures from the true, and therefore the origin of them, however corrupt they may become in the usage, may be the same. To the unaccountable desire in man to form low and limited estimates of Deity, more than to any thing else, may be attributed the introduction and propagation of error and false religion.

The principal yearly sacrifices of the Jews, were the Paschal lamb at the Passover, celebrated at the commencement of the sacred year; on the day of Pentecost or first fruits, the beginning of the civil year or ingathering of harvest; lastly, the day of expiation or great day of Atonement. Besides these, were the monthly festivals and others of less importance; yet were nevertheless attended with the greatest punctuality, but never more so, than are the five stated festivals of the Six Nations to this day at Onondaga. Before the law was given to Moses, burnt offerings served for all purposes of divine worship, whether they gave thanks for blessings, or deprecated evil, or prayed for good. These sacrifices expiated sins of omission, as well as those of commission, and from examples like these, the Gentile nations undoubtedly

obtained their impressions of the atonement of sin, by the sacrifice of animals, and from a remote period the rite has been transmitted with more or less of corruption, even to the wilds of America and continued to the present, among a people shut out, we know not how long, from all intercourse with the old world, debarred the light of science, civilization and religion. Considering all this, it is only a wonder that they retain so much of that primeval purity, as their religious practices exhibit; and which, even at this late day, are marked by a much higher degree of moral propriety and rational devotion, than were those of the Egyptians, Greeks and Romans who lived and flourished in the more immediate vicinity and nearer the times of the ancient patriarchs and prophets.

The priest's office was at first undoubtedly exercised by masters of families, and afterwards by heads of clans. And previous to the consecration of Aaron and his sons to the priesthood, the priest's office and magistrate's were blended in the same person.

Melchizedek was both a king and priest of Salem and offered sacrifices.

Abraham, who was styled a prince, performed the sacerdotal functions; and Jethro, a prince and priest of Midian, offered burnt sacrifices as a priest, being at the same time a ruler of his people; and Gideon, who long afterwards was a ruler in Israel, and a distinguished warrior, and who was offered a crown by the people, did sacrifices and performed the functions of a priest. And Manoah, while the children of Israel were yet under the dominion of the Philistines, and consequently he could have no authority, offered burnt sacrifices unto the Lord. So of the Chiefs of the Six Nations; they invariably officiate as priests or directors at their festivals and sacrifices.

The place of sacrifice was directed, by the Jewish ceremonial, to be at the door of the tabernacle or place of worship; and in like manner is the Indian sacrifice universally made at the door of their council-house, their only place of worship.

The Jewish priests, on all sacrificial occasions, were clothed

in robes of pure white; and so are those clothed who officiate as priests at the Indian sacrifices.

On saerificial occasions, the alms and offerings of the Jews were gathered in baskets, brought to the altar and set before the priest, with the strictest regard to order and propriety. Almost precisely the same practice exists among the Indians, who gather the alms and oblations of the people and present them to the officiating high priest in baskets.

The Jews offered in sacrifice, only oxen, sheep and goats; other animals, although they might be esteemed good for food were unsuitable for sacrifice, and the ceremonial law distinctly declares, what animals shall be considered clean and what unclean. It may be asked then, why the dog, an animal entirely rejected from the Jewish ceremonial, even the price of which should not be received into the treasury of the sanctuary, should be received among the Indians as an animal suitable for sacrifice. Let it be borne in mind, that not many years since, dogs were their only domestic animals,—wild animals being no where commanded for sacrifices, these were the only ones they could have always at hand, and to them they were suitable. They were, as it were, forced to adopt them or reject the rite entirely.

By the Jews, in the selection of victims for sacrifice, the utmost care was taken to choose such only as were free from blemish, “without spot and without blemish” are terms in frequent use throughout the Jewish ritual. And it was a custom among the nations surrounding Judea, and among the Egyptians, to set a seal upon the victim deemed proper for sacrifice. Among the Indians, a spot, or blemish, or maim, renders the animal as unfit for sacrifice as did the same faults, among the Jews.

The ceremony of Aaron with the goats, in many particulars is not unlike the sacrifices of the Indians, except in the selection of different animals.

Two goats were presented before the Lord at the door of the tabernacle. One was offered for a sin offering for the whole people, as an atonement, and the other bearing upon

his head all their transgressions, and all their sins, was sent unto a land not inhabited, never to return.

Scarlet, cedar-wood and hyssop, were used in the Jewish purifications, and myrrh and frankincense on sacrificial occasions. And after they had offered burnt offerings, and brought peace offerings, the people sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play. Practices similar to these may be noted among the aborigines, and any one who will take the trouble to examine at all into the intricacies and ceremonies of their sacrificial system, will readily admit, that there are many things which bear striking analogy to the Jewish system, and enough to encourage the opinion, that they may have originated from the same source.

Although the Indians have been justly termed guilty of belief in witchcraft, they never were more so than were the Jews, or the heathen round about them; and it may be added, that there is scarcely a nation, civilized or barbarian, heathen or Christian, who have not had their seasons of belief in this strange infatuation. Even our good forefathers of New England, always remarkable for intelligence and light, can look back upon a dark and gloomy page of their history, which relates the horrors of murders committed for witchcraft.

We have endeavored to point out a few of the coincidences which may be supposed to exist between some of the ceremonies of the Jews, and those of the Indians, as practiced at Onondaga. We are satisfied that they prove nothing positively as to their origin from that peculiar people. If any thing, they may illustrate the common origin of all men, and the high origin of all religious institutions, which at first must have emanated from the same source.

From the Jews the Egyptians undoubtedly obtained their notions of sacrifices, as did the Greeks and Romans from them. Their systems of mythology, throughout, were marked with peculiar extravagance and profanity.

Isis and Osiris, were the principal Egyptian deities, and the numerous myths and fables concerning their worship, are almost beyond credibility. Osiris was symbolized by the sun

and Isis by the moon. They were the patrons of agriculture and the arts. Their priests were universally clothed in robes of white. Although dogs were not admissible to the Jewish sacrifices, they nevertheless occupied a conspicuous place in the sacrifices of the most refined heathen nations, and entered largely into all their systems of mythology. Purifications were made in Egypt, Greece and Rome, by drawing a white dog around the person to be purified. Dogs were highly venerated in Egypt, and their death was lamented as a misfortune. Under the figure of a dog were represented all such as had the management of funerals. Anubis, an Egyptian deity, was represented by a dog. At first the dog was consecrated to Anubis; but afterwards the figure of a dog was substituted for that deity; lastly the head of a dog was annexed to a human body as a proper emblem. The tutelary gods of the Romans styled Lares, were covered with the skins of dogs, and at their feet was the figure of a dog. These animals were sacred to the Lares. The tomb of Diogenes, the prince of Cynics, was surmounted by the figure of a dog.

The fabled dog, Orthos, with double head, guarded the flocks of Geryon, and Cerberus, with treble jaws, guarded the gates of hell, to prevent the dead from escaping, and the living from entering.

Charybdis, an avaricious woman, was sent to a cave at the bottom of the sea, and there committed to the continual barking of dogs. Diana was attended by a troop of dogs. Her statues sometimes represented her with three heads, a horse, a dog and a hog. The Philistine's god, Dagon, was represented by a fish. The Syrians also worshipped a fish, as Cicero informs us, "*Syri piscem venerantur.*" In fact almost every animal was adopted in a real or symbolical sense as an object of worship among the enlightened heathen of ancient times.

Mention is made in Homer, of the sacrifice of whole hecatombs of cattle, perfect sheep and goats, whereby Achilles hoped Apollo might be appeased, and stay the plague he had sent among the Greeks; and to the manes of his friend, Pa-

troelus, with other animals, he sacrificed two dogs of purest white, "for," said he, "to the gods the most perfect things should be offered." The whole was concluded with funeral games with great solemnity, at which Achilles officiated as high priest, as well as a temporal prince, and for the occasion was habited in robes of white. Virgil makes frequent mention of the sacrifices of the Romans. He says goats were sacrificed to Bacchus on every altar, and white bulls and heifers untried in the yoke, and sheep were laid upon their altars, and sacrificed to Jupiter. The festival of the Greeks termed Eleusinia, corresponding to the Initia of the Romans, from which the latter was taken, was the most imposing of all the Greek festivals. It lasted nine days, and was conducted with great ceremony.

The Greeks and Romans observed a festival in honor of the muses, which lasted nine days, and was celebrated with games, plays, songs and dances. At the Lupercalian held at Rome, two goats and a dog were sacrificed. This festival was instituted in honor of the she-wolf which nursed Romulus, the founder of the city.

The festival of Ceres, at Greece and Rome, was celebrated with great ceremony. She was represented with ears of corn on her head, with a hoe and basket in her hands. It lasted eight days. A festival in honor of Pales, was held at Rome, the principal ceremony of which consisted in bringing little bundles of straw and dancing over them.

At the festival styled Falaria, pulse and beans were the oblations. These festivals of the Egyptians, Greeks and Romans, in process of time became grossly corrupt, and were often conducted with the greatest confusion, disorder and licentiousness. Baskets were made use of, no less by the Greeks and Romans, in gathering in their offerings, than by the Jews. Solemn embassies were sent yearly to Delos, with baskets of first fruits and holy things, to celebrate the feast of Apollo, with music and dancing. Of this, there are traces among the Romans; the "*Mystica vannus iachi*," mentioned by Virgil, is explained by many as a wicker basket, in which first

fruits were carried. Golden baskets were carried by the wealthy virgins of Greece and Rome at the feasts of Bacchus.

Dancing occupied a conspicuous place among the heathen nations as a religious ceremony, and was not considered irreligious by the Jews. Miriam, and her maidens after her, went out with timbrels and dances rejoicing in the overthrow of the Egyptians. The women came out of all the cities of Israel singing and dancing, and as they played, said, "Saul hath slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands." David himself danced before the Lord.

In all these, there was nothing of lasciviousness or impropriety; they were devout expressions of joy attended with sacred music.

From the dancing of Miriam and her companions on the sea shore, it is supposed Callimachus conceived his hymn to Diana, wherein he ascribes to the goddess, three score and ten dancers, daughters of the ocean. From these examples, other nations have made dancing a part of their worship to the gods. Among all the heathen ceremonies, there was none held in higher estimation than dancing. Their festivals were almost universally concluded with feasting, singing and dancing. The sacred fire kept constantly burning in the Temple of Vesta, may have some analogy to the mystical council-fire of the Five Nations. With the Romans the safety of the city was supposed to be endangered by the extinguishment of the vestal flame. With the rude sons of the forest, the expiring light of the council-fire, foreboded the destruction of a nation.

The mode of punishment for murder, among the Jews and heathen nations was not unlike that practiced by the Indians. The nearest of kin was the avenger of blood, and held the right and exercised it, of destroying the guilty murderer; nay, was bound to do his endeavor to avenge the blood of his relative.

Another coincidence may be remarked in the estimation of time. The ancient Jewish year was estimated by lunar months, which commenced on the new moon. And this method was practiced by all nations indiscriminately, until the

more exact and consistent calculations by solar revolutions were established.

Again, another may be noted in the significance of proper names. The Jews were remarkable for their appropriate names for individuals, places and things, occasioned by the occurrence of some extraordinary circumstance or event. This is to a careful reader, one of the peculiar beauties of the Old Testament, and signally illustrates the characteristics of God's chosen people. The ancient heathen were scarcely less remarkable, than were the Jews, for the significance of their proper names, and it has most appropriately been said, that any person having a thorough knowledge of our aboriginal names, and their derivation, would be in possession of a perfect key to the history of these peculiar people.

These comparisons might be spun out to an almost interminable length; but we trust enough has been said to show that however remote the origin of our aborigines, or from what nation or country descended, or however corrupt they may have become in their religious rites and practices, they have retained their ancient customs with singular purity and for this, may very appropriately demand our commendation, our sympathy and charity.

We have thus given a cursory glance at some of the most prominent traditions, practices and customs held in estimation among the Onondagas, as first observed by the white people in their earliest intercourse with the Indians. It is truly gratifying and worthy of remark, that their pagan rites are not as rigidly adhered to as formerly; that they are yearly becoming less interesting to the pagans themselves, and in many respects, are undoubtedly undergoing a change and improvement.

“*The Christian Party,*” among them is steadily increasing and with what religion and schools is accomplishing for these people, a sensible improvement in their condition is undoubtedly hastening. The school recently established among them, is patronized by many of the natives, who manifest an interest in the improvement of the pupils. The fruits of this

school, with those religious instructions so zealously imparted to them, it is believed are gradually supplanting their pagan practices, and will ere long, we confidently trust, be the means of permanently establishing among them a happier order of things. Their peculiar religious institutions are fast withering to decay, and the time cannot be far distant when the last pagan sacrifices will have been performed in our Christian country. The increased attention they pay to agriculture and the arts, is an evidence that civilization is gaining ground among them; and were it not for that bane of human prosperity, (alcohol,) to the use of which too many of them are unhappily addicted, improvement, thrift and happiness would every where abound.

## CHAPTER V.

## LIVES OF DISTINGUISHED ONONDAGA CHIEFS.

DEKANISSORA—GARANGULA—KANAHJEAGAH—SADEKANAHE—CANASSETAGO—OUN-  
 DIAGA—CONYATAUYOU—OSSAHINTA—TAHTOTAH—DEHATKATONS—COUNCIL-  
 FIRE.

DEKANISSORA.—This celebrated Onondaga chieftain and prince of Indian orators and diplomatists, flourished from about 1680, to the time of his death, which occurred at St. Louis, about the year 1730. During the term of his long and eventful life, which was characterized by a participation in all the important events of the confederate nations, he was on terms of intimacy with both the French and English. From his skill in diplomacy, faithfulness and honest integrity, he possessed in a high degree, the confidence of both nations. Although there were periods when his sincerity was doubted, and he has even been charged with duplicity, yet his calumniators have failed to detect and point out the particular faults laid to his charge. Among his own countrymen, he always sustained the highest reputation as an undoubted patriot, an able statesman, an accomplished public speaker, and a subtle and safe manager of public concerns. On these accounts, he was always selected by his people, as their most capable man in the management of national affairs, and in conducting negotiations with both French and English, with the ambassadors of which nations he was always able most successfully to cope. He has been represented, as a tall well formed man, graceful in elocution, possessing great fluency of speech, powerful in argument, with features resembling the busts of Cicero.

His name is associated with all the important transactions of the Five Nations, which transpired while he was a chief of the confederacy and perhaps he has never been surpassed by any of the distinguished men of the Iroquois, in all those arts and accomplishments which adorn the native man.

Several of his speeches have been preserved in the Manuscript London Documents, obtained by Mr. Brodhead, now in the office of the Secretary of State, and also a few specimens, by Colden, from which sources we make the following selections.

It is highly probable that these interpreted speeches fall far short of the originals, in grace, power and effect. But they may however throw some light upon the courtesy, the high-souled honor, the indomitable courage, and untiring perseverance of this truly distinguished man; characteristics which signally embellished his native worth.

During the winter of 1693, '94, after a long and angry contest between the French and Indians, in which both parties suffered inconceivable injury and loss, and were therefore mutually inclined to peace, propositions were made by the Jesuit priests for a cessation of hostilities, preliminary to a final settlement of differences. These proposals were so well received, that a council was called with a view to act upon it. The Mohawks were opposed to negotiation, and the English were secretly, if not openly, opposed to a reconciliation between the belligerent parties. This was well understood beforehand, and it was agreed that nothing conclusive should be done before the subject was submitted to these parties. Having this in view, Dekanissora and several other chiefs, visited Albany, (he being chief speaker,) to lay the matter before Governor Fletcher and Major Schuyler. We make the following extract from his speech on this occasion. After vindicating his conduct in holding intercourse with the French, he thus proceeds :

“Brother CAYENGUIRAGO,\* when the Christians first arrived

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\* Name for Governor Fletcher.

in this country, we received them kindly. When they were but a small people, we entered into a league with them, to guard them from all enemies whatsoever. We were so fond of their society that we tied the great canoe which brought them, not with a rope made of bark, to a tree, but with a strong iron chain fastened to a great mountain. Now, before the Christians arrived, the General Council of the Five Nations was held at Onondaga, where there has been from the beginning a continual fire kept burning; it is made of two great logs, whose flame never extinguishes. As soon as the hatchet makers (Christians) arrived, the General Council at Onondaga planted this tree at Albany, whose roots and branches have since spread as far as New England, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia; and under the shade of this tree all the English Colonies have frequently been sheltered. *Seven fathoms of wampum to renew the chain.*"

"The only reason, to be plain with you, of our sending to make peace with the French, is the low condition to which we are reduced, while none of our neighbors send us the least assistance, so that the whole burden of the war lies on us alone. Our brethren of New England, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, of their own accord, thrust their arms into our chain; but since the war began, we have received no assistance from them. We, alone, cannot continue the war against the French, by reason of the recruits they daily receive from the other side of the great lake.

"Brother CAYENGUIRAGO—speak from your heart. Are you resolved to prosecute the war vigorously against the French; and are your neighbors of Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Connecticut and New-England, resolved to assist us? If it be so, notwithstanding any treaty hitherto entered into, we will prosecute the war as hotly as ever. But if our neighbors will not assist, we must make peace, and we submit it to your consideration, by giving this great belt fifteen deep.

"Brother CAYENGUIRAGO—I have truly told you the reasons which have induced us to offer peace to the French; we shall likewise, from the bottom of our hearts, inform you of

the design we have in this treaty. When the Governor of Canada shall have accepted the nine belts, of which I have just now told you, then we shall have something more to say, by two large belts, which lie hid in our bosom. We shall lay down first one and say, we have a brother Cayenguirago, with whose people we have been united in one chain from the beginning. They must be included in this treaty; we cannot see them involved in bloody war, while we sit easy in peace. If the Governor of Canada answer, that he has made a separate peace with us, and that he cannot make any peace with Cayenguirago, because the war is from over the great lake, then we shall lay down the second broad belt and tell the Governor of Canada; if you will not include Cayenguirago's people, the treaty will become thereby void, as if it had never been made, and if he persists, we will absolutely leave him."

He goes on with an account of his mission to the praying Indians at the castle above Montreal, from whom he had been conducted in great splendor by the superior of Canadian missions to Quebec. He is said to have been clothed in scarlet trimmed with gold, with a beaver hat richly adorned with silver lace, a present from Col. Fletcher a short time before. At a subsequent council he says: "Our brother Cayenguirago's arms and our own are stiff, and tired with holding fast the chain. Our neighbors sit still and smoke at their ease. The fat is melted from our flesh and fallen on them. They grow fat while we grow lean.

"This chain made us the enemy of the French. If all held fast as Cayenguirago, it would have been a terror to them. If we would all heartily join and take the hatchet in hand, our enemy would soon be destroyed. We should forever after live in peace and ease. Do your parts, and thunder itself cannot break the chain."

On one occasion he said to Major Schuyler in reply to the suggestion of fraud on the part of a Jesuit messenger of the French—"We know that the priest favors his own nation. But it is not in his power to alter our affection to our brethren; we wish you would bury all the misunderstandings you

have conceived on his account,—*and we likewise wish you gave less credit to the RUM CARRIERS than you do.*”

Dekanissora, or Teganessorens, as he is sometimes called by the Jesuit Fathers, was a believer in the Roman Catholic faith, and was for many years considered a true disciple; on that account he could hear no evil spoken against them.

He wielded a mighty influence among the Five Nations, and his good will and affection was most earnestly sought, by the Governors of New-York and Canada.

From another of his speeches we make the following extract. [Lon. Doe's, 20, p. 116, A. D. 1715.]

A letter had previously been sent by Brigadier General Hunter, Governor of New-York, with papers relating to the Five Nations, upon which propositions were made by the Sachems of the confederate nations, viz: “the Maquas, Oneydes, Onondages, Cayouges and Sinnekes,”—to his Excellency Governor Hunter, 27th of August.

Dekamissora, Chief Sachem of Onondaga, speaker, said: “When we were here last year we made three propositions, and not then having belts of wampum to lay down according to our custom, we gave three sticks, and now bring three belts for the said three propositions.

Brother Corlear—we are here met together, your Excellency, and the Sachems of the Five Nations, at Albany, the place appointed for all treaties with us, and if there be any thing of moment to be treated of, either of Virginia, Maryland, Carolina, or any of his Majesty's colonies in America, this is the place where we are to treat with one another. Your Excellency renewed the covenant chain last summer here, which was extremely acceptable to us all; and you demanded the hatchet from us, which you had given into our hands against the French of Canada, which hatchet we do now deliver you. It has been an unfortunate hatchet. We have had two Canada expeditions, but they both proved abortive and unsuccessful, and therefore, if you ever offer to give us such a hatchet again into our hands, we will not accept it.

Brother Corlear—Last summer, when we were here, you

commanded and required, that the path of going to war, should be stopped; but we told you then, that we could not give you an answer, before we had consulted with our young men, the warriors; and we now come to a conclusion, to obey your excellency's commands, and to stop up that path henceforth. But there are diverse companies of our people still out against them, who have referred the decision of that matter to the Sachems and other young Indians who were left at home, whether that war should be continued or not.

“Brother Corlear—We have heard of the demise of our great Queen Ann, whose death we condole with all our hearts; and at the same time, we heard with unspeakable joy that our great King George succeeded her in the kingdoms and dominions belonging to Great Britain. And we were likewise told, that he would protect and defend us as Queen Ann had done. We hope it will be true; then our children's children will live in peace and flourish, and no difference will ever arise between us if that be performed.

“Brother Corlear—you forbid us to go to war against the Flat-heads of Carolina, and we have been obedient to your commands. Now we have often desired that the goods should be sold cheaper, which has not been complied with, and we insist still that goods may be sold at a more easy rate. It would be a great satisfaction to all our people. Brother—you have taken the hatchet out of our hands; that hatchet which you put into our hands. We have laid it down willingly, but we have a hatchet of our own, which we made use of in former times, which we keep lying by us, to make use of the same whenever we shall be attacked by any. Brother—we have done speaking, and this is what we had to say, for which we prayed your excellency to come up. But we have been sent for, likewise, by your excellency's commands, and shall attend to hear what your excellency has to propose to us, and desire to know the time when we shall wait upon you.”

Numerous examples of the speeches of this noted chieftain might be brought to view, as they abound in all the councils of the confederates with the French and English. But we

trust enough has been shown to prove his talents, sagacity, and influence to be of no ordinary kind. After a long life of usefulness and uncommon activity, he died at a very advanced age, on a visit to St. Louis, while engaged on important business of the confederacy.

GARUNGULA\*—Was another distinguished orator and statesman of the confederacy, a noted chief of the Onondaga nation, who flourished at a period a little earlier than Dekanissora. He was an older man and died some thirty-five years before him. They were well known to each other, and on many important embassies were associated. If Dekanissora can with propriety be styled the Achilles of the Five Nations for his prowess and address, Garungula may be styled a very Nestor to these nations, for his wisdom and greatness. In 1684, the French governor of Canada, de la Barre, raised an army of 1700 men with a view of invading the territory of the Five Nations, and annihilating their power forever. He had made but little progress in his expedition, when an alarming sickness broke out in his camp and raged with such virulence, that he was obliged to relinquish the undertaking entirely; all of which was as well known to the Onondagas, as to the French. Meanwhile, with a view of keeping up appearances, and if possible to effect something, de la Barre crossed lake Ontario, and held a talk with such of the Five Nations as would hear him. Garungula was present, and to him the governor made a pompous and flourishing speech, stating his desire to have peace, and of the power of the French to enforce it, at the same time insisting, that the Five Nations should make full restitution for injuries done, and never more attempt hostilities against them. If they did so, he had express orders he said, from the king his master, to declare war against them, and to take vengeance at once. The French governor's speech was received with subdued gravity by the haughty Garungula, and with a hearty contempt for every

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\* Some of the French writers style him "*Grand Gueule*," or great eater, from which this name is by some supposed to be derived.

threat he had put forth. Being conscious of the straitened circumstances of the French, and of the justice of his own cause, Garungula arose, and walking about within the circle which had gathered around the principal actors in the scene, thus began :

\*“YONNONDIO, I honor you, and the warriors that are with me honor you. Your interpreter has finished your speech. I now begin mine. My words make haste to reach your ears ; hearken to them.

YONNONDIO, you must have believed when you left Quebec, that the sun had burnt up all the forests which render our country inaccessible to the French, or that the lakes had so far overflowed their banks, that they had surrounded our castles, and that it was impossible for us to get out of them. Yes, truly, you must have dreamed so, and the curiosity of seeing so great a wonder, has brought you so far. Now you are undeceived, since that I, and the warriors here present, are come to assure you, that the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas and Mohawks, are yet alive. I thank you in their name, for bringing back into their country, the calumet which your predecessors received from their hands. It was happy for you, that you left under ground that murdering hatchet, that has so often been dyed in the blood of the French.

HEAR, YONNONDIO, I do not sleep. I have my eyes open, and the sun which enlightens me, discovers to me a great captain, at the head of a company of soldiers, who speaks as if he were dreaming. He says, that he only came to the lake, to smoke on the great calumet with the Onondagas. But Garungula says, he sees to the contrary, that it was to knock them on the head, if sickness had not weakened the arms of the French. I see Yonnondio, raving in a camp of sick men, whose lives the Great Spirit has saved, by inflicting this sickness upon them.

HEAR, YONNONDIO, our women had taken their clubs ; our children and old men had carried their bows and arrows into

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\* The name by which the French governors were known.

the heart of your camp, if our warriors had not disarmed them and kept them back, when your messengers came to our castles. It is done; I have said it.

HEAR YONNONDIO—we plundered none of the French, but those that carried guns, powder and balls to the Twightwies and Chictaghicks, because those arms might have cost us our lives. Herein we follow the example of the Jesuits, who break all the kegs of rum brought to our castles, lest the drunken Indians should knock them on the head. Our warriors have not beaver enough to pay for all those arms that they have taken, and our old men are not afraid of the war. This belt preserves my words. We carried the English into our lakes to trade with the Utawawas and Quatoghies, as the Adirondacks brought the French to our castles to carry on a trade, which the English say is theirs. We are born free; we neither depend on Yonnondio or Corlear;\* we may go when we please, and carry with us whom we please, and buy and sell what we please. If your allies be your slaves, use them as such; command them to receive no other but your people. This belt preserves my words.

We knock the Twightwies and Chictaghicks on the head, because they had cut down the trees of peace, which were the limits of our country. They have hunted beaver on our lands; they have acted contrary to the customs of Indians, for they left none of the beavers alive; they killed both male and female; they brought the Satanias into their country to take part with them, after they had concerted ill designs against us. We have done less than either the English or French, that have usurped the lands of so many Indian nations and chased them from their own country. This belt preserves my words.

HEAR YONNONDIO—what I say is the voice of all the Five Nations. Hear what they answer. Open your ears to what they speak. The Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas and

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\* Governor of New-York.

Mohawks say, that when they buried the hatchet at Cadaraqui, in the presence of your predecessor, in the middle of the fort, they planted the tree of peace in the same place, to be there carefully preserved ; that in the place of arms and ammunition of war, beavers and merchandize should only enter there.

HEAR, YONNONDIO—take care for the future, that so great a number of soldiers as appear there, do not choke the tree of peace planted in so small a fort. It will be a great loss, if after it had so easily taken root, you should stop its growth, and prevent its covering your country and ours with its branches. I assure you, in the name of the Five Nations, that our warriors shall dance to the calumet of peace under its leaves ; and shall remain quiet on their mats, and shall never dig up the hatchet till their brother Yonnondio or Corlear shall, either jointly or separately, endeavor to attack the country which the Great Spirit has given to our ancestors. This belt preserves my words, and this other, the authority which the Five Nations have given me.” Then addressing himself to the interpreter, he said, “ Take courage, you have spirit, speak, explain my words, forget nothing, tell all that your brethren and friends say to Yonnondio. Your Governor, by the mouth of Garangula who loves you, and desires you to accept this present of beaver, and take part with me in my feast to which I invite you. This present of beaver is sent to Yonnondio on the part of the Five Nations.”\*

De la Barre was struck with surprise at the wisdom of this chief, and equal chagrin at the plain refutation of his own. He immediately returned to Montreal and thus terminated this inglorious expedition of the French against the high-souled and martial spirited Onondagas. This speech was acknowledged by the French themselves, considering the circumstances under which it was delivered, as a masterpiece of ingenuity, boldness and eloquence.

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\* Vide Smith's History of New-York, and De Witt Clinton's Address, 1811.

KAN-AH-JE-A-GAH,\* called by the English, "Black Kettle," and by the French "La Chaudiere Noir." He was an Onondaga, and one of the most daring and renowned warriors whose name has ever graced the pages of Indian history. He was cotemporary with Dekanissora and Garungula, though somewhat a younger man.

His first appearance as a warrior was in 1690. In the summer of that year, we find him in company with Major Peter Schuyler of Albany, with a band of Mohawk and Onondaga warriors, engaged in the destruction of the French settlements along the shores of lake Champlain. Governor De Calheres of Montreal, hastily collected a large force with which to oppose them, and although the French force was greatly superior on this occasion, yet it was repulsed with severe loss. The French, smarting under their reverses, and desirous of retrieving their tarnished honor and broken fortune, raised a force of three hundred men, with a view of surprising the Indians in the neighborhood of Niagara. This force was met by Kan-ah-je-a-gah and defeated. He, the next year carried the war into Canada, and every where spread the greatest terror and alarm, besides causing immense damage to the French settlements. The governor of the French was so exasperated at these successes of the brave war chief of the Onondagas, that he caused an innocent captive which had been taken from the Indians, to be put to death by the most execruciating tortures. He withstood all their efforts with the most stoical indifference and courageous fortitude. He sung his achievements while they burned his feet and hands with red hot irons, cut and wrung off his joints, and pulled out his sinews; and to render the hellish tragedy complete, his scalp was torn off, and red hot sand poured upon his naked skull.

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\* We have met this Indian name but once in our researches, and that was in the London Documents, at Albany; it is there spelled Can-ad-ge-gai. The Onondagas still revere this great warrior, and pronounce it as it is written above. (See Lon. D. c. vol. 6, p. 104.)

A series of atrocities like the foregoing on the part of the French, once more re-awakened the vengeance of Kan-ah-je-a-gah. Revenge was too sweet to repose under such heinous aggravations. About one hundred Senecas were soon upon the war-path, who were joined by a large party of Onondagas, with Kan-ah-je-a-gah for a leader. They intercepted all trading parties from Montreal to the upper lakes, secured much booty, and severely harrassed the French, and their Indian allies in all directions, carrying terror and dismay into the heart of the French colony. These were the palmy days of the confederacy, when they could successfully war with European powers, and the time when an advantage which was gained over them, was lauded far and wide as a glorious triumph. In July, 1692, he fell upon the island of Montreal, carrying his arms to the very gates of the citadel; and it was only for a want of the knowledge of attacking fortified places that prevented the destruction of the city. He suddenly attacked a party of French, under the command of Sicur de Lusignan, slew their commander, and put the men to flight. This brave chief continued the war with success till the year 1697, when he was decoyed into Canada, by the perfidy of the French, under the pretext of a desire to make peace, with about thirty of his warriors, who were fallen upon at a time when they had not the least thought that an enemy was near, and treacherously murdered by a party of Algonkins, engaged by the French expressly for the purpose. After he had received his death wound, he cried out, "Must I, who have made the whole earth tremble before me, now die by the hands of children?" He always retained the most deadly hatred for the Adirondacks.

Thus perished one of the most brave, bold and renowned warriors of the Five Nations.\*

Besides the before named chiefs, were two others scarcely less distinguished. These were SADEKANAHE and THUREN-

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\* Colden's Five Nations.

SURA, both of whom were men of influence and bore a conspicuous part in all the important affairs of the confederacy. Some of the most beautiful and sublime passages of Indian eloquence, which have been preserved, have fallen from the lips of these distinguished chiefs of the Onondagas. Their talents and voices swayed the councils of the confederacy for a space of near a century before the French invaded their territory in 1696. And perhaps they have never been equalled in their Oratorical efforts, except by Logan, Red Jacket and Farmers Brother.

Of the kind of oratory for which these native public speakers were distinguished, we cannot be expected to particularize with much precision. Indian eloquence is peculiarly impressive in the manner of the orator's delivery; forcible in the expression of his countenance, and in the brilliant flashes of irony, humor and pathos with which he embellishes his subject. The Indian orator is remarkable for his allegorical apostrophes, to animate and inanimate things, his high wrought and original comparisons, and above all for the high toned principle, and direct, unpolished, unsophisticated logical accumen which prevades his discourse. By his eloquence, the orator arouses the passions of his hearers, and by his manner, affects their hearts and wins them to his views. He needs to be seen as well as heard, to have his speeches take their due effect; hence all interpretations, must always fall far short of the originals, in every point which constitutes the excellence of Indian oratory.

Dr. Colden, who was familiar with Indian oratory, in its higher purity, remarks—"The speakers whom I have heard, had all a great fluency of words and much more grace in their manner, than any man could expect among a people entirely ignorant of the liberal arts and sciences. Their speakers attained a sort of *urbanitas* or *atticism*."

A great council was held at Onondaga, in January, 1690. The object was to consider a message from Count de Frontenac, the governor of Canada. The English authorities at Albany, as was customary, were invited to attend. The

council opened on the 22d of the month. Eighty saehems of the Five Nations were present. Sadekanahte was the leader of the council. Rising in his place, he at first addressed one of the English messengers from Albany. He informed him that deputies were present from the Canadian Governor. Then taking in his hand a belt of wampum, sent by Count Frontenac, and holding it in the middle, he proceeded; "What I have said relates only to one half of the belt. The other half is to let you know that the governor of Canada intends to kindle his fire again at Cadaraqui next spring. He therefore invites his children and the Onondaga Captain Dekanissora, in particular, to treat there about the old chain."

Several other distinguished speakers, of different nations, declared their sentiments. Belts, &c. were offered. After which Sadekanahte again rose and said, "Brothers, we must stick to our brother Quider, (Peter Schuyler, mayor of Albany,) and regard Yonnondio, (governor of Canada,) as an enemy. "Brothers—Our fire burns at Albany. We will not send Dekanissora to Cadaraqui. We adhere to our old chain with Corlear, (governor of New-York,) we will prosecute the war with Yonnondio. We will follow your advice in drawing off our men from Cadaraqui. Brothers—we are glad to hear the news you tell us, but tell us no lies! Brother Kinshon! (New-England deputy,) we hear you design to send soldiers eastward against the Indians there. But we advise you, now so many are united against the French, to fall immediately on them. Strike at the root; when the trunk shall be cut down, the branches will fall of course.

Corlear and Kinshon,—Courage! courage! In the spring to Quebec! Take that place—you will have your feet upon the necks of the French and all their friends in America!" After a short consultation, the following answer was prepared to be sent to the governor of Canada by the deputies of the French.

"YONNONDIO—You have notified your return to us and that you have brought back thirteen of our people who were carried to France. We are glad of it. You desire us to

meet you at Cadaraqui next spring, about the old chain. But, Yonnondio! how can we trust you, who have acted deceitfully so often? Witness what was done at Cadaraqui—the usage our messengers met with at Utawas, and what was done to the Senecas, at the same place.” Gives a belt indicating a willingness to treat.

“THURENSURA, OGHUESSE and ERTEL—(names of French deputies) Have you observed friendship with us? If you have not, how came you to advise us to renew the friendship with Yonnondio?”

“TAWERAHET—The whole council is glad to hear of your return with the other twelve.

“YONNONDIO—You must send home Tawerahet and the others this present winter, before spring. We will save all the French we have prisoners, till that time.

“YONNONDIO—You desire to speak to us at Cadaraqui. Don't you know that your fire there is extinguished? It is extinguished with blood. You must send home the prisoners in the first place. You are not to think we have laid down the axe because we return an answer. We intend no such thing. Our far-fighters shall continue the war, till our countrymen return. When our brother Tawerahet is returned, then we will speak to you of peace.”

This is only one of the many specimens of this distinguished orator's efforts and abilities as exemplified in the courtly councils of his people. Numerous others might be brought forward from the London Documents where they abound. They show the high estimation in which the Five Nations were then held by the two most powerful and enlightened nations of the earth, and the influence which their decisions had in the political affairs of these European Powers.

CAN-AS-SE-TA-GO—Was a renowned, sagacious and influential chief of the Five Nations. He was an Onondaga, a man of note in his own nation, whose name figures largely in all the principal transactions of the Five Nations from 1734 to 1783. To illustrate the tact and capacity of this distinguished chief, it may not be amiss here to insert an extract from one

of his speeches at a council, with commissioners of Maryland, relative to claims advanced by the people of that province, to a part of the territory of the Five Nations. (Taken from Colden.)

“ You mentioned the affair of the land yesterday, you went back to old times, and told us you had been in possession of the province of Maryland over a hundred years. But what is a hundred years, in comparison to the length of time since our claim began, since we came out of this ground? For we must tell you, that long before one hundred years, our ancestors came out of this very ground, and their children have occupied here ever since. You came out of the ground in a country far beyond the sea. There you may have a just claim. But here, you must allow us to be your elder brethren, and the lands to have belonged to us, long before you knew anything of them. It is true the Dutch came here a hundred years ago in a ship, and brought with them many goods, such as awls, hatchets, guns, knives, and several other things, which they gave us; and when they had taught us the use of these things, we learned what sort of people they were. We were so well pleased with them, that we at first tied their ship to the bushes\* on the shore. Afterwards, liking them still better the longer they staid with us, and thinking the bushes too slender, we removed the rope, and tied it to the great tree,† and finding that the tree was liable to be blown down by high winds, or to decay of itself, we from the affection we bore them, again removed the rope, and made it fast to a strong and big rock;‡ and not content with this, for its further security, we again removed the rope to the great mountain,§ and there we tied it very fast, and rolled wampum around it; and to make it still more secure, we stood upon the wampum and sat down upon it, to preserve and defend it, and to prevent any hurt coming to it. We did our best endeavors that it might remain unchanged forever. But with you, we have had no dealings, no trade, no chain of friend-

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\* Manhattan Island.

† Mohawk.

‡ Oneida.

§ Onondaga.

ship, and will not now quietly consent to have our lands unjustly wrested from us."

An anecdote related by Dr. Franklin, shows in a very amiable light the hospitable character and sagacity, as well as honest simplicity, of this memorable chieftain. Conrad Weiser, the famous Indian interpreter, had been naturalized among the Five Nations, and spoke well their language. In going through the Indian country to carry a message from the Governor of Pennsylvania, to a council to be held at Onondaga, he called at the habitation of Canassetago, an old acquaintance, who embraced him, spread furs for him to sit on, and placed before him some boiled beans and venison, and mixed some rum and water for him to drink. When he was well refreshed, and had lighted his pipe, Canassetago began to converse with him, asked how he had fared, the many years since they had seen each other, whence he then came, what occasioned the journey, &c. Conrad answered all his questions, and when the discourse began to flag, the Indian, to continue it, said,—“Conrad, you have lived long among the white people, and know something of their customs. I have sometimes been at Albany, and have observed that once in seven days they shut up their shops, and assemble all in the great house; tell me what it is for; what do they do there?” “They meet there,” says Conrad, “to hear and learn *good things*.” “I do not doubt,” says the Indian, “that they tell you so; they have told me the same, but I doubt the truth of what they say, and I will tell you my reasons. I went lately to Albany to sell my skins, and buy blankets, knives, powder, rum, &c. You know I used generally to deal with Hans Hanson, but I was a little inclined this time to try some other merchants. However, I called first upon Hans, and asked him what he would pay for beaver. He said he could not give more than four shillings a pound; but, said he, I cannot talk on business now, this is the day when we meet together to learn *good things*, and I am going to the meeting. So I thought to myself, since I cannot do any business to-day, I may as well go to the meeting too; so I went with him. There stood up a man

in blaek and began to talk to the people very angrily. I did not understand what he said, but perceiving that he looked much at me and Hanson, I imagined he was angry at seeing me there; so I went out, sat down near the house, struck fire, and lighted my pipe, waiting till the meeting should break up. I thought, too, that the man had mentioned something of beaver, and I suspected it might be the subject of their meeting. So when they came out, I accosted the merchant: Well, Hans, says I, I hope you have agreed to give more than four shillings a pound. No, says he, I cannot give so much; I cannot give more than three shillings and sixpence. I then spoke to several other dealers, but they all sung the same song, three and sixpence—three and sixpence. This made it clear to me that my suspicion was right, and that whatever they pretended of meeting to learn *good things*, the real purpose was to consult how to cheat Indians in the price of beaver. Consider but a little, Conrad, and you must be of my opinion. If they met so often to learn *good things*, they would certainly have learned some before this time. But they are still ignorant; you know our practice. If a white man in traveling through our country, enters one of our cabins, we all treat him as I do you. We dry him if he is wet; we warm him if he is cold, and give him meat and drink, that he may allay his hunger and thirst, and we spread soft furs for him to rest and sleep on. We demand nothing in return. But if I go into a white man's house at Albany, and ask for victuals and drink, they say, where is your money? and if I have none they say, get out you Indian dog. You see, they have not yet learned those little *good things* that we need no meetings to be instructed in, because our mothers taught them to us when we were children, and therefore it is impossible their meetings should be as they say, for any such purpose, or have any such effect; they are only to contrive the cheating of Indians in the price of beaver."

Another speech of his before the Governor and Council of Pennsylvania and the head men of the Delaware nation, preserved by Colden, illustrates the power of the Six Nations,

no less than the commanding influence of this distinguished chief. A dispute arose between the Delawares and the government of Pennsylvania, relative to a tract of land in the forks of the Delaware. The English claimed it by right of purchase, and the Delawares persisted in their claim, and threatened to use force, unless it should be given up by the whites. The Delawares were at this time subject to the Six Nations, and the Governor of Pennsylvania sent word to the chiefs of the Six Nations at Onondaga, to interfere and prevent war. It was this that called Canassetago with two hundred and thirty Onondaga warriors to Philadelphia, in 1742. He says:

“We see the Delawares have been an unruly people, and altogether in the wrong. The Six Nations have resolved to remove them and oblige them to go over the river Delaware, and quit all claim to any lands on this side, for the future, since they had received pay for them, and it is gone through their guts long ago. They deserved to be taken by the hair of the head and shaken severely, till they recovered their senses and became sober. I have seen with my own eyes a deed signed by nine of their ancestors, above fifty year ago for this very land.” Then addressing himself to the Delawares present, he says: “How came you, to take upon you to sell land at all? We conquered you; we made women of you; you know you are women and can no more sell land than women, nor is it fit you should have the power of selling lands, since you would abuse it. This land you claim has passed through you. You have been furnished with clothes, meat and drink, by the goods paid you for it, and now you want it again, like children as you are. But what makes you sell lands in the dark? Did you ever tell us, that you had sold this land? Did we ever receive any part, even the value of a pipe shank for it? You have told us a blind story, that you sent a messenger to us, to inform us of the sale, but he never came amongst us, nor did we ever hear any thing about it. This acting in the dark, is very different from the conduct our Six Nations observe in the sale of lands. On

such occasions they give public notice and invite all the Indians of their united nations, and give them all a share of the presents they receive for their lands.

This is the behavior of the wise, united nations. But we find you are none of our blood; you act a dishonest part, not only in this, but in other matters; your ears are ever open to slanderous reports about your brethren—you are women. For all these reasons we charge you to remove instantly; we don't give you liberty to think about it." They dared not disobey and soon removed, leaving quiet possession to the English. This is the last we hear of this great chief; of his after life we know nothing; at this period he was far advanced in years and probably soon after closed his earthly career.

OUN-DI-A-GA—Was a chief of modern times, but scarcely less noted than his illustrious predecessors. He was of the Bear tribe, and for a long period was first civil chief of the Onondaga nation. He was also a famous war captain, and on account of his superior martial abilities, was selected for that important office at an early age. He lived at a time when affairs of the utmost importance were transacted in regard to his own nation, and of the confederates at large. Born, as is supposed, in the year 1739, his youthful days were spent upon the war path, and from childhood he was familiar with all the tempestuous movements of the Six Nations, during the old French war, and the border wars of the colonies. Early inured to arms, he became distinguished for his courage and daring exploits, which were signally exhibited on several occasions. On the breaking out of hostilities, at the period of the American Revolution, he was selected as first war chief of the Onondagas. He commanded a party of Onondagas at the siege of Fort Schuyler, by St. Leger, and took an active part in the battle of Oriskany, against the forces of the United States. He was also present with a party of Onondagas at the massacre of Cherry Valley, in November, 1778. What part he took in that memorable transaction is not known; but that he was present, has often been asserted, and confirmed by his own lips. He was out with various war parties

to the Mohawk country, during the Revolution, and it has been said he was present with the Onondagas at the massacre at Coble's Kill,—did much damage to the frontier inhabitants, and to the last was the uncompromising enemy of "*the Yankees.*" (A favorite expression with him.) He was enlisted with a party of Onondagas, in the Indian wars of 1794, in which the western Indians were so signally defeated by General Wayne.

The Onondagas, under the guidance of their chiefs, stood firm through the thickest of the fight, and many a brave warrior of the nation bit the dust. It had been confidently expected by the Indians that General Wayne would be defeated; but the sequel proved the contrary, and the remnant of the band of Onondagas came home, satisfied to live in peace ever after with the whites.

Little is known of his political course after that period; it was the last opportunity he had to signalize himself in war.

In 1806 or '7, a mail route was established between Onondaga and Oswego, and Oundiaga, was employed as the first carrier. At this period, the roads (if any) for a great part of the year were impassable, and communication between the two places was only made on foot or on horseback. Once a week the mail was to be transported to Oswego and returned to Onondaga. It was put up in a small valise, to leave Onondaga at precisely four o'clock in the morning. Anticipating the time, the great war captain was always punctually at his post at nine o'clock the evening before he was to start.

After being put in possession of his charge, he usually repaired to the kitchen of a distinguished friend,\* and without a word of comment, stretched himself on the floor, with his feet to the fire,—placed his precious burthen under his head, and was soon fast asleep. At the hour of four, without a single instance of omission, he aroused himself, and be the weather never so inclement, he posted off with all the consequence of a bearer of Government dispatches. On his arrival at Oswe-

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\* Judge Forman.

go, his trust was faithfully and punctually delivered, and on the morrow he returned. The distance from Onondaga to Oswego is about forty miles, and the trusty chief traversed the route on foot. This journey he performed regularly once a week and returned, usually occupying about ten hours each way. It is said that not an instance was ever known of his delay or failure. The people of Onondaga, looked for and received their mail at the hand of Oundiaga, with as much punctuality as they have at any time since by stage or by Rail Road.

The following interesting anecdote is related of Oundiaga. It may not have been original with him, (yet it has been declared so) still it typifies his feelings and character. It is well known that he was a persevering enemy to all encroachments being made upon Indian lands. In no instance was he ever known to countenance any act, conveying any part of the Indian domain, nor does his name appear in any of the treaties made by his people.

At one time, we believe in 1815, a gentleman who supposed he possessed some influence over the great chief of the Onondagas, called on him for the purpose of convincing him that for once it would not be improper for him to give his consent that a very small portion of land might be conveyed to the whites. For, said the gentleman, you will scarcely know it. The chief was unyielding. The gentleman pressed him to give a reason. Oundiaga invited him to take a seat beside him on a log some twelve feet long. They sat down together: Oundiaga at one end and the gentleman quite near to him. The chief began an animated conversation about the first encroachments of the whites, talked of their cupidity and avarice, and of their overreaching the Indians in trade. At the same time he hithed up so close to his guest as seriously to incommodate him, and who was, therefore, obliged to move more towards the center of the log.

The chief still kept engaged in spirited and agreeable conversation, occasionally complaining of the encroachments of the whites, at the same time crowding along so adroitly that the gentleman had not the slightest suspicion of any particular

design. The white man at length found himself at the end of the log farthest from where he had at first sat down, with scarcely room to sit. He looked earnestly into the face of Oundiaga, and asked him what he meant. At the same instant the chief gave one tremendous lurch and pitched his guest clear from the log and laid him sprawling on the ground. "There," said the chief, "you white folks, if allowed permission to sit down with us on a little piece of ground on our borders, you keep crowding up, crowding up, till the Indian's land is very small; and finally, we shall in a very few years be entirely driven from our lands, piece by piece, without any thing to help ourselves with, as you have been crowded from the log. We shall too soon be at your mercy, as you were at mine. Oundiaga will never consent to part with one foot of our Indian lands,—go tell your people so."

Like most of his race, he was easily attracted by gaudy apparel and glittering ornaments, and often judged of men by these insignia of wealth and rank. On one occasion, meeting with Judge Strong, for the first time, at the door of his dwelling, after an interchange of salutations, the chief appeared to take a particular fancy to a party-colored vest, then worn by the Judge. His wife, who was present, also expressed by signs her admiration of the variegated garment, in which red was a prominent color. After expressing their wonder at the showy article, the chief was asked if he should like to have it for his own; to which he answered, "*very much, very much.*" The garment was instantly given him, which won for the giver the unlimited confidence and esteem of the chief.

He never felt reconciled to the treaty of Fort Stanwix, by which so large a portion of their ancient national domain was conveyed to the Americans.

His intercourse with the whites was, for the most part, reserved, circumspect and suspicious: seldom condescending to speak the English language. During the latter part of his life he was considered the nation's oracle, and he was looked upon by his people at large as almost a supernatural being.

Commanding in personal appearance, venerable in bearing, dignified in his deportment, aged in wisdom and experience, he held, for a long period, a conspicuous place in all the national councils as a civil and war chief, and transacted much of the important business of the nation. This distinguished chief was always strenuously opposed to the introduction of missionaries among his people, and on no occasion was he ever known to relent. He oftentimes, in the national councils, opposed their propositions to come among the natives, and often has his voice been raised with power and success to prevent them.

His character may be summed up as a distinguished warrior, an able counsellor, the uncompromising enemy of the whites, a man thoroughly versed in all the extravagant and mysterious mythology of his people, a lover of their peculiar institutions, an open enemy to all innovation, and a pure, unsullied specimen of his race.

He died suddenly by the road side near Oneida, while proceeding thither on official business of his nation, in August, 1839, aged ninety-one years. He was borne to his grave by a large concourse of Indians, on foot, and was buried at Oneida, with every demonstration of esteem and respect. His grave is pointed out to the passer-by, near the Oneida Castle. His memory is reverently cherished by the braves of his nation, and his name will long be gratefully revered, while his noble acts shall live in the hearts of his countrymen.

Another great and good man, the first civil chief of the Onondagas, when first visited by the whites in 1788, and well known to all the early settlers of the county, was named KAWHIC-DO-TA. He was eminently a man of peace, and the early settlers all speak of him as a man of the kindest hospitality and purest benevolence, from the most disinterested motives. He often, without solicitation or expectation of reward, furnished provisions to those who were new comers, and whose stores were scanty. The older inhabitants, who are yet living, and who are best acquainted with him, universally accord to him the appellation of a kind, benevolent, just and

good man, ever ready to contribute to the necessities of the whites, bountiful in gifts, an unfailing and devoted friend to all men.

He was in possession of a beautiful trumpet, which he called the council horn; by a single blast of which he could at once summon more than half a thousand warriors to his cabin.

This interesting relic is yet in the keeping of one of the principal chiefs of the nation, who, on important occasions, winds it for the gathering of the clans. Whenever its sound is heard over the reservation, business is at once suspended, and all are assured that no ordinary circumstance awaits their attention. The gray haired ancients, and high plumed warriors, approach the council-house in haste, while the women and children linger around the door, all eager to catch the first accents of the announcement in council. The last time it was sounded was at the funeral of La Fort.

Kawhiedota died in 1808, at an advanced age, lamented by the whites no less than by the Indians, all of whom felt the greatest sorrow for their irreparable loss. He was followed to his last resting place, by a large concourse of the the most respectable citizens of the county, without a foe, beloved and lamented by all who knew him.

What has been related of Kawhiedota, will apply with equal truth to the amiable and good TOO-WHIS-QUAN-TA, a civil chief in high estimation among his own people and the whites.

The late Captain Honnos, a distinguished chief, was a son of Kawhiedota, and bore his name.

CON-YA-TAU-YOU, Handsome Lake, or the Great Prophet. One of the most important personages, who has, in modern times, appeared among the Six Nations, is he who bore the above title. He was a Seneca, from the Alleghany reservation, and a brother of the celebrated Seneca chief, Corn Planter.

Corn Planter, becoming jealous of the rising greatness and power of Red Jacket, and having in a measure lost the confidence of his countrymen, resolved upon the following expedient to retrieve his declining reputation and power: He per-

suaded his brother, (the subject of this sketch,) to announce himself as a prophet, sent expressly from the great spirit to redeem the perishing fortunes of the Indian race. The superstitions of the natives, easily acted upon, induced them, without inquiry, to favor the deception. In many respects it had a benign and salutary influence over a large portion of the Indian population. But the original design was frustrated, by the superior sagacity and eloquence of Red Jacket, who, foreseeing the impending storm, warded off the machinations of his rival, with his distinguished ability and address.

The circumstances attending the pretended divine interposition and communication of heavenly gifts to Conyatauyou, were like this. During the former part of his life, till near fifty years old, he had been remarkable for nothing but his stupidity and drunkenness. About the year 1790, while lighting his pipe, he suddenly sunk back upon his couch, upon which he was then sitting, and continued in a state of insensibility for six or eight hours. His friends supposing him dead, had made preparations for laying him out preparatory for burial. While in the act of removing him from his couch he revived. His first words were, "don't be alarmed, I have seen Heaven; go call the nation together, that I may tell them what I have seen and heard."

The people having assembled in large numbers at his house, he informed them that he had seen four beautiful young men who had been sent from Heaven by the Great Spirit, and who thus addressed him: "The Great Spirit is angry with you and all the red men, and unless you immediately refrain from drunkenness, lying and stealing, you shall never enter that beautiful place, which we will show you." He stated that he was then conducted by these young men to the gate of Heaven, which was opened, but he was not allowed to enter; that it was more beautiful than any thing they could conceive of or describe, and that the inhabitants appeared to be perfectly happy; that he was suffered to remain there three or four hours, and was then reconducted to the earth by the same young men, who on taking their leave, promised they

would visit him yearly, and commanded him to inform all the other Indians of what he had seen and heard. He immediately visited the different nations of Indians in western New-York, except the Oneidas, who would never consent to his prophecy or teaching. They all put implicit faith in what he said and afterwards revered him as a prophet.

It may be proper to observe that he was called the Peace Prophet, in contradistinction to the brother of Tecumseh, who was styled the War Prophet.\*

This vision of the prophet, will compare well with that of the celebrated Delaware chief, Keshop, as related by Loskiel, and undoubtedly the prophets Conyatayou and Ellskwatawa, the brother of Tecumseh, both conceived their plans of imposition from that source, and conducted them much upon the same principles. His introduction to the Onondaga nation was like this. At the time the whites came among this people they were greatly addicted to the use of ardent spirits, and frequently indulged in it to the most beastly excess. In the year 1790 or '91, while Mr. Webster occupied his trading house at the mouth of Onondaga creek, eighteen of the principal chiefs and warriors of the Onondagas called on him, stating that they had just set out to attend a great council of the six nations, to be held at Buffalo. As was customary, Mr. Webster produced his bottle, and it was plied with a right good will to the lips of all. Webster was always a special favorite with the Indians, and on this occasion parted with his guests with unusual demonstrations of mutual attachment. In due time, these delegates returned; and as usual the bottle of strong drink was placed before them. To the utter astonishment of Mr. Webster, every man of them refused to touch it. This he at first understood to denote the fiercest hostility, and for a time, he supposed they contemplated taking his life—for he could imagine that nothing short of the most deadly resentment, (or a miracle) could produce so great a change. He was not long left in this painful state of anx-

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\* Onondaga Register, August 23, 1815.

xiety and suspense. The chiefs explained, that they had met at Buffalo, a PROPHET of the Seneca nation, who had assured them, and in this assurance they had the most implicit confidence, that without a total abstinence, from the use of ardent spirits, they and their race would shortly become extinct; that they had entered upon a resolution, never again to taste the baneful article, and that they hoped to be able to prevail on their nation to adopt the same salutary resolution. Many at this early day adopted the temperance principles, it is said at least three fourths of all the nation; and of all those who pledged themselves to the cause, not an instance was known of alienation or neglect; but to a man, they religiously adhered to their solemn pledge. The consequence was, that from a drunken, filthy, lazy, worthless, set of beings, they became a cleanly, industrious, sober, happy, and more prosperous people.

At this period, it was considered one of the most temperate communities in the land; only a very few of the nation indulging in the intoxicating cup, and these were treated with contempt by their more sober companions. Not long after this, the Prophet came in person to reside for a season among the Onondagas. He harangued and exhorted them continually, and became distinguished among them for his powers and abilities. Business transactions were conducted under his direction and advice. On all occasions of difficulty, he was looked up to as the only individual who could restore things to a proper degree of order. His examples and precepts were eminently for the good of the people, and had they persevered in his wholesome lessons of virtuous integrity, they would have been far wiser and happier than they are at present.

The following article, from the Secretary of War, Hon. Henry Dearborn, will illustrate, better than any thing else, the estimation in which he was held by the nation and abroad:

“To CON-YA-TAU-YOU, (or Handsome Lake,) with his brethren and associates of the Seneca and Onondaga nations of

Indians now present, at the seat of government of the United States :

“ Brothers—Your father and good friend, the President of the United States, has taken into consideration all that you communicated to him when you took him by the hand three days ago ; and he has authorized me to give you the following answer : Brothers—The President is pleased with seeing you all in good health, after so long a journey, and he rejoices in his heart, that one of your own people has been employed to make you sober, good and happy ; and that he is so well disposed to give you good advice, and to set before you so good examples.

“ Brothers—If all the red people follow the advice of your friend and teacher, the Handsome Lake, and in future will be sober, honest, industrious and good, there can be no doubt but the Great Spirit will take care of you and make you happy.

“ Brothers—The great council of the sixteen fires, and the President of the United States, all wish to live with the red people like brothers ; to have no more wars or disputes, but to pursue such measures as shall contribute to their lasting comfort. For this purpose the great council of the sixteen fires are now considering the propriety of prohibiting the use of spirituous liquors among all their red brethren within the United States. This measure, if carried into effect, will be pleasing in the sight of the Great Being, who delights in the happiness of his common family.

“ Brothers—Your father, the President, will at all times be your friend, and he will protect you and all his red children from bad people, who would do you or them any injury. And he will give you a writing or paper, to assure you, that what lands you hold cannot be taken from you by any person, excepting by your own consent and agreement.

“ Brothers—The Handsome Lake has told us, that the four angels have desired him to select two sober men to take care of this business, and that he has chosen Charles O’Beal and Strong for this purpose. The President is willing that his red children should choose their own agents for transacting

their business, and if Charles O'Beal and Strong are the men whom your people can best confide in, he has no objection to their being appointed. But, it would be improper for the President to interfere in your national appointments.

“Given under my hand and the seal of the war office of the United States, this 13th day of March, A. D., 1802. (Signed) H. DEARBORN.”

For a period of a quarter of a century, this illustrious seer exercised an almost unbounded influence for the good of the Indian nations. Scarce an individual but regarded him with the most profound veneration and awe. His influence, his teachings and examples, are held in pious regard even to this day, and the remembrance of his many virtues and his excellence, still serves to sustain many of his countrymen in the way of well doing, and to prevent them from falling into degeneracy. He annually visited all the six nations, (the Oneidas excepted,) and preached and exhorted them to beware of their besetting sins, and the evil to come. On one of these annual visits to Onondaga, he was suddenly taken ill, and after a short illness, died at the Castle on Sunday, the 10th of August, 1815.\*

Those who had been acquainted with the influence this man's preaching produced upon the conduct of the Six Nations, (the Oneidas excepted) looked upon his death as a severe dispensation of divine providence. He was buried under the centre of the old council-house, amidst every manifestation of sorrow and regret, surrounded by the entire people, who had gathered to pay the last tribute of respect, to one who for a long time, had held almost unlimited control over their destinies. Some of the strongest appeals, of which Indian eloquence is capable, have been made over the grave of the prophet, and the presence of his dust, in the midst of their council-room, has stimulated many a heart to virtuous action. If a wayward soul has gone astray in the path of intoxication, he is directed to the grave of the Prophet. If

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\* Onondaga Register.

he has overstepped the bounds of truth and propriety, he is reminded that the Prophet taught not so; and, with a regard for his memory, little short of adoration, the delinquent promises reformation and obedience.

It has been related by several persons, and it is believed by the Indians, that he actually foretold the hour and manner of his death.

OS-SA-HIN-TA—Captain Frost—This distinguished chief of the Onondagas, who presided with great ability over the councils of the nation from 1830 to 1846, possessed a character and a name, which eminently deserves to be remembered. He was a cousin of the celebrated Oundiaga, and a nephew of Kawhidota. He was distinguished for the nobleness of his character, the peculiar fervidness of his eloquence, and his unimpeachable integrity—qualities which secured for him the unlimited confidence of his nation. His most distinguished associates have been, OH-HE-NU, (Captain Honnos) OH-KA-A-YUNGK, (Onondaga Peter) KA-HA-YENT, (Captain Joseph) O-GHA-TA-KAK, (Captain Joseph 2d) DE-HAT-KA-TONS, (Abram La Fort) and UT-HA-WAH, (Captain Cold). This latter for a long time was keeper of the council-fire of the Six Nations, and resided on the Tonewanda Reservation till the time of his death, which occurred in the fall of 1847, when this sacred symbol was restored to its ancient hearth at Onondaga, to the keeping of DE-HAT-KA-TONS. His name has usually been pronounced Cole, but his real name was Cold, and so named on account of the severity of the weather at the time of his birth. He was a man of eminence as a counsellor and chief.

Captain Honnos was considered as second to none of his people in point of talents, energy and manly bearing; and all those who have been named, were men, whose characters were without reproach, and whose names will live in the unwritten records of the nation, so long as a remnant of their perishing institutions is permitted by an all-wise providence to remain. Alas! not one of these noble men now live. The grass grows green over their humble graves, and like those who have gone be-

fore them, their bones may ere long be turned out of their quiet resting place by the careless plowman, and be left to bleach and blacken in the storm, as the wondering traveler passes them thoughtlessly by.

Ossahinta, was of the Turtle tribe of the Onondagas, a clan which by the laws of the nation, may be entitled to the distinguished privilege of furnishing a Head Chief, the highest office in the gift of the council. He had, therefore, a hereditary claim to distinction by relation and clanship. In early life, he was selected by the sachems of his nation, to serve in the capacity of a runner. The manner of conveying important intelligence, unlike our mail system, required the bearer himself, to understand perfectly, so as to narrate correctly, the information to be transmitted. Consequently, for this important station, none but men of the keenest diplomatic talents, and the purest patriots of the nation were ever selected to act in this exalted sphere. His talents, integrity and devotedness to his country's welfare, enabled and stimulated him, to perform all the duties assigned him by his confiding countrymen, most faithfully and satisfactorily, and he thus secured that confidence, esteem and affection of his brethren, which attended him throughout a long and active life.

By this means, he became thoroughly versed in all the intricacies, of the civil polity and history of the Iroquois, and was called upon as one after another of the old sachems were called to the regions of the "*Great Spirit*," to take part in the religious ceremonies and observances of the confederacy, as well as in the important duties, which ordinarily devolved upon him, at the conventions of their stated councils. By his strength of mind and native energy of character, he rose to eminence in the great councils of the united nations. And at the time of his death he was supposed to be the only person among the Iroquois, who perfectly understood the genius and policy of their ancient government, the peculiar forms of organizing general councils, and the practice and celebration of all their Pagan rites. At the last grand council of the Six Nations, held upon the Tonawanda

reservation in October, 1845, he bore a conspicuous part, and most ably represented the Onondagas. In fact, he was the chief director of all their principal ceremonies. Many of the younger chiefs had never witnessed the sublime organization of a grand council of the Iroquois until now, and the hoary chief on this occasion proved himself a faithful guardian to his youthful wards, and like a wise and prudent father and counsellor, explained the way in which they ought to walk. It was not alone as an able diplomatist or distinguished counsellor, that he became most conspicuous. He was preeminent as an orator; and whether in the council room of his own Onondaga, or amidst the most talented and distinguished men of the confederacy, he wielded a power in the untutored democracy of his race, which at all times seemed irresistible. The varying play of his features and voice, the graceful gesture of his person—strong without vehemence—the lightning flash of his eye, beaming with the most lively expression—made him a most interesting person to behold. Add to these qualifications, a sound judgment, a discriminating taste, a conception bold and original, and a complete master of the subject under consideration, and you have the faint shadowing of a man who amid the loudest storm of declamation, amidst the fiercest blaze of passion carried conviction to every heart. The dauntless energy of his mind, the firm spirit of his resolution, his undeviating patriotism, without the sacrifice of personal dignity, carried with him the hearts and affections of his hearers. It has been the pleasure and good fortune of the author, on sundry important occasions to witness the attractions of his eloquence, and although not understanding a word which he uttered, has been foreed by the energy of his manner, the grace of his gesture, the elegance of his tone, and the thrilling responses of his hearers, to feel convinced of the transcendant powers of this distinguished man.

Being entitled to the honors of chief sachemship by birth, and this being confirmed by election, he stood at the head of his people, a noble example of the great and good—an exalted specimen of his race. The Onondaga nation, as a fur-

ther testimony of their confidence and esteem, conferred upon him the honorary title of war captain, the highest title known to their military usages, as a reward for his distinguished services, and as a tribute to his superior wisdom and greatness.

The subject of this sketch was an admirable pattern of Indian excellence. Although he rigidly adhered to the customs and religion of his fathers, no man could be more devoted to sentiments of friendship and peace. Whenever the shrill war-whoop sounded through his native woodlands, its echos had scarcely suspended their reverberations from the surrounding hills, before his influence was felt in quieting the tempest, and in securing an adjustment of difficulties. It is true, his career was not marked by scenes of rapine and blood; no mighty warlike schemes were projected during his ascendancy—no madly contested battle field marked the progress of his course, nor was the clangor of arms, or the deceit of espionage or the craft of strategy—elements that entered prominently into the formation of his character. Circumstances never tried him as a warrior. But from his bold and fearless spirit, his active and penetrating judgment, his easy discernment of the capacities of men, and withal his unbounded influence with his countrymen—it is to be inferred that had his talents been thus required and exerted, he would have been as conspicuous in the character of a warlike leader as he was in the councils of the nations.

Having drank deeply at the fountain of instruction diffused by the Great Prophet, Conyatauyou, he was strictly temperate in his habits, and frequently mourned over the wretchedness and degradation of his brethren, occasioned by the "*fire water*" of the pale faces. Like his predecessors, he regarded the introduction of ardent spirits among his people as a plot, to extirpate the red race, and to eradicate their power. His admonitions to his people in regard to "*leaving whiskey to the whites*," were cogent and salutary, and frequently were the national councils enriched with his eloquent temperance appeals. Never was a man admitted to their councils who swayed their wild spirits with so much effect, dignity and grace.

Ossahinta, died at his residence, near the council-house of the Onondaga nation, on the 24th day of January, 1846, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, much lamented by his countrymen. His funeral was attended by a large majority of the nation, and numbers of his white friends were present to pay their last fond regards to the distinguished and illustrious dead.

His remains were interred in the common burying place of the nation, in all the pomp and circumstance of aboriginal ceremony. The stoical silence of his male brethren, and the tears and moans of his female relatives and friends, told plainly the hold he had on their affections and the loss which they were called upon to mourn.

By way of eminence, this truly great man was sometimes styled Ka-ge-a-lo-ha-ta, the head man or oracle of the Onondagas—a very Cato.

A few months before his death, he was persuaded to sit for his picture, to Mr. Sanford Thayer, an excellent artist of the city of Syracuse. The picture is a capital likeness of him as he was usually dressed and decorated on state occasions. From this picture, now in possession of Mr. Welch, of Syracuse, a spirited steel engraving has been made by Messrs. Chase & Ostrander, which is placed as a frontispiece to this work, and represents the care worn chieftain as he was familiarly known to many of the citizens of our county, in the palmy days of his usefulness and power.

From time immemorial, the Onondagas have furnished the King—"TAH-TO-TAH," or principal civil officer of the confederacy. This celebrated personage has usually resided at Onondaga. The present Tah-to-tah is a reputed grandson of Ephraim Webster, and the son of a daughter of the late Ossahinta. The line of descent in all instances among the Six Nations, has always been with the female branch of the family, and this succession has been through the daughter of Ossahinta, her mother, grandmother and so up to the first Tah-to-tah—this being the XIII., XIV. or XV. from the first.

The present king is now (1848) about seven years old, pos-

sessing an intelligent countenance, muscular frame, and much intellectual vigor—with eyes like an eagle. He now takes part in all their Pagan ceremonies, distinguishes himself in their dances, and is a usual attendant upon councils. But alas; the title is all he can possess of royalty.

DE-HAT-KA-TONS—Abram La Fort.—This distinguished chief was the successor of Captain Frost, in the principal chieftainship of the Onondagas, and in all the mythology and intricate mysteries of the peculiar institutions of the Six Nations. He was born in the year 1794, and was a son of the celebrated HOH-A-HOA-QUA, (La Fort,) who fell in the service of his country, valiantly fighting at the head of his warriors, in behalf of the United States, on the battle field of Chippewa, on the 6th of July, 1814. Dehatkatons was of the Beaver clan of the Onondagas, and received his English appellation through one of his ancestors, (his grand-father or great grand-father) awarded upon a battle field, in which the French and English were engaged, during the old French war. On this occasion, the warrior sachem had performed prodigies of valor, and with his red right hand and uplifted arm, had slain many of his foes, in consequence of which, he was named La Fort\* by the French, which conferred the title of the Brave. This title was held in high estimation by the subject of this sketch, and whenever he alluded to the circumstances of its origin, his countenance would light up with peculiar lustre, and his sharp, keen eye flash with delight. The father of Dehatkatons was a civil chief of great distinction forty years ago, and then second only to Oundiaga. On account of his uncommon martial abilities, he was chosen war captain of the Onondagas, and subsequently first war chief of the Six Nations, in which capacity he acted on the frontier, in the early part of the campaign of 1814, until his death. While the life blood of the warrior chief was fast flowing upon the plain of Chippewa,

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\* *Le* being the French article for nouns of the masculine gender, and *La* for those of the feminine, this should properly be written *Le Fort*; but, as it was written by himself *La Fort*, we adopt it as his proper name.

the braves of the Onondagas gathered around the prostrate hero, and exclaimed in their own language, "Alas! great chief! The Brave! the Brave!"

Delhatkatons, then in the twentieth year of his age, accompanied his father to the Niagara frontier, was present with him at the time he was shot, and assisted to bear his bleeding sire from the field, amid the din and danger of angry battle. After the burial of his father, being deeply imbued with the superstitions of his race, he returned to his home, and there with his relations and friends, bewailed the loss of the great war captain of the Six Nations.

Delhatkatons succeeded in part to the title of the sachemship held by his father, through the voice and consent of the nation. But it was not until the death of Ossahinta, that he was invested with all the insignia of rank pertaining to the office of principal chief. He was connected, by consanguinity or affinity with all the principal chiefs of a long and uninterrupted line, and to Tahtotah or king of the Six Nations; Oundiaga, Tiungktakonea (Captain George) and Ossahinta were his uncles.

After the death of his father, he was admitted to a seat in the councils of his countrymen. He was entitled to this distinction through his mother, a sister of Oundiaga.

The next we hear of our late friend, is in connection with the Onocida mission, established by Bishop Hobart. In relating the circumstances of a visit to Onondaga, in 1816, Rev. Mr. Eleazar Williams in his journal says: "I was happy to find Abram La Fort appeared to be under serious impressions. His inquiries after the nature and design of Christianity, are such as to give me the greatest hopes that his heart had been touched and moved by the spirit of God, to make these inquiries. He has engaged to come monthly to Onocida, for religious instruction, which I will most cheerfully give him."

The Rev. E. G. Gear, who was at this time a missionary at Onondaga Hill, and who often visited the Onondaga Indians, thus makes mention of him: "I found him in a corn-

field, almost entirely naked, at work with his hoe." He was considered by his countrymen and others who enjoyed his acquaintance, as a youth of uncommon promise. Mr. Gear became very much attached to his new friend. In a conversation, La Fort signified his wishes to be educated, that he might be useful to his people. His wishes were communicated to Bishop Hobart by Mr. Gear. He had all along been instructed in the truths of Christianity, by Mr. Eleazar Williams, then lay reader and catechist at Oneida, aided by that devoted Christian, Abraham Brant, an aged Mohawk who had settled at Oneida, and who was wholly devoted to the service of God. The rudiments of an intellectual education had also been taught him by Mr. Williams. It was on the visit of Bishop Hobart to western New-York, in the autumn of 1817, that he for the first time was introduced to the young chief. From a full and unreserved conversation, the bishop felt assured, that the education of this young native, would be of vast importance to his countrymen. Mr. Williams also became very much interested in the future prospects and welfare of La Fort; and in his journal, under date of Dec. 1818, says: "As my great anxiety has been to assist my young friend Abram La Fort, the Onondaga chief, in regard to his education, so I addressed my dioecesan upon the subject, who answered as follows:"

"New York, January 8th, 1819.

"MY DEAR SIR: I have received your letter of the 29th December, and will write you relative to its contents, and furnish you with the document you requested by Mr. Thomas L. Ogden, who expects to leave here for Albany, by Friday.

In haste, yours sincerely,

J. H. HOBART."

The following is an extract from the document referred to:

"Mr. Eleazar Williams, a young man of Indian extraction, has been admitted as a candidate for orders in the Protestant Episcopal Church, and is usefully employed as a catechist and lay reader among the Oneida Indians. Mr. Williams is engaged in the laudable design of procuring funds, for the edu-

education of a young Indian of piety and talents, who is desirous of devoting himself to the ministry of the church.

“I recommend this pious and benevolent design, to the patronage of the friends of religion, and particularly to those who are desirous of extending the blessings of civilization and Christian knowledge among the Indian tribes.”

With this testimonial of the bishop's approbation, Mr. Williams, in company with La Fort, visited Boston, where they found but few individuals who were willing to aid them in their laudable undertaking.

Major General Dearborn, however, made a very handsome donation, and some others gave according to their ability; among whom are favorably mentioned, the Rev. Mr. Kirkland, president of Harvard University, Gardner Green, Thomas Williams. Esqrs., and Rev. Dr. Porter, of Roxbury.

Mr. Williams and his protege afterwards went to New-York, where, under the immediate influence of Bishop Hobart, they were more successful. Among his friends, was raised a fund of about \$1400, for the benefits proposed. The youthful chief, was now placed under the guardian care of the Rev. Samuel Fuller, of Rensselaerville, in whose family he remained from March, 1819, to August, 1823, spending the winter (some eight months) of 1822-3 with a son of Mr. Fuller, who was then principal of Hudson academy.

In 1819 Bishop Hobart thus speaks of him in his annual address: “The young Onondaga chief, whom I mentioned in my last address, as desirous of procuring an education, for the purpose of qualifying him as the spiritual instructor of his countrymen, will be able through the bounty of Episcopalians and others, principally in the city of New York, and through the aid of the government of the United States, to attain his object. He is advantageously receiving an education under the care of the Rev. Samuel Fuller, of Rensselaerville.” During the whole period of his stay with Mr. Fuller, his conduct was in all respects most exemplary, his habits pious, and his diligence and proficiency in learning were satisfactory and encouraging to his teachers, considering his ad-

vanced age and the embarrassments he labored under in being educated in a new language.

After Geneva Academy was established, he was transferred to the care of the Rev. Daniel McDonald, D. D., Principal of that institution in 1823. Here he remained nearly three years, until the fund for his education and support had been expended.

Soon after this he returned to his nation, perhaps not as well qualified for missionary labors among his brethren, in point of classical attainments, as might by many have been supposed, considering the time he was under instruction. But great allowances should be made in his behalf; he had new associations to form, a new language to learn, new ideas and new impressions to receive. He was in fact an infant in all things except physical proportions and strength.

After his return to his people, he opened a school, which was continued about three years. He was paid eight dollars a month for his services, by a Quaker, who resided among the Onondagas with his family. The efforts of this Quaker family were unremitting, for a period of eight years, during which time several Indian girls were instructed in household duties, the benefits of which we see, even at this late day, exemplified in some of their habitations. The most strenuous exertions were used by this family to bring about a reformation in the morals and habits of the nation, and to hasten a knowledge of civilization and Christianity. Although ineffectual in their efforts, traces of their labors still remain, and the services of Adin T. Corey and family, will be long and affectionately remembered.

La Fort was, at this time, undoubtedly sincere in his professions of faith in the gospel, and in the doctrines and worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church. He made it a duty to attend punctually the services of the Church at Onondaga Hill; always looked comely and well dressed; had a full share of self-respect; was exceedingly gentlemanly in his deportment, and it has been remarked by numbers, that but few young men spoke the English language with so much pu-

riety, grace and ease, as did Abram La Fort, at the time he left Geneva; which may be attributed solely to the fact, that he never had but little if any intercourse after he left home, during all his sojourn with the whites, only with the highly educated, the virtuous and the good. In addition to the foregoing, he led a devoted, exemplary, and Christian life; had been baptized, confirmed and admitted to the holy communion, and in all respects lived and adorned his Christian profession.

At this period strong hopes were entertained of his future usefulness among his own people. He was married in the Church on Onondaga Hill by the Rev. Mr. Hinton, in August, 1828, to an Indian woman. For a time he continued faithful to the trust reposed in him; but in the course of events his faith grew cold, his wife, who was a complete and perfect specimen of a Pagan—selfish, obstinate, opposed to Christianity and all innovations upon Indian practices, was a primary cause of alienation of feeling. Add to this his love of power among his people, which could not be attained while he remained a Christian, and his solitary and single-handed efforts to Christianize a subtle and savage nation, and we have the whole cause which by degrees disheartened, discouraged, and finally sunk him to his original state of barbarism and heathen degradation. It is to be deplored, that so favorable an opportunity of permanently introducing the gospel among this people, should have been suffered to pass without profit. La Fort should never have been allowed, single-handed and alone, to combat the prejudices, ignorances and influences of his grossly superstitious countrymen. Had a missionary family accompanied him to his home, and given him counsel and encouragement, no doubt at this day might be seen a flourishing mission of the Protestant Episcopal Church at Onondaga; and La Fort would have been preserved, a blessing to himself, his family, his kindred and his people. For several years before his death, he had repudiated Christianity, and had been considered the head of the Pagan party. He was openly and even violently opposed, in latter years, to the admission of

ministers of the gospel among his people, and opposed the introduction of schools, except as a matter of policy. The following may be an instance in point: At a great National Council, held at the Castle in 1841, the subject of admitting missionaries and school teachers, was seriously discussed. The old Pagan chiefs were, to a man, opposed to the plan; debate ran high, and finally the subject was referred to La Fort. After some preliminary remarks, he said—"It is best to let all those become Christians who will, and let all those who choose, remain Pagans. Because if we do not, the Christian party will make great ado. The white people will sympathize with them,—they will become strong—they will have good singing—they will go to the white people and get good victuals, and all our people will join them, and our Indian institutions will all be absorbed, they will wither away and die. Let all go as they will, we shall then stand a chance to be the most numerous, and our party will finally succeed."

Latterly, his influence has been strongly exerted in keeping many of the children of Christian parents from the school, established among them by the State, and most of the Pagans. He was foremost in all the rites and ceremonies of the Pagan festivals and sacrifices. He was a man of great influence, and extensively known and respected among all the Six Nations. And it is said he was the only man, at the time of his death, who was every way capable of carrying on a great council of the United Nations, in its pure and primitive form.

Although naturally distrustful of the whites, he often in the most unreserved manner communicated with those he thought worthy of his confidence. Only ten days before his death, and while in the full tide of life and health, arrangements had been made to secure a likeness of him by a competent artist, for the purpose of having an engraved copy made to accompany this work as a frontispiece. The day was set that we were to meet and commence the work. Three days after the appointment was made, he was taken sick, and on the day he was first to sit for his picture, Abram La Fort expired. He was sick but eight days. It was the fortune of the author

to visit him during his sickness, the Monday previous to his death. He then seemed very much in doubt whether he should recover, and when questioned in regard to his future state and his belief in his former teachings and profession, he replied, the white man's God has been very good to me, and sighed, but would answer no more.

His last public act, was to escort a large delegation of the chiefs and warriors of the Onondaga nation, as far as the city of Syracuse, on their way to a grand council, to be held at Tonawanda. He felt too ill to go on with them—charged them how to proceed, and bade them adieu, as it proved forever. He died on the morning of Thursday, the 5th of October, 1848, of congestive fever, aged fifty-four years.

Within a few hours after his death, the news had reached the city of Syracuse, and was every where received with surprise and sorrow. Every one was disposed to sympathize in this (to the Indians) great national bereavement.

Immediately after his death, a runner was dispatched to Buffalo, to notify his friends at the council, of their irreparable loss. These returned on the Saturday following, and on Sunday at twelve o'clock, the corpse was carried on a bier to the council-house and placed in the centre of the room, in which he had so often addressed the few remaining sons of the forest, who had now assembled to pay their last tribute of respect, to the remains of their chief.

The ceremonies for the occasion of the burial, were commenced by Harry Webster, the highest religious officer of the Pagan party, by a speech in his native tongue. The speaker closed his remarks, passed a belt of wampum, representing the laws of the nation, to an individual named John Half-Town, who was to act as head chief until the next annual council, should be convened.

This same belt once held by Kawhidota, Oundiaga, Ossa-hinta and Dehatkatons, successively, is the unwritten code, which he was to administer. The corpse was appareled in the full costume of a warrior prepared for battle. He had in latter years, delighted in administering the laws, and

honoring the customs of his forefathers as observed in olden time. At their feasts and sacrifices, he was plumed and adorned as were the great chiefs in the palmy days of their power. As he appeared on those occasions, so was his corpse habited for its entrance upon the journey to the land of the Great Spirit. He was placed in an elegant coffin, upon which was a massive silver plate, on which was engraved, "Abram La Fort, Head Chief of the Onondagas, aged 54 years." The coffin was carried to the grave, and placed in the ground with the head in the direction of the setting sun.

The shrieks of the mourners, and the rude simplicity of the scene, as the earth rattled upon the coffin, uniting earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust, was deeply affecting, and especially so as the sister and bereaved wife followed by other female relatives in single file, retraced their steps to the house made more than desolate, by the recent death of two children and a father. A few days before, and he wielded his sceptre over a fallen people, in the fulness and pride of power, and now, there lies he low in the open common, the remains of the last great chief of the Onondagas. No enclosure circumscribes his resting place, and there, according to the red man's faith, his spirit takes its departure to the elysium of the braves, who by their noble deeds have merited the favor of the Great Spirit, and there to enjoy his smiles and eternal presence.

At this time there is not an individual among the Onondagas who can make good the loss occasioned by his death. And judging from appearances, the time cannot be far distant, when this feeble remnant of a once powerful nation, will totally disappear. They are like the last leaves of autumn, withered, dried, decaying and scattered on the wings of the wind: spring finds them not.

The pen of history may hereafter record the fact, that Dehatkatons—Abram La Fort—was the last of a long line of distinguished chiefs, who have been eminent among their countrymen, for their talents, their devotedness to their own pe-

cular institutions, and their opposition to civilization and Christianity.

Since the foregoing was written, and while these pages were in the hands of the printer, the author has received the following communication from the old friend and teacher of La Fort, the Rev. Eleazar Williams.

“It so happened that we met only three weeks previous to his death, when we promised to meet again at Buffalo, on my return to the west. On my arrival at Buffalo, instead of meeting my friend as anticipated, I received the distressing message from him, that he was in a most dangerous situation, or rather at the point of death; wishing me to repair to him immediately, to prepare him for his great change and burial. I left Buffalo by the first train of cars for Syracuse, to comfort my dying friend, to prepare him for his exit, by the prayers of the church, and to attend his funeral. But alas! I was too late. The body of my friend and pupil had already been consigned to the tomb. La Fort requested one of his attendants, that if I did not arrive before his death, to say to me that he had died in the belief of the Christian religion, as I had taught him. That he believed on the Lord Jesus Christ as his Saviour, and hoped to meet me in a better world. With these comforting words, I left Onondaga Hollow, and with a heavy heart turned my face once more to the west.”

The ancient COUNCIL-FIRE of the Confederate Nations, from time immemorial, had always been kept alive at Onondaga, the central nation of the confederacy. After their alliance with the English in 1665, the fires of the United Councils of the two powers were kindled at Albany, and there, according to the figurative manner of Indian expression, was planted the great tree, to which was fastened the chain of friendship. With the close of the great council of 1775, that fire, which had so long kept burning, was extinguished. It was the last Indian council held at the ancient Dutch Capital. The great Council-Fire of the Six Nations was still kept alive at Onondaga till after the close of the revolutionary war, at which time a portion of the Onondagas took up their abode

on the Buffalo Creek Reservation, under the protection of the Senecas, and there was established the Council-Fire of the Six Nations. The Council-Fire was kept by Ut-ha-wah, (Capt. Cold.) an Onondaga, and the Senecas appropriated a mile square of land on their reservation, as a mark of distinction to the chief who kept it. Efforts have often been made by the Onondagas at home, to have the council-fire restored to its ancient hearth, but always without success until the fall of 1847. The Onondagas and Senecas on the Buffalo Reservation, seeing that their lands were like to pass from them, and thereby their removal become inevitable, after the death of Capt. Cold, resolved to restore the sacred deposit to its ancient site.

We would here remind the reader that what is termed the council-fire, is not, as is by many supposed, an actual fire, kept constantly burning, but the place where their national records are kept, and belts, the memorials of treaties, deposited and preserved, and as such, the term is only used in a figurative sense. It is the place where all the national councils assemble, and where is retained the spirit and essence of their ceremonies and institutions. Important Indian councils are often held without actual fire.

Dehatkatons was at this time chosen keeper of the council-fire of the Six Nations. These archives consist of various belts of wampum, some twenty-five or thirty in number, which the author has had the satisfaction of seeing, (a sight rarely allowed a white man,) with explanations from the keeper. Here is shown a belt, sixteen inches broad, by four feet long, representing the first union and league of the Five Nations, and is called the "CARPET," foundation or platform, or as we may better understand it, the constitution; literally, something to stand upon.

The several nations, are distinguished by particular squares, and these are joined together by a line of white wampum and united to a heart in the centre, implying the union of hand and heart as one. In connection with this, is a second belt having the figures of several chiefs wrought in the wam-

pum, all holding hands in a circle, which is to represent, that there shall be no end to this league.

On one belt is figured the Long House, the Great Cabin, which no new nation can enter until it has erected some little cabins around it; that is, the nation must perform some deeds worthy of note, before it can be entitled to admission to the great league of confederation. Around this, are five smaller cabins, emblems of the original Five Nations, before the league was formed, and on one side is a still smaller one, wrought since the first, representing the Tuscarora nation, which was admitted at a subsequent period. Another long narrow belt, having a cross at one end and a long house at the other, a narrow white stripe connecting the long house and a large cross, was explained as follows: "*Great many years ago,*" a company from Canada presented this belt, desiring that missionaries, from the Roman Catholic church, might be settled among the Five Nations, and erect a church, at Onondaga, and that the road should be continually kept open and free between them. All the other belts were explained with particular minuteness.

The bag which contains these relics is of itself a singular curiosity. It is made of the finest shreds of Elm bark, and a person without being apprised, might easily mistake it for the softest flax. Its capacity would exceed a bushel. This bag is reputed to be as old as the league itself, and certainly bears the marks of great antiquity.

The tubes or beads of wampum are of red, dark blue, pale blue, black and white colors, made of conch shell. They are about five-eighths of an inch long, about as large as a small pipe stem, and hollow, strung, woven and wrought with sinews of deer, and bark.

The whole, to say the least, is a great curiosity, and has undoubtedly been handed down from a remote period. It is held as a sacred treasure, preserved with great care, and looked upon with peculiar reverence.

## CHAPTER VI.

## FRENCH MISSIONS.

INTRODUCTION OF FRENCH ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES TO ONONDAGA—FATHER SIMON LE MOYNE'S JOURNAL OF A VISIT TO ONONDAGA, 1653—JESUIT RELATION 1655-6—VOYAGE OF JOSEPH CHAUMONOT AND CLAUDE DABLON TO ONONDAGA, AND THEIR RETURN TO QUEBEC—RELATION, 1656-7—PUBLICATION OF THE FAITH TO THE ONONDAGAS, BY FATHER PAUL RAGUENEAU—CHARLEVOIX ACCOUNT OF THE SAME—RECEPTION OF LE MOYNE WITH THE ONONDAGAS—RELATIONS FROM 1659 TO 1667—DE WITT CLINTON'S ACCOUNT OF A COLONY NEAR JAMESVILLE, 1666—RELATIONS FROM 1668 TO 1709.

In entering upon an investigation of the antiquarian remains every where apparent in the vicinity of Onondaga, we find a foundation more permanent upon which to build, materials more tangible, with which to erect a superstructure, than can be found in the faded traditions of Indian history. We have the most conclusive testimony that the vestiges of European art, the traces of civilization and the evidences of military occupancy by a scientific people, so widely scattered throughout the country, are but the ruins of erections made by missionaries, traders and military commanders of France, Holland and England. And the most ancient, (except perhaps the Pompey monumental stone,) can scarcely be traced further back, than the early part of the seventeenth century. The Dutch settled at New-York, in 1609, and the French at Quebec and Montreal, a little earlier; but it cannot be supposed that these nations entered immediately into the business of sending traders among the Five Nations, or primarily adopted the measure of Christianizing them. However, at an early day, these matters became subjects of serious consid-

ration, and the Christianizing of the Five Nations, and their civilization too, was a subject which almost entirely engrossed the minds of the French Jesuits, and subsequently the Dutch and English missionaries. The trade and good will of this powerful confederacy, was sought with great avidity, and Onondaga being the central nation, the seat of their government and power, the main operations were centred here. The Dutch, during the days of their ascendancy and power in New-York, were successful in securing the favor and trade of these nations. And such was their progress, that the French made no positively favorable efforts to gain a permanent foothold, till the dynasty of the Dutch was superceded by the English. After this event, the French were more successful in their enterprises. Their missionaries were pushed into the heart of the Onondaga country. The details of their labors and operations, give them the air and consequence of history, and that too of the utmost importance. Most of these missionaries were men of education, and preserved the record of their doings, and their Relations, so far as they throw light upon our history, are worthy of credit.

In the year 1623, Henry de Levi, Due de Ventadour, sought and obtained the title of viceroi of New France. This lord had retired from court and had received sacred orders. It was not to enter into the tumult of the world, that he took charge of the affairs of New France, but to establish a new mission in the wilderness, and to procure the conversion of the savage inhabitants. As this Jesuit was the director of his own conscience, possessing a bold and fearless spirit, he cast his eyes towards the western world, as a theatre suitable for the execution of his magnificent project. He proposed his great scheme to the French king, and laid his plans and explained them before his majesty and his council, who were delighted, that an enterprise so daring, and promising the most happy results, should thus be proposed. His majesty acceded to the plan the more willingly, as the Order of the Recollets, who had on most occasions, been the pioneers in all new missions, so far from opposing the scheme, had themselves

made the first proposal to the Due de Ventadour. Thus all things being harmoniously arranged, Father Charles Lalle-mant, the same who had accompanied Mons. de la Saussaye a Pentagort, the Father Eremond Massé and Father Jean de Brebeuf, who had been selected to conduct the Canadian mission, with two brothers of the Order of Jesuits, made ready to depart. These first and devoted heralds of the cross were ready to sail early in the year 1625.

It was in this year that Jesuit missionaries first arrived in Canada, prepared to announce the gospel to the heathen. Previously, none had had intercourse with the aborigines of our land, except in the character of traders, using every means to overreach and swindle them, or in the more stern garb of military adventurers, prepared to oppress them. These sons of the forest, now for the first time saw men entering their villages, whose words breathed peace and love; whose business was only to suffer, and to teach humility; whose sword was the cross, and whose garb was soberness, good will and charity.

The privations of the wilderness, and rigors of the climate, were borne with fortitude; native languages were to be mastered; the dispositions and customs of a strange people were to be studied and conformed to; and difficulties to be encountered, sufficient to appal the stoutest heart. Yet these devoted men and their successors, entered upon their labors with a zeal that knew no limit, and a devotedness that surmounted every severity to which they were exposed. They were successful in winning these strange men to their stranger doctrines and faith; and their object was in a measure accomplished, of winning these wild inhabitants from their wandering ways, and drawing them unconsciously into the practices of civilized life. The establishment of missions among the natives naturally led to the exploration of the country. And thus these pioneers of the cross became the first discoverers and historians of the whole interior of North America. They widely extended geographical knowledge, and did not overlook the importance of providing the means of education for the youth of the land. So important have their relations become,

that they may well be termed "an elaborate history of the country." In proportion to their high value, is at the same time their great scarcity.

Those more intimately relating to our early history, are those of Father Francis Joseph le Mercier, Father J. Claude Dablon, Father Cholonee, Father Le Moyne, Father Jean Quien, Father Paul Le Jeune, Father Paul Ragueneau and Father Jerome Lallemant. As the history of these missions is somewhat interesting, occupying a period of near one hundred years, and of which, comparatively little has been published, and consequently little is known, it is deemed of sufficient importance, to insert it somewhat at large.

At first, these missionaries were received with doubt and even suspicion, for the natives could not easily comprehend, how men could thus devote themselves entirely to their welfare without a prospect of favors in return.

We find but slight traces of these laborers in the country of the Iroquois, till the years following 1650. In 1642, Martyr René Goupil was killed by the stroke of an axe in the hand of his master, whom he only knew in the moment of death. It was occasioned by his making the sign of the cross upon a child, which they all supposed would produce the death of the whole village by his sorceries. Father Iogues interfered to save him to no purpose, although he offered to die in his stead, or with him.

Father Jerome Lallemant, Relation of 1645, '6, speaking of the different nations of the Iroquois, remarks, that the Mohawks are the most populous, and at the same time more revengeful and warlike than all the rest, and have far less disposition to embrace the faith.

The Onondagas have a beautiful lake, in the environs of which are several salt fountains which afford excellent salt.\*

Oneida, between Mohawk and Onondaga, is not inferior to

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\* "Celui d' Onontagué, a un fort beau Lac appelle Gannentaha, aux environs duquel il y' a plusieurs fontaines salées et dont les bords, sont toujours couverts d' un tres beau sel."

either in any point. But the cantons of Cayuga and Seneca surpass them all by the excellence of the soil, the beauty of the country, and mildness of the climate. The inhabitants being influenced by these superinducements, have always shown themselves the most tractable of all the Iroquois.

Father Isaac Iogues was the first missionary of whom we have any knowledge as having visited Onondaga, which he did in 1642. He was a Roman Catholic—a Jesuit. His “Relation” or Journal has not come within our reach.

In May, 1646, he was commissioned as an envoy from the French, was hospitably received by the Mohawks, and gained an opportunity of offering the friendship of France to the Onondagas.

Father Cholonec, speaking of him, says—“We availed ourselves of this occasion, which seemed a favorable one, to send missionaries to the Iroquois. They had already gained some smattering of the gospel, which had been preached to them by Father Iogues, and particularly those of Onnontague, among whom this Father had fixed his residence. It is well known that this missionary received among the Iroquois that recompense of martyrdom which well befitted his zeal.”\* Mr. Bancroft, in his *United States*, vol. 3, page 138, gives a thrilling account of the labors, privations and death of this distinguished herald of the cross.

Father Henepin, in his history of discovery in North America, at Book II, page 178, says—“The Order Recollets of St. Francis, were the leading pioneers of the Roman Catholic Church in all the Indies, and throughout the world, preceding the Order of Jesuits, on all occasions being much longer established. But from some unexplained arrangement, the Jesuits were made the leading order of missions in America.”

This venerable Father himself was a Recollet of St. Francis, and published a large quarto volume of his *Travels in North America* from 1679 to 1682.

The year 1653, Father Le Moyne was sent to the Ononda-

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\* Kip's Jesuits.

gas to ratify with them a treaty in the name of the Governor General of Canada, and every thing passed very agreeably between them. The missionary remarked to the savages, that he wished to locate his cabin in their canton, and not only was his offer accepted, but they showed to him the most marked attention. When he came to take possession, he was caressed in a royal manner, through many villages. He was charged with presents to all, and was reconducted with great ceremony to Quebec, as they had previously promised.

The Relation of Father Le Moyne thus commences :

On the 17th day of July, 1653, I set out from Montreal and embarked for a land as yet but little known, accompanied by a young man of piety and fortitude, who had long been a resident of that country.

July 18th. Following always the course of the "Saint Laurens," we encountered nothing but breakers and boisterous rapids full of rocks and shoals.

19th. We passed into a beautiful lake, eight or ten leagues long. At evening an innumerable host of vexatious musquitoes, gave us warning of an approaching storm, in which we were drenched during the whole night. To be thus exposed, without shelter, except of the forest, is a pastime more innocent and agreeable than could well be anticipated.

20th. Islands more beautiful than any in the world, here and there divide the unruffled stream. The land on the north side is excellent. Towards the west, there is a range of high mountains, which we named St. Marguerite.

21st. The Islands continue. In the evening we broke our bark canoe. It rained all night. The bare rocks served us for a bed, covering and all. He who has faith in God, reposes sweetly in any place.

22d. The rapids, which for a season are not navigable, compelled us to carry our luggage and canoe on our shoulders; on the opposite side, I perceived a herd of cattle, grazing at their ease in perfect security. Four or five hundred are sometimes seen in this region in one drove.

23d and 24th. Our guide being wounded, we were forced

to encamp, a prey to the musquitoes. We submitted patiently. A task the more difficult, because there was no cessation from this inconvenience day or night. One could rest with as much ease with death staring him in the face.

25th. We found the river so rapid, that we were compelled to throw ourselves into the water, and draw our canoe after us over the rocks, as a dismounted cavalier leads his horse by the rein. In the evening we landed at the mouth of lake St. Ignace, where the eel abounds in prodigious quantities.

26th. A storm of wind and rain, obliged us to land this morning, after four hours journey. We soon made a shelter, stripping some neighboring trees of their bark, we placed it on poles fixed in the ground in a circle, the ends of which we brought together in the form of an arbor. This done, behold the house is finished. Ambition finds no door to such a palace—more delightful to us, than if the roof was of gold.

27th. We coasted along the banks of the lake, which are high and rocky on all sides, presenting a frightful and picturesque appearance. It is wonderful how trees so large can find root among so many rocks.

28th. A storm of thunder and lightning, amid torrents of rain, obliged us to remain under the protection of our canoe, which being inverted served us for a shelter.

29th and 30th. A continued storm of wind detained us at the entrance of the great lake, named Ontario. We called it Iroquois lake, because the Iroquios nations, have their villages on the southern borders. The Hurons are on the northern side, more in the interior. This lake is about twenty leagues broad and forty long.

31st. We were this day obliged to make up for the time we had lost by the storm. We traversed extensive islands, carrying our luggage, provisions and canoe on our shoulders. It made the way seem long to us, poor weary voyagers.

August 1st. We landed this day at a small village of Iroquois fishermen. Some Hurons are among them. They requested me to pray for them. I confessed Hostagehtak, our

host of the Petun (tobacco) nation. He was the fruit of the labors of Father C. Garnier.

2d. We began our march in the forest, and after traveling twelve or fifteen leagues, encamped about sunset.

3d. At noon we found ourselves on the bank of a river, one hundred or one hundred and twenty paces wide, on the other side of which there is a village of fishermen. An Iroquois, whom I had befriended at Montreal, set me across in his canoe, and kindly bore me to the shore on his shoulders, being unwilling that I should put my feet into the water. Every one received me with joy, and these poor people enriched me with their poverty. They conducted me to another village, about a league distant, where a young man of consideration made a feast for me, because I bore the name of his father, Ondessonk. The chiefs, one after another came to harangue us. I baptized some dying children, who perhaps were just spared for that sprinkling of the precious blood of Christ.

4th. They inquired of us why we were clothed in black. I embraced this opportunity to speak to them of the mysteries of our religion. They brought me a dying infant which I named Dominique. They no longer conceal these little innocents from us. They took me for a great medicine man, although I had only a little sugar to give my patients. We pursued our journey. At noon we found a dinner waiting for us. The nephew of the principal chief of the country is to lodge us in his cabin, being commissioned by his uncle to escort us, and furnish us with every delicacy the season affords, especially bread from new Indian corn, of a kind which we roasted by the fire. We slept this night in the open air.

5th. We traveled four leagues before arriving at the principal Onondaga village. I passed many persons on the way, who kindly saluted me, one calling me brother, another uncle, and another cousin. I never before had so many relations. At a quarter of a league from the village, I began a harangue in a solemn and commanding tone, which gained me great credit. I named all their chiefs, families and dis-

tinguished persons. I told them that peace and joy were my companions and that I scattered war among the distant nations. Two chiefs addressed me as I entered the village with a welcome, the like I had never before experienced among savages. Their women and children all treated me in a friendly and respectful manner. In the evening, I called the principal chiefs together to make them two presents. One to wipe their faces, that they might regard me with kindness and never show symptoms of sadness in their countenances. The second to clean away the little distrust, that might remain upon their minds. After considerable discourse, they retired to consult together, and then responded to my presents by two others more valuable than mine.

6th. I was called to-day in different directions to administer relief to dying children. Some I baptised. I also confessed our old Huron Christians, and found that God is every where; that he is pleased to labor silently in those hearts where faith has reigned. He there builds a temple, where he is worshipped in spirit and in truth, that he may be glorified forever. In the evening my host took me aside and told me, with much affection, that he had always loved me; that he was now content, seeing that all the tribes of his nation, desired nothing but peace; that recently the Senecas had requested negotiations for peace to be commenced, and for that object had made several valuable presents; that the Cayugas had brought three belts for that purpose; that the Oneidas were gratified in having been, through his intervention, relieved from a bad position, and wished only for peace; that without doubt the Mohawks would fall in with the others; that I must take courage, for I had the good wishes of all. It is sweet consolation to witness so much faith in savage hearts.

7th. I baptized a young captive taken from the Neuter nation, fifteen or sixteen years old, who had been instructed in the mysteries of our faith by a Huron convert. This was the first adult baptism made at Onondaga, for which we are indebted to the piety of a Huron. The joy I experienced was

an ample compensation for all past fatigues. When God disposes a soul, a way of safety is soon provided.

9th. This day at noon a dismal cry arose, occasioned by the massacre of three Iroquois warriors by the nation of the Cat, (Eries,) which took place about a day's journey from the latter. This amounts to a declaration of war.

10th. The deputies having arrived from the neighboring nations, after the customary proclamations by the chiefs that all should assemble in the cabin of Ondessonk. I opened the council by a public prayer on my knees, in a loud voice in the Huron tongue. I astonished them exceedingly by mentioning them all by nations, tribes, families and individuals, which amount to no small number. This I was enabled to do from my notes, and to them it was as astonishing as it was novel. I told them I had nineteen messages to deliver.

The first was, that Onnontio (Monsieur de Lauson, Governor of New France,) who spoke by my mouth in behalf of the Hurons, Algonquins and French, since all these nations acknowledge him as their great captain. A large belt of wampum, a hundred small beads of green glass, which are the diamonds of the country, and an elk skin, confirms my words.

The second, was to cut the bonds of eight Seneca captives, taken by our allies and carried to Montreal.

The third, was to break the bonds of some captives of the Loups, taken about the same time.

The fourth, was to thank the people of Onondaga for having restored to us a prisoner.

The fifth, was to thank the Senecas for having saved him from torture.

The sixth, was to thank the Cayugas for having aided in his deliverance.

The seventh, was to thank the Oneidas for having broken the bonds that held him captive.

The eighth, ninth, tenth and eleventh, were for those Iroquois nations, a tomahawk to each, for their new war with the nation of the Cat.

The twelfth, was to replace the lost head of the Senecas, (alluding to the capture of their chief by the Eries.)

The thirteenth, was to strengthen their defenses against their enemies.

The fourteenth, was to paint their warriors for battle.

The fifteenth, was to unite all their counsels. Three presents for that object, a belt of wampum, two small glass beads, and an elk skin.

By the sixteenth, I opened the door of Annouchiasse to all their nations, that they would be welcome among us.

By the seventeenth, I exhorted them to become instructed in the truths of our faith, and for that object I made three presents.

By the eighteenth, I required them henceforth never to lay in ambush for the Algonquin or Huron Nations, who might be on their way to visit our French settlements. This I accompanied with three presents.

Finally, by the nineteenth present, I wiped away the tears from all the young warriors, shed for the death of their great chief, Annencraos, lately taken prisoner by the nation of the Cat.

On the delivery of each present, they uttered, from the bottom of their chests, a profound exclamation, in testimony of their gratification. I was about two hours in delivering my speech, in which I assumed the tone of a chief, walking about, as is their custom, like an actor on the stage.

After I had concluded, they assembled by nations and tribes, having called in the Mohawk, who by chance happened to be there.

After consulting together for two hours more, they called me among them, and seated me in a place of honor. The chief, who is principal spokesman and orator of the country, repeated faithfully the substance of my whole speech, and after all had sung in testimony of their joy, he directed me to pray to God, which I did very willingly. These exercises being finished, he addressed me in behalf of his nation.

First, he thanked Onnontio for his good wishes. Two large belts of wampun.

Second, in the name of the Mohawks, he thanked us for having restored five of their allies of the nation of the Loups. Two other belts.

Third, in the name of the Senceas, he thanked us for having rescued from the fire five of their people. Two other belts; each present being followed by exclamations from the assembly.

Another chief, an Oneida, arose and delivering four large belts, thanked Onnontio for having generously encouraged them to combat against their new enemies, of the nation of the Cat, and for having exhorted them never to wage war against the French. "Thy words are admirable, Onnontio. They produce in my heart two contrary emotions. You animate me to war, and calm my heart with thoughts of peace. You are both a great warrior and a peace maker; kind towards those you love, but terrible against your enemies. We all wish you joy, and we will love the French for your sake."

In conclusion, the Onondaga chief commenced speaking: "Hear, Ondessonk," said he, "five nations speak through my mouth. I have in my heart the sentiments of all the Iroquois nations, and my language is faithful to my heart. Tell Onnontio four things, which are the subject of all our councils.

First, we will acknowledge him of whom you have spoken, who is the master of our lives and to us unknown.

Second, our national tree, is this day planted at Onondaga; henceforth, it will be the place of our councils and treaties for peace.

Third, we request you to select on the banks of our great lake, a convenient place for a French habitation. Place yourself in the heart of our country, since you have possessed our inmost affections. There, we can go for instruction; and from thence, you can spread yourselves everywhere. Have for us the care of fathers, and we will entertain for you the respect of children.

Fourth; we are engaged in new wars; let Onnontio animate

us for the scene. For him we will have no thoughts but peace."

Their most valuable presents were reserved for the last four speeches.

On the 15th of August, we set out on our return with a goodly company.

On the 16th we arrived at the entrance of a small lake. (Onondaga.) In a large basin, half dry, we tasted the water of a spring, which the Indians are afraid to drink, saying that is inhabited by a demon who renders it foul. I found it to be a fountain of salt water, from which we made a little salt, as natural as from the sea, some of which we shall carry to Quebec. This lake abounds in salmon, trout and other kinds of fish.

On the 17th, we entered the outlet of the lake, and passed the river of the Senecas on the left, the addition of which enlarges the stream. It rises, they say, in two streams, among the Cayugas and Senecas. After three leagues more of pleasant traveling, we passed on our right, the river of Oneida, which seemed quite deep. A league farther, we encountered some rapids, which gave the name to a village of fishermen.

On the 18th, my companions were engaged in putting their canoes in order.

August 19th, we journeyed on upon the same river, which is of fine width, and everywhere deep, except some rapids, where we found it necessary to get into the water and draw the canoe to prevent its being broken by the rocks.

20th. We arrived this day at the great lake Ontario, called the Lake of the Iroquois.

The residue of the journal is a continuation of his journey back to Quebec. He describes the scenery along the lake as very beautiful. He became almost enchanted with the abundance of game, consisting of immense herds of wild cattle, deer, &c., which were feeding on extensive meadows. Completely satisfied with the results of his mission, he arrived safely at Quebec, on the 11th of September, 1653.

Next in order is the Relation of the years 1655 and 1656,

by Father Francis le Mercier, giving an account of the voyage of Father Joseph Chaumonot, and Father Claude Dablon to Onondaga, to the country of the Iroquois superiors.

The Agnies (Mohawks) and Onnciouts (Oneidas) from below, we denominate the Lower or Inferior Iroquois. The Onondagas and the neighboring nations for the Upper or Superior Iroquois, because they advance higher towards the source of the river St. Lawrence, and inhabit a mountainous country. Onondaga being the central nation, our voyage was directed to that place. We set out from Quebec, the 19th of September, 1655, and from Montreal, the 7th of October. We ascended the Sault St. Louis, but on account of the breakers, and the difficult passage, we only advanced four leagues the first day, and a quarter of a league on the second. We here joined some Onondagas, who had preceded us, that they might have time to prepare canoes for the voyage. We passed the remainder of the day with them.

On the 9th, we traversed the lake St. Louis, which is formed in the river St. Lawrence. This magnificent river forms lakes in many places, by expanding its waters and afterwards compressing them within its natural channel.

On the 10th, which was Sunday, we had the consolation of saying holy mass. Our guides and the rest of our people, had soon erected and dressed an altar and living chapel, since it was built of the green branches of trees. We made wine from the grapes of the country, which were everywhere abundant. After our devotions were completed, we re-embarked, and had hardly made a league, when we met a band of Tsonnontonan (Seneca) hunters, who told us that their nation was to send an embassy to the French in the autumn.

On the 12th, we rowed up several rapids, and in the evening, instead of resting, after our hard day's work in these currents by which we had advanced about five leagues, we had to keep watch, for we greatly feared the Mohawks, of which a part of our band was composed, who were enemies to the Hurons and the faith.

On the 13th, we did not proceed far, on account of the

failure of our provisions. Our hunters and fishers were necessarily engaged in seeking their own subsistence and ours from the woods and streams.

14th. Our purveyors were not remarkably fortunate; our stock of provisions was still running lower and lower, and our appetites continually sharpened by hunger. At this juncture we made prize of a wild cow. This poor beast had been drowned; its flesh was already in a state of decay, but appetite being a superior cook, without salt or spices, we still found this meat not only very acceptable, but exceedingly well flavored. Nay, let us rather say that the zeal and ardor that we feel, in gaining these poor souls for God, so softens all our difficulties, that we find much sweetness in the strong, and much that is agreeable in the bitter.

On the 15th, God caused us to pass from destitution to abundance. Eight bears had fallen into the hands of our hunters. Immediately all our people became butchers and cooks. Nothing was seen but flesh and grease and skins. Four pots boiled continually, and when it came to the knives and the teeth, not one asked for bread, wine, salt or sauce. It was most excellent, without seasoning. The rains descended abundantly this day, which obliged our famished horde to repose, without the loss of a day of fine weather.

On the 17th, the abundance continues; our people killed thirty bears. One man killed ten, for his single portion. A singular ceremony followed this great carnage, which was to drink the grease of these bears after a meal, as we drink "*Hy-pocras*" in France. Afterwards every individual rubbed themselves from head to foot with this oil.

On the night of the 18th and 19th, we were much diverted by an agreeable incident. One of our savages awakes at midnight, out of breath, crying and turning himself about like a madman. We thought at first that some great calamity had befallen him, so violent were his convulsions. We ran to him to encourage him, but his cries and fury redoubled. We hid our arms lest he should seize them and improperly use them. Some prepared a medicinal drink for him; others held him as

well as they could, but he escaped from their hands and cast himself into the river, where he behaved strangely; several ran to draw him out; they proposed a fire for him; altho' he acknowledged himself very cold, he went away from the fire and took his station against a tree, by which to warm himself. Our people offered the medicine prepared for him; "But," said he, "it is not suitable for my complaint. Give it to that child," said he, pointing to the skin of a bear stuffed with straw. We were obliged to obey him, and pour it down the throat of that beast. Until then, every one had been alarmed. But when closely questioned, as to what ailed him, he said he had dreamed that a certain animal, which is in the habit of diving in the water, had got into his stomach and awakened him, and that to fight with it, he had thrown himself into the river. Upon this, all our fears were changed to laughter. It was necessary, however, to cure the diseased imagination of this man. Wherefore they all pretended to be as mad as himself, and to fight with the animals diving in the water. They also prepared to sweat themselves so as to get him to do like them. As he cried and sung aloud during the process of sweating, imitating the cry of the animals with which he was fighting, so they also began to cry and sing aloud, the cries of those animals with which they pretended to be fighting, every one violently striking the poor fellow in the cadence of their song. Imagine what a chorus of twenty voices, imitating ducks, teal and frogs, and what a sight to see so many men pretending to be mad in order to cure a madman. They succeeded well, for after being thoroughly sweated, our lunatic stretched himself upon his mat and slept as soundly as if nothing had happened. His disease, which had come on in a dream, passed off in a dreamy sleep, and whosoever has to do with these Pagan savages may lose his life by a dream.

On the 19th, 20th, 21st, 22d, 23d, we labored hard in dragging our canoes through the rapids, making only four or five leagues.

24th. We arrived early at Lake Ontario, a very beautiful lake. (Father Henepin, speaking of this lake, says, Tome

I, page 23, "The river of St. Laurence derives its source from Lac Ontario, which is likewise called, in the Iroquois language, Skanadario, that is to say, *very pretty Lac.*" Again, at Tome II, page 136, he says, "The great river of St. Laurence, which I have often mentioned, runs through the middle of the Iroquois country, and makes a great Lake there, which they call Ontario, viz: *the beautiful Lac.* It is near one hundred leagues long, and a vast number of towns might be built upon it.") To continue our narrative—five stags were killed this evening, at the entrance of the lake. The incident was sufficient to stop our party. We considered at leisure the beauty of this lake, the entrance to which is half way from Montreal to Onondaga. It is incomparably the most difficult part, on account of the great number of rapids. We afterwards enter into beautiful smooth water, interspersed with numerous islands, distant about a quarter of a league from each other. It is pleasant to witness the swimming of herds of cows from island to island. Our hunters often intercept their path, as they return to firm land, and place themselves at the landing places, conducting them to death at the most desirable spot.

On the 25th and 26th, we advanced sixteen leagues into the lake, and fairly enter it. We have never remarked any thing more beautiful. It borders on the sublime. At times the scenery is even frightful. Lofty islands and huge rocks piled up like towering citadels, covered with cedars and pines, variegated the prospect.

On the 27th, we passed most of the islands, and water alone was visible on every side. In the evening we met a band of Seneca hunters. We were both greatly surprised at meeting, but to relieve our embarrassment, they invited us to a feast of corn and beans, cooked in the beautiful clear water of the country. This food, simple as it was, and seasoned with brotherly love, was delicious.

29th. We arrived at Ontiahanague (Oswego). We received there a warm welcome; every one crowded to see us. Ontiahanague, is a large river which discharges into Lake Ontario;

it is narrow at its mouth, but is wider in its ordinary course. It fertilizes rich prairies, dividing them into higher and low lands, all proper for the culture of maize. Various kinds of fish are caught in abundance at all seasons of the year. In spring, as soon as the snow is melted, it is full of gold fishes, carps succeed them, afterwards the "*achigen*," which is a flat fish, six inches long, of excellent flavor; after these are the "*barbues*," and at the end of May, when strawberries are ripe, sturgeon are often killed with the axe. All the rest of the year, even in winter, the salmon furnishes abundant provisions for the town of Onontac. We slept last night near the bank of the lake. This was our first stopping place in the country of the "*Onontaeronnons*" (Onondagas.) We were here received with the strongest proofs of friendship. Twenty Huron captives, who were fishing here, showed their satisfaction at seeing Father Chammonot; some threw themselves on his neck, some invited him to a feast, others gave him presents. They were overjoyed. Prayers were openly performed, a cabin being too small to contain them. The Father heard their confessions and instructed these poor souls, who had heard nothing of God since their captivity. The Hurons, of the upper country, who had never been instructed, on account of their aversion to the faith, have also begun to yield, listening attentively to the Father's discourse; so true is it that affliction gives a right understanding. The Father met here Otohenha, the host of the late Father Garnier, and the Father Garreau, in the nation of Petun, (Tobacco.) He was so overjoyed at the sight of the Father, that he could not speak, and was obliged to delay to another time the relation of his adventures, which were, that as he was journeying with all his family, and the daughter of the good Rene, named Ondoaskona, rowing a canoe loaded with peltry and carrying presents from the two great chiefs of his country, who had solicited a dwelling place at Quebec, he was unfortunately overtaken by the Onondagas, all his family made captives and distributed among the different cabins.

One of the women having been secretly advised, that the

relatives of him for whom she had been given, wished to burn her, fled into the woods with her child, after Rene had baptized it.

What is not less sad, he related the death of that famous Martha Gahatio, of well known sanctity. God willed to try her severely. He said that during the past year, being at war with the nation of the Cat and with the Onondagas, having taken and sacked a small village, he found among the slain, the good Rene and Sondiouaeren and his daughter, among the captives, the same Martha of whom we speak. They had mutually encouraged each other, had kept their promises to God, and died in a full profession of the faith. The poor Martha, who could not well follow the victors, because of lameness and a little child which she could scarcely carry, was cruelly burned on the road. Two of her children had escaped the fury of the Onondagas, but they gave us no tidings of them. It was truly pitiful to hear these poor people relate the story of their captivity. Several of them had been killed by those who had at first spared their lives. A slight disobedience or sickness, was sufficient to obtain for them a blow of the hatchet.

On the 30th, we prepared to go by land to Onondaga. After mid day, we met several Oneida warriors, who were going beyond the rapids, against a people called Nez Perces, (Pierced Noses) Atondutochan was their leader. He was at Montreal on the second embassy sent by the town of Oneida. He was a well made and an eloquent man. He entreated us to remain a day or two longer, that he might learn our purpose.

On the 31st, these warriors all assembled, and after the ordinary ceremonies, at such a meeting, Father Chaumonot addressed Atondutochan, and told him in the first place, that he rejoiced to see this great man, whose voice had been so high at Montreal that its echo still resounded there.

Secondly; that the subject which led him to this country, was to fulfill a promise he had previously made, to speak to all the same language, as all are warmed by the same sun, and all

have the same heart, so all should henceforth be brothers. At these two articles the usual acclamations were heard; all manifested in their countenances, the joy which this discourse gave them, and because it had been reported that peace had been concluded between the French and Mohawks, without comprising the Algonkins and Hurons in it.

The Father added thirdly, that he came to make and conclude a good and universal peace.

In the fourth place, he made a present of fifteen hundred porcelain beads, to invite them to treat well the two Frenchmen, among those whom they were about to combat; and finally, he prayed to the Maker of all, to take care of his enterprise. We had resolved to make him a valuable present, in order to quiet his soldiers; but we learned secretly, that we should have been certainly refused, because they were strongly moved at the death of some of their people, whom they wished to avenge at any price whatsoever. After the Father had spoken for half an hour, the chief commenced his response.

The whole party, as if by concert, commenced to sing in a manner like a full chorus. The first song said, that they were all now engaged for the day in thanking the Father for the good news he had brought them. The second song was, to congratulate him for his favorable voyage, upon his safe arrival. They sang a third time, to light a fire to the Father, that he might take possession of the country. The fourth song, united us as a band of brothers. The fifth, threw the hatchet to the bottom of the waters, that peace might reign in all their borders. The sixth song, was to make the French masters of Ontiahtague. It was here that the chief invited the salmon, the "*barbue*" and other fishes to cast themselves into our nets, and to fill this river only for our benefit. He told the fishes, that they would be very fortunate to terminate their lives thus honorably. He named all the fishes of this river, even to the very smallest, and apostrophized them all, in his peculiar vein of eloquence. He added many other things, which caused all our people to laugh. The seventh

song was still more agreeable to us. It was to open their hearts and ask us to read there, their satisfaction upon our arrival. At the end of these songs, they made us a present of two thousand porcelain beads. Thereupon the Father raising his voice answered, that the kindness of his words continually became more affecting. That before this time, the shores of Lake Ontario only had listened to his voice; but henceforth, it should fly beyond the greatest of all the lakes, and would roll like thunder over all France. This pleased the chieftain, as well as all his people. They afterwards invited us to a feast, which closed the evening.

On the first of November, we set out overland for Onondaga. We met here a good Huron woman, named Theresa Oiouhaton. This poor woman, having heard of the arrival of the French, came three leagues distant from her dwelling to greet the Father on his passage. Her joy was great at seeing the "*Noir Robes*" (priests) once more before she died. The Father asked her if the little child she held in her arms had been baptized, and by whom. She answered that she herself had baptized it in these words: Jesus have mercy on my child. I baptize thee my child, that thou mayest be happy in heaven. Thereupon the Father confessed and consoled her. We passed the night on the bank of the stream, after having made five good leagues. We departed thence at dawn, on the 2d of November, and after advancing six or seven leagues, we pitched our camp, at the same sign, under the same auspice, which had always shone upon our journey, the evening star.

On the 3d, we left before the sun had risen. The French met upon their road, the sister of that Theresa of whom we have spoken, who related her misfortunes with many tears. I had, said she, two children in my captivity; but alas, they have been massacred by their captors, and I have every day to dread a similar fate. Death stands before me continually. We had to console her, and afterwards to confess her, then leave her quickly, to follow our guides, who took us this day

to Tethiroguen.\* This is a river which issues from a river called Goienho.† Oneida village, one of the Iroquois nations, is above this lake, which in its construction makes the river Tethiroguen, and afterwards a rapid of steep descent, called Ahaoueté.‡ As soon as we had arrived at this river, the most notable among a good number of fisherman who sojourned here, came to pay us their respects, and afterwards conducted us to their best cabins.

On the 4th of November, we advanced about six leagues, still on foot, and burdened with our little baggage. We passed the night about four leagues from Onondaga.

On the 5th of November, 1655, as we continued our route, a chieftain of note, called Gonateregon, met us a league from his cabin, welcomed our arrival, and kindly invited us to remain with his people. He placed himself at the head of our little company, and conducted us in state to within a quarter of a league of Onondaga, where the "*Anciens*" of the country awaited us. Having seated ourselves beside them, they set before us their best provisions, especially pumpkins baked in the ashes. While we were eating, an aged chieftain named Okonchiarennen, arose, requiring silence, and among other things, said, we were very welcome; we were much wished for, and had been expected for a long time. Since the young men, whose element is war, had themselves demanded and procured peace, it was for the aged men no more to handle arms, but to ratify peace and embrace it with all their hearts, which they sincerely did. It was the Mohawks only, who wished to darken the sun, rendered so splendid by our approach, and who were disposed to fill the sky with clouds, at the same time that we dispersed them; but that all the efforts of these envious men would fall to the ground, and that at the last they would agree with us, that we should soon take possession of the lands assigned us, and enter and enjoy our new homes in perfect security. After having delivered this discourse, which was spoken in apparently a studied manner, the

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\* Oneida River.

† Chittenango Creek.

Gaston's Rifts, town of Clay.

Father replied, that his speech was as a most agreeable beverage to us, which took away all the fatigue of the journey. That he came on the part of Onnontio to satisfy their demands, and he doubted not they would be fully satisfied when they had learned his commission. The whole people listened with attention and admiration, delighted to hear a Frenchman speak their language so well. After this, our chief, who had lately spoken, arose and gave a signal, and conducted us through long files closely ranged, to see us pass through their midst; we were presented with fruits and favored with happy greetings on all sides, until we arrived at the principal village, whose streets were very clean and the roofs of the cabins seemed covered with children. We were ushered into a spacious cabin which had previously been prepared for us, and as many as could entered with us. After resting a short time, we were invited to a bear feast. We excused ourselves because it was Friday. This did not prevent us however from being treated all the rest of the day, to fish and beaver tail in various cabins. Very late in the evening, the "*Anciens*" held a council in one cabin. One of them having welcomed us in behalf of the nation, made us two presents, one of five hundred porcelain beads, with which to wipe our eyes, still wet with the tears shed for the murders which had occurred among us this year; and as grief takes away the voice, (observing that it was weak on our arrival,) he added a second present of five hundred porcelain beads, to strengthen our stomach and clear the phlegm from our throats, so as to restore our voice, very clear, very free, and very strong. The Father thanked them kindly for their good will, and told them that Onnontio and Achiendase\* had their eyes turned towards the coast of Onondaga, to see from Quebec the state in which we were, and that he made us a present of two thousand beads to cause them to open the door of their cabin, where they had lodged us, so that all the French might see the good treatment which we received there. The kindly countenan-

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\* Governor of Canada, and the French Superior of Missions.

ces which they exhibited, and the beautiful mats they gave us to rest upon, showed they were delighted with the compliment. On the morrow, the sixth of November, we were invited by day light to several feasts, which lasted all the morning. This did not hinder the Father from going to see the sick, who promised to ask for instruction in case they regained their health.

On the seventh day, Sunday, was held a secret council of fifteen chiefs, where the Father was called, after having worshiped God, to meet twenty persons, who presented themselves. It was told the French in this assembly, first, that Agochiendaguete, who is the great king of all the country, and Onnontio were equally firm and constant in their decisions, and that nothing could sever the bond which held them so firmly united. Second, that they should send their most vigorous youth to bring back the Huron ambassadors, who had come to treat for peace with us. Third, they prayed that Onnontio should be informed, that although some of their people should be ill-treated or even killed by the Mohawks, that should not prevent the alliance they so much desired, and that it should be the same on the part of Onnontio, if injuries were inflicted on the French. Fourth, having learned that Onnontio would be best gratified to hear that they had erected a chapel for believers this very autumn, to please him, they would provide it as soon as possible. At this sentence, the Father having taken their words, told them, that they had found the secret of taking captive the Governor's heart, and of gaining him entirely. All, at once uttered a cry of approval, upon which the council concluded.

In the evening, speaking familiarly to the Father, they asked him to tell them something about France. The Father, finding so fair an occasion of making an impression, represents to them that France had formerly been in the same error in which they were, but that God had opened our eyes, by means of his Son. Whereupon, explaining the great mystery of the Incarnation, he refuted all the calumnies, which had prevailed in their country against the faith. He did this so

pleasantly and effectually, that for the space of an hour and a half that he spoke, no sign of weariness appeared. The council ended in a feast, from which they excused themselves because the entertainment at Onondaga was not as sumptuous as that given to their ambassadors at Quebec. The day closed by a great assembly of those who came to worship God, and those who visited through motives of curiosity.

Much of the time of our missionaries is taken up in visiting, talking and arranging the affairs of the mission. Several children have been baptised, and permission granted for us to settle among them, and the place selected. On the 9th, while the French were at work rebuilding the old foundations of the old Huron church, which had been somewhat broken up.\* This day, for the first time, we visited the salt spring, which is only two leagues from here, near the lake Genentaha, and the place chosen for the French settlement, because it is in the centre of the Iroquois nations, and because we can from thence visit in canoes, various locations upon the rivers and lakes, which renders commerce free and commodious. Fishing and hunting increase the importance of this place, for besides the various kinds of fish that are taken there at different seasons of the year, the eel is so abundant that a thousand are sometimes speared by a single fisherman in a night, and as for the game, which does not fail through the winter, the pigeons gather in spring in such numbers that they are taken in nets in great abundance. The fountain, from which very good salt is made, intersects a fine meadow surrounded by a wood of superior growth. From eighty to a hundred paces from this salt spring, is found another of fresh water, and both flow from the same hill. The missionary

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\*By this and similar references it would seem that a church had previously been established at Onondaga. Father Iogues, had prior to this established a church among the Hurons. That nation had been entirely subdued by the Iroquois, previous to 1650, and the remnant of the Hurons incorporated among them. It is by no means improbable that the converted Hurons, under the guidance of some missionary, and with the approbation of the Onondagas, had here established a church, the existence of which is here distinctly alluded to.

gives an account of the burning of a Cat child by the Onondagas, which determined the Father Chaumonot to preserve the soul of the child, whose body he could not save. He then baptized him with a few drops of water, which he retained in his handkerchief. It was enough—it furnished a key for him with which to open the gate of heaven. He then baptized him before he was burned. He was two hours in torture and died resolutely, amidst the shouts of his enemies.

14th—Sunday. We could not commence better than by administering the sacrament of the Holy Mass, which we celebrated on a small altar, in an oratory, made in the cabin of Teotonharason, one of the women who came down to Quebec with the ambassadors. She is here highly esteemed for her nobleness and wealth, but especially because she has openly declared for the faith, making a public profession of it, instructing all who are connected with her, having already eagerly demanded baptism for herself, for her mother and her daughter. After having herself explained to them the mysteries of our religion, and taught them its prayers.

About ten o'clock, the same day, was assigned as a time suitable for making presents. Every thing being in readiness we publicly, on our knees, recited our prayers, amid the deep silence of the whole solemn assembly. At this time, news arrived that the deputies of Cayuga were entering the village. It then became necessary to prepare ourselves to receive them suitably to their rank. The French made them two complimentary presents, and they answered by two others, adding a third, and entreated him to defer the ceremony until the following day, which was conceded.

The two succeeding chapters of this narrative are taken up in a description of the giving and receiving of presents, which was done in great pomp, with much ceremony, and in preliminary negotiations.

On the 28th of November, being the first Sunday in Advent, was held the first celebration of the Catechism at Onondaga, in one of the principal cabins.

Our chapel being too small, we began with prayers, which

the assistants read aloud; then the Father explained some points of our creed, afterwards he displayed several images, in order to assist the imagination and cause devotion to enter the heart through the eyes.

For about two months after this, the mission seemed to be in a most prosperous condition. Proselytes were continually added to the faith, and the hopes and anticipations of the missionaries were raised to the highest elevation. At length doubts and dissensions invaded the minds of some of the principal individuals of the canton, when it was resolved that the Father Dablon should proceed to Quebec for a reinforcement, that not only the hearts of the missionaries should be strengthened, but their hands also.

Relation of 1655, '6. Departure of Pere Claude Dablon, from Onondaga, and his return to Quebec:—

We were in great trouble about informing our friends at Quebec, of the state in which our affairs were at Onondaga, and how passionately the people desired that our establishment should be made as soon as possible. They gave the last evidence of this, in a celebrated council held on the 29th February, where, amongst other things, they said to the Father, that he must now show himself out; that they had been expecting the French for more than three years; that they were still put off from year to year; that they were weary of delay; that if the matter was not consummated at once it need be no more thought of, and that they would break off entirely, since the French were so dilatory. They added, moreover, that they knew well that it was not trade that caused the French to come among them, but only the faith which we wished to publish to them. Why do you not come at once, said they, since you see all our village embrace it? We have not ceased all this winter to go in crowds to the chapel, to pray and be instructed. You have been cordially welcomed in all our cabins, when you have visited them to teach. You cannot doubt our dispositions, since we have made you so solemn a present, with protestations so public, that we are believers. They added many other things, declarative of their

sentiments on this subject, in which certainly the providence of God is most admirably manifested, in disposing a people to seek Him, who but a little while before were the greatest persecutors of his Church. And what appears inconceivable is, that these good people, who show so much eagerness to have us remain among them, cannot comprehend how it is, or whence comes this great desire, almost in spite of themselves. They urge our establishment in the country, and complain of one another for inviting us to come. The old men say they cannot oppose the youth who ask for the French. The youth say that the old men wish to ruin all their country in calling us thither; and with all this, both parties cease not to add entreaty to entreaty, and threaten to become our enemies, unless we forthwith become their compatriots.

This especially caused us to seek all possible means to make known their dispositions at Quebec, and to hasten the coming of the French, for fear of losing so favorable an opportunity. No one, after all, would undertake to guide any of us back to Quebec, for fear of losing the season of providing beaver and provisions for the year; for it was the time when all the youth set out for the hunt. We were in despair of performing the journey, although it was absolutely necessary for the preservation and advancement of our establishment. It was already more than two months that we had been using every device to bring it about, but in vain. At last we determined upon saying nine masses to St. John the Baptist, the patron of this mission, in order to obtain light in a business where all was dark to us.

Behold how contrary to our expectations and to all human appearance, without knowing how it was done, or by whom; immediately after the ninth mass, I set out from Onondaga, accompanied by two of the principal young men of the village, and by several others, whom doubtless St. John inspired to engage in this enterprise and journey. Thus the chief of the escort was named St. Jean Baptiste, he being the first adult of the Iroquois, baptised in full health.

It was about nine o'clock, on the 2d day of March, after

having celebrated holy mass, and bid my adieu to the country, by the baptism of a child, whom I confessed before my departure, that we set out. We made five leagues this first day, during which the weather was mild and spring like. However, at evening it changed to rain, with cold, which obliged us to spend one day and two nights in the midst of a wood, in a house without doors or windows or walls.

On the 4th of March, after a journey of about six leagues, we encamped on the bank of the lake which terminates at Techiroguen. This day was very wearisome, having encountered snow or water most of the way up to our knees.

We passed another day and two nights at this place by the lake, which we expected to have crossed on the ice, but could not on account of the thaw. We knew by the cold of the last night, that the passage would soon be free and the bridge solid. In fact we traveled a league and a half over the ice, after which it was a pleasure to walk softly over the snow. We were obliged to go very deep into the water, in order to cross a small rivulet, which had resisted the violence of the cold.

On the 7th of March, after a slight rest, we set forth in the morning, and marched till evening without taking anything. We could not arrive at Oeiatonneheugue\* before the morrow, a little after midday. We hoped to have embarked upon the great lake, although it was not frozen; all the banks were so filled with large piles of snow and huge pieces of ice, that it was not safe to approach it. We made two leagues over the beautiful beach, and after having chased an incredible number of otters, who make their abode there during winter in a little swamp, we made our exit for the night.

The 9th was extremely tedious to us. We walked over a frozen swamp, but with our feet always in the water, because the morning rain was not yet frozen. We came at last to a fine sand upon the shore of the great lake, but were stopped in our course by a deep river, the ice of which was not strong

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\* Village near Fort Ontario.

enough to bear us. We sought all means to pass it without avail; our people halted to consult what to do. They passed more than three hours trembling with cold, rather than consulting. The result was in part, to retrace our steps and seek a place suitable to pass the night. We then crossed another stream, with the same inconvenience as in the morning, but with this difference, that we were drenched by a heavy rain, which finally compelled us to shelter ourselves under barks. Next day we ascended a league above the mouth of the river which had stopped us. We were rejoiced to find it frozen strong enough to cross over it. But, oh, my God, what difficulty to regain our route; we had to cross a vast meadow covered with water, amidst water and half melted snows, through woods and swamps; and after having surmounted these difficulties, we had to wade several streams in our way. At last, having journeyed all the day, we found at evening that we had advanced only three leagues on our route.

We marched nearly all of the eleventh day upon the ice of the great lake, but with our feet always in the water, because of the thaw, which made our walking dangerous. Several times the ice gave way under us, and some of the boldest had to walk before us, to prove that which was strong, and that which was weak.

The remaining portion of this chapter relates the ordinary incidents of travel, in perilous journeys, from Onondaga to Quebec.

Finally, on the 30th of March, we arrived at Montreal, having set out from Onondaga on the 2d. Our hearts here felt the joy, which pilgrims feel when they arrive in their own country. God having preserved us in so remarkable a manner through so dangerous a voyage, shows that he watches, more than we can imagine, over the salvation of the Iroquois. May He be blessed for it forever.

You will remark, in passing, that letters have been received in Quebec, by the last vessel, stating that Father Claude Dablon, whose journal we have just seen, has returned to Onondaga with Father Le Mercier, the superior of this mission,

Father Rene Mesnard, Father Jaques Fremin, Brother Ambrose Broar, and Brother Bourzier, who all go to join Father Joseph Chaumonot, who remained in the country of the Iroquois. They are escorted by fifty brave Frenchmen, who have already commenced a good settlement in the midst of all those nations. We shall see the success next year, God assisting. The Fathers require evangelical laborers, and the assistance of the prayers of all those who wish for the salvation of their people. As the expenses, which must be made in order to sustain such an enterprise, are very great, if those who profess to contribute for the conversion of the savages, would sustain this mission, they would do God great service. We have baptized at different times, in sundry places, more than four hundred and fifty savages of all ages, notwithstanding the troubles and obstacles of the wars in which they are engaged. If we can sustain preachers of the gospel in these countries, which I shall call the country of martyrs, many more will be baptized. Let it be done! Let it be done!

We set out from Quebec, 17th of May, 1756. Our force was composed of four nations, French, Onondagas, Senecas, who had come to seek our alliance, and a few Hurons. We filled a few shallops and several canoes. Departing from the port, we were cheered by the acclamations of many different people, who crowded the shore, all regarding us with an eye of compassion, and trembling hearts, thinking us so many victims, destined to the flames, and to the rage and tortures of the Iroquois. This misfortune had nearly happened to us on the morrow. After our departure, our shallops having cast anchor about twelve leagues above Quebec, near a place called the point of St. Croix, we resolved to descend thither the next morning and celebrate holy mass. Our sailors forgetting this resolution, raised anchor during the day, and caused us to pursue our journey. Our danger was very great, there being in this place three hundred Mohawks, who could easily have captured us without fighting, since our men had disembarked without arms, supposing these traitors had retired to their own country, as they had informed our French they

would. It was at Lake St. Pierre, about Three Rivers, that we incurred this danger, without knowing it, these barbarians not showing themselves, although they had narrowly watched us. They threw themselves upon some of our canoes, which were separated from us, and upset one in the river, slightly wounded one of our brothers with two gun shots. They bound and gagged the Hurons in our company, and ill-treated the Onondagas, being unwilling they should form an alliance with us. But the fear of provoking a war with the Onondagas, who showed on this occasion a proper resentment, quieted their wrath, and obliged them to render excuses. They said they believed our canoes were filled only with Hurons, with whom they have no peace. After this, they set every one at liberty, not excepting the Hurons. Those who escaped at the beginning of the contest, by running through the woods and coming to our shallows, advised us of what was passing. Having arrived at the Three Rivers, on the 20th of May, we left there on the 29th, and on the 31st entered into the Montreal settlement, whence we departed in canoes on the 1st of June, for the village of the Onondagas.

On the 8th of June, we embarked in twenty canoes—the shallows being no longer of service beyond Montreal, on account of the rapids above that settlement. We had scarcely proceeded two leagues, before a band of Mohawks, having perceived us at a great distance, and taken us for Algonkins and Hurons, cast themselves panic-stricken into the woods; but having recognized us by our flag, on which was the name “JESUS,” painted in large letters, on beautiful white cloth, flying in the air, they came forward and accosted us. The Onondagas received them with a thousand curses, reproached them with treason and robbery, and seizing upon their canoes, took their arms and whatever was best of their equipments, making reprisals for having themselves been pillaged a few days before, by this same people. This was all the consolation these poor wretches obtained, for having come to salute us.

On the 5th and 6th of July, we caught some fish, but in

such small quantities, that it made but a small allowance for fifty men.

On the 7th, we arrived about ten o'clock in the evening, at the mouth of the river, which flows from the Lake Genentaha, on the banks of which, we proceeded to erect a dwelling place for the night. The next day we found currents of water so rapid, that it required all our force to surmount them. I confess, that the faces of most of us were haggard and worn, and we felt downcast and discouraged. Before lying down in the evening, we had only a drop of brandy to distribute among our company. In the morning, we had to set forth, and continued all day, striving against breakers which threw us back, almost as far as we advanced. In fact we only made one league this day, part of our people falling sick, and the rest losing their courage with their strength. The providence of God is wonderful; He casts down, and He raises up; for being in the greatest distress and in extreme need, we saw a canoe in the distance, laden with provisions, which seemed to fly towards us, rather than to be rowed. This sight cured all our sick; our strength returned by beholding this precious sight; our weary would not wait to take rest, and the very prospect of this boon restored us to joy and health. We joyfully disembarked, and the master of the convoy, after a few compliments, presented us, from Father Chaumonot, with sacks of Indian corn, and large fresh cooked salmon. This little canoe was followed by two other larger ones, as well filled as the first. We returned thanks to God for having granted us a meal of which we were so much in need. We flourished our kettles in the air by way of rejoicing. One fine day effaces the memories of ten evil ones. Of our desperate famine, nothing now remained, only the glory of having suffered something for our Lord, who thus turns our trials to His glory. He made us there experience the truth of His promises, giving us an abundance, a hundred fold greater than the famine we had endured in His service, had been afflicting. I might say, that He sent back the fish into the rivers express-

ly for us, one of our men having taken twenty large salmon in one night, and several "*barbues*."

On the 10th of the same month of July, passing a sault about five leagues in extent, our people took, whilst journeying, thirty-four salmon, spearing them with their swords, and striking them with their oars. They were so numerous that we could strike them without difficulty. In the evening, we found at the place where we intended to pass the night, one of the first chieftains of the Onondagas awaiting us, who received us with a fine oration, in which he testified of the joy his countrymen felt on our arrival. That all the Five Nations were possessed of the same sentiments. That all the old men awaited us with impatience.

On the 11th of July, at three o'clock, we found ourselves entering the Lake Genentaha, on whose shores we had destined to pitch our camp, when the old men, knowing it to be the place selected by Fathers Chaumonot and Dablon, awaited us with a great multitude of people.

The size of this lake is two leagues long and half a league in width. We have remarked three things of importance. The first is, that several salt springs are formed upon the eastern side, although this lake is far distant from the sea. There are such however in Lorraine, but do not think that salt could be made as easily there. For we find salt ready made upon the ground about these springs, and it is readily deposited when the water is boiled.

The second matter of observation is, that in spring there gather around these salt fountains so great a quantity of pigeons, that thousands are caught in a morning.

The third subject of remark is, that there are found here certain serpents, unseen elsewhere, which we call "*Serpent a sonnettes*," (rattle-snakes,) because in creeping they make a noise, like a locust or grasshopper, ("*Sautercelle*.") They bear at the end of their tails, certain round scales connected with each other in such a manner that a simple motion produces this peculiar noise, which can be heard twenty paces off. These rattles continue to make a noise after the death of the ser-

pent, though not so great as when alive. The inhabitants of the country say, that the scales are an antidote to the poison, which is very virulent. The flesh is said to be as well tasted as that of the eel, and is efficacious in fevers; the flesh is much used for food. Its body is about three feet long, larger than a man's wrist, and marked over the back with dark and yellow spots, except the tail, which is nearly black. It has four teeth, two above and two below, long and sharp like needles. They bite like a dog, and cause the venom to flow into the bite through a little black spur, which they draw out of a sack in which the poison is enclosed. The person bitten presently swells, and dies after a peculiar manner. We know not whether they are attracted by the salt, but this we know, that at our residence, surrounded by springs of fresh water, we are not troubled with them.

“RELATION” 1656, '7, by Père Paul Le Jeune. Our arrival at the place destined for our abode, and the reception we met with from the people of the country:—

I have said, in a former chapter, that on the 11th of July we entered the Lake Genentaha, on whose banks we prepared our abode, having advanced within a quarter of a league of this place. We disembarked five pieces of cannon, whose diminutive thunder rolled over the waters of the lake; this was followed by a discharge of all our arquebuses. This was the first salute which we had sent through the water, the air and the woods to the ancients of the country, who had expected us, with a great multitude of people. This sound boomed over the waters, burst forth loudly in the air, and resounded very agreeably in the forest. We sailed afterwards in beautiful order, our canoes or little bateaux going four by four over this small lake. Our French made a second discharge upon coming in sight, with a grace which highly delighted all these poor people.

The chiefs had erected two scaffolds, in order properly to make us a complimentary harangue, but their purpose was interrupted by a heavy rain, which obliged us all to seek shelter. Words were then exchanged for endearments, and mu-

tual testimonies of joy. If these poor savages welcomed us so earnestly, showing in their countenances and gestures the sentiments of their hearts all overflowing with tenderness for us, our actions corresponded to their love, so that in all our joys and reciprocal affection, we blessed God for having preserved us through so many dangers and fatigues, at last conducting us to the end of our pilgrimage.

It is a custom with these people, to entertain their guests during a part of the night, either with compliments or conversation, about the advantages of the country. They excel in politeness after their fashion, or else by their usual songs and dances continue their favors. But finding us weary with the fatigue of so long a journey, they said they would return, for fear their conversation might disturb our rest, which they said they would propitiate by singing around our cabins their sweetest and most melodious airs for our lullaby.

Next morning, the 12th of July, we sang the Te Deum in thanksgiving to God for our happy arrival, and formally took possession, in the name of Jesus Christ, dedicating and consecrating it by the holy sacrament of the mass.

The Christians afterwards made us some presents to felicitate our arrival, and in token of their good wishes for our favorable establishment.

On Sunday following, the 16th of the same month, we fulfilled a vow which we had made during the dangers of our voyage, promising God to commune altogether if He would favor our meeting in the country of our choice. Having obtained this favor, all our French received the sacred bread in a holy mass. It was here that we first displayed all our ornaments, which though poor in France, were here considered magnificent.

On Monday, the 17th, we commenced work in earnest upon our dwellings, and to make a good redoubt\* for our soldiers.

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\* The location of this fortification was probably about three-fourths of a mile below Green Point, on the farm now occupied by Mr. Myrick Bradley, in the town of Salina, where the embankment and outlines were plain to be seen fifty years ago. (See drawing, town of Salina.)

We have placed it upon an eminence which commands the lake and all the surrounding positions. Springs of fresh water are abundant. In short, the place appears as beautiful, as convenient and advantageous as we could desire. While the laborers are thus occupied, our Father Superior, to whom the Lord had restored health, went with sixteen of our most stalwart soldiers to the village of Onondaga, distant about four leagues from our dwelling. The people being apprised of the coming of the French, came forth in crowds to meet us. At about a quarter of a league from the village, several chiefs invited us to halt, take breath and listen to a polite harangue, in which we were highly complimented, by one of the principal chiefs of the country, who afterwards, marching before us, caused us to pass through a great crowd arranged like a hedge on both sides. We followed him in beautiful order, while another captain behind prevented the lines from pressing too closely upon us. Our soldiers, upon entering the village, made a graceful salute, which greatly delighted all the spectators. We were conducted into the cabin of one of the most distinguished captains of the country, where every thing was sumptuously prepared, after their fashion, to receive us. From all quarters they brought us fruits; feasting was the order of the day, and for ten days the people of the village were engaged in hunting and fishing, and entertaining the French. Every family seemed anxious to have us in their society. Soon after, another party of the French, in full uniform, arrived with drums beating; there were never seen so many pleasant faces. It appeared that the hearts of the savages issued from their eyes. I know not how we can well express the many testimonies of love and cordiality which they gave us. If they should change their minds and massacre us, I should not accuse them of deceit, but of levity and inconstancy, which in a little time can change the love of these barbarians into hatred, fear and treachery, and thus these devils seek to destroy us. But if these men do persecute the Jesuits in various places, those dear unfortunate spirits, against whom they every where declare war, will not spare them.

On the day of our entrance, the deputies of several nations came to salute us, and to show us the esteem in which the Onondagas held "*Achiendase*." They sent a present, asking that his mat should be the place of assembly, that is to say, the council-house of the country, in which all public business is dispatched. The Onondagas made us their presents with great cordiality.

The Mohawks, not being able to evade the common law of the country, came very reluctantly indeed to make their presents, but fearing they had the worst of the game, and disliking our alliance with the Onondagas, they made a harangue full of sneers and ridicule against the French. They wishing to excuse themselves, because having received presents from Quebec for all the Iroquois nations, they said the French had been so stupid as to give them articles which could not be divided, so they had been obliged to give all the presents to their own nation. The Father Superior replied to their imposition with so much earnestness, that they soon repented of their false assertions. He told them that memory never failed the French, who held the pen in their hand, and that if any thing escaped their mind, their paper would suggest it at need.

He afterwards related all that had been transacted at the council of the French and Onondagas, enumerated all the beaded belts, the arquebuses and capotes; in short, all the presents which had been made by the great chief of the French. He named the nations, and even the persons of note, to whom each present had been destined. Then with an air confounding to the Mohawk brave, he asked, could not these things be given separately? He inquired of the deputies of the several nations, whether at least the mention of these presents had been made in their country, since the Mohawks confessed to have withheld them.

This deluded man, who only thought we could stammer in their tongue, like Europeans who trade with them, was so much surprised at hearing the French, that he has since sought by all means, to gain our good will. After this assem-

bly, we were employed several days in gaining over the different nations, who were at Onondaga, and who every day came there to decide, or be present at the decision of State affairs, and at the great council of war, which is usually held at this village.

The deputies from the Senecas and Cayugas having arrived we went to salute them. They first exhibited their mourning for one of their chiefs, slain by the Mohawks at Three Rivers. They filled the air with mournful howls, dismal indeed. We made them a present to console their grief, but when they answered, the Cayugas took the word and said, that the wound of the Senecas, had changed their joy into tears, and their voices into sighs and songs of mourning. All the nations being assembled, it was necessary before holding council, to purify the village, on account of the death of a chief the night before, who by great good luck for him, had received the holy baptism, with pious instruction, forty-eight hours previously. The purification was made by two presents, one of which served to dry the tears of the Onondagas, and to restore to them the speech of which this death had deprived them. The other, to wipe away the blood, which might have fallen from the dead body upon the council-mat. The Onondagas replied by two other presents; one to say, that they were about to bury the body, and the other, to announce that the council would afterwards be opened.

This people had convoked all the states of the country, or rather the allied nations, to reconcile the Mohawks with the Senecas, who were on the point of commencing a war, for the death of the captain of whom we have spoken; to treat of our establishment, in the heart of their country, and to invite all these people, to place something in the great war-kettle. That is to say, to advise upon the means of attacking and defeating their enemies, and of providing for some common expenses. Such were the designs of these people, but God, had higher purposes; he willed himself to be preached and announced in an assembly of the most notable and numerous nations, which can be named in this country.

This grand council, was held on the 24th day of July, when all the nations referred to Achiendase the cause of the Mohawks and Senecas, which was very soon terminated. They afterwards agreed, with evidences of extraordinary good will, that we should remain and permanently establish ourselves in the country. Finally every one put his presents into the war-kettle. Now these people being great orators, and often using allegories and metaphors, our Fathers, in order to attract them to God, adapt themselves to their custom of speaking, which delights them very much, seeing we succeed as well as they.

We have so well arranged our presents, that they are wonderfully captivating. But Father Chaumonot, who speaks the Iroquois language as well as the natives of the country, greatly enhanced their value by interpreting them. It may not be improper to remark in passing, that these presents consist of porcelain beads, arquebuses, powder, capotes, axes, kettles and similar utensils, which are bought of the merchants for beaver skins, the money demanded in payment for their merchandize. If a Jesuit receives or collects some of these, to aid in the immense expenses made in such distant missions, in order to gain these people to Jesus Christ and to incline them to peace, it would be desirable, that those who should be at such expense for the preservation of the country, should not at least be the first to condemn the zeal of these Fathers, and make them blacker than their own robes, by scandal. They should leave this sort of reviling to the low populace, always ill informed of what is going on, whose ignorance is a sufficient excuse for calumny. But let us act well and leave evil speakers to themselves, since calumny alone, will make cement for virtue. They have written us from France, that they could no longer continue the great expenses which we incur in these new enterprises. We give our labors, our sweat, our blood and our lives, to them. For want of assistance, we shall be compelled, to relinquish a station so advantageous to the faith, and the preservation of the country.

Those who persecute us will not be the richer, and God will be less glorified.

Let us turn again to the presents.

The Father Joseph Chaumonot, afterwards rising, explained eight or ten presents, made to soften the regret for the death of several chieftains, and to cause a revival of the faith in the bosoms of the children and friends, of some of our most devoted Christians, men and women, who had lately passed from earth to heaven. He united the Algonkins and Hurons in his presence, so as to make but one heart, one mind, and one people, of all those nations. He said aloud that Onondaga, being like the parliament of the whole country, and Agochiendaguete being the most renowned chief in all these countries, Achiendase, as the mouth of Onnontio, joined himself to Agochiendaguete, (forming a union of two governments,) that he might assist him to rebuild the fallen houses, to resuscitate the dead, to sustain what was in good order, and to defend the country against disturbances of the peace. While the Father explained all these things in detail, admiration and acclamations arose from all the people, who were delighted to see us so well acquainted with their mode of procedure.

He made a present, in token of thanks, because they had shared with Onnontio in the spoils they had taken from their enemies, having sent to him two children, whom they had captured and carried off from the nation of the Cat. He made two other presents, one in token of gratitude for our courteous reception in their country, and their earnest invitations, and the other, to cause them to put the canoe in the water and carry news of us to Quebec.

At last the Father raising his voice and becoming more animated, exclaimed, it is not for trade that you see us appear in your country. Our pretensions are far higher, your peltries would never cause us to undertake a journey of so much labor and danger. Keep your beaver, if you find it profitable, for the Dutch; even those which should accidentally fall into our hands, would be employed for your benefit. We seek not perishable things. It is for the faith that we have

quitted our country—it is for the faith, that we have abandoned our parents and friends—it is for the faith, that we have crossed the wide ocean—it is for the faith, that we have left the great ships of the French, to embark in boisterous waters, in your little canoes—it is for the faith, that we have left our splendid mansions, for your bark cabins—it is for the faith, that we deprive ourselves of our natural nourishment, and the delicacies we might enjoy in France, to eat your provisions, which the dumb animals of our country would loathe; and taking in his hand a beautiful belt of beads skillfully wrought, he continued; it is for the faith, that I hold in my hand this rich present, and that I open my mouth to remind you of the word, which you gave us, when you went down to Quebec, to conduct us to your country, You have solemnly promised us you would lend your ear to the words of the Great God; they are in my mouth, listen to me; I am only his organ. He sends to warn you by his messengers, that His Son became a man for your love. That this man, the Son of God, is the prince and master of men. That He has prepared in the heavens, endless pleasures and eternal delights, for those who obey his commandments, and that He kindles horrible fires in hell, for those who will not receive His word. His law is mild; He forbids us to do any wrong, either upon property, or upon life, or upon woman, or upon the reputation of our neighbor. What if thou deniest God. Whosoever thou art, whether an Onondaga, a Mohawk, a Seneca, a Cayuga, or an Oneida, know that Jesus Christ, who animates my heart and my voice, will precipitate thee, one day into hell. But I beseech you prevent this misfortune, by yielding to conversion; be not the cause of thine own loss, obey the voice of the Lord.

On the 27th of July, we returned to the shores of the lake, where a large party of our French, have long and faithfully worked in preparing us a dwelling, which we shall call St. Mary's of Genentaha.

On the 30th, the eve of St. Ignatius day, the chiefs of Onondaga came to visit us and made us several presents, to bind

us so strongly, that henceforward we should be but one people, and to warn us that we must not trust the Oneidas; that this nation was fraudulent in actions and deceitful in words, and they prayed us to fortify ourselves well, and to render our fortress capable of receiving them and sheltering them from their enemies, in case of necessity. That they were going to take the axe and build us a canoe, which was to carry news of us to Quebec. The month of August was a time of laborious exercise for us in every manner. We had built a chapel at Onondaga, part of our Fathers having remained there, the others held conversation among the cabins. They hardly ceased from morning till night to preach, teach catechism, baptize, teach prayers and answer questions, from all quarters, these good people showed so much inclination for the faith. The French who were at St. Mary's, of Lake Genentaha, performed all the trades of a city, to get us lodged and preserve us amidst these barbarians. None of this was the work of frolic or amusement. We had to labor much, sleep little, lie upon the ground, sheltered only by miserable barks, eat only a little meat, without bread or wine, or other seasoning ("ragout") than hunger. We were tormented both night and day by musquitoes, ("*Maringouins*") which there assailed us on every side. All this, combined with the change of climate and the great labor of the journey, so injured our constitutions, during the greatest heat of summer, that we all fell sick. It was a pitiful sight to see sometimes as many as twenty, almost piled upon each other, at a time, and in a country where we had no other help than heaven.

The sickness here spoken of, continued till late in the autumn, during which a number of the French became dispirited, and sighed for the groves and vineyards of their native country. At length, health was in a measure restored; and with its return, the drooping spirits of the colonists in a degree revived; but, owing to the withholding of the necessary supplies of provisions for the sustenance of the French, and the requisite quota of articles suitable for presents to the natives, which alone could engage their attention. From this time

forward the mission may be said to languish, and the colony to dwindle away.

About this time, a noted Seneca hunter came to visit the Father Chaumonot, and to offer him a suit of furs, to keep the warmth of friendship which he had just contracted with him.

It has been related to us, that the Dutch wished to bring us horses and other things, rejoicing at our settlement in these countries.

An aged chief of the Cayugas, an intelligent man, employed in public affairs, came to visit us, on the part of his whole nation, to beg *Achiendase* to grant him the assistance of some of our Fathers, assuring them if they would, a chapel should be erected, that the people desired to be instructed in our creed. The Father René Mesnard, and two Frenchmen were sent with him, notwithstanding our great want of laborers. Father Joseph Chaumonot is to accompany him as far as the Cayuga towns, and then to pass on to the Senecas, there to found a permanent mission, hoping to reap an abundant harvest, if it pleases God to assist us and preserve us in peace and send us laborers, sufficient for the harvest. At this time, a party of Hurons, settle at Onondaga, who have previously been instructed in our religion, and who manifest a lively interest in everything relating to the faith. We took them at once into our keeping, encouraging and instructing them in the true and lively way. They were of some service to us by their example to the Onondagas; for they, observing these Christians worthily engaged in the service of God, felt themselves bound to make more diligent inquiry, after the salvation of their own souls.

This year also, the Father Le Moyne visits the Mohawks, and revives the mission among them; an account is given of the progress of the Gospel generally among the Iroquois, their manners and customs, and other details.

The succeeding chapter commences with a description of the country as it then appeared.

“RELATION,” 1656-7. Publication of the faith to the Onon-

dagas. For the better understanding of these missions, we say that the exercises are conducted in much the same manner and degree of order and decorum, as in European assemblies. More than two hundred have been baptized within a short time. Five of the most prominent individuals in the nation are among them; more than two hundred are the living stones who comprise the foundations of this church.

The head chiefs were so much engaged that they became exhorters of the law and commandments. It would be desirable if thousands of others would follow their virtuous example.

During the latter months of the year 1656, new hopes were awakened in the progress of the affairs of the missionaries at Onondaga, and New France, generally; but they declined in the former, and finally early in 1658, the mission was broken up, and the colonists dispersed. As Charlevoix gives the most condensed and satisfactory account of the abandonment of the Onondaga mission, we will follow him in preference to the Father Paul Ragueneau whose Relation is before us; and while upon the subject of Onondaga missions, we give the history of Charlevoix in full, of the colonizing and Christianizing the Onondagas.

Before proceeding, however, as we have not before had much occasion to mention this author, we would state, that Peter Francis Xavier de Charlevoix, was a learned Jesuit, famous for his travels and his authentic historical compositions. He lived to the age of 78 years, and died in 1761, after having traversed a large portion of the continent of America. His writings (in the French language) relating chiefly to this country, were very voluminous, consisting of three large quarto volumes, of from 500 to 700 pages each. In the year 1720, he was directed by the king of France to visit Canada, and to pay particular attention to the condition, manners and customs of the Indians. He passed up the river St. Lawrence, and through the great lakes to Mackinaw; thence through the Lake Michigan, and the rivers Illinois and Mississippi to New Orleans. At the end of one of the volumes, he gives a

list of the works and authors consulted for his work, which list contains many works scarcely known and very profitable to aid in the researches of the antiquarian student.

Charlevoix, Tome I, page 320 :—

It was on account of the great sincerity and regard which the Onondagas appeared to possess in the cause of religion, which induced the Governor General to send to them Fathers Chaumonot and Dablon. The former was of Italian origin, and the oldest missionary who was then in New France, where he labored to an extreme old age, with unwearied zeal; and where his memory is yet revered. Father Dablon profited by his arrival in New France, and was not long in establishing for himself a great reputation for wisdom and virtue. The two missionaries set out from Quebec the 19th of September, 1655, with the deputies of the Onondagas, who were sent to invite them, accompanied by a great number of savages of the same nation, and they waited only for the appointed time of their ministry to perform their duties.

The chief deputy had with him his wife, who was extremely pleased with every thing she had seen among the Christians, and especially in the two communities of Daughters of the Convent. There was no end to the questions put to Père Chaumonot, by her, about our ceremonies and our mysteries. Seven or eight Iroquois joined with her for instructions. They were much affected with the preaching of our missionary, and on their arrival in their own country, found themselves in a state to receive baptism, which was administered with much ceremony. These examples of piety in the French, had produced in the hearts of the Iroquois, of whom I am to speak, the fervor and zeal of the Huron captives. These feelings spread through the different villages, in which they had been manifested; and the missionaries found, in these villages, a true and just appreciation of Christianity, with hearts and minds already disposed to embrace it. They arrived in this canton the 5th of November, and they had every reason to predict their success, by the reception which was given them in the principal village. They were loaded with presents on

the part of Monsieur de Lauson; they were accepted with respect and presents made in return. They immediately had assigned to them, land for building, and as soon as they were comfortably lodged, they made known to the elders that they wished to declare, in full council, the intentions of those who had sent them. This proposition was well received, and the meeting was very large; Père Chaumonot spoke of the Christian religion in a manner which excited their admiration and love. He dwelt much upon the marvellous change which Christianity produced in the hearts of those who embraced it sincerely; and this portion of his discourse made a great impression on those who had before their eyes these living examples. When he had finished, an orator thanked him, in behalf of all, for the zeal which he showed in procuring for them eternal happiness, and said to him, that in comparison with the French, the other Europeans did not know how to speak. They commenced immediately the erection of a chapel, and so many put their hands to the work that it was finished in a single day, and that same day they baptized a convert. From that time the missionaries performed all their duties with the same freedom as if they were in the midst of a colony of French, and they knew well in their hearts those of whom the Holy Spirit had taken possession. A young woman, who was not yet baptized, refused the two best offers of her village, for the only reason, that her suitors were idolators. A few days after a warrior, having in vain urged her to evil, sought by violence to subdue her, but the generous proselyte had the courage to withdraw herself from his friends, and to place herself in safety from his persecutions. After such a trial, Father Chaumonot did not believe it his duty to defer administering baptism to her, which she had urged with great entreaty; and he had the consolation of hearing the infidels themselves say, that she was worthy of being a Christian; a decisive testimony in favor of a religion, of which wickedness and hardness of heart could not prevent from acknowledging its true piety. A very estimable woman in this village, whose rank was the first among them, wished to be baptized, and all

her family followed her example. Several idolators wished to persuade her that she would repent of it; and a short time after she fell sick. She had a grand-son of ten or twelve years of age, whom she loved much, who was attacked with the same disease as his grand-mother, and was soon reduced to a leanness so great, that it was painful to see him. The enemies of Christianity did not fail to triumph over their misfortune. But their triumph was short. God inspired the sick with firmness and resignation, who became the subject of conversation and admiration of all the village, and at the time of their receiving baptism, they were restored to health. This wonder, which was followed by many others, did not prevent the missionaries from enduring well this opposition and running many risks, principally upon the part of some Hurons, who being hard of heart, whilst they were in their country, did not cease to insinuate to the Iroquois, that if they introduced this strange religion among them, it would in time make the same progress, and produce the same results, which they had known wherever these doctrines had been preached. Seeing that nothing could make any impression upon the minds of this people, they imagined every day new devices to draw the Onondagas to their designs, but they did not succeed, as they had taken care to anticipate the Hurons upon these points. Meanwhile preparations were in progress for the reception of the missionaries, who were expected to be sent from Quebec. The people of the whole canton were in ecstasies, in anticipation of so fortunate a circumstance. Father Dablon had set out the 2d day of March, in the year 1656, with a large escort of savages, and made the voyage to Quebec for the purpose of persuading M. de Lauson to establish a French colony at Onondaga, but he did not arrive at Quebec until the commencement of April following. He had no difficulty in causing M. de Lauson to enter into the projects of the Iroquois. A Huron, who was one of the company who accompanied M. Dablon, and who had been a long time with the Onondagas, used his secret influence to prevent M. de Lauson from encouraging the mission, but could not

prevail upon him to change his purpose. Fifty Frenchmen were selected to form the proposed settlement, and Sieur Dupuys, an officer of the garrison, was appointed commandant. Father Francis le Mercier, who had succeeded Father Jerome Lallemant, in the office of Superior General of Missions, earnestly desired to conduct in person these missionaries, who were destined to establish the first Iroquois Church, who were the Fathers Fremin, Mesnard and Dablon. Their departure was fixed on the 7th of May, and although the harvest had been indifferent, they gave to Sieur Dupuys an abundance of provisions for his people to supply him during the year, and enough to sow the land of which they were going to take possession.

The circumstances of this new enterprise being noised abroad, gave the Mohawks great dislike, and revived in their breasts, their ancient jealousy of the Onondagas. A general council of the nation was called, for the purpose of taking into consideration this momentous affair. It seemed to them as of the utmost importance; and the result was, that their united resources must be put in requisition, to oppose this new establishment. A party of four hundred men was immediately raised, and orders were issued, either to disperse or annihilate the company of M. Dupuys. They failed however to accomplish their object, and only expended their wrath upon some straggling canoes, which were plundered, and a part of those who conducted them were wounded. After a short stay at Three Rivers and at Montreal, M. Dupuys left the latter place on the eighth of June, and the same day fell in with a party of Mohawks, whom he plundered as a reprisal for the outrage committed by them.

On the 29th of the same month, towards 9 o'clock in the evening, they heard from the camp, a voice of a man complaining. The commander caused the drums to be beat; and soon they perceived a savage, who approached as if in great distress. This was the young Huron (of whom I have before spoken) who had escaped from the expedition, to the Isle of Orleans. The skin upon his body was half roasted, and for

seventeen days that he had traveled, he had taken no other nourishment than wild fruits, gathered by the way. The Onondagas who accompanied the French, gave him a drink, which strengthened him in a short time. They gave him afterwards, provisions also, and sent him forward to Quebec.

The remainder of the voyage was very pleasant, except that they suffered very severely from a scarcity of provisions, of which they had been quite too prodigal. They had calculated considerably on the fisheries and upon the chase, but both these failed; and the French, who were unaccustomed to fast like the savages, would have perished of hunger, had not the chiefs of the Onondagas sent them some canoes loaded with provisions. They learned from the same, that a large party of Iroquois, from all **the** villages, and a great number of other savages, awaited their arrival upon the shore of the Lake Genentaha; and M. Dupuys on his part, prepared himself to make his entrance into their country as imposing as possible.

Before arriving at the place where the savages were waiting, he landed five small pieces of cannon, and made a discharge. He then re-embarked, and rowing in beautiful order, entered into the lake; where, in less than a quarter of an hour, he made two discharges of all his musketry; and judging from all appearances, he was received in the most cordial and respectable manner possible. They were welcomed with speeches, feasts, songs, dances, and with every demonstration of joy which savages were capable of offering; in fact nothing was spared on the occasion. On the following day, the 12th of July, the Te Deum was sung at the end of a solemn mass. The chiefs then made presents as they are accustomed to do in making treaties of alliance; and on the 16th, the French all partook of the sacrament of the Eucharist, with great devotion, which was a beautiful example, and made a great impression upon the minds of the savages. The next day, they commenced the building of cabins, in which to lodge themselves, and Father Le Mercier visited the principal village of the Onondagas, where he was received with great ceremony.

On the 24th, a grand council was held, at which Fathers Mercier and Chaumonot, explained at large the views of the French, and tendered their kind regards to their new neighbors. Father Chaumonot spoke of the Christian religion with the same eloquence and success, that he had done upon his arrival in this village.

The same day the deputies of the village of Cayuga, came to ask a missionary, and they sent them P. Mesnard. All appeared ready in the movement of the Onondagas, for their embracing Christianity, and it became necessary to enlarge the chapel, which had been built the year before, and which could not contain near all those who wished to be instructed in our mysteries. There had been, during the month of August, excessive heat, which was the occasion of much severe sickness, but by the kind attention of the savages, all the sick were recovered in a short time.

This last mark of the affection of these people, persuaded the more credulous of the French to believe, that they could in all cases rely upon them. Nevertheless, those who were more sagacious, believed it necessary to provide at least against their inconstancy, and they found it in the end much the wisest course to follow their counsel, notwithstanding their assurances of friendship. It was thought advisable to hold in restraint the inhabitants of this village, and consequently a strong fort was built, and all due caution used to prevent surprise, and all proper diligence exercised to secure protection in case of an alarm. Meanwhile supplies from Quebec were not readily granted for the sustenance of this colony; suitable articles for presents were wanting to draw the minds of the savages, favorably towards the French. Even the necessary expenses, were reluctantly yielded. It was stated in reply to the demands necessary to sustain the colony, that all the lands of Canada were not enough to contribute sufficient for so great an outlay of expenses. The Indians finding the French slow in bestowing presents, and becoming in a degree tired of supporting them, as might naturally be sup-

posed, their regard for Christianity relaxed, as their affections for the French declined.

Whilst these things were passing among the Onondagas, the Hurons of the Isle of Orleans, who did not feel assured of their safety, took refuge at Quebec, and in a moment of vexation, had been abandoned by the French, they sent privately to the Mohawks, to have themselves admitted into their canton, to become as one people with them. They had hardly taken this step before they relented; but the Mohawks took them at their word, and seeing that they wished to break their engagement, took measures to compel them to conform to it. They commenced by letting loose upon them war parties, who massacred or carried away all those who attempted to leave the country, and when they believed that these hostilities had subdued the spirit of these people, they sent to Quebec thirty ambassadors. Nothing could equal the dignity with which these messengers acquitted themselves of their commission. They addressed M. de Lauson and demanded of him a hearing, in an assembly of Hurons and French. The Governor General having consented, the chief of the deputation, spoke first to the Hurons and said to them: "My Brother—the time has been when thou hast extended thy arms to entreat me to conduct thee into my country; but every time I have put myself in the way of my duty, thou hast withdrawn, and it is to punish thy inconstancy, that I have raised my hatchet. Believe me, and give me no cause again to treat thee in this manner; remove thyself and avoid me." Finishing these words, he presented two necklaces—one, said he, is to aid the Hurons in raising themselves, and the other, to assure them that henceforth the Mohawks should live with them as brothers. He then turned towards the Governor General, and spoke to him in these words: "Onnontio—raise thy arms and give up thy children, which thou holdest in thy bosom; for if they should commit any folly it is to be feared, that in punishing them, my blows might fall upon thee. I know," continued he, "that the Huron loves prayer, and that he adores the Author of all things, and that in all his necessities, he has

access to him ; I wish to make as much of it. Agree that Ondessonk, who has left me, I know not why, should return to instruct me, and as I have not a sufficient number of canoes to carry so many, do me the favor, to lend me thine." He then presented two necklaces and retired. They had much difficulty in comprehending what caused M. de Lauson to suffer this insolence, at a period when the French had no other enemy but the single canton of the Mohawks. Perhaps he wished to see, before showing his displeasure, in what manner it might turn the affairs at Onondaga. It is certain he did not show to the Mohawks any resentment, to the haughty speech of their orator ; this was well observed by the Hurons and greatly embarrassed them. The experience of the past, and the conduct of the Iroquois, caused them to fear their ruin would be certain and complete. In this difficulty they were divided, some declaring they would not quit the French, others resolving to give themselves to the Onondagas, with whom they had already formed an engagement. There was only the tribe of "*Ours*" who kept their word, given to the Mohawks. These resolutions taken, the council re-assembled and although the Governor General had not taken, it appears any measures to establish his reputation, he yet wished to assist Pere la Moyné, who served as interpreter, who first spoke and said: "Onnontio loves the Hurons, they are his children ; but if they do not hold themselves under his protection, they are of an age to take care of themselves. He opens his arms and gives them their liberty to go where they wish. As for me, I shall follow them, wherever they go, and if they are with the Mohawks, I shall instruct them how to pray and to adore the Great Spirit. But I dare not hope that thou wilt listen to me. I know thee, and am acquainted with thy indocility : but I am pleased with the Hurons. As to the canoes which thou demandest, thou seest well that we have not enough ourselves. Make them, if thou hast not a sufficient number." The chief of the Hurons of "*Ours*" took the word and said : "My Brother—I am with thee ; I throw myself with my eyes shut into thy canoes, determined

withal even to die: but I wish to go alone with my household, (“*loge*,”) I will suffer none other to embark with me. If in time the rest of my nation desire to follow, I shall not oppose them; but I am well satisfied, that they see in what manner thou wilt treat me.” He then threw down three belts, which signified that he engaged the Mohawks to treat him well, and to neglect nothing that would cause him to forget what he had sacrificed, and to facilitate the voyage. The deputies accepted the belts, and appeared well satisfied. They went to work immediately to make canoes, and when finished, they embarked in them with the Huron and *Perc la Moyné*. A few days after their departure, the deputies of the Onondagas arrived at Quebec, to summon three of the Hurons, who had offered themselves to them on their word, and were much displeased when they learned that the tribe of “*Ours*,” had followed the Mohawks. The Hurons made most unsatisfactory excuses and were much embarrassed. The French were no way desirous of entering into a quarrel with these people, who took so high a stand in the cause of Christianity and the affairs of the new colony. Finally, the Governor General made known to the deputies, that if they failed in respect due to their Father, that a party of Hurons were ready to follow them, and as they did not bear about their persons the equipage of warriors, but the garb of friends and brothers, that the Hurons being desirous of doing things in the right way, they should return with the Onondagas and keep their word. To show that their words were not deceitful, the Hurons visited them at Montreal and gave them hostages. This reply soothed the Onondagas, who gave a great feast and returned apparently contented.

Notwithstanding these frequent altercations, the dissolution of this body of Christians, on whom the French had cherished the most lively hopes, and the hostilities of the Mohawks, caused great uneasiness to the Governor General, and to the missionaries. It is true these received consolation, from the number of conversions which took place every day among the people, even among those who had shown a great opposi-

tion to the Church, and by the examples of grace and virtue which they daily saw in their converts. The remembrances of this time are filled with very edifying traits of the fervor of these Christian savages whom we leave with regret. It is thus that the Lord keeps his ministers in continual changes of hope and fear, which nourishes in them two virtues, the most necessary to the duties of Apostleship—distrust in themselves, and confidence in Him of whom they are ministers.

The Onondagas arrived in the Isle of Orleans to receive the Hurons, and to carry them with them, as had been previously arranged. Some of the French, and two Jesuits were to accompany them, but they were much surprised, when on the day of their departure, the Onondagas declared that the Hurons alone should embark with them. They relented however, in favor of the French, but still persisted in excluding the two Jesuits, who on their part did not wish to leave their converts, were obliged to embark in a canoe which they found upon the bank, without any other provision than a small bag of corn. This conduct of the Onondagas, for which they were wholly unprepared, augured an unpropitious beginning for the Hurons. Many foresaw the unhappy lot which awaited them, and their presentiments were well founded. These unfortunate Christians had not proceeded far, before they knew they were inevitably lost. A young woman who had refused the offer of an Iroquois chief, was shot by the savage immediately. As if they had only waited for this signal to remove the mask, which covered the blackest of their crimes, a great number of the most respectable Hurons were massacred on the spot. Others were regarded as prisoners of war, and some were burned, without knowing beforehand the cause of such inhuman treatment. A resolution had been formed of putting the French to the sword. We know not how they prevented the execution, but they avoided this danger only to fall into another, where it appeared to them for a long time that they would inevitably perish. The first thing which they learned upon their arrival at Onondaga was, that a conspiracy had been discovered against the French. A band of Oneidas

having gone to the chase near Montreal, surprised three Frenchmen in a secluded place, killed them, and brought their scalps into the village where they were divided. This, with other flagrant indications of hostility, were soon given, which left no doubt in the minds of the French, that an effort would be made to destroy their new colony. Monsieur de Aillebout, who commanded at Quebec, in place of M. De Lauson, who had returned to France, demanded satisfaction for this outrage, and to oblige the nation to render it, he gave orders that they should arrest all the Iroquois in the colony. He was obeyed, and the first movement which the news of this order caused in the cantons, was to form the most violent resolutions. These were not enforced, however, and they held to those which were formed with more deliberation. Pere le Moyne, who was with the Mohawks, was entreated to deliver the Iroquois under arrest, under pretence of doing him honor, and of sustaining the offenses of the young men against the French. It was determined to give Father Le Moyne a numerous escort, with which to visit Montreal, and then to let loose parties of warriors, who, scattering themselves through the colony, where as soon as they were informed of the liberty of their men, they would pillage and massacre all the French and their allies, whom they should chance to meet. Pere Le Moyne, contrary to their expectations did not go, and their plans were thereby frustrated. But in the month of February of the following year, (1658) numerous bands of Mohawks, Oncidas and Onondagas were in the field, ready equipped as warriors. It is not necessary so much to give the suspicions of Monsieur Dupuys, as he was very soon informed by a Christian Indian, of all of which they plotted against him. He found himself in great perplexity, and in truth saw no way of extricating himself from his present danger, without much trouble and hazard.

To fortify himself and sustain a seige, was only to postpone his destruction and not prevent it, because he had no assistance to hope for from Quebec. He found himself driven to the necessity of being obliged, sooner or later, to give him-

self up, or die in fighting, or perish miserably by famine. In order to effect a safe retreat, it became necessary to construct canoes, for they had taken no precaution to secure any in case of emergency. To make them there, in a public manner, was to proclaim their retreat, and thereby render it impossible. Something must be resolved upon instantly, and thus the commander decided. He commenced by sending an express to Monsieur De Aillébout, to inform him of the conspiracy, and then gave orders to construct, with all possible speed, small light boats, and to hinder the Iroquois from hearing of it, they went to work at them in the store room ("*grenier*") of the house occupied by the Jesuits, which was more secluded than the others, and much larger. This done, he ordered all his men to be in readiness at a moment's warning, and each individual to supply himself with provisions sufficient for the voyage; and to be careful to avoid giving the least cause of suspicion to the Iroquois. He waited only to take such precautionary measures as might be necessary to embark in so secret a manner, that the savages could have no knowledge of the retreat of the French, until they had so far advanced as to have no apprehensions of being pursued, and this they accomplished by the following singular stratagem. A young Frenchman, who had been adopted into one of the principal families of the Onondagas, and who had acquired considerable influence with the Indians, arose one morning and presented himself before his adopted father, saying, that during the previous night he had dreamed of one of those feasts where it became necessary for the guests to eat all that was set before them, and he prayed he would make a similar one for all the people of the village, and that he had a presentiment that if so much as one thing were wanting to render the feast such an one as he desired, he should surely die. The savage replied, that he should very much regret to see him die, and that he would make this repast immediately, and that he would have the care of making the invitations, that nothing should be lacking to make the entertainment precisely what he desired it should be. Upon this the young man as-

signed the 19th of March, which also was the day fixed upon for the departure of the French. All the provisions which could well be spared, throughout the village, were brought forward to grace the entertainment, and all the savages were invited to attend.

The feast commenced in the evening, and in order to give the French an opportunity of putting their boats into the water, and to load them for the voyage, without being observed, drums and trumpets sounded cheerily around the place of their festivity.

The boats being now launched, and all things in readiness for departure, the young man, at a certain signal, which was made to him, said to his adopted father, that he pitied the guests, of whom a great number had asked quarters, that they wished to cease from eating, and give themselves up to repose, adding that he would procure for them all, a most agreeable sleep. He immediately commenced playing upon his guitar, and in less than a quarter of an hour there was not a single Indian who was not sound asleep. He instantly rushed out, joined his companions, who were in waiting, and the little fleet in a moment left the shore.

The next morning a number of savages, according to their custom at waking, went to see the French, and found all the doors closed and barred. This novelty, and the profound silence which every where reigned throughout the French settlement, greatly astonished them. Their first impression was, that the French were at mass, or that they might be holding a secret council, but after waiting several hours for a solution of the mystery, they knocked at the doors, but were only answered by the barking of some dogs left by the French. They saw also a number of fowls walking upon the walls, but no person could be seen or heard. They waited very impatiently till towards evening, and finally broke open the doors, and great indeed was their surprise on finding all the houses vacant. For a long time the savages were unable to comprehend how the French, who they really supposed had no canoes, had been able to get away, and they could not imagine

how it was possible for them to effect their escape. It was in truth the first time they had made use of boats upon such voyages; but if they had been provided with canoes it would not have been possible to have used them, because there was yet large bodies of ice in the rivers, and this circumstance prevented the Iroquois from pursuing them with any hope of success. Monsieur Dupuys did not however believe himself entirely safe, but used such speed, that in spite of contrary winds, which detained them on Lake Ontario, he reached Montreal in fifteen days. The joy of deliverance from so great danger, did not however prevent this officer from feeling sensibly that a flight so precipitous was a disgrace to the French nation, and regretting that for the want of a little timely assistance, he was unable to sustain an establishment of so much importance, and of governing a people who acquired the power and right of insulting the French on account of their own weakness.

Reception of Péro le Moyno by the Onondagas:—

The next autumn they received at Quebec letters from Father le Moyne, dated from Onondaga. This missionary, having experienced many dangers in his journey on account of the Mohawks, the Oneidas, and the Senecas, who had no part in the deputation of the two other cantons. He arrived at last without any serious accident, at two leagues from Onondaga. He there was met by the great chief of this canton, named Garakontie, who awaited him there with a numerous suite to do him honor. He was much surprised at this event, as it was not the custom of the savages to go more than one league to await the deputies; but his astonishment ceased when he knew to whom he was indebted for this act of politeness.

Relation of the years 1659-60. Gives a comprehensive view of the country of the Iroquois, and of their customs and cruelties in war. The state of the country of the Algonkins, and of some new discoveries. Of the state of the Huron nation and its last defeat, by the Iroquois. The state of the remaining Hurons, after their last defeat. The state of the

mission among the Hurons, and the opening which was made anew, and of the burning of some Iroquois prisoners at Quebec.

Relation of the years 1660-61. Gives an account of the wars which raged with great violence between the French and Iroquois. The theatre of cruelty and rapine, was in the vicinity of Montreal, whither the Iroquois had carried the war. The French had suffered great distress, not only by the ravages of war, but by pestilence and famine. A large number of prisoners of the French had been taken, many of whom suffered all the exasperating pains of savage torture, crowned by death itself. Several had been spared this refined ordeal of suffering, and although prisoners of war to a savage people, were permitted to enjoy a good degree of liberty. It is said, there were at this time at Onondaga, not fewer than thirty Frenchmen. These captives by the assistance of some pious Onondagans, relieves of the former mission, and some of the Hurons, who, since the conquest, had taken up their abode there, had converted a spacious cabin into a chapel, where they regularly assembled to say mass; and, through all the wars between the French and Iroquois, some persons were at Onondaga, who kept up the worship of God, and kept alive for a series of years, a spirit of Christianity, and an interest in the faith. This Relation gives an account of a conference for peace between the French and some of the Iroquois.

Of the establishment of a new mission among the Killistinous, called that of St. Francis Xavier, towards the North Sea, on Hudson's Bay, and a journal of the first visit of the French to that quarter, and the dangers of the road, and sundry letters to and from Father Le Moyne. Also a marvellous account of the flight of some French prisoners, who had escaped from the Iroquois, and other accounts of captive French, and savages.

Relation 1661-62, by Father Jerome Lallemand. Gives a continuation of the wars with the Iroquois, and of various murders. The wintering of the Pere Pierre Balloquet, with the Montagnais and the Algonkins; also the wintering of the Father Le Moyne in the country of the Superior Iroquois,

(Senecas, Cayugas) which relates principally the cruelties of the Iroquois towards the French, the torture of prisoners and the persecutions of the Christians and the Church. The return of Father Le Moyne, the deliverance of eighteen French captives, of several murders of the Gaspee savages, and others called "*Papinachionetkhi*"

Relation, 1662-63. Describes certain meteorological phenomena, the great earthquake of 1663, and the solar eclipse of September in that year.

Relation, 1663-4. Treats of the missions among the Hurons, Algonkins and Five Nations, and the war between the Mohawks, and the Mohegans and Abenakis. It gives an account also of an embassy which the Iroquois sent to the French to conclude a peace, being alarmed at the preparations of the latter against them.

Relation, 1664-5. Gives an account of the arrival of Monsicur De Traci in New France. His reception by the savages of Canada; his negotiations with the Iroquois; also of the arrival of the Superior Algonkins at Quebec, and the mission of the Father Claude Allouez, and of the first forts, constructed on the rivers of the Iroquois; description of their country, and the roads thither.

Journal of the second voyage of a Father of the Society of Jesus, to the Lake St. Barnabe, continuation of the wars with the Iroquois, and of their defeat at the Lac "*Piazonagami*," called Lake St. John; particulars regarding comets and signs which appeared at Quebec, and in that neighborhood; circumstances upon the arrival of the vessels from France; the king interfering with the rights of Carignansalieres and a letter of the Mother Superior of the Hospitaliers Order of Nuns, at Quebec.

Relation 1665-'6, by P re Jerome Lallemand:—

There is supposed to be but one copy of this volume in the United States or Canada, and this in possession of J. Carter Brown, Esq., Providence, R. I. It contains but three chapters. But many interesting particulars of the expeditions of the French in 1666. Alludes to a colony formed at Ononda-

ga,—describes the expedition led by De Courcelles in January against the Oneidas and Mohawks, in the course of which five hundred men marched on snow-shoes from Quebec to Schenectady and back, a distance of three hundred leagues. The other commanded by Monsieur de Traci, then an octogenarian, and proceeded in September following against the Mohawks. Chapter 2d treats of the Huron, Algonkin and Papinakiouises missions. Chapter 3d gives an account of the wars and treaties of peace between the French and Iroquois, and mentions a letter of the Mother “Superieur Hospitalieres,” nuns of Quebec and New France, dated 3d Oct., 1666, which is not here published.

Relation 1666, '67, by Père Francis Le Mercier:—

Upon the state and condition of Canada for the last two years; of the journey of Pere Claude Allouez in the country of the Outaouacs. On the arrival of the missionaries at *L'ance de St. Esprit*, called *Chagouamigong*. General Council of the nations in the country of the Outaouacs. Of some of the superstitions and of the false gods of the country. Continuance of the mission *de St. Esprit* in the *Lac de Traci*. Mission of the Tionnontuteheronnous. The mission of the *Outaouacs*, *Kiskakoumas* and *Outaoua Simagoue*. The mission of the *Pouteonatamiouec*, and those established among other tribes of Indians called *Ous aki Ouekout*, *Agamiouek*, *Illimouec*, *Nadouesiouek*, *Killistinouec*, *Nipis Iriniems*, and the voyage of the Father Claude Allouez to Quebec, and his return to the Outaouacs, and to the mission of Lac St. John; the re-establishment of the Iroquois missions; recital of the wonders of the Church of St. Annie of the little “*Cap Coste de Beau pray Nouvelle France*.”

Relation 1667, '68, by Père F. Le Mercier:—

After a “*resumé*” of the advantages derived from the missions among the Five Nations; we have in this volume the French names of several missionary posts among the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas. Reference is also made in it to the drowning of Arent Van Curler in Lac Champlain on his way to visit Gov. de Traci. In

conclusion, it contains a letter from Monsieur de Petrea, first Bishop of Quebec, on the state of the Church, and an account of the death of the Rev. Mere Catharine. As this Relation contains many things relative to Onondaga, we again resume, and insert somewhat at large. The Fathers once again made strenuous efforts to re-establish the Christian Church among the Mohawks, but owing to the dissolute habits of these people, and their constant hatred of the French, the mission was not eminently successful. This year, 1667, the mission of St. Francis Xavier was established among the Oneidas. Father Jacques Bruyas, having arrived among the Mohawks, in company with Fathers Fremin and Pieron, separated from them in order to pass towards the Oneidas' village, which is the second nation of the lower Iroquois; the least numerous indeed, but the proudest and most insolent of all. We arrived there in the month of September, 1667, to lay the foundation of a new Church, which Providence had destined to be established here.

I cannot better begin my narrative than by relating what has passed this very day, in which I have had the consolation of saying the holy mass, for the first time in my little chapel, which has just been finished by the hands of our Iroquois themselves. I hope that the feast of the glorious Archangel St. Michael, will bring a good omen (*"augure"*) for us, because he is the prince of the Church. I trust he will take especial care of this one, which is but newly born, and give it protection and increase.

Next follows the account of the establishment of a new mission at Onondaga, styled that of St. John the Baptist. We follow the locations in the order of our chapters, for after the nation of Mohawks and that of Oneida, between the south and west, we meet Onondaga, a large village, which is the centre of all the Iroquois nations, and where every year a sort of State's General council is held, to consider the differences which may have risen amongst them during the course of the year. Their policy in this is very wise, since their preservation depends upon their union. As it is very difficult among

a people, where the most unlimited license in every thing prevails with impunity, especially among the young men, so it seems necessary that something should keep them in restraint, that nothing may occur capable of causing a rupture, and of producing disorders among them.

Each year they hold a general assembly at Onondaga, where all the deputies of the other nations meet to make their complaints, and receive the necessary satisfactions, by mutual presents, by which they best keep on good terms with each other. On this account it is, that amongst all the Iroquois missions we shall find here that with which we have most cause to be pleased. Besides, as we have before said, Onondaga, first of all, received the light of the gospel, and this may pass for the most ancient Church of the Iroquois.

Providence has taken a favorable occasion to create, or rather to re-establish in its first estate, the Christianity which was once truly flourishing there, and which still would be if the treacheries of some of those barbarians had not forcibly driven off the Fathers, some ten years since, through the war which they then carried on against the French. Father Julian Garnier, having gone up in the course of last summer to Oneida, to labor there, conjointly with Father Bruyas, for the salvation of those people, found himself obliged by every motive of charity, to proceed as far as Onondaga, which is but a short journey distant. He was there received with every testimony of cordiality, affection and benevolence, which could be wished for from a people who although barbarians, were strongly affectioned towards our Fathers, so much so that they had committed a gentle violence upon him to prevent his returning to his post, undertaking to satisfy him in all things he should desire of them.

As he had declared to them that he could not remain alone and without a chapel, Garakontie, that famous captain of whom we have before spoken in preceding Relations, resolved to gratify him to the utmost of his wishes. In fact in a few days he built a chapel, and immediately after undertook a voyage to Quebec to visit the Governor of Canada, who had long

desired to see this great and good man, so obliging towards the French. One principal object of his visit was, to take away with him some of the Fathers, whom he wished to conduct into his own country.

In order better to succeed in his embassy, he takes with him the four principal men of the village, who represent the principal families of which it is composed. With this company he arrived at Quebec, on the 20th of last August, where having appeared before the Governor and Intendant, he made five presents, which were to be the interpreters of five speeches which he brought in behalf of his whole nation. Garakontie goes on to make and explain his presents, first, however, he speaks to the French Governor as follows: "I formerly boasted, to have done for the French nation what no friend among us had ever done for another, having ransomed more than twenty-six of their people from the hands of those who would certainly have burned them, had they not been liberated by my hand. But now I dare boast no longer for what I have done in this respect. Since you, Onnontio, have done so much more for us, by giving life, not only to the Oneidas, who are among you, whilst they, on whose behalf they came to ask for peace, were slaying you. But moreover you have restored quite as many other persons, who are of our Five Nations. When having led into our country a powerful army, and being able to carry every thing by fire and sword, whilst every one fled before it, you have been contented to humble the Mohawks alone, wherein you have greatly surpassed my expectations in the clemency of the French. And whereupon I now come to thank you, and would fain be able to thank our great King Louis, inasmuch as he has not desired our blood, nor our total ruin, but only to humble us. I come also to wipe the tears from your cheeks, which Father Gonneau told us had flowed from your eyes because of the death of our men killed by the Andastes."

Father Gonneau, upon entering Onondaga, said, it was Onnontio, who had commanded him on his departure from Port-Royal, to visit our poor nation, and see the condition it

was in. This courtesy has so gladdened our hearts, that we have lavished upon him many endearments, and have entreated him not to leave us. He has agreed to this, provided we would build for him a chapel, and seek out a companion for him. We have now done both, the chapel was completed two days after his arrival, and now behold us here, first to thank you, because you have remembered us, and after this, we ask of you a priest, ("*Noir robe*,") and also that you will give us a hunter.

You cannot doubt my fidelity. I pray you to believe, that all our nations, will henceforth live in the terms which they have promised the great Onnontio. Do not listen to the fugitive Hurons, who wish to make you distrustful.

We have never, never held the "*Loups*" as our enemies, yet they slay us. Therefore cause the voice of Onnontio to resound in their country, that they may no longer infest the roads, which we keep open in order to visit each other. If you do not, they will proceed to kill you, as well as us.

After the chieftain had thus spoken, he was answered in as many words, accompanied by five presents. The answers were given, on the 27th of August, 1668, to the words of the Iroquois, through the nation of Onondaga brought by the great chieftain Garakontic.

The French agree with the nations, and are assured that they are rightly esteemed and highly regarded, on every occasion, and cannot doubt the truth of the words of the great chief. Thus has it given a testimony of its pleasure, and marked its gratitude to thee, for thy good offices which are esteemed meritorious since they are sustained, by the most exemplary conduct. We hope that time will never cause your sentiments to vary, and that thou wilt inspire thy brothers, and thy children to keep their faith inviolably, towards the French, since thou perceivest in them, such good feelings of compassion and clemency, and art persuaded, that being able to destroy thy brothers and children, they have had the goodness not to do so. Let the thought be forgotten then—only cherished by some inconsiderate youths, that if the French

had not destroyed the village of Oneida, it was because they could not, or dared not. Make them understand, that even if there were no troops here at present, capable of such an enterprise, that great Onnontio, called King Louis, is so powerful and so jealous of the respect, which his children owe him, that he could send here twenty times as many troops as there are here at present, upon the slightest information, that any of the Iroquois, should have done the least injury, not only to his own subjects, but also to such of the savage nations as are under his protection, and who have recognized him as their sovereign, as thou hast done for the Five Nations. The interest which the French have taken, expressed by tears of grief, for thy brothers slain by the Andastes, shows the fatherly tenderness the king has towards thee, as his child, and the gratitude, which thou showest for the favor which he has done thee, will oblige him to continue them on every occasion. Thus always pursuing the course of testifying gratitude for benefits received, because it is the surest method of preserving his good will towards thee, and to perpetuate his favors. As this distinguished chieftain figures largely in the Onondaga mission, and seems also to have been a great as well as a good man, we deem it not inappropriate to give his character in the language of the Historian Charlevoix, who says, (Tome I., page 352.) Garakontie was by birth and education a savage. With the many excellent qualities with which by nature he was endowed, he was enabled to elevate himself to the highest place in his nation. He possessed a noble natural manner with great affability, a disposition of much sweetness, a superior genius, with much integrity and uprightness of character. His bravery in war, his dextrous diplomacy, his lively spirit in council, had acquired for him the greatest esteem in his nation. His most common employment was, to moderate the violent resolutions of the national council, and to cultivate peace with the French, which he sincerely wished to preserve. He had given to the French the most sincere and indubitable proofs of his affection, in recovering from the hands of the English a great number of prisoners, and all

those who were actually captives in his own canton. And in the other cantons many were under the greatest obligation to him for their lives and liberty. After thus describing the character of this illustrious chief the same author gives us (Tome I. page 427) the following account of his Baptism. Through the prudence of Garakontie, who had been sent by the people of his canton, and the firmness of the Governor General, the agreement was concluded to the satisfaction of all parties. Garakontie then spoke to the Outawas, on the unworthy manner in which they had treated the missionaries, whom they acknowledged he had the kindness to confide to their trust. And as if he had waited expressly for the gathering of so numerous an assembly before whom to make the declaration of his faith, he declared himself publicly, a worshiper of Jesus Christ. He added, that long since, he had been a Christian at heart, that he had all his life detested and abhorred the superstitions in which he had been brought up, and that he could defer no longer to retain to himself the advantages, which he had been the instrument of procuring for so many others. Then addressing the Bishop who was present, he conjured him to receive him among the children of God, without delay. Every thing seemed to encourage the prelate to grant to so illustrious a proselyte, that which he asked for with so much earnestness,—Apostle as he had been, before declaring himself a Christian. He had always seemed to take as much at heart in the establishment of christianity in his nation, as the missionaries themselves, and the whole colony was always under great obligation to him. Besides all this, there was nothing which was better calculated to give credit and character to our religion, among the nations of this continent, than to render their deputies witnesses of the conversion of a man, so generally esteemed. The Bishop therefore, made no objection, to admitting this illustrious proselyte, to the bosom of the Church. He knew him to be sufficiently instructed, and he baptized him himself. The Governor General insisted on being his God-Father, and Mademoiselle de Bouteroué, daughter of the Intendant, was his God-Mother.

From the former, he received the name of Daniel, which was his own name. Nothing was omitted to give celebrity to this ceremony—all the deputies of the nations were assistants and witnesses, and after the exercises, all were regaled profusely.

It was to this great chief, that the French, were under great indebtedness for the establishment about this time, of a colony in the country of the Onondagas. This colony was supposed to have been located on the Butternut creek, about one mile south of Jamesville. The circumstances and facts relating to it, were taken from a Jesuit's Journal, and from the sachems of Onondaga. As the history of this colony is related almost solely on the authority of the late Dewitt Clinton, being part of a discourse delivered before the New-York Historical Society, we give it in his own words.

“From the Jesuit's journal, it appears that in the year 1666, at the request of Garakontic, an Onondaga chieftain, a French colony was directed to repair to his village, for the purpose of teaching the Indians the arts and sciences, and endeavor, if practicable, to civilize and christianize them. We learn from the sachems, that at this time the Indians had a fort, a short distance above the village of Jamesville, on the banks of a small stream near; a little above which, it seems the chief, Garakontie, would have his new friends *set down*. Accordingly they repaired thither and commenced the labor, in which being greatly aided by the savages, a few months only were necessary to the building of a small village.

This colony, remained for three years in a very peaceable and flourishing condition, during which time, much addition was made to the establishment, and among others, a small chapel in which the Jesuit used to collect the barbarians, and perform the rites and ceremonies of his Church. About this time, (1669,) a party of Spaniards, consisting of twenty-three persons, arrived at the village, having for guides some of the Iroquois, who had been taken captives, by some of the southern tribes. It appears evident, that this party came up the Mississippi, passed Pittsburgh and on to Olean Point, where leaving their canoes, they traveled by land. They had

been informed that there was a lake to the north, whose bottom was covered with a substance shining and white, which they took from the Indians' description, to be silver.

Having arrived at Onondaga Lake, and the French village, and finding no silver, they seemed bent on a quarrel with the French, whom they charged with having bribed the Indians, so that they would not tell where the silver might be found. A compromise was finally effected. They agreed that an equal number of French and Spaniards should be sent on an exploring expedition. The Indians seeing these strangers prowling through the woods, with various instruments, suspected some design to be in operation, to drive them from their country. This jealousy, was much increased by the accusations of the Europeans themselves. The Spaniards told the Indians, that the only object of the French was to tyrannize over them. The French on the other hand asserted, that the Spaniards were laying a plan to rob them of their lands.

The Indians, by this time becoming jealous of both, determined in private council, to rid themselves of these intruders. Having privately obtained the assistance of the Oneidas and Cayugas, they agreed upon the time and manner of attack. A little before daybreak, on *All Saints Day*, 1669, the little colony, together with the Spaniards, were aroused from their slumbers by the discharge of firearms, and the war-whoop of the savages. Every house was immediately fired or broken open, and such as attempted to escape from the flames, were killed by the tomahawk, and not one of the colonists or Spaniards were left alive to relate the sad disaster."

"The French in Canada, on making inquiries respecting the fate of their friends, were informed by the Indians, that they had gone towards the south, with a company of people who came from thence, and at the same time, showing a *Spanish coat of arms*, and other national trinkets, confirmed the Canadian French in the opinion, that their unfortunate countrymen, had indeed gone thither, and in all probability perished in the immense forests. This opinion was also measurably confirmed by a Frenchman, who had long lived with the Senecas,

and who visited the Onondagas at the time the Spaniards were at the village, but left before the disaster, and could only say he had seen them there.”\*

Thus perished the *second* Christian colony, so far as known, that was attempted to be settled in western New-York.

The first at Lake Genentaha, having been broken up in 1656, and those who composed it, were compelled secretly to leave for Canada.

Relation, 1667-68. Gives an account of a newly established mission among the Cayugas, and of a colony of Cayuga newly established on the north coast of Lake Ontario.

Father Estienne de Carheil and Le Père Millet, went up among the Iroquois to share their labors and cares; the one destined for Onondaga, the other for Cayuga. There is a fourth Iroquois nation about thirty leagues distant from Onondaga, always going up between the west and south. These people are well disposed, for Iroquois. It can never be said they have borne arms against the French; and, if some of them have done so, it has been by small parties, in simple skirmishes, without any preformed design or concert of the whole nation. They are quite susceptible of kind impressions; we have often experienced this, even ten years ago, when we were much among them; the same mind still proves their kindness and docility; in proof of which, they have erected for us a chapel in their village, which is well attended.

They were very willing the faith should be reestablished there. Father Carheil came, who has just revived their church, composed of Hurons and Iroquois. The fear of enemies, obliged many of the nation to leave, and to plant themselves on the North coast of Lake Ontario. This detachment of the Cayugas, or of this new-nation, needed pastors to confirm the spirit of the faith in this new church, which we had cherished for two years, and this has been well done, by Rev. Monsieurs Fénélon and De Trouvé, two fervent missionaries,

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\* Notes on the Iroquois.

who have been sent here by the Bishop.\* But as they set out only at the end of summer, as well as the two Fathers, none of them have yet been able to send any news of what has taken place in this new church.

The Relation continues, by giving an account of the Huron church at Quebec; remarkable conversions and deaths of certain Iroquois converts. A letter from the Bishop of Petrea, to Monsieur Poittevin, Curate of St. Joff, Paris. An account of the mission of St. Michael into the fifth nation of the Iroquois Seneecas, and a circular letter on the holy death of a hospital nun at Quebec.

Relation, 1668-69. The establishment of a mission; St. Francis Xavier, to the country of the Oneidas, or the nation of the "STONE."

The nation of Oneida, is about thirty leagues towards the south and west, from the Mohawks, and one hundred and forty from Quebec; are of all the Iroquois, the least tractable; and the arms of the French, not yet having penetrated so far, they fear us only, through the experience of their neighbors, the Mohawks. This nation, which despises the others since their defeat, is in a disposition contrary to the Christian faith, and by its arrogance and pride, tries the patience of a missionary, very sorely. It was necessary that Divine Providence, should assign them a peculiar man, and choose for them a spirit, who might by his mildness conquer or allay their wild and fierce disposition. Father Jaques Bruyas, has been the man, whom Divine Providence has destined for their service, but his labors have generally been rewarded, only by rebuffs and contempt. He does not however think his time wholly misemployed, since he makes it his joy to suffer. He writes in one

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\*By the recent investigations of Mr. Robert Greenhow, it would appear almost beyond a doubt, that the Rev. *Monsieur Fénelon*, here mentioned, was none other person than the illustrious *M. De Fénelon*, afterwards Archbishop of Cambray. If the identity of the two personages can be conclusively established, (and we think it is by Mr. Greenhow's showing) then the great and good Fénelon, is connected by the most sacred ties, with the history of our country. And it may yet appear that his labors have been abundant at Onondaga, at this time, the seat of Iroquois missions and the great centre of Indian missionary attraction.

of his letters, that he considers all his labors well rewarded, when he can baptize some dying child, and by this means secure its salvation.

The number of baptized, amounts already to near thirty, most of whom are already in glory. Such is the state of this mission, to which the Father has given the name of St. Francis Xavier, who is the protector of this new world. As such, he is honored here each year, by a solemn festival, which the bishop of Pétréa has established throughout France.

Relation, 1668-69.

New mission of St. Jean Baptiste, in the country of Onondaga, or Nation of the Mountain.

After the nation of the Mohawks and Oneidas between the south and west, we meet with Onondaga. This is a large town, which is the centre of all the Iroquois nations, and the place where the great general assembly is held in each year. This mission was formerly the most flourishing of any among the Iroquois, which have been established by the Fathers, and still being one of the principal fields of labor, two faithful laborers have been assigned to its cultivation, viz. : Father Julian Garnier, and Father Pierre Millet. But it is not without much difficulty that they have revived the spirit of the faith, which had been for some years nearly extinct, in the souls of these barbarians.

One of the greatest obstacles which we find to the progress of Christianity is their dream, ("*sacre reverie*,") which appears to be almost the only divinity of this country, and to which they refer in all things. As they do not disturb our prayers, and even the most superstitious assist us in them, they cannot endure that we should interfere with, or oppose their ceremonies, and they think we desire their destruction, if we wish to destroy the charm of the dream, which they regard as a kind of talisman to their actions, whereby they live. One day a celebrated council was held over the dream of an old man who was sick. He said he had seen in a dream, a man no higher than a finger's joint, who had first pointed out to him drops of blood, falling from the heavens. He added

moreover, that it had rained men from heaven, but in a very pitiable condition, for they had been treated there as captives, and had their fingers and noses cut off. Finally, this old man asserted that one of these little men had told him, that he also would be treated thus in heaven, and that all those who went there would be given into the hands of the Andastes, their implacable enemies.

Upon this one of the "*anciens*" immediately opposed his dream, to the dream of the other. I dreamed, said he, that I was in heaven. Every thing there was beautiful, joy, peace and love abounded, and that as soon as I wished for any thing it was beside me. Thus by one dream another was overthrown, and this to please the missionaries, but very convenient to refute the impertinence of this dream. The most enlightened among them easily see that the greater part of these dreams are invented. They act upon them however, just as if they believed them true.

This does not prevent the Onondagas from respecting the faith and the commands of God. Some of those who have visited Quebee, have been touched with the example of the Huron Christians, and the exhortations which they have made there in favor of the Christian religion. The man with whom Father Garnier dwells, has related at Onondaga the discourse which a Huron had with him at Quebee, to persuade him to embrace the faith. Nothing could be better calculated to advance the cause of religion, or more effectually aid the missionaries, than this harangue. Upon this, every one began to say some good of it, and to remark the advantages of the laws of Christianity over their own superstitious customs.

Chapter IV, same Relation, gives an account of the mission of St. Joseph in the country of Cayuga, which makes a fourth Iroquois nation. It is about one hundred and sixty leagues from Quebee, and forty from Onondaga, always going between west and south.

Father Estienne de Carheil arrived on the 6th of November, 1668, and there presented to Heaven, as the first fruits of his labors, a female slave of the Andastes. He had come

in her company from Onondaga, and this journey, which they made together, enabled her to proceed on her way joyfully towards paradise, for having been instructed and baptized during this journey of two days, as soon as she had arrived at Cayuga, she was burned and eaten by these barbarians on the 6th of November. Father Garnier accompanied Father Carheil on this mission. They were very assiduous in their labors. A chapel was soon erected, many were invited to the faith, and a goodly number most joyfully accepted. The mission was dedicated to St. Joseph, by Father Carheil. It was ably conducted, and for a long time the Church was truly prosperous. Besides the village of Cayuga, which is the seat of his mission, there are two others; one of four leagues distant, and the other nearly six. The two last are situated upon a river, which coming from the side of the *Andastogue*, descends at four leagues distant from Onondaga, on its way to empty into Lake Ontario. The great quantity of rushes bordering this river, (Seneca,) has given the name of *Thihero*, to the village nearest to Cayuga. The people who compose the body of these three great villages, are composed in part of Cayugas, Hurons and Andastes; the two latter being captives to the Iroquois. It is there that the Father exercises his zeal, and asks companions to assist in his apostolic labors.

The great chief Garakontie exercised great influence at this new mission, as well as at Onondaga and Oneida. He encouraged the new converts by exhortations, and strengthened the hands of the missionaries by his zeal and perseverance in the faith.

The same Relation relates to the mission of St. Michael in the country of the Senceas, or nation of the great mountain. This, of all the Iroquois nations in which we have been, is the most distant from us, and its inhabitants being the least frequently seen by us are called the superior Iroquois. It is reckoned from us about one hundred and eighty leagues. This country gives us the greatest hope of a successful mission, which has obliged Father Jaques Fremin, Superior of all the

Iroquois missions, to go there to establish a new church. We have known this through the letters of other missionaries, he having set out from Mohawk on the 10th of October, 1668. He visited other missions on his way, and on the 1st of November arrived at the Seneca's country, where he was received with all the honors rendered to Ambassadors Extraordinary. We have also learned that the chiefs have built a chapel, and that every one shows an inclination towards Christianity. Upwards of sixty persons were baptized within four months. Thirty-three are supposed to be enjoying a blissful heaven by a happy death. The "*Jongleurs*," in many instances, interposed, so that it was difficult to keep up an interest in proportion to the merit of the work. Of course it soon decreased, and the war also which then was waged against the Outaouacs, greatly retarded the progress of the faith among these people. A mission was also established in the country of the Algonkins at *St. Esprit*, and among the Outaouacs, and a mission of St. Croix, in the country of the *Montagnais* at *Tadoussac*, and the Huron mission of the Annunciation, of Notre Dame, near the city of Quebec.

Relation of 1667, '71, gives an account of the embassy of *Saonchiogoua*, chief of the nation of Cayugas. He having visited Quebec, as an ambassador from the Senecas. Also gives an account of the conversion of this chief captain of the Cayugas, under the name of *Louis Saonchiogoua*.

He labored incessantly to acquit himself of his mission, with which he had been charged by the Senecas. He held a council with the Governor, who placed at his disposal all the captives which had been taken from the Senecas, the chief at the same time making the most solemn protestations of submission and obedience of all his orders. The Governor and suite regaled him and treated him with no little kindness and respect. All things being well done, the chief next turned his attention to the salvation of his soul. He conversed earnestly with Father Chaumonot, who has charge of this Huron mission. No great time was required to instruct and enlighten him in the knowledge of our holy mysteries, as he

had been sufficiently informed respecting them, for more than fifteen years, when he had the good fortune to be present at an assembly of distinguished men of the Five Iroquois Nations, held at Onondaga, soon after our arrival in the country where Father Chaumonot had taught in the faith. The mission is reported for 1671, as being in a very prosperous state, three hundred and twenty souls having been added to the Church, many of whom are in Heaven.

The mission of St. Francis Xavier at Onondaga, 1671, was successfully continued and reported as fast growing in the affections of the people under the missionaries who established it, and who now occupied this ground.

Of the mission of St. Joseph, at Cayuga, Father Estienne Carheil writes, that the advancement of the faith, and the progress in the salvation of souls being the only consolation which your Excellency expects each year, from our missions, I cannot give you more pleasure than in informing you of the progress of the Church, regenerated by the waters of baptism. Sixty-two received the life of grace, thirty-five having gone to live in glory, will be cause of consolation and rejoicing to you. The greater part who died after baptism, were children, whose age does not permit us to doubt their happiness. Many were adults, whose demeanor allows me to believe that they have deserved, by the cooperation in grace, what those little innocents have received by the operation of the sacrament above.

With respect to the mission of St. John the Baptist at Onondaga, the Relation goes on to say:

We have been informed of two things of great comfort, in the mission of St. John the Baptist, at Onondaga, which gives us reason to believe, that the faith has made great progress in this country. One is, that thirty-nine persons had received the grace of holy baptism, twenty of whom, a short time after, entered into full possession of their glory. This cannot be doubted, in the case of sixteen infants and four other adults, who gave in their death, great marks of predestina-

tion, particularly a young man of twenty-five or twenty-six years of age.

Some of these people state, that after having been ill treated by some Frenchmen, they were well received by some of our priests of Montreal, which seemed not a little to bring them to God. The family of this young man, most of whom had previously embraced the faith, have often manifested their gratitude, and he was eager himself for his salvation. His mother, was the first to teach him to pray to God, and to invite Father Millet, to instruct him. A short time before his death, she herself went promptly to give information of the danger in which her son was in, in order that he might die happy, and his death corresponded faithfully, to all his graces. I hope, says Father Millet in his letter, that he will not be the only Christian, nor the only predestinated one of this family. The joy which they experienced, after his death, in the hope of his eternal happiness, is no slight mark of their faith. Besides they seem not far removed from the kingdom of God, through the great desire they manifest, of meeting him one day in heaven, and give us reason to hope, of seeing them all children of the Church.

The other point which ought to cause joy to these souls, to see God glorified, in the conversion of these people is in the constancy of the Chief, Daniel Garakontie, in holding fast the faith, and in making every where, a high and imposing profession of Christianity. He solemnly made it two years since, when after having been baptized at Quebec, he declared on his return in a public assembly, he should no longer perform any duties of his station, which did not conform to the commandments of God. He yet made another declaration in a more generous manner, in New Holland, in presence of the Europeans, who commanded in that country and the chiefs of all the five Iroquois nations, who had been called together, to conclude a peace with the de Loups. The Father has informed us in his last, that he manifested a truly Christian courage, in the case of a young person in sickness, which had reduced him very low. His parents and all his

tribe fearing his death, solicited him with much importunity, to permit them to employ for his recovery, the ordinary "*jongleurs*," who pass for physicians in this country. He resisted them strongly. Nevertheless, they performed a superstitious ceremony in his wigwam, according to their practice when they undertake the cure of a sick person.

The Father was informed of it, and entertained some suspicion that the sick man had consented to it. He went to visit him in the evening, and found with him all the old men, who believing him near death, came in a body to take of him a last farewell. The sick man raised his head, saying: "my Father I have been much troubled to-day, in consequence of the ceremony, which has been performed without my knowledge, and out of my sight at the farther end of my cabin. Alas! I have said to myself, what will the Father think. He will believe me a hypocrite and a deceiver. But my Father, I have not changed my sentiments since my baptism; I am no longer a man to consent to these fooleries. I have only permitted them to sacrifice, and to shed a little blood for the testament. But I believe in this, not to have offended God. I feel too deeply, my Father, and I have promised to God, too solemnly to keep his holy law all my life, ever to return to my ancient customs, which I have given up with all my heart. No my Father, I would never again be as I have been." The Father confirmed him in these good sentiments, with which the company were highly edified. Afterwards, one proselyte having recovered his health, proceeded to Montreal, as an ambassador of the Iroquois nations, to hold a council with the *Algonkins* and *Autouacks*, who there had their rendezvous, as well for the transaction of business, as for the sale of their furs. It was in this convoy of one hundred and fifty canoes, that more than five hundred savages of different nations, were assembled to preserve Mons. De Courcelle, governor of the country, for whom all these people had a particular regard. Garakontie manifested his spirit and his good sense, but particularly his faith and his zeal; for, after having terminated their business, and confirmed the treaty of

peace, by new protestations of friendship and reciprocal presents, he raised his voice to say to them, that he had formerly been as they were, in ignorance of the true God, and a believer in all their superstitious customs. But, that now he was a Christian, and that he lived happy in keeping the commandments of God, and in the hope of eternal life. He concluded his eloquent harangue, according to his custom, by inviting them to follow him.

Such a discourse coming from the mouth of a friendly savage, declaring thus frankly the sentiments of his heart, often produces more effect upon such minds, than one from the most zealous missionary. Behold another example which has come to our knowledge. The same Daniel Garakontie, says the Pere De Lamberville, in his letter of 23<sup>d</sup> of September, having met on his return to his country, one of his parents sick unto death, came to me to ask for her some remedy. "My brother," said I to him, "the only remedy which will be of use to her in her present state, is baptism, to preserve her from hell; but she has no disposition for this sacrament, she persists in wishing to go to the pretended country of souls. If thou hast any true affection for her, put forth all thy efforts to render her more docile; but hasten thyself, she has not a long time to live. These are the words of the Father."

He has nothing of the Iroquois savage in him, but the birth and the name. He went to visit her instantly; produced by his zeal and earnestness an effect so wonderful, that she was immediately instructed sufficiently to receive baptism, to the great joy of all the family. The Father was not able to approach another dying creature, to speak of her salvation, because she manifested so great an aversion to Christianity, and such an incredible attachment to the superstitions of her country. In this difficulty, he had recourse to a friendly woman of this family, who was not yet a catechumen, neither had she been known to come to prayers; she had, however, some knowledge of our mysteries, with good intentions. She was so successful from the first time she addressed the sick woman, and managed with so much tact, and so becoming a Christian,

that the Father was most favorably received into her cabin, and she listened to him with profound respect. After being sufficiently instructed, she was baptized, and shortly after died like a Christian.

It is thus, says the Father, in concluding his letter, notwithstanding the drunkenness which prevails here to the greatest excess, and the other obstacles which the evil one incessantly opposes to the advancement of the faith, we are permitted to win some souls, and reap some fruits, from the blood of Jesus Christ.

The same Relation gives an account of the mission of St. Joseph among the Cayugas, with a letter from the Father Raffeix instructing him to take charge of this mission in the absence of Father Carheil, giving a clear and intelligent account of it.

Also an account of the mission of the Conception of St. James, to the Senecas. Letter of Father Garnier, dated July 1672.

Also an account of the mission of the Martyrs to Annie by the Father Claude Dablon, Rector of the college of Quebec, and Superior of the mission of the society of Jesus in New France.

Relation of 1671—72 contains a further notice of the missions among the Iroquois, and of the mission of the Martyrs to Annie.

Father Boniface to the Oneidas. Of the Francis Xavier mission to the Oneidas, by Father Millet:

The Father de Lamberville governed the Church of St. John the Baptist at Onondaga. The Father Carheil, by a nervous debility, was retained at Quebec, but returned in the spring to his mission of St. Joseph, at Cayuga, after having been cured of a sickness, in a miraculous manner, by the recourse he had to our lady of the faith and to St. Annie. We learned afterwards that he arrived in perfect health, and that Father Raffeix, who had the care of this mission in his absence, aided by Father Garnier, in the labors of the three missions of the Conception of St. Michael, and of St. James

to the Senecas, in which they gained in all near twelve or thirteen thousand souls.

The mission of St. Francis Xavier to the Oneidas, is represented as being in a very flourishing condition. From a Jesuit map, published 1770, we find the locations of several missionary stations to be as follows :

Mission de St. Esprit, situated near the west end of Lake Superior.

Mission of de Ste Marie du Sault, at the entrance of Lake Superior.

Mission of St. Ignace, at Maekinaw.

Mission of St. Francis Xavier, at the south end of Green Bay, or the Bay des Puans.

Mission of St. Simon, established at Missisague, Lake Huron.

These Relations are continued for several years, though not successively. Charlevoix gives a condensed continuation of the progress of these missions, more or less interesting. While the Jesuits themselves have committed the summary of their labors to manuscripts, which are widely scattered.

Charlevoix, relating transactions of 1693, brings to view two distinguished chiefs who have not been named, and relates the death of the famous Garakontie. Oureouharie was one who had taken great interest in the affairs of the Romish Church. The Fathers had made frequent journeys through his canton, (Onondaga,) and had been greatly aided by his counsels. He omitted nothing of that which he esteemed most proper to dispose the minds of his people, so that they should be nearer the French. Besides, this Garakontie was still alive, and although a fervent Christian, he had remained at Onondaga, where his presence was considered necessary to profit by the opportunities which presented themselves to re-establish commerce between us and his countrymen, which had declined. This venerable old man, deprived as he was of all spiritual succor, in the midst of this Babylon, never allowed his piety or zeal to relax; and by the course which he took, always to husband his credit, which like another Daniel, he

found more than once to be the secret, to cause the intrigues of the English to wreck, which without such help, would often have reduced us to dreadful extremities. He died at St. Louis, (Canada,) 1693.

I could not know whether Teganessorens was at that time a Christian or not, but it is certain he was one while at Onondaga, and that he perfectly seconded the good designs of Garakontie, and I feel bold to assert that New France was in a good degree indebted to the good offices of these three sages, without which the country and inhabitants would have been continually overrun by parties of the enemy. It seems by what follows, that these missionaries were in continual dread of the English, who certainly were continually gaining favor with the Iroquois.

1695. He says that forty pioneers, having gone towards Onondaga, some of them had advanced as far as the River Chouguen, (Oswego,) where they saw thirty-four boats of the Iroquois coming down, and even heard some of them say to each other, that they would soon pay the Fathers and the brethren of the Sault St. Louis such a visit as they did not expect. Other parties confirmed the intelligence, that a great number of Iroquois were in the field. All used due diligence to convey the intelligence to the Governor of Montreal, that he might have opportunity to secure his posts free from insult, advising Monsieur De Frontenac to form a body of eight hundred men in the Isle of Perrot, to check them. A battle ensues, in which the Indians are defeated, by *Monsieur De La Durantaye*.

1709. He further says: It was more than a year since Father Marcueil, a missionary of Onondaga, had given advice to the Governor General, that the Iroquois were anxiously solicited to declare against the French, and that one of these savages, to whom much influence had been awarded, was the secret author of this intrigue. M. de Vaudreuil had given no credence to the advice, prejudiced as he was in favor of the perfidious Iroquois, but all along had treated them with the greatest confidence and friendship.

The Jesuit Missions among the Iroquois began sensibly to decline after the year 1700. Still there were for a season martyrs and proselytes; and although isolated members of the Society of Jesus were occasionally to be found, their influence was greatly weakened with the advances of the English; and when that people gained the ascendancy by the conquest of the French colonies of North America, the French missionaries, one by one, reluctantly relinquished their posts, and abandoned their fields of labor. It is true, the Passamaquaddy, Penobscot and St. Regis Indians, held on longer than the rest, but even they have dwindled to almost nothing, and what little of Christianity remains to them has nearly if not quite yielded to Protestantism, while among the Mohawks, the Onondagas, the Cayngas and Senecas, the traces of these missions, once so famous and so interesting to the whole Christian world, are entirely obliterated, and the posterity of those inhabitants, who once listened with eagerness to the sound of chapel bell, "the deep toned summons to worship God," and united in the devotions of the mass with earnestness and zeal, know nothing of these things that have passed. To them it is as if nothing had been done. The blood of martyrs has been freely shed, the blood of martyrs to a peculiar faith. Jogues, Du Poisson and Souel, fell mangled with clubs, and their bones bleached in the wilderness. Brebeuf, Lallemand and Senat, died at the stake, amid the yells of infuriated demons, quietly yielding their spirits to God with resignation and in prayer.

Charlevoix gives a particular and minute account of the life and death of several Iroquois Christians and martyrs who suffered for the faith.

A host of the natives at different seasons have suffered martyrdom among the Iroquois, but it has signified nothing; the blessing of God did not sustain them; a few generations have passed away, and all foot-prints of Jesuit teachings have disappeared; their existence among the sons of the forest is unknown, and but for their own preserved records, their history would be a perfect blank.

## CHAPTER VII.

## ENGLISH, GERMAN, AND AMERICAN MISSIONS.

NEW-ENGLAND MISSION, BY REV. JOHN ELIOT—MOHAWK MISSIONS—GERMAN MISSION AT ONONDAGA, 1750—ONEIDA MISSION, REV. SAMUEL KIRKLAND, 1766—REV. SAMSON OCCUM, 1786—BISHOP HOBART, MISSION AT ONEIDA, 1816—MISSIONARY OPERATIONS AT ONONDAGA, 1816—METHODIST MISSIONS AT ONEIDA AND ONONDAGA, 1829—INDIAN SCHOOL.

While the scenes were enacting, which have just been related, it is not to be supposed that all Christendom, except the Jesuits, were asleep or unconscious of what was passing; or, unmindful of the spiritual welfare of the savages. At a very early period, some of the clergy of New-England, took into consideration the possibility and propriety of introducing among these benighted people, the light of the Gospel. As early as 1647, Parliament was solicited to aid in so beneficent a work. The result was, that that body passed an ordinance, July 27, 1649, authorizing the organization of a society for the advancement of civilization and Christianity, among the Indians of New-England. Under the patronage of this society, schools were established, and the Gospel gratuitously preached among the Indians. Among those who were foremost in this good work, was the great Apostle to the Indians, John Eliot, who, after ministering for many years to the spiritual necessities of the Indians, in 1663, had translated the whole Bible into Indian, with a Catechism and the Psalms of David, in Indian verse. Eliot's Indian Bible, was the first version of the Scriptures ever printed on the American continent. A copy of this Bible is in the library of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., to the

accomplished librarian of which, the author is indebted for a sight of this highly interesting and antique volume. The title to this Bible is as follows: "*Mamusse Wunneetupanatamiwe. Up Biblum God Naneeswe Nukkone Testament, kah wonk Wusku Testament.*"

Other works were translated and published in the Indian language, for the advancement of Christianity among the Indians. It is by no means asserted, that there were no visible marks of the progressive labors of the New-England Missionaries. For a long time the missions were considered flourishing. Many reverend gentlemen, and even laymen of piety and intelligence, learned the Indian language, and visited and prayed among them. They were prepared to carry the Gospel to every hut and every heart, and often found such responses, as gave them renewed courage and flattering hopes of permanent success. On the 12th of May, 1700, there were thirteen Protestant ministers of the Gospel supported by the government in the plantations of North America, receiving from ten to thirty pounds each, besides some other Protestants who were missionaries on their own account.\*

Although large sums of money were expended for the advancement of this plan, and the energies of a powerful corporation brought to bear in its aid, and all the learning and talent of New-England, and much of that of the mother country, applied in pressing on this important work, still the missions of New-England in their time and in their turn, declined, languished, and at length expired. Two hundred years have not yet rolled around, and a Bible, the fruit of many years of diligent labor, translated expressly for a people whose salvation was the end and aim of the great, the gracious and the good of that era, lives only as a literary curiosity, on the shelves of a very few libraries in Christendom; while not a being who now inhabits this earth, can interpret a solitary sentence of it. The race for whose benefit these holy words

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\* London Documents, 1700.

were arranged, has passed away, and with them their religion, their literature, and even their very names.

In the year 1700, the Earl of Belomont, then Governor of New-York, memorialized the lords of trade and plantations, on the want of "some ministers of the Church of England, to instruct the Five Nations of Indians, and to prevent their being practised upon by the French priests and Jesuits." Whereupon the said lords submitted a representation on the subject to Queen Anne, who by an order in council, sanctioned their proposal, for the appointment of two clergymen, and referred the accomplishment of the plan to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Even before this, Lord Belomont intended to build a fort and chapel in the country of the Onondagas, and the matter was carried so far, that King William ordered and sent over plate and furniture for a chapel there, but the design of building it was abandoned upon the death of that monarch, which event took place in 1702.\* In 1701, the Assembly of New-York, granted sixty pounds a year to Rev. Bernardus Freeman, minister of the Gospel at Schenectady, as his salary for instructing the Indians of the Five Nations, and fifteen pounds a year for his charges and expenses.† Although the measure submitted to the consideration of Queen Anne, so far as the government was concerned, appears to have been suggested by motives of political expediency, quite as much as by a desire for the conversion of the savages. Still the society took advantage of the opportunity of establishing a mission among the Iroquois Indians. The Rev. Thoroughgood Moor arrived at New-York, on this noble service, in the year 1704. The enterprize, however, was not attended with that success which its importance seemed to demand. The Indians from appearances, were wholly unprepared to profit by missionary instructions. In the first report made to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, under whose patronage the mission was established, it is said, "there are demands upon the Society for ministers, schools and libraries.

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\* London Documents, 1700, p. 139.

† Ibid.

For the Mohawks. For the Oneidas. 1 for the Onontages. 1 for the Cayougas. 1 for the Sinnekes."

In 1709, four sachems went to England, to confirm the peace which had been made by their nations with the Governor of New-York, and to request Her Majesty would be pleased to take measures for the instruction of their subjects in the truths of Christianity.

This request having been submitted by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Society, it was agreed to send two missionaries, together with an interpreter and school-master to the "Mohocks and Oneides Indians;" and the Queen gave directions for the erection of a fort, with a chapel and house for the clergyman, in the country of the Mohocks. The Rev. William Andrews, the first missionary selected, arrived at Albany, in 1712; and in giving an account of his reception, he says: "When we came near the town, we saw the Indians upon the banks, looking out for my coming. They received me with abundance of joy; every one shaking me by the hand, bidding me welcome over and over."

A school was established with this mission, at which about twenty children usually attended. After about six years of labor, toil and disappointment, Mr. Andrews solicited that the Society should remove him from his mission, which was finally done. He gives anything but a favorable report of the success of his labors, saying, "There is no hope of making them better. Heathen they are, and Heathen they still must be." After this, for many years, the Rev. Henry Barclay, D. D., Rev. John Ogilvie, D. D., and others, who were missionaries at Albany, continued to visit and officiate among the Mohawks. Although most of the Christian Indians were from among the Mohawks and Oneidas, still the Onondagas did not fail to obtain some knowledge of the duties and doctrines of Christianity from that source.

The Queen Anne had the good of the Five Nations, at all times, very much at heart, and sought by various means to arouse their minds to a sense of religious duty. It appears, this sovereign took no ordinary interest in their spiritual wel-

fare, and among other proofs of her beneficence, she ordered the erection of a neat and commodious chapel in the Mohawk country, and the gift of a valuable communion service to that people. A set was ordered for each of the other four of the Five Nations; but it appears that only the Mohawks received theirs. There were five pieces, of plain, pure and massive silver, and each piece bears the following inscription: "The gift of Her Majesty ANN, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, and of Her Plantations in North America, QUEEN, to her Indian Chappel of the Mohawks." The chapel at Fort Hunter was erected of stone, about the year 1710, and a glebe of three hundred acres of land attached to it. It was furnished with a bell, which we are informed is now used at the Academy in Johnstown. This chapel was torn down in 1820, to make room for the Erie Canal. The parsonage is still standing in sight of the canal, an antiquated building two stories high, with a square roof, about half a mile below Schoharie. The author has been informed, that the bell in St. Peter's Church, Albany, N. Y., has this inscription: "St. Peter's Church, in Albany, 1751, J. Ogilvie, Minister, J. Stevenson, E. Collins, Wardens." The Bible used there, is over one hundred and thirty years old, having been printed in 1716. The communion plate, which is very heavy, and numbers six pieces, was a present from Queen Anne. Upon each piece is engraved as follows: "The gift of Her Majesty, ANN, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, and of Her Plantations in North America, QUEEN, to her Indian Chappel of the Onondawgus."

A. R.

[*Coat of Arms.*]

The plate consists of six pieces, viz. : one chalice, two flagons, and three patens.

By this, it would seem, that the good Queen contemplated the erection of a chapel in the Onondagas country, and the furnishing it with a suitable communion service; and why the plan was broken up, or the valuable plate designed for it, received another destination is now probably past explanation,

unless it be the following, which we have presumed. On the plate presented to the Mohawks, the date is 1712. The two sets were undoubtedly ordered at this time. But as yet, there had been no chapel erected for the Onondagas and the probability is, the date was omitted at the period of its manufacture, to be engraved at the time it should be proper to present it to this people. And it is highly probable that the missionary intrusted with its care, was instructed also to effect the building of the chapel. Frequent mention is made in the London Documents, of the anxiety of the Home Government to effect that object. St. Peters was organized in 1716, and as the chapel for the Onondagas was not built as was anticipated, this valuable memento of a sovereign's kindness was lost to them and retained at Albany.

Sir William Johnson, during his sojourn in America from 1750 to 1775, used the whole weight of his influence and energies for the advancement of the cause of Christianity, schools and civilization among the Iroquois, especially the Mohawks, in whose country he was located; and missionaries, catechists and school teachers, were continually among them. The Divine blessing followed these pious endeavors, and many of the Mohawk nation, and individuals of other tribes, were converted to Christianity.

At the approach of the great contest of 1776, as was very natural, the Mohawks took sides with the crown of Great Britain, from whom they had received numberless favors. Their attachment to the royal cause, naturally excited the hostility of the republicans, and they were eventually compelled to flee their native country, as they termed it "the country which the Great Spirit had given to their forefathers." The local attachments of the Iroquois are said to be stronger than in any other race. It is not easy, therefore, to estimate the sacrifice of feeling, which this expatriation must have cost.

In 1776, one party, consisting of a majority of the nation, fled to Niagara, under the guidance of the celebrated captain Joseph Brant, and eventually settled on Grand River, where they still reside. The other party, under captain John Dese-

rontyon, escaped to Lower Canada. After a sojourn of seven years at La Chine, in that province, they proceeded to the spot selected by their chief, on the Bay of Quinté, in the upper province, which they reached on the 15th of May, 1784, and have occupied ever since. This tract of land was immediately surveyed and called Tyendenaga, in honor of the principal chief of the nation, which name it still retains.\* There are now, (1848) exclusively Mohawks, at this station, four hundred and eighty souls. At the Grand River station, there are over two thousand souls, including those of other tribes, of the Six Nations.

The Indian Church at the Bay of Quinté, was originally a square wooden building, used both as a school house, and place of worship; but as the congregation increased, it was lengthened, and a spire and belfry added. Since this, it has been confined to sacred purposes exclusively. It stands on a gentle elevation on the borders of the Bay of Quinté. The spot selected for its location is a beautiful one, and does credit to the taste of its founder. The first cottages of the Indians, which have long since fallen to decay, stood along the margin of the Bay, having the church in the centre, forming what was called the "Mohawk village." The occupants of these, subsisted partly by tilling the soil, and partly upon the chase and waters. But the rapid settlement of the adjacent townships, and the increase of steamers which ply upon the Bay, have so diminished these last resources, that their descendants have been obliged to disperse over the tract, to seek a livelihood by the more laborious, but certain process of farming.

In 1843, this portion of the Mohawk tribe resolved on replacing their old church, which was fast falling to decay, with a new one of stone, which has since been done. This new church is very much admired, as well for the elegance of its structure, as for the beauty of the site upon which it is erected. It is

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\* The author is indebted for these facts, to a pamphlet published in London, 1843, by Rev. Saltern Givens, missionary among the Mohawks at Bay of Quinté. and parts, adjacent politely furnished by him, and also for his communication.

furnished with a neat altar-piece, containing the creed, the Lord's prayer and the ten commandments, in the Mohawk language, surmounted by the royal arms of England, handsomely carved and gilt, as well as a fine toned bell, cast 1787. These were the gift of his majesty George the third, and were brought from England by the late Sir John Johnson.

Besides the church furniture already alluded to, they have in their possession a part of the plate, (two pieces,) a flagon and paten, originally given to the nation by Queen Anne. The "gift" was first intended for the nation collectively, but it has been divided, and a part (three pieces) retained by their brethren, at Grand River; and although it has been confided to the care of individuals of the nation for at least one hundred and thirty-five years, the articles are in an excellent state of preservation. Even the "fair white linen cloth for the communion table," beautifully inwrought with devices, emblematical of the rank of the royal donor, although unfit for use, is still in such a state of preservation as to admit of their being easily traced. The gray-haired matron, a descendant of the chief, the present guardian of these treasures which she considers as the heir-loom of her family, accounts for the mutilated state of the cloth by observing, that during the revolutionary war it was buried to prevent its falling into the hands of their enemies.

This mission is at this day represented as being in a very prosperous condition. They have a prosperous Sunday school. The service is conducted partly in English and partly in Mohawk, as many of the Indians understand English and a number of white families attend. The instruction from the pulpit is conveyed through an interpreter. The singing is in Indian. In this sacred service, the Indians are thought by competent judges to excel. The sacraments of the church are duly administered: the number of communicants is about forty-five.

The translations among them are as follows:

The four Gospels, St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians, and a selection of important texts of scripture.

The Common Prayer with the offices, and a form of family prayer.

A selection of Hymns and Psalms.

The Book of the prophet Isaiah and other portions of the Holy Scriptures.

They have various portions of the Old Testament translated but not printed.

Of late years, the Indians of Canada have attracted more attention than formerly, and it is gratifying to be enabled to state that the missionary endeavors made by various bodies of Christians have been crowned with a great measure of success. The Wesleyan Methodists have several missions, and the Moravians two.

There are two missions supported by the New England company, on the Grand River, in connection with the Protestant Episcopal church. One under the charge of the Rev. Abraham Nelles, among the Mohawks, and another under the Rev. Adam Elliott among the Tuscaroras.

This company was originally established for the conversion of the Indians, in New England and the parts adjacent, and still possesses considerable landed property in one of the New England States.

At the Tuscarora village is a church styled St. Johns, at which the Onondagas assemble for divine worship. About one half of the Onondagas are adherents to the Church.

Mr. Nelles has a copy of the Holy Scriptures printed A. D. 1701, and presented to the Mohawks in 1712, probably by Her Majesty, with the communion plate.\*

Mr. Elliott's mission is at Tuscarora village, where are settled about three hundred and sixty Tuscaroras, two hundred and eighty Onondagas, five hundred Cayugas, about two hundred Senecas and Oneidas, and a few Mohawks, making in all over two thousand souls. These are settled on lands assigned them by the English government, amounting to about fifty thousand acres, and are the national property of the In-

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\* Rev. Adam Elliott's letter.

dians. No individual has any permanent property in a single acre of them. Here they are represented as making respectable proficiency in the common arts, in agriculture, and in school education.

The other, Mr. Nelles' mission, is established at Brantford, (named after the celebrated Brant,) at the head of Burlington Bay. At this place are about eight hundred Mohawks, with a few of the above nations intermixed.

At both of these stations are schools, which employ six school masters and one school mistress. At each of them, there is a house of industry or mechanical institution, maintained by the New England society, where the Indians are taught to construct their ordinary farming utensils and other implements in common use among them. There is also a school where girls are taught needle work, knitting, writing, reading, &c. The results of both these missions are, that the Mohawks, Tuscaroras and Oneidas, are entirely Christians; the Onondagas and the few Delawares mostly so, the latter being recent converts. Of the Senecas, not so many as half have been baptised, and the Cayugas hold out obstinately, alleging that they have not been well treated by the British.\*

Both these stations are adorned with beautiful churches, and the one at the Mokawk settlement has one half of the valuable communion set, originally furnished the nation by Queen Anne, consisting of a flagon, chalice and paten.

Every thing relating to these missions is most flourishing. The missionaries, the schools and the mechanics' institutions, at these places, besides other schools throughout the Indian settlements, are all supported by the bounty of the New England society and reflect the highest credit on that respectable body. Their exertions for the temporal and spiritual amelioration of the Indians of this diocese merit the thanks of every Christian in the colony.†

Thus we see that the attention of the Christian public is

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\* Indian missions in Upper Canada. James Beaven, D. D., London Edition, 1840.

† Journal of visitation by the Lord Bishop of Toronto, London Edition 1844.

yet directed to the spiritual wants of this long neglected and much injured race, and if it was increased, it would greatly ameliorate their lot.

The Hernhutt, or Moravian Brethren, who were organized as a society in 1722, under the patronage of Count Zinzendorf, also formed the idea of establishing an affiliated society in America, and a mission among the Indians, about 1740. Their principal settlement and seat of operations, was at Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania, where they had an establishment of considerable importance. This little colony was formed at first under the strict laws of the original society, viz: "Seclusion from the world, enjoyment of a contemplative life, and possession of all worldly goods in common." They were for a while very successful in their enterprises among the Indians, the Delawares, Shawnese, Lenna-Lenapes, and made a decided and strenuous effort to establish themselves among the Iroquois, of which the following is the history:

Account of a German Mission at Onondaga in 1750:—

It is a matter which has been often doubted whether or not the Dutch had ever established a mission at Onondaga. The Indians themselves retain no knowledge of it by record or tradition.

The following from the Indian Historiographer Heckewelder, sets the matter at rest. Loskiel mentions the same facts in substance. The individuals engaged in this mission were Moravian Brothers.

Heckewelder says: The most remarkable occurrence of 1750, was the journey of Bishop Cammerhof and brother David Zeisberger to Onondaga, the chief town of the Iroquois. They set out from Bethlehem on the 14th of May, having obtained a passport from the Governor of Pennsylvania, requesting all subjects of the British Government to forward their undertaking, and to lend them all possible assistance. The inhabitants of Tioga, a considerable Indian town, as well as those of other places, were surprised to find that the Brethren were going to Onondaga, and were acquainted with the head chiefs of the Six Nations. And as their guide purposely

spread this account wherever they came, it gained them great respect.

On the 19th of June they reached Onondaga, the chief town of the Six Nations, situated in a very pleasant and beautiful country, and consisting of five small towns or villages, through which runs the river *Zinochsaa*. They were lodged at the house of *Gonassatako*, who received them with much cordiality. The object of this visit was both to fulfil the promise of a visit to the great council of the Iroquois, made last year to the deputies at Philadelphia, and to obtain leave for some brethren to live either at Onondaga or some other chief town of the Iroquois, to learn the language, and to preach the gospel.

Bishop Cammerhof and David Zeisberger having notified their arrival to the council in the usual manner, they were admitted and received as the Deputies of the Church of the United Brethren, and their message taken into consideration. The council then consisting of twenty-six elderly men of venerable appearance. The consultations upon the message lasted long; many questions were put to the Brethren, and many belts and fathom of wampum delivered. The Brothers choosing to let the subject rest for a while, proceeded to the settlements of the Cayugas and Senecas. On their return they found that the chiefs had made no advances in their cause. They therefore renewed their petition, and were so successful that on the 20th of July, with the usual ceremonies, they received the following decision:

That the Iroquois and the Brethren on both sides of the great Ocean, should regard each other as brothers. That this covenant should be indissoluble, and that the two Brethren should have leave to live at Onondaga or some other town, to learn their language. The mission was for a season very successful, many were converted and led a new life, being baptized in the faith. The Brethren returned to spend the winter in Bethlehem.

In July, 1751, the Brethren Zeisberger and Godfried Rundt and Martin Mark, set out for Onondaga, agreeable to the

treaty, by which the great council permitted two Brethren to reside at Onondaga and learn the language. The Oneidas were opposed to the introduction of these missionaries at Onondaga, and did their best to prevent it. The Brethren, however, would not be repulsed. They were gladly received and highly flattered by the Onondagas. They were lodged in the chief's house, and all things prospered. The Brethren were treated with great esteem for near a year, when, by the advice of a great council, and on account of the troubles and war, they were advised by the Onondagas to retire to their homes.

In 1754, Zeisberger returned to his post in Onondaga, with a brother named Charles Frederiek, and resided there almost a whole year. The chiefs erected a house for him, which proved such a comfortable retirement that they resolved to spend the winter, which they did, but left for Bethlehem early in the following summer.

The missionary Zeisberger was adopted as the son of the principal chief, Canassetago, and had much influence with the Onondagas. This zealous missionary at no time lost sight of the importance of this mission, and although not a laborer on the ground, his mind was occupied, and his hands and heart engaged in preparing for an effectual and permanent establishment in this fruitful land, of a prosperous and happy mission.

The same author says, (page 428,) Zeisberger, about the year 1768, wrote and completed two grammars, one written in English, and the other in German, adapted to the Indian language, and a copious dictionary, German and Indian, containing seven quarto manuscript volumes of more than seventeen hundred and seventy pages of writing, consisting of German words and phrases, with their translation into Indian; upon which he justly remarks that there are not many dictionaries of this size, and if this is filled with genuine Iroquois, it is in vain to speak of the poverty of that language.

In 1776, he published a spelling book, and other primary books for learners, with juvenile devotional books, calculated to advance the cause of Christianity among the Indians. We

find no permanent fruits of this mission, or that it was ever re-established, although feebly continued for several years.

In 1770, the Rev. Mr. Ashley, who was a missionary at Oequaga, states that he had occasionally preached at Onondaga to the Indians, and that a Rev. Mr. Crosby had succeeded him. He also mentions the names of the Rev. Messrs. Peter and Henry Avery, who had preached among the Tuscaroras, Onondagas, and Oequagas.

The next mission of note among the Iroquois, was that established by the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, among the Oneidas, which commenced about the 1st of August, 1766. Since a brief account of this mission was written, and since this work was in press, the author acknowledges the receipt of the Life of Samuel Kirkland, by his grandson, Samuel K. Lothrop, number XV. of American Biography, conducted by Jared Sparks, with the author's permission to use it in this connection, which has been made available.

Samuel Kirkland was born at Norwich, Connecticut, on the 1st of December, 1741. His father was the Rev. Daniel Kirkland, who was pastor of the Third Congregational Church in Norwich, the parish of Newent. His mother was Hannah Perkins, daughter of a very respectable gentleman of Windsor, Connecticut. Samuel was the tenth in a family of twelve children, of whom five were sons. The ancestors of the Kirkland family were from Scotland. At the age of twenty we find Samuel Kirkland a student, at the Rev. Dr. Wheelock's School at Lebanon, Conn. In the autumn of 1762, he entered the Sophomore class, at Princeton College, New Jersey, which was a place of resort for Indian youth, who were desirous of procuring a classical education, and others who were desirous of becoming missionaries among the Indians. At Lebanon and Princeton his studies were pursued with a constant and determined reference to his preparation for a missionary among the Indians.

In this benevolent design, he was cheered and encouraged by the celebrated Whitefield, and the Rev. Mr. Kirkpatrick, (father of the late Dr. Kirkpatrick, of Salina,) to proceed,

and by their suggestions and advice, was induced finally to locate himself among the Oneidas. While at school, he had acquired some knowledge of the language of the Iroquois. In the autumn of his senior year, he left College for the purpose of visiting the Senecas, and to learn their language, habits and dispositions, and thus become qualified to be their spiritual teacher and guide.

In November, 1764, he set out for his mission, and in his course, spent some time with Sir Wm. Johnson, at Johnson Hall.

On the 16th of Jan., 1765, in company with two Senecas, he set out for the Indian country on foot. The weather was severe, and the earth covered with a great body of snow, over which they had to plod their way by the help of snow shoes. Our young missionary was burdened with a pack, containing clothes, provisions, and a few books, in all weighing about forty pounds.

The whole country was a wilderness, and the last vestige of civilization was seen at Johnson Hall. Every thing looked gloomy and forbidding, but the fervent heart of this pious and devoted youth, beat with hopes too high to languish, and with aspirations too holy to relent.

On the fifth day, the party arrived at a village of the Oneidas, where they rested and were refreshed. Afterwards they proceeded to Onondaga, where they remained a night, and nearly all the next day.

The object of Mr. Kirkland's mission was explained to the Indians in the council house, "a building nearly eighty feet long, and containing four fires, in which they assembled in crowds about ten o'clock in the morning." Towards the evening of this day, they left Onondaga, and proceeded on their journey. On the 7th of February, towards evening, twenty-three days after leaving Johnson Hall, they reached Kanadasegea, the principal town of the Senecas.

In due time the object of his visit was explained in council, and he was permitted to remain with them, and was taken into the family of the head sachem, by whom he was ultimate-

ly adopted. During his stay among the Senecas, his life was often in peril, and after the death of his host, which occurred soon after, he visited Johnson Hall, and on his way spent a night at Fort "*Bennington*," (Brewerton,) where he was supplied with provisions by the commanding officer of the garrison. After visiting the Hall, he returned to the Senecas on the 29th of June, where his arrival was hailed with joy. His intercourse with the Senecas was full of interest and adventure. (See Lothrop's Life of Kirkland.)

He left the Senecas country in May, 1766, and we find no traces of his return to them again as a missionary.

On the 19th of June, 1766, Mr. Kirkland was ordained at Lebanon, and on the same day received a commission from the "Connecticut Board of correspondents of the Society in Scotland," as an Indian missionary.

He set out for his new mission on the 7th of July, and commenced his labors among the Oneidas, as before stated, about the 1st of August, 1766, with whom he remained upwards of forty years. He at once earnestly engaged in the good work of teaching the Indians the principles of the Christian religion, and in preaching to them the gospel. He made himself master of their language, became intimately familiar with all their customs and fancies, and greatly endeared himself to them by the kindness of his disposition, his assiduous attention, and by his amiable and sympathizing spirit. He soon gained by these rare qualities, the unlimited confidence of a very large majority of the Indians, and especially of two principal chiefs, Good Peter and Skenendoah. All looked upon him as a friend and father, all were anxious to hear his words, and listen to his instructions. He was particularly instrumental in banishing from among the Oneidas that bane of the race, intoxicating drinks, an article which had been freely furnished by traders, and which, through his influence, would not be received even as a gift, and when offered in one instance, the answer was, "It is contrary to the minister's word, and our agreement with him."

On the 19th of September, 1769, he was married to Jeru-

sha Bingham, a niece of Dr. Wheelock. She was a woman of uncommon energy, sterling good sense, with a vigorous understanding, and a most devout heart, with a mind deeply imbued with the principles of Christianity, and with a lively interest in the cause of propagating the gospel among the Indians; she was therefore well qualified to be a partner and help to her husband, and to share with him the labors and sacrifices of an Indian missionary.

Mr. Kirkland continued his residence and labors among the Oneidas, with such success as the turbulent state of the times admitted. The storm of impending revolution lowered over the western horizon, and even the distant wilds of Oneida were not deemed secure from its portentous fury.

Mr. Kirkland was in religion and politics a pure American patriot. His influence was eagerly sought by the master spirits and actors in the grand drama that was about to open to the world, and his advice and opinions were solicited with an earnestness which proved the character and excellence of the man, and the estimation in which he was held abroad.

By a vote of the Continental Congress, 18th July, 1775, the Commissioners of the Northern Department were recommended to employ the Rev. Samuel Kirkland among the Six Nations of Indians, in order to secure their friendship, and to continue them in a state of neutrality, with respect to the controversy between Great Britain and the Colonies. For this purpose, Mr. Kirkland was employed, and to accomplish the object he exerted his powers to the utmost, took long journeys among the Indian nations, and attended councils at Albany, German Flats, Oneida and Onondaga. At first he was flattered with a prospect of success, and felt confident that the Six Nations would not take part in the approaching contest. But through the wiles and machinations of those most in the interest of the crown, his hopes and expectations were defeated, and all but a portion of his faithful Oneidas were ranged in the ranks of Britain.

At the commencement of the great contest of the revolution, Mr. Kirkland removed his family to Stockbridge, Mass.,

for fear of danger which might arise from proximity to a hostile foe, while living in a location likely to become the theatre of sanguinary war. He still continued his labor as an Indian missionary among the Oneidas; his healthful influence over them, it is thought, contributed materially to secure the neutrality, and in several instances the friendship and services of a considerable portion of the Oneidas to the American cause.

He was appointed a chaplain to the garrison at Fort Schuyler and other posts, with rank and pay of Brigade Chaplain, and when duty permitted, still continued his labors among the Oneidas.

In 1779, he was Brigade Chaplain with General Sullivan, in his Indian campaign, after which he returned to his family at Stockbridge. During the remainder of the war, he was part of the time at Fort Schuyler and the neighborhood, devoting his services to his country and to the Indians. After the close of the war, (in 1784,) Mr. Kirkland, at the earnest request of the nation, resumed his missionary labors at Oneida, and received some pay for special services rendered during the war. Harvard College rendered him some assistance, and altogether, comfortable provision was made for his support. He was on several occasions employed as an interpreter in the formation of treaties, and every where possessed an influence which could not well be dispensed with.

The summer of 1788 was spent by him in visiting the western nations of the confederacy, as far as Buffalo Creek, the main object of which was to learn their disposition towards the Christian religion, and the prospects of the usefulness of a missionary who might reside among them, and to be present at a treaty to be held in their country.

For his valuable services, Messrs. Phelps and Gorham granted him two thousand acres of land, which they subsequently confirmed by deed, bearing date, April 22d, 1792. This land was located in Ontario County, township No. 7.

In 1790, the State of New York and the Indians, granted to Mr. Kirkland and his sons, in the neighborhood of Oneida,

about four thousand seven hundred and sixty acres of land. During this time, his labors were incessant as a Christian minister. He preached three times on every Lord's day. He held evening and daily conferences during the week, and often visited remote villages of the Indians.

In 1792-3, he projected his "Plan of Education for the Indians, particularly of the Five Nations," in addition to smaller schools, which had previously been in operation. Out of this "Plan," grew the Hamilton Oneida Academy, which was incorporated early in 1793. Soon after the charter was obtained, he endowed the institution with a valuable donation of lands, amounting to several hundred acres, including a lot of about twelve acres, on which a large and commodious building was erected. In 1810, it was elevated to a college, and received liberal additions to its funds from the State of New-York, and the donations of sundry public spirited individuals. Additional buildings have from time to time been erected, and the college has held a reputable rank among the classical institutions of the State. The establishment of this institution of learning, for the mutual benefit of the frontier inhabitants and the Indians, was the last important act of Mr. Kirkland's life. Afterwards, however, so far as strength and health would permit, he continued his missionary labors among the Indians; and, as a citizen, took a lively interest in everything pertaining to the welfare of society, and the rising prosperity of the country. The remaining fifteen years of his life, were marked with peculiar vicissitudes. Ill health, bodily infirmity, pecuniary embarrassments, family bereavements, and many painful events, that may not here be dwelt upon. He was a man of unbounded benevolence and hospitality, and daily supplied the necessities of numbers of his red brethren, from his own board; a custom which, though burdensome and expensive, could not be departed from. He loved the Indians, and by them in turn was he most sincerely beloved.

Among missionaries, there are few who have been more faithful and devoted to the cause of truth, or have made larger sacrifices, exposed themselves to greater perils and hardships,

or had their efforts crowned with a greater measure of success, than the Rev. SAMUEL KIRKLAND, Missionary to the Oneidas.

He lived and acted through a most interesting period of our history, was identified with many important events and transactions, was well known, and his worth appreciated by most of the great men of his time, and sunk to his rest amidst the regrets and lamentations of his countrymen.

He departed this life on the 28th of February, 1808, in the 78th year of his age, after a short but severe illness.

His remains were conveyed to the village church at Clinton, and after appropriate services, which were conducted by Rev. Dr. Norton, they were deposited in a private grave near his dwelling, where they still await the summons which shall cause the sea and the earth to give up their dead. On one side lie the remains of his widow and a daughter, and on the other, those of the venerable Skenandoah.

If the character of a man may be estimated by the good he does to his fellow men, by the privations he endures in their behalf, by the blessings he confers upon them, by the labor he performs in the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom, then the character of Mr. Kirkland stands preeminent. He stands forth a shining example to youth, a noble precedent to manhood, and a profitable model for old age.

Mr. Kirkland was the intimate friend of the Rev. Samsen Oecum, a thoroughly educated Indian, who was ordained a minister by the Suffolk Presbytery, on Long Island, in 1759. He came to Oneida from Long Island with a party one hundred and ninety-two Montauks and Shinecocks, among the Stockbridge and Brothertown Indians, as a missionary in 1786, and was eminently useful as a preacher of the Gospel among the simple sons of the forest. Mr. Oecum was the first red man educated by the celebrated Rev. Dr. Wheelock at his Moore Charity School at Lebanon. Mr. Oecum left this school in 1742, and for several years was engaged as a teacher among the Long Island Indians, to whom he was greatly endeared. He passed the early part of his life on

Long Island, the place of his nativity. After his ordination he was sent to England, by Dr. Wheelock, in company with Mr. Whitaker, to solicit benefactions for a college. The appearance of Mr. Occum in England, excited strong sensations in the minds of all intelligent people, particularly the pious and benevolent. Benefactions were solicited with a success which greatly outran the most sanguine expectations. Among the patrons to the proposed college, were the King, and many persons of rank and distinction; a large sum of money was collected and forwarded to America, where others contributed liberally to swell the amount. He often preached to very crowded houses, and was the first Indian clergyman who had ever visited that country. In those days, it was considered a great novelty. The noblest chapels in the kingdom were open to him, and even the pulpit of the great Whitefield, was filled with acceptance. After his return, he labored in his mission among the Stockbridge and Brothertown Indians, several years, with great success, and even to this day, among the few survivors of his race, his name and memory are held in grateful remembrance. He died in July, 1792, at New-Stockbridge, Madison County, New-York, aged sixty-nine years. Both he and the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, were well acquainted at Onondaga, often visited and occasionally officiated there among the Indians. By the early settlers we have been informed, that Mr. Kirkland, on several occasions, preached to them in their dwellings and in their barns, and was probably the first Protestant Clergyman who ever officiated in our county.

Bishop Hobart's establishment of a mission at Oneida, in 1816 :—

In 1816, Mr. Eleazar Williams was selected to take charge of this important mission. He was a son of Thomas Williams, who was a distinguished chief of the St. Regis branch of the Mohawk nation, and a descendant of the Rev. John Williams, of Deerfield, Mass., who with his family and parishioners was taken captive at the sacking of his native town, by the French and Indians, in 1704.

Mr. Eleazar Williams had received a liberal education for the purpose of being useful as a missionary among his people, and was appointed by Bishop Hobart and the committee of the Protestant Episcopal Church, for propagating the gospel in the State of New-York, a catechist, lay-reader and school master, to the Oneida nation. He had been educated in a different communion, (Presbyterian,) but connected himself with the Protestant Episcopal Church, from conviction. Mr. Williams arrived at Oneida Castle, and entered on his duties, 23d of March, 1816. One large portion of the Oneidas had previously adhered firmly to the religion of their fathers, and had always been denominated in business transactions, the "*Pagan party of the Oneida nation.*"

Mr. Williams, in taking upon himself this new responsibility, felt it a duty first incumbent upon him, to prepare a translation of portions of the Holy Scriptures, the Liturgy, and other devotional portions of the Common Prayer Book, into a language they could more easily understand than the English. This, in due time he effected, by following Brant's translations of the Gospels and Prayer Book of the church of England, which were altered and amended to suit the circumstances of the case.

It is worthy of remark, that these translations of Brant's, of the Gospels and Prayer Book, are to this day in use, as devotional books, with some trifling alterations, among all the tribes of the Six Nations, even among those who are not Episcopalians.

At this period, a large portion of the Oneidas, resolved to throw off at once and forever, their idolatries and pagan practices, and embrace Christianity.

The following communication to the Governor De Witt Clinton, will show with what zeal they were animated in their renunciation of Paganism, and in the embracement of the Christian faith, as well as the success of Mr. Williams' exertions.

"May it please your Excellency—we, the chiefs and principal men, of that part of the Oneida nation of Indians, heretofore known and distinguished as the "*Pagan Party*",

in the name of the said party beg leave to address your Excellency, on a subject, which we hope will be as pleasing to your Excellency, as it is to us. We no longer own the name of *Pagan*. We have abandoned our idols and our sacrifices, and have fixed our hopes on our Blessed Redeemer. In evidence of this assertion, we here tender to your Excellency, sincerely and unequivocally, our abjuration of Paganism and its rites, and take the Christian's God to be our God, and our only hope of salvation.

We believe in God, the creator and preserver of all things. As omniscient and omnipresent, most gracious and most merciful. We believe in Jesus Christ, that he is the Son of God, the Saviour of the world, the Mediator between God and man, and that all must believe in him, and embrace him in order to obtain salvation. We believe in God, the Sanctifier and Comforter of all the children of men. We believe in a general resurrection and a future judgment, in which all mankind shall be judged according to their works. We believe the Scriptures to be the word of God, and that in them are contained all things necessary to man's salvation.

We present to your Excellency this abstract of our faith, in order to demonstrate the impropriety of our any longer retaining the name of Pagans. We trust, that through the mercy of God, we have abandoned the character of Pagans; let us also abandon the name.

We, therefore, request your Excellency, that in all future transactions with this State, we may be known as "*The second Christian Party of the Oneida Indians.*"\* and we pray that your Excellency will take such means as may be necessary

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\* "*The (First) Christian Party,*" was that portion of the Oneidas who had been under the teachings of the Rev. Samuel Kirkland; but who were at this period under the guidance of the Rev. Mr. Jenkins. At the time of Mr. Williams' first appearance at Oneida, the mission was in a languishing condition, and those adhering to Mr. Jenkins, constituted about one-tenth of the nation. Mr. Williams at once addressed the Oneidas in their own language, and with this advantage was successful in gaining the affections and confidence of a large portion of the people, which very soon had the effect to draw away from Mr. Jenkins, those who were favorably disposed to Christianity.

and proper, to cause us to be recognized in future by that name. And in the name of the most Holy Trinity, we do here sign ourselves, your Excellency's most sincere friends.

Done in general council, at Oneida, this 25th day of January, A. D., 1817."

The following Indians subscribed to the above, each one making his mark:—

Cornelius Othaesheat,	Peter Sauthecaleos,
Arius Tehoraniogo,	Nicholas Garongontie,
John Cahellius,	Moses Schuyler,
Jacob Atoni,	Wm. Tegarentotashon,
Wm. Toniateshen,	Wm. Tehoratatshe,

Peter Tewaserteshe.

Mr. Williams pursued his vocation with a well tempered zeal, and with a desirable degree of success. Devotional books in the Indian language, were placed in the hands of these devoted children of the forest, and several of the youth made very respectable proficiency in learning to read them, so that in due time the devotions and responses of the Church, were made with great order and propriety. Several of them became familiar with the English language, and wrote letters to the Governor of the State, and to the Bishop of the Diocese, which were highly creditable to their scholarship. The style of these, is marked with peculiar simplicity, as the following extract of an address, written by a young Indian, a communicant in the Church, to the Bishop, will show:

"Right Reverend Father—we salute you in the name of the ever blessed and ever living sovereign Lord of the universe. We acknowledge this Great and Almighty Being, as our Creator, Preserver and continual Benefactor. Right Reverend Father, we rejoice that we now, with one heart and one mind, would express our gratitude and thankfulness to our venerable Father, for the favor he has bestowed on this nation, viz: in sending Brother Williams among us, to instruct us in the religion of the Blessed Jesus. We hail him as our friend and brother, and our guide in spiritual things, and he

shall remain in our hearts and minds as long as he shall teach us in the ways of the Great Spirit above.

Right Reverend Father—we beseech you not to neglect us. We hope the Christian people of New-York will help us all that is in their power. We hope our brethren will by no means withdraw from us. If this should take place, the cause of Religion will die among us, immorality and wickedness will prevail.

Right Reverend Father—as the head and father of the Holy Apostolic Church, in this State, we entreat you to take a special charge of us. We are ignorant, we are poor, and need your assistance. Come, venerable Father, and visit your children, and warm their hearts by your presence in the things which belong to their everlasting peace.

May the Great Head of the Church, whom you serve, be with you, and his blessing ever remain with you.

We, venerable Father, remain ever your dutiful children.”

Signed by the following chiefs and head men of the nation:

Hendrick Schuyler,	Moses Schuyler,
Silas Anosente,	Hestael Peters,
William Tehoiatate,	William Schuyler,
Daniel Peters,	Abraham Schuyler,
Nicholas Garongontie,	Stoffe Schuyler,
William Sonawenhese,	Hendrick Schuyler, Jr.,

William Tewagarate.

Done at Oneida, the 19th day of January, A. D., 1818.

The Bishop answers them in a style of the most unaffected love and simplicity, which shows the benevolence of his heart, and the tender regard he cherished for this portion of his flock.

The address may be found at large, in the Christian Journal of February, 1818, and is highly characteristic of that eminent Prelate.

On Sunday, the 13th of September, 1818, the Right Reverend Bishop Hobart, visited the Oneida Indians for the purpose of administering the sacraments and ordinances of the Church. On this occasion the morning prayer was read in their own language. The Indians present joined in the

services with great solemnity and devotion, and many of them repeated the responses. The Bishop addressed them, and his address was interpreted by Mr. Williams, who also interpreted to them the various offices of baptism, confirmation and the Lord's supper, which rites the Bishop administered. Twenty-four children were baptized, eighty-nine young persons (Indians) were confirmed, and twenty-four received the holy communion. None were confirmed but those who had been thoroughly instructed, and felt a willingness to resume their baptismal obligations by living a righteous and godly life. The services at this visitation of the Bishop, are represented by eye-witnesses as peculiarly affecting. The place of worship was filled to overflowing; all present were deeply affected with the solemnity, reverence and devotion, with which the young, the middle aged, and the grey haired, joined in the confessions, supplications, prayers and praises to the Redeemer, and with the solemn attention with which they listened to the instructions and exhortations of the Bishop, and the humility and thankfulness evidenced by their prostration on their knees and by the tears which flowed down the cheeks of several who devoted themselves in the Apostolic "laying on of hands" to the God who made them, and the Saviour who shed his blood for them.

The clergy present were some of them so affected that they could not remain to witness the scene, and retired to give vent to their feelings in prayers of thankfulness and in tears. The Bishop remarks that "the Oneidas amount to above one thousand souls, and it must afford high pleasure to every benevolent mind to hear that the labors of Mr. Williams, under the authority of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this State, for the spiritual improvement of his unfortunate countrymen, are thus attended with the divine blessing."

The *second Christian party*, in 1818, sold a piece of their land to the State of New York for the express purpose of raising funds for building a Church edifice, from which sale about four thousand four hundred dollars was realized.

This edifice, a chapel, was completed the following year,

under the supervision of Mr. Williams, and consecrated by Bishop Hobart 21st September, 1819, under the title of St. Peter's Church. This congregation of Christian Oneidas, with their new and neat Church, became a great favorite with Bishop Hobart, and the pride of the Church in New York, and the praises of Mr. Williams were lauded in all the Churches.

At this visit the Bishop confirmed fifty-six, and baptized two adults and forty-three children of the Oneida nation. Rev. Daniel Nash, in his report for 1821, says: "In the month of May last I visited the Church at Oneida, and with pleasure can testify to the excellent order observed. In no congregation, although I have seen many solemn assemblies, have I beheld such deep attention, such humble devotion." He, in company with the Rev. Dr. Orderson of the English Church, baptized fifty children and five adults of the Oneida nation.

Mr. Williams was succeeded by Mr. Solomon Davis, in 1822, to the charge of the Oneida mission, Mr. Williams having, with a large portion of the Oneidas, removed to Green Bay, where was established a mission under the auspices of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The Church at Oneida progressed under the ministrations of Mr. Davis, who for several years acted in the capacity of lay-reader and catechist. The Government of the United States appropriated five hundred dollars for the support of a school among the Oneidas, and two hundred dollars for the purpose of aiding in the erection of a suitable school house. The school was conducted by Mr. Davis, and during his stay at Oneida was regularly attended by a respectable number of children, and numbers were yearly added to the Church by baptism and confirmation.

On the 18th of June, 1826, Mr. Eleazar Williams was ordained a Deacon, by Bishop Hobart, at Oneida Castle, at which time addresses were interchanged between the Bishop and Mr. Williams, and between the Bishop and the Indians,

which, although highly interesting, are too long for insertion here. (See Christian Journal.)

The Bishop, in his annual visitations, visited the Oneida Church, and was always most cordially received by his red brethren. They became extremely attached to him, and always treated him with great reverence and respect.

One of these visits is thus described by an eye-witness of the scene :

On the 21st of June, 1827, information having been previously given of the Bishop's intended visit, a party of fifty or sixty Indians, on horseback, with their chiefs and interpreter, came out about four miles to meet him and escort him to the chapel.\* This was a novel and gratifying spectacle, and the groups of Indian women and children that might be seen hurrying across the fields towards the church, as the procession approached, added much to the interest of the scene. On arriving at the house of worship, the Bishop and Clergy took their stations, when the services commenced, with a few verses, translated into Indian, from the Psalms of David, sung by about one hundred natives in the gallery, joined by those below. After the usual services, which were conducted in English, and translated by an interpreter into Indian, the holy rite of confirmation was administered to *ninety-seven* native Indians, and about fifty partook of the sacrament of the Lord's supper. The confirmations among the Oneidas, including some Onondagas, by Bishop Hobart, from first to last, exceeded five hundred persons, many of whom continued faithful to the end, and more than twice that number were baptized on various occasions by different members of the Church.

On the 14th of September, 1829, Mr. Solomon Davis was admitted to the holy order of Priests. That he might the better be enabled to administer all the ordinances of the gospel

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\* This practice of escorting the Bishop to the place of public worship on horseback, is still continued at the Oneida Reserve Mission, near Nashota, Wisconsin, as we are informed by a communication from the missionary, Rev. J. Lloyd Breck.

to them, it was deemed expedient to ordain him to this office, for which purpose several of the Clergy attended with the Bishop, and joined in the imposition of hands. He was admitted to the order of Deacons the summer previous, at Christ Church, Manlius.

Mr. Davis continued with his flock at Oneida, with undiminished success, till 1833, when the remaining portion of the Oneidas removed to Green Bay; consequently this interesting mission was broken up, their lands at Oneida were sold, and at present there are but few (about one hundred and fifty) of the nation remaining at that place, and there is no Protestant Episcopal Church Mission among them.

The church edifice which belonged to the Indians was sold in 1840, and removed to Vernon, where it is now occupied by the Unitarians.

The mission at Green Bay has since been continued with moderate success, many of the Indians having become Christian. It has been an interesting field of labor. The congregation, as well as the nation, is said to be increasing in numbers, and in the arts and virtues of civilized life.

In 1834 or '35, the Rev. Richard F. Cadle, with great self-denial, sought out the Oneidas and gave them a year's most faithful labor. Under his efforts the waste places of their little Zion were repaired, and many wandering members were brought back to the fold. By many of the nation his services were unappreciated, although the communicants regarded him with the most tender affection.

From the avails of the sale of a parcel of their lands to the United States, in 1838, a neat church and parsonage have been erected, and the mission, in other respects, placed on a respectable footing. Mr. Davis continued his services up to 1847, since which the Rev. Franklin Haff has had charge of the mission.

Missionary operations among the Onondagas:—

The first person connected with the Protestant Episcopal Church, who called the attention of the Onondagas to the subject of religion, was Mr. Eleazar Williams, lay-reader, catechist

and school-master among the Oneidas. By the request of several of the Onondaga chiefs, he visited the nation first, on 31st of March, 1816. *Extract from his journal.* "Reached this village (Onondaga) about ten o'clock this morning, and came thither by the special invitation of the principal chiefs and people, by whom I was received with much kindness. They gave me no time to refresh myself, but hurried me to their council house, 'to hear' as they said '*the words of Him who dwells in the Heavens.*' "

Mr. Williams, on this occasion, addressed them on the subject of repentance, and the perfections of God, held several conferences at their houses, and all seemed anxious and concerned for their salvation. He at this time spent several days among them, and received many encouragements of repentance among his brethren, the Onondagas. During this year, and afterwards, Mr. Williams made frequent visits to Onondaga, exhorting them publicly, and from house to house. Being master of their own language, he was listened to with great attention, and his labors attended with success.

In another part of his journal, Mr. Williams remarks: "In my first visit to Onondaga, I attempted to ascertain whether the fruits of the labors of the Father Jesuits, could be traced among them, but I could find none."

Again he says, "What little they know of the Christian faith, they received it from the noted and pious missionary, Rev. Samuel Kirkland." Again: "In 1816, they had no idea that they had ever been taught by a Jesuit missionary."

\*In the year 1816, the Rev. Timothy Clowes, Rector of St. Peter's Church, Albany, was requested by the Indians to pay them a visit. He did so, in company with Mr. Williams, who acted as his interpreter, on the 18th day of July, preaching to attentive congregations, and administering the sacraments. He baptized *eleven* children among the Onondagas. They expressed their thanks for the instruction given, the

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\* MS. of Rev. Henry Gregory, D. D., and the Journals of Diocesan Convention.

attentions paid to them, and requested the clergy of the church to visit them as often as circumstances would allow. Most of the Pagans attended these meetings. In July, 1817, the Onondagas were again visited by the Rev. William A. Clark, accompanied by Mr. Eleazar Williams of Oneida, and the Rev. Mr. Gear. In the opinion of Mr. Clark, one-half the tribe was friendly to Christianity, and acquainted with the elementary principles of the Gospel. Even the Pagan portion of them did not refuse to hear. Baptism was administered by Mr. Clark, to *fifteen*, and by Mr. Gear, to *four* or *five*. Mr. Gear continued to visit frequently, and preach among the Onondagas, so long as he lived at "the Hill." After the church edifice was completed at Onondaga Hill, the Indians frequently came there to the public worship, and sometimes brought their children to be baptized in the presence of the congregation. Several couples were also married publicly in the church.

On one occasion at their village, four or five (and one a principal chief) who had been baptized by the Romanists at St. Regis, signified their wish to leave that church, and make a new profession of Christianity. Mr. Gear having instructed them as well as possible through an interpreter, in the true principles of the Gospel and the worship of God, and having required of them to assume their promises and vows imposed in the baptismal service, received them with several others whom he baptized. This was done on a raised platform, in the presence of the whole nation, and the scene was one of the deepest solemnity and interest. These persons were subsequently confirmed at Oneida, on some of those occasions when Bishop Hobart visited the Indian Church.

It was at the instance of Mr. Gear, that a school was opened among the Onondagas, by one of their own people. Mary Doxtator, a Stockbridge by birth, was taken when young by some Quakers, to Philadelphia, and educated in all domestic duties. After she returned to her people, she was married to an Oneida, a Pagan, and who opposed all her efforts to be useful among them. After his death, however, and when left

with the care of three children, she opened a school of industry at Oneida, and taught the Indian women to sew and spin, and weave blankets and coverlets. There Mr. Gear became acquainted with her, and induced her to attempt the same thing among the Onondagas. This she did in the year 1820, and with considerable success. She was baptised and admitted to the Holy communion, and brought her children to baptism. Her house was a pattern of neatness and order—her example was that of a woman deeply imbued with Christian temper and principles, and the white people of her acquaintance gave her both their esteem and assistance. She died two or three years after the opening of her school among the Onondagas.

We possess no other evidence of Episcopal Church missions among the Onondagas, except those before named in the biographical notice of La Fort, although they frequently at Oneida attended the ministrations of Mr. Eleazar Williams and Mr. Solomon Davis, and took much pains to attend whenever Bishop Hobart officiated there, to whom they were particularly attached.

After the departure of Mr. Gear, it seemed there was no person in the ministerial office of the Protestant Episcopal Church, who was specially charged with this business, or who by habit or inclination was qualified for the peculiar duties of a missionary among these singular and benighted people. The consequence was, that for several years they were without religious instruction.

Methodist Mission at Oneida and Onondaga, 1829:—

The first religious society of the Methodist Episcopal Church established at Oneida, was in 1829, by the Rev. Dan Barnes, and was composed of twenty-four Indian members. At this time, also, Indian exhorters were appointed at Oneida to visit the Onondagas, which they did under the direction and superintendance of ministers located at Oneida. It was impossible to make any direct approaches to the Onondagas, on account of their hostility to the plan.

But all missionary operations were carried on at this time,

in a secret manner unknown to the Pagan party, at private houses of the Indians.

For a period of twelve years, this people were only visited occasionally by licentiates, exhorters and local preachers. The head men of the nation were opposed to the erection of a church and schools, and it was not till 1841, when the Rev. Rosman Ingals was appointed a missionary at Oneida and Onondaga, that any thing like a regularly organized society was formed at Onondaga. At this time there were but nine members. On the first of January, 1842, for the first time the holy communion was administered after the forms and order of the Methodist Episcopal Church, at the Onondaga Castle, and from the first of August of this year, the Onondagas enjoyed the services of the Methodist Church, a Sunday once in four weeks, and the Oneidas the remaining three Sundays of the month. These services were conducted by Rev. Rosman Ingals, and the substance communicated to the natives through an interpreter. During the year 1842, the natives procured and fitted up a building formerly occupied as a dwelling, so as to answer very well as a substitute for a church. In this building meetings were regularly held till 1846, at which time the new school house was built, after which meetings were held in it. Mr. Ingals continued his labors once in four weeks, and Indian exhorters in the intermediate Sundays, and occasionally on week days, till August, 1846, when the Rev. Daniel Fancher took charge of the mission, and meetings were held at Onondaga, three Sundays in each month, and one Sunday at Oneida, thereby reversing the order of things. The reason why these missions have never been separated is because the Onondagas have never yet till now, been strong enough to sustain themselves without the assistance of the Oneidas, who are by far the most susceptible of religious impressions and improvement.

Henry Jones, David Hill and his son, are among the first fruits of this mission, and bid fair to continue faithful to the end. After the commencement of Mr. Faneber's ministration, the number of communicants rapidly increased, so that

at the present time there are not less than sixty who receive regularly the bread of life. A new and commodious church was erected during the summer of 1848, which cost a trifle over one thousand dollars, which sum was raised by donations from individuals of the Methodist Society, the Indians contributing, by materials and labor, about one hundred and twenty dollars. The missionary has had a laborious task in bringing this work to a favorable termination, constantly superintending the whole, and doing much labor with his own hands. It was consecrated with appropriate services Oct. 12th, 1848.

At Oneida a Methodist church was built in 1841, and was owned by the Indians; when their lands were sold in 1843, the church was sold with them, and in 1844, another church was erected by the benefactions of the Indians and whites, and is owned by the Methodist Episcopal Society.

This mission, with the one at Oneida, is considered in a prosperous condition, and it is thought they will each be able soon to sustain themselves.

Indian School. For several years a portion of the Onondagas have manifested a willing disposition to profit by the advantages of schools. Several have been persuaded to avail themselves of the opportunities which have at times presented themselves, and sent their children to the district schools of the whites, contiguous to their reservation.

In the year 1845, a very respectable young lady, Miss Mary Hitchcock, was induced to open a school on the reservation, exclusively for Indian children. Her efforts were unwearied, and attended with a measure of success; so much so that the patrons of the school (it being supported mainly if not entirely by benevolent individuals) thought the experiment a successful one. From twenty to forty Indian children usually attended with commendable regularity, who, considering the disadvantages they labored under, made very respectable proficiency. She boarded herself, and the school was kept in the building occupied as a church.

Through the instrumentality of sundry benevolent individuals, who appreciated the necessities of the red men, and who

were desirous also of improving their mental condition, a plan was set on foot for the purpose of procuring for them a school exclusively their own. With this kind intention, during the winter of 1845-6, petitions were circulated in various parts of the county, asking the Legislature to grant a sum of money, to enable them to erect a suitable school house, and employ a teacher. The petition was favorably received, and in April, 1846, an act was passed authorizing the agent of the Onondaga Indians, by consent of the chiefs of the Onondaga nation, to cause to be built and furnished, a suitable and sufficient school house on the Onondaga Reservation, at an expense not exceeding three hundred dollars.

The sum of two hundred and fifty dollars annually, was also appropriated for the term of five years, for the payment of teachers' wages, and other expenses of maintaining said school.

The following season a suitable and well arranged school house was completed, under the direction of the Indian agent, and a numerous body of citizens attended its dedication, among whom were several clergymen of different denominations from the adjacent villages. The services on this occasion, were of a highly interesting character. A school was commenced under very favorable auspices, and promised all that its most devoted friends could anticipate. A competent teacher, Mr. L. B. Whitecomb, was employed, who for a time kept up the interest at first excited. Few persons can realize the disadvantages and discouragements which present themselves in a purely Indian school. Not a single family uses the English language in their intercourse among themselves or neighbors. The children only learn it at a more advanced age in their communications with the whites; consequently the teacher meets in the beginning, pupils who cannot understand perhaps a word he utters. A new language is to be learned, new ideas formed, new objects present themselves, and the relish for application is soon lost, after the novelty which new scenes at first present, has died away. So far as they can learn by observation and imitation, many of the pupils make respectable proficiency. Hence, in drawing and in

mental arithmetic, as solved on the black-board, in vocal music, &c., they exhibit talent and progress not unequal to white pupils having the same amount of instruction. One of the greatest causes of embarrassment to the teacher is lack of attendance on the part of pupils. The parents do not, in all instances, require or compel their children to attend school, and they having little to attract them there, are of themselves, in many instances, unwilling to submit to the confinement or discipline necessary to good order and improvement, so that many only occasionally attend. Of the forty or fifty children who are of suitable age, and ought to attend school, not one half that number ordinarily avail themselves of the benefits so favorably presented.

It requires great patience and equanimity of temper successfully to conduct a school composed entirely of Indian children. It is well known that the system of domestic government is very loose among them. Children are seldom checked or restrained at home; they become restless by confinement at school, and often feel as if the restraints there imposed upon them were irksome and unnecessary, consequently they must, from the peculiarities of their case, be far behind those who are instructed in their native language, in lessons of obedience to teachers, and in the rudiments with which they are easily made familiar. The efforts which are at present making are attended with a degree of success. But in order to have them completely successful a change will have to be wrought in their manners, customs and language.

The district officers are of the Indians, assisted by the agent, town superintendant and teacher, who manage the school affairs with credit to themselves, and for the benefit of the nation. For the last year, April, 1849, Rev. Rosman Ingals has had charge of the school. The Pagan party do not give their cordial support to the measure, and until there is more unanimity of sentiment, the subject of education will not reach the elevated position anticipated by its friends.

## CHAPTER VIII.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE ONONDAGAS, AND INCIDENTALLY  
THAT OF THE SIX NATIONS.

BARBARITIES OF THE IROQUOIS CAPTAINS, COMPARED WITH HEROES OF ANCIENT AND MODERN TIMES—NOTICES OF THE ONONDAGAS, BY EARLY HISTORIANS—FIRST INTERCOURSE OF THE IROQUOIS WITH THE FRENCH—ARRIVAL OF MONS. CHAMPLAIN—HIS VISIT TO ONONDAGA IN 1615—OF MONS. DE TRACI WITH COLONISTS AND SOLDIERS—EARLY CENSUS OF THE IROQUOIS—M. DE LA BARRE—MARQUIS DE NONVILLE—INVASION OF MONTREAL BY THE IROQUOIS IN 1688—GREAT DISTRESS OF THE FRENCH—DEPUTATION FROM NEW-ENGLAND TO THE IROQUOIS—DE FRONTENAC'S NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE FIVE NATIONS—SIR WILLIAM PHIPPS' EXPEDITION TO QUEBEC—INCURSIONS OF THE FIVE NATIONS TO CANADA, 1690-91—FRENCH ATTACK UPON THE MOHAWKS—NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE—FRENCH PREPARATION FOR AN ATTACK UPON ONONDAGA—THE ATTACK AND DISAPPOINTMENT OF THE FRENCH—WAR CONTINUED—PEACE OF RYSWICK, 1697—ENGLISH NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE FIVE NATIONS.

The two following chapters containing an account of the civil and military history of the Onondagas, and incidentally that of the Five Nations, is taken mainly from Charlevoix, *Historie de Nonville Francais*, Francis Creuxius *Historæ Novæ Franciæ*, Colden's *Five Nations*, Smith's *History of New-York*, Brodhead's *Collection of London Documents*, and Marshall's *Life of Washington*.

Many of the early historians, in describing the character of the Iroquois, set them down as vindictive, cruel and blood-thirsty, without one redeeming quality, or a single human feeling of compassion, virtue, honor or gratitude, and universally stigmatize them, as barbarian and savage; while others, viewing them in a higher light, are lavish in their praise. By

Colden, De Witt Clinton, and others, they have been styled the Romans of America; and the French tourist, Volney, compares them to the ancient Spartans.

“Notwithstanding I have seen much of the savages of America, I persist more firmly in the comparison heretofore made, for I find that the first book of Thucydides, and all that part which gives the customs of the Lacedemonians, proves them in every respect similar to the Five Nations; I do not therefore, hesitate to declare the Spartans to be the Iroquois of the old world.”

Were we strictly to compare the Iroquois with civilized nations, the real difference would not be as wide as at first imagined. It is wonderful how custom and education are able to soften the most revolting actions among learned, polite and Christian people. Whoever attentively reads the history of ancient or modern heroes, will find them little better in many respects than the distinguished war chiefs of the Iroquois. Does Achilles' behavior towards the dead body of the valiant Hector, appear less savage? Does King David's sawing the Amorites in sunder, or harrowing them with harrows of iron, or driving them through burning brick kilns, appear less barbarous? Does the infamous example of Napoleon at Jaffa, appear less horrid, or the murderous scenes on board the British prison ships at New-York, or the quartering and exposure by hanging, of the mutilated body of the valiant King Philip of Mount Hope, appear less revolting, than the most detested acts of Indian barbarity? The horrors of the Inquisition, the auto-de-fe, or the scourgings and burnings of New-England, for opinion's sake, and the sale of helpless Indians to West Indian slavery for sordid gain, are all far beyond the capacity or imagination of Indian refinement in cruelty.

Father Henepin, speaking of the Iroquois, says: Lib. 1, page 17. The Iroquois are an indolent and barbarous people, that has shed the blood of more than two millions of souls, in that vast extended country. They would never cease from

disturbing the repose of the Europeans, were it not for fear of their fire-arms.

Again at Page 23. The Five Cantons or districts of the Iroquois, do inherit, for the most part, the south side of the Lake Ontario. The Mohawks and Oneidas are the nearest neighbors to New-Holland. The Onondagas or those who live in the mountains, are the most warlike people of all those nations. The Cayugas and Senecas, are the most populous of them all. There are also on the north side of the lake, three Iroquois villages, viz.: Tejajagon, Kente and Ganneousse, which is not distant from Frontenae above nine leagues.

Lib. II, page 104, he further says: The Onontagues or Iroquois Highlanders, are more subtle and crafty than the rest. They deliberate maturely upon everything, and endeavor to understand merchandize before they trade for it. *They steal very cleverly.*

Charlevoix in his letters to the Duchess De Lesdiguieres, speaking of the Iroquois, eountry of Onondaga, says:\* All the coast along this eountry, is variegated with garden grounds and highlands, something sandy, and covered with very fine trees, espeecially oak, which appear as if they had been planted by the hand.

A Jesuit Father, P. C. Rageneau, in his Relation, 1657-8, in deseribing the eountry of the Onondagas, remarks: The eountry of the Iroquois, which they oecupied before their eonquest, is situated between the fortieth and fiftieth degrees of north latitude. However, we are ignorant of the extent of their ancient dominion, which has been greatly extended on all sides, by their military valor.

Our demesne (Onondaga) is between the forty-second and forty-third degrees of north latitude, on the shores of the small Lake Genentaha, and would be one of the most splendid locations in the world, not even yielding to the rising grounds

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\* "Toute la Côte dans eet espace est varié de Marais et de Terres hautes un peu sablonneuses eouvertes de tre-beau arbres et surtout de chênes qui semblant avoir été plantes a la main."

of the River Loire, were its inhabitants as polished and affable.

In another place he says, the word which signifies a mountain in the Iroquois language, has given name to the village called Onontac, or as others call it, Onontague, because it is upon a mountain. The people who inhabit it are consequently called Onontaeronnons or Onontagueoronnons.

Charlevoix, Book I, page 270-1, says: Seven or eight leagues west of Oneida, between two beautiful prairies, is situated the canton of Onondaga, contiguous to a beautiful lake, called Genentaha, about which there are many salt fountains, the shores of which are always covered with very fine salt. Two leagues further off, drawing towards the Canton of Cayuga, we find a fountain, the water of which is white as milk, having a very strong odor; which, being put upon the fire, becomes a kind of salt, as acrid as lunar caustic. All this country is charming and well adapted to all kinds of tillage.

Francis Creuxieus, a Jesuit, who wrote a large quarto volume in Latin, which was published in Paris, 1674, entitled a History of Canada and New France, in ten books, to the year 1656. After describing his passage along the shores of the Cadaraqui, (Ontario) he says: Lib. X. page 759, (literally translated) therefore, four days afterwards, with a great company, we were conducted to the place fixed upon for the settlement and abode of the French, four miles distant from where we had first set our foot. It is scarcely possible to find anything naturally more perfect. And if it was aided by art as in France and other parts of Europe, it would not suffer in a comparison with Baïæ.\* A grove of beautiful cedars near the bank of the Lake Genentaha, surrounds on every side an extensive meadow, whither the four principal nations of the Iroquois were able easily to assemble in their canoes, as it were at a centre, and from which in turn there was the most easy access to each of the nations, through the rivers and lakes.

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\* Baïæ, a town of Campania, noted by Cicero for its fertility and warm baths, and as a favorite resort for the Romans, the gardens of which were irrigated with its tepid waters.

The supply of venison compares with the abundance of fish, and that nothing may be wanting, tortoises collect there at the opening of spring, in such great numbers, that they may be taken with a net. Indeed, so great is the supply of fish, that there are said to be fishermen who in the space of a single night, take a thousand eels with a single hook. Two fountains intersect the meadow about one hundred yards from each other. The salt water of the one, furnishes an abundant supply of the best of salt, and the clear pure water of the other, is excellent for drinking, and what is truly wonderful, each bubbles up from the same hill.

While the French admire these things, the Iroquois present a mournful spectacle, which affects us with great grief.

Wentworth Greenhalgh in 1677 made a journey among the Five Nations, and visited their several villages. His journal is preserved among the Brodhead papers and is entitled "Observations of Wentworth Greenhalgh, in a journey from Albany to y'e Indians westward. Begun May 20th, 1677 and ended July y'e 14th following." He thus remarks upon his visit to the country of the Onondagas.

"The Onondagoes have butt one towne, butt itt is very large; consisting of about one hundred and forty houses, not fenced, is situate upon a hill thatt is very large, the banke on each side, extending itt least two miles, all cleared land, whereon the corne is planted. They have likewise a small village about two miles beyond thatt, consisting of about 24 houses. They ly to the southward of y'e west, about 36 miles from the Onyadas. They plant abundance of corne, which they sell to the Onyadas. The Onondagoes are said to be about 350 fighting men. They ly about 15 miles from Tshiroqui."\*

At the time the French commenced the settlement of Canada, in 1603, they found the Iroquois at war with the Adirondacks,

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\* Tshiroqui is mentioned in a preceeding part of the paper, as Lake Teshiroque near the village of the Onyadas, and is evidently Oneida Lake, at the outlet of which was an Indian village of considerable extent.

then the most powerful nation in North America. The Adirondacks had always a contemptible opinion of the Iroquois, who then had settlements in the vicinity of Montreal. The Iroquois were driven from their homes, and took shelter on the banks of the great lakes, where they have since inhabited. As they had been losers in the war, it obliged them to apply themselves more vigorously to the use of arms, in which they daily became more expert. They conquered the Satanas, and adopted the remnant of them. They soon carried the war into the heart of the Adirondacks country, and forced them to leave it, when they settled near where Quebec is now built. Soon after these changes, the French arrived in Canada, and settled at Quebec, and at once thought it advisable to gain the confidence and friendship of the Adirondacks, in whose country they had settled. Mons. Champlain, the first Governor of Canada, joined the Adirondacks in an expedition against the Five Nations. They met a party of two hundred men of the Iroquois, in Corlear's Lake, afterwards called Champlain, and both sides went on shore to prepare for battle. The French kept themselves undiscovered till the battle was joined, when they interfered in favor of their friends; and by the discharge of their fire-arms, surprised the Iroquois, who were soon put to confusion, having never before seen such weapons. This affair it is supposed occurred in 1609.

There is a traditionary account of the wintering of Monsieur Champlain in the country of the Onondagas, based upon the conversations of an old Frenchman, fifty years ago, with Mr. Thomas Wheeler, of Salina. By this it would seem that Champlain, with a party of French and Algonkins, made an attack upon an Iroquois fort, late in autumn, and that the hunting and fishing was so favorable that the party resolved upon spending the winter, and did so, and it was said they did so on the shore of the Onondaga Lake.

In confirmation of this tradition, Mr. O. H. Marshall, in a communication to the N. Y. Historical Society, gives the following, which goes in part to establish the tradition, and which proves conclusively that Monsieur Champlain did visit the

Onondagas as early as 1615: "In the summer of that year, accompanied by an interpreter, one French companion, and ten savages, Champlain embarked from Quebee in two canoes, ascended the Ottawa River, visited the Algonkins and Hurons living near its sources. He had been preceded a few days by ten Frenchmen, well armed, and by a Franciscan Father, Joseph Le Caron, who had gone to found a mission in the Huron country at that early day. Soon after his arrival among those tribes, Champlain was induced to join them in a warlike incursion against the Iroquois, dwelling south of Lake Ontario.

The expedition left in September, 1615, accompanied by Champlain and the armed detachment of the French.

The details which he gives are so meagre that their route cannot easily be traced.

After discovering the lake which perpetuates his memory, and Lake Huron, our bold adventurer and his companions were the first white men who sailed on the waters of Ontario.

The river we descended, says he, entering into the great lake of the *Entouhonorons*, (Lake Ontario.) Proceeding eastward, we crossed the eastern end of the lake, from which flows the River St. Lawrence, we passed large and beautiful islands on the way."

It is supposed the party traversed by a circuitous route the wilderness, from the southern shore of Lake Ontario to Onondaga, crossing the Oneida River at the fishing place, now Fort Brewerton. After crossing this river, they met a party of Iroquois going to the fishing, about four leagues from the fort, of which they were in search. It must, therefore, be concluded that the fort was southerly from this place about four leagues.

The following is Monsieur Champlain's own account as translated by Mr. Marshall, of Buffalo. (See proceedings of N. Y. H. S., March, 1849.)

After describing their passage across the eastern end of Lake Ontario, the substance of which has already been given, the narrative proceeds as follows:—

“After going fourteen leagues in a southerly direction, towards the territories of the enemy, we reached the other side of the lake, and the Indians concealed all their canoes in the woods near its bank. We traveled by land about four leagues, over a sandy plain, where I remarked a very beautiful and pleasant country, watered by many creeks and two small rivers, which emptied into the lake. Besides these were many prairies, and smaller lakes, abounding in game. Beautiful forests and vines, and groves of chestnut trees, bearing a small but agreeable fruit, were also noticed.

All the canoes being thus concealed, we left the lake, which is eighty leagues long and twenty-five broad, and proceeded by land twenty-five or thirty leagues. During four days we crossed a number of streams, and a river issuing from a lake,\* which empties into the lake of the Entouhonons.

This lake, in which are beautiful islands, is twenty-five or thirty leagues in circumference, and is the place where the Iroquois catch their fish, of which there is great abundance.

On the 9th of October, as our Indians were scouting, they met and captured eleven Iroquois who were on their way to their fishery, distant four leagues from their fort. The captives consisted of three men, four women, three boys, and a girl.

The savages commenced the usual torture of the prisoners by cutting off a finger of one of the women. Champlain rebuked the chief who was guilty of the act, and induced him to desist from further cruelty.

On the 10th of October, at 3 P. M., we arrived before the fort of the enemy. Some skirmishing ensued among the Indians, which frustrated our design of not discovering ourselves until the next morning. The impatience of our savages, and the desire they had of witnessing the effects of our fire-arms on the enemy, did not suffer them to wait. When I approached with my little detachment, we showed them what they had never before seen or heard. As soon as they saw us, and

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\* Oneida Lake and its outlet.

heard the balls whistling about their ears, they retired quietly into the fort, carrying with them their killed and wounded. We also fell back upon the main body, having five or six wounded, one of whom died.

The Indians now retired out of sight of the fort, and refused to listen to the advice of Champlain as to the best mode of conducting the siege. He continued to aid them with his men, and in imitation of the more ancient mode of warfare, planned a kind of moveable tower, sufficiently high, when advanced to the fort, to overlook the palisades. It was constructed of pieces of wood placed one upon another, and was finished in one night.

The village, says Champlain, was enclosed by four rows of large interlaced palisades, thirty feet high, near a body of unfailing water. Along these palisades the Iroquois had placed conductors to convey water to the outside, to extinguish fire. Galleries were constructed inside of the palisades, protected by a ball-proof parapet of wood, garnished with double pieces of wood.

When the tower was finished, two hundred of the strongest men advanced it near to the palisades. I stationed four marksmen on its top, who were well protected from the stones and arrows which were discharged by the enemy.

The French soon drove the Iroquois from the galleries, but the undisciplined Hurons, instead of setting fire to the palisades, as directed by Champlain, consumed the time in shouting at the enemy, and discharging harmless showers of arrows into the fort. Without discipline, and impatient of restraint, each one acted as his fancy pleased him. They placed the fire on the wrong side of the fort, so that it had no effect.

When the fire had gone out, they began to pile wood against the palisades, but in such small quantities that it made no impression. The confusion was so great that nothing could be heard. I called out to them, and pointed out, as well as I could, the danger they incurred by their imprudent management, but they heard nothing by reason of the great noise which they made. Perceiving that I should break my head

in calling, that my remonstrances were in vain, and that there were no means of remedying the disorder, I resolved to effect, with my own people, what could be done, and to fire upon those we could discover.

In the meantime, the enemy profited by our disorder. They brought and threw water in such abundance, that it poured in streams from the conductors, and extinguished the fire in a very short time. They continued, without cessation, to discharge flights of arrows, which fell on us like hail. Those who were on the tower, killed and wounded a great number.

The battle lasted about three hours. Two of our chiefs, some headmen, and about fifteen others were wounded.

The unsuccessful issue of the assault, induced the besiegers to think of retiring until they should be joined by a reenforcement of 500 men that was daily expected. Champlain was twice severely wounded with arrows, the first time in his leg, and the second in his knee.

They remained before the Onondaga fort until the 16th day of October, when, in opposition to the remonstrances of Champlain, and their chiefs, they raised the siege, and began their homeward march. Champlain being unable to walk, was placed in a basket of wickerwork, and so doubled up and fastened with cords, that he was unable to move. Thus bound and confined, he was carried by the Indians on their backs for several days. The Iroquois pursued them for half a league, in hopes of cutting off some stragglers, but their arrangements for the retreat were such that they suffered no loss. The wounded were placed in the centre, and the front, rear, and wings were protected by chosen warriors.

When they arrived on the borders of Lake Ontario, they were rejoiced to find their canoes had not been discovered and broken up by the enemy.

Champlain was now desirous of returning to Quebec by way of the St. Lawrence, a route yet untraversed by the white man, but the Indians refused him a canoe and guides. He was thus compelled to accompany them home, and pass a long and dreary winter in the Huron country.

He did not reach Quebec until the following June, where he was received as one risen from the grave,—the Indians having reported his death a long time previous.”

It is thus satisfactorily shown, that this Iroquois fort was on the shore of Onondaga Lake; and, it is highly probable, that it was on the ground subsequently occupied by *Sieur Dupuis* in 1665, and also by *Count Frontenac*, in his expedition against the Onondagas, 1696, and by *Col. Van Schaiek*, in 1779. The locality was always described by the Fathers, as being destitute of trees, and as a place of surpassing beauty.

The Iroquois were delighted with the stratagems of war, and no superiority of force ever made them neglect them. They amused the French and their allies, the Hurons, by sending to the French and desiring peace. The French desired them to receive Jesuit Priests among them, in hopes these prudent Fathers would, by some art, reconcile them to their interest, and engage their affections. The Five Nations readily accepted the offer, and some Priests went along with them. But after they had these in their power, they used them only as hostages, and thereby obliged the French to stand neuter, while they prepared to attack the Adirondacks and Hurons, whom they defeated in a dreadful battle within two leagues of Quebec. This defeat, in sight of the French settlements, struck terror into all their allies, who were at that time very numerous, because their trade with the French furnished them with many of the most useful articles; for, before this time, the Indians had no iron tool among them. The neighboring tribes, the Utawawas, the Nipeccerins and the remnant of Hurons, left their territory, and fled for safety to the remote wilds of the south west, beyond what was thought to be the reach of the Five Nations.

The successes of the Iroquois had so emboldened them, that they gave out, that the following winter they should pay a visit to the Governor of Canada. Under this pretence, they gathered over a thousand men, and set out. But meeting on the way the famous *Piskaret*, a chief of the Adirondacks, they professed only a visit of friendship, and obtained from

him the information that the Adirondaeks were divided into separate parties, engaged in hunting. After learning the location of these parties, and by their address, securing all the information necessary to their success, they murdered the unsuspecting warrior, who had for a long time been a terror and a scourge to the braves of the Five Nations. Thus, at the hands of professed friends, perished one of the bravest chiefs of Indian history. The Five Nations also divided into two parties, and fell upon the unsuspecting Adirondaeks, surprised them, and completely cut them in pieces. This proud and high spirited nation, were now completely conquered and nearly annihilated, by a people they at first contemned. Thus perished the most numerous, haughty, polite and warlike nation, then in North America.

The Five Nations afterwards discovered the retreat of the Hurons and Utawawas, and not having fully glutted their vengeance, soon satisfied their enemies, that no distance could hinder their approach, or time set limits to their master passion. These people being apprized of their approach, silently left this home for another, among the Pottawatomies. The Five Nations pursued, and finally entered into an agreement for peace. This is said to be the first time (1650) the Five Nations had visited these western tribes, who were so much overawed by the presence of these victorious warriors, that many of them left for places of security, further westward, leaving these indomitable braves in quiet possession of their territory.

A new accession was made to the French forces, by the arrival of Mons. De Traci, in June, 1665, with four companies of foot soldiers; and in September of the same year, Mons. Coursel brought with him a regiment of soldiers and several families, with conveniences for the permanent establishment of the colony. Their forces being now considerably augmented, the French Governor feeling his superiority, resolved to chastize the insolence of the Five Nations; and for this purpose, the following winter sent a strong party against the Mohawks, which expedition proved highly disastrous, and

would have proved entirely so, but for the hospitality of the Dutch, who kindly furnished them provisions in their great distress.

The following year, 1666, the whole disposable force of Canada was concentrated with a view of making a descent into the Mohawk country, and if possible to annihilate them. Their march was a bold one, considering the immense dreary forests through which they were compelled to traverse, some eight hundred or a thousand miles. On the approach of this warlike host, the Mohawks retired to the forests, with their women and children, leaving the French the inglorious triumph of burning their hamlets and murdering some of their aged warriors, who preferred to die rather than desert their homes. The ill success of this expedition, lessened in a great degree, the pride and vanity of the French, who had felt sure of an easy conquest of the country. But the fatigue and loss consequent upon so tedious an expedition, without an opportunity of giving battle, made them desirous of peace, which was finally brought about the following year, 1667.

Deposition of William Teller before Lord Belomont, says, that "about the year 1666, the French of Canada came with a large party into the country of the Maquas, and set up there the arms of France, in brass plates, before their castles, but were driven back by a party of Maquas, and would have perished or been destroyed but for the humanity of the Dutch, who were settled at Schenectady."\*

In consequence of the discomfiture of the French, the Five Nations assumed an air of importance not easily stifled. A party of their hunters, some time after, falling in with a party of French, made battle upon them, slew several, and carried one home a prisoner to their own country. Monsieur De Coursel threatened the Five Nations with immediate war, in case they would not yield up the participators in this act of hostile treachery. And the Five Nations, to show their readiness to yield satisfaction, sent Agariata, the captain of the

company that committed the aggression, with some forty others, to beg pardon. But Monsieur Coursel instantly hanged Agariata as an example, before the faces of his countrymen, who returned panic-stricken by this severity of the French. The peace however was maintained for several years without infraction.

In 1672, the subtle Count Frontenac, who was now Governor of Canada, persuaded the chiefs of the Five Nations to allow him to build several forts within their territory, under pretence of stores for merchandize, and the security of his traders. The English and Dutch, on the contrary, prosecuted their measures only by the arts of peace.

In 1677, a census was taken of the Iroquois, by Col. Coursey, an agent of Virginia, which states their warriors to number :

Of the Maquas,	300	Oneidas,	200
Onondagas,	350	Cayugas,	300
Senecas,	1000	Total warriors,	2,150

During the revolutionary war, the British had in their service according to the calculation of a British agent :

Mohawks,	300	Oncidas,	150
Tuscaroras,	200	Onondagas,	300
Cayugas,	230	Senecas,	400
Add those who adhered to the United States,			220
Total warriors,			1800

In 1783, Rev. Samuel Kirkland estimated the warriors at 1900, and the whole population at 6330.

Schoolcraft, in 1845, makes the whole population residing within the State, 3733; add 2000 in Canada, makes 5733 for the whole.

The wars between the English and Dutch, and those between the Five Nations and river Indians, had considerably hindered the trade already favorably begun.

These difficulties, however, were speedily overcome, and peace at length restored in all quarters, which left the English and French at full liberty to prosecute commerce in its greatest latitude, and both did so with great advantage to the

respective colonies. But from what can be gathered, the French were by far the most enterprising and persevering; often pushing their emissaries far beyond where the whites had ever been, they every where spread the fame and splendor of the "*Grand Monarque*." It must be acknowledged that for a long period, the French had a decided superiority over the English in the Indian trade, who in their Indian affairs, always entrusted the chief management to the special care of the Governor and principal officers of the province, whereas the English left it almost entirely to their traders, who were mostly personally interested, and men who had little knowledge of public affairs. The French, with the greatest perseverance, pushed their traders, and built forts for their protection far in the interior. The only opposition they met with was from the Five Nations, who continually allowed the English traders to come among them. The local advantages which the English possessed over the French, caused the latter much alarm, for they plainly foresaw that the English would not only be dangerous rivals, but would be able to undersell them with their goods, thus their trade would become ruined, their labor lost, and the interest destroyed, which had been gained at great expense. The Iroquois carried on war with many of the nations, who yielded a profitable trade to the French, and frequently intercepted supplies of goods and ammunition and converted them to their own use. This in a measure weakened the French power and influence, for they saw clearly that they were not able to protect their allies from injury or insult.

The Senecas always had a peculiar aversion to the French, and could scarcely ever be induced to receive any priests among them. They were consequently more firmly attached to the English, who constantly supplied them with powder, arms, &c. The Governor, De la Barre, for these reasons, made complaint to the English Governor, Dongan, (a professed papist,) of New York, 1684, stating the injuries the Senecas had done the French. To which the principal Seneca sachem returned a spirited reply, vindicating the conduct of

his nation. Monsieur De la Barre, at this time, had gathered the disposable force of Canada, at Cadaraqui. His design was to throw a French army into Onondaga, and thus frighten the Five Nations into terms of his own proposing. This army consisted of nearly two thousand men, including Indian allies, which for that time was a formidable force. While stationed at this place, in the heat of August, his army suffered so much from sickness, fatigue and hunger, that he was completely unable to accomplish any thing, except by treaty. Accordingly, Monsieur De la Barre passed across the lake with as many men as were able to travel, and arrived at the Kaihohage River. The Indians, especially the Mohawks and Senecas, had little inclination to treat, while the Onondagas, Oneidas and Cayugas, over whom the resident Jesuits held considerable influence, were more favorably inclined. Although strict alliance and friendship existed between the two crowns, still the English, seeing it much to their advantage, advised the Five Nations not to be influenced by the French. It was at this council, held at Kaihohage, that De la Barre, on the part of the French, and the famous Garangula, on the part of the Five Nations, carried on one of those remarkable debates which sometimes so effectually brings out the character of the diplomatists of sovereign nations. The firmness of Garangula very much frustrated the plans of the French, who had calculated upon the easy control of affairs, and of managing things entirely in their own way.

On the 2d of August, 1684, the Onondaga and Cayuga sachems made proposals to the Governor of New York asking permission to be taken under the protection of the King, stating that they were willing to grant to him their lands on the Susquehanna River to prevent the colonists of Pennsylvania from settling on them, and to protect themselves against the French.\*

The following is the speech of the Onondaga chief Dekanissora, on the occasion :†

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\* London Documents, vol. 4, p. 182.

† Ibid vol. 5, p. 107.

“Brother Corlear—Your saehem is great and we but a small people. When the English came to Manhattas, that is New York, Aragiske, which is now called Virginia, and Jaquokrandgare, called Maryland, they were but a small people and we a great people, and finding they were a good people, we gave them land and treated them civilly; and now since you are a great people and we but a small, you will protect us from the French, which if you do not, we shall lose all our hunting and beavers, and the French will have them, and be angry with us for bringing them to you.

Brethren—We have put all our land and ourselves under the protection of the great Duke of York, the brother of your great saehem. We have given the Susquehanna River, which we won with the sword for this government, and desire that it may be a branch of that great tree that grows here, whose top reaches to the sun, under whose branches we shall shelter ourselves from the French or any other people, and our fire burn in your houses, and your fire burn with us, and we desire that it always may be so, and will not that any of your Penn’s people shall settle on the Susquehanna River, for our young folks and soldiers are like wolves in the wood, as your sachems of Virginia know, we having no other lands to leave to our wives and children.

We have put ourselves under the protection of the great saehem, Charles, that lives over the great lake, and we give you two white dressed deer skins, to be sent to the great saehem, Charles, that he may write upon them, and put a great red seal upon them. That we do put the Susquehanna River above the Washiata or falls, and all the rest of our land, under the great Duke of York, and no one else. Our brethren, his servants, were as fathers to our wives and children, and did give us bread when we were in need of it, and we will neither join ourselves or our lands to any other government than his, and we desire that Corlear, the Governor, may send over to your great saehem, Charles, that dwells over the great lake, with this belt of wampum-peag, and another smaller belt for the Duke of York, his brother, and we give a beaver to

Corlear to send over this proposition ; and your great man of Virginia, (meaning the Lord Effingham, Governor of Virginia,) we let you know that great Penn did speak to us here in Corlear's house, by his agents, and desired to buy the Susquehanna River ; but we would not hearken to him, nor come under his government, and therefore desire you to be witness of what we now do, and that we have already done, and tell your friend that lives over the great lake, we know that we are a free people, uniting ourselves to what sachem we please, and do give you one beaver skin to establish it."

The Marquis De Nonville succeeded De la Barre in the government of Canada, in 1685 ; having brought with him from France, a considerable reenforcement, he resolved to recover the fading honor of his nation. The Five Nations still continued the war with many of the tribes who had placed themselves under the protection of the French. They were encouraged in these predatory excursions, by the English, who bought their furs, the other nations selling theirs to the French. In order to divert the Five Nations, the French arranged another expedition in May, 1687. For this purpose they repaired the fort at Cadaraqui, and supplied it with provisions. The whole disposable force of Canada was gathered at Montreal, consisting of fifteen hundred men and five hundred Indians. Orders were then sent to Mackinaw, to assemble as many as possible at that post, when the whole were to move on to Niagara in order to make an attack upon the Senecas. A large force of French and Indians were here congregated, and the Five Nations being informed of these mighty preparations, used every exertion to give the enemy a warm reception. They sent to Albany for ammunition, and were liberally supplied by the English. In the mean time, the French attacked and destroyed two small settlements of the Five Nations, situated near the Cadaraqui Fort, destroying their prisoners by torments, who all the while upbraided the French for their perfidy. It was on account of the strong attachment existing between the Senecas and English, that the French by this expedition, determined to chastize them. The party from the

west met M. De Nonville's party at Ierundequat. Here the French erected a fort, where four hundred men were left to guard the baggage and canoes. The sole object of the expedition, was to stop the English trade. The French proceeded to search out the villages of the Senecas, and coming near their principal settlement, about seven leagues from Ierundequat, found it entirely deserted. Whereupon they concluded to try and overtake the women and children, and make them prisoners, thinking thereby to accomplish their object by treaty.

During their march to the Seneca towns, they had passed a body of Senecas, who lay in ambush near where the French had passed. The French finding no traces of them, for a while concluded all had fled beyond their reach; but suddenly, while on their march, they were attacked by a large body of Senecas, who loudly raised the war cry, and discharged their firearms with deadly effect upon the French, who were thrown into complete disorder; and, had it not been for the friendly Indians, they would probably have been irrecoverably routed. Their loss as it was, amounted to over one hundred slain. The Senecas lost about eighty. The French commander, De Nonville, was very much disappointed in this unexpected turn in affairs, and his men meeting so bold a reception, could hardly be persuaded to renew the attack. Having taken time to rest, M. De Nonville concluded to march on and burn the Senecas' village; but on their arrival, they found it in ashes, and not an enemy to be seen, except two aged warriors, who, like devoted martyrs to their country's glory, died heroically under the most excruciating torments inflicted by the French. They also destroyed a few hamlets that fell in their way, and much corn in the fields. After these exploits, they returned to the banks of the lake, where the little garrison had been left, and proceeded to Niagara. Before the French left for home, they erected a strong fort at Niagara, and left a garrison of one hundred men, and eight months provisions. Upon the breaking up of this armament, the western Indians returned thanks to the French General, for establishing so strong a fort for their protection against the Five Nations,

and both mutually pledged themselves not to make peace with them. The garrison of which we have just spoken, was soon so closely besieged by the warriors of the Five Nations, that they all perished of hunger, except seven or eight, who escaped through the interference of some of the western Indians. The French gained nothing but shame and disappointment through the whole of this affair; and to make a show, and to keep up appearances, sent thirteen of the Iroquois whom they had formerly surprised at Cadaraqui, to France, as trophies of their victories, and to the everlasting disgrace of the French, they were placed in the galleys as rebels against a Christian king. From this bold irruption of the French into the strongest hold within their borders, the Five Nations had just cause of alarm, and the Onondagas made the following proposition to their ancient ally, the Mayor of Albany:

Dekanissora speaker—We have heard that the French are going to make war upon us. We have been to Cadaraqui and taken some prisoners. We have not seen the Maquas. We desire of His Excellency to send for our fort at Onondaga, six great guns.

The Governor of Cadaraqui desired us to come to him this spring, but we did not go.

We desire to deliver the French prisoners to your Excellency.

The French have a fort at Onyagara, (Niagara.)

The Cayougas and Sinnekes begin to grow faint-hearted because the French are strong.

His Excellency spoke of making a fort, which was proposed to be made at Kajonhare, but we are of opinion, that it would be better to be at Sowego, (Oswego) a place a day's journey from Onondaga. We renew the covenant chain and give a belt of wampum ten deep.

Answer—by Peter Schuyler, Mayor, and Aldermen, who commends them not to go to Canada, or to hearken to the visit of the French Governor; for if you do, says he, you will suffer as have the Senecas. He recommends them to be firm and united, and they will be protected by the English.

He advises them to winter at Catskill, Rooloffe, Johnson's Kill, and other convenient places.

Let none stay at the castles but such as are fit for war. The women and children should be protected.

The Mayor recommends the Five Nations to send one hundred men from the Senecas, fifty from the Cayugas, sixty from the Onondagas, fifty from the Oneidas, and forty from the Maquas, to be at Schenectady this winter, (1787-8) to join the militia, for it is expected the French will come by way of Corlear's Lake. This message was acceptable to the chiefs, who send with joy to acquaint the brethren.

8th February, 1687-8. Col. Dongan, Governor of New York, declares to the chiefs of the Five Nations, that the French shall deliver up all prisoners and goods taken from the Indians, and that he will protect them against all attacks of the French, threatening war if they continue opposed. The French, he declares are the sworn enemies of the Five Nations, and states that they have declared to him that they built the fort at Onyagara to protect themselves from harm against the Five Nations.

He states that an armistice of fifteen months is agreed upon to give time for the two governments to agree upon terms of peace, and proposes to assist them in the prosecution of the war by furnishing men and arms, if the war should be continued.

Answer of the Six Nations to Governor Dongan, through Dekanissora, chief speaker:—

The sachems return thanks for the care of the Governor, and because he resents the acts of the French, and for not hiding any thing from them.

We condemn the claim of the French to any part of our territories, and demand that their forts be speedily demolished.

They have no claim even to Cadaraqui or Mont Royall, nor none of our lands towards the Otowawas, Diondadies, Twichtwicks. They claim title because they burned our cabins and destroyed our corn. If that is a title, we have a title to the whole of Canada, for there we subdued whole nations of

Indians, and demolished their castles, in so much, that great trees grow where they were built.

Our lands have been placed under the protection of the English King, and he must protect them and suffer no encroachments.

We formerly had a friendship for the French, but it was held by the left hand; that is broken off now, and the English have the right hand, fast and firm, and we renew the chain, that it may be firm and lasting.

If the Governor of Canada will not restore the prisoners and goods, we will continue the war. But we leave the whole business with the Governor of New York, and whatever he and the great king agrees to, we stand by, whether peace or war.

The great captain of the Onondagas, called "Canadagegai," (Black Kettle,) was invited in to the house of Madam Toulon and there met Père Valiant, who desired a discourse. And upon what will you discourse, said the captain? Do you speak first. Whereupon the first asked how it was with the Five Nations, and how they were inclined? Why do you ask me how it is with them, when you daily converse with the Governor, who is their head? I should rather ask you how affairs stand, that have been so long in agitation with him, to whom he referred all things, and whose commands we only obey?

The Five Nations were advised by their English allies not to listen to any proposals of peace from the French, and they were promised supplies of arms and ammunition for carrying on the war. But in spite of all the efforts of the English to prevent, the Five Nations continued their wars with the southern Indians. Through the influence of the Jesuit priests, many of the Five Nations about this time settled in Canada, for the sake of enjoying religious instruction; but declared, that if a Protestant priest was settled among them, they would return.

M. De Nonville called an assembly of the chiefs of the Five Nations at Montreal, and all French officers were ordered to cease hostilities till the deliberations should be

known, for he confidently expected to conclude a peace with the Five Nations. In the mean time, Adario, the great chief of the western Indians, finding that his nation had become suspected by the French, since the time they had shown so much favor to the English, when they attempted to trade at Mackinaw; resolved by some notable action against the Five Nations, thereby to recover the good opinion of the French. For this purpose, he set out from Mackinaw with one hundred men, and came to Cadaraqui for intelligence of M. De Nonville. He was informed by the commander of the garrison, that a negotiation for a peace was on foot, and that ambassadors from Onondaga would be expected in about ten days at Montreal, and he was advised to return to Mackinaw without an attempt to accomplish his wishes. Adario, surprised at this news, was greatly alarmed for the safety of his nation, who he thought would become a prey to the rapacity of the Iroquois, through the perfidy of the French. He dissembled his concern, and instead of returning to Mackinaw, as the French officer proposed, he concluded to wait at the Cadaraqui Falls, a place which he knew the ambassadors must pass, and intercept them. After a suspense of four or five days, the deputies came along, guarded by about forty warriors. They were surprised, and all killed or taken prisoners.

The ambassadors being greatly surprised at this piece of what they supposed to be French perfidy, told Adario the design of the journey, who instantly assumed an air of anger towards M. De Nonville, and promised revenge upon him at the first opportunity, for making a tool of him, to commit so horrid a treachery. After mutual explanations, the crafty Adario dismissed his prisoners with presents and provisions, at the same time declaring, he should never be at ease till the Five Nations had been fully revenged upon the French. The manner of Adario was so perfectly in keeping with his assertions, that the deception was complete. The ambassadors were all Onondagas and Oneidas, with the far-famed Onondaga Chieftain, Dekanissora, at their head. They had all along, through the influence of the Jesuits, entertained great

affection for the French. But this transaction greatly changed their minds ; and instead of friendship and love, revenge and disgust pervaded their hearts, and the Five Nations resolved unanimously, to prosecute the war with vigor against the French.

It was not long before the French felt the bloody effects of this fell passion. For on the 26th of July 1688, twelve hundred of the Iroquois invaded the Island of Montreal, without the least previous notice, and the French had not the least suspicion of such an attempt. They burned, sacked, plundered and laid waste all the country around, and made a dreadful slaughter of men, women and children. Over a thousand French are supposed to have perished by this invasion, and they were, as it seems, completely at the disposal of the Indians. Several French were carried away captives, greater part of whom, miserably perished under the most excruciating torments. The whole colony was thrown into consternation, and Valrency, the commander at Cadaraqui, by order of De Nonville, abandoned the fortress at that place. The barbarities of the massacre are too shocking to relate.\*

The Five Nations lost but three men in this expedition, and those are said to have been drunk and were left behind. The Five Nations were far from being satiated by this invasion, for in the October following, they attacked and destroyed all the lower part of the Island of Montreal, and carried off many prisoners. The consequence of these expeditions, was the abandonment by the French of fort Cadaraqui, and their light vessels upon the lake ; and they were completely shut up on the Island of Montreal, in comparatively very narrow limits. The news of the success of the Five Nations, spread through all the Indian tribes. It had the effect to bring the French into very low repute among them, and their affairs were thrown into great disorder. The great body of the west-

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\* Charlevoix says, "Ils ouvrirent le sein des femmes encientes pour en arracher le fruit qu'elles portoient ils mirent des enfans tout vivans á la broche. Et Contraignirent les meres de les tourner, pour les faire rôtir."

ern Indians, had already faultered in their allegiance to the French, and many were making overtures to the English, through the Five Nations. At this crisis, the French commander at Mackinaw experienced great difficulty in maintaining his post. But the enterprising and sagacious Mons. Perot had the prudence and success of diverting this order of affairs, so that the contemplated schemes of a general union were not fully carried into effect. The colonists of Canada were in a most deplorable condition; their men had been continually harrassed by watching and fighting the Five Nations, and in extending their enterprises among the western Indians, so that tillage and husbandry had been entirely neglected. During the several incursions of small parties of the Five Nations, the French lost several thousands of their inhabitants. It is difficult to conceive the deplorable situation and distress they were in—none could plant or sow, or pass from one place to another, without danger of being killed by a skulking foe. The whole country being laid waste, famine began to rage, and a miserable end was like to come of the colony. Had the Indians understood the method of attacking fortified places, nothing could have saved the French from entire destruction. Considering the state of Indian affairs during this period, that the Five Nations were divided in their sentiments and measures, that the Onondagas, Cayugas and Onondagas, were more or less influenced by French Jesuits, and were by them diverted from prosecuting the war against Canada, by urging these three nations against the southern Indians, and persuading them to send their war parties that way; considering that the Senecas had a war at the same time with the western Indians, and that the measures observed by the English, during all the reign of King James II., gave the Indians rather ground of jealousy than assistance; whoever considers these things and what the Iroquois did actually perform, will hardly doubt that they at that time were an overmatch for the French in Canada.

In September, 1689, a deputation was sent from the New England colonies, to renew the friendship of the Five Nations,

and to engage them against the eastern Indians, who made war upon those colonies, and were instigated by the French. The eastern Indians had already preceeded them, by four messages on the same errand, and the English were anxious to know the reception they had met with. The deputies of New England were told by Tahajadoris, a Mohawk sachem, on the 24th of September, that he and his people were willing to brighten the chain of friendship, and expressed in unmeasured terms their hatred of the French, and to continue the struggle so long as a Frenchman remained alive, even to their own destruction. They could not be prevailed upon to engage in a war upon the eastern Indians, but declared their intention of living and dying in peace with them.

The English in New-York and Albany, having fears of the French in Canada, and their Indian allies, held a private conference with the chiefs of the Five Nations at Albany, 25th September, where they engaged to stand by their English friends in any emergency whatsoever, and to continue their war with the French.

On the 27th December, 1689, the Mayor of Albany, Peter Schuyler, was notified that a council would be held at Onondaga, to consult on important business, with a desire that the English would be represented there. But little notice was taken of the invitation; only to send three Indians to dissuade the Five Nations from entertaining thoughts of peace, or yielding to a cessation of arms.

On the 22d of January, a general council was opened at Onondaga, consisting of eighty sachems. The Albanians had sent a messenger to attend this assembly. Sadekanaghtie stated that the Count Frontenac had returned to the government of Canada, and invited an assembly of the Five Nations to meet him at Cadaraqui, and in particular, that Dekanissora should be there to treat of peace. Some of the sachems, who were favorably disposed towards the French, advised their meeting the French Governor in the spring. But after a long and tedious debate, it was concluded not to send Dekanissora with a delegation to Cadaraqui, and finally sent word to

Governor Frontenac that they had little faith in the French, and could not rely on their treaties, nor trust their professions of friendship. The Count Frontenac was still desirous of rousing the drooping spirits of the French in Canada. The English and French were now engaged in war, and to rally the courage of his desponding countrymen, it was arranged that three several parties should make separate attacks upon the English colonies in hopes to lessen the confidence the Five Nations had in the English. One commanded by M. D. Aillebout, M. D. Mantel, and P. Le Moyne, made a descent upon Schenectady, in February, 1689-90, which completely desolated that village. The colonists of both countries were now heartily engaged in the war; the course the Five Nations decided to pursue, was of infinite importance to both. The very being of the French colony depended upon it, as well as the safety of the English. Affairs were now destined to take a turn decidedly favorable to the French, and this in the main was owing to the subtlety, wisdom, prudence and perseverance of M. De Frontenac, in whom the colonists of Canada had unhesitating confidence in respect to his public spirit and capacity. They entered into all his measures with alacrity, and obeyed his commands with cheerfulness, whereas the English people held their colonial Governors in no very high esteem.

The Count Frontenac was in hopes the Five Nations would incline to peace, and offered further proposals, but his ambassadors were taken prisoners, and after being compelled to run the gauntlet, were delivered to the English. This conduct satisfied M. De Frontenac, that there was little hope in negotiation. The French were continually harrassed by small parties of the Five Nations, on their route to remote posts, and also in the immediate neighborhood of Montreal, oftentimes victorious, spreading alarm and desolation throughout the whole country. The English at this time did not render the assistance the Five Nations expected, in consequence of which the Mohawks, being nearest to the English, sent one of their chiefs to Monsieur De Frontenac with a view of negotiating a peace. The ambassador found the Count ready to treat on

terms of friendship, and gave a belt, with proposals of peace to his nation. They also renewed their professions of peace and friendship with the English, and their resolution to prosecute the war with the French provided the English would cooperate. The Five Nations were no longer to be amused with idle words of English professions, and unless they came boldly to the work, there was every reason to believe the French would succeed in making peace, and leave the English to carry on the war by themselves. Finally a plan was arranged for an attack upon Quebec and Montreal. A land force of five hundred men, and a large body of Indians, under Major Peter Schuyler, were to advance by Lake Champlain, and a naval expedition of thirty sail, by the Gulf of St. Lawrence, under command of Sir Wm. Phipps. M. De Callieres, Governor of Montreal, being apprised of these intentions, gave the land force such a reception as obliged them to retire, and Sir William, by his imbecility and inactivity, let slip the golden moment, and was repulsed with the loss of all the cannon and baggage that had been landed. The whole expedition signally failed, and nothing was accomplished. The Five Nations continued their excursions in small parties all along the St. Lawrence, from Montreal to Quebec, and destroyed many persons. Notwithstanding the French preserved their country, these continual harassings, and the necessity they were continually under of keeping guard, prevented them from cultivating the ground, or of reaping the harvest. This occasioned great distress throughout the colony, and the miseries of famine were added to the horrors of Indian war. The aged Frontenac kept up his wonted energy; he was well aware of the importance of convincing the Five Nations, that their joint attacks with the English had neither discouraged him or made him afraid,—that he was as vigorous for war as before the last invasion. The distractions in the province of New York, so entirely engrossed the attention of the English, that their Indian allies were left almost alone to contend with the common enemy, which was the cause of considerable disaffection among them. They had made proposals of peace through-

the Mohawks to Count Frontenac, but through the interposition of Colonel Sloughter, then Governor of New York, it was not consummated. The Five Nations continued their incursions during the whole winter, (1690-91,) greatly distressing the French. In the summer of this year, Major Peter Schuyler, then Mayor of Albany, made, with a party of the Five Nations, a bold irruption upon the French settlements by way of Lake Champlain. This expedition was successful. The English returned victorious, which inspired the warriors of the Five Nations with new vigor and new hopes. They continued their hostilities under their favorite leader Kanahjeaga, who with his warriors, and by his frequent incursions, kept the country in a constant state of alarm, and continually harassed the French borders. In the midst of these distresses, the French Governor preserved his accustomed sprightliness and humor, animating every body around him. He learned that a considerable body of the Five Nations were hunting beaver west of the Niagara River in fancied security, and he resolved at once to surprise them. For this purpose three hundred young men were sent forward under command of Monsieur Beaucour, in the heart of winter, and the party suffered severely during the march from cold and want of provisions, having none but what they carried on their backs.

After an almost incredible march, for so severe a season, they succeeded in surprising about eighty of the Five Nations, who made a brave defense, and only yielded after they had lost most of their men dead on the spot. The French retreated to Montreal, with a few prisoners to grace their triumph. This was a severe expedition, but it tended to revive the flagging spirits of the French, and taught the Five Nations that they were by no means a despicable enemy.

In return, the Five Nations, took possession of all the passes, and entirely obstructed the communication of the French with their western allies, intercepting every traveler who chanced to pass that way. Kanahjeaga, with a large band of warriors hung around the Cadaraqui River, in hopes of meeting parties from the upper lakes, or of French, proceeding that way. Not

succeeding in his designs, he resolved to carry the war into the country around Montreal. The French accounts say, he had with him six hundred men. This famous chief overran the country as the sweeping torrent does the lowly valley. The population sought shelter in fortified places, and the soldiers had strict orders to remain within their forts and act entirely on the defensive. After the warriors under Kanahjega had become weary of slaughter and desolation, they at length began to retire. Mons. Vaudreuil pursued them with four hundred men. He overtook them at a time when they least expected it; a desperate battle ensued; although the French had nearly surrounded about two hundred of them, the Indians fought bravely, and cut their way through, leaving twenty men dead on the spot; the rest escaped. The French lost four officers and a number of privates. Having escaped from this attack, we next find them below Montreal, disputing the passage of a flotilla under convoy of a French captain, who, as he passed through the isles in Lake St. Pierre, was himself killed and his whole party entirely routed. The French for the whole summer, were obliged to keep within the forts, and not a man could stir out without danger of losing his scalp. The Count Frontenac was pierced to the heart, when he found that he could not revenge these insults and bravados of his enemies. At this time, he signally tarnished his good name and venerable character, by the murder and torture of two unfortunate captives. Notwithstanding this cruelty, M. De Frontenac, used every device his imagination could invent, to bring about a peace, but without success. A treaty was entered into between Capt. Ingoldsby on the part of the English, and the chiefs of the Five Nations, at Albany, June, 1692, at which time, the Indians manifested considerable dislike, because the English did not so fully render them assistance as had been agreed, and as the Five Nations had reason to expect, considering they were at open war. But after much counselling, the chain of friendship was "*brightened.*" This council was managed on the part of the Five Na-

tions by *Chedaun*, an Oneida sachem, who made a long and very sensible speech.

The Count De Frontenac knew well, that unless some bold and successful enterprise should succeed, it would soon be too late to effect a reaction. An attack upon the Mohawks was contemplated, for the purpose of showing that the English would not protect their nearest neighbors. The winter was chosen as the most appropriate season for surprising their enemies, who could not keep scouts abroad at that inclement season, or the English render timely assistance. An army, consisting of French and Indians, amounting to seven hundred men, and supplied with snow-shoes and everything necessary for a winter campaign, set out from Prairie de Magdaleine, 15th of January, 1693.

After a march of incredible hardship through pathless forests, they passed Schenectady on the 6th of February, and succeeded in capturing the three lower Mohawk castles, with little opposition. Three hundred Mohawks were made prisoners, and several slain, the French having lost thirty men. On the retreat of the French, they were pursued by a party of Albany militia, under Major Peter Schuyler, but nothing decisive accomplished. This invasion of the French into the immediate neighborhood of the English settlements, produced the greatest alarm, and had the effect also to dishearten the Mohawks, but still, through English influence, they were induced to continue the war. Hitherto, for a number of years, the French had been unable to bring down their furs and peltry from Mackinaw, and they had so accumulated, that there were large stores on hand. The Five Nations had so blocked up the passage, that there had been but little communication. But now, a time had come, when it was so, that two hundred canoes loaded with furs, had arrived safely at Montreal, which caused as much joy there, as ever the richly laden galleons did in Spain.

By the bold stroke before related, the warlike ardor of the Five Nations was considerably abated, and as it was the policy of the French, to secure a peace on as favorable terms as pos-

sible, negotiations for that purpose were set on foot, and continued through the years 1693 and 1694. The influence of the Jesuits, and the disappointed hopes of English assistance, caused them more willingly to yield to the opening of a council for that purpose; but, through the agency of Col. Fletcher of Albany, who distributed timely and liberal presents of arms, ammunition, knives, hatchets, clothing, provisions, &c., to the Five Nations, the negotiation was staid. The Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas and Oneidas, felt more in mood for continuing on friendly terms with the French; but the Mohawks, more under the immediate influence of the English, held back. The four nations met and resolved to send an ambassador to the Governor of the French, but not without informing the Mohawks and English, whose advice was to be considered. Several sachems were sent to Albany, at the head of whom was Dekanissora, whose speech on this occasion, is said to have been a brilliant effort of native tact and genius. He rehearsed the affairs of the French, and the pusillanimity of the English, with an accuracy and ingenuity, that would have done honor to the most skilful diplomatists of the polished nation, with which he was then in contact. Sadekanaghtie is said to have taken a part in this council. While this negotiation was pending, Dekanissora visited Montreal and the praying Indians, in order to secure the cooperation of that branch of the Five Nations. But they, true alike to the French and their Jesuit priests, remained unaltered in their attachments. Dekanissora returned, and laid before the convention at Albany, an account of his mission to Canada. Commissioners were present from New-York, New-Jersey, Massachusetts and Connecticut. His report was, that the French were desirous of peace only on their own terms, the chief of which were, that they should have the privilege to rebuild the fort at Cadaraqui, and keep a garrison there, and that the English should not be encouraged to trade with Canada Indians. But the policy of the Five Nations was, that the French should not be permitted to rebuild the fort at Cadaraqui, nor include their Indian allies in the peace, with whom

the Five Nations wished to be at war. They were dismissed with a large supply of presents, and many fair promises in ease of compliance. They threatened the Five Nations with utter destruction, in case of their refusal of the terms they had offered.

The Five Nations refusing to come to the terms proposed, the Governor resolved to force them, and as he suspected they continued obstinate through English influence, he resolved to make an attack upon the Mohawks, but a prisoner, learning his design, escaped and informed them, and the expedition was abandoned.

In the summer of 1695, the Count De Frontenae sent a body of French and Indians to repair the fortifications at Cadaraqui, which were found to be in a much better condition than was expected. The French certainly possessed themselves of a great advantage in this place, as it was considered one of great security to their traders in passing from Maekinauw to Montreal. It served as well for stores, as a place of security and retreat, in all enterprises against the Five Nations, and it greatly exposed them in their irruptions to the neighborhood of the French. The English were exceedingly uneasy when they found that the French had regained possession of Cadaraqui, and blamed the Five Nations for not preventing it. The French were also troubled upon hearing that the western Indians had nearly concluded a peace with the Five Nations. Had the western Indians perseveringly adhered to their first intentions of making peace, it would probably have ended the colony of the French in Canada, for without their aid it would have been impossible for them to continue. These nations being continually at war with the Iroquois, they were obliged to keep at home a large force to defend themselves against those nations, otherwise the Iroquois would have been able to throw their whole force against Canada.

Having secured the alliance of the western Indians, and failing of making a peace with the Five Nations, the Count Frontenae resolved upon a signal effort to conquer and subdue

them. Having repaired and garrisoned the fort at Cadaraqui, now called by his name, making it a place of deposit for arms, ammunition and provisions, as well as a retreat for the sick and wounded under his command, resolved to make the Five Nations feel the full force of his resentment, for their refusing his terms of peace. For this purpose, in June, 1696, he assembled all the regular troops under his command, the whole body of Canadian militia, and all the Indians that could be mustered, consisting of Owenagungas, Quatoghies, of Loretto, Adirondacks, Sokakies, Nipiciriniens, the proselyted praying Indians of the Five Nations, a few Utawawas and Abenauquis. Instead of wagons and horses, which were useless in such a country as he had to march through, the army was conveyed through rivers and lakes in light barks, which were portable, whenever the rapidity of the stream, or the crossing an isthmus, rendered it necessary.

On the 4th of July the army left La Chine, on the south end of the Island of Montreal. Two battalions of regulars, under the command of Le Chevalier de Callieres, then Governor of Montreal, with about five hundred Indians, chiefly under the command of Baron de Beaucourt, constituted the van. He had with him two large bateaux, which carried two small pieces of cannon, the mortars, grenades, artillery utensils and ammunition, afterwards followed the provisions, then followed the Count himself, at the head of the main body, accompanied by a large number of volunteers, under the young and accomplished Chevalier de Grais, his engineer, and four battalions of the militia, commarled by Monsieur De Ramezai, Governor of Trois-Rivieres. Two battalions of regulars and a few Indians, under the Chevalier De Vaudruel, brought up the rear. In this order they marched, only that those who were in the van one day, were in the rear the day following. Indians were kept out as scouts, to gain intelligence of the enemy, and for fear of ambuscades, when they were obliged to carry the canoes, and drag the large bateaux, parties were detached to cover the men. After twelve days march, they arrived at Fort Frontenac, one hun-

dred and eighty miles from Montreal. They waited at this place some time, for the Utawawas, who finally disappointed them, and in the mean time raised a bateau, which had been sunk, since the fort had been deserted. They then crossed the Lake Ontario to Oswego, on the 28th of July. Fifty men were ordered to march on each side, to prevent surprise. A military road was cut around the falls, and carrying their transports over the portage, they moved slowly along the river, according to the intelligence obtained from the scouts. They had found a tree as they passed along, on which the Indians had in their manner, painted the French army, and lying by it was a bundle of rushes. This was a defiance after the Indian custom, to inform the French, by the number of rushes in the bundle, that fourteen hundred and thirty-four men would oppose them. Finally the whole flotilla *debouched* upon the waters of the Onondaga Lake.

“It must have been a gallant sight to behold this warlike pageant floating on that lovely water, surrounded as it was by the lofty hills and unbroken forests, which for the first time, had now displayed their beauty and grandeur to an invading army. It must have been sublime, to see the veterans who had served under Turenne, Vauban and the great Conde, marshalled with pike and cuirass, side by side with the half naked Hurons and Abenakis; while gay and youthful cavaliers, in the tawdry garb of the court of the magnificent Louis, moved with towering plume and flowing mantle, amid the dusky files of the wampum-decked Utawas, and Algonkins. Banners were there which had been unfolded at Steenkirk and Lauden, and rustled above the troopers that Luxemburgh’s trumpets had guided to glory, when Prince Waldeck’s legions were borne down beneath his furious charge. Nor was the enemy that this gallant host were seeking, unworthy those whose swords had been tried in some of the hardest fought fields of Europe. The Romans of America, as the Five Nations had been called by more than one writer, had proved themselves soldiers, not only by carrying arms among the native tribes a thousand miles away, and striking their

enemies alike upon the lakes of Maine, the mountains of Carolina and the prairies of Missouri. They had already bearded one European army beneath the walls of Quebec, and shut up another for weeks within the defenses of Montreal, with the same courage, which half a century after, they had vanquished the battalions of Dieskau upon the shores of Lake George." (Hoffman.) When the French entered the lake, their army divided into two parts, coasting along the shores, that the enemy might be in uncertainty as to the place of their landing. As soon as a landing was effected they erected a fort. A Seneca who had been some time a prisoner in Canada, and who had pretended an attachment to the French, was sent out to make discoveries. He deserted to the Onondagas, who were waiting for the French, determined to defend their homes and castle to the last extremity, for which purpose, they had sent their women and children far into the woods. But upon the Seneca's informing them that the French army, was as numerous as the leaves of the trees, and that they had machines, which threw up large balls in the air, which falling on their cabins would burst in pieces, scattering fire and death every where around, against which their weak stockades could be no defense; they thought it most prudent to retire, and after setting fire to their castle and bark cottages, moved off to the wilderness. As soon as Count Frontenac heard of this, he marched forward in order of battle. The army was divided into two lines. The first, commanded by the Chevalier de Callieres, who placed himself on the left, consisted of two battalions of militia, in the centre of a battalion of regulars on each wing. The artillery followed them. The second line, commanded by the Chevalier de Vaudrucil, composed of the same number of battalions, in the same order. The Count De Frontenac was carried in an elbow chair, directly after the artillery. But it was found perfectly impossible to preserve this order in passing through thick woods and in passing brooks. In this formidable manner, the aged general, marched forward to the dying embers of the deserted village, and thus he caused the

destruction and exerted his fury on some fields of Indian corn, the only acquisition to the arms of the French. A brave old sachem, then upwards of a hundred years old, by his own desire was left behind, and was the only person who tarried in the castle to salute the French, and who chose this time to end his days. The French Indians put him to the torture, which he bore with astonishing presence of mind, and with that heroic fortitude which so well became a chief of the Onondagas. He told his tormentors, to remember well his death, when his countrymen should come to take terrible vengeance of them. Upon which, one of them stabbing him several times with a knife, he thanked him; "but," said he, "you had better make me die by fire, that these 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 a like condition." It was, says Charlevoix, a strange and curious spectacle, to see many hundred men surrounding a decrepid old warrior, striving by tortures, to draw a groan from him. While life lasted, he reproached the Indians with becoming slaves to the French. When one stabbed him with a knife, "You do wrong" said he, "to shorten my days; you should have taken more time to learn how to die like men." He bore their inflictions with the most stoical indifference. Never was a man treated with more cruelty, nor did any ever bear it with superior magnanimity and resolution. He died as became an Indian warrior. This sachem was the only man of the Onondagas killed. The Chevalier de Vaudrueil, was sent with a detachment of six or seven hundred men to destroy the Oneidas' corn, a feat which he performed without resistance. Thirty-five remained in their castles, to make the French welcome, but the only favor they obtained, was to be made prisoners, and were carried to Montreal. Though the French army was much an overmatch for the Onondagas, both in their arms and number of men, yet the Onondagas were not so far dispirited, as not to follow them in their return. They found many opportunities to revenge themselves, by cutting off every canoe that happened at any

time to be at a distance from the main body. This obliged the French general to hasten his march, so that he returned to Montreal on the 10th of August. The Onondagas suffered little by this formidable expedition, but the loss of their corn and their bark cottages. They lost not a man, except the old sachem who yielded himself a martyr to his country's glory.

The French suffered materially by its consequences, for the planters being taken from their labor, either in this expedition, or in watching and securing their forts and country, a famine ensued throughout the land a circumstance which had often happened in Canada, when the men fit to bear arms, had been called away on such like enterprises. Afterwards, the Five Nations sent several small parties against Canada, and the French and their Indians, in turn hovered around Albany and Schenectady, murdering several families, and carrying off their scalps. Thus the war was continued by small parties of Indians on both sides, harrassing, surprising and scalping the inhabitants of Montreal and Albany. The western Indians this year concluded a peace with the Five Nations, in spite of the French, who used every means to prevent it. The reason they assigned was, because the English sold goods to them cheaper than the French. A party of the Five Nations were discovered hovering around Corlear's Lake. A captain with a party of men were sent against them, and effected their surprise. He killed several, and took one prisoner, who, at the instance of the French Governor, was publicly burned alive, and upon whom the Indians then trading at Montreal, were invited to feast.

Dekanissora proposes to Col. Peter Schuyler, June 9th, 1697, to use his influence to prevent the people of the Five Nations from settling in Canada, that they are inclined to peace, but if need be, they are ready with their whole force to prosecute the war against the French.

The Cayugas also made application 28th of September, 1697, through three of their principal captains, for a supply of powder and lead, to defend themselves against the French and

western Indians, and desire the condolence of the English, for the loss of their people slain in battle with Indians of the west.

The treaty of Ryswick was signed September 10th, 1697, by which the French and English were to be at peace.

The Governor of New-York, being first informed, sent an express to the Governor of Canada, with the news, that hostilities might cease. The Five Nations learning the fact earlier than they of Canada, took advantage of it, in hunting beaver, near Cadaraqui Fort. The Governor of Canada being informed of this, and believing that the Five Nations thought themselves secure, by the general peace, resolved to take his last revenge of them. For this purpose, he sent a considerable party of Adirondacks to surprise them; which they did, and killed several, but not without loss on their own side. The murder of the distinguished war chief, Kanahjeajah of Onondaga, at this time caused the greatest affliction throughout all the Five Nations. After the peace, a dispute arose between the Governors of New-York and Canada, relative to the disposition of the prisoners, which the Five Nations had in their hands. The French were not willing to include the Five Nations in the peace; but the English had them too much at heart, to suffer them to be injured by the French, and the English Governor assured the French, that were hostilities continued against them, it would be sufficient cause for the English to continue the war. This put a stop to the threatenings of the French, and both sides made complaints to their masters. The two Kings ordered their respective Governors to be assisting each other in making the peace effectual to both nations. The Count Frontenac died while these disputes continued; Mons. De Calieres, who succeeded him, put an end to them, by agreeing to send a deputation to Onondaga, to regulate an exchange of prisoners there. For this purpose, Mons. Joncaire, and the Jesuit Bruyas were sent. When the French commissioners were within a mile of Onondaga Castle, they arranged themselves in order, and marched with the French colors flying, with as much display as possible. The grave old chief, Dekanissora, met them with-

out the gate, and complimented them with three strings of wampum. They were received with every demonstration of respect and esteem, and were saluted with a general discharge of firearms, taken to the best cabins, and sumptuously entertained. The commissioners succeeded in negotiating a satisfactory peace ; and an agreement was made, to facilitate the exchange of prisoners.

The French commissioners, now being assured of peace with the Five Nations, the inhabitants of Canada, considered it one of the greatest blessings which could be bestowed upon them. Nothing could be more terrible than this last war ; the French ate their bread in continual fear. No man was sure, when out of his own house, of ever returning to it again. While laboring in the fields, they were under perpetual apprehension of being killed, or carried off to the Indian country, there to dole out a long and fearful captivity, or to die in lingering torments. In short, all business and trade was often entirely suspended ; while fear, despair and misery, blanched the countenances of the wretched inhabitants. On the return of the French commissioners, they brought with them several chiefs of the Five Nations from Onondaga. They were complimented, and received with every demonstration of respect, by the French, at Montreal ; and thus it always is with a brave people, who struggle through every difficulty, until they finally triumph with honor. Notwithstanding the French had many friends among the Five Nations, who were prisoners, yet many had become so attached to their new friends, that nothing could induce them to return ; and, some who did return to Canada, again went to the Onondagas, and ended their days among them.

## CHAPTER IX.

## EARLY HISTORY CONTINUED.

COUNCIL AT ONONDAGA—COUNCIL AT ALBANY, 1700—ENGLISH AGREE TO BUILD A FORT AT ONONDAGA—EARL BELOMONT'S INSTRUCTIONS TO COL. ROMER—COL. ROMER'S RETURN AND REPORT—VIEWS OF THE FIVE NATIONS—ATTACHMENT TO THE ENGLISH—IROQUOIS JOIN COL. SCHUYLER IN AN EXPEDITION AGAINST THE FRENCH, 1709—UNSUCCESSFUL—AFFAIRS OF THE FIVE NATIONS, AND THE FRENCH AND WESTERN INDIANS—GOV. HUNTER AND THE FIVE NATIONS—GOV. BURNET—TRADING HOUSE AND FORT AT OSWEGO—EXTRACT FROM THE JOURNAL OF CONRAD WEISER—OF THE SEVERAL NATIONS INCORPORATED WITH THE IROQUOIS—OPERATIONS ON THE NORTH WESTERN FRONTIER—EXTRACT FROM SERGEANT DEGARIMO'S ORDERLY BOOK—EXTRACT FROM SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON'S JOURNAL—COL. BRADSTREET AND GEN. SHIRLEY AT OSWEGO, 1775-76—LOSS OF OSWEGO—FALL OF QUEBEC—PEACE—APPROACH OF THE REVOLUTION—COURSE PURSUED BY THE INDIAN NATIONS DURING THE REVOLUTION—WAR OF 1812—PRESENT CONDITION OF THE ONONDAGAS.

The Onondagas and Oneidas made a proposition, 3d of February, 1698, to the Governor of New York, through Dekanissora and Carondowaune, an Oneida sachem, the former being chief speaker.

They informed the Governor and Council, that deputies were on the point of leaving Onondaga, to treat with the French Governor of Canada, who had made them many fine promises. Upon which the board expressed great surprise, and forthwith proposed to send a messenger post to Onondaga, to prevent them from going. Whereupon, John Baptist Van Eps was ordered to make all possible haste to Onondaga, charging said messengers not to depart, or if possibly they had gone, that they should be brought back; desir-

ing that a general council of all the sachems of the Five Nations should be held at Onondaga, at which Col. Schuyler and other gentlemen would attend. Johannes Glen, was sent out with John Baptist, and a conference was held with the chiefs at Onondaga.

On the 21st of March, 1699, John Baptist was dispatched to Albany with a message from the Onondagas, stating the overtures of the French, and their promise of the restoration of prisoners. In this they expressed the desires of the French for the security of peace, and Monsieur De Marrisour's anxiety to have the ancient councils with the French continued at Onondaga, and to break off with the Governor of New-York, and their desire to send M. De Lamberville and P ere Bruyas to them to speak of peace.

Upon the representations of John Baptist, Captain John Schuyler and Captain John Blecker, were dispatched by the Governor and Council, with all possible expedition, to inform the chiefs of the Five Nations, that their sending messengers to Canada was very ill received by the Governor of New-York. These gentlemen were charged to use all possible arguments to dissuade them from a repetition of such evil practices; to break up their correspondence with the French; to revive the ancient covenant chain, and renew the Governor's promises of protection; reminding them, that the French were always first to do them harm.

Baptist and Arnont were to be left at Onondaga to watch the motions of the Indians, and prevent their deputies from going to Canada, and from holding any sort of correspondence with the French; persuading them to go to Albany as usual, and promising them, if they desired to be made Christians, the government would provide fit persons to that end, and by all means to prevent the Jesuits from remaining among them.

In a council, held at Onondaga, on the 1st and 2d days of May, at which were present John Baptist Van Eps, and Arnont Viele, interpreters, and Johannis Schuyler, and Johannis Blecker, with chiefs and head men of the Five Nations. The Earl of Belomont's instructions were submitted for the

consideration of the Five Nations, which were treated with great decorum and respect, while the belts of the Governor of Canada were received with contempt by the Indian deputies, who kicked them about with every demonstration of indignity, declaring they would hold no correspondence with the French. Dekanissora took the lead in this council on the part of the Five Nations, who at this time expressed great anxiety about the Christian religion being introduced among them, inasmuch as Jesuits had been prohibited from being admitted into their country. They ask that assistance may be granted them against the French and western Indians, and gave assurances that they would hereafter hold the great councils at Albany, and that one should be held at that place at the expiration of fourteen days. They demand that goods shall be made cheaper to them, and that they shall be more liberally supplied with powder and lead.

At the close of this council, which lasted several days, John Baptist Van Eps was sent to Albany, as bearer of dispatches, and upon his presenting the demands of the Indian nations to the Governor and Council, they were acceded to and approved. Upon this Mr. Robert Livingston, Secretary of Indian Affairs, was dispatched to Onondaga, and makes the following report and observations of his voyage in April, 1700, for the consideration of the Earl of Belomont, of which we here give the substance:—

Many of the Maquas moved to Canada, thereby very much lessening the numbers of that nation, more than two-thirds of whom had removed. These were clothed and maintained by the French, who took particular pains to have them instructed by their missionaries, in the Roman Catholic faith. He attributes the cause of removal to two sources. First, fear,—seeing the French so formidable as to be able to subdue them, and the English not able to render any protection. Second, neglect,—by not sending missionaries among them. He recommends that the Maquas should come nearer to Albany, and that a stockade fort should be built, and have a minister to instruct them, and provision made for him, with

servants, that he may keep a horse and cow, and be within seven or eight hours ride of Schenectady.

He recommends that the king should purchase land and grant it to those nations, to be located so near the praying Indians, that one minister might serve for both.

That the Onondas and Onondagas should be persuaded to remove nearer to Albany, on the river, out of the way of being attacked by the French. The Onondagas to come twelve miles nearer Oneida, on the same account.

The Onondagas are much inclined to have a minister among them, and were willing to maintain him. If ministers were once settled among them, it would not only be a pious work in converting them to the Christian faith, which honor would redound not only to His Majesty and the English nation, but would keep those firm to us, draw the rest home, who are gone to Canada, and prevent "*that diabolical practice which they have got of late, in poisoning one another, by which means most of those in the English interest are dispatched out of the way.*"

He thinks it impossible to keep and secure the Five Nations to the English interest, without building forts, and securing the passes to their country. A strong fort should be built at the mouth of the Onondagas' River, where it intersects the Onondas' River. This being well fortified, would secure all the Five Nations from the inroads of the French, by water, and be a key to the Indian country.

He recommends the building of forts at "*Detroett,*" (Detroit,) another between "*Sweege,*" (Ontario) Lake, and "*O. Howawa,*" (Huron) Lake, and other forts westerly, and garrisons to be kept in them. That the fort at Onondaga River, should be garrisoned with one hundred youths, partly to be employed in boating and carrying provisions. That the king's arms should be put up at all the castles, and silver badges given to the chiefs to wear about their necks. Magazines of cannon, bateaux, clothing, provisions, &c., should be kept at each carrying place. He made complaint that the fort at Cadaraqui was not destroyed, and that the French, by threats, drew many of the Indians away from their allegiance, who

would otherwise be serviceable to the English in war. That the Governor of Canada threatens to erect forts in the country of the Five Nations, one at Onyagara, (Niagara,) another at Irondequot, a third at Kaneenda, (near Fort Brewerton,) a fourth at Kahioghage, (Saekett's Harbor,) a fifth at Ojeenrudde, on a branch of the Mohawk River, three days journey from a village of the Mohawks, called Dekanage. That the French are continually circulating reports, that the English design to destroy the Indians by depriving them of powder and lead. That the English government would not clothe them, which reports were proved to be false.

The Mohawks earnestly desire, that a minister may be sent among them, and wonder why the English cannot do so as well as the French. On the 25th of April, 1700, Col. Schuyler, Mr. Livingston and Mr. Hanse, held a council at Kachnawaacharege, a fishing place eight miles north of Onondaga, at which three Onondaga sachems were present, who said, the Governor of Canada, had charged them not to hearken to Corlear; for, if they did so, he would take them off by poison; that Pere Bruyas, threatens the English with war, unless they consent to the admission of priests among them. The commissioners thence proceeded to the Onondaga Castle, and examined several Indians, who confirmed the tidings of the chiefs below, of the acts of the French. The Five Nations again desire the English, to erect forts in their country.

The Earl of Belomont, through the commissioners, proposes to meet the Five Nations, in council at Albany. Strenuous efforts are made, to secure the favor of the Five Nations, with assurances, that they may rely on the King's protection; stating, that they were in daily expectation of having the King's commands for building a fort in their country, and for sending Protestant ministers among them, to give them instruction in the Christian religion. The commissioners are opposed to their holding correspondence with the French, and recommend, that their dwellings should be compact, and near together, for greater security.

On the 21st of June, 1700, five hundred pounds were paid

to Mr. Champeté, to be remitted to the Earl of Belomont, towards building a sod fort in the Onondaga country. Subsistence money was paid him for the soldiers, from the 24th of April, to the 19th instant. These were shipped on board His Majesty's ship, Adair, with four hundred light fusils, suitable quantities of lead and powder, clothing, and other valuables, to the value of eight hundred pounds, for presents for the Five Nations. This was done to remove the jealousies of the Indians, created by the French.

Dekannissora was the leader of the Five Nations in this council, and through him, on the 30th of June, they make complaint to Corlear and Quider, that the western Indians, had killed many of their men, and the French had declared, they would not take the hatchet from their hands, unless the Five Nations would submit to the French.

The affections of the chiefs were in a degree alienated from the English; they often visited the French, who loaded them with presents. Said the chief speaker: "All of us here, are resolved, to have a Protestant minister at Onondaga, the centre of the Five Nations, as soon as your Lordship shall please to send one."

"It is the custom of the French, to feed and clothe, all that are baptized into the church. This is a great inducement for our people to become Papists. Our people express a wish, that they may be instructed in the Protestant Christian religion, as often as they visit Albany." The Earl suggested, through the commissioners, that he was in favor of sending them ministers, forthwith; but, that they were unwilling to go, unless forts were first erected for their security. We have ordered a fort to be built, and a tax levied, to defray the expense, and will immediately send the King's engineer, to look out a suitable site. The Indians are told, that Albany and Schenectady shall be fortified, and that the Earl of Belomont proposes to have Rev. Mr. Lidius, of Albany, learn their language, and get the Bible translated for their use; and proposes, that they should send two or three of the sons of the

sachems of each nation, to New-York, to be educated at the King's charge.

On the 26th of August, 1700, the council was reconvened at Albany, agreeable to arrangement. In a speech of some length, the Earl of Belomont reassures the five nations, of the King's protection; laments, that the French Jesuits are so successful in making them believe the English design to destroy them. He informs them, that he has sent for ministers, to instruct them; and, in the mean time, has settled Mr. Vreeman at Schenectady, who will learn their language in one year, and then be able to teach them in their own tongue. He promises them another minister before winter, and hopes they will learn the difference between the Protestant and Roman Catholic religions; advises them to use all means to draw those Indians the French have seduced, back to their own country.

On the 2d of August, eleven Mohawks, six Oneidas, eleven Onondagas, eleven Cayugas, eleven Senecas, and fifty warriors, were present.

Sadekanaghtie, the chief speaker, replied, that they came hither, by his Lordship's order; that they will discredit the idle tales of the French, and are resolved, to continue firm to the crown of England, if it will protect them from their enemies; that they were thankful for the promise of Protestant ministers.

"The French also promise us, Jesuits, through Fathers Maricour and J. Bruyas; but, we are determined to stick to the religion of the King."

The Indians agree to furnish two hundred men, to work at the fort, for the same pay as the English, and the fort to be completed within three months; and, that they will seize all Jesuits, and send them prisoners to Albany, for which they shall receive a hundred pieces of eight, for every Jesuit.

The Earl remarked to them, "We have a law for seizing and securing all Popish priests and Jesuits; and I would gladly put that law in execution against these disturbers of mankind."

In answer, they promise to seize them, and bring them before him, and prohibit their coming into the Indian country.

His Lordship told them, that the fort at Onondaga, should be large enough to receive two hundred men; always, one hundred English, and in case of war, a hundred Indians should be added, and cannon should be forwarded for defense.

The Indians agreed to send twelve men from each nation, to assist in building the fort at Onondaga.

“As to your offer to educate our children,” said the chief, “that is a subject, not under our control; it belongs to the women entirely.”

Colonel Romer was selected as the engineer to explore the country, and fix the site for a fort, and four young Onondagas were chosen to accompany him on his journey of exploration. While engaged in building, the Indians were to furnish provisions for the workmen, of corn, venison, pigeons and fish. On this occasion, the earl gave the sachems, the following list of presents, viz.: two hundred bags of balls of one hundred weight each, two hundred fusees, two hundred pounds of lead, two thousand flints, one hundred hatchets, two hundred knives, two hundred shirts, forty kegs of rum, two gallons each, sixty-three hats, three barrels of pipes, with tobacco, &c.

31st of August, Sadekanaghtie answers, that they will be steadfast in their resolution, to be instructed in the Protestant religion, and declares it in the following words:

“God hath been pleased to create us, and the sun hath shined long upon us. We have lived many years in peace and union together, and we hope by your instructions to be taught to be good Christians, and to die in the Christian faith. Let us therefore go hand in hand and support each other. We were here before you, and were a strong and numerous people when you were but young and striplings. Yet we were kind and cherished you, and therefore, when we propose any thing to you, if you cannot agree to it, let us take council together, that matters may be carried on smooth, and that what we say may not be taken amiss. When we are to be instructed in the

Protestant religion, pray let not such severity be used as the Jesuits do in Canada, who whip their proselytes with an iron chain; cut off the warriors hair; put them in prison, and when the men commit any heinous sin, the priest takes his opportunity when they are asleep, and beats them severely. Now as a token of our willingness to be instructed in the Protestant religion, we give nine beaver skins." The Indians stipulate for free trade of the French at Albany, and desire that a smith may be sent among them at the same time with the minister to Onondaga; state that Pere J. Bruyas wished to come among them as a physician and surgeon, but his request had been refused. Sadekanaghtie returned thanks for the presents and for the attention the delegates received, and the council adjourned.

The following are the instructions of Lord Belomont to Col. Romer, His Majesty's chief engineer in America, with respect to locating the fort at Onondaga.

"First, you are to proceed with all possible dispatch to the Onondagas' country, where you are to find out the best place for erecting a fort for the defense and security of that nation and the other nations, if it may be so, taking in your way thither, visiting the Mohawk and Oneida Indians.

Second, you are to proceed on to the Cayugas' nation, after you have well viewed and visited the Onondagas' country, and from thence to the Seneca nation.

Third, you are to observe the country exactly as you go and come, with the lakes, rivers, woods, plains and hills, that you may make a report thereof to me, and that a map may be made thereof, to be laid before His Majesty; and you are to take a particular view of the carrying places, and to report unto me your opinion, how much they may be shortened by clearing and making the creeks navigable for boats and canoes.

Fourth, you are to inquire out and view the salt spring, which is said to be in the Onondagas' country, and to taste the water, and to give me your opinion thereon. You are to inform yourself about the salmon fishing, which is so much

spoken of, and also about other fish in the lakes and rivers in that country—what sorts of fish—what plenty—what ways the inhabitants have to take the fish.

Fifth, you are to go and view a well or spring, which is eight miles beyond the Senecas further east, which they have told me, blazes up into a flame when a lighted coal is put into it.

Sixth, you are to encourage all the Indian nations as much as you can, by assuring them of the king's care of them, and protection, and you are to magnify the king's greatness and power to them, and assure them that the frontier of this province shall be well fortified and secured in a short time, so that they need not to fear the French of Canada.

You will do well to assure them of my kindness, provided they continue faithful to the king, and keep no sort of correspondence with the French in Canada, nor receive any of the priests and Jesuits among them. All which instructions you are carefully to observe and perform for His Majesty's service.

Given under my hand, at Albany, the third day of September, A. D. 1700, and in the 12th of His Majesty's reign."\*

(Signed)

“BELOMONT.”

Col. Romer explored the Onondagas' country, passed down until he came to the Oneida River, but found no fit place to build a fort. They passed on to a place called Quichhook, near the ledge called Kagnewagrage, (near Oswego,) and reported that the proper place for a fort should be in that region.

He fulfilled his instructions in visiting other localities, and returned in due time to Albany.

From this time forward, the Five Nations may be considered as entirely wedded and devoted to the interests of the English. Early in 1700, the Earl Belomont and assembly of New-York had passed a law, (severe indeed,) for hanging every popish priest, who voluntarily came into the province. This was provoked by the great number of French Jesuits, who were continually tampering with the Indians.

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\* See London Documents, vol. 13, p. 430.

In 1701, the King of England gave five hundred pounds, for erecting a fort in the country of the Onondagas, and eight hundred pounds to be laid out in presents to the Indians. In return, the Indians conveyed a large tract of the Mohawk country to the English, to prevent the necessity of submitting to the French, in case of war. The government of New-York, was not insensible of the importance of the Indian interest, and of the infinite acts of the French to seduce them from their English alliance. The propriety of making suitable presents to the chiefs and warriors of the Five Nations, was strongly recommended; a list made out of what the articles should consist, together with an estimate of the charge. Funds were soon raised, and the presents purchased and distributed.

In 1709, an expedition by the American colonies, was projected against Canada. The Indians of the Five Nations were engaged, through the indefatigable exertions of Col. Schuyler, to join heartily in the attempt. To preserve the friendship of the Five Nations, without which, it would have been impossible to prevent the western frontiers from becoming deluged in blood, he studied all the arts of insinuating himself into their favor. He gave them all possible encouragement and assistance, and very much impaired his own fortune by his liberality to their chiefs. They never came to Albany but they resorted to his house, and often dined at his table. By these means he obtained an ascendancy over them, which was attended with advantageous consequences to the colonies, for he could in a great degree, obviate or eradicate the prejudices and jealousies, by which the French Jesuits were incessantly laboring to debauch their fidelity. As a further means of securing their cooperation, Col. Schuyler, at his own private expense, visited England, accompanied by five principal chiefs of the Iroquois, to pay their respects to the Queen, Anne, who had all along taken a lively interest in the affairs of these people. The arrival of the five sachems, created a great sensation throughout the kingdom. Splendid garments were prepared for them, and great parade and solemnity attended

the audience they had of Her Majesty. They were conducted in splendid coaches to St. James' palace, and the Lord Chamberlain, with much ceremony, introduced them into the royal presence. Their speech on this occasion was made on the 19th of April, 1710, and is preserved.

The attempt to make attacks upon Canada proved abortive. The French and Indians ravaged the northern frontier of New England with impunity. A treaty of neutrality existed at this period, between the confederates, and the French and their Indians, which was the only security the colonists had for the peace of their frontier. The chiefs who went to England with Col. Schuyler, having returned, strongly recommended the renewal and prosecution of the scheme for the reduction of Canada, as the only effectual means of securing the northern colonies. The French in Canada, were not unapprised of these designs. Mons. Vaudreuil, the Governor General, sent orders to the Sieur De Beaucourt, to complete the works he was engaged upon at Quebec, as speedily as possible, and commanded that all the regulars and militia should be in readiness for a march, at a moment's warning. The western Indians arrived at Montreal, at this time, under Messrs. St. Pierre and Tonti, who with the Caughnugas, took up the hatchet in favor of the French.

But the treaty of Utrecht, concluded 31st of March, 1713, settled definitively the whole matter. By this treaty, the British crown became entitled, so far as the French were concerned, to the entire sovereignty to the country of the Five Nations.

There being now a prospect of peace between the French and English, the Five Nations turned their attention southward and resumed hostilities against their ancient enemies, the Flat-Heads, living in Carolina, and after a series of battles they returned, and soon after adopted the Tuscaroras, who came off from that country a vanquished people.

The death of Queen Ann, in 1714, was a circumstance which greatly affected the chiefs of the Five Nations. She had long been to them, as a mother to her children, and the many instan-

ces of her kindness and affection towards these sons of the forest, were long held in lively remembrance.

In behalf of the Five Nations, at a council held at Albany, 31st August, 1715, Dekanissora congratulated the Governor on the accession of George I. to the throne, and renewed with great pomp and solemnity the ancient covenant chain of the Five Nations, promising the same should be kept inviolable, desiring an uninterrupted course of prosperity and peace. The Five Nations were solicited to use their influence in restoring peace between the Catawbias and the colony of Carolina, who had been at war.

A proposition was made by the Five Nations, 2d of September, 1715, at a council held at Albany, at which was present Killian Van Rensselaer, Peter Matthews, John Cuyler, Hendrick Hanson, Peter Van Brugh, and several sachems of the Five Nations, with Dekanissora at their head.

Here the head chiefs engaged to renew the war with the southern Indians, should they persist in continuing hostilities against the whites, and to ratify the matter, desired an appropriation of arms and ammunition to be made at once, that they might be in readiness, whenever called upon, to march in a body, and not in detached parties, and destroy them at once.

The commissioners in due time returned the answer of the Governor, stating that arms and ammunition were ready for them, but were not to be delivered till such time as it became necessary for their warriors to depart. In the mean time, the Five Nations sent eight ambassadors to the southern Indians to treat of peace, and had during the past year made a successful attack upon the southern rebel Indians, and returned with some scalps and prisoners.

Governor Hunter assures the chiefs of the Five Nations, in council assembled, 13th June, 1717, of the good will of his master, the king; renews the league of friendship, and allays their apprehensions about evil designs of the English towards them.

In this reply, is a curious appeal to the superstitions of an

inconstant people. They had previously complained of the introduction of the small pox among them, and the Governor goes on to say, "I am sorry for the loss that has happened by the small pox to the brethren, or any of your friends or allies. But we Christians look upon that disease, and others of that kind, as punishments for our misdeeds and sins, such as breaking of covenants and promises, murders and robberies, and the like. Whatever share we have had in these sins, we have a like share in the punishment, for in Pennsylvania there is not one Christian family that has escaped the disease; and at present it rages, and has the last twelve months, in the Jerseys, and we firmly believe it will, so long as we continue the practice of these sins, our plague will also continue."

In the same conference, Dekanissora informs Governor Hunter, that the French had erected a trading house at Ierondouat, in the country belonging to the Senecas, where they supply the Indians with powder and lead, to pursue the war against the southern Indians, and also with goods and clothing, which stops much of the peltry coming down from the upper country.

In 1720, William Burnet, Esq., took upon himself the government of the Province of New-York. He early foresaw the necessity of cultivating amicable relations with the chiefs of the Five Nations, and concluded it was highly necessary, to secure the command of Lake Ontario, as well to retain the friendship of this people, as to frustrate the designs of the French, in confining the English colonies to narrow limits, along the sea coast, by a chain of forts from Canada to Louisiana. With these views, he commenced the erection of a trading house at Oswego, in 1722, and recommended a provision to be made for the residence of trusty persons, among the Senecas and Onondagas, to keep their minds alienated from the French.

This year, a convention of several colonial governors and commissioners, was held at Albany, upon the renewal of the ancient friendship with the Indians.

Nothing could more naturally excite the jealousy of the

French, than the erection of a trading house at Oswego. To secure the trade of the west, and counteract the influence of the English; Baron De Longueil, who had the chief command in Canada, visited the Onondaga canton in person, for leave to erect a storehouse at Niagara, and by false representations, induced them to consent. But the other Iroquois nations, declared this act of the Onondagans void, signifying that the country in which the French were at work, belonged solely to the Senecas, and required them to desist. The French were regardless of the rights of the Senecas, but used their utmost exertions to complete their work, while the Jesuit Joneaire, exercised all his address among the Indians, to prevent them from demolishing what had already been erected.

Joneaire was a man much esteemed by the Senecas and Onondagans, by the former of whom he was adopted.

He spoke the Indian, as Charlevoix informs us, "*Avec la plus sublime éloquence Iroquoise,*" and had lived with them, from the year 1700.

The French completed their works at Niagara, and Governor Burnet, who was unable to accomplish anything else, erected a fort at Oswego, 1727. This necessary undertaking, was pregnant with the most important consequences, not only to this, but all the English colonies; and what renders the matter abundantly more creditable to the Governor, he built the fort almost wholly at his own private expense. Mons. Beauharnois, the Governor of Canada, who succeeded Longueil, was so incensed at the erection of a fort at Oswego, that he sent a written summons to the officer posted there, to abandon it. Not only so, but he sent Mons. De la Chassaigne, Governor of Three Rivers, to New-York, with the strongest remonstrances to Governor Burnet, upon that head. His Excellency answered the French Governor very politely, and in a determined manner, on the eighth of August, in which he refuted the arguments of the French Governor, and remonstrated against his proceedings at Niagara.

Colonel John Montgomery, succeeded Governor Burnet, on the 15th of April, 1728. On the first of October follow-

ing, he held a treaty with the Six Nations, for a renewal of the ancient covenant, was lavish of presents, and engaged them in the defense of Oswego. Nothing could be more seasonable than this interview; for the French, who eyed that important garrison, and our increasing trade there, with the most restless jealousy, prepared, early in the following spring, to demolish the works. Governor Burnet gave the first intelligence of this design, in a letter to Col. Montgomery, dated at Boston, 31st of March, 1729; whereupon, the garrison was immediately reenforced, which, together with the resolute professions of the Indians to protect the fort, induced the French to desist from the projected invasion. From this time to the year 1754, this garrison was kept only by a lieutenant and twenty-five men.

The following extract, from the journal of Conrad Weiser, an interpreter among the united Indians of the Six Nations, furnished the author by Henry C. Van Schaack, Esq., possesses something of consequence to this work, as showing the influence of the Five Nations, the interest manifested in their proceedings, and the importance attached to their opinions and policy towards the French and English at that early day. It thus begins:—

“Extract from the subscriber’s journal, taken New-York, the 15th July, 1745:—

11th June last past, set out from Onontago for Oswego, accompanied by the chief of the nation, and about one hundred persons, men, women and children, going to Canada at an invitation of the French Governor.

On the 13th, about eight o’clock in the morning, we arrived at Oswego. The Indians at a distance saluted the fort, with a discharge of their guns a second time, and in return were answered with a discharge of some guns from the fort. After we had landed, the officers of the fort came down and received us kindly. They cordially invited me to the fort, and accordingly I went with them.

Soon after, the Onontagas, with others of the Six United Nations, came to the fort to visit the officers. They were

severally served with a dram. The Black Prince soon asked for another to drink the king's health, which was freely given, and afterwards the same Indian, at a second visit, asked for a third, for the purpose of drinking the health of the Governor of New York. This request was also granted them. While they sat with us and smoked their pipes, they asked several questions about the war between England and France; complained that their brethren, the Commissioners of Indian Affairs in Albany, had never told them the truth relative to the progress of the war. Sometimes they would inform them of the number of ships the English had taken from their enemy, but never a word of the loss themselves had sustained. When on the other side, the French would always tell them whether they had lost or gained, and would never hide any thing from the Indians. They desired to know every thing particularly, and as they were now on their way to Canada for the public good, and for the preservation of their house at Oswego, it was expedient they should be informed. They gave all the assurance that could be expected from an Indian council, that their intent was good, and that the Governor of Canada would never prevail upon them in any thing hurtful to their brethren, the English, who they knew did not like their going to Canada, which only arose from a distrust of the motives of their brethren of the Six United Nations. That their brother, the Governor of New-York, and the Commissioners of Indian Affairs in Albany, desired them to stay at home; yet they were resolved to go, in order to convince their brethren that their apprehensions were groundless. They said further, that on their return from Canada, their brother, the Governor of New-York, should know all that passed between them and the Governor of Canada, which they positively affirmed, and pointed with their fingers towards Heaven, and said, that God heard them now speak, who would certainly punish them if they told any lies in that affair, which was of such great importance. After they had done speaking, I advised that the officers might go into a room by themselves, and agree upon an answer, which was immediately done. The Indians were

told by me, with the approbation of the officers, as follows: "Brethren of the United Six Nations, now on your way to Canada, hear:—When the King of France, about twelve months ago, first proclaimed war against your brethren, the English, his people immediately cut off a little town upon the borders of New England, which was settled with ploughmen, women and children, who knew nothing of the war, and the French carried off some prisoners to an island, near the mouth of St. Lawrence River, where they have a strong town, with many hundreds of soldiers, besides the inhabitants. The New England people, therefore, made themselves ready to return the *hatchet*, and went with an army of their people to take that town, and some of the great king's ships of war went with them to assist them in their undertaking, and they will if possible make that town, and the whole island, subject to the great King George, over the waters; and we have had letters which say that your brethren, the English, have taken several great guns and a strong fortification already, and are in hopes to be masters of the chief town and whole island in a few weeks. But this news must be confirmed, before we receive it for truth.

As to the taking and losing of ships, when any are taken from the French in North America, they are brought into the ports of Boston, New-York or Philadelphia, and we soon hear of them, and see them with our eyes. As to those that are taken from us, they are carried into French ports, and we seldom hear of them till after a twelve month, and therefore the commissioners could not give a certain account of them, till sometime afterwards. Besides, the taking or losing of a ship was no more looked upon than to hear of the death of a horse or a cow, since so many have been taken on both sides. But according to the calculation made by wise men, the English got the better a great deal, considering they got the most money, which was what the Europeans fight for.

As for their going to Canada, there was at this time no such thing as stopping them.

We believed what they said to be the truth, and that it was

for the public good, and for the preservation of their house at Oswego. We wished them a good journey and a safe return, and concluded I would inform the Governors of New-York and Pennsylvania of the promise they had made, with which they were pleased.

The Indians desired that their brethren might give them a meal of victuals, according to what poor Indians do to the council of the United Nations, on their travels, and to the white people themselves. But the officers had been at some charge already. A gallon of rum at Oswego is two dollars, and four or five gallons had been spent, to serve all the Indians going to Canada with two drams each. They were at a loss how to do, but gathered about three bags of peas, about thirty pounds of pork, and four or five loaves of bread, and gave it to the Indians. They returned thanks, and were well pleased. But it was not sufficient for one quarter part of them to serve for one meal. They complained to me of the covetousness of their brethren of Albany. That they reaped a great profit of thousands of pounds at the house of Oswego, but would never give them a meal of victuals at Oswego."

The 14th of June, the Indians came again to the fort. I treated them with a dram, and gave them a two gallon cask of rum on their journey, with which to drink the health of the King and Queen of Great Britain, in Montreal, after their arrival. I presented their chief speaker with a watch-coat, shirt, and a pair of stockings.

The 15th I set out again from Oswego, for Onontago, where I arrived on the 16th.

The 17th, spent one day with Cathkerrowano and Canasatego, the very chiefs of that nation, who staid at home, *to meet the Governor of New-York, in Albany, (as they said,) some time this fall.*

The 18th, set out for the Mohawks' country; passed through the Tuscaroras' and Oneidas' countries, and arrived at Canashocany."

The remainder of the Journal relates to several interviews had with the Mohawk chiefs, at which interesting speeches

were made—during which, the interpreter explains the policy of the English towards the Indians, the object of his visit to Onondaga—beseeching the Indians to remain faithful to their allies the English, which they promise to do.

While these events were passing, relative to the Iroquois and their French, Dutch and English neighbors, the Five Nations were engaged nearly the whole time, (a period of over one hundred years,) in wars with various Indian tribes, many of whom they conquered; the remnants of which, in many cases, were adopted and were settled among them. In the early part of their wars with the Adirondacks, they conquered the Satanas, a feeble nation, whom they adopted and settled on the southern shore of Lake Ontario, which conquest added considerably to their numbers, and raised their drooping courage. After the overthrow of the Adirondacks, ever their most implacable enemies, with whom they had carried on a long and bloody war, they subdued the Hurons, called also Quatoghies, who lived north of the great lakes, or more properly, occupied that great peninsula between Lakes Superior and Ontario. This conquest was accomplished about the year 1652. Many of those who survived, settled among the confederates, while others who continued their attachment to the French, settled near Quebec. The Eries, called also the nation of the *Cat*, were wholly destroyed after a long and sanguinary contest, which closed about the year 1654. They were completely extirpated, and no remnant of them has since been heard of in existence. The Andastes, who inhabited the south eastern shore of Lake Erie, were nearly annihilated by the Senecas, about the year 1672. The Iroquois thus became masters of their lands, comprising what is now the western part of the State of New-York, and the eastern part of the State of Ohio. Besides these, had been conquered and adopted, the Kasoongktas, who were subdued by, and settled among the Onondagas; and again, a small tribe, called Tutelos, who were conquered and settled in the Cayugas' country. These last were supposed to be of Winnebago lineage—they spoke a harsh, rough sounding dialect. In 1712,

a terrible Indian war broke out in South Carolina, in which colony the Tuscaroras then resided, and bore a distinguished part. They were finally subdued, after immense loss to themselves, which was computed to be over one thousand warriors in a single campaign. They soon after this disaster, abandoned their country and united themselves with the Iroquois, who assigned them a portion of their territory, near the Oneida Lake, in the Oneidas' country; after which, they removed to western New-York. The Senecas gave them lands on the great ridge, in the present county of Niagara. Here they have since continued to dwell, having added to their possessions, by an early purchase from the Holland land company, made with the avails of the sale of their reservation in North Carolina. They number at present, in New-York, (1848,) little less than three hundred souls. A portion of them have joined the Mohawks in Canada. The acquisition of the Tuscaroras to the Five Nations, gave them the nominal title of the Six Nations. They are supposed by some, to be of the lineage of the Iroquois, speaking a similar dialect. In 1722, the strength of the Six Nations was further augmented by their reception among them, of a considerable body of Nicariaguas. Their residence had been on the north of Mackinaw. It has been said\* that about the year 1765, the Messagnes were admitted as a seventh nation. They lived adjacent to Lakes Huron and Superior. They were about two thousand in number. This connection, however, (if ever formed,) must have been broken off, for there is at present no tradition among the Onondagas, of such an event.

Hostilities again broke out between the French and English, in 1744; but, by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, signed 30th of April, 1748, it was stipulated, that all conquests made during the war, by either party, should be restored, entirely on the principle, *status ante bellum*. But this had not the effect to remove the controversies previously existing between the colonies of England and France, respecting their bounda-

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\* Drake's Book of the Indians.

ries. The English had taken possession of the Atlantic coast, and considered themselves, as having a preemptive right to all the country west to the Pacific. The French settlements stretching from Canada on the north, to Louisiana on the south, seriously interfered with those of the English. Canada and Louisiana united, would have formed, as has been aptly said "a bow, of which the English colonies would have constituted the string;" and France insisted on confining them to the eastern side of the Alleghanies. The contest was for the extensive and fertile valley of the great Mississippi. At this period, the white population of the English colonies, is supposed to amount to upwards of a million souls, while that of the French, scarcely amounted to sixty thousand. Notwithstanding this disparity in numbers, advantages inclined in favor of the French. Their whole power was concentrated under one governor. The genius of the people and the government was military, and great reliance was placed on the Indians, who, with the exception of the Five Nations, were firmly attached to the French cause.

On the other hand, the British colonies were divided into distinct governments, unaccustomed to act in concert, already jealous of the power of the crown; besides, they had for a long time remained in peace, consequently, unused to arms, but they still continued their alliance with the Five Nations, who were ready and powerful auxiliaries. Such was the position of these rival nations in America, at the opening of the campaign, in 1755. General Braddock this year arrived from England; expeditions were planned against Fort du Quesne, forts Niagara, Frontenac, and Crown Point; and another by the Massachusetts colony, against Nova Scotia. That against du Quesne proved disastrous, in the defeat of General Braddock. The two northern expeditions, though not so disastrous as that against Fort du Quesne, were neither of them entirely successful. Although General William Johnson obtained the victory over the Baron Dieskau, the advantages were not as great as might have been anticipated, or would have been, had the victory been more complete. While Gene-

ral Shirley experienced so many delays, that he accomplished nothing against Niagara, but to leave a garrison at Oswego, and return to Albany. In the expedition under General Johnson, the warriors of the Five Nations, principally Mohawks and Onondagas, under the renowned King Hendrick, rendered signal service to the English, and sustained in a distinguished manner, their former character for courage and bravery. The Onondagas were ready with their whole available force, to assist General Shirley, and only waited an opportunity to prove themselves every way worthy the confidence and consideration of their friends.

The Marquis de Montcalm, who succeeded General Dieskau in command of the army of Canada, in the mean time advanced with five thousand men, including Europeans, Canadians and Indians, against Oswego. After a siege of three days, in which Colonel Mercer, commander of the garrison, was killed, the whole force capitulated, and were made prisoners of war, and the forts, in the presence of the Onondagas, demolished. A respectable naval armament, then on the lake, fell also into the hands of the enemy. The following year, 1757, the successful and vigilant Montcalm, laid siege to Fort William Henry, with so much vigor, that the garrison under Colonel Munroe capitulated, after an investment of six days, surrendering their military stores, and material of war, stipulating that they should not serve against the King of the French, or his allies, for the space of eighteen months.

The campaign of 1757 closed, leaving the affairs of the colonies of Great Britain, in America, in a more gloomy situation than at any former period.

By the reduction of Fort William Henry, the French acquired possession of Lakes Champlain and George, and, by the destruction of Oswego, secured the dominion of the Lakes, Ontario and westward to the waters connecting with the Mississippi. The campaign of 1758, opened with brighter prospects, although at first, it seemed to forbode anything like success. General Abercrombie was repulsed before Ticonderoga, with great loss; but, to make amends for this, Colo-

nel Bradstreet, in the month of August, took the Fort Frontenac, with its large magazine of military stores, from which all the south-western posts drew their supplies, it being the principal depot for articles designed for the Indians. Nine armed vessels also fell into the hands of the English. Having razed the fort, and demolished such stores as could not be easily removed, Colonel Bradstreet recrossed the Lake Ontario to Oswego; the expedition throughout having been attended with unexampled success. Ticonderoga and Crown Point, yielded to the English arms, under General Amherst, in July, 1759.

The same month, July, General Prideaux embarked on Lake Ontario, with an army destined against Niagara. He had scarcely departed from Oswego when that place which had been left in command of Colonel Haldimand, was vigorously attacked by a body of French and Indians, who were repulsed with considerable loss, after a somewhat severe conflict. Meanwhile, General Prideaux proceeded to Niagara, and invested that fortress in due form. In the progress of the siege, the General was killed by the bursting of a cohorn, upon which the command devolved upon General Johnson. A battle was fought on the 24th of July, in which the English were victorious. A capitulation was immediately signed, by which the garrison became prisoners of war.

The author having in hand, a manuscript relative to this expedition, it being no other than that of the original orderly book of Serjeant John Degarimo, of the 44th regiment of Highlanders, company of Capt. John McKenzie, found among the archives of the New-York Historical Society, presented by H. R. Schoolcraft, Esq. We think it of sufficient importance to insert entire, inasmuch as it has never before been published.

“ On the 21st of June, 1750, Gen. Prideaux and Sir William Johnson, with the army, set out from Oneida Lake, on an expedition against Niagara, which terminated at Oswego, August 19, 1759, after the capture of that post.

Boats, bateaux, &c., were prepared for the conduct of the

whole army. Among which are mentioned, masons, sawyers, bricklayers, wheelwrights, colliers, carpenters, house and ship-joiners, turners, blacksmiths, gunsmiths, &c., &c. Orders were given, to have all the bateaux ready in three divisions, each one to be numbered, as soon as a sufficient number of them shall be assigned to each. During the march, the most particular regard was paid to order and precision in discipline. On the 23d, the army passed Fort Brewington, and encamped at Three Rivers. On the 24th, at 5 o'clock, A. M., all were ordered to be in readiness for the March. The piquet guard, and quarter guard, to march along shore.

24th; arrived at the great falls and encamped, and remained there the 25th and 26th. On the 27th, arrived at Oswego, and were engaged in procuring provisions, 28th, 29th and 30th, and in making preparations for the march.

July 1st, moved on to Osenodus Bay; next day moved on to Nidenindequeat, and were there through the 3d at Prideaux Bay on the 4th, and at Johnson's Creek, 5th, 6th, and 7th, and before Niagara, from the 8th of July, to the 2d of August; during which time, it was duly invested and taken; after which, the army returned to Oswego, on the 6th. The journal closes with the 19th."

Another journal by the same hand commences with a collection of troops from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New-Hampshire, Connecticut, and New-Jersey, with the 44th Highlanders, under command of Colonel Woodhull, and their march to the frontiers of New-York, being at Albany, May 3d, 1760, and terminating at a camp near Fort Ontario, July 16th, 1760. These troops were nearly all collected by the 1st of June, and were ready to proceed on the 9th. On the 10th, they were mustered at Schoharie; June 15th, encamped at Willihea; 16th at Frey's; 19th to 29th at Canajoharia; July 1st at Fort Stanwix, and at Fort Brewington on July 6th.

The journal thus goes on, "July 6th, 1760, camp at Fort Brewington. No man to presume to damage any thing belonging to the Indians, on penalty of receiving one hundred lashes, without benefit of court martial. The officers com-

manding companies to give in a return of what number of bateaux, with the number of barrels each will contain, and of what species. That a man shall be assigned to each boat to stay with it all night, and keep her always bailed out, and that man is to be answerable for it. A return of the state of each company to be given in to-morrow morning, at six o'clock, to the serjeant major.

Camp at Fort Brewington, July 7th, 1760.

The third New-York Regiment to be ready to embark on board their bateaux at half past nine o'clock, and to push off at ten o'clock. The serjeants to see that their men cook immediately.

Camp at Three River Rift, July 8.

R. O. A regimental court martial to sit immediately, to try such prisoners as shall be brought before them, consisting of Capt. Yates, President; Lieuts. Deneyck, Vrooman, Hanson, Cannon, members.

The army proceed to Oswego Falls, and again encamped."

They arrived at Oswego on the 9th July, and the journal closes with the army at Oswego, July 20th. The same journal gives the orderly's record of the same regiment of the return of General Bradstreet's army from Detroit, 1764, at the close of the Pontiac war, beginning at Sandusky Bay, and ending at Schlosser and Niagara Falls, Nov. 13, 1764.

From a manuscript journal of Sir William Johnson's in the Library of the New York Historical Society, we glean the following relative to Indian councils, held with the Oneidas, Onondagas, &c. :

July 17, 1761, Sir William Johnson having arrived at Fort Brewerton,\* west end of Oneida Lake, Sequarisero, chief sachem of Gauayhsaragey, came to his tent to buy some powder to support his family in hunting, and complained greatly of the dearness of goods and the low prices of beavers, furs, &c. After which Sir William asked him whether any deputies had been sent by the Five Nations in the spring or sum-

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\* It is a little singular that at this time, and at all times, the name of this place is spelled Brewington and Brewerton—the latter is right.

mer, either by the Indians living about Detroit, or to any other nations of Indians. To which he answered, that there were some sent by the Senecas, and that the Cayugas were to have sent some also, but that on the arrival of the Cayuga Indians in the Senecas' country, he was told it would not be prudent to go so far alone, whereupon they proceeded without him.

To confirm what had on a previous occasion been said, the journal continues, "I then sent by an Indian a string of wampum to desire the Brant, and other chiefs of the Onondagas, to meet us at Oswego in order to talk over the business with them, as also to deliver the medals sent by General Amherst, to all those of that nation, who accompanied the army to Montreal the last year, but on mentioning some particular chiefs, Sir William was informed by the Tusearora sachem that they were gone, on the Governor of Pennsylvania's invitation, to attend a meeting of deputies of that province, adding that this nation and the Oneidas refused sending a deputation thither.

Sunday, July 19th, Sir William Johnson arrived at Oswego. On the 20th, several Messasaugas and other Indians waited on Sir William, whom he informed of the cause of his going to Detroit.

Two o'clock P. M. Two Onondagas arrived and acquainted Sir William that forty of their nation were on their way to meet him agreeable to his summons."

At a meeting held at Oswego, Tuesday, July 21st, 1761, present, Sir William Johnson, Bart., Maj. Dunean, Capt. Gray, and several officers of the 55th regiment, Lieut. Guy Johnson, acting as Secretary, with interpreters, and upwards of forty sachems and warriors of Onondaga. Sir William opened the conference by welcoming them to Oswego, and after the usual ceremony of condolence for their friends slain at Niagara, acquainted them with the reasons for his not calling them to a general council, since his return from Canada; informed them of the cause of his journey to Detroit, and of his discovery of the evil intentions and proceedings of the Indians, and

cautioned them against having any hand in them, and that he expected the Five Nations would have attended the meeting which he was going to call; advised them to mind their hunting and trade, and to behave friendly towards the English during his absence, and by no means to pay regard to any idle reports which might be circulated about the country, tending to create a misunderstanding between the English and Indians. He then presents a belt to the chief of the Onondagas, and delivers in great pomp the medals forwarded by General Amherst, to all the chiefs of that nation, after which they withdraw to consider an answer. In about an hour they returned, whereupon the chief speaker stood up, and after returning many thanks for what Sir William had said, went through the usual ceremony of condolence, gave three strings of wampum; then pulling out a large belt which had formerly been given them by Sir William, when they were called to go against Niagara, he proceeded:

“Brother Warraghiyagey—On your setting out with the army to the siege of Niagara, you then promised us a meeting with our nation. That after the reduction thereof and of the rest of the country, you would be enabled to regulate trade, so as to reduce the exorbitant price of goods, and likewise promised us good treatment forever, should we exert ourselves in conjunction with the army against the enemy, which we cheerfully agreed to, and accordingly conducted you to Niagara, and assisted you in taking it, as a salve for the wounds which you had received. Notwithstanding which, we find ourselves very much wronged and ill treated by your people in trade, and frequently ill used, without cause, at several posts. This proceeding, so contrary to your promises and our expectations, has greatly alarmed us, and been the cause of much uneasiness. We therefore entreat you, that we may meet with better usage from the English in future, otherwise we shall be induced to believe what the French have so often told us would be the consequence of your reducing them.

*Belt given.*

“We are surprised, to find you are going to call a council

at Detroit, as you know that the chief and only council fire burns at your house, excepting that which we have at Onondaga. Besides, the western Indians, as aggressors, ought rather to have attended on you. You recommend to us to mind our hunting and trade, and to live on good terms with our brethren at the several posts, than which nothing could be more agreeable to our inclinations. But we are sorry to observe that your brethren do not seem desirous of living on any good terms with us, from the frequent acts of violence offered, as well to us as to our women, and also from their hindering us from fishing or hunting about the posts, although in our own country, and frequently taking from us what we have killed or taken, contrary to promise and the friendship subsisting between us and you. We therefore beg, brother, that you will interpose and see justice done us—that we may have a free and reasonable trade, with powder allowed us, and that there may be, also, interpreters fixed at the several posts, who may prevent any future misunderstanding, which otherwise might happen, through our not understanding each other's language.

“Brother—With regard to what you spoke to us, concerning the intelligence sent from Detroit, and to your kind cautions to us on that head, whereby you advised us to avoid entering into any such idle project, we can truly answer, that we know nothing of any such plot, neither are we, or shall we get drunk and suffer ourselves to grow giddy, being determined to hold fast the covenant chain, and hope you will do the same on your part, so that we may both live together, till we become gray. This belt, which you have delivered us, shall be sent to the several nations, our allies, to acquaint them with what you say, with our resolutions thereon, which we hope will be a precedent for them to follow, and when they are all acquainted therewith, you will receive a belt in return.

“Brother—We esteem it a great favor that the general hath thought proper to remember those Indians who attended him to Montreal last year, by rewarding them with medals, and we return you thanks for delivering them to us, assuring

you that you may always depend on our remaining true allies to the English, and although, through misunderstanding which arose at that time, several of our and of the other Indian nations returned back, after the taking of Fort Levis, you may with great truth acquaint the general that it was owing to their want of zeal and inelination to serve the English, as you must know, that several of them have particularly distinguished themselves in your cause, during all the rest of the war.

“Brother—Here is one of our people present, named Kandaeta, who had his hunting house plundered (during the spring, while he was absent hunting) of thirty buckskins, two kettles, a gun, axes and other things, by some of the English, when going to Fort William Augustus. He therefore hopes you will inquire into it and obtain some redress, as he has been greatly reduced thereby, not having wherewithal to purchase clothing.

“Brother—I now speak at the request of the warriors, who came here to see and wish you a good journey, and safe return. And I am, in their names, to let you know how much they are distressed for want of powder for hunting, which renders them unable to obtain skins for trade, and for the maintenace of their families, not being able to procure it, even for their money. They therefore, by this bunch of wampum, desire you to consider their wants, by letting them have a couple of casks of powder, with a proportion of ball, until your return, which they shall look upon as a favor never to be forgotten.”

In reply, Sir William reminded the Onondagas of the several instances of their perfidy, bad faith and fickleness, and deals out in no unmeasured terms, threats and rebukes; but at length assumes an evener tone, and finally threatens punishment of the marauders of either party, and grants the wishes of the Onondaga chief, by promising him the powder, balls, &c., on promise of future amendment, which proved very acceptable to the Onondagas.

Sir William continues his journey, and holds other conferences at Niagara and Detroit.

In September, 1759, the English forces, provincial and regular, with a large body of Mohawk and Onondaga Indians, were concentrated at Quebec, under General Wolfe, which eventuated in the decisive battle on the plains of Abraham, and the surrender of the fortress and city of Quebec. In this important battle, fell the illustrious commanders of both English and French; General Wolfe and M. de Montcalm. Deaths more glorious, and attended with circumstances more picturesque, exhibiting more nobleness of soul and heroic fortitude, can scarcely find parallels in the annals of history. With this event, fell the power of the French in Canada. By the treaty of peace, which succeeded in 1762, the French King ceded to Great Britain, forever, all the territory to which France was entitled, on the eastern bank of the Mississippi, except the Island of New-Orleans.

The cessation of hostilities between these two great powers, gave also rest to the warriors of the Six Nations; but, notwithstanding their favor was courted by the English, the services they had rendered to the colonies were of too important a character not to be substantially remembered; and, even at this late day, it becomes us, not to forget, in our reminiscences of the past and our felicitations of the present, those distinguished braves who so freely shed their blood for their English allies; nor feel reluctance in bestowing the due meed of praise to those heroic warriors and brilliant orators, who figured alike conspicuously in *our* history and *their own*. The great council fire for the transaction of business between the English and Six Nations had been usually lighted at Albany; while that, for their own affairs, shone abroad with undiminished lustre, from their time honored Onondaga. Had it not been for the long continued friendship of these distinguished people, and the inestimable services rendered by them in the English wars with the French, it is not at all certain that the English would have been successful; and it is possible, if

not probable, that the colonies would have been governed by the French.\*

After the conclusion of this war, the difficulties between the mother country and the colonies, thickened. The clouds which at first cast their faint shadows over the sun of our happiness, at length thickened to a tempest, till the awful storm gave warning of its approach, at Boston, Concord and Lexington, and finally burst forth in its most portentous fury at Bunker Hill. Foreseeing a long and angry contest, it became the policy of the colonies to secure the assistance, if possible, of the Indians occupying the frontier. In this they were unsuccessful, and failed even to engage them to act a neutral part, except the Oneidas, a portion of whom lay idle in their cabins, while the Mohawks bore a most distinguished part against the cause of freedom.

The Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas, were often on the war path, and rendered, at different periods, essential service to the crown. After the war of the Revolution, the English treated their Indian allies with great indifference and neglect. In the treaty between the United States and Great Britain, there was no stipulation made in behalf of the Indians, and the legislature of New-York manifested a disposition to expel them from all their territory, within the bounds of the state; but, by the kind offices of Generals Washington and Schuyler, the rash act was not consummated. A grand council of all the Six Nations, for the purpose of making a treaty, was called at Fort Stanwix, in 1784. The several nations were represented by the chiefs and warriors. The commissioners on the part of the United States were Oliver Wolcott, Richard But-

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\* In 1758, the governors of Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, with Sir William Johnson and other agents, concluded a treaty with the Indians, conveying the title of the extensive territory lying between the Apalachian Mountains and the Ches. The commissioners, with the consent of the Indian attorneys, purchased a tract of upwards of thirty thousand acres of land, which received the name of Brotherton. The deed was taken in the name of the New-Jersey governor and commissioners, and their heirs, in trust for the natives in New-Jersey, south of the Raritan. The council began on the 8th of October and continued to the 26th. The Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas, and other nations were present, to the number of five hundred and seven. (Hobne's Annals, II. p. 56.)

ler and Arthur Lee. A definitive treaty was made, giving to each a suitable reservation of land, except the Mohawks, who had accepted a proposal from General Haldimand to settle in Canada. By this treaty, they were shorn of a goodly portion of their valuable lands, their power was destroyed, and their martial spirit completely broken. The result of this negotiation gave great dissatisfaction to the chiefs and warriors of the Five Nations. They had fought for their favorite ally and been conquered; they had severally been assaulted in their own country and been defeated; they had raised the hatchet in defense of their homes, it had fallen unavenged and harmless to the ground, and they sat down mournfully to brood over their fallen fortunes. The western Indians had shared little in the trials of the confederates; they continued their murderous incursions on the defenseless inhabitants of Ohio, Pennsylvania and Kentucky. The downfallen confederates, could not but sympathize with them. Brant, the great captain of the Five Nations, the master spirit of their plans, urged them on to war. Bands of Senecas and Onondagas, under their favorite chiefs, were present with the Mohawks, and assisted in the successive defeats of Harmer and St. Clair, and manfully bore arms on the memorable day on which the tide of victory was turned in favor of the American arms, wielded by the brave men commanded by the gallant Wayne. Oheknugh and Oundiaga, of the Onondagas were there, the former left his bones to bleach on the plains of the Miamis; the latter returned with a few of his heroic braves, to tell the tale of their woe, and to teach a lesson of humiliation and submission, to their surviving brethren, spirit broken and disconsolate.

After this defeat, the Onondagas saw clearly the folly of cherishing any longer a hostile disposition towards their immediate neighbors. They settled down in quiet, determined to submit with fortitude to their fate. Their numbers had been fatally thinned, they had gained nothing in the late contest but honor, and even that was forgotten and neglected by their allies. Many had moved westward in disappointment and disgust, and the scattering few who still lingered around

their ancient council-fire, brooded in gloomy despondency over their fallen greatness. By degrees their confidence was restored, a season of rest gave them renewed vigor, a new generation brought with it a returning spirit of national pride. The traditions of their ancient grandeur, awakened in the bosoms of the maturing braves a spirit of martial independence. Again they seemed to be themselves, and when the sound of war's alarms was heard on the frontier of New-York in 1812, the Onondagas were ranged for battle, and gave decisive evidence of their prowess, on the plains of Chippewa, and at Lundy's Lane, under the gallant Generals Brown, Scott, Ripley and Porter. Their leader was Hoh-a-hoa-qua, (La Fort,) father of the late head chief bearing the latter appellation. Ti-ungk-ta-ko-nae, (Capt. George,) was his companion in arms. The former was slain in the battle of Chippewa, on the memorable 6th of July, 1814, and his remains were buried with military honors near the spot where he closed his earthly career, and there still remain, in a foreign land, "unwept, unhonored and unsung;" no marble tells their resting place. At the approach of a contest at arms in 1814, General Porter, who had the confidence of the New-York Indians in a remarkable degree, came down to Onondaga, and solicited their cooperation in the war. A council of the nation was held at Cayuga, at which it was resolved to aid the Americans. A subsequent council of all the Six Nations was called at Buffalo. The Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas, were represented,—the Mohawks did not appear,—they had already pledged themselves to their ancient ally, the crown of Great Britain. The Mohawks on all previous occasions had furnished the chief war captain of the confederacy. A grave question arose in this council, as to which nation should now be entitled to this distinguished honor. Claims were set up by all the nations represented; debate ran high, none seemed willing to yield the point, till at length Sagoyawatha, (Red Jacket,) with a magnanimity unparalleled, arose in the majesty of his might, and eloquently declared his sentiments in favor of the Onondagas. He was seconded by various other

chiefs who had not yet spoken, and Hoh-a-hao-qua, was selected. He manfully responded to the call, saying, "I am ready to lead the brave men of our nations where duty calls, and if necessary, to shed the last drop of my blood for the good of the cause we have now embraced." Under their newly selected leader, the Onondagas and Senecas crossed the lines, prepared for battle, and honorably sustained themselves throughout the fight. Previous to his death, Hoh-a-hoa-qua had a presentiment of its approach. He said to those around him, "I shall perish here; this ground will be red with my blood," a prediction literally fulfilled.

The Onondagas followed the fortune of war, and at Lundy's Lane were engaged as scouts, not entering into the hottest of that sanguinary conflict. These were the last battle-fields on which the Onondagas were engaged. Their services on the frontier and in an enemy's country, (they claim) have never been duly appreciated, and the scanty pittance meted for their services, is but a common illustration of the gratitude and magnanimity of powerful nations towards the weaker.

By the treaty of Fort Stanwix, held 1784, the several nations gave hostages for their good behavior, and were confined and restricted to the lands then actually occupied by them respectively, being all the country west of the "*Old Property Line*," except certain reserves at Oswego and along the Niagara River. Subsequently in 1788, the Onondagas, by a treaty made at Fort Stanwix, with the State of New York, relinquished all title to their lands, except about ten miles square around their castle and contiguous to it. They also yielded one half of their right to all the salt springs on their reservation, and eventually surrendered the whole. For these benefits, seventeen hundred dollars was paid in hand, and an annuity of five hundred dollars was granted them, which was regularly paid by the State of New-York. By the treaty of Onondaga of 1793, and the treaty of Cayuga Ferry, 1795, and the treaties of Albany of 1817 and 1822, their territory was further reduced to its present limits, about three and a half miles long by two miles broad, for an equivalent by an

increased annuity of one thousand dollars. This domain they at present occupy in comparative comfort. Their present annuity is twenty-four hundred dollars; the resident population, three hundred and thirteen; emigrated to the Alleghany and Cataraugus Reservations, some two hundred. There are also residing among the Onondagas, of other nations not entitled to the benefits of the annuity, about fifty.

The general character and condition of the Onondagas as a body at this day, is not remarkable either for industry, thrift, perseverance, temperance, or any of those higher virtues and graces which tend to exalt and elevate mankind in the great scale of rational being. To this remark, however, there are some worthy exceptions. Much needs to be done, and much may be done, to enable them to take a much higher rank than they now do, in every thing that leads to human happiness and individual and national aggrandizement.

## CHAPTER X.

## REMINISCENCES.

ABORIGINAL NAMES—EXPEDITION OF COL. VAN SCHAICK AGAINST THE ONONDAGAS, 1779—REVOLUTIONARY INCIDENT, 1780—BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF EPHRAIM WEBSTER—TREATIES WITH THE ONONDAGAS—MILITARY TRACT.

ANCIENT ABORIGINAL NAMES, of lakes, streams and localities, in Onondaga county and vicinity :—

ONONDAGA—written by the Jesuit Fathers two hundred years ago, Onontae and Onontague, and by early English writers, Onontago, Onondago, Onondawgu and Onondaugua. The interpretation of the word Onondaga, has been variously given, as “Under the Hill, at the end of the swamp,” “the swamp at the foot of the mountain.” But from the best information we have obtained, we set it down as the “*Residence of the People of the Hills*,” the word swamp having no connection with it. By the ancient Fathers and their own most distinguished chiefs, the people of Onondaga were styled “The Iroquois Highlanders,” “Men of the Hills,” “People of the Mountain,” &c. This name included their valley, their hills, and the ancient seat of their council-fire.

ONONDAGA LAKE—was called by the Jesuits, “Genentaa.” It is now called by the natives *Oh-nen-ta-ha*. Its signification we have been unable to ascertain. Its very appropriate name, and the one by which it is at present most commonly called by the natives, is *Kotchakatoo*, or lake surrounded by salt springs.

ONONDAGA CREEK—is called by the Indians, *Kah-yungk-*

*wa-tah-toa*. On a map in the New-York Historical Society's Library, (by Mr. Thurber, of Utica,) we find it called, "Kundaqua." Heekewelder calls it the river "Zinoehsaa." The west branch is called by the Indians, *Swe-nugh-kee*—cutting through a deep gulf. The east branch is called *Sta-a-ta*—coming from between two barren knolls. The estuary of the creek and neighborhood of Syracuse, was formerly called, *Oh-na-ta-toonk*—among the pines. Since the completion of the canal and the building up of the village and city of Syracuse, it is called *Kah-ya-hoo-neh*—where the ditch full of water goes through.

OUTLET OF ONONDAGA LAKE—is called *So-hah-hee*. This short stream, which issues from the Onondaga Lake and runs to the Seneca River, was anciently called by the French, "La Rigole," on account of its resemblance to a deep cut or trench. (Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan.)

ONONDAGA HOLLOW—*Teuaheughwa*—where the path crosses the road.

ONONDAGA WEST HILL--*Kah-che-qua-ne-ung-ta*. On Mitchell's map of the British and French dominions in America, this range of hills is called, "Tegerhunkerode mountains," and on an ancient Dutch map, they are called the "Table Mountains."

OTISEO LAKE—is called by the Indians, *Kaioongk*, sometimes *Otskah*. The outlet of Otiseo Lake and NINE MILE CREEK, is called *Hoh-ste-kah*. Its estuary at Onondaga Lake is *Kia-heun-ta-ha*. Map in the Historical Society's Library gives "Ustuka" for the name of Nine Mile Creek.

SKANEATELES LAKE—is called *Skehneahties*, meaning very long lake. The stream that leads from it to Seneca River, is called *Hanauttoo*—water running through thick hemlocks, or hemlock creek. Charlevoix' map gives it "Lac Seaneateles." Map in the Historical Society Library has it Skanadie Lake. The same authority gives for the river or outlet "Hananto."

ONEIDA LAKE.—Although this body of water is known to us by an Indian name, it is believed the natives never called

it Oneida. The Onondagas call it *Se-ugh-ka*—i. e., striped with blue and white lines, separating and coming together again. In order fully to comprehend this interpretation and signification, the person should occupy some one of the high grounds of Manlius or Pompey, where the whole extent of this lake may be distinctly seen some ten or twelve miles distant. At particular times the surface presents white and blue lines distinctly traceable from its head to its outlet. At such times it is strikingly beautiful, and its Indian name peculiarly significant. On the Jesuit maps, published from 1664 to 1693, which have come to the author's notice, this lake is called "Lac Techtroguen des Onneiouts." Charlevoix has it "Lac Techiroguen." Thurber's map has it "Kanoaloka Lake." In Capt. Machin's journal, he calls it, "Onida-ho-go Lake." Wentworth Greenhalgh, who visited it in 1677, writes it "Tsiroqui Lake." It seems to have been known to the early English writers, as the "Oneidas' Lake," afterwards the Oneida Lake, as it is now designated. On an old map in the Secretary of State's office at Albany, it is set down "Ca-hung-hage" Lake.

FORT BREWERTON—*Ohsahawnytah-Seughkah*—Literally, where the waters run out of Oneida Lake. Pere le Mercier names an Oneida village, near and south of this place, called "Ganayhsaragey," (*Canaseraga* perhaps,) and an English authority (Lon. Docs.) locates an Indian village near the outlet of Oneida Lake, called "Kaneenda."

ONEIDA RIVER—*Sah-eh*—Jesuits' map, "Tethiroguen."—Thurber's map, "Taguneda."

THREE-RIVER-POINT—*Te-u-ung-hu-ka*—meeting of waters or where two rivers meet.

CROSS LAKE—*Te-ungt-too*—Thurber's map, "Yuneendo;" Schoolcraft, "Teonto"—signification, residence of the wise man. There is a singular tradition alive, among the Onondagas, respecting an aged and very wise chief, who lived on the eastern shore of this lake many hundred years ago. His name was Hiawatha.—(See his story, page, 21.)

TULLY, FABIUS, TRUXTON, &c.—*Te-kanea-ta-heung-ne-*

*ugh*—Very high hills, with many small lakes, from which water flows in contrary directions. It implies, also, an excellent hunting ground.

POMPEY AND LA FAYETTE—*Ote-ge-ga-ja-ke*—a place of much grass—openings or prairies. Another name given to this locality, not often repeated, and about which there is much superstitious reserve, is *Ote-queh-sah-he-eh*, the field of blood, or bloody ground—a place where many have been slain. It has been said, that no Indian ever visits this neighborhood. They certainly very much dislike to converse about it.

LIMESTONE CREEK, passing through Manlius—Indian name, *Te-a-une-nogh-he*—the angry stream or Mad Creek; otherwise, a stream that rises suddenly, overflowing the country through which it passes.

BUTTERNUT CREEK, passing through De Witt—Indian name *Ka-soongk-ta*—formerly called by the whites, “Kashunkta;” literally, barks in the water, or a place where barks are placed after being peeled in spring, that they may not curl in summer, and thereby become unfit for covering their cabins for winter, or that they may always be in readiness for use.

GREEN POND, in the town of De Witt—*Kai-yah-koo*—satisfied with tobacco.—*See De Witt.*

DEEP SPRING—*Te-ungh-sat-a-yagh*—by the fort at the spring. Near this spring was anciently the easternmost settlement of the Onondagas. They had at this place an earthen fort, surrounded with palisades. There were always stationed at this place a party of warriors, to hold the eastern door of the nation.—*See Deep Spring, town of Manlius.*

CICERO SWAMP—*Ka-nugh-wa-ka*—where the rabbits run—great swamp, where is plenty of game.

CAZENOVIA LAKE—*Hoh-wah-ge-neh* (Onondaga,)—*O-wah-se-ha-gah*, (Oneida,). Literally, the lake where the yellowish swim, or yellow perch lake. This lake is in Madison county, and was anciently a fishing place for the Oneidas and Onondagas. The Oneidas had a small village on the east side, on the site of the village of Cazenovia, extending north.

CHITTENANGO CREEK.—Père le Mercier, in 1655, calls it

Goienho. The same authority calls a fishing place near CROSS LAKE, Kaehnawaaeharege.

OSWEGO and outlet of Oswego River—called by the Onondagas, *Osh-wa-kee*. Literally, I see every where—*see nothing*. Charlevoix calls the river, “Riviere des Onnontagues.” Early English writers call it the “Onondagoes’ river,” and sometimes the outlet, “Sweege.” An Indian village, at the Oswego Falls, was called by Mereier, “Quiehook,” and the ledge, over which the water falls, he calls, “Kagnewagrage.”

ONTARIO LAKE.—The Onondagas called this lake, and do to this day, *Oshwakee*. The Mohawks called it Cadaraqui; the Senecas, Ohudeara. Jesuit map, 1664, it is set down “Lae Ontario ou des Iroquois.” Jesuit Relation, 1665, has it Ondiara. Father Henepin, “Lae Skanadario,” or beautiful lake. Champlain, 1615, calls it the Lake of the Entouhonorons.

TEORONTO BAY, or Jerundegut—called by the Jesuit Fathers, “Audiatarontagat,” 1665. *Cheorontok*, (Onondaga.)

SODUS BAY—*Ganatio*. Osenodus—Jesuits.

CAYUGA LAKE—On Jesuits’ map, “Tiohero lac”—“Gejougouen” by Charlevoix—“Gwaugweh,” Thurber’s map.

CAYUGA MARSHES—*Squagonna*.

SENECA RIVER—*Thiohero*, or River of Rushes—Jesuits’ map and Relation, 1668–9. Charlevoix, gives the same. The lake bears the same name by the same authority.

Besides the maps, books, &c, which have been consulted in order to prepare the foregoing list of Indian names of localities, the author acknowledges his indebtedness to the late Indian chiefs, Capt. Frost and La Fort, for much valuable assistance.

Many of the foregoing names are given in other places, but for convenience and reference, it has been thought best to give them a place by themselves.

## EXPEDITION OF COL. VAN SCHAICK AGAINST THE ONONDAGAS, 1779 :—

The shocking barbarities practiced during the years 1777 and 1778, by the Indians, united with white men, still more savage than Indians, on the inhabitants of the western frontiers, had irresistibly attracted the public attention, and added motives of mingled resentment and humanity to those of national interest. The beautiful and thriving settlements in the Wyoming Valley and Cherry Valley, had been laid waste, and their inhabitants massacred by the ruthless savages and their still more ruthless coadjutors, the British and Tories, then hovering around our borders, under the direction of Brant, Johnson and the Butlers. These leaders, continually on the watch, were successful in committing the most sanguinary atrocities on the settlements along the Mohawk River. So alarming had these irruptions become, that it was fearfully apprehended that Schenectady would speedily stand as the most western boundary of the frontier settlements.

The Indian depredations became so frequent, and of so appalling a character to the frontier inhabitants, that the commander-in-chief soon found it necessary to employ a larger force than had been heretofore spared, for the protection of that part of the country. General Washington, who in the early part of his life had received many practical lessons in the science of Indian warfare, had been always firmly persuaded of the absolute impossibility of defending our extensive frontier on the west from their incursions, by any chain of forts which could be erected and garrisoned; and that the country would be much more certainly protected by offensive than defensive operations. His plan was to penetrate by rapid movements into the heart of the Indian country, with a force sufficient at once to accomplish the destruction of their towns, provided the circumstances of the army would justify his making a detachment sufficient for the purpose. As a contingent part of this plan, he had also contemplated the reduction of the British post at Niagara, the possession of which gave them an almost irresistible influence over the Six Na-

tions. This plan constituted one of the various subjects of conference with the committee of Congress in Philadelphia, and received the entire approbation of that body. New-York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Connecticut respectively applied to Congress for aid, urging the adoption at once of the most vigorous measures. A committee was appointed to confer with General Washington, and in conformity with their report, Congress resolved, "That the commander-in-chief be directed to take efficient measures for the protection of the inhabitants and chastisement of the savages." Other resolutions were passed at the same time for raising companies of rangers, for the sole purpose of serving on the western frontiers.

The Indian settlements were extensive throughout the western part of New York, and from their long intercourse with the whites, had made considerable advances in civilization. In their populous villages were to be seen many comfortable houses, and their fertile fields and orchards yielded an abundant supply of corn and fruit. Some of the Oneidas were attached to the United States, but generally, the Six Nations were entirely under British influence, from whose posts on the lakes they received supplies of blankets, rum, arms, and other imported articles. Many loyalists who had been forced to quit their country, had taken refuge among them and added to their strength, without diminishing their ferocity. They found an asylum among the Indians, lived with them in their villages, and urged them on in their expeditions against the Americans. Against these congregated bands it was determined to lead a force which should be sufficient at once to crush any force they could possibly bring into the field, and effectually destroy their villages. The country was to be entered by three divisions at the same time, the whole to be under the orders of General James Clinton. The principal body, to consist of about three thousand men, was to proceed up the Susquehanna, and penetrate the heart of the country occupied by the Senecas. The second, of about one thousand men, was to move up the Mohawk River, and

destroy the Cayugas; and the third, of about five hundred men, was to move up the Alleghany River and attack the towns in that quarter. In carrying out this plan, address and secrecy were required, in order to ensure success, for had the real destination of the expedition been publicly known, its success would have been attended with greater difficulty. Demonstrations were made of a design to march against Canada, while the most active preparations were making for the enterprise really contemplated, and every item of information was greedily seized which could facilitate its execution. About this time the most alarming discontents broke out in the American army, which very near had the effect to entirely frustrate the whole plan of the expedition. It required the whole energies, authority and reputation of the commander-in-chief, and other distinguished officers, to quiet them. Order having been restored, preparations were made for the immediate execution of the plan. But before the troops destined for the grand expedition were put in motion, an important enterprise, though of less extent, was undertaken, and attended throughout with the most complete success. The settlements of the Onondagas, one of the nearest of the hostile nations, lying about fifty miles from Fort Schuyler, were supposed to be within the reach of a detachment from the garrison of that place. A plan having been formed by General Schuyler, and approved by the commander-in-chief, Colonel Van Schaick, assisted by Lieutenant Colonel Willet and Major Cochran, marched from Fort Schuyler on the morning of the 19th of April, at the head of between five and six hundred men. On the morning of their departure it was announced that the expedition was destined to make an attack upon Oswego. All Indians at Fort Schuyler were detained there, till the little army had proceeded beyond the reach of their *espionage*. Proceeding with great dispatch and secrecy, according to the tenor of their instructions, partly by land and partly by water, Colonel Van Schaick, on the third day of his march, reached the place of destination. The route of Colonel Van Schaick and his party, was from Fort Schuyler to Wood

Creek by land, thence down the creek and Oneida Lake to old Fort Brewerton, which place the party reached on the afternoon of the 20th. Opposite to this on the south side of the river, this little army landed, leaving a suitable guard with the boats. The remainder of the party proceeded rapidly across the country, now Cicero and Clay, and the first night encamped about nine miles south of Fort Brewerton, in the densely tangled forest, in a marshy, unforbidding, uncomfortable spot. The night was dark, wet, cold and dreary, and fearful their wary enemy might catch a glimpse of their campfires if made, those important auxiliaries to a soldier's comfort were dispensed with. For fear of surprise, the soldiers lay upon their arms. The march was resumed early the next morning; and the little army, after a march of much suffering and fatigue, soon arrived at the Onondaga Lake, without being discovered. The spot where they first approached the lake was at Green Point. They then proceeded cautiously along the shore of the lake, built a log bridge across Mud Creek, a little north of Salina, the remains of which were in existence in 1794. Near this bridge Mr. Thomas Wheeler, several years since, found a gun barrel supposed to have been lost by some soldier belonging to the expedition. Their course was then to the mouth of the Onondaga Creek, which stream was not at this season of the year fordable, and all passed over in single file, on the trunk of a large sycamore tree, which had long been used by the Indians as a foot bridge. Captain Graham, of the advanced guard, here captured one of the warriors of the Onondagas, which was the first Indian seen on their whole route. Here scouts from the Indians accidentally and unexpectedly came upon them, and instantly spread the alarm among the neighboring hamlets. At this time, as on a former occasion, the Indians pursued the retreating policy, and made but a feeble show of resistance. Captain Graham was ordered to advance with all possible rapidity and caution, for the purpose of surrounding the principal village, and the remainder of the forces were divided into small parties for the purpose of surrounding the other villages, and

if possible to secure the whole at a single dash. A simultaneous rush was made to execute these orders, but the celerity of the Onondaga warriors was too great. The chain of hamlets extending from the Onondaga Lake, near ten miles south, was quite too extensive to be surrounded by numbers so small. The alarm had been given; they had fled, and no foe could overtake them.

A skirmish was fought near Mickle's Furnace, on the west side of the hollow, and the Onondagas were pursued into the swamp eastward of there, with a trifling loss. This was the only show of fight made. The women and children secreted themselves in the neighboring forests, and thus escaped, while the warriors hung around and witnessed the burning and destruction of their villages and property, with the most stoical submission. The official account of Colonel Van Schaick, says, "the utmost address was used in surrounding as many of the settlements as possible at the same time; but the alarm having been given on the first appearance of the Americans, and the towns being of considerable extent, many of the Indians escaped into the woods. Twelve were killed, and thirty-four, including one white man, were made prisoners." Although this statement is undoubtedly correct, yet the Indians have a tradition that the Americans killed only one person, and that was a papoose, which a soldier stabbed with a bayonet, and after twirling the innocent in the air, dashed it against a tree. The houses and provisions were consumed by fire, and the horses and other stock were killed. About one hundred guns were broken or otherwise ruined, and the whole settlement was utterly destroyed, with a quantity of ammunition and a brass swivel, which was mounted.

This battle was on the 21st, and after the destruction of the settlement and property, the little army retraced their steps by recrossing the creek. A small party of Indians fired upon them after they had crossed. They were driven back by Lieutenant Evans' rifle corps, with the loss of one killed. The day upon which this attack upon the Onondaga settlement was made was cloudy, attended with a drizzling rain.

The army encamped on the bank of the Onondaga Lake, on the night of the 21st.

The precise spot where Colonel Van Schaick passed the night, on the shore of the Onondaga Lake is unknown, but from the circumstance of there being an old picket work, and an excellent spring of water a little below Green Point, it is reasonable to suppose that it might have been there; at all events, it was some where on the high ground between Salina and Liverpool.

On the 22d, they marched to Fort Brewerton, and finding their bateaux in good order, proceeded to one of the islands seven or eight miles from Brewerton, encamped for the night, and next day proceeded to Wood Creek, and the day following, the 24th, entered Fort Schuyler at 12 M., after an absence of only five days and a half.

Thus having completely effected the object of the expedition, the detachment returned to Fort Schuyler without the loss of a single man. For this handsome display of talents as a partizan officer, the thanks of Congress were voted to Colonel Van Schaick, and the officers and soldiers under his command. Although the expedition had been completely successful, and from it the most propitious results were expected to follow, yet it had not the effect to conquer the indomitable spirit of the Onondagas. Revenge was a morsel too sweet for these warlike and haughty people to sacrifice and stifle, for wrongs so boldly inflicted upon them. This malignant passion burned in their bosoms with renewed fervor, and an opportunity was only wanted, to enable them to glut their vengeance to the utmost. It was a matter to them, of too serious consequence to be passed over lightly. They were fired with the strongest indignation at the destruction of their villages, and the extinguishment of the national council-fire, which for untold ages had burned upon their sacred hearth.

An opportunity soon offered itself, and three hundred braves were upon the war-path. Oundiaga is said to have commanded this party. They proceeded stealthily to the Mohawk Valley, and suddenly fell upon a German settlement called Cobles-

kill, defeated a Captain's command sent against them, killing the officer and most of his men. The fight was protracted, obstinate and bloody, and resulted in a complete triumph of the Onondagas, who lost but two men on this memorable occasion. Their drooping spirits were in a measure revived, and their vengeance fully glutted. Their hatred for the Americans was not diminished, and through the remainder of the war, rendered the British essential service. Thus was signally avenged the expedition of Colonel Van Schaick against the Onondagas.

AN INCIDENT OF THE REVOLUTION.—During the Revolutionary war, at that period when the Johnsons, Butlers, and the Mohawk chieftain, Brant, were ravaging our frontier settlements, and spreading terror and alarm among the inhabitants of the Mohawk Valley, Cherry Valley and Wyoming neighborhoods, the Tories and Indians, with such Canadian associates as could be suddenly called into service, would frequently assemble at Niagara, Oswego, or some other convenient place of rendezvous, pass up the Oswego and Oneida Rivers, and Oneida Lake, to a suitable landing place, as near the scene of their anticipated operations as prudence would permit, and allow them to escape observation; then disembark, and pass over land to the Tryon county settlements, do all the mischief possible, return, hurry into their boats, and effect a safe retreat, by the route over which they had advanced.

On one of these occasions, in October, 1780, Sir John Johnson and Brant had collected a body of forces at La Chien, on the Island of Montreal, consisting of about twelve hundred men, mostly Canadians and Indians. These bands were collected with great secrecy and the motley materials of which they were composed, rendered them capable of accomplishing deeds of the darkest die. After their organization, they, under their respective leaders, ascended the River St. Lawrence in bateaux to Lake Ontario, thence to Oswego, up the Oswego and Oneida Rivers, to the Chittenango Creek, ascending that stream about six miles, where they landed on the east bank, at

a short bend, opposite to what is now lot number one hundred, township of Cicero. This spot was undoubtedly selected, not only for its contiguity to the scene of their expected operations, and for its seclusion, but, was probably as near as they could approach Fort Schuyler, without alarming the garrison there, which was at all times extremely watchful of these marauding parties. After landing, they proceeded to put in good repair the palisade enclosure, which had been first erected on some former expedition. A sufficient guard was left to protect the boats, and such stores as were not needed through the remainder of the expedition, and then the party crossed the country to Schoharie, where they were joined by the Tories in that region. This little army was furnished with some pieces of light cannon, which were transported through the country on pack horses, and were somewhat serviceable in their predatory attacks and rapid advances. After reenforcing their number with as many as could be induced to join their ranks, they proceeded to the Mohawk valley, where ruin, desolation and death, seemed to mark their progress. Such was the secrecy of their movements, and the suddenness of their approach, that the inhabitants of the country were completely taken by surprise, panic stricken and amazed. After doing immense damage by murder, pillage and fire, the retreat of the hostile party was as hasty and precipitate as their advance had been unexpected and surprising.

The Americans mustered under General Van Rensselaer, who pursued the enemy as far as Clocksfield; and in a slight engagement at that place, gained a decided advantage over them; and, had General Van Rensselaer followed up that advantage with the spirit and energy the circumstances seemed to require, in all probability, the entire force under Johnson and Brant, would have been captured; but he retreated in the moment of victory. In the meantime, however, General Van Rensselaer, having ascertained where Sir John's boats were concealed, had dispatched a messenger to Fort Schuyler, with a statement of the facts and circumstances relative to the movements of the hostile party. Whereupon Captain Vroo-

man was dispatched with a strong detachment, and ordered to hasten on and destroy the boats and stores left at the place of landing. He lost no time in attempting the execution of his orders, and succeeded so far as to make the guard prisoners, and sink all their boats except two, in which they intended to decamp, and destroyed all their military stores. It seems Sir John became apprized of Vrooman's movement. A party of Butler's rangers, with some of Brant's Indians, were pushed forward, to intercept, if possible, Vrooman and his little band. By extra exertion and forced marches, they came suddenly and unawares upon Vrooman and his party, who were all ready to depart, and while they were taking their dinner, completely surprised them, and without firing a single gun, made the whole party prisoners of war. The Indians and Canadians were highly exasperated on finding their boats and two pieces of cannon sunk, and their stores rifled and spoiled. The prisoners were treated with the greatest severity. Three of their number fell immediate victims to their savage cruelty. One poor fellow was compelled, bound hand and foot, to run the gauntlet. After being forced to take his position between two parallel lines of his foes, he was ordered to run or jump through them, and if successful, thereby save his life. He started with a determined resolution, and made nine astonishing leaps, after which he was struck down, severely beaten with elubs, and subsequently, to the great satisfaction of his tormentors, literally roasted alive. Such was the distance of these respective leaps, that a well trained unbound Indian, could with great difficulty and exertion, perform the feat; several white men have been known to fail. The pine tree to which the unfortunate man was tied, was standing not many years since, and was well known in the neighborhood, as the "*Turtle Tree.*" Here it may be noted, that each of the original Five Nations was divided into three principal clans or tribes, distinguished by their respective emblems, the Tortoise, the Wolf and the Bear. It is supposed that it was a party of the Tortoise clan of Mohawks who committed this massacre, and they left the image of a large turtle carved on the tree, not only to disig-

nate the tree at which the man was burned, but the tribe also who perpetrated the act. At every anniversary of this event, Indians revisited this spot, to examine the tree and carefully renew the tracks made in the sand by the unfortunate man, hold a sort of pow-wow and war dance around a circular fire, and then disappear. This practice was continued yearly by the Indians, as late as 1815. The ground upon which this event occurred, is about two miles north from Matthews' Mills, town of Manlius, on land occupied now or lately by Mr. Ezra Tucker.

John Adams, Esq., who first surveyed a considerable portion of the lands in that region, and the late Judge John Knowles, who first settled there in 1805 or 1806, saw the pickets then standing, and they occasionally found guns, knives, hatchets, bullets, &c.; and at high water, many persons have seen whole boats and fragments of boats, driven up among the floodwood, with timbers very little if any decayed, leaving more than presumptive testimony in corroboration of the facts before stated, on the authority of the late Mrs. Storms, of Sullivan, who was a prisoner there at the time, and was taken in this expedition of Johnson's and carried into Canada; and of a man who was one of Johnson's party, and known as Tory Foster, who, in former years was a resident of the town of Cicero, and a frequent visitor to his friends in the town of Manlius.

It has been reported that Sir John, in his haste to retreat, lost his military chest, containing a considerable amount of specie, in attempting to cross the Canaseraga Creek, and many fruitless attempts have been made to recover it; and whoever passes the Canaseraga Outlet, may now see a large curb, which has been sunk for that purpose. Several unsuccessful attempts have been made to discover the cannon also.

The late William L. Stone, Esq., states this landing to have been on the Onondaga River, (see Stone's Life of Brant) but from the nature of the country, and the minute circumstances here related from sources the most reliable, from persons con-

versant with the facts, and who could not well be mistaken, it is believed that so far, his statement must be erroneous.

This ground has evidently been the scene of many a strange event, which tradition with her illusive conjectures, still keeps alive in the excited imaginations of many, while history and truth remain silent.

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF EPHRAIM WEBSTER.—The first white person who made a permanent settlement in the county of Onondaga, was Ephraim Webster. As his life was one of singularity and adventure, we propose to present our readers with a sketch. He was born 1752, in the town of Hempstead, New-Hampshire. His father, with his family, moved into the State of New-York, somewhere near the North River, in February, 1773. Sometime in the year 1778, the subject of this sketch enlisted in the army of the United States, and served to the close of the war, making about three years service. After the war, he returned to his home. But the toils of agriculture, not being exactly agreeable to the inclination of his roving disposition, he left home in company with a young man named Leavitt, for the purpose of trading with the Oneida Indians, with whom he had, during part of the war, had some little intercourse. They laid in a small stock of goods at Schenectady, and proceeded on to their place of destination. During the progress of their journey, Leavitt became discouraged and returned home. Webster persevered and finally located at Oriskany, where he exposed his stock of goods for sale. He soon learned that in order to become a successful trader, he must acquire a thorough knowledge of the Indian language, which by constant practice and application he soon mastered. His trade here, though limited, was as successful as could, under the circumstances, have been expected.

He was present at the great council, held at Fort Stanwix, in 1784, at which a treaty was made between the Six Nations and the United States. At this council, the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas were represented.

But the Senecas were slow in coming forward, and Webster was dispatched for them. His message, it is said, ran thus: "The great council of the thirteen fires has been a long time kindled—four of the great Indian nations, have laid fuel on the fire—the great pot is already boiling, and the pottage cannot be cooked (business cannot proceed) unless their brethren, the Senecas, are present. They are desired to make haste."

He remained two years at Oriskany, and during that time made several excursions with the Indian hunters to Onondaga. Webster became intimate, and quite a favorite with his new neighbors, the Onondagas, who invited him to come out and trade with them. The invitation was cheerfully accepted. Accordingly in the spring of 1786, he came to Onondaga, in company with a Scotchman, named Selkirk, with a small boat load of goods, brought from Schenectady by water. They erected a temporary trading house on the east bank of the Onondaga creek, near where it empties into the lake, and there exposed their stock of goods for sale. This spot is still pointed out by the Indians as Webster's camp. At the close of the season, they had acquired a rich pack of furs.\* With these, Webster proceeded to New-York. The following spring he came out alone, but was followed by two other traders, whose names were Campbell and Maibee. They proceeded up the creek, to the Onondaga Hollow. Webster traded at his old location, and all departed again in autumn to make sale of their furs. He pursued this course for several years, but from this time made it a point to winter with his new friends.

During the controversy with the western Indians, which so soon followed the revolutionary war, between the years 1788 and 1794, he was, on account of his knowledge of Indian manners and language, employed to gain intelligence in the vicinity of the Miamis. He was fully successful in his mis-

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\* About the time of closing up the fall trade, Selkirk was taken sick, died and was buried somewhere on the bank of the lake, not far distant from their trading house.

sion, reported to the satisfaction of those by whom he was employed, and received a suitable reward. He was often with the Onondagas at Oswego, while the fort was retained by the British, and was, by the officers of the garrison, supposed to be a full-blood Indian, so completely was he usually disguised. From some cause or other, at one time they mistrusted he was a white man, and charged him with being a spy. In order to induce him to declare his real character, or to expose himself in some way, they plied him freely with strong liquor, and then used every device to effect their purpose. They awakened him suddenly from sleep, saluted him familiarly in the English language, of which he expressed entire ignorance; being always guarded and prepared, they gained no advantage over him, and he left them as much in the dark as when they commenced.

During the early part of his sojourn with the Indians, they granted to him a mile square of land in the most fertile part of the Hollow, west of the creek, and south of the road. He lived with an Indian woman, after the Indian custom. This lot of land, containing six hundred and forty acres, was finally granted to Webster, "as a free and voluntary gift," on the part of the people of the State of New-York, by the Legislature in 1795, and the commissioners of Indian lands, consisting of Philip Schuyler, John Cantine, John Richardson and David Brooks, were directed to execute a deed therefor, on the part, and in the name of the people of the State of New-York.

After the death of his Indian woman, which happened soon after this grant by the State, he married a white woman of the name of Danks, of very respectable connections, by whom he had a family of sons and daughters, several of whom are now living in the Onondaga valley.

He was in the service of the United States, in the war of 1812, with La Fort, an Onondaga chief, and some three hundred of his warriors, on the Niagara frontier. At that time he held a Captain's commission in the militia of the State of New-York, and wielded a salutary influence over the Indians.

He was at the battle of Chippewa, and acted as interpreter in the transmission of orders from General Brown to Hoh-a-ho-a-qua, the Captain of the Six Nations, on this occasion. The action commenced on the bank of the river, between a party of British Indians and American militia. The British Indians were in full view, and the Onondagas were ordered to make a circuit through the woods and open a fire upon the British right flank. In this they succeeded beyond their expectation. They stole stealthily along the woods and gave the Canadian Indians a shot, upon which they dispersed in all directions, and were closely pursued by our Indians. After this there was no such thing as order among the Indians, during the remainder of the day. If a Canada Indian came in sight, he was immediately followed and hunted down. In the early part of the action, Captain Webster gave his gun to an Onondaga, who had none, and during a part of the battle was without one. At length he was supplied, taking one from the hand of a wounded soldier.

Hoh-a-ho-a-qua was mortally wounded, during the hottest of the fight. Captain Webster went to his aid, raised his head in his arms, and asked him if he was badly wounded. The chief replied, "very bad"—"I die Captain of the Six Nations; I have done my duty;" and expired without a groan. Towards the close of the action, Captain Webster found himself alone, and passed from the woods to the open field. He soon saw Doxtator, an Oneida chief, pursued by five or six mounted Wyandots. They passed near him, and knowing well the Indian rules of warfare, he stood erect and firm, looking them full in the face; they passed him unharmed. Doxtator was shot just as he leaped a fence near by, upon which the Wyandots wheeled and rode off. In this engagement, the Onondagas lost six, besides their leader.

Mr. Webster was for a great number of years Indian Agent and interpreter for the Onondagas. For several years he held by lease from the Indians, three hundred acres of land, the title of which was afterwards confirmed to him and his heirs by the State Legislature. He enjoyed the perfect confidence

of the Indians and whites, and several distinguished gentlemen have given him, on different occasions, exalted evidences of their esteem and confidence. He has been often heard to speak of his wanderings among the Indians, as the happiest days of his life. He was a man, kind, social and obliging, mild in disposition, of excellent character, and on the whole a very remarkable man. He held the offices of Justice of the Peace and Supervisor of the town of Onondaga for a number of years; a Justice first in 1805, and the first Supervisor of Onondaga, 1788. He was largely engaged in the ginseng trade with a gentleman of Boston, and was the only man who had influence enough with the Indians to engage them to dig it. Mr. Webster had acquired the art of manufacturing or preparing this tuberous root for market, in such a manner as to make it semi-transparent, and at this time it was an article of commerce, carried on mostly with China. It is called by the Indians *garentoquen*, which signifies with legs separated, from the frequent divided form of the root. Since the death of Mr. Webster, the digging and traffic have been discontinued with the Onondagas. The name ginseng is said to be of Chinese origin. With that people it was considered a great medicinal panacea, being of a highly mucilaginous sweetness, not unlike liquorice accompanied with a slight bitterness—the *PANAX trifolium* of Botanists.

Mr. Webster died at Tuscarora, in 1825, at the advanced age of seventy-two years, much lamented by the Indians and a large circle of friends. He was buried at Onondaga.

Many interesting anecdotes were related by Mr. Webster, of circumstances which occurred during his early intercourse with the Indians, some of which are singularly illustrative of Indian character, and from their exhibiting in an elevated manner the virtues of fortitude, fidelity, gratitude and honor, as once understood and appreciated by the Indians, may not be wholly uninteresting here.

It sometimes happened that the Indians, either from fancied or real wrongs, would become offended with Webster, and even go so far as to threaten his life, and make the most

alarming demonstrations towards taking it. At one time they tied him to a tree, and there amused themselves by throwing a tomahawk at the tree to which he was tied, to see how near they could come to his head and not hit it. Sometimes the whistling missile would graze his hair. The sport was kept up for more than half an hour, during which Webster neither flinched nor moved a muscle, a circumstance greatly admired by the Indians, who usually have a contemptible notion of the white man's fortitude. After they became tired of the sport, they liberated him with shouts of exultation.

In the early part of the intercourse of Mr. Webster with the Onondagas, he had occasion to go on business for the Natives to Canada. On his return, he employed a young brave of the Onondagas below Oswego, to pilot him through the woods to Onondaga. While on the route, he observed that the Indian felt sad and gloomy, as if something weighed heavy on his mind. In vain he tried to arouse him from his cold and frigid humor. Webster's faculties of cheering and amusement were exhausted, without a relaxation of gravity or sadness on the part of the Indian. At length Webster accosted him with a tone of anxiety, inquiring what could be the matter. Upon which he answered, "Me going to die." Webster thinking it only a whim of the Indian, refrained from further conversation. They trudged silently along and in due time approached the castle. They had arrived there but a short time, when six Indians of the Cayuga nation made their appearance, and without one word, or the least ceremony, one of them walked up to the Onondaga and with an axe cleft his skull. In a moment the blow was followed by another of the party, and the young man was no more. The Cayugas retired as if nothing had happened. The Onondagas lamented their brother, and there were injured ones ready to avenge his death. It seems there had for a long time been a family feud between a portion of the Onondagas and some Cayugas, and this was continued by a succession of murders for several years. This young man, so unceremoniously slain, had been engaged in the murder of a Cayuga, and these Cayugas, on the watch,

had caught a glimpse of him, and he had seen the track of the Cayugas across his path, which produced the sadness upon his countenance. But to retrace his steps would have betrayed cowardice, a feeling which an Indian in his own free, uncontaminated state, knows nothing of.

An Indian chief who was known as Capt. John, and who was a man of influence among the Onondagas, who lived to a great age, and who was greatly beloved by the whites, and uniformly tender and kind in his disposition, exhibits an instance of the most savage barbarity, illustrating in a remarkable manner, the sweetness of revenge to the savage. During the old French war, a French officer wantonly killed a little girl belonging to Ta-whis-kon-ta, (Spring-the-trap, or Capt. John.) The murderer of the innocent child, was discovered by the chief, who instantly set his mark upon him, and for several years visited Canada for the purpose of obtaining revenge. Long and patiently he waited for an opportunity to avenge the blood of his child, by the blood of its murderer, but no opportunity presented itself in the person of the murderer. At length he caught sight of a child of the Frenchman's who was innocently at play near the house of her parent, rushed upon her, buried his tomahawk in her skull, and dragged the body into the woods. Here the monster stripped the corpse of its clothing, divested it of its skin, leaving it to decay, or become a prey to swine or wild beasts. Capt. John kept this skin hung up a long time in his cabin, as a trophy of his vengeance and ferocity, and often feasted his eyes upon it with joy, exulting in the murder of the innocent child as a worthy deed.

In 1806, was a time of great sickness among the Onondaga Indians. Capt. John, feeling that his end was approaching, strayed to the west side of the lake, nearly opposite to Liverpool, and died in the bushes. The latter part of summer and autumn of that year was unusually cold. The crops of corn were entirely cut off by early frost. In this dilemma, the Indians called a council to enquire why the Great Spirit should inflict so great a calamity upon them. After due deli-

beration it was decided, that it was because Capt. John lay cold, and the white people were solicited to turn out and bury him, which they did on the spot where he expired.

There was a place near the first gate on the plank road, north of Salina, formerly known as Capt. John's bear trap, a spot where he had been accustomed to bait and trap those animals.

During the early sojourn of Mr. Webster among the Indians, he was often in peril of his life, and frequently threatened with immediate death, occasioned by the strange fancies of those by whom he was surrounded. But Providence seemed always to interpose in his behalf, and upon one occasion in rather a remarkable manner. It seems that for some real or fancied wrong which he had committed, he was judged worthy of death. So determined were the Indians to accomplish his destruction that he gave up all for lost, and fully made up his mind that his time had come. His grave was dug and he was told to prepare for immediate death. A large ring was formed around him. His executioners, four in number, were appointed, and their positions taken; four glittering tomahawks gleamed in the sun-light as they leapt from the warriors belts. A sturdy brave was placed at each side firmly holding each hand, stretching his arms in a horizontal manner to their utmost extent. The fatal blow was about to be struck. It was asked him (as is the custom) if he had any request to make before he expired. He said he only desired a cooling draught of water. "None, none, none," exclaimed several voices at once. He appealed to them in affecting tones, requesting them in the most supplicating manner not to deny a dying friend this last simple request. The venerable war chief, Oun-di-a-ga, stood forth, while the ready weapons were poised over his naked head. "Hold," said he, "stay your hands, offend not the Great Spirit. Let him drink one cup of water for the last time." The cup was accordingly presented to him; one hand was released from the Indian who held it. Webster took the cup, gracefully bowed his head, and most cordially

drank the health of the chiefs and brave warriors of the Onondaga nation.

This maneuver was so unexpected, so appropriate, and done with so much grace and aboriginal *naïveté*; so respectfully, and with so much coolness and gravity of demeanor, that with one voice they shouted, "he is free," "let him go," "he is one of us," and was instantly released. The Indians returned quietly to their homes, conducting him with them, ever after which he was treated with the greatest kindness, and none molested him or made him afraid.

Soon after Mr. Webster had located himself at Onondaga, a young brave of the Cayuga nation, one morning presented himself before the chiefs of the Onondagas and Mr. Webster, while sitting at the door of the council-house. The young man said, "I have come to dwell among you and your people if you will permit. I have left forever the home of my father and the hearth of my mother. I seek a home with you; my name is Mantinoah, deny me not." The most aged chief, Kawhick-do-ta, answered him, "Mantinoah, you are welcome here, sit you down with us. Be our son, we will be to you a father; you can hunt and fish with our young men, and tread the war path with the braves of our nation; you shall be honored as you deserve." Near two years passed around and Mantinoah was apparently contented and happy, always foremost in the chase, most active in the dance, and loudest in the song. Between Mantinoah and Webster, a bond of firmest friendship was formed. When Webster climbed the hill, Mantinoah was his companion. When Mantinoah watched the midnight moon, Webster whispered friendship in his ear. Their eyes caught the first glimmerings of the rising sun together, and its last parting gleam, as it sunk below the western horizon, departed from both their visions at the same time. Mantinoah said to his friend one morning, "I must soon leave your peaceful valley forever. I go towards the setting sun; I have a vow to perform. My nation and my friends know Mantinoah will be true. My friend, I desire you to go with me. Webster consented. Preparation was made for the journey. They left

the Onondaga valley together. Mantinoah looked upon it for the last time. After a walk of three or four days, taking their journey leisurely, hunting and fishing by the way, they arrived at an eminence near Mantinoah's village. "Here," said Mantinoah, "let us rest—let us here invoke the Great Spirit to grant us strength to pass triumphantly through the scenes of this day. Here," said he, "we will eat, and here, for the last time, will smoke the pipe of peace and friendship together." After a repast of broiled venison and bread, the pipe was passed from one to the other in regular succession. "Now," said Mantinoah to his friend, "a little more than two years have elapsed since in my native village near to us, in a burst of passion, I slew my bosom friend and chosen companion. The chiefs of my nation declared me guilty of my friend's blood, and decreed I must suffer death. It was then I sought your nation. It was then I won your friendship. The nearest of kin to him I slew, according to our customs, was to become my executioner. My execution was deferred for two full years, during which time I was condemned to banishment from my nation. I vowed to return.

The term of two full years expires this day, when the setting sun sinks behind the topmost branch of yonder tree. Beneath the broad branches of this venerable oak, where we now stand, at the foot of this ancient rock, against which I now lean, I stand prepared to receive my doom. My friend, we have had many a cheerful sport together; our joys have not been circumscribed; our griefs have been few; look not so sad now, but let new joys arouse you to happiness. When you return to the Onondagas, bear witness, that Mantinoah died like a true brave of the Cayugas; that he trembled not at the approach of death, like the coward pale-face, nor shed tears like a woman. My friend, take my belt, my knife, my hunting pouch, my horn and rifle; accept them as mementos of our friendship; I shall need them no longer; a few moments and the avenger will be here; the Great Spirit calls, I am ready; Mantinoah fears not to die; farewell." Webster firmly remonstrates against

his determination. In vain he urges him to escape the consequences. A short silence ensues; a yell is heard in the distance. Mantinoah responds. A single Indian approaches, and takes Mantinoah by the hand. He, too, has been his early friend; but the laws of the savage cannot be broken. After mutual salutations and expressions of kindness, the avenger addressed him: Mantinoah, you have slain my brother; our laws declare me his avenger, and your executioner. Your time is come; death is at hand, prepare to meet him. Be steadfast, be firm; and may the Great Spirit sustain you. Upon this, Mantinoah gracefully elevated his manly form, carefully bared his broad bosom, calmly laid his arms across his manly breast; not a muscle moved, not a breath was heard. There he stood, ready for the voluntary sacrifice, immovable as adamant. Accompanied by a deafening yell, the bright tomahawk of the avenger glittered in the fading light; its keen edge sank deep into the brain of the victim. The thirsty earth drank the life blood of Mantinoah, and he sank without a groan, a lifeless corpse before his friend. Instantly, as if by magic, a host of savages appeared, the mournful song of death reechoed through the forest, the gloomy dance for the dead moved in melancholy solemnity around the corse of the departed; the low, guttural moan peculiar to the savage, murmured through the trees, and all was still. They silently surveyed the scene; when slowly, in groups, in pairs, and singly, the witnesses of this thrilling scene retired.

The feelings of Mr. Webster on this occasion, may be more easily imagined than they can possibly be described. Immediately after the tragic event of which we have spoken, the Indians most cordially invited Mr. Webster to their village, gave him the most solemn assurances of perfect safety and protection, very hospitably entertained him for a few days and when ready to return, a party of Cayugas conducted him to his home. However much the foregoing may appear like fiction, it is nevertheless true. The facts have often been related by Mr. Webster while living, to many old inhabitants

and first settlers in the vicinity, who will yet bear witness to its authenticity.

TREATIES.—At a Treaty held at Fort Schuyler, formerly called Fort Stanwix, in the State of New York, by His Excellency, George Clinton, Governor of the said State, and William Floyd, Ezra L. Hommedieu, Richard Varick, Samuel Jones, Egbert Benson, and Peter Gansevoort, Junior, Commissioners, authorized for that purpose, by and on behalf of the people of the State of New-York, with the tribe or nation of Indians called the Onondagoes, it is on the twelfth day of September, in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, covenanted and concluded as follows:—

First. The Onondagoes do cede and grant all their lands to the people of the State of New-York forever. Secondly, the Onondagoes shall, of the said ceded lands, hold to themselves and their posterity forever, for their own use and cultivation, but not to be sold, leased, or in any other manner aliened or disposed of to others, all that tract of land beginning at the southerly end of the salt lake, at the place where the river or stream on which the Onondagoes now have their village, empties into the said lake, and runs from the said place of beginning east three miles; thence southerly according to the general course of the said river, until it shall intersect a line running east and west, at the distance of three miles south from the said village; thence from the said point of intersection west nine miles; thence northerly parallel to the second course above mentioned, until an east line will strike the place of beginning; and thence east to the said place of beginning. Thirdly, the Onondagoes and their posterity forever, shall enjoy the free right of hunting in every part of the said ceded lands, and of fishing in all the waters within the same. Fourthly, the salt lake and the lands, for one mile round the same, shall forever remain for the common benefit of the people of the State of New-York, and of the Onondagoes and their posterity for the purpose of making salt, and shall not be granted or in any wise disposed of for other purposes. Fifthly, in

consideration of the said cession and grant, the people of the State of New York do, at this treaty, pay to the Onondagoes one thousand French crowns in money, and two hundred pounds in clothing, at the price which the same costs the people of the State of New-York, (the receipt of which money and clothing the Onondagoes do now acknowledge;) and the people of the State of New York shall annually pay to the Onondagoes and their posterity, forever, on the first day of June in every year, at Fort Schuyler aforesaid, five hundred dollars in silver; but if the Onondagoes or their posterity, shall at any time hereafter elect that the whole or any part of the said five hundred dollars shall be paid in clothing or provisions, and give six weeks previous notice thereof to the Governor of the said State for the time being, then so much of the annual payment shall for that time be in clothing or provisions, as the Onondagoes or their posterity shall elect, and at the price which the same shall cost the people of the State of New-York, at Fort Schuyler aforesaid. Sixthly, the people of the State of New-York may, in such manner as they shall deem proper, prevent any persons except the Onondagoes from residing or settling on the lands so to be held by the Onondagoes and their posterity, for their own use and cultivation; and if any persons shall, without the consent of the people of the State of New-York, come to reside or settle on the said lands, or on any other of the lands so ceded as aforesaid, the Onondagoes and their posterity shall forthwith give notice of such intrusions to the Governor of the said State for the time being; and further, the Onondagoes and their posterity forever, shall, at the request of the Governor of the said State, be aiding to the people of the State of New-York, in removing all such intruders, and in apprehending not only such intruders, but also felons and other offenders who may happen to be on the said ceded lands, to the end that such intruders, felons, and other offenders, may be brought to justice. In testimony whereof, as well the sachems, chief warriors, and others of the said Onondagoes, in behalf of their tribe or nation, as the said Governor and other commissioners

on behalf of the people of the State of New-York, have hereunto interchangeably set their hands and affixed their seals, the day and year first above written.

BEAR.	TURTLE.
Kahiktoton,	Tehonwaghstowcaghte,
Tehojiskeaiyea,	Shagoyenawaghskwe,
Waghselonyahhe,	Kanadaes,
by the chief of the clan.	Sagoeyons,
DEER.	Sagosaiewas,
Kanaghssetegea,	by the chief of the clan.
Agogighkwayewa,	BEAVER.
by his cousin.	Kanadakeawaghte,
Skawyadaliyo,	Adahsweandaahsea,
Kalonghyo, by his brother.	Waghshaine,
EEL.	by the chief of the clan.
Agwelondongwas.	WOLF.
Thanehaaghkwa,	Tehoenagalaongh,
by the chief of the clan.	Shagohaassegh,
Hyanoenwe,	by the chief of the clan.
GOVERNESSES.	Onoewileghte,
Tjeanoenikhe,	by the chief of the clan.
Kaeghhewa.	

Geo. Clinton, Wm. Floyd, Ezra L. Hommedieu, Rich'd Varick, Samuel Jones, Eg't. Benson, Peter Gansevoort, Jr.

Witnesses present. Simeon De Witt, Surveyor General; Louis Nyadeghhalongweah, of the Oneidas; Chief Govern-ess of the Senecas, Kayendatsyona; Senecas, Shagodyadyes-tha, Hanoweantho, Joayhgwalet, Sheanoewa, Shagokanyos. Cayugas, Kaneongwe, Haghgouthiyo, Sam. Kirkland, Inter-pret; John L. Bleecker, Interpret; P. Penet, Sam'l Latham Mitchell, Nicholas Jourdain, Wm. Colbrath, Friedrich Fox, Abr'm Bloodgood.\*

At a treaty held at Onondaga by John Cantine and Simeon De Witt, two of the agents appointed for that purpose, by and on behalf of the people of the State of New-York, by an act

\* A treaty was held at Fort Stanwix, confirming former treaties, 16th of June, 1790.

of the Legislature of the said State, entitled "An Act relative to the lands appropriated by this State to the use of the Oneida, Onondaga and Cayuga Indians," passed the 11th day of March, 1793, with the tribe or nation of Indians called the Onondagoes. It is on the eighteenth day of November, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, covenanted and concluded as follows:—

First, the Onondagoes do release and quit-claim to the people of the State of New-York forever, all the rights reserved to the said Onondagoes, in and to, so much of the lands appropriated to their use by the said State, commonly called the Onondaga Reservation, as is comprehended within the two following tracts of land, (to wit) the first of the said two tracts begins in the east bounds of the said reservation at a certain bass-wood tree, marked for seven miles south, from the north-east corner of the said reservation, and runs from the said place of beginning, west to the river or stream commonly called the Onondago Creek, on which the Onondagoes now have their village, then northerly down along the said river or creek, to the lands appropriated for the common benefit of the people of the State of New-York, and of the Onondagoes and their posterity, for the purpose of making salt, then easterly and northerly along the said last mentioned lands to the line run for the north bounds of the said reservation; then east, along the said line to the north-east corner of the said reservation, and then south, along the east bounds of the said reservation, seven miles to the place of beginning. And the second of the said tracts, begins at a point in the south bounds of the said reservation, four miles west from the south-east corner hereof, and runs from the said place of beginning, north, so far until an east course will strike the aforesaid bass-wood tree, marked for seven miles south, from the north-east corner of the said reservation, then east, to a point half a mile west from the aforesaid Onondago Creek, then northerly along straight lines, connecting points successively, at intervals of half a mile northing from each other; each of which points shall be half a mile, measured west from the said Onondago Creek,

to the aforesaid lands appropriated for the common benefit of the people of the State of New-York and of the Onondagoes and their posterity, for the purpose of making salt, then along the same westerly and northerly to the line run for the north bounds of the said reservation, then along the said line west, to the north-west corner of the said reservation, then along the west bounds thereof, south to the south-west corner thereof, and then along the south bounds thereof, east, to the place of beginning: Secondly; in consideration of the said release and quit-claim, the people of the State of New-York do, at this treaty, pay to the Onondagoes, four hundred and ten dollars, the receipt whereof the Onondagoes do hereby acknowledge. And the people of the State of New-York, shall pay to the Onondagoes, on the first day of June next, two hundred and eighteen dollars, and on the first day of June, annually, for ever thereafter, four hundred and ten dollars. Thirdly, the payments which the Onondagoes are by virtue of these presents entitled annually to receive, and also those payments which they are by covenants heretofore entered into, entitled annually to receive from the people of the State of New-York, shall be made and discharged at Onondago, at the village where the said Onondagoes now reside, anything in any former covenants contained to the contrary notwithstanding. Fourthly, the people of the State of New-York, shall, from time to time, and at all times forever hereafter, have full power and authority to lay out and open roads through any part of the lands appropriated by the people of the State of New-York to the use of the Onondagoes, and not hereby quit-claimed in the same way and manner, as roads now are, and hereafter may be directed by law to be laid out and made generally in other parts of the State. Fifthly, the several boundaries of the lands herein before described, the rights to which the said Onondagoes have by these presents, released and quit-claimed to the people of the State of New-York, and also the southerly boundaries of the lands appropriated for the common benefit of the people of the State of New-York, and of the Onondagoes and their posterity, for the purpose of making salt; shall,

as soon as conveniently may be, be surveyed, run, and marked at the expense and by the direction of the people of the State of New-York, according to the true intent and meaning of these presents, in the presence of such of the Indians of the said nation as choose to attend, and of such persons as the said nation may appoint to attend and inspect the surveying, running and marking of the said several boundaries as aforesaid.

Signed by twenty-five chiefs and warriors of the Onondagas, and on the part of the State of New-York by John Cantine and Simeon De Witt. James Dean and Ephraim Webster, interpreters.

At a Treaty held at the Cayuga Ferry, in the State of New York, by Phillip Schuyler, John Cantine, David Brooks and John Richardson, agents, authorised for that purpose by and on behalf of the People of the State of New-York, with the tribe or nation of Indians called the Onondagoes, it is on this twenty eighth day of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, covenanted, concluded and agreed as follows: Whereas there was reserved to the Onondago nation by the articles of agreement, made at Fort Schuyler, formerly called Fort Stanwix, on the twelfth day of September, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, and confirmed by subsequent articles of agreement, made on the sixteenth day of June, one thousand seven hundred and ninety, sundry lands in the said articles, particularly specified and described, and whereas, subsequently thereto, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, the said Onondago nation, did sell, and by a certain deed of cession, convey unto the people of the State of New-York, certain part of the lands reserved to them by the treaties first above mentioned, reference being had unto the said deed of cession, made in one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, will therefrom more particularly appear by which said last agreement there was stipulated to be paid to the said Onondago Indians, on the part of the people of this State, a perpetual annuity of four hundred and ten dollars: Now know all men, that the people of the State of New-York,

in order to render the situation of the said Onondago Indians more comfortable, have granted, and by these presents do grant and agree, that instead of, and in lieu of the said four hundred and ten dollars, annually to be paid to them, the said Onondagoes, they shall be and hereby are declared to be entitled to a perpetual annuity of eight hundred dollars, and they having been already paid in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, four hundred and ten dollars, and the residue for two years being one thousand one hundred and ninety dollars, is now paid them in the presenee of the witnesses whose names are subscribed to this instrument, and they are hereby declared to be entitled to, and shall be paid eight hundred dollars on the first day of June next ensuing the date hereof, and annually thereafter, on the first day of June in each year forever, the like sum of eight hundred dollars, in manner hereinafter specified; and whereas there was also reserved to the said Onondago Indians by the articles of agreement first above mentioned, a common right with the people of this State, to the salt lake, and the lands for one mile around the same, and by the agreement made in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, there was also reserved to the said nation and their posterity forever, all the lands lying on the west side of the creek, running from the northern boundary of the square tract surrounding their village, to the salt lake, an extent of one half mile from the said creek.

Now know all men further by these presents, that in order to render the said common right, and the said lands adjoining to the creek aforesaid, more productive of an annual income to the said Onondago nation, it is covenanted, stipulated and agreed by the said Onondago nation, that they will sell and they do by these presents sell to the people of the State of New-York, and their successors forever, all and singular, the common right in the said salt lake, and the one mile of land around the same, together with all and singular the lands comprised within one half mile of the creek between the northern boundary of the land reserved to them by the agreement of

one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, and the said salt lake, to have and to hold the same to the people of the State of New-York, and their successors forever, in consideration of which cession and grants it is covenanted, agreed and granted, on the part of the people of the State of New-York, that they shall pay, and do now pay to the said Onondago nation, in the presence of the witnesses who have subscribed their names hereunto, the sum of five hundred dollars for the common right aforesaid, and also the sum of two hundred dollars for the one half mile of land adjoining the said creek, in the extent aforesaid, and the people of the State of New-York do further promise, covenant and agree that they will pay to the said Onondago nation, in manner hereinafter specified, the further sums of five hundred dollars and of two hundred dollars, and also one hundred bushels of salt to be delivered at the salt lake aforesaid, on the first day of June next ensuing the date hereof, and annually forever thereafter, on the first day of June in each year, the said sums of five hundred and of two hundred dollars, and the said one hundred bushels of salt; and it is further covenanted and agreed that as well the said eight hundred dollars herein before mentioned as the said several sums of five hundred and two hundred dollars, and the sum of five hundred dollars stipulated to be paid to them by the treaty at Fort Schuyler first aforesaid, making together the sum of two thousand dollars, shall in future be annually paid them forever hereafter, at Canadaghque, in the county of Ontario, to the agent for Indian Affairs under the United States for the time being, residing within this State, and in case no such agent shall be appointed on the part of the United States, then by such person as the Governor of the State of New York shall thereunto appoint, to be by the said agent or person so to be appointed, paid to the said Onondago nation, taking their receipt therefor on the back of the counterpart of this instrument in the possession of the said Indians, in the words following, to wit: We, the Onondago nation, do acknowledge to have received from the people of the State of New-York, the sum of two thousand dol-

lars in full for the several annuities within mentioned, as witness our hands at Canadaghque, this —— day of —— 179 — which money shall be paid in the presence of at least one of the magistrates of the county of Ontario, and in the presence of at least two more reputable inhabitants of the said county and which magistrate and other persons in whose presence the same shall be paid, shall subscribe their names as witnesses to the said receipt, and the said agent or other person so to be appointed, shall also take a duplicate receipt for the said money witnessed by the said witnesses, and which duplicate shall, as soon as conveniently may be, be acknowledged and recorded in the records of the said county of Ontario, and the original duplicate transmitted to the Governor of this State for the time being. Signed in behalf of the State by Ph. Schuyler, John Cantine, D. Brooks, John Richardson and eighteen chiefs and warriors of the Onondago nation.

At a treaty held at Albany, on the 25th of February, 1817, the Onondagas sold and conveyed the following described lands, viz: All that certain tract of the lands reserved to them in former reservations, and known as the *Onondaga Residence Reservation*. This land lies east of the present reservation, and amounted to twenty-seven lots of from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and sixty acres each, amounting in all to about four thousand acres. One thousand dollars was paid down, with an annuity of four hundred and thirty dollars, and fifty bushels of salt.

On the 11th of February, 1822, at a treaty held at Albany, they sold eight hundred acres more of their land, from the south end of the Onondaga Residence Reservation, for the sum of seventeen hundred dollars. This, so far, is the last treaty made with the Onondagas for the conveyance of lands.

**MILITARY TRACT.**—The Military Tract, was originally bounded north by Oneida Lake, Oswego River and Lake Ontario; west, by a line drawn from the head of Great Sodus Bay to the head of Seneca Lake; south, by a line drawn from the head of Seneca Lake to the west line of the present county

of Chemung; east, by the counties of Chenango and Madison, and Oswego River, comprising within its boundaries, all of the present counties of Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca and Cortland, and a part of each of the counties of Oswego, Tompkins and Wayne.

The exposed situation of the extensive frontier of the State of New-York in the years 1779 and 1780, and the unaccountable failure of different states to furnish their respective quotas of troops for its protection, rendered it necessary that efficient measures should be adopted for the protection and safety of the inhabitants of that region, as well as for the general welfare.

The Legislature of the State of New-York, were well aware of this necessity, and at once proceeded to adopt the means requisite to bring into actual service, a force sufficient to secure so desirable an object. Accordingly, a law was passed on the 20th of March, 1781, providing for the enlistment of "two regiments for the defense of the frontier of New-York." These regiments were to be armed, accoutred, clothed, subsisted, and paid at the expense of the United States, and the troops were to continue in service three years, unless sooner discharged. The Council of appointment of the State of New-York, was to commission the field officers, and the governor of the State, the captains and subalterns, who were to enlist as speedily as possible the aforesaid regiments. The faith of the State was pledged to the officers and privates, that should they continue to serve the full time of three years, or to the time they were respectively discharged, such officers and privates, or in case of their death, their legal representatives should respectively receive, each non-commissioned officer and private, five hundred acres of land, and officers to receive in proportion to their rank, after the same had been surveyed by the surveyor general of the State. A major general, 5,500 acres; brigadier general, 4,250 acres; colonel, 2,500 acres; lieutenant colonel, 2,250 acres; major, 2,000 acres; captain and regimental surgeon, each 1,500 acres; chaplain, 2,000 acres; each subaltern and surgeon's mate, 1,000 acres.

And this was all the bounty or emolument to be received from the State of New-York. In case these lands were not actually settled within three years after the war was closed, they were to be forfeited, and were to revert to the State. The forces raised upon these conditions, were to be mustered and commanded by the commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States. The year following, an act was passed providing for the raising of Col. Lamb's regiment of artillery, with the same privileges and bounties, and under the same regulations as the other regiments.

The Congress of the United States also granted one hundred acres of land to each of these soldiers serving as aforesaid. To each major general, 1000 acres; brigadier general, 900 acres; colonel, 500 acres; lieutenant colonel, 450 acres; major, 400 acres; captain, 300 acres; lieutenant, 200 acres; ensign, 150 acres.

This land was located in the State of Ohio. It was afterwards so arranged between the State of New-York and the United States, that any soldier legally relinquishing his claim to the one hundred acres in Ohio, should draw a full right of six hundred acres in New-York. But failing to relinquish that right by neglect or otherwise, the one hundred acres over five hundred reverted to the State of New-York. Hence the origin of the term "*State's Hundred*," once so much in use on the Military Tract. The first grant of Military Bounty Lands comprehended all that tract of country bounded north by the Oneida Lake, Oneida River and Lake Ontario; west, by a line drawn from Great Sodus Bay, on Lake Ontario to the foot of Seneca Lake, up Seneca Lake to its head. South by a line drawn eastwardly from the head of Seneca Lake to the Oneida Reservation; east, by the Oneida Reservation, and along the Chittenango Creek to its estuary, the place of beginning, except certain reserves for the Onondaga and Seneca Indians, and for the State of New-York, in the vicinity of the salt springs.

In May, 1784, commissioners were appointed to proceed to grant military bounty lands, and to settle individual claims.

The commissioners for granting bounty lands, &c., by law, consisted of the Governor, the Lieutenant Governor, the Speaker of the Assembly, the Secretary of the State, the Attorney General, the Treasurer, and Auditor thereof. Any three of whom transacted business, the Governor always being one of them.

It should be borne in mind that the Indian title to these military lands had not as yet been extinguished. And there seemed to be some doubt and uncertainty as to the time when it would be. Some of the claimants became clamorous, consequently on the 15th of May, 1786, the Legislature passed an act authorizing the commissioners of the land office to order the Surveyor General to lay out several townships, where the Indian title had been extinguished, to satisfy the claims of the officers and soldiers of the New-York regiments.

These lands were located in the north part of the State of New-York, and consisted of twelve townships, numbered from south to north and back, two tiers, each township containing one hundred square miles, being each ten miles square, equal to about seven hundred and sixty-eight thousand acres. Numbers one, two, eleven, twelve, are now in Essex county; numbers three, four, five, six, in Clinton county, and seven, eight, nine, ten in Franklin county. This was subsequently called the "Old Military Tract."

Many of the soldiers' rights had been bought up by speculators, and it was soon ascertained by them that these lands were not to be compared to the lands in western New-York for fertility and prospective value. The Legislature was induced to defer the final settlement of claims until the Indian title was extinguished to the lands of the Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas.

By the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, dated 12th September, 1788, the Indian title was extinguished, and the several individual rights were located as was at first intended.

The Military Tract originally contained about one million eight hundred thousand acres, or about three thousand rights, exclusive of reservations. Deceptions and frauds had already

been practised to a considerable extent, and the settlement of these claims proceeded but very slowly; and it was with the greatest difficulty that the commissioners could distinguish between the rightful and fraudulent claimants. In '1789, the commissioners of the land office directed the Surveyor General to lay out as many townships as would satisfy the claims of persons entitled to bounty lands. He accordingly laid out twenty-five townships, numbering from one to twenty-five inclusive. Township number twenty-six was added in 1791. Each township to contain sixty thousand acres of land. These townships were to be subdivided into lots of six hundred acres each. In 1790, the Surveyor General completed the survey, and fifty acres, to be located in one of the corners of each lot, was subject to the payment of forty-eight shillings to the Surveyor General, as a compensation for his services. Hence the origin of the term "Survey Fifty;" and the further sum of eight shillings was charged by the Secretary of State, upon each lot in addition to his customary fees for perfecting conveyances.

The Surveyor General, Simeon De Witt, personally laid out the whole Military Tract, by plotting and mapping the boundaries and calculating the whole area. Moses De Witt and Abraham Hardenburgh, were appointed by the Surveyor General, as his assistants, to divide the Military Tract thus laid out, into townships, each to contain one hundred lots. Some of these townships were extremely irregular, and so of many of the lots. But wherever practicable, it was intended to have each township ten miles square, and each lot one mile square. The division of townships into lots was made under the direction and superintendence of Moses De Witt and Abraham Hardenburgh. But the labor was performed by several individuals, among whom were Benjamin Wright, J. L. Hardenburgh, John Cantine, Josiah Buek, Comfort Tyler, Joseph Annin, Benjamin Barton, Jacob Hart, William Ewing, Orris Curtis, Peter G. Cuddeback, Thomas Nicholson, John Konkle, and some others who assisted them, and who acted as surveyors of townships.

The terms town and township are frequently confounded, and the one often substituted for the other. That there may be hereafter no misconstruction or misunderstanding of these terms, once for all, we say that a township on the Military Tract, was a particular parcel of land laid out, containing certain one hundred lots. These were at first numbered one, two, three, &c. But afterwards they were named by the commissioners of the land office, after distinguished men :

Township No. 1, Lysander,	Township No. 14, Tully,
“ “ 2, Hannibal,	“ “ 15, Fabius,
“ “ 3, Cato,	“ “ 16, Ovid,
“ “ 4, Brutus,	“ “ 17, Milton,
“ “ 5, Camillus,	“ “ 18, Loeke,
“ “ 6, Cicero,	“ “ 19, Homer,
“ “ 7, Manlius,	“ “ 20, Solon,
“ “ 8, Aurelius,	“ “ 21, Heetor,
“ “ 9, Mareellus,	“ “ 22, Ulysses,
“ “ 10, Pompey,	“ “ 23, Dryden,
“ “ 11, Romulus,	“ “ 24, Virgil,
“ “ 12, Scipio,	“ “ 25, Cincinnatus,
“ “ 13, Sempronius,	“ “ 26, Junius.

In our early organization, a town often embraced several townships ; as the town of Pompey at first included the townships of Pompey, Fabius and Tully, and a large part of the Onondaga reservation. After settlements increased, for the sake of convenience, the same territory has been divided, at different periods, into the towns of Pompey, Lafayette, Fabius, Tully, Truxton and Preble, including a part of each of the towns of Otisco, Spafford and Onondaga. The same may be remarked of other towns and townships on the Military Tract.

On the 1st of January, 1791, the commissioners proceeded to determine these claims, and to ballot for each individual's share. Ninety-four persons drew lots in each township. One lot was drawn for the support of literature in the State of New-York ; one lot was assigned near the centre of each township by the Surveyor General, for the support of the gos-

pel and common schools, and the remaining four lots went to satisfy the surplus shares of the officers, and to compensate those who by chance might draw lots covered with water. If any of the lots contained too small a quantity of land, the commissioners were authorized to correct it. The former act relative to actual settlement was repealed, and the time for such actual settlement was extended seven years from 1st of January, 1792. In case of failure to settle within that time, then the lands reverted to the State as before. The equitable adjustment of these land claims was a source of continual embarrassment and perplexity to the commissioners, and to the real owners.

In August, 1792, the Board of Commissioners, finding it necessary in order to comply with the grants of bounty lands, lately directed by law to be made to the Hospital department and others, caused township number twenty-seven, and the lots thereon, respectively to be numbered agreeable to law, and the township to be designated by the name of the township of *Galen*.

In January, 1795, there still appeared to be several unsatisfied claims for military bounty lands, and the twenty-seven townships being already disposed of, the board resolved that the Surveyor General should lay out one other township, numbered twenty-eight. This was subsequently named *Sterling*; which satisfied all the remaining claims.

In January, 1794, an act was passed, on account of the many frauds committed respecting the titles to these military bounty lands, by forging and antedating conveyances; by conveying the same to different persons, and by various other devices, and to prevent future frauds, the act provided that all deeds and conveyances made and executed before that time, or pretending to be so, should be deposited with the clerk of the county of Albany, for the time being, and all such as were not so deposited, should be considered fraudulent. The names of the claimants were posted up in alphabetical order in the clerk's office at Albany, and also at the clerk's office at Herkimer, for the more full inspection of all persons inter-

ested. These claims were still contested, and the courts overflowed with business relative thereto. Scarce a lot but became more or less the subject of litigation. Even the soldiers themselves, coming to take possession of the lots for which they had served, were obliged to eject some lawless squatter at considerable expense, or quietly to yield their hard earned titles. At length the inhabitants of the military tract became so completely wearied with these continued and most vexing contentions, that in 1797, the residents of the several townships on the Military Tract, unanimously and most heartily united in petitioning the State Legislature to pass a law authorizing a speedy and equitable mode of settling all disputes relative to these titles. An act was thereupon passed appointing Robert Yates, James Kent, and Vincent Mathews, Commissioners, with full powers to hear, examine, award and determine all disputes respecting the titles to any and all the military bounty lands. The Governor was authorized to fill all vacancies in this board. From the record of the awards made by the Onondaga Commissioners, the name of James Kent does not at all appear in their transactions. Most of the awards of 1798-99, are signed by Vincent Mathews and James Emmott; later ones by Vincent Mathews and Robert Yates, and some of those of 1801 and 1802, by Messrs. Mathews and Emmott, and Sanders Livingston. They proceeded to the work, and after a laborious investigation, the exertions of these gentlemen finally brought these vexing and lingering contentions to a satisfactory close.







Comfort Tyler

## CHAPTER XI.

## ONONDAGA COUNTY.

COMFORT TYLER — LESSEE COMPANY — PROPERTY LINE — BURR CONSPIRACY — ORGANIZATION OF ONONDAGA COUNTY — ROADS — GENERAL VIEW OF THE COUNTY — ORGANIZATION OF COURTS — JUDGES — SURROGATES — CLERKS — SHERIFFS — TREASURERS — MEMBERS OF CONGRESS — SENATORS — MEMBERS OF ASSEMBLY — FIRST BOARDS OF SUPERVISORS — VALUATIONS — CENSUS — EARLY MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

COMFORT TYLER was born in the town of Ashford, Connecticut, on the 22d of February, 1764, being the fourth of seven brothers. In the year 1777, when only thirteen years of age, he manifested a strong desire to enter the army, and resolved to enlist as a soldier in defense of his country. At the age of fourteen, he entered the army with his father's consent. His term of service was of short duration, and his duties light, being mostly confined to duty in and about the fortress of West Point. In 1783, he went to Caughnawaga, on the Mohawk River, where he entered upon the business of a surveyor, taught a school; and as is often the case with young men of gifted minds, he made greater advances in useful knowledge than his pupils. Among the superior men who have emigrated from New-England to the wilderness of Western New-York, a large proportion of them have thought it a necessary preliminary to teach a school, and to learn the art of surveying land, in order to secure a small fund and successfully to make headway in the world. While Mr. Tyler was thus engaged at Caughnawaga, General James Clinton came up the

Mohawk valley with a party, for the purpose of establishing the boundary line between New-York and Pennsylvania; and by him Mr. Tyler was engaged to accompany the expedition. The party transported their bateaux and baggage from the Mohawk River to Otsego Lake, and thence down the Susquehanna, to the State line, being the same route taken by General Clinton, in 1779, in the expedition against the western Indians. Mr. Tyler continued with the party during the season, and then returned to the Mohawk. On this surveying expedition, he first made the acquaintance of Moses De Witt, who was about his own age, and with whom he was intimately associated till the time of Mr. De Witt's death.

The next event of importance which occurred during his residence in the Mohawk valley, grew out of his connection with the celebrated "*Lessee Company*." The constitution of the State forbade the purchase of lands, in fee simple, of the Indians by individuals, reserving to the State alone, the right to make such purchases. An association of men, embracing many of wealth, character and influence, was formed for the purpose of purchasing lease-hold estates of the Indians, for the term of nine hundred and ninety-nine years. On their way up the Mohawk valley, they met Mr. Tyler, and offered him a participation in the enterprise, which offer he accepted. They proceeded as far as Canandaigua, where a treaty was held with the Indians on the bank of the lake: and, so far as they could judge, their object was accomplished. As might have been foreseen, however, the State authorities interfered, and the whole affair vanished in smoke. As the history of this company is but little known, we give the following brief sketch of it. In the winter of 1787-88, was formed the memorable "*Lessee Company*," composed of John Livingston, Caleb Benton, Peter Ryekman, John Stephenson, Ezekiel Gilbert, Benjamin Birdsall, and others, some eighty-six persons in all.\* These gentlemen, entered into an agreement

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\* For full list, see Greenleaf's Laws, Vol. III, p. 389, act 1787, for the relief of Benjamin Birdsall and others.

with the chiefs and head men of the Six Nations of Indians, by which, for considerations afterwards mentioned, the said Six Nations leased "*all the land commonly known as the lands of the Six Nations, in the State of New-York, and at the time, in the actual possession of said chiefs and sachems,*" for the term of nine hundred and ninety-nine years, for an annual rent of two thousand Spanish milled dollars, except some insignificant reserves, and some privileges of hunting, fishing, &c., among which are the following :

Reservation first.—"A mile square near the outlet of Cayuga Lake and Cayuga Salt Springs, with one hundred acres of land, to accommodate the same with wood.

Reservation second.—One-half of the falls, and convenient places for weirs, for the purpose of catching fish and eels, from Cross Lake to the Three Rivers.

Reservation third.—Reserving the exclusive right to one of the salt springs near Onondaga, with fifty or one hundred acres of land around the same, sufficient for fire wood, and other conveniences for boiling salt, together with an equal right in common, for eeling and fishing as far as Oneida Lake."

The Indians might reserve any other lands they chose, but the same reverted to the lessees whenever they were abandoned by the Indians. The time for the payment of the rents, was to commence on the 4th of July, 1791.

The leases were signed on the part of the Mohawks by Joseph Brant, and Hendrick Tekarihogea, by three Oneidas, eight Onondagas, twenty-three Cayugas and twenty-two Senecas, among whom were Red Jacket and Little-Beard, and also by ten principal women. Witnesses to the leases, were Samuel Kirkland, James Dean, Jos. Brant, David Smith, Benjamin Barton, M. Hollenbaek, Elisha Lee and Ezekiel Scott. Dated 9th of July, 1788.

One other lease, was witnessed by the same chief, Brant, an Oneida chief, James Dean, Sam'l Kirkland, Hezekiah Olcott, Jed. Phelps, Nicholas Jourdain and Abram Van Eps, and signed by ten Senecas, five Tuscaroras, five Mohawks,

seven Oneidas, and ten Onondagas, besides thirty miscellaneous.

It has been intimated that Brant, Red Jacket and others, of the principal chiefs of the Six Nations, were more than liberally paid for their concurrence in these transactions.

It was thought by many discerning persons, at the time of this transaction, that the leaders in this matter, contemplated nothing less than the dismemberment of the State of New-York, and the erection of a new one, out of the fertile country of the western part.

Many of the most prominent citizens in the State were enlisted in the scheme, and although the laws and constitution expressly forbade the *purchase* of any lands from the Indians, yet by *leasing* the same, for the term of nine hundred and ninety-nine years, they hoped to evade the law and effectually secure the title. The lease for nine hundred and ninety-nine years, amounted virtually to a sale; although in effect fraudulent, still, undoubtedly, many were innocently engaged in the transaction.

An act was passed, 18th of March, 1789, brought about by the energy of Governor Clinton and Senator Egbert Benson, defining the boundaries of the lessees, authorizing the Governor to destroy all dwellings, houses, barns or other erections, made on any of the Indian lands, by others than Indians, and if necessary, to call out the militia of the State, to speedily and forcibly eject all trespassers on Indian lands.

By these operations, the lessees failed to establish their title to the fertile country of Western New-York, and feeling themselves aggrieved by the interference of the State, petitioned the Legislature for relief; and finally on the 4th of February, 1793, was passed an act authorizing the Commissioners of the Land Office to direct a quantity of the vacant and unappropriated lands in the State, equal to ten miles square, to be set off for their use and benefit. This land was finally located on township No. 3, of the "Old Military Tract," amounting to about sixty-four thousand acres; and this was the final compromise of the State, with the famous "*Lessee*

*Company*," who once pretended to own and hold all the lands in Western New-York, west of the "*Old Line of Property*." This Line of Property, often named in the early records of the State Department at Albany, was a line drawn from the north-east corner of the State of Pennsylvania across the State of New-York, in a direction a little east of North, crossing the Mohawk River, near where the dividing line of the counties of Herkimer and Oneida now crosses the same.

By the treaty of 1784, the Six Nations were to occupy all the lands in the State of New-York, west of that line, so distinguished because, beyond that on the west, no white people had acquired a title, except about six miles square, including the Fort at Oswego, and a strip about four miles wide along the Niagara River, which by stipulation in the treaty, the United States had reserved.

The journey of Mr. Tyler to Cayuga was not without benefit, for it enabled him to see and appreciate the beautiful and fertile country west of the Mohawk; and, it was at this time, that he formed the resolution of eventually settling in that portion of the State.

In the spring of 1788, at the age of twenty-three years, in company with Major Asa Danforth, he pushed into the wilderness, fifty miles beyond any white inhabitant, and commenced the permanent settlement of Onondaga county. This was nearly a year before the treaty was held on the bank of the Seneca Lake, between Oliver Phelps and the Indians.\*

After the arrival of Col. Tyler at Onondaga, he enjoyed the distinction of having felled the first tree, and of constructing the first piece of turnpike road in the State, west of Fort Stanwix, and of assisting in the first manufacture of salt.

The first individuals who passed the limits of our county to

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\* By the way, Oliver Phelps opened the first land office in America, at Canandaigua, in 1789, and for the first time land was conveyed by "article." This was a new device, of American origin, wholly unknown to the English system, of granting possession without fee.

live, were John Harris and James Bennet, who settled at Cayuga in 1789. Mr. Tyler obtained his first cow from Judge White, as well as some grain for seed. Having heard that cows might be had at the garrison at Oswego, he went there and purchased two or three more. Like most of the early settlers, Mr. Tyler was obliged to grind his corn in a mortar made in an oak stump. *His mill* was standing till the year 1845, near the barn of Mrs. Thaddeus M. Wood, when it was grubbed out and burned, to add to the improvements of the age. It was quite sound.

Col. Tyler was a favorite with the Indians, who named him "*To-whan-ta-qua*"—meaning one that is double, or one that is a laboring man and a gentleman at the same time, or can do two things at once. So intimate were the associations of the family with the Indians, that some of the children lisped their first accents in the Indian tongue.

Mr. Tyler married for his first wife Miss Deborah Wemple, who died a short time after her marriage, leaving one daughter, who afterwards became the wife of Cornelius Longstreet, father of Mr. C. T. Longstreet. He afterwards married Miss Betsey Brown.

His second wife survived him but a few weeks, leaving but one child, Mrs. Mary Olmsted, now of Cohoes Falls. These two daughters were his only children.

In the summer of 1793, Col. Tyler was severely bitten in the arm by a rabid dog. The wound was instantly done up in salt. He immediately arranged his affairs, bade farewell to his friends, and with the most melancholy feelings, and the prospect of a terrible and certain death before him, set out in quest of a celebrated physician, who professed to cure this horrible malady. He was successful in finding him, submitted to a severe course of treatment, which entirely eradicated the insidious poison, and in a few weeks came home restored to health and usefulness. This would appear incredible but from the fact that the dog had bitten several swine and cattle in the neighborhood, which died with all the symptoms and hor-

rors of that most dreadful of all maladies. The dog was killed.

When the Military Tract was surveyed, he was selected to render assistance, and surveyed one of the townships, and subsequently he surveyed the Cayuga reservation. In all the important improvements of the country he bore a conspicuous part, freely appropriating his time and means for the promotion of these objects. He was early selected on account of his sterling worth to fill the highest offices of trust. He was appointed a justice of the peace for the town of Manlius in 1794. He was appointed coroner for Onondaga county in 1794, with Gilbert Tracy. In 1797 he was appointed sheriff of the county of Onondaga, and after Cayuga was set off in 1799, he was appointed clerk for Onondaga, and held that office till 1802. He was the first supervisor of the town of Manlius in 1794, and held the office four years; and represented Onondaga in the Legislature in 1798 and 1799. With a physical constitution remarkably capable of undergoing fatigue, and all the vicissitudes of climate, Mr. Tyler possessed, in an eminent degree, the qualities of enterprise, sagacity, prudence and fortitude. Among the Indians, his firmness and justice soon produced respect and confidence. With the new settlers, as they gradually followed his lonely path into the woods, his intelligence, sympathy and alacrity in aiding them, produced high esteem and devoted friendship. Many of the first settlers of Onondaga, had their spirits perpetually refreshed by glowing anticipations of the future. They knew the importance of their exertions. They labored and suffered in perfect assurance that the great results would follow, which we see realized. Full of these assurances, Mr. Tyler was always active and ardent for opening roads, improving streams, establishing schools, and erecting churches. Extensively acquainted with the topography of the country, and for a long time knowing personally most of its inhabitants, he labored assiduously on all occasions, and with much effect, in impressing upon others the views which he entertained of the real wants and true interests of the new settlements. In addition

to the encouragement which he gave by his example, to the ordinary and indispensable operations of clearing lands, providing the means of subsistence, and constructing comfortable dwellings, from the first his mind was constantly laboring for the means of facilitating intercourse. With a parental solicitude, he considered the condition of the whole country into which he led the settlers, and comprehended upon the broadest scale, the means of improving it. His zeal for new roads and bridges was deemed romantic. But his knowledge and his perseverance were not to be defeated. As a member of the Legislature, and in all his intercourse with public and private meetings for the general welfare, no person sustained his part better, or effected more, than he did. These subjects were the theme of his remarks, and the object he was most anxious to promote. To him more than to any other man are we indebted for the Seneca Turnpike Road, including the bridge across the Cayuga Lake. This project, which has proved so valuable since its accomplishment, was very much opposed at its inception. The ignorant, the timid and the indolent, thought it impossible to be effected by the feeble means then in the country. It was too gigantic and expensive; even if it could be constructed, the means would be wasted, and after years of hard labor, and the most liberal appropriations for its completion, its advocates would inevitably incur the loss and mortification of finding it altogether unprofitable.

In his efforts to bring capital and influence in aid of his undertakings, Col. Tyler made the acquaintance of Aaron Burr—which finally led to his connection with the celebrated southern expedition. The history of that period shows that he entered prominently into the transaction, having spent two years at the south, in arranging plans for the consummation of the project. The minutiae of these operations have not transpired.

As this affair caused great excitement throughout the country at the time, and as Col. Tyler was a prominent actor in the scene, it may be interesting to some, to give a brief synopsis so far as he and some other citizens of Onondaga were

concerned. Previous to the cession of Louisiana, to the United States, Baron P. N. Tut. Bastrop, contracted with the Spanish government, for a tract of land exceeding thirty miles square near Nachitoches. Subsequently, Col. Charles Lynch made an agreement with Baron Bastrop, for an interest in this purchase. Aaron Burr purchased of Col. Lynch about four hundred thousand acres of this land, lying between the Sabine and Nachitoches, and paid for it fifty thousand dollars.

The grant of Bastrop contained about one million two hundred thousand acres, and six-tenths of it was conveyed to Col. Lynch, and Col. Burr became interested in one half of Lynch's share, for the consideration above named.

This is the commencement of the celebrated Burr conspiracy. In the spring of 1805, Burr passed through the State of Pennsylvania to the Ohio valley, and down to New Orleans. It was at this time that he visited the beautiful Island of Herman Blennerhasset. Whatever scheme of ambition he contemplated, or what mighty project for founding a vast empire in the south-west he had planned, is unknown. There was a profound mystery in his movements, which could not be penetrated. The ostensible object of his operations was the settlement of the lands he had bargained for on the Washita River. Hundreds had been sounded on the subject of the speculation, and had assented to a participation in its profits, without knowing the destiny, or calculating on the event, of what was now in progress. In fact, the unfolding of the plan was not yet, and its result and prospects were perhaps only known to Aaron Burr, the grand projector of the hidden scheme. It has been supposed by many that his final object was the possession of New Orleans, the conquest of all Mexico and the formation of a new Republic. Many of the principal men of New-York and Ohio, were, through the wiles and machinations of this exuberant genius, drawn within the influences of his plans, and without harboring a surmise of evil, joined their fortunes with his. What communication Comfort Tyler had with the grand leader of this project is unknown. He first made the acquaintance of Aaron

Burr, while they were members together of the New-York Legislature, in 1798 and 1799.

The New-York delegation was composed of Aaron Burr, George Clinton, John Swartwout, — Gates and others. At this session Col. Tyler procured the charter for building the Cayuga Bridge, and in order to facilitate the work, Col. Burr, and Gen. John Swartwout, subscribed for, took the whole stock, and furnished the means for prosecuting the work. Israel Smith and Joseph Annin superintended the building of the bridge. Thus commenced, the intercourse of Aaron Burr with the people of Western New-York, many of whom were subsequently drawn into the great south-west expedition. In process of time, Col. Tyler and Israel Smith, both of whom acted prominent parts in the affair, with others from Onondaga and Cayuga counties, proceeded to Big Beaver, (formerly Fort McIntosh,) in Pennsylvania, on horseback, ostensibly for the purpose of making sale of salt. This article had begun to be manufactured in considerable quantities at Montezuma and Onondaga, and the sale of it in the west became a desirable object. Upon their arrival at Beaver, Messrs. Tyler and Smith entered largely into the purchase of provisions, particularly pork and flour. Having purchased a large number of hogs, they had them packed and taken down the Ohio to Natches. This is said to be the first salted pork ever taken down the Ohio River, and was considered not only something new but wonderful at Natches. Many of the most prominent men in the country courted the society of these gentlemen, and expressed themselves as fervent advocates of the project. As the boats laden with provisions proceeded down the Ohio, they were joined by others who were engaged in the expedition. These operations on the Muskingum and Ohio Rivers, awakened the vigilance and excited the attention of the government of the United States.

On the 6th of December, 1805, Col. Tyler landed at Blenerhasset's Island with four boats and about thirty men, some of whom were armed. These had been fitted out as before stated, at the towns above on the Ohio River, and were making

their way down to New Orleans. Boats laden with similar freight had previously passed, and others were expected. Upon these demonstrations of hostility, the militia of Ohio were called out to suppress what was supposed to amount to an insurrection. An act of the Ohio Legislature, and President Jefferson's proclamation, against these suspicious movements, dissipated the whole affair, and the expedition, whatever it was designed to be, exploded upon the arrest of the principal mover, Aaron Burr.

Col. Burr, was arrested on the Tombigbee River, Mississippi; was carried to Richmond Virginia, tried for treason in 1807, and acquitted.

Other arrests were made, viz: Generals Adair and Dayton, Blenerhasset, Swartwout, Tyler, Smith, Bellman and Ogden. Burr and Blenerhasset were the only ones tried. It has been stated that Burr's whole force at no time exceeded one hundred and fifty men.

The indictments were founded on the allegation, that Col. Tyler, with some thirty men, stopped at Blenerhasset's Island on their way down the Ohio with a view of taking temporary possession of New Orleans on their way to New Mexico, such intent being considered treasonable. Process was served on Col. Tyler at Natches. He came to Washington with Col. Pike, who was afterwards Gen. Pike, and who was killed at Little York, in 1812.

It has been supposed by some that President Jefferson was to elose his eyes to all these proceedings; for maps, eharts, notes, &c., had been furnished, of the Washita country, otherwise called the Baron Bastrop purchase, by his knowledge. It should be borne in mind that Burr's title to that purchase was considered good, and proved to be so. It is supposed that the remonstrance of Marshall Turenne, Minister from France, in behalf of Bonaparte, influeneed the mind of the President in his deliberations upon the subject. He unequivocally declared that any entry of American citizens upon the territory in question, would amount to a declaration of war, which

was supposed to have accelerated the President's interference.\*

This affair greatly impaired Col. Tyler's private fortune, and such was popular prejudice against the participators in this enterprise that it forever destroyed his prospects as a public man. Whatever may have been Burr's ulterior object, the public will understand better when the history of this transaction is more fully developed. That the great number of influential and respectable men connected with it, had no unworthy motive, but simply sought to take possession of the Bastrop purchase, to which they believed they had a fair and legitimate title, cannot be doubted. Whatever the expectations of these men were, they were sadly disappointed, and the result proved that they had been woefully misled. The consequence of this disappointment was, that a controversy took place between Col. Burr and Col. Tyler, which resulted in a total estrangement between them, which was never reconciled.

Besides Comfort Tyler, there were some twenty-five others, all young men, who proceeded to Beaver, in Pennsylvania, to take part in the expedition. Some of these were Major Israel Smith, of Cayuga, Samuel Forman, Augustus Hopkins, George Kibbe, John Brackett, — Lamb, — Hathaway, Daniel Howlett, Jonathan Thompson, and several others, who left Onondaga on horseback, in full expectation of realizing fortunes without the slightest knowledge of the details of the expedition.

The affair, at this time, created a great sensation among the young men, who were alive to the subject of important speculation.

In 1811, Col. Tyler removed with his family to Montezuma, where he took a deep interest in the Cayuga Manufacturing Company. This company was engaged in making salt, and to extend their business, every thing would be important which could render Montezuma more accessible. With this view, and very much by his advice and personal exertions, the com-

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\*Relation of Israel Smith, Esq., of Albany.

pany built two long bridges across the Seneca and Clyde Rivers, and constructed a turnpike, more than three miles in length, over the Cayuga marshes, where the earth was so soft that with one hand a man might thrust a pole with ease into it ten or twelve feet; and yet the experiment succeeded perfectly, without exorbitant cost.

Col. Tyler resided some two or three years at Hoboken, and superintended the draining of the salt meadows in that vicinity. In fact wherever any great work was to be accomplished, he was among the first consulted. Whatever affected the interest of his country, always engaged his solicitude, and in the late war he entered again into its military service, as Assistant Commissary General to the northern army. His activity, his resources and knowledge of the country, were often called into useful requisition. He served in the capacity of Assistant Commissary General, with the rank of Colonel, to the close of the war.

After the close of the war, the canal policy engaged his most earnest attention. From the beginning, he was among the foremost of the advocates of that work, and he was early in the field, side by side with Judge Geddes and Judge Forman, in advocating the feasibility and policy of the plan. His intimate acquaintance with the country through which it would pass, and his knowledge of the means which might be applied to its accomplishment, convinced him of its practicability; and it had been the peculiar study of his life, to ascertain the advantages which must flow, from opening such a channel of communication. He was industrious in supporting the measure by animated conversations, wherever he happened to be, and by letters addressed to members of the Legislature, in the early stages of its agitation. He lived to rejoice with those who rejoiced at its completion.

Few men have lived and died so well as Colonel Tyler, and his character may be contemplated with advantage by all. To him and his influence, the public have been under peculiar obligations. His character stands out in bold relief, and his merits have naturally resulted from his thirst after knowledge;

his superiority to all the allurements of ease and luxury, his daring enterprise, his comprehensive sagacity, his self reliance, his energetic activity, his constancy in his undertakings, and in his deliberate purpose of doing good. In all the relations of private friendship, Colonel Tyler was uncommonly endearing. His ready sympathy, his ingenuous affability, his animation, his originality of remark, his knowledge of human nature and of life, and that strong expression of benevolence, which beamed from his countenance and issued from his heart, made his society always attractive and advantageous, and his house the seat of hospitality. His extraordinary conversational powers were peculiarly attractive; no one became weary of his words, they were perfectly fascinating, and endeared him in the hearts of thousands. One who was intimate with him has said, "I never knew his equal in those qualities which constitute a man. He was nature's own nobleman, in person, in speech, in voice, in mind; in fact, he possessed every attribute of a perfect man." No man more than himself upon a first acquaintance, impressed upon the mind of another, the idea that his soul was filled with manly and generous sentiments, and none more fully confirmed that impression upon subsequent intimacy. By those who knew him best, he was most highly esteemed.

He died at his residence at Montezuma, on the 5th of August, 1827, sincerely lamented by a large circle of personal friends, and deeply mourned by numerous relatives.

Samuel, John and William Tyler, came to Onondaga between the years 1790 and 1795. Samuel and William settled in Marcellus and died in 1825, within one week of each other. John returned to Connecticut, where he died in 1846. Job Tyler first settled in the town of Bridgewater, Oneida county, in 1794, and removed to Onondaga in 1804, and resided in the county of Onondaga, except four or five years, during the latter part of his life, which were spent at Montezuma. He died at Onondaga in March, 1836. They were all active industrious men, and it may, without ostentation, be claimed for them, that they deserved, and have left behind

them, the reputation of valuable citizens, and of upright, honorable men.

ORGANIZATION OF ONONDAGA COUNTY.—We have now arrived at the period when Onondaga was organized as a county, and it seems rather necessary to go back and follow out the names and organizations through which our county has passed.

The territory of New Netherlands, (now New-York,) west of Fort Orange, (Albany,) was called by the Dutch in 1638, "Terra Incognita," or unknown land. This appears to be the first distinctive name given to western New-York. In 1683, after the English had succeeded to the government of the Dutch Territories in America, and the English Duke of York had assumed the reins of government, the colony of New-York was divided by the Duke of York's Legislature, into twelve counties, called Albany, Duchess, Kings, New-York, Orange, Queens, Richmond, Suffolk, Ulster, Westchester, Dukes and Cornwall. This organization remained undisturbed till the years 1768 and 1770, when the counties of Cumberland and Gloucester were added. These two latter, after a long and angry controversy, were yielded to New Hampshire, and subsequently became a part of the State of Vermont, except a portion north of Albany, which was called Charlotte county. The counties of Dukes and Cornwall were claimed by Massachusetts, and were finally surrendered in 1693.

In 1772 the county of Tryon was taken from Albany county, and embraced all the territory of New-York, west of a line drawn nearly north and south through the present county of Schoharie. Very soon after the close of the revolutionary war, the tide of emigration was directed towards Tryon county, and in a few years the increase of population made it necessary for convenience, to divide it. In 1784, the name of Montgomery was substituted for Tryon. The tory Governor Tryon, had made interest with the British during the revolution, and it was considered unpatriotic to have a disenthralled territory called any longer by a tory's name. The same year the name of Charlotte was changed to Washington. At the

time, the name of Tryon was changed to Montgomery, the territory was divided into five districts, called Mohawk, Canajoharie, Palatine, German Flats and Kingsland, the two latter of which embraced the western part of the State. In 1788, the district of German Flats, in the county of Montgomery, was divided, and all that part of the State of New-York lying west of a line drawn north and south across the State, crossing the Mohawk River at "Old Fort Schuyler," (Utica,) was erected into a town called Whitestown, in honor of Judge White, who had settled at Sadaquate (Whitesboro) in 1784. In 1786 the county of Montgomery contained a population of only fifteen thousand and fifty-seven, and the State of New-York only two hundred thirty-eight thousand eight hundred ninety-six inhabitants. At this period, the town of Whites-town contained less than two hundred white persons. The same territory now contains not much less than one million three hundred thousand inhabitants. The wonderful transition, by which in the space of a very few years this immense forest has been converted into fruitful fields, seems like the illusions of a dream, to those who have witnessed its progress. We can hardly trust the evidence of our senses, when we look back and see with what rapidity villages and cities have almost magically sprung up, amidst the native woodlands, and mark the increase of roads and rail-ways over the pathway of the wandering savage.

The first town meeting for the District of Whitestown, convened at the house of Capt. Daniel White, in said District, on Tuesday, the 7th of April, 1789, "agreeable to warning," and adjourned to the barn of Hugh White, Esq., "it being more convenient;" at which time and place they "proceeded as followeth:"

"1st. Chose Col. Jedediah Sanger Supervisor. 2d. Chose Elijah Blodget Town Clerk. 3d. Chose Amos Wetmore first Assessor. 4th. Chose James Bronson second Assessor. 5th. Chose Ephraim Blackmore third Assessor," &c.

The second town meeting was held at the barn of Needham Maynard, Whitestown, Tuesday, 6th of April, 1790.

Col. William Colbraith was chosen Supervisor, and Elijah Blodget, Town Clerk.

In 1791, Jedediah Sanger was elected Supervisor, and Ashbel Beach, Town Clerk. Ebenezer Butler, afterwards of Pompey, Collector; James Wadsworth, of Geneseo, True Worthy Cook, of Pompey, Jeremiah Gould, of Salina, Overseers of Highways.

In 1789, the county of Montgomery was divided, and all that part west of a line drawn north and south across the State, through the Seneca Lake, two miles east of Geneva, was called Ontario County, and was extensively known abroad as the "Genesec country." Herkimer County was taken from Montgomery, and organized in 1791, and included all the country west of Montgomery, north of Otsego and Tioga, and east of Ontario Counties. The town of Whitestown was divided into three towns. Whitestown came west from its eastern limits as far as the present west line of Madison County. The town of Mexico included the eastern half of the Military Tract, and the town of Peru the western. The town of Mexico was bounded east by the east bounds of the Military Tract, and a line drawn north, from the mouth of the Chittenango Creek, across the Oncida Lake, to Lake Ontario; south by Tioga county, west by the west bounds of the townships of Homer, Tully, Camillus, Lysander and Hannibal, of the said Military Tract, and north by Lake Ontario.

The first town-meeting for the town of Mexico, was directed by law, to be held at the house of Benjamin Morehouse (near Jamesville). The town of Peru, was bounded north by Lake Ontario; east, by Mexico; south, by Tioga county; and west, by Ontario county. The first town-meeting was directed by law to be held at the house of Seth Phelps. We have been unable to find any record of the proceedings of town-meetings of the towns of Mexico and Peru.

The poll for the first general election for Whitestown, was opened at Cayuga Ferry, then adjourned to the house of Benjamin Morehouse, thence to Rome, and finally closed at Whitestown.

The following extract from Dunlap's Daily Advertiser, printed at Philadelphia, 26th of July, 1792, may not be uninteresting, as it shows us what was thought of Herkimer county at that period.

“Gentlemen who reside on the military lands in the county of Herkimer, inform us, that that tract of country contains a very great proportion of rich land, well watered and timbered, that there is already a considerable number of settlers there, and that it bids fair to people as rapidly as any part of America. That sixteen bushels of salt are daily manufactured at Major Danforth's works at the salt springs, and that Mr. Van Vleck, formerly of Kinderhook, is erecting other works, at the same place, for carrying on the like manufactory; that whenever sufficient works shall be erected at those springs, a thousand bushels of salt can be made every day; that salt now sells there for five shillings per bushel; that it weighs about fifty-six pounds to the bushel, and is equal in quality to that of Turk's Island. That the salmon fishing in that country, must become an object of great improvement, as that fine fish (the salmon) abounds in their rivers and lakes, in spring and fall. That it is not uncommon for a party to spear twenty or fifty in an evening, from fourteen to thirty pounds each. The lands sell in general at from one shilling to three shillings per acre, but some have sold as high as from eight to twelve shillings per acre.”

In 1794, the county of Onondaga was erected from the western part of Herkimer, and included all the Military Tract, which now embraces all the counties of Seneca, Cayuga, Cortland and Onondaga, and all that part of Tompkins county, lying north of a line drawn east from the head of Seneca Lake to the south-west corner of Cortland county, and all that part of Oswego county lying west of the Oswego River. It was finally reduced to its present territorial limits in 1816; Cayuga having been set off in 1799, Cortland in 1808, and Oswego in 1816. Wayne was taken from Seneca in 1823, and Tompkins, from Cayuga and Seneca counties in 1817. At the time Onondaga was organized, it was divided into eleven

towns: Homer, Pompey, Manlius, Lysander, Marcellus, Ulysses, Milton, Scipio, Ovid, Aurelius, and Romulus. At the new organization in 1801, after Cayuga was set off, Onondaga was divided into nine towns, as follows: Solon, Homer, Fabius, Onondaga, Pompey, Manlius, Lysander, Camillus and Marcellus, and contained about one hundred and twelve thousand three hundred and twenty-nine inhabitants. The census for 1810, gives for Onondaga county, comprising thirteen towns, twenty-five thousand nine hundred and eighty-seven inhabitants; 1825, forty-eight thousand four hundred and thirty-five; in 1830, comprising seventeen towns, fifty-eight thousand nine hundred and seventy-four; and so on increasing at the ratio of about ten thousand in every five or six years. For the early settlement of Onondaga county, the reader is referred to the several towns.

ROADS.—The first road attempted to be made through this country was in 1790 or 1791, by a party of emigrants under the direction of the late Gen. Wadsworth, from the settlement at Whitestown to Canandaigua, through a country then very little explored, and entirely a wilderness. After this, the old State Road was cut through, enlarging and following the one cut by the emigrants. From the east, it crossed the county line a little north of the Deep Spring, where William Sayles kept a tavern in 1793. Through Manlius village that road was essentially where it is now. After passing Morehouse's Flats, it bore south and crossed the Butternut Creek near a mile south of Jamesville; then bearing a little south of west, entered Onondaga Hollow at Danforth's, near a mile south of the present road; then north-west across the hollow to Mickle's Furnace, then around the hill, the present road intersecting it near General Hutchinson's. After this road was cut through, the tide of emigration greatly increased. Winter was the season usually chosen for emigration from New England to the "westward." Then, as the country was wholly shaded by dense forests, there was commonly snow enough for good sleighing through the winter months. Most

of the settlements from Utica to Canandaigua, along this road, began to attain some consequence, as early as the year 1800. Previous to the laying out of this road, which was somewhat improved by sundry appropriations from the State, the western settlers moved on pack horses through the country, along the Indian paths. One of the most noted of these paths led from Oneida to Chittenango, keeping south of the high land above Mr. Patriek's plaster bed between Canaseraga and Chittenango, coming down the hill obliquely, near where the excavation is made for the Chittenango Rail Road, crossing the Chittenango Creek on a large Sycamore tree, which was lying across the creek as late as 1804, a little above the turnpike bridge, passing upon the high land above and south of the ravine, through which the present road passes to Col. Sage's farm, where were once the remains of a stockade enclosure, and a large Indian orchard. From this, it passed on, entering Onondaga Hollow at Major Danforth's.

In 1793, John L. Hardenburgh, Moses De Witt, and John Patterson, were appointed a board of commissioners, for laying out and making public roads, on the Military Tract; the principal one of which, was that leading from the "Deep Spring" to the "Cayuga Ferry," and others in different parts of the Military Tract. They were to be laid out four rods wide, and the sum of two thousand seven hundred dollars was appropriated for that purpose.

In 1794 an act was passed by the Legislature of the State of New-York, appointing Israel Chapin, Michael Myers and Othniel Taylor, commissioners for the purpose of laying out and improving a public highway, from old Fort Schuyler, on the Mohawk River, to the Cayuga Ferry, as nearly straight as the situation of the country would allow. Thence from Cayuga Ferry to Canandaigua, and thence to the settlement of Canawagas, on the Genesee River. Road to be six rods wide, and the sum of six hundred pounds was appropriated for the expenses of opening and improving so much of the road as passed through the Military Tract. In 1796 the Surveyor General was authorized to sell certain lands on the In-

dian reservation, and from the proceeds of the sales, appropriate five hundred pounds for improving the Great Genesee Road, through the county of Onondaga.

In 1796, Seth Phelps, William Stevens, and Comfort Tyler were appointed commissioners, to make and repair the highways in the county of Onondaga. Four thousand dollars were appropriated by the State for that purpose, and two thousand dollars were directed to be expended in the improvement of the Great Genesee Road, from the eastern to the western boundary of the county. Commissioners were each allowed two dollars per day for superintending the improvement of the roads. Subsequently, Amos Hall, Samuel Chipman and Michael Myers were appointed commissioners to superintend the improvements of the Great Genesee Road.

In 1797, the Legislature of the State, authorized three Lotteries, for the purpose of raising forty-five thousand dollars, for the further improvement of roads. Thirteen thousand nine hundred dollars of this was appropriated for opening and improving the Great Genesee Road, in all its extent, from old Fort Schuyler to Geneva.

In 1800, the Seneca Road Company was chartered for the purpose of improving the old State Road from Utica to Canandaigua. Jedediah Sanger, Benjamin Walker, Cha's Williamson and Israel Chapin, were appointed commissioners to survey and lay out this road; the capital stock was one hundred and ten thousand dollars; shares fifty dollars each. The charter was amended in 1801, and the commissioners were privileged to deviate from the old road. After the amendment of the charter in 1801, and the commissioners had resolved to improve, alter and straighten the road, as may well be supposed, there was a great deal of anxiety, manifested by inhabitants in various sections of the country, respecting the proper location of it; every man desiring it should pass his own door. The commissioners had proceeded from Utica west, as far as Chittenango, and established the road, varying in several instances from the old road. They encountered not much opposition, because after leaving Westmoreland,

there were very few white inhabitants. At Chittenango the commissioners were met by a large delegation of interested individuals, from Onondaga and Manlius. These persons were fearful, lest the commissioners would select a more northern route, and they had become fixed in their determination to avoid the monstrous Canaseraga Hill, as it was then called, and also the Onondaga Hill. The northern route had few advocates, as the settlers in that direction did not deem the matter of sufficient importance to send delegates to the commissioners. The southern route was finally settled upon, but not without the practice of a most palpable deception on the part of the persons interested. The settlers from Onondaga were the most active in the measure. Being well acquainted with the country, at the same time professing to show and explain the best and most suitable ground for the road, they first led the commissioners up the ravine, north-west of Chittenango, passing up that a mile and a half, they found themselves hemmed in on three sides by a perpendicular ledge of rocks, more than one hundred feet high, with no way of getting out, but backing out. The next best supposable route was acted upon, and the commissioners were led across this ravine, along the great hill towards Hartsville, and into one of the most dismal of all places, then dignified by the very significant name of the Gulf of Mexico, now called the Basin; a place where the sun has never in this latitude, risen high enough to shine upon. In this dilemma, there could be no alternative but to return the way they had advanced. Upon this, the northern route was declared impracticable, and they proceeded to lay out the road through Manlius Square, Sinai (Jamesville) and Onondaga Hollow.

The company soon learned they had not availed themselves of the most favorable route, and they solicited an amendment of their charter, which was granted in 1806, enabling them to build a new road from Sullivan, through the Onondaga Reservation near the salt springs, to Cayuga Bridge, and fifty thousand dollars was added to the capital stock. This road was finally completed in 1812, and was styled the north branch

of the Seneca Road. It was made through this county by the efforts of James Geddes, Squire Munro and Dr. John Frisbie. The Third Great Western or Cherry Valley Turnpike, as it is more commonly called, was chartered in 1802, and was finished in 1807; capital stock seventy-five thousand dollars, with privilege of increasing thirty thousand dollars more; shares twenty-five dollars each.

In 1807, John Swift, Grover Smith and John Ellis were appointed commissioners to explore and lay out a public road four rods wide from the village of Salina to the north west corner of the township of Galen. And the same year Moses Carpenter, Medad Curtis and Asa Rice, were appointed commissioners to explore and lay out a road six rods wide on the most practicable route from Onondaga Hill to Ox Creek, and from thence to the village of Oswego, and another from Ox Creek to the village of Salina. Thus we see that as early as 1810 we have all the most prominent and useful public highways laid out, and most of them ready for the use of travelers. A Mr. Langdon first carried the United States Mail through this county from Whitestown to Genesee on horseback in 1797 or 1798, and distributed papers and unsealed letters by the way, before intermediate offices were established. Mr. Lucas succeeded Mr. Langdon in transporting the mail, which, in 1800, had become so heavy, as to require a wagon to transport it. Mr. Lucas established a sort of two horse passenger hack for the conveyance of passengers, and did a brisk and profitable business. The first four horse mail coach was sent through once a week, by Jason Parker, in 1803; and in 1804, commenced running regularly from Utica to Canandaigua, twice a week, carrying the United States mail and passengers. In 1804, an act was passed, granting to Jason Parker and Levi Stephens, the exclusive right for seven years, of running a line of stages for the conveyance of passengers, at least twice a week, along the Genesee Road or Seneca Turnpike, between the villages of Utica and Canandaigua. They were bound to furnish four good and substantial covered wagons or sleighs, and sufficient horses to run the same; the

fare not to exceed five cents per mile for each passenger, with fourteen pounds of baggage. They were by law bound to run through in forty-eight hours, accidents excepted, and not more than seven passengers were allowed in any one carriage, except by the unanimous consent of the said seven passengers; and, if four passengers above the seven, applied for passage, they were bound to immediately fit out and start an extra for their accommodation; or any number less than four should be accommodated, by paying the fare of four.

In 1808, a daily line was established, and afterwards several others, which were continued until the completion of the Syracuse and Utica Rail Road.

From the first, the settlement of Onondaga County has been rapid, and the increase of its population, uniform and permanent. Notwithstanding the many divisions and subdivisions it has experienced, it is now among the first in point of numbers. In point of location, the advantages of water communication, and consequent facilities for the choice of markets, Onondaga is exceeded by few counties in the State. In point of internal resources, bringing into view her increasing business in the manufacture of salt, her inexhaustable beds of plaster, her water lime and limestone quarries, her fertile soil, and the persevering industry and intelligence of her citizens, she stands second to none. Her mineral wealth, from its vast extent and its adaptation to the wants of humanity, is of far greater value than the golden mountains of California and Peru. Being centrally situated in the Empire State, and traversed by all the principal roads, and a railway leading from the Atlantic Cities to the Great West, she is ever destined to maintain a high position among the interior counties of the State.

The Seneca and Oneida Rivers spread over the northern portion of the county, while their tributaries penetrate every part, yielding water power abundant for the necessities of an energetic and persevering people.

The Erie and Oswego canals unite at the City of Syracuse, the great centre of business and of trade, through which are

sent the accumulating wealth of nations. If the light of heaven shines more benignly on one country than another; if there be one spot more favored than another, it is centered here.

In short, it is evident to the most inattentive observer, that the county of Onondaga contains, within itself, all the elements of a numerous, rich and prosperous population. Judging from the past, and from present appearances of the future, her increase in population, resources and wealth, will exceed the ratio of former years. Healthy and fertile, possessing a choice of markets, there is every probability that in the moral, political and financial concerns of New-York, Onondaga is destined to act an important part, and exert a powerful influence for all time to come.

The following statistics of Onondaga County have been taken from the census of 1845:

Number of inhabitants, 70,175; number subject to military duty, 6,857; voters, 15,812; aliens, 2,133; number of children attending common schools, 15,646; number of acres of improved land, 311,872; grist mills, 53; saw mills, 155; oil mills, 4; fulling mills, 16; carding machines, 20; cotton factories, 2; woolen factories, 12; iron works, 11; trip hammers, 5; distilleries, 6; asheries, 18; clover mills, 3; paper mills, 3; tanneries, 17; breweries, 3; Churches—Baptist, 20; Episcopalian, 10; Presbyterian, 20; Congregational, 9; Methodist, 40; Roman Catholic, 4; Dutch Reformed, 4; Universalists, 2; Unitarian, 3; Jews, 2; Quaker, 1; Academies, 7; Common Schools, 313; Select, do. 31; taverns, 142; wholesale stores, 4; retail do., 207; groceries, 236; farmers, 8,196; merchants, 284; manufacturers, 370; mechanics, 3,182; clergymen, 130; physicians, 126; lawyers, 87.

ORGANIZATION OF COURTS.—In 1794, after the Military Tract had been set off from Herkimer, and organized as a county by itself, Courts of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace, were established by law. These Courts were ordered to be held alternately, on the first Mondays in

May and November in each year, at the house of Reuben Patterson, in the town of Manlius, and at the house of Seth Phelps, in the town of Scipio, commencing with the first. Mr. Patterson then kept a tavern at Onondaga Hollow, which at that time was included in the town of Manlius. These terms were to be held only for the space of one week.

Previous to the organization of Onondaga County, Courts were held for the county of Herkimer in the church at Herkimer village, until other Legislative provision was made in the matter. Col. Henri Staring was appointed First Judge. He was a man possessed of many excellent qualities, but had never enjoyed the advantages of an education; still, he was a man of remarkable honesty and integrity of purpose. Many amusing anecdotes are told of his mode of administering justice, some of which, border upon the ludicrous and derisive. Michael Myers was one of his associates, and filled many offices of note while the Military Traet was a part of Herkimer County. In 1793, one term of the Courts for the county of Herkimer, was directed to be held in Whitestown, at such place as the Court should direct. The first Court held under this provision was in the late Judge Sanger's barn, Judge Staring presiding, assisted by Judge White. The late Judge Platt was then Clerk of Herkimer County, and the Sheriff, Col. William Colbraith, the first Sheriff who ever served process on the Military Traet. He was a jolly, good humored sort of man, and withal a lover of fun. He had seen some service in the revolution, but had acquired his title as a militia officer since the war. His education had been scanty, and his manners bore unequivocal evidence that they originated more from a native mine of genuine good humor, and a capacious soul, rather than from the arbitrary rules of a professor of polite breeding.

Before a Court House was erected in Onondaga County, civil and criminal prisoners were ordered to be confined in the jail of Herkimer County, as heretofore, until a jail could be provided in the county of Onondaga. The first Court held in the county, under the new organization, was in General Dan-

forth's eorn house, first Monday in May, 1794. Present, Seth Phelps, First Judge; John Richardson, Silas Halsey and William Stevens, Judges. Moses De Witt, Esq., was appointed Judge of Onondaga Common Pleas, not present.

Thomas R. Gould and Arthur Breeze, were the only lawyers then present, not one at that time having been established in the county.

The first Court of Oyer and Terminer for the county of Onondaga, was held at the house of Asa Danforth, Esq., (late Reuben Patterson's,) on the 21st of July, 1794. Present, the Hon. Egbert Benson, Esq., one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature for the State of New-York, assisted by Seth Phelps and Andrew Englis, Justices of Oyer and Terminer and General Jail Delivery for the county of Onondaga. Lawyers were in attendanee at this Court from Whites-town and Herkimer. The grand jury were, Walter Wood, Foreman; Comfort Tyler, Isaac Van Vleck, Elias Fitch, Moses Carpenter, William Ward, Jonathan Wilkinson, Cyrus Kinne, Scere Curtis, Victory S. Tousley, Amos Stanton, Henry Moore, James Geddes, Ryal Bingham, Reuben Patterson. "Judge Benson made an eloquent charge to the Grand Jury." The only bill of indictment found was against James Fitzgerald for an assault and battery with intent to rob Andrew McCarthy.

The Petit Jurors on this first criminal trial, were, John Brown, William Linsley, Thomas Morgan, Henry Watkins, Benjamin De Puy, Nehemiah Smith, Isaac Strong, John A. Thompson, Noah Olmsted, Isaac Baily, William Stevens, and Thomas Ozman, who found the prisoner guilty. Sentenced by the Court to two months imprisonment in the county jail at Herkimer. The Court fined nineteen Petit Jurors, twenty shillings each, four Grand Jurors and two Constables each the same sum; John Stowell, William Goodwin, Perry Brownell, Justices of the Peace, were each fined thirty shillings, for absence.

The next term of the Circuit Court was held at the house of Seth Phelps, in Scipio, 7th September, 1795. Present,

Hon. John Lansing, Judge of the Supreme Court, Seth Phelps, John Richardson, William Stevens, Judges of Onondaga County Common Pleas. The following absent Justices of the Peace were severally fined thirty shillings, viz: John A. Sheaffer, William Goodwin, John Stowell, Cyrus Kinne, Hezekiah Oleutt, Daniel Keeler, Ryal Bingham and Ozias Burr. John A. Sheaffer was indicted for forgery. He forfeited his recognizances and left, (estreated.)

Hon. Egbert Benson, held the next Circuit at the house of Reuben Patterson, 14th June, 1797, assisted by Seth Phelps, William Stevens, Asa Danforth and Comfort Tyler, Judges and Justices of Oyer and Terminer for the county of Onondaga. Grand Jury—Ozias Burr, Foreman; James Geddes, Ephraim Webster, Bethel Cole, Robert Earll, John Curtiss, Joseph Leonard, Levi Jerome, David Green, John Lamb, William Rice, Jonathan Coe, Joseph Cody, Peter Lawrence, William Cobb, Irad Smith. No Bills of Indictment were found at this term.

Judge James Kent held the next Circuit at the house of Seth Phelps, in Scipio, 12th June, 1798, assisted by Seth Phelps, William Stevens, Seth Sherwood, Judges of Common Pleas for Onondaga County.

Cayuga County was set off from Onondaga, in 1799. The first Court at Onondaga, after this, was held at the house of Reuben Patterson, in June, 1799. Present, William Stevens, first Judge, assisted by Elijah Rust, James Geddes, Orris Curtiss, James Keep and Jere. Gould, assistants. Grand Jury, Ozias Burr, Foreman; Aaron Wood, James Foster, Cha's Merriman, Daniel Thomas, Franklin Venall, Jonathan Bull, Punderson Avery, Shubel Safford, Thomas Foster, Roswell Barnes, Joseph Bartholomew, Hezekiah Weston, Enos Peek, Jonas Hinman, Thomas Gaston, John Cole, John Stevens. No Bill found.

Courts were held at different houses in Onondaga Hollow, to wit: Asa Danforth's, Reuben Patterson's, Samuel Tyler's and John Adams', from 1794 to 1805, when the Court House at Onondaga Hill was so far completed as to allow of the

Courts being held there, with the legislative provision for adjourning to any other house, if the weather was so inelement as to render it uncomfortable at the Court House. In 1801, Elihu Lewis, Jabez Webb and Thaddeus M. Wood, were appointed commissioners for the purpose of erecting a Court House for the county of Onondaga, at the West Hill. The work proceeded very slowly. In 1806, Mr. Wood was superseded as a commissioner, by Josiah White, and the same year, the Board of Supervisors were authorized by law, to raise by tax on the county, two thousand dollars, for the purpose of completing the Court House and Jail, which was finally done in 1807, and the Courts were held there till the year 1830, when the Court House and Jail were completed at their present location at Syracuse. In 1807, three terms of the Court of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace were authorized by law, to be held in May, January and September.

In 1813, an act was passed, authorizing the Board of Supervisors of Onondaga County to levy a sum not exceeding one thousand dollars, for the purpose of erecting a fire-proof clerk's office for the county. The office was immediately built, —previously the office had been kept at the Hollow, most of the time in the dwelling house of the clerk. After the Courts were held at Syracuse, a new Clerk's office was there erected, and the Books, Records, Papers, &c., removed.

The following were judicial and executive officers for Herkimer, from 1791 to 1794, while Onondaga was a part of Herkimer: Henri Staring, First Judge and Justice of the Peace; Michael Myers, Hugh White and Abraham Hardenburgh, Judges and Justices of the Peace; John Bank, Patrick Campbell, Jedediah Sanger, Amos Whitmore, William Veeder, Alexander Parkman and Ephraim Blackman, Assistant Justices and Justices of the Peace; Seth Phelps, Moses De Witt, Asa Darforth, Edward Payne and others, Justices of the Peace; William Colbraith, Sheriff; Jonas Platt, Clerk; Moses De Witt, Surrogate; John Post and Daniel White, Coroners.

In 1793, for Herkimer County, were reappointed, Seth

Phelps, Asa Danforth, Moses Dewitt, J. L. Hardenburgh and Silas Halsey, Assistant Justices and Justices of the Peace.

JUDGES OF ONONDAGA COUNTY COURTS.—Seth Phelps, First Judge; Silas Halsey, John Richardson and Moses De Witt, Judges and Justices of the Peace, 1794; William Stevens, Judge, 1795; Asa Danforth, Judge, 1797; William Stevens, First Judge, 1799; Elihu Lewis, Ebenezer Butler, Asa Danforth, Judges and Justices of the Peace; Dan Bradley, Judge, 1801; John Ballard, Judge, 1802; William J. Vredenburgh, Judge, 1804; Reuben Humphreys, Judge; Reuben Humphreys, First Judge; Dan Bradley, John Ballard and William J. Vredenburgh, Judges and Justices of the Peace, 1805; Dan Bradley, First Judge, 1808; Squire Munroe, Roswell Tousley and William J. Vredenburgh, Judges; Jonathan Stanley and Ozias Burr, Judges, 1809; Jacob R. De Witt, James Geddes and Sylvanus Tousley, Judges, 1812; Joshua Forman, First Judge, 1813; Reuben Humphreys, Judge, 1814; Jacob R. De Witt, Squire Munroe, Sylvanus Tousley and John Teneyek, Judges, 1815; James O. Wattles and Warren Hecox, Judges, 1818; Jonathan Stanley, Squire Munroe, Levi Mason, and James Webb, Judges, 1819; Nehemiah H. Earll, First Judge; John Mason, George Petit and James Sisson, Jr., Judges, 1823; Nehemiah H. Earll, First Judge, 1828; George Petit, Martin M. Ford, Otis Bigelow and John Smith, Judges, 1828; Samuel L. Edwards, First Judge, 1831; John Watson, Judge, 1833; Otis Bigelow, David Munro, George Petit and James M. Allen, Judges; Grove Lawrence, First Judge, 1838; Nathan Soule, Oliver R. Strong, Lyman H. Mason and Johnson Hall, Judges; Daniel Pratt, First Judge, 1843; John L. Stevens, George A. Stansbury, Lyman Kingsley, Amasa H. Jerome, Judges; James R. Lawrence, Judge, 1847.

SURROGATES FOR ONONDAGA COUNTY.—Moses De Witt, 1794; Thomas Mumford, 1795; Thaddeus M. Wood, 1800; George Hall, 1802; Medad Curtis, 1810; George Hall, 1811; James Porter, 1821; Freeborn G. Jewett, 1824; John Flem-

ing, 1831; Isaac T. Minard, 1840; David D. Hillis, 1844; Isaac T. Minard, 1848.

CLERKS OF ONONDAGA COUNTY.—Benjamin Ledyard, appointed, 1794; Comfort Tyler, 1799; Jasper Hopper, 1802; George W. Olmsted, 1810; Jasper Hopper, 1811; Truman Adams, 1818; Daniel Mosely, 1823; Reuben L. Hess, 1826; Alanson Edwards, 1835; Elijah Rhoades, elected, 1838; Charles T. Hicks, 1841; Vivus W. Smith, 1847.

SHERIFFS FOR ONONDAGA COUNTY.—John Harris, 1794; Abiathar Hull, 1796; Comfort Tyler, 1797; Elnathan Beach, 1799; Ebenezer R. Hawley, 1801; Elijah Phillips, 1805; Robert Earll, 1809; Elijah Rust, 1813; Jonas Earll, 1814; Hezekiah L. Granger, 1818; Jonas Earll, 1819; Luther Marsh, 1823; Lewis Smith, 1826; John H. Johnson, 1829; Johnson Hall, 1832; Dorastus Lawrence, 1835; Elihu L. Phillips, 1838; Frederick Benson, 1841; Heber Wetherby, 1844; Joshua C. Cuddeback, 1847.

TREASURERS OF ONONDAGA COUNTY, appointed by Board of Supervisors.—Moses Carpenter, 27th May, 1794; Jacob R. De Witt, 1799; Jacobus De Puy, Oct. 1st, 1805; Oliver R. Strong, Oct. 5th, 1809—resigned Nov. 11th, 1830; Moses S. Marsh, appointed Nov. 12th, 1830—declined Nov. 13, 1830; Hezekiah Strong, appointed Nov. 13, 1830—died 1842; Benjamin F. Colvin, appointed Nov., 1842; George B. Walter, Dec., 1844; Phares Gould, Nov., 1845.

County Treasurer made elective by the people, 1846.

Cornelius M. Brosnan, elected—entered on the duties of his office, 1st of January, 1847, and resigned Dec. 9th 1848. Wheeler Truesdell, appointed to fill vacancy, Dec. 9th, 1848; Treasurer by election, Jan. 1st, 1849.

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS FROM ONONDAGA COUNTY, AND THE DISTRICT OF WHICH IT WAS A PART.—The Colonial Congress from New-York, consisted of only six delegates. And

after the adoption of the Constitution, the number of members entitled to seats from New York was only six, in the first and second Congresses—i. e. 1789 to 1791. In 1792, a new apportionment was made, and ten members were allowed to New-York.

In 1802, the counties of Onondaga, Chenango and Tioga, constituted one Congressional District, (the ninth,) and were entitled to one member.

In the 9th Congress, Hon. Uri Traey was elected a member, from Chenango, to represent the district. The same Congress, Hon. Silas Halsey, of Cayuga, formerly a Judge of Onondaga County Courts, was also a member. In the 10th Congress, Hon. Reuben Humphreys, of Onondaga, represented the 13th district, and Hon. John Harris, of Cayuga, formerly sheriff of Onondaga County, was a member for the 14th district, and Hon. Wm. Kirkpatrick of Salina, Superintendent of Onondaga Salt Springs, represented the 11th district. Hon. Uri Traey represented the 16th Congressional district, in the 11th and 12th Congresses—years 1809 to 1813. In 1813-14, in the 13th Congress, Hon. James Geddes represented the new district, composed of the counties of Cortland and Onondaga, called the 19th. 1815-16, 14th Congress, Viotory Birdseye; 15th, James Porter; 16th, George Hall; 17th and 18th, Elisha Litchfield; 19th, Luther Badger; 20th and 21st, Jonas Earll, Jr; 22d, Freeborn G. Jewett; 23d, 24th and 25th, William Taylor; 26th, Nehemiah H. Earll; 27th, Viotory Birdseye; 28th and 29th, Horace Wheaton; 30th and 31st, Daniel Gott.

In 1822, Onondaga was a district alone, till 1832, when it was made a joint district with Madison County, and entitled to two members. In 1842, it was again a single district, as it now stands.

SENATORS FOR ONONDAGA COUNTY.—At the time of the formation and adoption of the first Constitution of the State of New York in 1777, Tryon County was entitled to six members of Assembly and the State was divided into four Senate

Districts. The Western District was composed of the counties of Albany and Tryon, and six senators were annually chosen from the body of the freeholders of the State for the term of four years. As the population of the country increased sundry alterations were made and senators were chosen at large for the Western District. But it seems that senators were not over punctual in their attendance from the western part of the State. From the journals of the senate we find the following members in attendance from Onondaga up to 1822. Moss Kent, 1799; Jedediah Sanger, 1800; William Stewart, 1801; Joseph Annin, (Cayuga,) 1802; Asa Danforth, 1803; none from Onondaga County in 1806, to 1815. Henry Seymour, 1816, 1817, 1818 and 1819; 1821, 1822, none.

After the alteration of the Constitution in 1822 the State was divided into eight Senate Districts. The seventh was composed of the Counties of Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca and Ontario, after which we have the following Senators from Onondaga County :

Jonas Earll, Jr., 1823; Victory Birdseye, 1827; Hiram F. Mather, 1829; Samuel L. Edwards, 1833; Elijah Rhoades, 1841; H. James Sedgwick, 1845; George Geddes, 1848.

MEMBERS OF ASSEMBLY FOR ONONDAGA COUNTY.—Previous to the organization of Onondaga County, Michael Myers was elected a member for Herkimer in the year 1792-93. After the erection of Onondaga County, it was a joint district with Herkimer, and Jedediah Sanger, Esq. was elected and represented the two counties in the House of Assembly, years 1794-95. There was no return for member of Assembly for either Herkimer or Onondaga, for the years 1796 and 1797. Comfort Tyler and Silas Halsey were members for Onondaga in 1798 and 1799. Cayuga was taken from Onondaga in 1799, and Ebenezer Butler, elected member of Assémbly for Onondaga County that year. Ebenezer Butler, member of Assembly for 1800; Asa Danforth, 1801 and 1802; John McWhorter and John Lamb, 1803; James Geddes and John

McWhorter, 1804; Wm. J. Vredenburg and John Ballard, 1805; Jasper Hopper and Wm. J. Vredenburg, 1806; Ozias Burr and Squire Munro, 1807; Joshua Forman and John McWhorter, 1808; Jaecobus De Puy and Barnet Mooney, 1809; Jacob De Puy and Barnet Mooney, 1810; Jasper Hopper and Robert Earll, 1811; Jonathan Stanley and Barnet Mooney, 1812; Isaae Smith and Moses Nash, 1813; Moses Nash and Barnet Mooney, 1814; Hezekiah L. Granger and James Porter, 1815; Truman Adams, Elijah Miles, George Hall and Nathan Williams, 1816; Gideon Wileoxon, James Webb, Asa Wells and Elijah Miles, 1817; David Munroe, Abijah Earll, Asa Wells and James Webb, 1818; David Munroe, Henry Case, Nathan Williams and Elisha Litchfield, 1819; Lewis Smith, Jonas Earll, Jr., Henry Seymour and Henry Field, 1820; Jonas Earll, Jr., Lewis Smith, George Petit and Jonathan Deming, 1821; James Geddes, David Munro, Josephus Baker and Sylvester Gardener, 1822; Victory Birdseye, Timothy Baker, Samuel L. Edwards, Harold White, 1823; Samuel L. Edwards, Timothy Baker, George Petit, Mathew Van Vleck, 1824; James R. Lawrence, Moses Kinne, James Petit, Erastus Baker, 1825; John G. Forbes, David Willard, Freeborn G. Jewett, Chauneey Betts, 1826; Daniel Moseley, Chauneey Betts, Charles Jackson, Aaron Burt, 1827; Timothy Barber, Aaron Burt, Daniel Baxter, Gideon Frothingham, 1828; Lewis Smith, Samuel R. Mathews, Johnson Hall, Herman Jenkins, 1829; Johnson Hall, Dorastus Lawrence, Thomas J. Gilbert, Timothy Brown, 1830; Thomas J. Gilbert, Otis Bigelow, Elisha Litchfield, J. H. Parker, 1831; Miles W. Bennett, Elisha Litchfield, Elijah W. Curtis, Ichabod Moss, 1832; Asa Eastwood, Elisha Litchfield, Myron L. Mills, Gabriel Tappan, 1833; Oliver R. Strong, Horace Wheaton, Jared H. Parker, Squire M. Brown, 1834; George Petit, John Wilkinson, Sanford C. Parker, David C. Lytle, 1835; Sanford C. Parker, John Wilkinson, David Munro, Daniel Dennison, 1836; Nathan Soule, William Porter, Jr., George Petit, Daniel Dennison, 1837; Phares Gould, Victory Birdseye, James R. Lawrence, Azariah Smith, 1838; James R. Lawrence, Azariah

Smith, Phares Gould, James L. Voorhes, 1839; Victory Birdseye, Azariah Smith, James R. Lawrence, Phares Gould, 1840; Moses D. Burnet, David Munro, William Taylor, William Fuller, 1841; William Taylor, William Fuller, David Munro, John Speneer, 1842; Thomas McCarthy, Charles R. Vary, Benjamin French, Thomas Sherwood, 1843; Elisha Litchfield, Seth Hutchinson, Thomas G. Alvord, Warner Abbott, 1844; David Preston, Dennis McCarthy, Julius C. Kinne, Lake I. Teft, 1845; Lake I. Teft, Julius C. Kinne, Alonzo Wood, Elihu L. Phillips, 1846; Manoah Pratt, William Henderson, John Lakin, Joseph Prindle, 1847; Curtis J. Hurd, Thomas Speneer, Horace Hazen, James Little, 1848; Joseph J. Glass, Myron Wheaton, Joseph Sloeum, Samuel Hart, 1849.

DELEGATES TO CONVENTION TO REVISE CONSTITUTIONS.—  
1822: Victory Birdseye, Parley E. Howe, Amasi Case, Asa Eastwood. 1846: William Taylor, Elijah Rhoades, Cyrus Kingsley, David Munro.

FIRST BOARD OF SUPERVISORS OF ONONDAGA COUNTY.—  
The first meeting of the Board of Supervisors of Onondaga County was held at the house of Asa Danforth in the Town of Manlius on Wednesday the 27th of May, 1794. The following members composed the Board: Silas Halsey of Ovid, Benajah Boardman of Romulus, Ezekiel Crane of Aurelius, Comfort Tyler of Manlius, John Stoyles of Seipio, Moses De Witt of Pompey; not present, Wyllys Bishop of Milton, Robert McDowell of Ulysses, William Stevens of Marecellus. The Towns of Homer and Lysander not yet organized. The first valuation of property in the several towns in Onondaga County, was as follows:

	Valuation.	Proportion of Tax.
Manlius,	£2500	£31 5s. 0d.
Marcellus,	1303 4s.	16 10 1
Ovid,	1881	23 10 3
Romulus,	2094	26 3 6
Scipio,	2576 16s.	32 4 2½
Milton,	2796	34 19 0
Aurelius,	1729	21 12 3
Pompey,	2700	33 15 0
Ulysses,	100	12 10 0
Homer,	500	6 5 0
Lysander,	400	5 0 0
Add Town charges,		28 9 2

Total valuation, £19,479

Total to be raised by Tax, £273 17 3¼

The accounts of the Board were kept in pounds, shillings, pence and farthings till the year 1798, after which they were kept in dollars, cents and mills. Considerable sums were yearly allowed for wolf scalps, varying from five to ten dollars per scalp; and for fox scalps at fifty cents per scalp; and an occasional panther, at ten dollars per scalp.

The Board of Supervisors for 1797, gives the following census of the inhabitants in the several towns in the county, and the valuation of property:

Pompey,	262 inhabitants,	valuation,	\$20,327 50
Milton,	252 “	“	18,392 50
Marcellus,	133 “	“	10,607 50
Aurelius,	248 “	“	21,687 50
Scipio	298 “	“	24,750
Ulysses,	52 “	“	4,777
Homer,	92 “	“	6,670
Ovid,	163 “	“	10,691 62
Romulus,	143 “	“	15,572 50
Manlius,	116 “	“	13,203 25
Lysander,	not organized, or included.		

Total, 1759 inhabitants. Total valuation, \$146,679,37

The Legislature in 1798, set off several new towns in Onondaga County, and the supervisors give the following returns :

Scipio,	318	inhabitants,	valuation,	\$22,736
Solon,	49	“	“	3,605
Sempronius,	87	“	“	4,847
Homer,	63	“	“	4,447
Fabius,	82	“	“	5,342
Romulus,	181	“	“	18,759
Ovid,	216	“	“	16,041
Milton,	349	“	“	24,871
Aurelius,	335	“	“	26,166
Manlius,	131	“	“	15,503
Ulysses,	60	“	“	5,000
Onondaga,	80	“	“	9,000
Pompey,	250	“	“	20,000
Marcellus,	159	“	“	11,471
Lysander,	15	“	“	1,500

Total,	2375	Total valuation,	\$188,888
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In 1799, after Cayuga was set off, we have the following population of the several towns of Onondaga County:

Camillus,	54	inhabitants.	Pompey,	309	inhabitants.
Solon,	62	“	Onondaga,	100	“
Homer,	95	“	Manlius,	131	“
Fabius,	117	“	Lysander,	16	“
Marcellus,	152	“			
			Total,	1036	

MILITARY ORGANIZATION FOR ONONDAGA COUNTY.—On the 8th of March, 1791, the following appointments were made for Herkimer, in Major J. L. Hardenburgh's battalion, General Volkert Veeder's brigade: Captains, Moses De Witt, Benjamin Dey, Roswell Franklin; Lieutenants, Jacob Hart, Hezekiah Oleott, Joshua Patrick, Josiah Buck; Ensigns, Samuel Lackey, Asa Danforth, Jr., Nathan Walker, James Alexander; David Holbrook, Surgeon.

Patrick Campbell, appointed Brigadier General for Herki-

mer County, October 9th, 1793. In 1793, Moses De Witt was appointed Major; Asa Danforth, Major; first company, Hezekiah Olcott, Captain; Jeremiah Gould, Lieutenant; Comfort Tyler, Ensign; second company, Asa Danforth, Jr., Captain; Orris Curtis, Lieutenant; James Clark, Ensign.

In March, 1794, the following appointments were made for Onondaga County. Major John L. Hardenburgh's battalion: Solomon Buell, Captain light infantry; Noah Olmstead, Lieutenant; Jonathan Brownell, Ensign. In Majors De Witt and Danforth's battalions: Jeremiah Jackson, Captain light infantry; Jonathan Russell, Lieutenant; Sier Curtiss, Ensign. On the 8th of April, 1795, Othniel Taylor, Esq., was appointed Commandant of a Brigade, comprising the county of Onondaga and Ontario, with the title of Brigadier General. A troop of horse was organized in said brigade, 1795, and Walter D. Nicholls appointed Captain.

In 1796, the Governor organized several new regiments in the counties of Ontario and Onondaga.

The battalion heretofore commanded by Major Danforth, was made a regiment, comprising the townships of Hannibal, Lysander, Cicero, Manlius, Pompey, Fabius, Solon, Cincinnati, Tully, Virgil, Camillus, Sempronius, Locke, Dryden, and the Onondaga Reservation. Asa Danforth, Lieutenant Colonel, Commandant; Hezekiah Olcott, first Major; Josiah Buck, Second Major; Joshua Wickoff, appointed First Lieutenant; Thaddeus M. Wood, Second Lieutenant; and Colman Keeler, Cornet in Captain Nicholls' troop of horse, in General Taylor's brigade, March, 1797. The following officers were appointed in Lieutenant Colonel Danforth's regiment, viz: Hezekiah Olcott, First Major; Asa Danforth, Jr., Second Major; John Ellis, Adjutant; Elijah Rust, Paymaster; Jabez Hull, Quarter Master; William Needham, Surgeon; Walter Colton, Surgeon's Mate; Jesse Butler, Lieutenant; Comfort Tyler, Captain; Nehemiah Earll, Lieutenant; Elijah Phillips, Captain; Caleb Pratt, Lieutenant; John Lamb, Captain; William Cook, Lieutenant; Samuel Jerome, Captain; David Williams, Captain; Robert Earll, Captain, &c. &c.













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