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GENEALOGY COLLECTION

HISTORY OF BUFFALO,

WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF

ITS EARLY INHABITANTS, BOTH SAVAGE AND CIVILIZED,

COMPRISING

HISTORIC NOTICES OF THE SIX NATIONS OR IROQUOIS INDIANS, INCLUDING
A SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON, AND OF
OTHER PROMINENT WHITE MEN, LONG RESIDENT
AMONG THE SENECA.

ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER,

IN TWO VOLUMES.

BY WILLIAM KETCHUM.

VOL. II.

BUFFALO, N. Y.
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1865.

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Portrait of General Sir John Hope

1797

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AUTHOR'S NOTICE TO VOL. II.

For the purpose of preservation, the author has embodied in the Appendix a mass of papers not absolutely necessary to the elucidation of the History included in the body of the work. Most of these consist of original papers, and letters never before published, and which are now for the first time placed in an accessible and permanent form, and may prove valuable additions to the scanty records of the early history of our city and its vicinity, particularly in regard to the history of the War of 1812, and the transactions upon the Niagara frontier. These papers and letters have been copied with great care from the originals, many of which are in a dilapidated condition, now scarcely legible, and would soon be beyond recovery.

Buffalo, August, 1865.

CHAPTER I.

The history of the Senecas is now brought down to the period of their settlement at Buffalo Creek. The expedition under the command of Gen. Sullivan* had driven them from their homes ; and the destruction of their crops, their provisions, their cattle, and every thing they possessed, threw them upon the hands of their British allies for subsistence. The winter of 1779-80 was the most severe ever known. The snow lay upon the ground five feet deep, extending over the entire western portion of the State. Multitudes of animals perished from starvation. The destruction of the deer was extraordinary. The forests were filled with their dead carcasses when the snow dissolved in the spring. The country was nearly depopulated of domestic cattle; even horses perished from want of food and shelter from the excessive cold. But the animals were not the only sufferers. The Indians, on the destruction of their towns by the advancing enemy, which swept through their country like an irresistible tornado, fled before them and sought safety in the inaccessible depths of the forest, or under the guns of Fort Niagara, where they received a scanty subsistence during the terrible winter which followed their defeat and dispersion.

*For account of this expedition see Appendix No. 2.

It became a necessity on the part of their protectors, to provide some other means of support than what could be furnished at Niagara. The Indians rejected a proposition to send a part of their number to Carleton, or Buck Island, in the St. Lawrence river, where it was thought they might be fed at less expense and trouble ; preferring to run the chances of a precarious subsistence in their own country. As soon as the spring opened, measures were adopted to provide for their settlement at some place where they might support themselves by hunting and raising corn, beans, and such other vegetables as their rude mode of culture might enable them to produce. To this end, Capts. Powell, Johnson and others, came up to Buffalo Creek, bringing hoes, axes, seeds, &c., &c., and by their advice and assistance encouraged them to establish themselves in their new homes. The Oneidas, who had, through the influence of the missionary, Kirkland, adhered to, or rather espoused the American cause, had not been molested by Sullivan's expedition ; but the Onondagas and Cayugas were compelled to abandon their settlements, and became residents on Buffalo Creek, with the Senecas. The Tuscaroras were settled at the same time upon the Tonawanda Creek ; but the Mohawks, adhering to the British interest, were settled in Canada. They were at first offered a piece of land upon the Bay of Quinte, near Kingston, (formerly called Cataraqui) but were subsequently provided for upon the Grand (or Ouse) River. This was done under the administration of Gov. Haldimand, probably at the instigation of Brant, who was a pet of the British government. It is not unlikely that Brant, even at this time, entertained ambitious views similar to those of

Pontiac at an earlier period ; for the objection of the Mohawks to being located at the Bay of Quinte was that they would be too far from their brethren who were located at Buffalo Creek, etc. ; whereas, at the Grand River, communication was easy and direct.

The Senecas were invited and urged to settle in Canada ; but they preferred to remain in their own beautiful country—a country for which they had fought, and which their own valor had won—whose beautiful lakes and rivers, whose mountains and valleys, had become dear to them by the historic legends of their own traditions ; and almost every square mile of which had been pressed by the foot of their own hunters, and moistened by the blood of their bravest warriors ; where they and their children were born ; where their fathers and mothers were buried ; where everything was instinct with memories of the past, and around which clustered all their hopes for the future. They felt bound as with hooks of steel to the soil of their “own, their native land ;” they could not leave it, but chose rather to endure affliction with their own people for a season, than to abandon their country to seek security and safety elsewhere. They still expected the arms of their Great Father over the water to triumph, notwithstanding their own reverses and sufferings. They still reposed entire confidence in their “officers,”—as the Johnsons, the Butlers and other British agents were called—the seat of whose power was at Niagara. These agents owed their continuance in the enjoyment of place and perquisites to the influence they could or were supposed to exercise over the Indians. Hitherto, so far as the interior of the State, and, indeed, of the United States, was concerned,

the Indians had been the superior element of military power in the hands of the English to suppress the revolution, or, as it was then termed, the rebellion. Now, however, the Indians had become so reduced and weakened that they no longer formed a majority of the British forces in their expeditions against the frontier settlements. But the Indians, exasperated to the last degree by the terrible punishment inflicted on them by Gen. Sullivan, sought revenge by the only means known to them — that of murdering and capturing defenceless men, women and children — and all accounts agree that more murders were committed, more prisoners captured and more dwellings burned in the valley of the Mohawk, and upon the frontiers of New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, from 1783 to 1789, than during the whole period of the revolutionary war. “It appears, by respectable evidence, (says the Rev. Mr. Harris) that from 1783 to 1790, the time that the United States commenced hostilities against the Indians, that on the Ohio, and the frontiers on the south side of that river, they (the Indians) killed, wounded and took prisoners about 1,500 men, women and children, besides carrying off upwards of 2,000 horses and other property, to the amount of fifty thousand dollars.” These depredations, for the most part, were carried on by the Indians alone, in small detached parties, and were in all respects conducted after their own peculiar mode of warfare, encouraged, but not restrained, by British agents and officers at Niagara, Detroit and elsewhere. Before the Indians had got fairly settled at Buffalo Creek, we have already seen that these little war parties were sent out to execute the diabolical purposes of their instigators upon the heads of

the defenceless settlers on the frontiers of Pennsylvania and New York. It was in one of these expeditions that Rowland Montour was wounded, of which wound he died; and, it is said, the "Painted Post" marks the spot where he was buried.

The peace which was agreed upon between the Americans and English, by which our Independence was acknowledged, made no provision for the Indians arrayed in hostility against the United States.

The military expeditions into the Indian country, particularly that of Gen. Sullivan, had brought to notice the beauty and fertility of the "Senecas country," as it had been termed, and it is no wonder the occupation of these beautiful, broad acres, became a strong temptation to multitudes of young, enterprising men in all the New England States, to form plans for possessing themselves of so tempting a prize.

The new government, however, was not prepared to repudiate, at once, the Indian claim to these lands, as established under the government of the King. And as all the Six Nations, with the single exception of the Mohawks, remained in this State, it became an early object of the State government to negotiate a peace with the Six Nations, (who still claimed to be a sovereign and independent people) and at the same time to obtain a cession of their right to some portion of the territory claimed by them, as recognized by former treaties.

According to these treaties, a line known as the "property line," extending along the eastern boundary of Broome county and up the Unadilla to its source, thence in a direct line to a point on Wood creek, about seven miles west of Rome, had been established as the

boundary, beyond which no settlement of the whites should be made without a formal cession by its acknowledged owners. Notwithstanding that the Six Nations, with the exception of the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, had been in open and active hostility against the United States, it was thought to be the true policy of the government of the State to still treat them all as friends, and procure by negotiation and purchase what many supposed might rightfully have been claimed by conquest.* In pursuance of this policy, an act was passed by the Legislature of New York, in March, 1783, authorizing the appointment of a Board of Commissioners of Indian Affairs, with full powers to conduct all the negotiations with the Indians; the Governor of the State to be ex-officio the President of the Board. Abraham Cuyler, Peter Schuyler and Henry Glen, were appointed Commissioners, Gov. George Clinton being President of the Board. By an act of April 6th, 1784, the Governor and these Commissioners were "authorized to associate with them such other persons as might be deemed expedient, and to enter into such compacts and agreements with the Indians within the State as might be for the public interest, and to stipulate the ratification of such agreements by law." The Governor, by advice of the Commissioners, addressed a message to the Mohawks, Onondagas, Cayuga and Seneca nations, and despatched Peter Ryckman to Niagara with it. The following is his letter of instructions:

"INSTRUCTIONS FOR MR. PETER RYCKMAN.

"SIR: You will convey the message herewith deliv-

* See Appendix No. 3.

ered to you to the Indians to whom it is directed, and take with you two or three Oneidas or Tuscaroras, and if any accident should prevent you from proceeding, either in going or returning, you will forward the dispatches by those who may accompany you.

“Whilst at Niagara you will mix as much as possible with the Indians, and try to discover their intentions as minutely as may be, and make notes of every information you may obtain. You will easily find who are the leading characters in each nation. Their names you will write down, and try to learn their temper with respect to us. If you find any who have influence, and whose inclinations are not friendly, you will note their names and the nations they belong to. To Capt. Brandt you will hint that our people in general are pleased with his generosity to the prisoners he took during the war, and that he may become a great man if he conducts himself in such a manner as will give the Commissioners occasion to believe that he means to be a sincere friend. Peter, the Oneida, you must also pay attention to, and flatter him on account of his good sense and friendship to us.

“Cayenquerachta, (Sayenqueraghta) the Seneca Sachem, must have particular attention paid him, and you must privately promise him that you will recommend him to the notice of the Commissioners.

“There are reasons of State why the object of your journey should be kept a profound secret; you are, therefore, on no account to mention it to any person whomsoever. As you have traded to Niagara, you must give out that you are going there to collect some debts from persons who are leaving that place. Should it be dis-

covered what your business is before you reach Niagara, the State might sustain great injury, as the disaffected in the country (some of whom are emissaries from the British) might, by their machinations, prove obstacles in the way which it would be difficult to surmount. You will therefore take the utmost precaution to prevent any person whatever so much as suspecting that you are employed by the State.

"I forgot to mention Teoquanda, the Cayuga Chief, as a person of influence. He must also have attention paid to him, lest a neglect should offend him.

"The Indians named herein are those who are represented to me as the principal men; you will, however, be the best able to judge who are the persons of influence among them, and pay them that attention which may be necessary to promote the business of the treaty.

"I am, Sir, your humble servant,

"GEORGE CLINTON.

"CITY OF NEW YORK, April 12th, 1784."

The purport of the message of which Mr. Ryckman was the bearer was to invite the nations to whom it was addressed to meet the Commissioners in council, at a time which they were desired to fix, at as early a day as possible, for the purpose of accommodating all the differences which had arisen between them during the recent "war between Great Britain and America." Nothing further was said in the message as to the objects of the council. The answer of the Six Nations to this message was returned by Mr. Ryckman, and contained a promise to attend a council, as desired, expressing a willingness to treat with their ancient friends, but asked a little

delay, in order that they might have time to hear from their southern friends, on the Ohio river, to whom they had dispatched runners; and upon the return of those runners, they promised to inform the Commissioners of the time when they would meet them, but requested that the council might be held at Fort Stanwix, as being more convenient for them. The Indians informed Mr. Ryckman that they would be ready to set out for Fort Stanwix within a month from the time he left them. The delegation, however, did not arrive at Fort Stanwix until the latter end of August. During the pendency of negotiations for a treaty between the Indians and the State Commissioners, a letter was received by Gov. Clinton from Arthur Lee and Richard Butler, informing him that they had been appointed Commissioners, by Congress, to negotiate treaties with the Indians, requesting the Governor to furnish the necessary armed force to protect them in the discharge of their duty.* These Commissioners also sent a message to the Six Nations, notifying them of their appointment and their purpose to negotiate a treaty of peace between them and the United States. Gov. Clinton foresaw that there might be a conflict of interests, if not of authority, between the two classes of Commissioners, and although it was arranged that the meeting of both commissions with the Indians should be simultaneous, at Fort Stanwix, no concert of action had been agreed upon. The New York Commissioners, together with seven other gentlemen, whom, under the authority vested in them by law, they had associated with them, convened at Fort Stanwix on

*See Appendix, No. 4.

the last day of August, 1784. The names of these gentlemen were as follows :

Robert Yates, Abraham Ten Broeck, Peter W. Yates, Mathew Visscher, J. J. Beekman and Gen. Gansevoort.

Deputies from the Mohawks, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas, only, were present. A message was sent to the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, and they were present in the afternoon. The speech of the Governor on behalf of the Commissioners was addressed to the Mohawks, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas, setting forth, in the most kind and conciliatory manner, the objects of the council and the desire entertained to renew the friendship formerly subsisting between the Six Nations and the late colony, now State of New York, "and settling those differences and animosities which have arisen between us during the late war," * * * and to "establish boundary lines between you and us, on such just and equitable terms as will be satisfactory." * * * After considering the Governor's address for two days, the Indians replied, through their speaker, Capt. Brant, that they felt some embarrassment in being called to treat with two separate bodies at the same time, expressing a desire and determination to make a final settlement of all matters of a public nature between them. For the purpose of removing all doubt and difficulty from the minds of the Indians, a copy of the Constitution and Laws of the State of New York, and the Act of Confederation of the United States, were given them for examination, upon which the Indians expressed themselves satisfied.

The principal points of settlement dwelt upon by the Commissioners were to establish a boundary line by which suitable concessions of territory should be made, to

indemnify the State for the losses sustained and the debts incurred during the war, and the release of all prisoners. The Commissioners also gave assurances that upon making a satisfactory arrangement in respect to these two subjects, the State would guarantee the Six Nations in the peaceable possession of their lands; they to give the State the pre-emptive right to purchase said lands whenever they wished to sell them. In reply to the question of a cession of territory, the Indians said that they, as deputies of the several nations, had been "sent in order to make peace, and that we are not authorized to stipulate any particular cession of lands." They, however, proposed to recommend it to their respective nations, as they (the deputies) thought it reasonable, and proposed to treat more particularly on that subject as soon as the treaty with the Commissioners of Congress was ended. They also informed the Commissioners that they had already determined that when a general peace was concluded, that all prisoners should be liberated and restored. The Commissioners then informed the Indians that they intended to set out early in the morning to return home, and therefore now adjourned the Council Fire. The deputies of the four nations, by Capt. Abeel, then made a speech, returning the Commissioners their thanks for the candor, civility and attention with which they had been treated. Major Philip Schuyler was deputed by the Commissioners to remain and attend the council to be held on the 20th with the Commissioners of Congress. He was instructed to "take notes of the daily proceeding; to find out the objects in view, and where he thought those objects detrimental to the interests of the State, to use his influence to counteract and

frustrate them." After the adjournment of the council with the New York Commissioners, the Commissioners of Congress, having arrived, proceeded to hold a council with the Six Nations. The Commissioners of Congress were Oliver Wolcott, Richard Butler and Arthur Lee. No public or official minutes of the proceedings of this council, it was for a long time supposed, had been preserved, although the treaty itself became a subject of reference and remark oftener than any other treaty ever concluded with the Six Nations, and was made a subject of complaint by the Six Nations, particularly the Senecas, ever after, until, through the exertions of Cornplanter, Big Tree and other chiefs, some modification of the terms of it was obtained from President Washington. It is very evident that there was a little friction in the new machinery of government, so far, at least, as Indian affairs were concerned, at this time ; and there seems to have been no concert of action or unity of feeling between the Commissioners of the State, and those of the United States.

In the absence of any official record of the proceedings of the treaty at Fort Stanwix held by the Commissioners of Congress, it is not entirely clear what chiefs or sachems of the Seneca Nation were present. It has been stated that Red Jacket was one of the representatives of the Senecas ; but his name does not appear in the record made by the New York Commissioners at the council with the Six Nations, held at the same time and with the same parties, where the names of the delegates appear in full ; but Red Jacket's name is not among them ; and, in the absence of proof on the subject, it is fair to assume that he was not present as one of the deputies

at the treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1784. It is certain that his name does not appear on the records at that time, while that of Cornplanter and others does ; nor does the name of Sa-go-ye-wat-ha, or Ska-go-yegh-wat-ha, (Red Jacket) appear upon any record, as a chief or sachem, prior to that date, nor until some years after—say 1789.

LETTER OF ARTHUR LEE AND RICHARD BUTLER, UNITED STATES COMMISSIONERS, TO THE SACHEMS AND WARRIORS, &C., OF THE ONEIDAS AND TUSCARORAS, ALLIES OF THE UNITED STATES, AND TRIBES OF THE SIX NATIONS :

BRETHREN :—The late troubles in which we have been mutually involved being happily ended, Congress have thought proper to appoint us Commissioners to transact all kinds of public business between the United States and our brethren, the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, and to settle a general peace with all the Indian Nations from the Ohio to the great Lakes. We now inform you, by the hand of our messenger and Brother Samuel Kirkland, and Mr. James Dean, the interpreter and servant of Congress, that we are making every preparation and exertion to expedite a meeting with you. We have lately heard that you are called to a treaty by the Governor of New York. We know nothing of his intention or meaning, he not being authorized by Congress. Yet should you be set out to attend that treaty, it would be hard to give the fatigue of another journey ; and, although it was our intention that the great council fire of Congress with the Six Nations should be held at Niagara, we will, in order to accommodate you, meet you at

Fort Stanwix, on the 20th day of September next, where we expect you will certainly attend."

We are your friends,

ARTHUR LEE,
RICH'D BUTLER.

NEW YORK, August 18th, 1784.

TREATY OF FORT STANWIX.

From Col. Butler's Journal.

The site of Rome, in New York, was the scene of a highly important negotiation between Oliver Wolcott, Richard Butler and Arthur Lee, Commissioners on the part of the United States, and the representatives of the Six Nations, which continued from the 3d to the 22d of October, when the treaty was signed. * * *

On the first day, the Commissioners met several of the Indians from the different nations present at the council-place, and announced their official character and purpose. The usual formula was varied so far as to add that they "proposed to give peace and good council to those who have been unfortunately led astray by evil advisers." It was stated that the head men and warriors of the western nations would attend in a few days, when they would speak more fully. Meanwhile, the Indians were desired to hearken to the voice of Kaayenla, the Marquis Lafayette, a great man among the French, one of the head warriors of the great Onondio, &c. The reply of Kayenthogla, an Allegany chief of the Senecas, was dignified and courteous, responding appropriately to every topic of the Commissioners' address, except the sugges-

tion that the Indians had been "unfortunately led astray by evil advisers."

Most of the time till the 11th of October was occupied by efforts to prevent the sale of intoxicating liquors to the Indians. The Commissioners directed Lieut. John Mercer, who attended them with a detachment of New Jersey troops by resolution of Congress, to seize and store all spiritous liquors until the conclusion of the treaty. For the execution of this order, a writ from the court of Montgomery county was issued for his (Lieut. Mercer's) arrest, but the Commissioners would not suffer any compliance with its mandate.

Another collision, which might have been more serious, took place before the Indians were fully assembled. The State of New York had already manifested a disposition to expel the Six Nations from their country within the bounds of the State, which had not been ceded by them previous to the war. This state of feeling had created much concern in Congress and elsewhere, and the Commissioners were probably prepared for some annoyance, if not opposition, in the discharge of their duties. In a letter to the President of Congress, dated Fort Stanwix, Oct. 5th, they state that, notwithstanding due notice to the Governor of New York that he might transact any business with Indians under the patronage of the United States, the Governor chose to hold a separate treaty with the Six Nations. This procedure is contrasted with the course of Pennsylvania, whose Commissioners were in attendance with credentials entirely satisfactory to the Continental Commissioners.

It happened that a Mr. Peter Schuyler was present at Fort Stanwix, and soon attracted the attention of the

Commissioners. He also assumed an official character, and was notified, on the 6th of October, to desist from all interference with the Indians.

Schuyler produced a paper to the Secretary of the Commission, of which no particulars are given, except that it was without seal or signature, and directed the said Peter Schuyler, together with one Peter Rightman, (Ryckman) as an interpreter, to attend at Fort Stanwix during the time of the Commissioners of the United States holding their treaty with the Indians, to observe the conduct of the said Commissioners, and to oppose and frustrate any of their proceedings which might eventually effect the interests of the State of New York. After this was discovered, particular care was taken to *include* Messrs. Schuyler and Rightman in the liquor ordinance, and to *exclude* them from the councils.

On the 12th of October, the Commissioners made an address to the sachems and warriors, in which they asserted their authority from the Congress of the United States to treat with the Indian Nations, and that the latter should not listen to any overtures made by any person or body of men, or by any particular State not authorized by Congress; exhibiting the definitive treaty between the United States and the King of Great Britain; expressing the readiness of Congress to give peace to the Indian Nations, upon just and reasonable terms, and to receive them into the friendship, favor and protection of the United States. They also called particular attention to the article whereby the King of Great Britain "renounces and yields to the United States all pretensions and claims whatsoever of all the country south and west of the great northern rivers and lakes, as far as

the Mississippi, making no reservation in favor of any Indian nation, but leaving those tribes to seek for peace with the United States, upon such terms as the United States shall think just and reasonable ;” and after impressing upon them that the delivery of all prisoners, white and black, was essential to any peace, the Commissioners closed by asking the tribes present at the council to propose such a boundary line between the United States and themselves as would be just for them to offer and the United States to accept. It was intimated to the American allies, the Oneidas, the Tuscaroras and Caughnawagas, that the foregoing address was not intended for them.

CHAPTER II.

“At the opening of the session, Capt. Aaron Hill, a Mohawk, who had but just arrived, explained that his tribe had frequent messages from the Governor of New York to meet him in council, but they were unwilling to partake in any but a continental treaty ; and the message of the Commissioners of the United States had been received so recently that it was difficult for many to attend, and impossible to deliver the prisoners at this time ; but Capt. Brant would instantly collect and send down the latter. He added that numbers of their brothers to the westward, the Wyandots in particular, had returned home, by reason of the advanced season of the year, after coming as far as Niagara, so that themselves and their brothers, the Shawnees, were present. Capt. O’Bail was then recognized by the Commissioners as authorized to transact business with the United States, on behalf of six towns.

“It was not until the 17th of October that the assembled Indians were ready to reply. Capt. Aaron Hill first spoke.

SPEECH OF CAPT. AARON HILL, A MOHAWK, AT THE TREATY OF
FORT STANWIX, OCTOBER 17TH, 1784.

“After intimating that they could not answer so fully

and satisfactorily as they might do if a copy of the Commissioner's speech had been furnished them, allusion was made to the statement that the council fire was kindled for the purpose of settling all differences and disputes between the United States and the Indian nations. The speaker begged attention to the words of the warriors, and thus proceeded :

“The words of the warriors are strong. They are persons who have so traveled through the world, and borne all the difficulties of the war, that it is in their power to make a lasting peace. You told us that it was solely on us to make peace, but we apprehend it is mutually dependant upon both parties. I speak in the name of the Six Nations, and not only in their name, but also in the name of all the other tribes ; my voice is therefore strong. Our minds are deep and persevering, and our wish for peace is great. We are neither haughty nor proud ; nor is it our disposition of ourselves to commence hostilities. Our adherence to our covenant with the Great King drew us into the late war, which is a great proof to the Commissioners of our strict observance of our ancient covenant with the white people ; and you will find the same attachment to the covenant now to be made, as that which signalized our conduct during the late war. We are free and independent, and at present under no influence. We have hitherto been bound by the Great King, but he having broken the chain and left us to ourselves, we are again free and independent.” Recapitulating, without dissent, the points of the Commissioner's speech, in respect to their exclusive authority to conclude a treaty, and the terms of peace between the United States and Great Britain, the

orator feelingly remarked: "You also assured us that the Great King, in settling this peace with the United States, made no mention of us, but left us to treat for ourselves. Certainly, the Great King did not look to the Great Spirit, which he had called as a witness to that treaty; otherwise, common justice would not have suffered him to be so inattentive as to neglect those who had been so faithful and just to him; and we think that our brothers of the United States did not think of the Great Spirit; otherwise, they would have mentioned to the Great King those persons who had been so faithful to him, when they found he had entirely neglected them." The speaker claimed that the Indians present were adequate to treat upon and conclude a peace, not only on the part of the Six Nations, but also on that of the Ottawas, Chippewas, Hurons, Potowatomies, Massasagas, Miamis, Delawares, Shawnees, Cherokees, Chickasaws, Chocktaws and Creeks; and said: "You acquainted us that the King of France had ceded to the United States all claim and title to any lands within their boundary. We have only to thank the Great Spirit for putting it into the mind of the King of France to make this cession, as it is well known that he is extremely saving of his lands, and that the United States are in great want of them.

"You informed us that it was indispensably essential to the making of peace that all the prisoners should be delivered up, and that nothing could be done therein until that should be the case. We would propose to the Commissioners that, for this purpose, they should depute persons of their own nation to go and collect them; lest, if it should rest with us, the Commissioners might ap-

prehend that they were not all brought ; and, for this purpose, we will give them all the assistance in our power."

On the following day, the 18th, Cornplanter, or Capt. O'Bail, resumed and closed the speech in behalf of the Six Nations.

After an unsatisfactory attempt to explain the conduct of his own tribe, the Senecas, in joining the British, after their repeated pledges to observe a neutrality, Cornplanter approached the boundary question, which he treated with consummate tact. That entire portion is here given :

"BROTHERS, REPRESENTATIVES OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES :—You have allotted to me the task of drawing a line between us to your satisfaction. I feel the weight of it. I feel for many of my brothers who will be left destitute of any lands ; and have therefore taken care of my deliberations, to mark out the line which will give peace to both our minds. I hope that in our present negotiations, nothing but friendship will prevail ; and I am fully sensible that you will never conduct yourselves toward us as the King of Great Britain has in throwing us away. Brothers, Commissioners of the Thirteen States, now hearken : When we shall have drawn the line between us, whatever shall remain within the boundary allotted to us shall be our own ; it shall continue forever, as the sun rolls over from day to day.

"Brothers, Commissioners of the Thirteen United States, let us go on with this business of peace with tenderness and caution, as it is of the utmost importance ; and should what I now say not meet with a kind reception into your breasts, it will greatly distress me ; for I,

who stand before you, am a warrior; and should it not meet your approbation, inform me whilst I am here.

“Brothers, I have several times repeated the words, to proceed tenderly in this business; for I regard future generations, and to them I attend while engaged in making peace with you. Our fires will be a considerable distance from each other, when I come to describe the boundary line between us. This will tend to our mutual peace.

“I think, brothers, that we warriors must have a large country to range in, as, indeed, our subsistence must depend on our having much hunting ground; and, as it will also bring in money to you, will tend to our mutual advantage. Now, brothers, I am about to draw the line. This we Senecas do for ourselves, as the land belongs solely to us. Let it begin at Tioga, and run thence by a straight line, inclining a little to the north, to Ohigee, and when it strikes the Ohio River, let it go down its stream to the old boundary on the Cherokee River. As to the territory to the westward of that, you must talk respecting it with the western nations toward the setting of the sun; they must consult of what part they will cede to the United States.

“Brothers, should you approve of this boundary, you will direct your people not to trespass upon our territory, or pass over the line; and should any of our nation attempt to pass over or intrude upon your lands, let us know it; we will take care to reprimand them and prevent it.

“Brothers, by this belt you now see my mind. If what I have mentioned be approved by you, lay it along the Tioga, as I have said; if not, again I request you to inform me.”

On the 20th of October, the Commissioners replied to Hill and Cornplanter. No part of this speech is omitted :

“SACHEMS AND WARRIORS:—We are now going to reply to the answer you made to our speech ; therefore, open your ears and hear :

“You informed us that your words were not the words of the Six Nations only, but those of all the western nations of Indians. This surprises us. We summoned the Six Nations only to this treaty. That nations not called should send their voices hither is extraordinary. But you have not shown us any authority, either in writing or by belts, for your speaking in their names. Without such authority, your words will pass away like the winds of yesterday, that are heard no more.

“You have complained that we refused you a copy of our speech, which might lead you into errors. When we refused it, we gave our reason, which was this : that having explained our minds publicly and clearly to you all, and given belts and strings to remind you of every proposition, we did not choose you to be deceived, and our meaning to be misrepresented by the few persons among you who understand English, and might have explained our speech, if we had given a copy of it, as they pleased. We knew there were such persons among you, who wished to deceive you, and under the direction of those who led you into the war against us, were planning to mislead you again for their own purposes. We did not wish to put you into the power of such persons, but to clear your eyes and understanding. We explained, at your desire, over and over again, our speech

to you, and the strings and belts, which accompanied every part of it.

“You next excuse your having taken up arms against us, by alleging that you were drawn into it by your ancient covenant with the King of England. Where was your sense of covenants when, after solemnly covenanting with us in 1775, and again as solemnly in 1776 — receiving our presents to cover you, to comfort and to strengthen you — immediately you took up the hatchet against us, and struck us with all your might? Could you have so soon forgotten your recent engagements with us, and yet be influenced by those long past with the King of England? We asked you, we exhorted you, for you own sakes to remain neutre. Though, as living on the same ground with us, we had a right to expect your assistance against all invaders, you twice solemnly covenanted not to join in the war against us; and without the smallest provocation on our part, you violated your covenants and spilt our blood.

“We should not have called to mind this conduct had you not attempted to justify it. You must not deceive yourselves, or hope to deceive us. To justify errors, may lead to a recommission of them; and it will be more safe and honorable to repent of than to palliate a conduct which, though mischievous to us, has been fatal to you, and has left you at our mercy.

“Again, you are mistaken in supposing that, having been excluded from the treaty between the United States and Great Britain, you are become a free and independent nation, and may make what terms you please. It is not so. You are a subdued people. You have been overcome in a war which you entered into with us — not

only without provocation, but in violation of most sacred obligations. The Great Spirit, who is at the same time the judge and avenger of perfidy, has given us victory over all our enemies. We are at peace with all but you. You now stand out alone against our whole force.

“We offer you peace on moderate terms; we do it in magnanimity and mercy. If you do not accept it now, you are not to expect a repetition of such offers. Consider well, therefore, your situation and ours. Do not suffer yourselves to be again deceived, so as to raise our arm against you. You feel the sad effects of having refused this counsel before; beware how you do it again. Compassionating your situation, we endeavor to make the terms on which you are to be admitted into the peace and protection of the United States, appear to spring from your own contrition for what you have done, rather than from a necessity imposed by us. We therefore proposed to you to deliver up the prisoners, and to propose a boundary line such as it became the United States to agree to.

“On neither of these points have you given us the smallest satisfaction. You propose we should depute people of our own nation to go and collect the prisoners. This, you know from experience, is impracticable; that it would only provoke insults, and perhaps the murder of such deputation, by the persons who hold our fellow-citizens in bondage. You, only, can collect them; must collect and deliver them up. Our words are strong, and we mean that you should feel them. With regard to the boundary line you have proposed, the lands to the north-west of it have almost all been sold to Onas, and all the land south-east of it, to the Cherokee

River, was sold by you in the year 1768, at this place, and is all granted and settled by the white people. We shall now, therefore, declare to you the condition on which alone you can be received into the peace and protection of the United States.

"The conditions are these: The United States of America will give peace to the Senecas, Mohawks, Onondagas and Cayugas, and receive them into their protection, upon the following conditions :

ARTICLES OF A TREATY CONCLUDED AT FORT STANWIX ON THE 22D DAY OF OCTOBER, 1784, BETWEEN OLIVER WOLCOTT, RICHARD BUTLER AND ARTHUR LEE, COMMISSIONERS PLENI-POTENTIARY FROM THE UNITED STATES, IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED, ON THE ONE PART, AND THE SACHEMS AND WARRIORS OF THE SIX NATIONS ON THE OTHER.

The United States of America will give peace to the Senecas, Mohawks, Onondagas and Cayugas, and receive them into their protection, upon the following conditions :

ARTICLE I. Six hostages shall be immediately delivered to the said Commissioners by the said Nations, to remain in possession of the United States till all the prisoners, white and black, which were taken by the said Senecas, Mohawks, Onondagas and Cayugas, or by any of them, in the late war, from among the people of the United States, shall be delivered up.

ARTICLE II. The Oneida and Tuscarora Nations shall be secured in the possession of the lands on which they are settled.

ARTICLE III. A line shall be drawn, beginning at the

mouth of a creek about four miles east of Niagara, called Oyonwayea, or Johnson's Landing Place, upon the lake named by the Indians Oswego, and by us Ontario; from thence southerly, in a direction always four miles east of the carrying path, between Lakes Erie and Ontario, to the mouth of Tehoseroron (or Buffalo) Creek, on Lake Erie; thence south to the north boundary of the State of Pennsylvania; thence west to the end of said north boundary; thence south along the west boundary of the said State to the River Ohio. The said line, from the mouth of the Oyonwayea to the Ohio, shall be the western boundary of the lands of the Six Nations; so that the Six Nations shall and do yield to the United States all claims to the country west of the said boundary; and then they shall be secured in the peaceful possession of the lands they inhabit east and north of the same — reserving only six miles square around the Fort of Oswego, to the United States, for the support of the same.

ARTICLE IV. The Commissioners of the United States, in consideration of the present circumstances of the Six Nations, and execution of the humane and liberal views of the United States, upon the signing of the above articles, will order goods to be delivered to the said Six Nations, for their use and comfort.

OLIVER WOLCOTT,
RICHARD BUTLER,
ARTHUR LEE.

Signed by the sachems and warriors of the Mohawk,
Onondaga, Seneca, Oneida, Cayuga, Tuscarora and
Seneca Abeal tribes of Indians.

"We will make a few remarks on these articles, though the moderation and equity of them are manifest :

"I. It is more than six months since you were informed by Gen. Schuyler, in the name of the Congress, that you must deliver up all the prisoners before peace could be granted to you. Our message gave you the same information ; yet you have not delivered them up. As the delivery of them is indispensable, so you have rendered hostages necessary by the delay.

"II. It does not become the United States to forget those nations who preserved their faith to them and adhered to their cause ; those, therefore, must be secured in the full and free enjoyment of their possessions.

"III. The line proposed leaves as extensive a country to the remaining four nations as they can in reason desire, and more than, from their conduct in the war, they could expect.

"The King of Great Britain ceded to the United States the whole ; by right of conquest, they might claim the whole ; yet they have taken but a small part, compared with their numbers and their wants. Their warriors must be provided for. Compensation must be made for the blood and treasures which have been expended in the war. The great increase of their people renders more lands essential to their subsistence. It is therefore necessary that such a boundary line should be settled as will make effectual provision for these demands, and prevent any further cause of difference or dispute.

"IV. It ought to be felt by you as a signal proof of the magnanimity of the United States that, though the present distresses of most of the Six Nations have been incurred by their own fault in fighting against them, yet

they have determined to administer such relief to them as is at present in their power.

“These are the terms on which you may obtain perpetual peace with the United States, and enjoy their protection.

“You must be sensible that these are blessings which cannot be purchased at too high a price.

“Be wise, and answer us accordingly.”

The treaty of 1784 extinguished the title of the Six Nations to all the lands west of the line fixed by that treaty, while it secured them in the quiet and peaceable possession of all their lands east of it ; which land they then occupied. The statement that Red Jacket was present, and made a vehement and powerful speech against the treaty, seems to be traditional merely, and had its origin in the remarks made by Lafayette in an interview with Red Jacket, at Buffalo, when the Marquis visited the United States, in 1824-5. In the conversation said to have taken place at that time, Red Jacket evidently supposed he alluded to another occasion, and at a later period. The journal of Gen. Butler contains the speeches of Capt. Aaron Hill, a Mohawk, and Capt. O'Bail, or Cornplanter, of the Senecas, in full ; but nothing is said of any speech by Red Jacket—a silence which can be accounted for upon no other hypothesis than that no such speech was delivered.

There are other reasons which go to corroborate the probability that Red Jacket was not present at the treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1784. The author's acquaintance with Red Jacket commenced about 1820. At that time he could not have been over sixty. He died in

1830, and to all appearance, could not have been much over seventy years of age at his death. His habits, for a long time, had been such as to tell upon him, both physically and intellectually; and, unlike some of his race, he bore the marks of decay early. If he was only seventy-five at his death, which is probable, he was only twenty-nine at the time of the treaty of Fort Stanwix—an age which would not entitle him to the distinction of a sachem, or to any position of influence in his own or the Six Nations.

There is another circumstance which more than renders the whole account of Red Jacket's presence at Fort Stanwix, at the time of the treaty of 1794, apocryphal. It is this:—It is said, in the account of the interview between Red Jacket and Lafayette at Buffalo, that the latter inquired "what had become of the young chief who had opposed; with so much eloquence, the burying of the tomahawk," and that Red Jacket replied, "he is before you." Now in the first place, the question at the treaty at Fort Stanwix in 1784, was not in regard to peace or war. The Indians were subdued; they had no thought of continuing the war, and no such question was agitated at that council. The only question was as to the boundary line, which the Indians wanted fixed at one point, and the Commissioners at another. Red Jacket was not a Chief at that time, nor until some years afterwards. The first authentic record of Red Jacket's having made a public speech, was at the great Indian council at the mouth of the Detroit river, in 1786. At that council the great question was, peace or war. There were representatives from all the western Nations, as well as of the Six Nations. It is said of Red Jacket's speech on that occasion, that it was "a master piece of oratory," and that

“every warrior present was carried away by his eloquence.” It was to this speech and occasion that Red Jacket supposed he alluded, and that he gave the answer, “he stands before you.” It was this speech which gave him his first notoriety, and for which he had been frequently flattered, a weakness to which he was very susceptible.

To the inquiry of the Indians, his own friends and contemporaries, how he became a chief—as it is well known that he did not inherit that distinction—it was answered that he received the appointment through the influence of his grandmother, who was a person of great influence and weight of character. His character among the Indians was rather that of a fluent speaker; the utterer of the opinions of others, or the mind of his nation. Other than that, his influence among his own people was not great, and the importance which he ultimately attained, grew out of the fact of his usefulness in communicating with the whites, after his nation had been bereft of nearly all their great chiefs and warriors.

The journal of the proceedings of the treaty of Fort Stanwix, shows that in point of fact, it was hardly entitled to the name of a treaty, and the complaint subsequently made by Cornplanter to Gen. Washington, that the Indians were compelled to submit to the terms dictated to them by the Commissioners, was true; they were treated as a conquered people, and their conquerors claimed their country, by right of conquest. They were made to feel their abject, dependent, condition, and that they were no longer a free, independent people, and that even the terms granted to them, must be considered as an act of clemency, rather than of justice.

Although Brant was present at that treaty of Fort Stanwix, and took a leading part in the council held with the New York Commissioners, his name is not mentioned in connection with the council held immediately after, with the United States Commissioners. (It is said he left for Montreal immediately after the council with the State Commissioners.) The object of the New York Commissioners was to buy lands, but the ostensible object of the United States Commissioners was to negotiate terms of peace with the Indians. The Mohawks were represented on this occasion by Karongyote, alias Aaron Hill, and Thayendanegea, alias Joseph Brant. The name of the latter appears in the proceedings of the council with the New York Commissioners, while the former only is mentioned in the journal of the proceedings of the United States Commissioners. The peculiar position occupied by Brant at this time, may account for this. He, and his tribe or nation, had constantly adhered to the British interest. They had, with a few exceptions, abandoned their country in the valley of the Mohawk, and followed the fortunes of the Johnsons, the Butlers, and other leading Tories. Although peace had been concluded, and American independence acknowledged by Great Britain, she still held Oswego, Niagara, and all the frontier posts. All the Six Nations, with the exception of the Onéidas, who remained at their old homes, and the Mohawks, (who had gone to Canada,) were settled at Buffalo, Cattaraugus and Tonawanda Creeks, and at Alleghany, under the care and supervision of British authority. This authority was represented by the Johnsons and the Butlers, with their subordinates at Niagara, and they held possession of the fort, and consequently of the country, for ten or

twelve years after the peace of 1783. Of course Brant acted under the influence, and probably the instructions, of his superiors at Niagara. It was their policy to countenance, if not to aid, in exciting the hostility of the Indians against the new government; and Brant was an efficient instrument through which to accomplish their purposes. Brant, therefore, would not compromise his position, but chose to stand aloof. The decided stand taken by the Commissioners left nothing to be done but to comply with the terms they dictated, which were submitted to.

The following extract of a letter written by Gen. Lafayette to Gen. Washington, on his return from the treaty, shows the light in which he viewed Brant and his party at this treaty :

GEN. LAFAYETTE TO GEN. WASHINGTON.

ALBANY, 8th October, 1784.

MY DEAR GENERAL:—Everywhere I met with delays ; but, so agreeable were they in their nature, that I cannot complain of them. It is not quite the same with the Indian treaty, although the hope to be useful has kept me there longer than I expected. My presence at the opening of it had been desired. Many circumstances kept it off. At last it began ; and my influence with the Indians was found greater than I myself could expect. I was therefore desired to speak, to hearken, to answer. I took the liberty to caution the Commissioners upon such points as you had mentioned to me, and did not leave the ground till they thought they had no further

occasion for me. But, as the business is just beginning, I cannot give you any further intelligence but that [a great deal of intrigue is carried on by some of the Tory Indians of Brant's party, and that the Whig and Tory distinctions are kept up among the tribes to an amazing degree of private animosities.

The execution of the Fort Stanwix treaty opened a vast territory of land to sale and settlement.

The same Commissioners, or at least two of them — Gen. Butler and Arthur Lee — proceeded westward, for the purpose of negotiating treaties of peace with the tribes residing in the western territory — the Shawnees, the Delawares, the Wyandots, &c., &c. They found that settlers had already obtruded upon the Indian lands in that quarter; and the Commissioners made some ineffectual attempts to drive them off by proclamation. Ultimately, almost the entire lands in what is now the State of Ohio — with the exception of some reservations made for bounties for the officers and soldiers of the Revolution, who had continued in service to the end of the war, or until they were regularly discharged, and the representatives of those who lost their lives in the service of their country — were sold to a company formed originally in Boston, composed of New Englanders, but subsequently embracing a large number of the “principal characters of America,” as they were termed, residing in nearly all the States. In the purchase of these lands by the “agents of the Ohio Company of Associates,” as they were called, one million dollars — mainly in what were denominated Continental Specie Certificates — were stipulated to be received in payment to-

wards the land. The whole was divided into stock shares. Bounty certificates were also received by the government in payment. The consequence was, that numbers of officers of the late army became shareholders — Gen. Washington himself, it is believed, being of the number. And thus this vast territory soon became open for sale and settlement.

From the close of the war, in 1782–3, to the time of the delivery of the forts upon the northern and north-western frontiers, in 1796, British authority extended and was supreme here ; and several officers, agents and traders, were constantly and permanently located here. Wm. Johnson resided with the Indians on Buffalo Creek, and Cornelius Winney had his trading house “at the Lake,” as it was called—being upon the bank of the Little Buffalo Creek, (now Hamburg Canal) in rear of the present site of the Mansion House, nearly at the junction of Washington and Quay streets. This was the first building erected by civilized man in Buffalo.

Capt. Powell, the husband of Jane Moore, was interested in business with Winney — their trade being exclusively with the Indians, of course.

Col. Proctor, who remained here several weeks, as appears by his journal, in 1791, staid a portion of the time at Winney's house, who is represented to have been a warm friend of the American cause, notwithstanding his British associations. Winney was an Albany trader ; or he is said to have come “from the Fishkills.”

Fort Erie was at this time (1783–4) occupied by a British garrison, and was useful in maintaining British influence and authority over the Indians, who frequently resorted to the fort to obtain supplies ; but Niagara was

the principal seat of power and authority. Capt. Powell's residence does not seem to have been at Niagara at this time, but at some point upon the river between Buffalo and Niagara; perhaps at Schlosser, or Lewiston. Cornelius Winney may therefore be considered the first white resident of Buffalo. He probably came to reside here about 1783-4, and remained till after the surrender of Fort Niagara to the Americans, in 1796. It is quite certain there was no other house here till some time after this.

Among the papers of Gen. Chapin, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, the following specimen of Winny's correspondence was found:

BUFFALO CREEK, 23d Aug., 1792.

I Inform Gen. Chapin that about seventy-nine of the Canada Indians is gone to Detroit. They seem to be for warr, and a number of Indians to go up. I further inform you that the Indians of this place are to go up in the first King's vessel that comes down. Prince Edward is arrived at Niagara. Should I hear anything worth while to write, I shall let you know.

I am your most obedient and

Very humble servant,

C. WINNEY.

The house built by Winney remained until after the settlement of Buffalo commenced, under the auspices of the Holland Land Co., in 1802-3. At what time Winney ceased to reside here is not so clear; but it is rendered probable that he left in 1798, as Mr. Eggleston, one of the assistants or surveyors of Mr. Ellicott, writes to

him at Schlosser, from Buffalo Creek, that he (Ellicott) had better bring some boards to make a mapping table, as there were none to be had in their new location — “Mr. Winney having carried off those that were in the partition.”

Winney's house is noted on the surveyor's field notes of the first survey, and was at the point already designated — near the corner of Washington and Quay streets.

Although Joseph Brant had suddenly withdrawn from the council at Fort Stanwix in 1784, we find him early next year in correspondence with the State authorities, evidently anxious to bring about a negotiation for the sale of the lands of the Mohawks, in which his own and sister's (Molly Brant's) interests are particularly mentioned. The following is his letter to Peter Schuyler, then acting as one of the State Indian Commissioners :

CATARACQUI, (Kingston) March 23d, 1785.

DEAR SIR:—I take the liberty to acquaint you that I am entirely at a loss to know how to act and behave to you New York State, concerning what passed between you and ourselves at our last meeting at Fort Stanwix. I have wrote several letters among you, according to promise, but I never got answer to none of them. I thought it would be a serious matter of what passed between us, and everything was to be performed ; so I think if that engagement which was made should come to nothing, it will be your faults. I am sorry to think your minds are changed since the mighty Commissioners of Congress has been up also at Fort Stanwix. I would therefore be much obliged to you if you would let me

hear from you at this time, and let me know your intentions and determination concerning our transactions, as above mentioned. Please let me know which concerns me and my sister's children — I mean land matters — let (it) be what it will. Let me understand right. I will leave this place in a few days. I shall be among the Five Nations about the middle of April next. I understand that Capt. Aaron (Hill) is kept as (a) hostage for negroes, which I am exceeding sorry for it, (that) the Commissioners should compare our first chief to a slave, because we did not keep any (white) persons since peace, so that they must keep our chief in room of a slave, which is too hard to be complied with.

I am, &c.,

JOS. BRANT.

TO MAJ. PETER SCHUYLER.

It is evident that there was some understanding or agreement between the State Commissioners and Brant, at Fort Stanwix, the season before, which does not appear on the record, but is alluded to in this letter. Capt. Aaron Hill appears to have been one of the hostages demanded by the United States Commissioners at that treaty. The allusion to those Commissioners shows the feeling existing in the mind of Brant in regard to them at that time. It would appear from the correspondence in relation to this and other letters of Brant, that the State Commissioners did not approve of what was done by the Indians with the Commissioners of the United States; and Governor Clinton, in a letter to Major Schuyler, under date of May 28th, 1785, expressly charges the Indians with conduct, in their treaty with

Commissioners of Congress, totally repugnant to their professions to the Commissioners of the State, and adds, "unless some satisfactory explanation can be given of their conduct, it is we that have reason to complain." With regard to the private affairs of Capt. Brant and family, Gov. Clinton remarked: "I have long since directed the necessary measures to be taken for obtaining the information required, but which, owing to some unaccountable delay or accident, I have not yet received. The moment I do, it shall be forwarded to him." Brant was subsequently informed that the lands about which he had asked information, upon investigation were found to have long since been sold, and conveyed to other parties, who were in possession of them.

CHAPTER III.

In the spring of 1787, a deputation of Senecas, at the head of which was Big Tree, visited Albany, and laid before the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, their grievances in respect to their lands. One of the delegation addressed the Commissioners as follows :

“BROTHERS—When the Commissioners of Albany held the council fire at Fort Schuyler, (Stanwix,) they told us that we should take care of our land, that it was our own. This was good, and what we conceived to be our interest, and our right ; but when the Commissioners of the United States came up, they said they could not make peace with us, unless we gave them first, an extent of land seven miles in breadth from the line established by the late Sir William Johnson, to Fort Pitt. This the few of our Nation who attended that treaty granted, although they were particularly instructed not to grant any land, and therefore had no right to do it, and what they did in granting lands is void.

“Brothers—Our land is our money. It is on that we hunt ; and by hunting, we maintain and support ourselves and families. If our lands are thus taken from us, what will become of our wives and children ? It hurts our feelings much, that our lands should be torn from us in the manner these seven miles before mentioned have been done. But we trust that our good friends at Albany,

who have always given us good advice, will interest and exert themselves in our behalf, that our lands may be restored to us again, and we wish and pray, that the line now running between Pennsylvania and this State, may go farther south than the Commissioners run it last summer. * * *

“Brothers—The United States have sent word to us that they soon expect to get possession of Oswego and Niagara, and that they will take no more land around each, than the King of England had, and that then they would open the trade to every part of our country.

“Brothers—Whenever the United States take possession of Oswego and Niagara, we request that the troops may go up the Mohawk river, and by the lakes, and not through our country, as it may disturb our wives and children; and we request that no more lands around each may be taken possession of, than what the King of England had, which was four miles square at Oswego, and at Niagara from Johnson’s landing, four miles along the river till it reaches lake Erie.

“Brothers—We are happy to have it in our power to inform you, that all the Indian Nations are at peace, and firmly resolved to remain so, and not intermeddle in any disputes which may arise between the white people, and to strengthen their determination, there is now a council held of all the Indian Nations at Buffalo Creek.

“Brothers—Some of us attended the survey last summer, and were requested by Gov. Clinton and the other gentlemen on the part of this State, to meet them here in this city on the subject of a further survey, and we are sorry that they are absent. You will send on to him, the letter we brought with us from Genesee, and remind him

of the promise he made as last year." The letter was forwarded to Gov. Clinton in New York, the Indians proposing to wait for a reply, as they said they could "not return to their nation without an answer." Gov. Clinton immediately laid the communication before the Legislature, which appears to have been in session in New York, and both houses of that body "passed concurrent resolutions expressive of their sense on the different matters contained in the Indian's speech," directing the Governor to communicate the same to them, which duty the Governor devolved upon the Commissioners at Albany, which they performed in the following communication, dated April 11th, 1787:

"The Commissioners and associates informed the Indians that they were pleased that they had so willingly staid while the Commissioners might have an opportunity to send to New York, and that in consequence thereof, they presented the Indians the goods which laid on the table, and then delivered the following speech, to-wit:

"Brothers—What we have to inform you of, is for ourselves. When during the last war we found ourselves under the necessity of separating from Great Britain, we then were obliged to agree upon the method by which our business should be conducted. We therefore met in great council, and agreed how we should be governed. One of the counsellors in this great council, got up and spoke as follows:

"The Indians of the Five Nations have taken up the hatchet against us; we must do with them as we intend to do with the English, we must drive them out of the country. They are our enemies. But an old man made this answer: 'You, that have spoke last, have spoken

wrong, for although this is true, that some of the Five Nations have struck us, yet it is not their natural inclination to be at war with us. They have been misled by the English, and they will repent of it. We must therefore not drive them from their country. On the contrary, we must now agree that they may keep their country. We must do more. We must agree that if any person shall by fraud, or by making any Indians drunk, persuade them to sell their lands, the sale shall be void. We must agree that no person shall purchase lands from them unless by consent of our great council; for we must keep the Indians within the limits of our government. Their fathers were kind to our fathers when they came to this country. We must be kind to them, and treat them as brothers.' The old man's advice was attended to, and the whole council said, let us come to such an agreement, and it was done.

"But the King of England by treaty, long ago had given all the lands to the westward to the thirteen United States, and since the peace, the great council of the Bostonians claimed the country of the Five Nations; but our great council said the Five Nations must never be under the government of the Bostonians. They are our brothers; but we will send deputies to meet deputies from them, to settle the matter in a friendly way. The deputies met last fall, and it was agreed that the Five Nations should remain with, and be considered as living within, the limits of the State of New York; but that whenever the Senecas and Cayugas wanted to sell any lands, that our great council should permit the Bostonians to buy, that the Indians might not be deceived and cheated.

"Brothers—The particulars of this agreement, and

what part of your country the Bostonians may buy, will, as we are informed, be communicated to you by the Governors of New York and Boston in the course of the next summer.

“Brothers—You see how attentive we have been to your interests, and how anxious we are that you should never quit the country in which the bones of your ancestors are buried. We forget what passed during the war, and we wish to cultivate the most perfect friendship with you. We give you this information of the fact, lest wicked and designing men should impress your minds with wrong information and make you uneasy.”

To which the Indians made the following answer :

“BROTHERS :—We had before this received a hint of the agreement you have mentioned, and are very happy that you, our brothers of Albany, have been so kind as to communicate to us your settlement with the Bostonians, and thank you for the presents you have made.”

It was during the period immediately succeeding the close of the revolutionary war, and while both the United States and the State of New York were making efforts to negotiate with the Indians through their Commissioners, respectively, that an interest, antagonistic to both, was built up by a combination of individuals, composed at first of a few influential, active men, residing for the most part upon the Hudson River, but ultimately embracing a large number of persons both in the United States and Canada. The Constitution of the State forbade the purchase of lands from the Indians by individuals ; and this combination was formed for the purpose of evading the provisions of the fundamental law by obtaining a lease of all the Indian lands in the State. Two

companies were organized — one called the “New York and Genesee Land Company,” and the other the “Niagara Genesee Company.” Dr. Caleb Benton, John Livingston and Jared Coffin, were the principal managers of the first, and Col. John Butler, Samuel Street, Capt. Powell, Wm. Johnson, — Murphy and Benjamin Barton — all residents of Canada except the last — represented the latter. The influence of Col. Butler and his subordinate officers with the Indians — together with several members of the New York Company, who had for a long period been Indian traders — enabled this Company to bring an influence to bear upon the Indians which was irresistible ; and this Company, in November, 1787, obtained a lease for “nine hundred and ninety-nine years,” of all the lands of the Six Nations in the State of New York, except some small reservations — the Indians reserving the privilege of hunting, fishing, &c., upon the lands. The annual rent stipulated to be paid was two thousand Spanish milled dollars and a bonus of twenty thousand dollars in hand. In February, 1778, the lessees, emboldened by their strength and success, petitioned the State Legislature to recognize their leases, (for there were two of them, one from the Six Nations, the other from the Oneidas,) “under such restrictions as to them, in their wisdom, shall appear just and equitable.” Notwithstanding the lessees had several of their number in the Legislature at this session, their petition was rejected in a most summary and decisive manner ; and by a concurrent resolution, the leases were declared to be purchases, and therefore void ; and empowered the Governor to use the forces of the State, should it be necessary, to prevent the intrusion or settlement upon the lands claimed under the leases.

The Legislature proceeded to pass an act, March 1st, 1788, appointing Commissioners with power to hold treaties, &c., with Indians, for preserving their friendship, purchasing their lands, “and with further power to inquire touching all leases, or other purchases of or contracts for the sale of lands, suggested to have been obtained or made without the authority or consent of the Legislature.” They were authorized, in the prosecution of their investigations, to send for persons and papers ; to call into service the militia, &c., &c.

The Commissioners immediately entered upon the discharge of their duties, and appointed John Tayler, of Albany, agent of the Board at that place. The Commissioners addressed a message to the Six Nations, of which the following is a copy :

“SACHEMS AND WARRIORS OF THE SIX NATIONS :—Open your ears to the voice of the great council of the State of New York, for in their name we now speak to you.

“Although the late war has for a time interrupted the brotherly intercourse which was so pleasing to your and our ancestors, yet we have never been unmindful of the friendship which was between them, and which it is our earnest desire should forever remain between you and us. With this good disposition, which has been given us by the Great Spirit above, we met you in a treaty at Fort Schuyler, (Stanwix) shortly after the general peace ; and with the same disposition we now wish to meet you again, in a treaty, at the same place, on the tenth day of July next, as well, to brighten the chain and renew the covenant which has long bound us together — to confer with you on matters of great importance to our mutual happiness and welfare.

“Brethren—We have heard that some of our people have been among you to purchase by taking a lease of your lands from you, without the consent of our great council, and contrary to the good old rule and custom which has always been between your forefathers and ours, and between you and us. Listen to our advice. This is one of the principal matters about which we wish to talk with you; and we advise you, as well for the sake of yourselves and your children, and children’s children, as for your own sakes, that you will not suffer any of these people to come and settle upon your lands.

“Brethren—These people who have been to purchase your lands have been disobedient children to their father, the great council. Brethren, a belt will be delivered to you in confirmation of this our message to you.”

Notwithstanding these vigorous measures of the State authorities, their opponents were neither idle or without influence. They were actively at work, through their agents, in persuading the Indians not to listen to any communications from the State Commissioners, or to attend the proposed council at Fort Stanwix. Early in May, 1778, the lessees, through Mr. John Livingston, made a proposition to the State Commissioners, to procure for the State “a conveyance of all the lands owned by the Indians within the claim of New York,” provided the State would repay them the money they had paid the Indians, and the costs and expenses they had actually incurred, and convey to said John Livingston and his associates, one half of the land so obtained, to be located in the Oneida country, and also one half of the land so obtained in the Seneca, Cayuga, and Onondaga country. The proposition was rejected by the Commissioners in the fol-

lowing terms : “ your propositions are of such a nature that they (the Commissioners,) do not conceive themselves authorised by law to treat with you thereon, and if they had authority for that purpose, the propositions would be considered by them as altogether inadmissible.”

In the meantime, Livingston and his associates were sending goods and provisions into the Indian country. Upon the return of the messenger from the Seneca's country, with the answer to the message of the State Commissioners to them, Mr. Tayler writes to Gov. Clinton that he has his fears whether any number of the Six Nations, except the Oneidas, will attend the treaty at Fort Stanwix in July, and suggests that it had better be postponed until September; that a large meeting was held at Buffalo Creek, at which Col. Butler from Niagara, and others, were present. The speeches were delivered by Dean, interpreter for Schuyler and Livingston; that the letter from Buffalo Creek was written by Stevens, son to the British interpreter at Niagara, who likewise resides there. The following is a copy of the letter alluded to above :

“ BUFFALO CREEK, 14th May, 1788.

“ SIR :—We have had the pleasure of seeing your proclamation, in which we are happy to find your Excellency, and your State, has considered the lease which Mr. Livingston and his friends has taken from some of our young men, contrary to the resolutions and speech from the whole of the sachems and chiefs of the Six Nations, the purport of which was to cover up the fire they had kindled at Kanedesaga, until the spring, when we promised to attend. They told us they were sent by Congress;

otherwise, we should not have taken the least notice of their message, as we had already promised Congress not to attend any council but what should be called by their authority. We must therefore beg of you to prevent any of your people from settling upon our lands, as we look upon the lease not to be in the least binding, since not one sachem or principal woman had given their consent; nor will we receive their money, but keep our lands. We are all preparing to go to the council at Tuscaroras, and have desired Mr. Livingston to meet us there, where we hope to settle all our affairs according to promise, and shall be ready to hear what he has to say. We shall then expect every assistance from the deputies from Congress, to assist us in our grievances, at that meeting; and we are much obliged to your Excellency for your obliging speech and attention to our interests, and are, with the greatest respect, your Excellency's most humble servants."

Signed by a number of chiefs of the Six Nations.

Kanedasaga had not been the residence of the Indians since its destruction, in 1779, by Gen. Sullivan. It had long been the favorite residence of the Senecas. An ancient Indian fortification, known as "Fort Hill," is located on lot 58, and was covered with heavy forest trees when first known to the whites. And the beautiful ground called the "Old Castle," about one and a half miles northwest of the village of Geneva, was covered with apple trees planted by the Indians. This, it is said, was their ancient burial ground; and in the treaty conveying these lands, it was stipulated that this ground should remain undisturbed by the white man's plow, and for many years the Indians watched the progress of im-

provement and change, to see that the resting place of their fathers remained undisturbed.

Although it had ceased to be a residence of the Senecas, "Kanedasaga" became the seat and centre of the Indian traders, land speculators and surveyors, and an important point for emigrants and drovers. It was here that the lessees, as well as the agents of the State and of the pre-emptionists, contemplated to make their headquarters. It was in 1788 that Peter Ryckman and Seth Reed had established themselves at Kanedasaga — Reed at the Old Castle, and Ryckman upon the lake shore.

In the settlement between Massachusetts and New York, by which Massachusetts relinquished her right of jurisdiction over all the Indian lands in western New York, she retained the right to the soil, subject to the claim of the Indians ; or rather, New York yielded to Massachusetts the pre-emptive right to purchase the fee of the Indians.

Oliver Phelps had become favorably impressed with the beauty and fertility of the Genesee country, by his intimacy with Major Hoops, and others in Philadelphia, and by the representations of his New England neighbors, who had been in Gen. Sullivan's expedition, resolved to become the purchaser of one million acres of these lands. Before his plans were matured, however, he learned that Mr. Nathaniel Gorham had made proposals for a purchase of a portion of the Genesee lands. He immediately conferred with Mr. Gorham, which resulted in their uniting their interests ; but their application to the Legislature proved unsuccessful.

This movement of Messrs. Phelps and Gorham brought

others into the field ; and a compromise was made by admitting all who had any intention of purchasing, as partners — Messrs. Phelps and Gorham being constituted the representatives of all the associates. They made proposals for the purchase of all the lands embraced in the cession to Massachusetts by New York, stipulating to pay therefor the sum of one hundred thousand dollars in the paper currency of Massachusetts, which was then worth less than fifty cents on the dollar. The proposition was acceded to ; and the share-holders had a meeting, and appointed Gen. Israel Chapin to explore the country. Mr. Phelps, as the general agent, was to hold a treaty with the Indians for the extinguishment of their title. Mr. Gorham was appointed to confer with the authorities of New York in regard to running the pre-emption line ; and Mr. William Walker to act as land agent and surveyor.

As all parties had been brought to harmonize by uniting all their interests together, little trouble was anticipated in accomplishing the objects of the association.

Although the lease of Livingston and his associates had been declared illegal and void, yet from the character and well-known influence of the leading members of that association, it was thought to be of the utmost importance to conciliate that interest also. For this purpose, Mr. Phelps met some of the principal lessees, and negotiated an arrangement with them, the precise terms of which have never transpired. It was, however, stipulated on the part of the lessees that they would hold another treaty at Kanedasaga, surrender their lease to all their lands west of the Massachusetts pre-emption line, and procure for the same a deed of cession from the Indians to Phelps and Gorham and their associates.

Supposing that all obstacles had now been removed or overcome, Mr. Phelps returned to New England and prepared to attend the proposed treaty at Kanedasaga — engaging his agents, surveyors and assistants, to enter upon the possession and survey of the country. Upon his arrival at Schenectady, he wrote back that many unfavorable rumors had reached his ears; that he was likely to be delayed by the non-arrival of Mr. Livingston; that an Oneida Indian had arrived from the west and brought a report that Brant had collected the Indians at Buffalo Creek, and was persuading them “not to treat with us.”

Mr. Phelps arrived at Kanedasaga about the first of June, but found no Indians there; and learned that Butler and Brant had collected them at Buffalo Creek, and were using their influence to prevent them from treating with Livingston, who had arrived at Kanedasaga with goods and provisions for the treaty.

After waiting till the middle of June without accomplishing any result, Mr. Phelps discovered that there did not appear to be a good understanding between the “New York Genesee Company” and the “Niagara Genesee Company.” Inferring that the balance of power seemed to be in the hands of the latter, he proceeded immediately to Niagara, where he saw Col. Butler, Brant and Mr. Street, and secured their co-operation to procure the attendance of the Indians at Buffalo Creek, there to hold a treaty, instead of Kanedasaga.

Mr. Phelps returned to Kanedasaga and joined his party, which had remained there, where they continued to remain until a deputation of chiefs arrived to conduct them to the council fire at Buffalo Creek, where they arrived on the 4th of July, 1788.

There were present the following persons, representing the various interests: Rev. Samuel Kirkland, agent of Massachusetts; Elisha Lee, Esq., of Boston, assistant; John Butler, Joseph Brant, and Samuel Street, of the Niagara-Genesee Company; John Livingston, Caleb Benton, and Ezekiel Gilbert, of the New York Genesee Company; there were also present chiefs of the Onondagas, Cayugas and Mohawks. James Dean, Joseph Smith, William Johnston, and Mr. Kirkland, acted as interpreters. There were several officers from Fort Niagara also present. Mr. Phelps opened the proceedings by producing the commission given him by the Governor of Massachusetts, which was interpreted to the Indians; he then addressed the Indians in a speech explaining the object of the treaty, the right he had purchased of Massachusetts, all which was interpreted to the Indians. The Seneca chiefs, of whom there was a pretty full delegation present, were in favor of selling a portion of their lands, but urged strongly that their eastern boundary should be the Genesee river; but after several day's negotiation, the boundary was agreed upon as it was afterwards established. The treaty appears to have been conducted in a kind, conciliatory manner, and after the question of boundary was settled, the parties agreed to submit the question of price, to the decision of Col. Butler, Joseph Brant, and Elisha Lee, Esq., as referees, who fixed the sum to be paid the Indians at five thousand dollars in hand, and five hundred dollars annually forever.

There is little doubt that without the aid and influence of Col. Butler and his associates, the purchase of the lands from the Indians could not have been made by Mr. Phelps at this time, and it was by giving them an interest in the

purchase, that their influence was secured. It would seem, however, that some misunderstanding grew out of the matter which led to litigation. Sam'l Street and others, his associates, filed a bill in chancery, claiming that they were entitled to the proceeds of "fifteen one hundred and twentieth parts" of all the land purchase. There was other litigation between the two lessee companies, or different members of them, not effecting however, the validity of Phelps & Gorham's purchase.

The following letters reveal the position of Col. Butler and others :

COPY OF A LETTER FROM COL. JOHN BUTLER TO THE
HON. OLIVER PHELPS.

NIAGARA, 20th July, 1788.

"DEAR SIR:—I hope ere this reaches you, that you will have made your friends satisfied with what you accomplished at Buffalo Creek.

"On my mentioning to you my intention of settling some of my friends in Connecticut on the new purchase, and of my wish to locate twenty thousand acres on the Genesee river for them, you was good enough to give me your word to have it done if in your power. In consequence of which, I have given them some encouragement, and have empowered them to receive from you that quantity of land, which they will begin improving upon immediately, if you can give them the encouragement that I hope and expect you will. I wish to have the above twenty thousand acres conveyed to Geo. Dennis, Sen., one third, Benj. Dennis one third, and to my two sisters, Debora Freeman and Ann Douglass, the remaining third, and if

it is convenient to you that the deeds may be executed to them separately, if not, that their names may all be inserted in the deed given them.

“Mr. Geo. Dennis, Jr., will wait on you on his return, with a — from Sam’l Street and associates, to draw land as above mentioned.

“Something being mentioned when at Buffalo Creek, of making a purchase of about twelve miles square on the lake at Niagara, which may be an introduction for getting that breadth all the way on the lake to the twelve miles on this side of Genesee river soon, therefore if you will allow me the half fee of the pre-emption cost, I will undertake to make the Indian purchase at my own expense, for twelve miles square or thereabouts.

“I hope to have the pleasure of hearing from you soon on this business, and am,

Your Very Humble Servant,
JOHN BUTLER.”

“SUFFIELD, Jan. 19th, 1788.—Received of Nath’l Gorham and Oliver Phelps, Esquires, conveyances for one third of township No. 11, — the Genesee river by virtue of this letter and to the persons and in the proportions therein mentioned. I also being empowered by Sam’l Street of Niagara, also to receive the said land, and I engage to submit the value of the said land now conveyed, to the appraisement of indifferent men to determine the proportion it bears to the remainder, which I, Oliver Phelps, Esq., am to receive when the other part of the country is purchased of the natives.

GEORGE DENNIS, Sen.”

The following is a letter of Joseph Brant to Gov. Clinton, written after the close of the treaty :

BUFFALO CREEK, July 9th, 1788.

“BROTHER ATTEND:—Since we wrote you about two months ago respecting the lease, which Mr. Livingston had obtained of our lands, we have held a great council with our brothers from Boston, at which all the chiefs and principal warriors of the Six Nations attended. At this great meeting we have sold part of our country to our brothers from Massachusetts, in presence of our brother Col. Butler, and have also settled, and adjusted, all our other land affairs, and after a tedious attention to the business of last fall transacted between Mr. Livingston and some of our Nations at Canedesaga, we have all concluded to let those people settle in our country, and as it is agreeable to us, we hope their settlement on our lands will meet with your encouragement and approbation. This we have done to bring about a union of all the Five Nations.

“Brother—You sent us an invitation to meet you at Fort Schuyler, which belt we return. We are not able to meet you at the place you propose this year, as business of the utmost importance to the Indian Nations call our immediate attendance at the treaty now held on the Ohio river, for which place we are now setting out. Brother—This is all we have to say.

JOS. BRANT.

His Excellency, Gov. Clinton.

“P. S.—We shall appoint an agent by the next fall, and give him power to see our annual rents paid justly, and hope you will establish him in office.”

In writing to some of his associates after the treaty was closed, Mr. Phelps says: "You may rely upon it, that it is a good country; I have purchased all the Indians will sell at present, and perhaps as much as it would be profitable for us to buy at this time." At a meeting of the associates in January, he reported that he had sold and contracted about thirty townships; a considerable portion of these sales were to small shareholders, leaving a great proportion of the purchase in the hands of Phelps & Gorham.

Messrs. Phelps and Gorham had predicated their ability to pay the State of Massachusetts the sum stipulated, upon their being able to buy the depreciated public paper of the State, at a large discount; but the funding of the public debt of the States, by the Federal government, enhanced the value of the State debt, to nearly par, and they were obliged to report to the Legislature of Massachusetts, in the spring of 1789, their inability to fulfill their engagement, and asked to be released from so much of their obligation as related to the Indian lands not included in the Indian treaty. The legislature acceded to their request, and soon found a purchaser of the relinquished lands, in the person of Mr. Robert Morris, of Philadelphia.

Efforts were still made to disaffect the Indians, in regard to this sale of their lands, and Cornplanter was made the instrument to excite dissatisfaction among them, particularly the Senecas. But all the complaints were met, and satisfactorily explained, after a full examination into all the facts alleged by Cornplanter, by the Federal government, completely exonerating Mr. Phelps from the charges and complaints brought by the disaffected party among the Indians.

It was in 1789 that the first settlements were made upon the Phelps and Gorham tract, and the old residence of the Senecas at Boughton Hill was among the first localities settled by the whites. By the end of 1790, fifty townships had been sold, mostly by townships, to companies formed in New England for emigration and settlement, and in November, 1790, they sold nearly all the residue of their lands, amounting to upwards of a million and a quarter of acres, to Mr. Robert Morris, of Philadelphia; who, in 1792, sold it to Sir William Pultney, an English gentleman, who appointed Capt. Charles Williamson his resident agent, to superintend the sale of his lands; hence the name "Pultney Estate."

Capt. Williamson was a gentleman of education and culture, of large and liberal views. He located himself at Bath, Steuben county; and by his enterprise, intelligence and liberality, contributed largely to the successful settlement and improvement of Western New York.

As the Indians had sold all their lands, except their reservations, at the treaty of Buffalo Creek in 1788, no further negotiation was necessary with them; and the State of Massachusetts, in 1791, sold to Samuel Ogden, who was acting as the agent of Robert Morris, all the lands ceded to said State by the State of New York, except that heretofore conveyed to Phelps and Gorham. Mr. Morris sold, in 1792-3, to Herman Leroy and others, for parties residing in Holland, (who, being aliens, could not hold real estate in their own names, under our laws) four different tracts of land, described in four separate deeds of conveyance, including the land upon which the city of Buffalo stands. This sale by Robert Morris to the Holland Land Company, being made before the Indian

title was extinguished, it was stipulated by Mr. Morris. to assist the Company to extinguish the Indian title as soon as practicable.

A council was accordingly held with the Senecas, at Geneseo, in 1797, and the Indian title extinguished to all the lands the pre-emption right of which had been purchased of Massachusetts, except the following reservations: At Canawagus, two square miles; Big Tree Reservation and Little Beard's Town, together containing four square miles; Squawkie Hill Reservation, two square miles; Gardeau Reservation, about twenty-eight square miles; Canadea Reservation, containing sixteen miles square, lying upon both sides of the Genesee River, and extending eight miles along the Genesee River in the county of Alleghany; the Oil Spring Reservation, containing one square mile, lying on the line between Alleghany and Cattaraugus counties; the Alleghany Reservation, containing forty-two square miles; the Cattaraugus Reservation, containing forty-two square miles; the Tonawanda Reservation, containing seventy square miles; and the Tuscarora Reservation, containing one square mile, lying about one mile east of Lewiston, on the Mountain Ridge; the Buffalo Creek Reservation, containing one hundred and thirty square miles — these reservations containing in all three hundred and thirty-eight square miles, a liberal provision for the comparatively small remnant of the Six Nations then remaining in this State.

Mr. Joseph Ellicot had been appointed as principal surveyor of the Holland Company by Mr. Theophilus Cazenove, the agent general of the Company, resident at Philadelphia, to survey their lands in Western New

York as soon as the title should be perfected, and to assist Messrs. Bayard and Linklaen, who were to attend at the treaty.

Mr. Ellicott accordingly attended the treaty, and rendered important service to the purchasers. After the treaty was perfected, Mr. Ellicott, as surveyor for the Holland Land Company, and Mr. Augustus Porter for Robert Morris, entered upon a survey of the tract, for the purpose of ascertaining the quantity of land it contained. This preliminary survey was completed before the winter set in of the same year.

The treaty of 1797, in which the Indian title to the Holland Purchase was extinguished, except to certain reservations, as before stated, prescribed the quantities contained in and general shape and location of each reservation, leaving the location of the precise boundary lines to be determined thereafter. The Indians reserved two hundred thousand acres, one indefinite portion of which was to be located on Buffalo Creek, at the east end of Lake Erie, and the remainder at the Tonawanda Creek.

As the New York Reservation excluded the Holland Company's land from the waters of Niagara River, and from the shore of Lake Erie one mile southerly from the river, it became very important to the Company to secure a landing place and harbor at the mouth of Buffalo Creek, and sufficient ground adjoining, whereon to establish a commercial village or city.

Capt. William Johnston, and Indian agent and interpreter, settled himself near the mouth of Buffalo Creek at an early period, under the auspices of the British government, and remained here until the Holland Com-

pany had effected their purchase. His dwelling house stood north of Exchange and east of Washington streets. Capt. Johnston had procured of the Indians, by gift to his son, by a niece of Farmers Brother, of two square miles of land at the mouth of Buffalo Creek, including the territory on which now stands the city of Buffalo. He had also entered into an agreement with the Indians which amounted to a life lease of a certain mill site, and the timber land in its vicinity, on condition of supplying the Indians with all the boards and plank they wanted for building at, and near Buffalo Creek. This site was about six miles from the mouth of the Creek. Although Johnston's title to this land was not considered to have the least validity in law, yet the Indians had the power, and they manifested an inclination to include it within their reservation, unless a compromise was made with Johnston; and taking into consideration his influence with them, the agents of the Holland Company concluded to enter into the following agreement with him, which was afterwards fully complied with, and performed by both parties. Johnston agreed to surrender his right to the said two square miles of land, and use his influence with the Indians to have that tract and his mill site left out of their reservation; in consideration of which, the Holland Company agreed to convey by deed to said Johnston, six hundred and forty acres, including the said mill site and adjacent timber lands; together with forty-five and a half acres, being part of said two square miles, including the buildings and improvements then owned by said Johnston, four acres of which was to be on the "point." These lands, as they were afterwards definitely located, were, a tract of forty-one and a half acres, bounded north

by Seneca street, west by Washington street, and south by the Little Buffalo Creek. The other tract was bounded east by main street, southwesterly by Buffalo Creek, and northwesterly by Little Buffalo Creek, containing about four acres.”*

Johnston’s house was located upon the forty acre lot called outer lot ninety-four in the original survey, near a spring. This spring was ultimately purchased by Mr. Le Couteulx, or a lot embracing the spring, the lot running diagonally across Exchange street to the Little Buffalo Creek, now the Hamburg Canal.

*Turner’s History of the Holland Purchase.

NOTE.—Since the publication of the first volume of this work, the author has visited an aged lady, a sister of the late Col. Warren of Fort Erie, for the purpose of obtaining more authentic information in regard to Capt. William Johnston. She says he was a half brother of Col. Powell, who after the close of the Revolutionary war, resided on the Niagara River below Fort Erie. The mother of Col. Powell married a Col. Johnston, and William Johnston was a son by this connection, and was an officer under the British government. Col. Powell died at an advanced age, a few miles from Fort Erie. It is probable that the Capt. Powell spoken of in the “Narrative of the Gilbert Family,” who married Miss Jane Moore, and the Col. Powell spoken of by Mrs. Hardison, the aged sister of Col. Warren spoken of above, is the same individual, and the house of Capt. Powell mentioned in the journal of Col. Proctor in 1791, was at the place it is said by Mrs. Hardison Col. Powell resided.

CHAPTER IV.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME OF BUFFALO.

The following in regard to the origin of the name of "Buffalo," is the substance of a paper read before the Buffalo Historical Society in 1863, by the author, and it is believed contains the principal evidences upon which the theory of the origin of the name of Buffalo rests, and although at the time it was attempted to be assailed or controverted, those attempts failed to invalidate any of the testimony adduced, but served rather to strengthen the now generally received opinion that "Buffalo Creek" was so called from the fact of the visits of the buffalo to the well known salt spring, about three miles from the city, upon its border.

It is well known that when the agents of the "Holland Company" first surveyed the land upon which our city stands, into village lots in 1801-2, they gave it the name of "New Amsterdam." But there is no evidence that this name enjoyed popular favor, or was in general use. The Company continued to use it in their conveyances of lots until 1811 or 1812, when it was dropped, and the name of Buffalo substituted.

"Buffalo Creek" had been the name by which this locality was known and designated from a period certainly as early as 1784, as it is used in the treaty made with the

“Six Nations” at Fort Stanwix in that year. It is probable it was known by that name much earlier than this, perhaps from the first settlement by the Senecas, which it is likely did not take place until after Sullivan’s expedition in 1779. The name is mentioned in the “Narrative of the Captivity of the Gilbert family,” prisoners among the Senecas in 1780 or 1782. Besides the treaty of 1784, already named, it is called Buffalo Creek in a treaty held with the “Six Nations” in 1789, and again in the treaty at Canandaigua in 1794.

By an act of the Legislature of this State, passed March 19th, 1802, a treaty was authorized to be held with the Indians for the purchase of the “Mile Strip” on the Niagara river from “Buffaloes Creek” to the Steadman Farm—and in 1803 an act passed by the Legislature of this State, April 6th, guaranteeing to Indians of the Six Nations the right to pass and repass upon any turnpike road which may hereafter be established from the town of Canandaigua to Buffalo Creek or its vicinity.

In 1805 Congress established a Collection District, to be called the District of “Buffalo Creek,” the Collector of said district to reside at “Buffalo Creek.” Erastus Granger was the first resident Collector of Customs. General Irvine, of Pennsylvania, had been appointed the first Surveyor of Customs when this place was included in the District of Presque Isle, now Erie.

The name of “Buffalo,” which was evidently derived from the name of the Creek, was used to designate the settlement here quite early. In a letter of General Irvine to Gen. Washington in 1788, this place is spoken of as “Buffalo.” I have found no other record of the name as early as this, and was led for that reason to doubt the cor-

rectness of the copy of the letter as given in the Historical Magazine of February, 1863, and I wrote Dr. W. H. Irvine, who furnished it for publication. The following is his answer :

“It is now some forty odd years since I made the copy of the letter to which you refer, and I cannot say that I committed no error in transcribing from the original, but think I must have made a literal copy. I certainly could not have manufactured the remarks in which the word “Buffalo” occurs.

“Gen. Irvine, from his having commanded the western department from 1781 to 1783, and engaged in the defence of the frontier, must have been familiar with all the names of localities in Western New York, you will note the expression is ‘from Buffalo to Presque Isle,’ the latter being the name of the present city of Erie. Presque Isle was then in the State of New York.”

And Mr. Irvine adds :

“And to his (Gen. Irvine’s) address, our State is indebted for the acquisition of the tri-angle, or Erie county.”

Mr. B. W. Pratt, now living, with whom I have recently conversed on the subject, and whose recollections seem to be very clear and distinct, says that when his father, Mr Samuel Pratt, returned to Vermont from a visit to this place, in 1803, he called it Buffalo. They were to remove to “Buffalo,” and did so, arriving here in 1804.

Our Legislative records show that, as early as 1772, the State (then a Colony) was divided into counties, and the whole western part of the State was included in “Tryon county,” after Governor Tryon the last of the Royal Governors.

In 1784 the name was changed to "Montgomery county," after General Richard Montgomery, and in 1801 the county of Ontario was organized. The boundary extended west to the State line, and all that part of the county west of the Genesee river was organized into a town, by the name of "Northampton," a pretty extensive town, truly.

In 1802 the county of Ontario was again divided, and the county of Genesee erected; and in 1808 the county of Niagara was established, the court-house and jail to be built at "Buffalo or New Amsterdam."

By the same act, the village of Buffalo was included in the town of Willink, which bounded west on the Cattaraugus creek. In 1808 the town of Buffalo was erected, extending easterly to what is known as the "transit line," and in 1813 the village of Buffalo received its first charter.

I have been perhaps needlessly particular in mentioning all these changes in the names and boundaries of the towns and counties in Western New York, as they are all matters of record. But as facts, they are not familiar even to those most conversant with our early history, and serve better than almost anything else, to show the great change and rapid improvement which has taken place within the recollection of some who are now living. I trust I shall be excused therefore for referring to them in this place, and at this time. Professor Timothy Dwight, who visited Buffalo in 1804, speaks of the then population thus:

"The inhabitants are a casual collection of adventurers, and have the usual character of such adventurers thus collected, when remote from regular society. We

saw about as many Indians in this village as white people."

A misapprehension prevails to some extent in regard to the Indian names as applied to this locality, which had better be explained before entering upon the main question, as it may serve to disencumber the subject before us, of what has embarrassed the minds of some who have supposed they discovered what appeared to be mistakes or contradictions.

The Indians applied the name "Te-osah-way," or in our language, "Place of Basswood," to their settlement or village, and "Tick-e-ack-gou-ga-haunda," or "Buffalo creek," to the the stream only.

The supposed discrepancy between "Te-osah-way" and "Te-hos-ororon" consists in the fact, that the former is the Seneca, and the latter the Mohawk pronunciation of the same word. So also in regard to what has been suggested to be a mistake of the scribe, or interpreter, in using the name "Buffalo creek" instead of "Beaver creek" in the treaty with the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix in 1784, and in other public records, between that time and 1790, when Corn Planter is said to have on one occasion called it "Beaver creek." It is much more reasonable to suppose the mistake was made in the interpretation of Corn Planter's speech for this reason: The name of the Beaver and the Buffalo, in the Seneca tongue, have precisely the same termination, and might by an unskillful or inattentive interpreter, be mistaken, one for the other. Buffalo is "Tick-e-ack-gou," and Beaver is "Ack-gon-e-ack-gou." Here, undoubtedly was the mistake, and not in the treaties, and other public records, where the name "Buffalo creek" is uniformly

used. I never heard the name "Beaver creek" applied to this stream, in an intercourse of more than twenty-five years with the Senecas.

In the opening address of the Hon. President of this Society last year, the origin of the name our city bears, was made the subject of discussion, and doubts were expressed in regard to the theory entertained that it was derived from the supposed fact, that the Buffalo, or American Bison, formerly visited this locality. These doubts were expressed in the following language :

"I have never seen any reliable statement that the buffalo, in his wild state, was ever found in Western New York. I believe that his native haunt was in the great prairies of the West, and nowhere else on this continent."

An article which appeared in the Historical Magazine for December, 1862, remarking upon these observations, the writer cites a number of authorities to show that the buffalo not only once lived in the western part of this State, in Ohio, Kentucky and Virginia, but ranged over nearly the whole of the North American Continent. Another writer in the January number of the same magazine throws doubt upon all the authorities quoted by the December correspondent, and agrees with Mr. Fillmore, and says :

"From all my reading, I had concluded that the Bison was not found in the lake region, and never as far west (east) as (the State of) New York."

It is, perhaps, not surprising that the general reader of the early "French Relations" should find very little to instruct or enlighten, either in matter of science or natural history. The mission of the early Jesuit writers was of a different character, and embraced far different ob-

jects, and if we find occasional errors of fact, and sometimes more than discrepancies of statement in regard to their peculiar purposes and pursuits, it should not go to invalidate their statements in regard to matters of entire indifference. It will not escape the attentive reader of these early writers that there existed a feeling, to say the least of it, of rivalry between the Franciscans, who were the earliest missionaries to the new world, and the Jesuits, who followed them, and ultimately supplanted them altogether. Nor should it be forgotten that the self-denying labors of these men were made available by the French Government, for political purposes, and their influence was a real "power in the State."

The question as to the origin of the name of our city engaged the public attention at a former period of our history. Nearly twenty years ago, an anonymous communication appeared in the Commercial Advertiser, then edited by the late Dr. Foote. The following is a copy :

"MR. EDITOR :—I understand the Indian name of Buffalo creek is To-sa-o-way. Will some of your Indian philological correspondents give us the meaning of the word? I should be happy also to know the origin of the present name of our city."

This inquiry thus made, called out several replies in the papers then published, all anonymous ; one in the Daily Pilot was as follows :

"The name of the Big Buffalo creek, and the point of land where our city is built, in the Seneca tongue, is Do-yo-wa, pronounced Do so-wa, signifying the place of Bass-wood, on account of the great quantity of that tree in the vicinity. Sometimes it is pronounced Do-sha-ho, d taking the sound of t. You are undoubtedly familiar with the

anecdote relating to the "Buffalo Meat," from which the name of the city arises.

"OGEMA."

Another communication, dated Buffalo Creek Reservation, appeared in the Commercial Advertiser, at the same time, which is as follows :

"In reply to the inquiries of your correspondent Q, in your paper of June 26th, permit me to say that the old Indians tell us that the banks of Buffalo creek, for some distance from its mouth, were anciently lined with bass-wood trees, hence the name Ti-yu syo-wa, with the last vowel nasalized, which means, "at the place of bass-woods," or as our venerable ex-President Van Buren has it, at "Lindenwold." As to the origin of the name "Buffalo," I am as much in the dark as your correspondent.

"GA-I-WI-U."

Another communication to the Commercial Advertiser was published about the same date, from which the following is an extract :

"Taking it for granted that the inquiry as to the origin and meaning of the name Tu-shu-way, was made with a desire for information, I cheerfully contribute what little I possess to throw light upon the early history of our city, connected as it is with history of a noble race, fast sinking into oblivion, and whose unwritten history lingers only in the recollection of a few survivors of the once powerful 'Six Nations.' Although the different tribes composing that great confederacy spoke different dialects, it is evident they sprang from the same original source.

"Hence it is not unlikely that the names of places given by former tribes, may have been retained by the Senecas, and thus their original signification lost.

“The occupation or settlement of Buffalo by the Senecas, is of comparatively recent date. The Indian tradition is that the Eries, a powerful and warlike nation who resided upon the south shore of our lakes, with other confederate tribes here, and on the Eighteen Mile and perhaps Cattaraugus creeks were overthrown by a numerous war party of the Six Nations, in a great battle fought at, or near the outlet of the Honeyoye lake in (now) Ontario county. The flight of the Eries and their allies immediately followed. They were pursued by the victorious warriors of the Six Nations, for five months, and were driven beyond the Mississippi.

“The occupation of this locality by the Senecas, followed these events.

“When they arrived here they found huts, or houses, covered with basswood bark. This tree has the peculiarity of being easily peeled at all seasons of the year, and the wood was used for canoes, and on these accounts it assumed an importance in the eyes of the aboriginal settler, equal to that of a stone quarry or an extensive pinery to the pioneers of our early settlements in more civilized life. This to them, important characteristic, was seized upon and probably stood prominent among the inducements to immigrate hither.

“The name Te-osah-way, is a compound word significant of this fact. It is not literally osah, basswood, nor cush-nah, bark, as some contend, but Te osah-way that is, where basswood is, or the place of basswood.}½

“The Senecas were conversant with the fact, that the Buffalo formerly visited the “salt lick” or spring, on the bank of the creek in this vicinity, and hence they called Buffalo creek Tick-e-ack-gou-ga-haunda, and Buffalo vil-

lage Tick-e-ack-gou-ga. But Te-osah-way was the earlier designation, and probably originated in the name I have suggested. KI-EU-WA-NA."

A communication from "Q," the author of the original inquiry, appeared in the Commercial Advertiser, soon after the publication of the foregoing, from which I make the following extracts :

"MR. EDITOR :—I have been much interested in the respective attempts of my brothers, Ogema, Ki eu-wa-na and Ga-i-wi-u to throw light in answer to my inquiry upon the meaning of the Indian name of Buffalo Creek, written by me To-se-o-way ; that being the designation upon Joseph and Benjamin Ellicott's map of the Holland purchase, published in 1800.

"Although my brothers do not quite agree in their orthography, there seems to be no essential difference between them. The word as written by Ga-i-wi-u is Ti-you-seo-wa which orthography I prefer to that of Tu-shu-way or Do-yo-wa. The former when properly pronounced, has the sonorous and musical pronunciation of the Seneca tongue.

"Ogema and Ki-eu-wa-na who are independent witnesses, have undoubtedly arrived at the true meaning of the word which has reference to the basswood, which has formerly lined the banks of the creek. The primitive meaning is "among the basswoods."

"Ogema and Ki-eu-wa-na differ in their explanation of the origin of the name of Buffalo. The former has made too large draughts upon fiction, to entitle his legend to credit, and thereby throws doubt upon the existence of any such "chronicle" as he refers to. The statement of Ki-eu-wa-na is more plausible, showing that our creek

and the neighboring Indian village were named by the Indians after the buffalos, which formerly frequented the well-known 'lick' on its banks.

"History establishes the fact that these animals formerly ranged as far east as the St. Lawrence." Q.

This last statement of Q, is undoubtedly a mistake, into which he has been led as others have been by reading the journal of Father La Moine, of a journey he made from Quebec to the village of the Onondagas, in 1654, in which he speaks of a herd of "wild cows" that he saw on the banks of the River St. Lawrence, above the rapids, five or six hundred in one drove, but they were undoubtedly moose or elks. For on his return voyage, he says, under date of September 4th (of the same year), "Traveling through vast prairies, we saw in divers quarters, immense herds of wild bulls and cows. Their horns resemble in some respects the antlers of the stag." Of course they were either elks or moose. In another place he says, "Droves of twenty cows plunged into the water as if to meet us. Some were killed for the sake of amusement, with blows of an axe." Perhaps it is no more surprising that the moose were once so plenty where now they are unknown, than that buffaloes should have once roamed over the spot where we now dwell, and left their bones as the only memorial of their presence, mingled with those of other animals, about the salt lick, (near the Sulphur Spring,) in our immediate vicinity. But as has been already observed, doubts have been entertained, and expressed, as to the truth or probability of the statements upon which the theory as to the origin of the name of our city rested, from the supposed improbability of the tradition of the Indians on that subject.

These doubts are predicated upon the insufficiency of the "evidence that the Buffalo, in his wild state, was ever found in Western New York;" that none of the early visitors to this region, who have left a record of their travels, saw them; that the great prairies of the West being "his native haunts," he was never found in this region.

Let us examine these two classes of objections in a spirit of candor, and see whether they are entitled to the weight given them by those who have examined the subject with perhaps equal candor and intelligence. In regard to the first class of objections, if it is intended to assume that there is no recorded evidence of the fact that buffaloes were seen here by those who made the record, it is undoubtedly true; but it by no means follows that there is no reliable evidence of the fact. The nature of the case precludes the possibility of such testimony; and if we show that we have the best evidence that the nature of the case admits of, and that it all concurs in establishing the truth of the Indian tradition that the buffalo, in his wild state, visited the salt lick upon the banks of our Creek, then the statement of our oldest Indian residents, made in 1820, is entitled to rank as "reliable testimony."

I consulted the oldest men (of the Senecas) living in 1820, as to their own knowledge and belief on the subject. They had no doubt of the fact, though none of them pretended to have seen them here. They assured me that, within their own recollection, the bones of the buffalo, with those of other herbivorous animals which had been killed by the wolves, panthers, and other carnivorous beasts that resorted hither in pursuit of their

prey, were found at the salt lick. When asked as to the period when buffaloes were seen here, they fixed the time, in round numbers, at one hundred years before that time, which would be in 1720. It is not probable that the buffalo ranged as far east as this long after the introduction and general use of fire-arms among the Iroquois, or Six Nations, which was probably prior to this date; and as they only visited this locality at particular seasons of the year, and being a very shy animal, particularly when solitary or not in herds, they would be easily frightened away, perhaps not to return, even temporarily.

The Indians began to obtain fire-arms as early as 1650 or '60, as we find it was made a subject of complaint by the French government in Canada that the English or Dutch, in New York, were furnishing arms and ammunition to the Iroquois, which enabled them to carry on a destructive war against the western nations, who claimed French protection.

It could not be expected, therefore, that the first Europeans who visited here would find the buffalo. He had previously been driven from this locality, which may never have been his permanent residence. It is admitted, I believe, that within the recollection of persons now living, the buffalo has "been seen in his wild state" in Ohio, probably within less than two hundred miles of this city. Mr. Thomas Moorhead, a resident of Zanesville, writes thus, under date of February 13th, 1863:

"Capt. Ross, who has lived here fifty-five years, says that Ebenezer and James Ryan often talked with him of having killed buffaloes on the branch of Will's Creek, which is still called the 'Buffalo Fork,' twenty miles

east of Zanesville. The Ryans were Indian fighters, and this must have been before Wayne's treaty. Buffalo 'beats' are frequent on the ridges between this place and Marietta — at least, there are several of those 'beats.'"

In view of these facts, it would be extraordinary, indeed, if, in the absence of civilization, or any natural obstacle to oppose or hinder his progress, the buffalo should not range as far east as this, and even farther, for there is nothing in the nature of the country or its climate to prevent, as we shall abundantly show. Early travellers, almost without exception, speak of the buffalo as being abundant on the south shore of Lake Erie.

The journey of La Salle from the Illinois River to Quebec, in the winter of 1680, must have carried him through what are now the States of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Western Virginia, and a part of Pennsylvania and Western New York. But he evidently kept to the south of the shore of Lake Erie. He gives a list of the animals that inhabited the region through which he passed. He says:

"The mountains are covered with bears, stags, wild goats, turkey cocks and wolves, who are so fierce as hardly to be frightened at our guns. The wild bulls are grown somewhat scarce, since the Illinois have been at war with their neighbors, (the Iroquois) for now all parties are continually a hunting of them."

La Hontan, who accompanied an expedition of the Illinois against the Iroquois, in 1687-8, coasted down the south shore of Lake Erie. He says:

"The Lake Erie is justly distinguished with the illustrious name of Conti—a French Governor—for as"

surely it is the finest lake upon earth. You may judge of the goodness of the climate from the latitude of the countries which surround it. I cannot express what vast quantities of deer and turkeys are to be found in those woods and in the vast meadows that lie upon the south side of the lake. At the bottom of the lake (Fond du Lac) we find wild beeves, upon the banks of two rivers that disembody into it, without cataracts or rapid currents. The banks of the lake are commonly frequented by none but warriors, whether the Iroquois, the Illinois, or the Oniamies, &c., and it is very dangerous to stop there. By this means it comes to pass that stags, roebucks and turkeys, run in great bodies up and down the shore all round the lake.

“In former times the Errinons and the Andastaguereons lived upon the confines of this lake, but they were extirpated by the Iroquois, as well as other nations marked upon the map.”

Charlevoix, who made the journey from Quebec to the Mississippi in 1721, following nearly the route of La Salle in 1679, in describing the journey across Lake Ontario, says :

“We intended to go into the River aux Boeufs. (Buffalo River) but we found the stream shut up by the sands, which often happens to the little rivers that empty into the lakes. About two in the afternoon we entered into the River Niagara, formed by the great fall, which I shall mention presently.”

After describing the passage up the river to a point beyond which they could not go with their boat, and their visit on foot to the falls, and passage up the river to the rapids, at what is now Black Rock, he proceeds :

“ I departed on the 27th of May, 1721, from the entrance of the Lake Erie. The route is to keep the north coast. Lake Erie is a hundred leagues long from east to west ; its breadth from north to south is about thirty. The name it bears is that of a nation of the Huron language settled on its borders, and which the Iroquois have entirely destroyed. Erie means Cat. The Eries are named in some of the ‘ Relations,’ the Nation of the Cat.

“ The 28th I went nineteen leagues, and found myself over against the great (Grand) river which comes from the east, in forty-two degrees fifteen minutes. The first of June, being Whit-Sunday, after going up a pretty river almost an hour, which comes from a great way and runs between two fine meadows, we made a portage of about sixty paces, to escape going round a point which advances fifteen leagues into the lake ; they call it ‘ Long Point.’ It is very sandy, and produces naturally many vines. At every place where I landed, I was enchanted with the beauty and variety of the landscape, bounded by the finest forests in the world. Besides this, water-fowl swarmed everywhere.

“ I cannot say there is such a plenty of game in the woods, but I know that on the south side of the lake there are vast herds of wild cattle. On the 4th (of June) we were stopped a good part of the day on a point which runs three leagues north and south, which they call Point Pelee. There are many bears in this country ; and last winter they killed, on Point Pelee alone, above four hundred.”

This was a great crossing place for several kinds of animals, as well as wild turkeys — passing from island

to island on the ice in winter, and by flight or swimming in summer.

After describing his journey to Mackinac and to the mouth of the St. Joseph River, near the southern extremity of Lake Michigan, where the French had previously established a post and built a fort, he passed up that river to a point where it bends farthest to the south (Great Bend.) They carried their canoes over a short portage to the head waters of the Kankikee, a confluent of the Illinois, and passed down that tortuous stream through extensive flat prairies, until they entered the Illinois River. He says :

“The meadows here extend beyond the sight, in which the buffalo go in herds of two or three hundred. Everywhere we met with paths that are as beaten as they can be in the most populous countries; yet nothing passes through them but buffaloes.”

Thus far we have the evidence of the early French travellers. They establish the fact of the existence of the buffalo upon the south shore of Lake Erie down to about 1721.

We will now proceed to examine the evidence derived from other sources subsequent to the period last named, (1721.) I have already produced evidence of the presence of the buffalo in the south-eastern part of Ohio, in the vicinity of Zanesville, to the period of the first settlement of that State, about the close of the war of the Revolution.

Mr. Thomas Ashe, in a letter dated at Erie, Pa., after he had made a minute examination of the head waters of the Allegany and Monongahela Rivers, in 1806, gives the following statement of an old man, one of the first

settlers in that country, who built a log house, or hut, upon the borders of a salt spring, or lick :

“ He informed me that, for several seasons, the buffaloes paid him their visits with the utmost regularity. They traveled in single file, always following each other at equal distances, forming droves, on their arrival, of about three hundred each. The first and second year, so unacquainted were these poor brutes with the use of this man’s house or his nature, that in a few hours they rubbed the house completely down, taking delight in turning the logs off with their horns, while he had some difficulty to escape being trampled under their feet, or being crushed in his own ruins. At that period he supposed there could not be less than ten thousand in the neighborhood of the springs. They sought for no manner of food, but bathed and drank three or four times a day, and rolled in the earth, or mud, or reposed with their flanks distended in the adjacent shades, and on the the fifth or sixth day separated into distinct droves, bathed, drank, and departed in single files, according to the exact order of their arrival. They all rolled successively in the same hole, and each thus carried away a coat of mud, to preserve the moisture of the skin, which, when hardened and baked in the sun, would resist the stings of millions of insects that otherwise would persecute these peaceful travelers to madness, or even to death.

“ In the first and second years the old man, with some companions, killed six or seven hundred of these noble creatures, merely for the sake of their skins, which to them were only worth two shillings each ; and after this work of death, they were obliged to leave the place till

the following season, or till the wolves, bears, panthers, eagles, rooks, &c., had devoured the carcasses and abandoned the place for other prey. In the two following years, the same persons killed great numbers out of the first droves that arrived, skinned them, and left their bodies exposed to the sun and air. But they soon had reason to repent of this, for the remaining droves, as they came up in succession, stopped, gazed on the mangled and putrid bodies, sorrowfully moaned or furiously howled aloud, and returned instantly to the wilderness in an unusual run, without tasting their favorite spring or licking the impregnated earth, which was also once their most agreeable occupation. Nor did they or any of their race ever visit the neighborhood again."

There are numerous salt springs, or licks, both in the eastern part of Ohio and in western Pennsylvania, and Dr. W. H. Irvine informs me that some of the oil springs were "deer licks." It was in the vicinity of one of these springs in western Pennsylvania, probably not over one hundred miles from this city, where this "old man's" cabin was located. If he was seventy-five years old when he made this statement to Mr. Ashe, in 1806, we may fix the date of the exodus of the buffalo at about the year 1755.

Dr. S. P. Hildreth, who now resides at Marietta, Ohio, writes me, under date of February 25th, 1863, as follows:

"There is no doubt of their (the buffalo) traversing the whole State of Ohio easterly into Pennsylvania, and the northern portion of New York, in the early stage of our history, or as late as the year 1750.

"I came to Marietta in 1806. I have seen many of the old inhabitants who have killed them and eaten of

their flesh. The flesh of the fat cow buffalo was considered to be better than that of domestic cattle.

“Near the vicinity of Salt Springs, their paths or roads were very distinct and plain, after I came to Ohio; and to this day on the hills are large patches of ground, destitute of bushes or trees, where they used to congregate, to stamp off the flies, digging the surface into deep hollows, called “buffalo stamps.” The forests here were very open and filled with rich pea-vines, and buffalo clover, a variety between the white and red kinds of our day.”

Mr. Albert Gallatin, when a young man, was employed as a surveyor in Western Virginia, and made the question of the eastern range of the buffalo, a subject of investigation and study. He has given the result of this investigation in an article furnished for publication in the transactions of the American Ethnological Society, Vol. 2, page 50. In his introduction, he says, “Colonies of the buffaloes had traversed the Mississippi, and were at one time abundant in the forest country between the lakes and the Tennessee River, south of which I do not believe they were ever seen. The name of ‘Buffalo Creek,’ between Pittsburg and Wheeling proves that they had spread thus far eastwardly, when that country was first visited by the Anglo-Americans.

“In my time, 1784-5, they were abundant on the south side of the Ohio, between the Great and Little Kenawha. I have, during eight months, lived principally on their flesh. The American settlement have of course destroyed them and not one is now seen east of the Mississippi. They had also, at a former period, penetrated east of the Allegany Mountains. But I have

been mistaken in supposing that they were to be seen only on the head waters of the Rhonoake or Cape Fear River. It appears by the publication of the Westover papers, that as late as the year 1728 they were found by Col. Bird on the borders of Virginia and North Carolina and also further north in what, if I am not mistaken, is now called Southampton county, in about latitude thirty-seven degrees, and longitude seventy-seven degrees. The frequent name of 'Buffalo Creek' indicates their former range."

In a letter written to me in March last, by John H. James, Esq., Urbana, Ohio, this suggestion is made. He says :

"I have had occasion to observe that all our early hunters and those best acquainted with the Indians never gave an Indian name of any stream, but always a translation of it. Hence our numerous Deer Creeks, Buck Creeks, Beaver Creeks, &c., all of which had been called so by the Indians.

"Your stream would naturally have its name of 'Buffalo Creek' in the same manner."

There are abundant authorities that might be quoted to show that the buffalo was found not only in Ohio, Pennsylvania, Kentucky and other adjoining States, but in our own State.

Thomas Morton, one of the early settlers of New England, in his "New English Canaan," published in 1637, says :

"They (the Indians) have also made description of great herds of well-grown beasts, that live about the parts of this Lake Erocoise, (now Lake Ontario) such as the Christian world, until this discovery, hath not been

made acquainted with. These beasts are of the bigness of a cowe, their flesh being very good food, their hides good leather, their fleeces very useful, being a kind of woolle, and the salvages do make garments thereof."

We have already mentioned that Charleviox speaks of the Rivere aux Bœuf, (or Buffalo Creek), now "Oak Orchard Creek," a few miles east of the entrance to the Niagara, on Lake Ontario, in 1721. Its name was undoubtedly derived in the same way as our own Buffalo Creek, but had not the means of perpetuating the name by being the location of an aboriginal city; and had it not been for this early record, it would not now be known that it ever bore the name, as it is not known to the present inhabitants of that locality, as I have taken some pains to ascertain.

Doctor Richardson, in his *Fauna-Boreali Americana* in a compendious history of the former range of the buffalo, or American bison, says :

"At the period when Europeans began to form settlements in North America, this animal was occasionally met with on the Atlantic coast. But even then it appears to have been rare to the eastward of the Apalachian mountains, for Lawson has thought it to be a fact worth recording, that two were killed in one year on the Appomattox, a branch of the James River; and Warden mentions that at no distant date herds of them existed in the western parts of Pennsylvania, and that as late as 1766 they were pretty numerous in Kentucky. Great Slave Lake was at one time the northern boundary of their range (in the fur region); but of late years, according to the testimony of the natives, they have taken possession of the limestone district, on the north side of that

lake, and have wandered to the vicinity of the Great Marten Lake, in latitude sixty-three or sixty-four degrees.

“As far as I have been able to ascertain, the lime stone and sand stone formations lying between the Rocky Mountain Ridge and the lower eastern chain of primitive rocks are the only districts in the fur countries visited by the bison.

“In the comparatively level tracts, there is much prairie land, on which they find good grass in summer, and also many marshes overgrown with bullrushes and caracies, which supplies them with winter food. Salt springs and lakes also abound on the confines of the lime stone, and there are several well-known salt springs where bison are sure to be found at all seasons of the year.”

Dr. Richardson accompanied the expedition of Capt. Back, in search of Capt Ross, in 1832, as naturalist, and had superior opportunities to inform himself in regard to what he wrote. He adds :

“The bisons are truly a wandering race. Their motives of restlessness being either disturbance from hunters, or change of pasture, (and, he might have added, search of salt licks or springs.) They are less wary when they are in herds, and will then often follow their leaders regardless of, or trampling down the hunter, posted in their way.”

In the Natural History of the State of New York, published under an act of the Legislature, Mr. De Kay speaks of the buffalo as a native of this State but “long since extirpated.”

In the Documentary History published by the same authority, we find in a memoir of the Indians of Canada,

by M. DeVaudrael, under date of 1718, it is said : " Buffaloes abound on the south shore of Lake Erie, but not on the north." Again : " Thirty leagues up the Miamie River, at a place called La Glaize, buffaloes are always found." He also speaks of the " River-aux-bœufs " on Lake Ontario, in this State, which was mentioned by Charlevoix.

It is hardly necessary to accumulate testimony on this branch of our subject, which might be done almost indefinitely. It will be readily seen, that any argument, built upon the hypothesis, that the buffalo in his wild state, was never found in Western New York, or that he would not voluntarily live, even temporarily, in a climate like ours, or that his native haunt, was confined to the great prairies of the West, will be found to be untenable.

That he ranged over a vast extent of country when undisturbed, and no natural obstacles obstructed his way, is proved by all history and observation.

All accounts agree in representing the buffalo to be a great traveller. Notwithstanding his enormous and apparently unweildy body, and comparatively small limbs, he has wonderful powers of endurance, and a speed nearly equal to that of an ordinary horse. " Of all animals," says Irving, " a buffalo, when closely pressed by the hunter, has an aspect the most diabolical. His too short black horns, curve out of a huge frontlet of shaggy hair, his mouth is open, his tongue parched and drawn up into a half crescent, his eyes glow like coals of fire, his tail is erect, tufted and whisking about in the air, he is a perfect picture of mingled rage and terror." Godman says :

" They have been seen in herds of three, four and five

thousand, blackening the plains as far as the eye could view. Some travellers are of the opinion that they have seen as many as eight or ten thousand in the same herd.

“The buffalo was formerly found throughout the whole territory of the United States, with the exception of that part east of the Hudson River and Lake Champlain, and of narrow strips on the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico.”

These are by no means all the evidences going to sustain the Indian tradition, that the buffalo in his native state was once a visitor at least, in this locality.

That he was ever seen here by white men is not at all probable, for the reason suggested, that he had been then, as he has been since, driven from all his ancient haunts, by advancing civilization. The representative of that civilization, being fire arms in the hands of the Iroquois, and the only memorial he left here was his bleaching bones around the “salt lick” on the banks of the “Buffalo Creek.”

But the buffaloes like their cotemporaries, the aboriginal inhabitants of this continent, are a doomed race! They have been driven little by little from all their ancient haunts or homes, even their bones have decayed out of our sight, and it is even now questioned, whether there was ever a buffalo here! But when the last of his race shall have sunk down in silence and solitude in the inaccessible gorges of the Rocky mountains, or in the far off cold sterile regions of the North, here shall flourish in all its life, its activity, and its beauty, a monument, to perpetuate his memory, and his name, and carry it down the rapid stream of time, through all generations of men who shall inhabit the city of Buffalo.

The following letter of an educated Seneca Chief, living upon the Cattaraugus Reservation, is inserted as corroborative of the views entertained by the author, was written in 1864:

LETTER OF N. PARKER TO O. H. MARSHALL, ESQ., BUFFALO.

“As my name is mentioned in the reply of Mr. Wright to yours of the 19th June last, I would say that I do not wish that statement should take the precedence of his answer, although it is somewhat similar, though differing from him a little on the original spelling of the word or name. Originally, as I am informed, the name was spoken thus,—‘De-dyo-syo-oh,’ being similar to ‘Ti-hose-ro-ron,’ which as I believe, must have been understood and written by the one who wrote the treaty, for ‘De-dyo-syo-oh,’ and from this I infer that it is a Seneca word, instead of Mohawk. The name ‘De-dyo-syo-oh’ means basswood surrounding a thing—that is, basswood sprouts that grew around stumps of the same kind in great abundance, that lined the banks of the creek near its mouth.

“As for the name ‘Buffalo,’ I am informed that the Indians, in their hunting excursions from the East, to the vicinity of Buffalo City, say that there was plenty of buffalo in the western part of the State, and that their principal place of resort was at a lick in the bed of the creek, just above the Sulphur Springs, on the Buffalo Creek, and that at that place was the first settlement of the Indians.

“Soon after their settlement there, the French came among them, and they were informed that there was a lick there which had been a great resort for the buffalo.

Thence they (the French) named it in their language ‘the Buffalo Creek.’ Soon after, the settlement was burned, either by the English or French, in their wars, and that when the Indians settled there or its vicinity afterwards, great quantities of wampum beads were found among the ashes of that settlement; which shows that the French did come among them there, as they were the manufacturers of such beads.

“Furthermore, as an evidence that there must have been buffalo in this vicinity, I have dug up from the old camping ground of the Indians, eighteen inches under the surface,—I have found the teeth or molars of what I supposed to be the buffalo; they being in size, equal to that of the largest ox.

“I should have made more extended remarks to your inquiries, but the substance is here for your consideration.

Yours, &c.,

N. H. PARKER.

CHAPTER V.

As illustrative of the period of history upon which we are now engaged, the following extract of a letter, and a journal of the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, of a journey he made to Buffalo Creek at the request and under the instructions of Gov. Clinton, in 1788, are here inserted :

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER OF MISS POWELL, DURING A TOUR
FROM MONTREAL TO DETROIT, IN MAY, 1785.

“Fort Niagara is by no means pleasantly situated. It is built close upon the lake which gains upon it so fast that in a few years they must be overflowed. There however, we passed some days very agreeably, at the house of a Mr. Hamilton, a sensible, worthy man. Mrs. Hamilton is an amiable, sweet little woman ; I regretted very much she did not live at Detroit, instead of at Niagara. We received the most polite attention from Col. Hunter, the commanding officer. and all his officers.

“Lord Edward Fitzgerald had been some months at Niagara before us, and was making excursions among the Indians, of whose society he seems particularly fond. Joseph Brant, a celebrated Indian Chief, lives in that neighborhood. Lord Edward had spent some days at his house, and seemed charmed with his visit.

“Brant returned to Niagara with his Lordship. He was

the first, and indeed the only savage, I ever dined at table with. As the party was large, he was at too great a distance from me to hear him converse, and I was by no means pleased with his looks. These people pay great deference to rank ; with them it is only obtained by merit. They attended Lord Edward from the house of one chief to another, and entertained him with dancing which is the greatest compliment they can pay.

“Short as our stay was at Niagara, we made so many pleasant acquaintances we were very sorry to leave them. Several gentlemen offered to escort us to Fort Erie, which made the journey very cheerful. Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Humphries, of the Engineers, Mr. Robinson, of the 60th Regiment, Mr. Meridith with Capt. Harrow, Mr. Smith and my brother, went in the boat with us to the landing, which is eight miles from the fort. There the river becomes impassible, and all the luggage was drawn up a steep hill in a cradle, a machine I never saw before. We walked up the hills and were conducted to a good garden with an arbour in it, where we found a cloth laid for dinner, which was provided for us by the officers of the fort. After dinner we were to get on to Fort Sloscher, seven miles, by any means we could. Two calashes were procured ; in one of them my brother drove my sister, and Mr. Humphries me, in the other. Mr. Meridith got a horse, and the rest of the gentlemen made use of their feet. The road was good, the weather charming, and our ride would have been delightful, only the horses were so bad that they could scarcely crawl. I never breathe freely when a horse seems tired ; I always feel as if I was committing a crime in driving it. Mr. H., who is very humane, gave up the point of whipping the poor

devil, out of respect to Capt. Watson, to whom the horse had once belonged, a circumstance which increased my compassion, for of all men living Watson was the most compassionate, and in the condition the animal was, would as soon have attempted to carry as to drive him. It was not to be borne, so we took one of the horses from the cart the children and servants were in, and made the best of the way after the party. The afternoon was wearing away and this was the only opportunity we should have of seeing the falls. All our party collected together about half a mile above the falls and walked down to them. I was in raptures all the way. The falls I had heard of forever, but no one had mentioned the rapids!

For half a mile the river comes foaming down immense rocks, some of them forming cascades thirty or forty feet high. The banks are covered with woods, as are a number of islands, some of them very high out of the water. One in the center of the river runs out into a point and seems to divide the falls (which would be otherwise quite across the river) into the form of a crescent. I believe no mind can form an idea of the immensity of the body of water, or the rapidity with which it hurries down. The height is one hundred and eighty feet, and long before it reaches the bottom it loses all appearance of a liquid. The spray rises like light summer clouds, and when the rays of the sun are so reflected through it they form innumerable rainbows, but the sun was not in a situation to show this effect when we were there. One thing I could find no one to explain to me, which is, the stillness of the river at the bottom of the falls. It is smooth as a lake for half a mile, deep, and narrow, the banks very high with trees hanging over them.

“I was never before sensible of the full power of scenery, nor did I suppose the eye could carry to the mind such strange emotions of pleasure, wonder and solemnity. For a time, every other impression was erased from my memory. Had I been left to myself, I am convinced I should not have thought of moving whilst there was light to distinguish objects. With reluctance, I at length attended to the proposal of going, determining in my own mind that when I returned, I would be mistress of my own time and stay a day or two at least. As Fort Schloser was only at the distance of a pleasant walk, we all chose to go on foot. We were received by Mr. Foster, of the 60th regiment, one of the most elegant young men I ever saw. Here we were extremely well accommodated, and much pleased with the house and garden. I never saw a situation where retirement wore so many charms.

“The next day we went in batteaux to Fort Erie. On our arrival, we found the commanding officer, Mr. Boyd, had gone on a party with Lord Edward and Mr. Brisbane, to the other side of the Niagara, where the Indians were holding a council. The gentlemen returned in the evening, and seemed so much pleased with their entertainment that we readily agreed to their proposal that we should accompany them the next day.

“I thought to have an opportunity of seeing a number of Indians together, of the most respectable class of that people, a peculiar piece of good fortune.

“We saw several chiefs at their toilet as we passed along to the spot where the council was held. They sat upon the ground with the most profound gravity, dressing themselves before a small looking-glass ; for they

are very exact in arranging their ornaments, and not a little whimsical. I am told one of these fellows will be an hour or two in painting his face ; and when any one else would think him sufficiently horrible, some new conceit will strike him, and he will wash it all off and begin again.

“The women dress with more simplicity than the men, at least all that I have seen ; but at this meeting there were not many of the fair sex. Some old squaws, who sat in council, were present, and also a few young ones, to dress the provisions ; for their great men, as well as those of our world, like a good dinner after spending their lungs for the good of their country.

“We saw some of the squaws employed in taking fish in a basket. A gentleman of our party took the basket from one of them, and attempted to catch the fish as she did, but failing, they laughed at his want of dexterity. One young squaw sat in a tent, weaving a sort of worsted garment intermixed with beads. I suppose she was a lady of distinction, for her ears were bored in four different places, with ear rings in them all. She would not speak English, but seemed to understand what we said to her. A gentleman introduced Mrs. Powell and me as white squaws, begging her to go on with her work, as we wished to see how it was done. She complied immediately, with great dignity, taking no more notice of us than if we were posts — a proof of her good breeding.

“We then went up to a very beautiful spot. The tall trees were in full leaf, and the ground covered with wild flowers ; and were seated on a log in the centre, where we could see all that passed. Upwards of two hundred chiefs were assembled and seated in proper order. They

were the delegates of the Six Nations. Each tribe formed a circle under the shade of a tree, their faces towards each other. They never changed their places, but sat or lay upon the grass, as they liked. The speaker of each tribe stood with his back against the tree. The old women walked one by one, with great solemnity, and seated themselves behind the men. They were wholly covered by their blankets, and sought not by ornaments to attract or frighten the other sex; for I cannot tell whether the men mean to make themselves charming or horrible by the pains they take with their persons. On seeing this respectable band of matrons, I was struck with the different opinions of mankind. In England, when a man grows infirm and his talents are obscured by age, the wits decide upon his character by calling him an old woman. On the banks of Lake Erie, a woman becomes respectable as she grows old; and I suppose the greatest compliment you can pay a young Indian here is to say that he is as wise as an old woman—a good trait of savage understanding. These ladies observe a modest silence in the debate, (I fear they are not like the women of other countries) but nothing is determined without their advice and approbation. I was very much struck with the figures of these Indians as they approached. They are tall and finely made, and walk with a dignity and grace you can form no idea of. Our beaux looked quite insignificant beside them. One man recalled to my mind the description of one of Homer's heroes. I was told he was a chief of distinction, and spoke English, and that if I pleased, he should be introduced to me. I had some curiosity to see how a chief of the Six Nations would pay his compliments,

but little did I expect the elegance with which he addressed me. The Prince of Wales does not bow with more grace than Capt. David. He spoke English with propriety, and returned all the compliments paid him with ease and politeness. As he was not only the handsomest, but the best dressed man I saw, I will endeavor to describe him. His person is tall and fine as it is possible to imagine; his features handsome and regular, with a countenance of much softness; his complexion not disagreeably dark; and I really believe he washes his face, for it appeared perfectly clean and free from paint. His hair was shaved off, except a little on the top of his head, to which his ornaments were fastened; and his head and ears were painted a glowing red. Round his head was fastened a fillet of highly polished silver. From the left temple hung two straps of black velvet, covered with silver beads and brooches. On the top of his head was placed a fox-tail feather, which bowed to the wind, as did two black ones, one in each ear. A pair of immense ear rings, which hung below his shoulders, completed his head-dress, which I assure you was not unbecoming, though, I must confess, somewhat fantastical. His dress was a shirt of colored calico—the neck and shoulders covered so thick with silver brooches as to have the appearance of a net—and his sleeves were much like those the ladies wore when I left England, fastened about the arm with a broad bracelet of highly polished silver, engraved with the arms of England; four smaller bracelets round his wrists, of the same material; and around his waist a large scarf of very dark colored stuff, lined with scarlet, which hung to his feet. One part of this scarf he generally drew over his

left arm, which had a very graceful effect when he moved. And his legs were covered with blue cloth, made to fit neatly, with an ornamental garter bound below the knee. I know not what kind of a being your imagination presents to you but I sincerely declare that altogether Capt. David made the finest appearance that I ever saw in my life. Do not suppose that all were dressed in the same taste. Their clothes are not all cut by the same pattern like the beaux of England. Every Indian is dressed according to his own fancy and you see no two alike. Even their faces are differently painted. Some of them wear their hair in a strange manner, others shave it entirely off. One old man diverted me extremely; he was dressed in a scarlet coat richly embroidered, which must have been made at least half a century ago, with a waistcoat of the same which reached half way down his thighs. He wore blue cloth stockings, and as he strutted about more than the rest, I concluded he was particularly pleased with his dress, and with himself. They told us he was a chief of distinction.

"We only staid to hear two speeches; they spoke with great gravity and with no action, frequently making long pauses for a hum of applause. Lord Edward, Mr. Brisbane and Mr. Meridith remained with them all night, and were entertained with dancing."

"JOURNAL OF REV. SAM'L KIRKLAND'S MISSIONARY VISIT TO THE FIVE NATIONS FROM SEPT. 23, TO DECEMBER, (1788) WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE PRESENT STATE AND DISPOSITION TOWARDS THE GOVERNMENT OF NEW YORK, PURSUANT TO INSTRUCTIONS OF GOV. CLINTON.

"Sept. 23d. — Set out from Fort Stanwix, taking my

passage in Esquire Phelps's boats which I had detained two days at Armstrong's for the purpose, and by the Governor's direction.

"29th. — This day overtook the party of Senekas on the Onondaga River, who have have lately attended the Governor's treaty at Fort Stanwix. They had been detained here several days, by one of their party being very sick. They requested me not to leave them in their distress as they were short of provisions and upwards of thirty in number. I immediately dealt out a part of my store of bread and meat to them and encouraged them to come on the next day with their light canoes and overtake me at the Cross Lake, and I would see them safe to Kanadasegea.

"30th. — This morning very early, the party of Senekas came up with us.

"Oct. 4th. — Arrived at Kanadasegea. Here met with a number of Senekas and Cayogas, who were waiting at this place for the return of the party which had attended the Governor's treaty, and had accompanied me from the Onondaga River. There were also several Onondagos on the ground who had lately come from Fort Stanwix, and bound to Buffalo Creek. Our reception was various; some welcomed our arrival with every expression of joy—others looked upon us with a jealous and envious eye; particularly one Jack Berry, gave out some threats against the party of Senekas who had attended the Governor's treaty, as having disobeyed the chiefs.

"6th. — I was informed by Capt. Noble, of Sheffield, (one of Esq. Phelps's agents) and some of the Indians of the measures taken by the anti-government party to prevent the Indians going down to the Governor's treaty at

Fort Stanwix, and the high scenes they had passed through about two weeks before my arrival. The chiefs were kept in one continual state or round of dissipation for near three weeks, seldom sober enough one day to know what had passed the day before; one part of the tumult rose almost to an insurrection. Doct. B. and Col. M — n had between twenty and thirty riflemen under arms for twenty-four hours, and severe threats given out against P. Ryckman and Col. Reed as enemies to the one party, and as encouraging the Indians to proceed to the Governor's treaty, and at a certain crisis were peremptorily ordered off the ground or abide the consequences. But the interposition of Col. Noble, who appears to be a friend to order as well as a man of feeling, and by the aid of some Indians the tumult ceased.

"7th. — Had a conference of several hours with several Senekas and Cayogas who had been some time here, waiting for their friends to return from the Governor's treaty. In this conference I communicated to them, the issue of the late treaty and settlements made by the Government with the Onondagos and Oneidas. The female governess at Genesee behaved well, and was not afraid to speak her sentiments on the occasion.

"I was also informed, upon pretty good authority, that half a township of land south of the outlet of the Cayoga Lake and three hundred pounds in cash, were given, or stipulated for, to a certain Lieut. Doxstader, living near Grand River (formerly of Kaguawage in Montgomery county) to relinquish his purpose of going to Gov. Clinton's treaty.

"In a private conference with a young Buffalo Chief called Sagoh-hewatha, (Red Jacket), he earnestly re-

requested me to go myself to Buffalo Creek and inform the chiefs there of the real state of things, and put their minds right ; that a party spirit had gained such an influence among them that no verbal message would effect the purpose ; he also advised me not to speak freely upon this subject indiscriminately while on that ground. The Seneka warrior called the Infant, (son of the old chief Sagwayeengwalaghton) and who had ever been the most active person in the anti-governmental party, now declared that he would have nothing more to do with that party, and soon gave out publicly, that he was determined at all events to accompany the first Indians that should go down to Albany the ensuing winter.

“ A young Cayoga, belonging to one of the principal families of that tribe, asked me if it was my real opinion that the Governor of New York would hold a treaty with them. He then expressed himself that the sum of his wish for the good of his nation was to have one township instead of one mile square of land reserved for their use.

“ 9th. — The Indian arrived with the belt and speech to the Senekas, &c., the import of which soon spread through the camp and occasioned a change of countenances, and no small stir.

“ 11th, Saturday. — I was this day informed that Mons'r DeBarge was to set out the next day for Buffalo Creek and take with him the Infant and the Seneka Indian who was intrusted with the Governor's message, and if necessary to extend their journey to Niagara with a letter from Col. Mc — n to my friend Col. B. It was carefully reported that the Governor's message might produce some revolution among the Indians unfavorable to Mr. L—n's interest, and the Infant would soon disaffect

the minds of all the Indians in this quarter if not removed, as he was an obstinate, haughty, persevering fellow, and that my friend Col. B —. should be prevailed upon if possible to detain the Infant in his neighborhood until next spring.

“ 12th, L. Day.—The forementioned company set out agreeably to the information I had yesterday of their design.

“ 13th, Mon.—I set out myself this day for Genesee, having a little business to do there for Mr. Phelps ; travelled sixteen miles on foot, then hired a horse.

“ 15th.—Arrived at Genesee ; the next day visited the Big Tree ; found that Monsieur had been to Kalinghyadelon, a village about thirty miles south of Genesee and had passed by the Big Tree's village but one day before my arrival. In conversation with the Big Tree I found my information of Mr. DeBarge's business to be exactly true in every particular.

“ 17th.—Accomplished the business for Mr. Phelps, and fixed the stake for the southern boundary of his purchase of the fork of the Genesee. Set out the surveyors ; seven Indians present. I may here just observe that the Indians had previously insisted upon my being present at the fixing of this stake, and taking the right direction.

“ 18th.—Spent the most of this day with a number of the Senekas on public business. I was here informed, that some threats had been given out against the old Onondaga Chiefs, viz: Black Cap, Kahaktoton, that, on condition of that part of their nation residing on the Buffalo, should have a share in the late sale of their territory to the Government of New York, that their lives would pay for it, and other evils should come.

“There were some unjust and cruel reflections cast upon the Governor, in his late negotiations with the Onondagos, that the treaty was partial; that he has taken advantage of the absence of many of their chiefs. After a long and minute explanation of the settlement made at Fort Stanwix, I made the following short address to them :

“MY CHILDREN :— I always speak freely with you on every subject which I think concerns your interest ; I have heard the voice of the birds since I have been among you—by the voice, ’tis an evil bird ; let me caution you against listening to such reports. I am sorry to tell you I have heard, since I have been among you, evil things spoken of Governor Clinton and his treaty at Fort Stanwix. They are most unjust and unreasonable ; such as no good man could possibly report unless thro’ entire ignorance. Let me ask you, did he not repeatedly send the invitation belt, even to Buffalo Creek, and come himself all the way from New York to Fort Stanwix, and then wait many days and weeks in expectation of your arrival—and excused all this patience, too, out of regard for your good? How ungenerous is it to suggest the idea, as though the Governor chose a partial treaty. But you yourselves, my children, know whence these reports originated. Be careful therefore, how you reflect on those who have authority ; for all their transactions of a public nature must stand immovable, because the voice of the whole is in them. But the designs of evil minded persons, individuals, so soon as they come to light are blown away ; they cannot stand before the light and power of the chiefs, not a moment. Be patient, and harken to good counsel, and all your public concerns will, by and by, be adjusted to your satisfaction.

“To this I received their hearty thanks. The Indians appearing to be well satisfied and sufficiently informed, I concluded it was expedient for us to proceed further westward. I accordingly hired two Indians with their horses to make the more dispatch, to accompany me.

“21st. — Called at Taghuawade. (Tonawanda) a village about thirty miles on this side the Buffaloe. The chief man was not at home, but gone to Niagara; was informed that Mon'r DeBarge had passed this but two days, and in a drunken frolic of the Indians, had like to have been killed by the Infant, and another Indian belonging to this village.

“22d. — This evening reached Niagara, after a most fatiguing journey, having travelled two days and part of one night in the rain. I here found the Infant with his comrade; spent part of the evening with them.

“23d. — Waited on Col. Butler. In conversation with my friend, received every necessary information with respect to the state of the Indians, &c., &c., and the intelligence I received at Kanadasegea, relative to Mr. D.* and Col. M.'s† letter were well founded—without the least exaggeration. The Infant, however, was very soon dismissed and sent back, and advised to go on his hunt, till he should hear in the course of the winter, the result, of their chiefs.

“It was Col. B.'s opinion that if Government designed another treaty, on condition the one in January should fail, it would be more to the general satisfaction of the Indians, and less expensive to the State, to hold the treaty at Kanadasegea, or Buffalo Creek, than any other place,

*De Barge.

†McKinstry.

and that two or three commissioners would answer every purpose which the State could wish, for a general settlement with the Indians.

“Saturday, 25th.—Left Niagara for Buffalo Creek. Was advised to travel on the west side of the river, as some of the Buffalo Indians were expected to be on their way to Niagara, by way of Fort Erie, particularly the chief called Skendyoughwatti, and the second man of influence and character among the Senecas at the Buffalo. This man I was advised by all means to see and have conversation with.

“27th.—Met with the above mentioned chief near Fort Erie, with whom I had an agreeable conversation, and, I believe, to a very good purpose. Here detained several days, by not having a pass. Was obliged to hire an express all the way from this to Niagara, to procure one.

“31st.—Early this morning reached the capital village on the Buffalo. The chief sachem, called in English Farmers Brother, (alias Oghwaiyewas) immediately sent off runners to the Onondaga and Cayuga settlements, and assembled the Indians before noon, when I was introduced and delivered my message, and continued in council with a small number till near midnight. The Onondagas were desired by the Farmers Brother to attend again the next day, early in the morning. To remove some difficulties that seemed to be in the minds of the Indians, and some unreasonable reflections cast upon the treaty at Fort Stanwix as partial, I thought myself justified in making the following addition to the Governor’s invitation belt :

“SACHEMS AND WARRIORS :—Be assured that it was not

the Governor's intention to call a partial treaty in the month of January, while your chiefs and warriors were at Muskingam. He, and all others, expected their return from that treaty even by this time. His intention has always been for a general treaty, looking upon your prosperity and peace as one. 'Tis now two years since he has had this in mind and proposed it to the Governor of Massachusetts — which, had it taken place, would have prevented some partial (and what the Governor and his chiefs think as unjustifiable and wicked) treaties with individuals. You all know that his invitation belt reached your ears in this quarter more than once, calling you to his treaty at Fort Stanwix. Whose fault (was it) that a complete representation was not present?

“Nevertheless, my children, compose your minds and deliberate with care and an open mind. Be assured that the Governor of the State of New York is so concerned for a general adjustment of your affairs, and to secure you a permanent good, establishing your peace, and peace and good order among his subjects — on condition that your chiefs and warriors do not return from the southward by the month of January — be assured, he will meet you at any place you shall point out, from Albany to even Buffalo Creek, the next spring, or the beginning of summer. But your voice he expects certainly to hear.

“Nov. 1st.—The addition I presumed to make, with some little alterations as to time and place in the Governor's speech, united all the Onondagos in favor of government, and soon gave them the ascendancy in council. Several Cayugas expressed their approbation to some of the Onondagos, but had no voice in the pub-

lic council — their council fire being extinguished, according to ancient usage, by the late death of Segucayon, their chief. The ceremony of condolence must be performed before they can transact any national affairs.

“Towards evening, all matters were adjusted with great peace and unanimity, when the following speech was delivered to the Governor, with three strings, by the Farmers Brother, speaker :

“BROTHER, GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK — Let him attend :—We have now heard your voice ; we have, in reality, heard your voice, at this our own council fire on the Buffalo.

“Brother — You have made us fully acquainted with your just and good intentions respecting us in this quarter, and that you regard the ancient usages and covenants that have subsisted betwixt our forefathers for a long time — that your eye will be upon them in all your transactions of peace, and brightening the chain of friendship.

“Brother — We thank you that you have made us acquainted with your settlement with the Oneidas, and that you are so well pleased with it.

“Brother — Our minds were much divided respecting the Onondagos’ settlement with you at Fort Stanwix. At our first hearing of the voice of the birds, we were much surprised, as though you had not dealt openly and fairly with them, in negotiating with a small part of the nation.

“Brother — Our minds are composed, and we believe you will do right — that justice will mark all your steps, and all our national affairs of peace will be adjusted and settled in due time.

“ Brother, attend.— Your invitation string has reached our ear taking us by the hand and leading us to Albany in the middle of winter.

“ Brother — Possess your mind in peace ; a few of us only are left at home to watch the council fire. Our chiefs and warriors are gone a great distance on business which concerns our whole island. I mean the congressional treaty of Muskingum, where will be deputies from all the Indian nations.

“ Brother — If the Great Spirit shall be merciful to them and return them in peace to our council fire at this place, then all these matters shall be carefully laid before them, and with their result you shall be made acquainted. It may be they will deputise a number of young chiefs and warriors to meet you at Albany, agreeably to your proposal in the month of January. Perhaps they will not return seasonably from the Muskingum for this journey ; should it be otherwise, they will appoint a time and place to meet you.

“ Brother — The Cayogas are in darkness ; their chief, Tegacayon is no more !

“ Brother — This is all we we have to say.

(Three Strings.)

“ N. B.—This string is not to be considered as a return of the Invitation belt, but that he may know that we have heard his voice.

“ 3d, Monday.— About eight o'clock arrived at a village called Kanondaïough, or the Genesee west branch, about twelve miles north of Kalonghyatilough, the Spruce Carriers town. At the first mentioned village, resides a white man by the name of Thanangeghkon, taken prisoner when a boy, was married into a Cayuga

family. He has the entire command of this small village, and is much respected by the Indians. I thought it necessary to acquaint him with the state of things, and gain his influence. I accordingly related to him with some others, the Governor's message and their answer from Buffalo Creek. He expressed his entire approbation and returned me many thanks.

"From this I proposed to visit the Spruce Carrier, at Kalonghyadilough, but my horse began to fail me, and the travelling had become extremely bad.

"4th. — Lodged at the Governor's village. The chief, with all the warriors assembled in the evening, and desired to know what had taken place at Buffaloe Creek. I gave them a full and particular account of all that passed there. The Governess had set out for Niagara near a week before my arrival here, that I had not her aid in the council.

"5th. — Called at the Big Trees; the Little Beard not being at home, was requested to wait a few days for his return.

"12th. — The Big Tree, with a number of warriors, came to my lodgings, and after some conversation, addressed (me) as follows :

"'FATHER, ATTEND : — And hear my words, and after I have done, write them down with exactness, and send them to the persons to whom I shall speak. My speech is to the chiefs of the thirteen United States, assembled in Congress.

"'Brothers — Let them hear and attend : your brothers of the Six Nations are in much trouble and perplexity. We are drawn and pulled every way. Our peace is like to be broken ; councils and treaties are held here and

held there, and they speak different languages. The Bostonians will not be quieted with what we have agreed upon here ; they will not let people settle down peaceably upon lands we have leased them.

“ ‘Brothers — As you are the great council of the United States, we wish you to interpose betwixt the Bostonians and the New Yorkers, and exhort them to speedy settlement of their disputes about our lands which we have leased.

“ ‘Father — Give my compliments to Governor Clinton, and tell him I shall receive no more goods, nor money from Kanadasegea, till the disputes are settled, and I hear from him, and then I will take my share.

BIG TREE-KALAUDAWAREA,

Three Strings.’

“To the above, for the sake of the warriors present, I made the following reply :

“MY SON: — I may ask you if you are in earnest, in what you have now delivered for Congress? That you are ignorant of the ground of these disputes and different sentiments among yourselves, cannot possibly be. The Governor of New York hath expressly told you of a full and most amicable settlement betwixt his State and that of Massachusetts, with regard to pre-emption right, &c., and whose subjects have been disobedient.

“He here interrupted me with a smile, and said, ‘He did not care, that was no matter, let the speech go just as it was, with Big Tree’s compliments to Governor Clinton, and tell him he would receive no more money from Kanadasegea till he heard from him.’

“There is now a general expectation among the Indians that the Governor of the State of New York will

at all events hold a treaty with them the ensuing spring, if not effected this winter.

“25th. — Received a message from the Oneida chiefs, earnestly requesting a visit from me before I left those parts. Good Peter brought the letter and informed me of some uneasiness subsisting betwixt the warriors and their agents, at the treaty, and wished they might be immediately treated for the peace of the nation.

“Dec. 1st — Spent most of the day with Beech Tree Gahsaweda, Big Bear and others; towards evening parted with them.”

CHAPTER VI.

FARMERS BROTHER.

It would be an important omission not to notice the celebrated Seneca Chief, Farmers Brother, (Ho-na-ye-was) who after the death of Old King, (Guay-en-guah-doh,) became the most influential chief of the Senecas. He maintained this position up to the time of his death, in 1815.

He was a warrior and rose to distinction by his skill and bravery in war. He was the cotemporary of Corn Planter, perhaps a little his senior in years. He was in all the military enterprises of the Senecas.

The first public notice of him, as a warrior, is in connection with the massacre at the Niagara carrying place, in 1763, when it is said he led the Senecas. He was probably not over thirty years of age at that time, as it is said that expedition was gotten up by the young warriors; not being approved by the old men, and sachems. It is not unlikely that he and Corn Planter were both engaged in that expedition, as well as those of Cherry Valley and Wyoming, at a later period. The first notice of Farmers Brother, as an orator, was at a great council held at Niagara, in the spring of 1793, in relation to the hostilities then existing between the western Indians and the United States. No report of the speech of Farmers

Brother, delivered at this council, has been preserved, but it is spoken of as having been one of "great eloquence and power," occupying three hours in its delivery. It was in favor of peace. He also, in 1798, advocated a donation of lands to Messrs. Parish and Jones, the well known Indian interpreters. They had been taken prisoners in childhood, adopted by the Senecas, and now, as a mark of the interest and affection still entertained towards them, they wished to grant each of them a tract of land. The policy as well as the laws of the State were against these donations. Hence, this speech is addressed to the sachems and chiefs assembled about the great council fire of the State of New York, by the sachems, chiefs and warriors of the Seneca nation :

"BROTHERS :— As you are once more assembled in council, for the purpose of doing honor to yourselves and justice to your country, we, your brothers—the sachems, chiefs and warriors of the Seneca nation—request you to open your ears and give attention to our voice and wishes

"Brothers— You will recollect the late contest between you and your father, the Great King of England. This contest threw the inhabitants of this whole island into a great tumult and commotion, like the raging whirl-wind which tears up the trees and tosses to and fro the leaves, so that no one knows from whence they come or where they will fall.

"Brothers— This whirl-wind was so directed by the Great Spirit above, as to throw into our arms two of your infant children, Jasper Parrish and Horatio Jones. We adopted them into our families, and made them our children. We loved them and nourished them. They

lived with us many years. Again the Great Spirit spoke to the whirlwind, and it was still. A clear and uninterrupted sky appeared. The path of peace was opened, and the chain of friendship was again made bright. Then these adopted children left us to seek their relations. We wished them to return among us, and promised, if they would return and live in our country, to give each of them a seat of land for them and their children to sit down upon.

“Brothers — They have returned, and have for several years past been serviceable to us as interpreters. We still feel our hearts beat with affection for them, and now wish to fulfill the promise we made them, and to reward them for their services. We have, therefore, made up our minds to give them a seat of two square miles of land, lying on the outlet of Lake Erie, about three miles below Black Rock, beginning at the mouth of a creek known by the name of the Scoy-gu-quoy-des Creek, running one mile from the River Niagara up said creek; thence northerly, as the river runs, two miles; thence westerly one mile, to the river; thence up the river, as the river runs, two miles to the place of beginning, so as to contain two square miles.

“Brothers — We have now made known to you our minds. We expect, and earnestly request, that you will permit our friends to receive this our gift, and will make the same good to them, according to the laws and customs of your nation.

“Brothers — Why should you hesitate to make our minds easy in regard to this our request? To you it is but a little thing. And have you not complied with the request and confirmed the gift of the Oneidas, the Onon-

dagas and Cayugas, to their interpreters? And shall we ask and not be heard?

“Brothers — We send you this our speech, to which we expect your answer before the breaking up of your great council fire.” * *

“This brief speech has been uniformly regarded as one of the most interesting specimens of Indian eloquence, from its boldness of figure. The gentleman who wrote down the transaction at the time, in furnishing it for publication, remarked, in a note to the editor, that for one expression, Longinus would have given him credit for the truly sublime — ‘The Great Spirit spoke to the whirl-wind, and it was still.’” *

Farmers Brother was a man of commanding presence, and as he practiced abstinence from intoxicating drinks during his whole life, he escaped, in a great measure, the marks of decay and infirmity that were so visible in others of his race. He was pre-eminent in all the characteristics that could give him influence over his people. He was brave and skillful in war, wise and eloquent in council. His ambition ran in a different channel from that of either Cornplanter or Red Jacket. Always dignified, self-possessed, he was looked up to as a safe counselor, and not only enjoyed the confidence and respect, but the love of his people.

Mary Jemison, the white woman, says that it was by the advice and influence of Farmers Brother that she married her second husband, with whom she lived in great harmony and love many years, and until his death.

Farmers Brother is remembered by our older inhabitants

* Stone's Life and Times of Red Jacket.

ants as a man of high character and commanding influence. His voice has rung through our streets, as he called his chiefs and warriors to council, in tones never to be forgotten. One of our own citizens,* now deceased, thus speaks of him:

“He was every way a great man—truly one of nature’s noblemen—

* * * “‘The front of Jove himself;
An eye like Mars, to threaten and command
A station like the herald Mercury.’

“None who ever saw him, will fail to recollect his majestic mien and princely bearing; much less will they who have heard him in council, forget the power and deep-toned melody of his voice—his natural and impressive gestures, and the unaffected but commanding dignity of his manner—unrivalled as a warrior, and only equalled by Red Jacket in eloquence. Speaking in the verity of sober prose, it may be said that he was—

“‘A combination and a form, indeed,
* * * * *
To give the world assurance of a man.’

“With such attributes, it is not surprising that his influence with his nation, though its form of government is essentially democratic, was controlling; nor is it less to his true glory that his open-heartedness, his fidelity to truth, and his generous magnanimity, secured for him the admiration and esteem of every white person who had the honor of his acquaintance.”

*Hon. A. H. Tracy—See Stone’s Life of Red Jacket,

It was principally through the influence of Farmers Brother, that Mary Jemison, the white woman was confirmed in her title to the lands at Guardeau, on the Genesee River, the grant being opposed by Red Jacket.

After the battle of Lundy's Lane, in which several of the American officers were wounded, among them Capt. (afterwards General) Worth, severely, he was removed to Buffalo, where he lay confined to his bed for a long time. The Indians, with whom Capt. Worth had become a favorite, visited his quarters frequently, manifesting the greatest solicitude in regard to his recovery. None were more attentive and kind than Farmers Brother, spending, it is said, some hours almost every day at his bedside.

It was during this confinement of Capt. Worth that a British Indian came over from Canada, professing to have deserted, with a design to join the Americans. He remained some time, mingling freely with the Senecas, not entirely without suspicion, however, of the truth of his professions. One day, the Indians having indulged rather freely in drinking, the warriors, becoming excited, recounted their warlike exploits, boasting of the number of scalps they had taken, or how many British red-coats and Indians they had killed, when the pretended deserter, forgetting for the moment the character he had assumed, held up his fingers to indicate the number of Yankee soldiers and Indians he had killed, which roused the blood of the Seneca warriors to the highest pitch of exasperation against the revealed enemy and spy who stood in their midst. Farmers Brother, who was at the bedside of Capt. Worth, near by, immediately repaired to the spot. Being confronted by the stern, piercing eye

of the stalwart chief, the pretended deserter confessed himself a spy. The warriors demanded his immediate execution. Some of the leading citizens, attracted to the spot, advised a delay, but the Indians were clamorous; and, although their chief hesitated, it was thought best by both the military and civil authorities, that the Indians should be allowed to dispose of the matter in their own way. While these discussions were being held, the culprit had taken advantage of the circumstances, and walked some distance away without being noticed. No sooner than this was observed by Farmers Brother than his stentorian voice brought him to a stand, and he returned and submitted to his fate with the calm stoicism of a philosopher.

This execution took place upon the east side of Main street, a little below Swan street. The buildings having been burned, most of the lots remained vacant.

This tragical event occurred only a few days after the battles of Chippewa and Lundy's Lane. The public mind was so occupied with these events that very little notice was taken of this Indian execution.

The Buffalo Gazette of August 2d, 1814, contains the following short notice of the event:

"A British Indian was detected, on Sunday last, in the village of Buffalo, as a spy. On being examined, he confessed his crime, and was immediately executed by our Indians."

The following notice of this event, taken from a paper furnished the Buffalo Historical Society by Gen. Asa Warren, who was an eye-witness, may be relied upon:

"For two months from July 25th, 1814, I was a subaltern officer stationed at Buffalo and Black Rock.

During this time, I was passing, one day, near night, from Black Rock to Aurora. As I came into Main street, (in Buffalo) I saw a crowd gathered, and on coming to the place, I saw a number of Indian chiefs of the Seneca nation whom I knew—Farmers Brother, Pollard, Young King, Major Berry, and others whom I do not now recollect. They appeared to be in consultation, and I inquired of a bystander the cause. He pointed me to an Indian who was on trial as a spy from Canada, and who had been boasting during the day, in the village, (of Buffalo) how many scalps he had taken from our people and Indians. The Indian lay near the wall of one of the burnt buildings, on his right side, and his left arm covering his face and eyes. Soon a gun was handed to Farmers Brother, who deliberately walked to him, putting the muzzle of the gun near the region of the heart, shot him dead. The young men of the nation soon took him from the place.”

The Senecas were organized and entered the military service of the United States during the war of 1812—Farmers Brother being commissioned as their leader, with other chiefs as his subordinates—and they did excellent service; and, although Farmers Brother was at that time above eighty years of age, he took the field with all the spirit and vigor of a young warrior.

At one time during the war, when an attempt was made by the British to cross the river at Black Rock and they were driven back, Farmers Brother was seen to wade into the water up to his arm-pits, to get a good shot at the retreating foe.

He died March 2d, 1815, and was interred with military honors in the old burying ground, between Franklin

and Delaware streets, now occupied by the city buildings. When the remains were removed from those grounds to Forest Lawn, those of Farmers Brother were recognized by the mark upon the lid of his coffin, and removed with the rest, where no monument marks the resting place of "one of nature's noblemen," a great and brave man.

At the beginning of the war, fears were entertained lest the influence of the British, which had controlled the Senecas long after the close of the Revolutionary war, should induce the Indians to take sides with their old friends and allies. To allay this feeling, Mr. Granger, who was then Indian Agent, held a council with them; the following is his report of the result furnished for the Buffalo Gazette:

"TO THE EDITORS OF THE BUFFALO GAZETTE.

"GENTLEMEN:—I have this day been in council with the principal chiefs and warriors of the Six Nations of Indians, and I find them as heretofore, determined to remain at peace with the United States. Their professions of friendship towards us are strong, and I believe them sincere. I cannot discover any cause the people have to apprehend any danger from the Indians in this quarter, and do recommend it to the inhabitants, not to leave their homes on account of any supposed danger or injury they are apprehensive of receiving from the Indians.

"ERASTUS GRANGER.

"Indian Agent."

"Buffalo, June 29th, 1812."

The following speech of Farmers Brother, delivered at

a council held at Buffalo Creek, in December, 1812, is certified by Hon. Erastus Granger. It was signed by all the principal chiefs and forwarded to the Secretary of War at Washington :

‘TO THE HON. WILLIAM EUSTIS, SECRETARY OF WAR :

“The Sachems and chief warriors of the Seneca nation of Indians, understanding you are the person appointed by the Great Council of your nation, to manage and conduct the affairs of the several nations of Indians with whom you are at peace and on terms of friendship, come at this time as children to a father, to lay before you the trouble we have on our minds.

“BROTHER :— We do not think it best to multiply words ; we will therefore tell you what our complaint is :

“Brother — Listen to what we say. Some years since we held a treaty at Big Tree, Genesee River. This treaty was called by our Great Father, the President of the United States. He sent an agent, Col. Wadsworth, to attend this treaty, for the purpose of advising us in the business, and seeing that we had justice done us. At this treaty we sold to Robert Morris, the greatest part of our country. The sum he gave us was ten thousand dollars. The commissioners who were appointed on your part, advised us to place this money in the hands of our Great Father, the President of the United States. He told us our Great Father loved his children, and would take care of our money, and plant it in a field where it would bear seed forever — as long as trees grow, or waters run. Our money has heretofore been of great service to us ; it has helped us to support our old people, our women and children ; but we are told the field where our money is planted is become barren.

“Brother — We do not understand your way of doing business. This thing is very heavy on our minds. We mean to hold our brethren of the United States by the hand, but this weight lies heavy ; we hope you will remove it. We have heard of the bad conduct of our brothers, towards the setting sun. We are sorry for what they have done, but you must not blame us ; we have had no hand in this bad business. They have bad people among them. It is your enemies have done this. We have persuaded our agent to take this talk to your Great Council. He knows our situation and will speak our minds.”

This was subscribed by about twenty chiefs, and an appropriation of eight thousand dollars was made to pay the arrears due the Indians for dividends upon the United States Bank shares, held by the President of the United States in trust for the Seneca Nation.

It is well-known that after the peace with Great Britain, in 1783, there was a strong party in favor of extirpating the Indians, or at least driving them out of the State. Gen. Washington did not sympathize with this feeling, but recommended a more humane policy.

In this he was seconded by several influential men in this State, and elsewhere, and his policy at length prevailed. In an interview with a deputation of the Senecas, President Washington addressed them in a speech, in which he recommended the Indians to forsake war and hunting, and live in peace and turn to the cultivation of the soil as a means of subsistence. He urged it upon them by saying that he himself was a farmer. He addressed himself to Ho-na-ya-was in particular, calling him brother. Washington was called “the great farmer,” and Ho-na-ya-was was his “brother ;” hence the name, “Farmers Brother.”

Farmers Brother died March 2d, 1815, at the Seneca Indian village, on Buffalo Creek, at the age of ninety-six years, and his body was buried with military honors in the old burial ground in the then village of Buffalo, the 5th Regiment United States Infantry, then stationed at Buffalo, performing the service on the occasion. It is said to have been the largest funeral procession that had ever been witnessed in Buffalo, up to that time. When all the remains were removed from the "old burying ground" to Forest Lawn, in 1851, the grave of Farmers Brother was recognized by the mark upon the lid of the coffin, which remained perfectly distinct. The figure of a heart enclosing the letters "F. B." made with brass nails driven into the wood; this was preserved, and buried with the remains in a grave separate from the mass of those that were unknown, which were buried in one general grave, and it remains to some future generation of his white brothers to erect a suitable monument to the memory of one who was distinguished in life, honored in death, and the remembrance of whose high and noble traits of character are still cherished in the recollection of the few now living, who knew and appreciated a truly great man—whom Washington delighted to call his "Brother."

After the death of Farmers Brother, the most considerable of the chiefs of the Senecas was Capt. Pollard, (or Kaoundowana). He was a warrior of distinction and is known to have been present at the battle of Wyoming, and Cherry Valley. He was a cotemporary of Farmers Brother, though something younger. His name is historic from its connection with that of an English trader of distinction.

Mr. Edward Pollard came out from England to this country about 1760. He appears to have been a man of business, and with his first shipment of goods for the Indian trade he brought out several young men with him — some to be engaged in his service, and others to seek their fortunes in other pursuits.

One of the young men in Mr. Pollard's employ was Mr. F. Goring. It appears from letters of Mr. Goring to Mr. Pollard, preserved by the Historical Society of St. Catherines, C. W., that Edward Pollard was not only the father of "Capt. Pollard," by a Seneca woman, but that he also had at least three children by the celebrated Catharine Montour.

In a letter of Mr. Goring to Mr. Edward Pollard, dated at Niagara, Sept. 12th, 1779, is the following passage* :

"Yesterday Capt. Powell came in from Canawagoris, where he left Col. Butler, two days before, in perfect health and spirits. He informs me their first attack with the rebels was about fifteen miles from Shimargo, where Col. Butler made a breast-work, which the rebels observed, and with two six, and four three, pounders, and small mortars, in half an hour obliged Col. Butler to retreat. On the same day, a few miles from this, Col. Butler attempted again to stop them, but in vain. In this attack, the Col. lost four Rangers killed, two taken prisoners, and seven wounded ; three Senecas and one Cayuga killed. Your son, John Montour, (not Roland) was shot in the back, and the ball lodges in him ; however, he is likely to do well ; for, in a few days after, he,

* See Appendix No. 5.

with twenty Indians, stopped the pass of the advance guard of the rebels, which was upwards of one thousand, and obliged them to retreat. In this action, Col. Butler and all his people were surrounded, and very near being taken prisoners."

It will be remembered that Roland and John Montour, two sons of Catharine Montour, commanded the party that captured the Gilbert family, as has been already related, in 1780.

It seems that in 1774, Mr. Edward Pollard was in correspondence with Messrs. Phyn and Ellice, merchants of Schenectady ; and in their letter, addressed to him at Niagara, dated August 15th, 1774, they say : .

"As to your sons, we fear they have not been so forward in learning this year as we expected, owing to two causes that could not be foreseen. We intended sending them to the Jerseys last fall, if Mr. Parton, the clergyman at Trenton, had wrote in time. We then deferred it, because of Mr. Doty's coming here, who is really a good and careful master. * * John is now under preparation for the small-pox."

And under date of Sept. 25th, 1774, they say :

"Agreeable to our last, your sons went to Albany in the morning, on their way to New York. Mr. Ramsy, of that city, is to put them to school in Elizabethtown. John had the small-pox favorably, and is perfectly recovered."

Under date of Dec. 28th, 1774, they write :

"Your children were well the 17th, when Mr. Ellice left New York." June, 1775—"Your sons at Elizabethtown were well last week." December, 1775.—"Your

sons were well when I was in New York, although I did not see them."

It is evident that these were the two sons of Catharine Montour, who it would seem were sent to Schenectady to school, prior to 1774, and remained at school at least up to 1776.

It would seem that in March, 1780, Mr. Pollard had returned to England as we find a letter written by him to Mr. Goring, dated London 27th March, 1780 in which he says :

"By this conveyance I send Mr. Douglass to assist you. He supplies the place of Mr. Hamilton, who leaves you in June. He is recommended as a very worthy young man and dare say you will find him a good help-mate."

In the correspondence of the house of Phyn and Ellice, deposited with the Buffalo Historical Society by John T. Hudson; Esq., Mr. Pollard is spoken of under date of December, 1767, as a "sutler at Niagara," and from that correspondence extending through a period of eight or nine years, we learn that he had a wife and children at Niagara. He it would seem from that correspondence became pecuniarily embarrassed in his circumstances and left the country probably before Sullivan's expedition in 1779. Whether his family accompanied him does not appear. That he had other children than those by Catherine Montour is certain. Edward and Robert were at school in Schenectady and his daughter Nancy, in New York, in 1772.

A young man of the name of Pollard was admitted to

Episcopal orders, in Canada before 1800, is remembered by the oldest residents now living.

The following is the copy of a letter written by Mr. Pollard to Mr. Goring, to whom the business at Niagara appears to have been transferred :

“LONDON, 27th March, 1780.

“MR. GORING:—Inclosed you'll receive a letter from your uncle. I am sorry for the misfortunes that happened your family. We must have resignation to bear up against such tribulations.

“I acquainted you from Canada of the uncertainty of my going into business, nor can I determine on this matter till the fall, as it must depend upon the situation of things in your quarter, and the commissions I may have from thence. If the trade is safe and open, I shall wish to have you home next year; till then, I should have you remain where you are.

“By this conveyance I send Mr. Douglass to assist you. He supplies Mr. Hamilton's place, who leaves you in June. He is recommended as a very worthy young man, and I dare say you will find him a good helpmate.

“For news, I refer you to Mr. Garner, my nephew, and the papers, for news from this part. I send out Mr. Garner, in hopes of his making something at Niagara. I wish him to go into the house kept by Mr. Clarke, the managing of which you can best inform him, and hope your good offices will not be wanting in promoting his interest.

“My sons Edward and Robert will be at Niagara this season. I hope you’ll all be happy. I shall expect from you all that’s worth notice in the upper country. I have the pleasure to acquaint you that we are all well. The bearer will tell you where we are and shall be, and believe me to be, with wishing you every happiness,

“Your Friend,

“EDWARD POLLARD.”

“MR. GORING.”

CHAPTER VII.

Our history now approaches the period when Buffalo began to emerge from savage to civilized rule. The following is the description of a visitor in 1792.

"We arrived at the mouth of Buffalo Creek the next morning. There was but one white man there. I think his name was Winney, an Indian trader. His building stood first as you descend from the high ground. He had rum, whiskey, Indian knives, trinkets, &c. His house was full of Indians. They looked at us with a good deal of curiosity. We had but a poor night's rest. The Indians were in and out all night, getting liquor."*

If the following statement is correct, there was no other white settler here until three or four years after this date.

Mr. Oliver Culver joined the company of surveyors and settlers bound to the newly purchased Connecticut lands in Ohio, at Irondequot Landing, in 1796.

The company had come by water, and were coasting along the south shore of Lake Ontario. On arriving at Queenston, they took their boats over the portage, proceeded up the river to Buffalo Creek, "and coasted along the south shore of Lake Erie, finding no white inhabitant after they left the mouth of Buffalo Creek,

*Mr. Hinds Chamberlin—Turner's Holland Purchase.

where there was one solitary family, until they reached Erie, where they found Col. Seth Reed."

It would seem, however, that Mr. Chamberlin must have been mistaken, as Judge Porter speaks of three houses in 1795, "Johnston's, Winney's and a Dutchman of the name of Middaugh." The latter occupied a house on Johnston's lot, near Exchange street, as we learn from other sources than those already quoted. Middaugh came from the North River to Lewiston, soon after the Mohawks removed from there to the Grand River, in Canada. There were two brothers of that name; they occupied one of the old houses left by the Mohawks at Lewiston, and kept a kind of tavern there. From there they removed to Chippawa, in Canada, and from thence Michael Middaugh removed to Buffalo, his brother remaining in Canada.

John Palmer, built his house here before 1795, according to Laincourt, who spent a night under his "inhospitable roof." There were some other residents here at that time, as according to his statement, "milk was procured from the neighbors." Palmer was undoubtedly the first inn-keeper in Buffalo. He came here from Fort Erie, as an Indian trader, when the principal article of trade consisted of rum and whiskey. He remained in Buffalo until 1802, as it appears from the public records, that the road was recorded as leading "from Batavia to the mouth of Buffalo Creek, near John Palmer's house." He was appointed one of the seven path masters, west of Genesee River, in 1801. He removed from Buffalo about the time of the first survey by the Holland Land Company. His wife was a daughter of Lewis Maybee, who resided a few miles below Black Rock, on the

Canada side of the River—a brother of Sylvanus or Sulphenus Maybee, who was an early settler in Buffalo. After the death of his first wife, which took place in Buffalo, Palmer married another daughter of Maybee, a sister of his first wife, with whom he lived until he removed to Fort Erie. After Palmer's death, his wife surviving him, went to live with her father, and kept what was long known as Mother Palmer's Tavern, five or six miles below Fort Erie, on the Niagara River. It is believed the property is still in the hands of the family.

The following letter to Mr. Ellicott, was written by a brother of John Palmer, who resided with him at the time, and not by the "worthy tavern-keeper" himself, as stated by Turner, in his "Holland Purchase:"

"BUFFALO, 11 August, 1801.

"SIR:—The inhabitants of this place would take it as a particular favor if you would grant them the liberty of raising a school house on a lot in any part of the town, as the New York Missionary Society have been so good as to furnish them with a school-master, clear of any expense, except boarding and finding him a school house—if you will be so good as to grant them this favor, which they will take as a particular mark of esteem.

"By request of the inhabitants.

"JOS. R. PALMER.

"JOS. ELLICOTT, Esq."

"N. B.—Your answer to this would be very acceptable, as they have the timber ready to hew out."

This was undoubtedly the first movement in relation to schools in this city, and speaks well for the few "in-

habitants" here at that early day. This application was promptly complied with on the part of Mr. Ellicott, as we find an entry in his journal, under date of August 14th, 1801, of which the following is a copy :

"Went to Buffalo, alias New Amsterdam, to lay off a lot for a school house, the inhabitants offering to erect one at their own expense."

This school-house was erected on the ground near where the present dwelling of Mrs. Henry R. Seymour now stands, on Pearl street, which was then covered with oak trees, and shrubs, weeds and winter-greens. It was, when surveyed in 1803, included in Inner Lot No. 73. The school-house stood until Buffalo was burned, in the war of 1812-13. Application was made, under the law of Congress allowing compensation to the sufferers on the Niagara frontier, and an appropriation was made for the payment of seven hundred dollars to the school district; but, in the mean time, the district had been divided, and a controversy arose as to the distribution of the money, which ended in a protracted law suit that absorbed the entire appropriation in costs.

The name of young Palmer was Joseph Richards Palmer, and, it is said, he taught a school at Fort Erie for the children of the garrison. He died in Buffalo in 1813.

The following letter, written to John Palmer by Mr. Ellicott, is among the Holland Land Company's papers, deposited with the Buffalo Historical Society :

COPY OF A LETTER FROM MR. ELLICOTT TO JOHN PALMER.

"PINE GROVE, May 4th, 1801.

"MR. JOHN PALMER, Buffalo :

"SIR :—Should there be any of our batteaux intrusted to your especial care the fore part of the winter, 1799, now in your possession, I have to request of you, in consequence of the almost continued demand we have for one, that you will deliver it to Mr. Asa Ransom.

"Should you, however, have disposed of them, or should they not be in your possession, or so situated that they are not to be had, please to pay him the amount your were authorized to receive for them, being twelve dollars apiece. We can then procure one for ourselves. His receipt for thirty-six dollars shall be your discharge. Your compliance will oblige

"Yours, to serve,

"JOSEPH ELLICOTT."

The following is Duke de Rochefocauld Laincourt's (a French nobleman) description of Buffalo in 1795 :

"We at length arrived at the post on Lake Erie, which is a small collection of four or five houses, built about a quarter of a mile from the Lake.

"We met some Indians on the road, and two or three companies of whites. This encounter gave us great pleasure. In this vast wilderness, a fire still burning, the vestiges of a camp, the remains of some utensil that has served a traveller, excite sensations truly agreeable, and which arise only in these immense solitudes.

"We arrived late at the inn, and after a very indifferent supper, we were obliged to lie upon the floor in our

clothes. There was literally nothing in the house; neither furniture, rum, candles nor milk. After much trouble, the milk was procured from the neighbors, who were not as accommodating in the way of rum and candles. At length, some arriving from the other side of the river, (Fort Erie) we seasoned our supper with an appetite that seldom fails; and, after passing a very comfortable evening, slept as soundly as we had done in the woods.

“Everything at Lake Erie—by which name this collection of houses is called—is dearer than at any other place we visited, for the simple reason that there is no direct communication with any other point.

“Some were sick with fever in almost every house.”

Judge Augustus Porter passed through Buffalo, on his way to Presque Isle, (Erie) in 1795. The following remarks are taken from a paper prepared by him, at the request of a committee of the Buffalo Young Men's Association, and deposited in the archives of that society:

“We traveled on horse-back from Canawagas (now Avon) to Buffalo, and were two days in performing the journey. At Buffalo there lived a man of the name of Johnstone, the British Indian interpreter; also, a Dutchman and his family, of the name of Middaugh, and an Indian trader by the name of Winne.”

As Judge Porter merely passed through Buffalo, at this time, on horse-back, apparently without stopping, it is not likely he mentions all the houses then erected.

Michael Middaugh, and his son-in-law, Ezekiel Lane, came to Buffalo from Canada, probably in 1794-5, and

built a house upon Johnston's land, by his permission, near what is now the corner of Washington and Exchange streets—east of Washington and north of Exchange. This house they gave up to the Holland Land Company's surveyors in 1798. It is believed Michael Middaugh had no male descendants, and that the name became extinct, so far as this locality is concerned, at his death. Lane had several daughters, who are remembered by our early inhabitants.

After leaving the "double log house," on Johnston's lot, Middaugh "squatted" upon the south side of Buffalo Creek, above the foot of Main street, probably by permission of Mr. Ellicott, where he remained until his death, in 1825.

The descendants of Ezekiel Lane claimed the land upon which Middaugh lived, on the west side of the Creek; and their contest with the heirs of Mr. Ellicott, or those who claimed to be the legal owners, gave rise to what was known as the "Middaugh land suit," which occupied our courts for many years, and was finally decided adversely to the heirs of Middaugh.

Some circumstances attending the death of Middaugh, led to an investigation by a coronor's jury, but no facts were developed to show that his death was attributable to any but natural causes.

Sylvanus Maybee came to Buffalo as an Indian trader, in 1796 or 7. He is said to have "kept a little Indian store, in a log building on the west side of Main street, about twenty rods north of (the line of) Exchange street." He bought Inner Lot, No. 35, in 1804, which is probably where he located himself at the time he is said to have kept a little "Indian store."

Maybee came from Canada here, and it is probable that the Maybees, of whom there were two families, came from the Mohawk Valley, with others who adhered to the Royalist party. Sylvanus Maybee did not remain long at Buffalo Creek, but removed to the mouth of Cattaraugus Creek, soon after 1800. James McMahan took the deed of Inner Lot, No. 35, which Maybee took up soon after the survey of New Amsterdam was completed.

Black Joe, a colored man, was an early resident at Buffalo Creek. His house, or cabin, stood near the bank of the Little Buffalo Creek, a little west of Winney's. He had an Indian wife by whom he had children. A son of his was killed in the war of 1812. He spoke the Seneca language extremely well, and was frequently employed as an interpreter. Nothing is known of his early history, but he was supposed to be a runaway slave, as great numbers were held in the State of New York at that period. Joe removed to the Cattaraugus Creek Reservation, where he died at a very advanced age. It is believed that none of his descendants are now living.

Mr. Asa Ransom appears to have settled in Buffalo, in 1798. He had emigrated from Sheffield, Massachusetts, in 1789, and established himself at Kanadesagea, (Geneva), where he had a shop "and was engaged in manufacturing Indian trinkets." He could not have remained long in Buffalo, for in 1799, he appears to have been one of three persons who accepted of Mr. Ellicott's offer of a liberal donation of land to seven persons who would agree to open houses of entertainment for travellers at their several locations, "about ten miles asunder," "on the road from the Eastern Transit, to Buffalo Creek." Mr.

Ransom located himself, September 1st, 1799, on one hundred and fifty acres in township, No. Twelve, range six, at what is known as "Ransom's Grove," or Clarence Hollow.

The surveyors of the Holland Land Company made their head quarters at Ransom's, and it was a noted stopping place for emigrants passing from the States to Canada, which constituted the principal travel at this early period.

Turner says:

"As soon as Ransom had built his house at Pine Grove, Mr. Ellicott made it his head quarters. * * His appointment as local agent, took effect October 1st, 1800, at which time he commenced sales of land—a portion of Mr. Ransom's house being appropriated for his office, and Mr. James W. Stevens, whom he had brought on from Philadelphia, for that purpose, acted as his clerk; Mr. Brisbane, occasionally acting in that capacity, though his duties were mostly at the Transit store-house,"*

A daughter of Col. Asa Ransom, was born while the family resided in Buffalo, and is supposed to be the first white child born here. She became the wife of F. B. Merrill, Esq., who was an early clerk of Niagara county.

Col. Asa Ransom was for many years a very active, enterprising and influential citizen. He was sheriff of the county before the division of Niagara, and died in 1837, aged seventy years, universally respected, leaving a large family of children.

He had two brothers who accompanied, or soon fol-

*History of the Holland Purchase, page 448.

lowed him into this region. Elias Ransom, built a frame house about seven miles east of Buffalo on the Batavia road, about 1800, probably the first frame building west of Batavia; it is said he built the first frame barn, and set out the first orchard, upon the Holland Purchase. He subsequently came to reside in Buffalo. His descendants are also numerous. He died in this city.

His daughter married Samuel Street, Esq., of the firm of Clark & Street, at Niagara Falls, Canada West, in 1811.

Amasa Ransom, another brother, settled in Buffalo at a later period. He resided upon Seneca street, East of Ellicott street. He had a large family of children, some of whom still survive. Mr. A. R. Ransom, of this city, is a son.

Wm. Robbins had established himself as a blacksmith in Buffalo, as early as 1798. His name also appears as the purchaser of a lot in New Amsterdam, with others, in 1804. According to the statement of David Mather, he had a blacksmith-shop on the west side of Main street, in 1806.

The venerable Wm. Peacock, of Mayville, now living, in a recent letter to the author, says he passed through Buffalo on horse-back, on his way to Chatauque, in 1799.

"The Indian path passed down to Buffalo Creek about the middle of Main street, to the Terrace, on which was erected a log cabin, or house, covered with bark, and occupied by Johnson, a descendent of Sir Wm. Johnson.

"A little above where the Liberty Pole now stands, and on the bank of Little Buffalo Creek, now part of the Erie Canal, there was erected a log cabin, about twelve

feet square, covered with bark, and standing about in the centre of Main street. It was occupied by a Mr. Palmer, a young man, and was his store-house, where he vended his small stock of Indian goods.

“In passing down along the Indian path, (now Main street) to the Terrace, the land was covered with a very thick underbrush, small timber, and some large old oak trees; and the underbrush and small timber so overshadowed the path that, when our saddle-bags touched a bush, we would be completely drenched with rain after a shower.

“There was a little cleared spot on the Terrace bank on which is now erected the Western Hotel. That little spot was covered with a green sward, on which the Indians, on a fine day, would lie and look off from the high Terrace upon Lake Erie; and I must say that, to me, it was one of the most beautiful views I ever put my eyes upon. Coming out of the woods, it burst on my vision the large and beautiful sheet of pure water, Lake Erie; and there I offered up my prayers to God, the creator of all things, and to that Providence which guarded and protected me, young as I was—being then only nineteen years of age.

“It made an impression on me that will always remain, with most devout and religious remembrance.”

The arrival of the Holland Land Company's surveyors at Buffalo Creek was in the fall of 1798. The outfit of the party, so far as related to the scientific instruments required by the surveyors, was obtained from the firm of Rittenhouse & Potts, of Philadelphia—the celebrated David Rittenhouse being the senior partner of the firm at that time.

Everything was of the best quality. Ax-men, chain-men, pack-horses, provisions, &c., &c., were to be procured in Ontario county; many of them were purchased at Canandaigua.

The employees were numerous, and were distributed over the territory to be surveyed, from Genesee to Chautauqua. Those designated for Buffalo were Messrs. Pease, Smedley and Eggleston.

Mr. Pease was the brother-in-law of Mr. Gideon Granger, Postmaster-General under Mr. Jefferson. In a letter of Mr. Eggleston to Mr. Ellicott, dated Buffalo Creek, June 27th, 1798, he says:

“The goods have arrived, and the family in the house on the hill are about to move out, to make room for the surveyors.”

Among the surveyors employed by Mr. Ellicott were two Frenchmen — Messrs. Haudecour and Autrechy. The former of these gentlemen, though not of the party stationed at Buffalo Creek, was on a visit here on their first arrival, in 1798; and the following is Mr. Eggleston's letter to Mr. Ellicott, reporting a collision between himself and Mons. Haudecour:

“BUFFALO CREEK, Nov. 22, 1798.

“JOSEPH ELLICOTT, ESQ.:

“Yesterday, the 20th, about noon, Mr. Brown and myself walked out and staid a little longer than common dinner time. When we came back, we found that Haudecour had been swearing to (at) the cook for not setting the table before we returned. I then came into the office, took up my pen, and began to write an order. Haudecour then began with me—he being a little vexed,

on account of my having sent on his mattrass by the wagon, and other little disputes—and at the time of my writing, he put me out with his talking. I told him to go to —, and not to be bothering me. With this he gave me a slap on the side of my face, and I turned the other side to him. He struck it a full stroke with his fist; I then perceived that he was in earnest. I caught up the first thing I could see, which happened to be a long walking stick. I retreated back so that I could get a good chance, and I let slip, which hit him on the head with the but end. He came up to me again; by that time I was fast in the corner of the office, without any kind of weapon to defend myself with, for Mr. Peas had taken the stick from me, and was trying to part us. While the rascal was kicking me with all his might into my body, Mr. Brown stepped up and we were soon parted. It happened very well for Haudecour, that none of our men were in the house at the time that the affray happened. This he was well apprised of, for before he offered to strike me, he looked into the kitchen to see if any of them were there. He afterwards paid for it. The business soon got wind, and the hands that were at work in the neighborhood, came in. The old fellow was soon hustled out of the house, and he marched over to Palmer's. There was not one in the party that did not want to get the first stroke at him. I told them not to strike him, but let him go about his business. The letters you gave me for him when you went from here, I never have copied, on account of his coming in so quick after you went out. When he saw the letter lying on the table, he took it up and has since detained, though I have often asked him for it, in hearing of Mr. Pease, and he

has as often promised me that he would let me have it, bye and bye; but God knows he has done nothing since he came from Schlosser, only wasting paper. He says he will give you the letter when he gets to your quarters. Mr. Brown was witness to the business.

“I am, sir, with the greatest respect,

“Your obedient servant,

“GEORGE EGLESTON.”

Haudecour did not remain long in the employment of the Holland Land Company. Indeed, it would appear that he and his associate, Mons. Autrechy, were engaged at Schlosser and the Falls, making surveys and taking levels for ascertaining the practicability of a canal around the Falls. It is to this that Mr. Maud probably alludes in the quotation already made from his journal.

William Johnston, may be considered the first land owner in Buffalo. He had been employed in the British service, in what was termed the “Indian Department,” from the first breaking out of the Revolutionary War. Upon the final surrender of Fort Niagara to the Americans, in 1794, and consequent extinguishment of British rule over the Indians, instead of withdrawing with the rest of the British officers, he chose to remain with the Indians, with whom he had become identified by the strongest of ties known to our nature. He was in fact the leading man at Buffalo Creek, at the time of the survey and settlement of Buffalo. He was respected by the early white inhabitants, as well as by the Indians, and died in 1807, at the age of about sixty-five years. His son John, or Jack, as he was familiarly called, survived him and inherited his property here, and incumbered it by a

mortgage to Jasper Parrish, as agent and trustee for the Cayuga Nation. It was advertised and sold under the mortgage in 1811. John Johnston married Ruth Barker, the daughter of Judge Zenas Barker, in 1808 or 9 ; he lived but a few years after, and died leaving no children, willing his property to his wife, who married Mr. Elisha Foster in 1811. John Johnston had much pains taken with his education, pursuing his studies at Yale College. He was a young man of fine acquirements and address, and after his return from school was employed by Capt. Pratt, in his store on Exchange, or Crow street, and at the time of his marriage with Miss Barker was considered one of the most accomplished young men in the place.

As no surveys had yet been made of the village, no lands were offered for sale at Buffalo Creek, and as yet there was no wagon road to this locality.

Immediately after the close of the Revolutionary War a brisk emigration to Canada, from several of the States, particularly from Pennsylvania, took place. The route taken by most of the emigrants was Sullivan's old route to the Genesee, and thence to Lewiston, though soon after 1790, a road was opened to the crossing at Black Rock. The road from Batavia was upon the high ground keeping nearly the same course as the old stage road, turning to the right on the hill at York street. The fine forest shade trees now upon that street, are the bushes that grew in the corners of the fence around the farm lots, upon the sides of the old road which was narrower than the present street. That road to Black Rock Ferry was travelled long before our present Main street was opened or improved. This road to the Ferry followed

the ridge, and passed near where the Catholic Church now stands, on York street, and directly over the ground occupied by the Reservoir of the Buffalo Water Works Company, and to the river, down a dug way just above the buildings of the Niagara Street Railroad Company, where the Ferry was. Fort Erie was built in 1764, and was the center and only place of business or trade on either side of the river, in this vicinity, until after 1800.

The Indians, from their first settlement at Buffalo Creek and the first white settlers also, drew most of their supplies from Fort Erie. The communication was principally from the mouth of Buffalo Creek, across the lake or river, above the rapids, to the Fort.

Almost the entire western shore of the Niagara, from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario, was settled and cultivated, while the forest remained almost entirely unbroken upon the eastern side, except at the carrying place. The road from Buffalo Creek to Black Rock, was upon the beach of the lake, until after the war of 1812.

The survey of the village of Buffalo, (or New Amsterdam, as it was called by the Holland Land Company), was completed in 1803.

Doctor Cyreneus Chapin, visited Buffalo in 1801 and had some negotiations with Mr. Ellicott, in regard to purchasing a lot in Buffalo, or New Amsterdam as it was decided to call the embryo City. After his return to the East, he addressed a letter to Mr. Ellicott, dated at Sangersfield, Oneida county, saying that himself and friends would buy a township of land at the mouth of Buffalo Creek, and adds: "Forty respectable citizens that are men of good property have signed articles of agreement to take a township if it can be purchased, and

will pay the ten per cent. when we receive the article." The lands not having been surveyed, the proposition was of course not entertained.

It is likely that Mr. John Crow, who removed from Whitestown, in Oneida County to Fort Erie, and thence to Buffalo in 1801-2, was one of the parties to this agreement. Mr. Crow occupied a house on Inner Lot No. 1, near the corner of Washington and Crow streets, west side of Washington, and south side of Crow. The house which was of logs, was said to have been built by Johnston. Crow built an addition of frame work, hence it was said, the house was a part log, and a part frame house. The street in front of Crow's house extended from Main to Washington only, as Johnston's forty-acre lot extended from Seneca street to the Little Buffalo Creek, and no streets were laid out through it in the original survey of New Amsterdam.

The street continued to bear the name of "Crow Street," until modern refinement discovered that "Crow" was a vulgar name, in as much as crows were vulgar, filthy birds, and at the suggestion of a gentlemen now living in the city, the name was changed to "Exchange Street,"—a very poor exchange, indeed.

Zerah Phelps, the brother-in-law of Mr. Crow, became the purchaser of Inner Lot, No. 1, in June, 1804. Mr. Phelps was probably another of Doctor Chapin's associates, but failing in the negotiation for the lands at the mouth of Buffalo Creek, he became the purchaser of a large tract in Genesee county, near Batavia.

John Crow remained in Buffalo until 1806, when he removed to the town of Hamburg, near the Eighteen Mile Creek. From there he removed to Western Penn-

sylvania, in 1817. In 1805, John Crow purchased Farm Lot, No. 37, which he improved and cultivated. He had a family of ten children—six girls and four boys—two only of whom are now living. John Crow died in Pennsylvania, near Waterford, in 1830.

It appears from the journal of Mr. Ellicott, that Mr. Henry Chapin was in Buffalo, prior to 1801. The records do not show that he became the purchaser of any lands, but a letter which he wrote to Mr. Ellicott, in March, 1801, shows that he desired to cultivate a lot on the south side of Seneca street, for the purpose of raising garden vegetables. The ground asked for, appears to have been on Wm. Johnston's lot, and the request was, of course, not within the province of Mr. Ellicott to grant.

CHAPTER VIII.

Mr. Joseph Ellicott arrived at Buffalo Creek (or New Amsterdam, as he called it) in January, 1801, and entered upon the duties of his office as agent of the Holland Land Company. The first entry in his journal is dated New Amsterdam, January 2d, 1801 :

“Friday—In the morning, two Germans, from Maryland, now residents of Canada, called at my office, (probably Johnson’s or Middaugh’s old dwelling) and inquired for lands. Were informed of the price and terms of sale. Said they would call when the snow was off the ground, and try to agree for some lotts. Both mechanics ; make screw augers, &c., &c.

“Monday, Jan. 5th.— * * In the evening, rode out on a sleigh with Mr. H. Chapin. He overset, and I unfortunately fell with my side on a sharp stump, and much bruised and injured my ribs.

“Tuesday, Jan. 6th.—Mr. James Stevens left here this morning to forward our baggage from Canandarque, to Mr. Ransom’s, at Ransomville, in the Twelfth Township, Sixth Range.

“Jan. 11th, Sunday.— * * This day, Rev. Mr. Holmes, an Ana-Baptist preacher and missionary among the Indians, preached for the inhabitants of New Amsterdam. His sermons were well adapted to the situa-

tion of the capacities of the people he preached to. Appears to be a good man—worthy of the charge entrusted to his care.

“Tuesday, Jan. 20th.—Some applications for land at Buffalo Creek, principally for town lots. Mr. Ransom returned from Queenstown with a box of glass.

“Jan. 21st.—Removed from Buffalo Creek to Ransomville.

“Jan. 22d.—Arranging and fitting up rooms for an office.

“Ransomville, Sunday, Jan. 25th, 1801.—Removed our stores from the Twelve Mile Creek to this place.

“Jan. 31st.—Fitting up shelves for the books—articles of agreement. No applications for lands. A travelling merchant arrived here and lodged all night. He was from Hartford, Connecticut.

“Sunday, Feb. 1st, 1801.— * * Went to view Mr. Ransom's mill seat ; great fall there.

“Tuesday, Feb. 11.—Received a letter from Mrs. Polly Berry and Miss Wimple, containing an application for land at the bend of the Tonewanta, (Batavia). Wrote the following reply :

“RANSOMVILLE, Feb. 11, 1801.

“Mr. Ellicott presents his compliments to Mrs. Berry and Miss Wimple. He has received their application for two town lots by Mr. Davis. The lots Mr. Ellicott proposes to lay off, when he shall make his establishment, will contain about forty acres each. Mr. Ellicott will reserve one of those lots for the ladies, if they shall conceive it an object worth their attention. In the mean-

time, they will believe him their friend and humble servant.

“J. ELLICOTT.

“MRS. BERRY AND MISS WIMPLE.

“Feb. 8th, 1801.—I learn this morning that six bomb mortars passed along the Queenston road, to be deposited at Fort Niagara.

“Feb. 17th.—A very elaborate communication to Mr. Busti, suggesting a modification of the terms of sale of their lands, so as to give more inducement to parties to buy large tracts, to retail to actual settlers.”

He closes his communication to Mr. Busti as follows :

“My present situation (although the accommodations are as good as could be expected,) is gloomy, for the want of society—our nearest neighbors being eighteen miles distant.”

“Feb. 26th.—Last night, lodged at this house upwards of forty people—men, women and children—moving principally, or all, to New Connecticut and Presque Isle. There was, however, one travelling merchant, from Philadelphia, on his way to His Britanic Majesty’s dominions of Upper Canada.

“March 17th, 1801.—This morning, agreed with the White Seneca (Seneca White) to lay out and mark a road to pass on the south side of the Tonnawanta Reservation, so as to pass over the best and driest ground and straightest direction, for which I am to give him ten dollars ; also, make a road from the Eleven Mile Creek to the mouth of the Tonnawanta, and from thence to old Fort Sloser, for which I am to give him eight dollars. He is to commence the first in four days from this date.

“Tuesday, March 24th.— * * Some drunken Indians here; but this is hardly worth recording, as these people are seldom sober when whiskey can be had in sufficient quantity to make them otherwise. However there is one circumstance worthy of mention and that is, one of them is on his way from his village to Cannandaque to replevin a gun which he pawned at a still-house in that place for whiskey to the amount of five shillings. His whole journey, on account of this five shillings whiskey business, costs him two hundred miles' travel. This circumstance seems to show the amazing fondness these people have for whiskey and ardent spirits.

“Tuesday, March 26th.—This evening the White Seneca returned, after having explored and marked a new road south of the Tonawanta Reservation. He reported that he had found mostly excellent ground for that purpose. Many places he passed through, did his heart good, on account of the beauty of the land.

“March 28th, 1801.— * * Examined part of the White Seneca's road. Found he had taken care to keep the ridges and around the swamps. Of course his road is not exactly straight.

“Saturday, April 4th, 1801.—This day the mill-seat of Asa Ransom was levelled, and found to be twenty-eight and a half feet fall.

“April 8th, 1801.—Arrived here to-day a Judge Austin, from Old Connecticut, with his family and others, bound for New Connecticut. They appear to be decent, respectable people. Judge Austin informs me that should the Holland Company be disposed to open a road from the western boundary of the triangle towards Buffalo Creek, along the margin of Lake Erie, that the sev-

eral Connecticut Land Companies would subscribe generously towards defraying the expense of the road."

The following entry is made in his journal under date of

"Monday, July 27th, 1801.—Mr. Alston and his lady, the daughter of the Vice President of the United States, (Aaron Burr), arrived here this day, at twelve o'clock, on their way to view the great Falls of Niagara. Left here at three o'clock.

"August 14th, 1801.—Went to Buffalo Creek, 'alias' New Amsterdam, to lay off a lot for a school house, the inhabitants offering to erect one at their own expense.

"August 15th.—This day completed the object, and transacted all my business.

"August 16th, Sunday.—Mr. John Palmer spoke for the grass lot in care of Mr. Lane. Agrees to pay a reasonable rent. Left Buffalo and returned to Twelve-mile Creek—found some land jobbers.

"Saturday, 23d January, 1802—Priests Holmes and Palmer passed by on their return from the business of Missionaries among the Indians to New York."

In the original survey of New Amsterdam, a lot of one hundred acres including the entire front on Main street, between Swan and Eagle streets, extending eastwardly, was called Outer Lot 104, which was taken up by Mr. Ellicott, himself, with the intention, as was supposed, of making his permanent residence here. Directly in the centre of the front of this lot, as originally surveyed, was a curve, throwing the street at that point into almost a half circle, leaving Main, Niagara, Church and Erie streets to radiate from this circle. It was supposed that he intended this ground for a residence, which would of

course have stood in Main street, in front of the churches. But Mr. Ellicott never built upon the lot, and the street was ultimately straightened. Outer Lot, No. 104 remained entire, uncultivated, and unimproved, until Mr. Ellicott's death, when it was divided among his heirs and by them laid out into streets and lots, and sold, and is now a well-built portion of the city. It is said that the action of the Commissioners of Highways, in straightening Main street, in front of Outer Lot, 104, occasioned Mr. Ellicott's abandoning the idea of making Buffalo his permanent residence, and he built a house in Batavia, where he fixed his abode, and thenceforth seemed to lose his interest in Buffalo.

In one of his letters to Mr. Cazenove, speaking of the situation he had chosen for the seat of a future city, Mr. Ellicott says :

“The building spot is situated about sixty perches from the lake, on a beautiful elevated bank, about twenty-five feet perpendicular height above the surface of the water in the lake, from the foot of which, with but little labor, may be made the most beautiful meadows, extending to the lake, and up Buffalo Creek to the Indian line. From the top of the bank, there are few more beautiful prospects. Here the eye wanders over the inland sea to the south-west, until the sight is lost in the horizon. On the north-west is seen the progressing settlements in Upper Canada, and south-westerly with the pruning some trees out of the way, may be seen the Company's land, for the distance of forty miles gradually ascending, variegated with vallies and gentle rising hills, until the sight passes their summit, at the sources of the waters of the Mississippi.”

The surveys were not completed so that sales of village lots could be made, much before 1804, but sales of farm lots in the vicinity were made in 1803. Mr. Ellicott writes to Mr. Busti, in May, 1802, deprecating the delay, and says :

“While speaking on the subject of taking things in their proper time, I cannot refrain from mentioning that the Company delaying opening their lands for sale in New Amsterdam, and the lands adjoining thereto, I fear the nick of time will pass by, at least for making a town of New Amsterdam.

“The State, last session of the Legislature, passed a law for the purchasing the natives’ rights of land, the pre-emption right of which, was in the State, (on our map, called the New York Reservation), the southern part of which lands reach near to New Amsterdam, and there is a situation on said lands intended to be purchased, equally or more advantageous for a town, than New Amsterdam ; so that if the State shall make the intended purchase this summer, and offer this spot for sale before New Amsterdam gets in operation, the ‘nick of time’ will be lost to the future prosperity of that place. It would therefore evidently tend more to the advantage of the Dutch proprietors to give the agent-general of their concerns in this country, full and discretionary powers to act, and transact their business as existing circumstances might evince to be most conducive to the interests of the proprietors.”

The allusion is to Black Rock, which Mr. Ellicott even then considered “equally or more advantageous for a town than Buffalo.” These advantages were reversed by the building of the long pier in the Niagara River, for

the use of the Erie Canal, and the construction of the pier and break-water at the mouth of the Buffalo Creek, to protect and keep open the harbor, and the extension of the Erie Canal to that place. Both are now included within the corporate limits of the city of Buffalo.

The first murder of which we have any record, was committed in Buffalo (or rather New Amsterdam, as it was then called) in July, 1802. An Indian from one of the villages on Buffalo Creek, attacked (it is said without provocation) John Palmer, the inn-keeper, with a drawn knife, with the intent to stab him. Two men, of the name of Ward and Keeler, were sitting with Palmer at the time. Not succeeding in his attempt upon Palmer, the Indian struck his knife into the neck of Ward. The alarm soon brought together the few white inhabitants, and in the attempt to secure the Indian, a man of the name of John Hewett, received several stabs from the desperate savage, producing almost instant death. The Indian, however, was secured, and during the night taken to Fort Niagara and placed in close custody.

The Indians were aroused by the news of the capture of one of their number, and the next day, a band of forty or fifty armed warriors appeared in New Amsterdam, demanding the release of the prisoner, and had he been within their reach, would have rescued him. This created consternation and alarm among the few white inhabitants, and caused some to flee from the settlement.

A great majority of the Indians still looked upon the whites as intruders, and from the strong British or Canadian influence still exerted among them, the settlers were fearful of further and greater exhibitions of savage cruelty. A petition was forwarded by the white inhabitants—

Mr. Ellicott and his surveyors, and settlers upon the Holland Purchase, entering zealously into the measure—for a small garrison of troops at the village of Buffalo Creek, alias New Amsterdam. But these fears were groundless, as no further disturbance occurred.

The sale of farm lots in the vicinity of Buffalo, as has been observed, began in 1803. The survey of the village not being yet completed, Dr. Cyrenius Chapin bought Lot No. 41, Township 11, 8th Range, and received his article of agreement Oct. 11th, 1803. This appears to be the earliest date of sales in this vicinity. This lot, purchased by Dr. Chapin, contained ninety-nine acres, for which he agreed to pay \$346.50. There were several other contracts (or rather "articles," as they were called) issued, bearing the same date as that of Dr. Chapin. William Deshay bought Lots No. 59 and 60, Township 11, 8th Range, and received his article Oct. 11th, 1803, agreeing to pay, for eighty-six acres, \$430; Asa Chapman, Lot No. 40, 11th Township, 8th Range, one hundred and twenty-seven acres, for \$445.50; Isaac Hulburt, Lot 61, same Township and Range, fifty-nine acres for \$295—(this article was subsequently assigned to Nathan Toles); George Bargar, part of Lot 61, same Township and Range, fifty-nine acres, for \$232.80—subsequently assigned to Vincent Grant. William Hodge took up Lot No. 35, same Township and Range, forty-seven and three-tenths acres, on the 22d of October, 1803, for which he agreed to pay \$236.50; Samuel Tupper, on the same day, Lot 27, same Township and Range, sixty-five acres, \$294.75, and on the 25th, Lot No. 50, same Township and Range, thirty-four acres, for \$172.50; Oct. 29th, William Hodge, Lot 57, sixty-one

and four-tenths acres, for \$307; Oct. 28th, Gideon Dudley, Lot No. 23, sixty acres, for \$300—this article was assigned to Joseph Wells, in December, 1805. Wm. Liget purchased Lot No. 51, Oct. 26th, 1803, containing thirty acres, for \$195—this article was assigned to John Crow, in March, 1805.

In 1804, the following Lots were sold, which appear to be the earliest regular conveyances of land in the village plot: Nathan W. Sever, Outer Lots No. 55 and 56, sixty-three and seven-tenths acres, \$115—(subsequently assigned to Elijah Leech); Zerah Phelps, 1st June, 1804, Inner Lot No. 1, for \$112—this article was assigned to Joseph Ellicott, in 1806. Sylvanus Maybee, August 6th, 1804, purchased Inner Lot No. 35, for \$135*; Samuel McConnell, Outer Lot 84, May 19th, 1804, for \$191.50.

The following are among the farm lots in the vicinity of Buffalo sold in 1804: Rowland Cotton, Lot No. 67, one hundred and forty-three acres, for \$500.50; Abner Gilbert, Lot 34, forty-eight and four-tenths acres, for \$242.

The following list of the names of land owners in Buffalo in 1804, is given in Turner's History of the Holland Purchase, said to be taken from the books of the Company: William Robbins, Henry Chapin, Sylvanus

* NOTE.—The Inner Lots on Main street were generally one chain and fourteen links wide, running through. The map will show the location of these lots. From the books of the Holland Land Company, it appears probable that an arrangement was made with Johnston, whereby he relinquished his claim to a part of the land on the flat between the Big and Little Buffalo Creeks, west of Main street, as only Outer Lot No. 85 was conveyed to him in 1804, but Inner Lots No. 3, No. 30, and No. 32, were conveyed to him at the same time; whereas, Outer Lot No. 86, the remaining portion of the land in the triangle, was conveyed to Isaac Davis, June 29th, 1814. See Appendix No. 6.

Maybee, Asa Ransom, Thomas Stewart, Samuel Pratt, William Johnson, John Crow, Joseph Landon, Erastus Granger, Jonas Williams, Robert Keane, Vincent Grant, Louis Le Conteulx.

The Holland Land Company deeded to William Johnston, Outer Lot, No. 93, October 27th 1804.

DOCTOR CYRENIOUS CHAPIN.

As the first permanent settler in Buffalo after the extinguishment of the Indian title to the lands upon which the city of Buffalo is built, and as a prominent leading man for many years after the first settlement, and during all the period while society was struggling through the change from a savage to a civilized state, the life and character of Doctor Cyrenius Chapin deserves a more extended notice. Not only the truth of history requires this, but respect for the opinions of multitudes who still survive, who knew him, and remember with gratitude his disinterested kindness, his untiring energy in his profession, and his patriotic devotion and self sacrificing zeal in the service of his country demand it, and they would consider it an important omission in the history of our city, to leave out a record so essential to truth.

As has already been observed, Dr. Chapin came to Buffalo in 1801, undoubtedly with a settled purpose to make it his fixed and permanent abode. Failing in his first attempt to purchase in connexion with others, a large tract of land at the mouth of Buffalo Creek, he determined nevertheless to persevere. He arrived here in 1803 with his family, but as there was no house to be obtained, he was obliged to cross the river to Fort Erie,

to procure a shelter for them. His family remained at Fort Erie nearly two years before a suitable habitation could be provided for them here.

He selected Inner Lot, No. 40, on Swan street, running through from Main to Pearl street, and in 1805, he removed his family from Fort Erie to their new home in Buffalo. During the short residence of his family at Fort Erie, the people upon that side of the river employed him as a physician to some extent, and he soon became widely known as a skillful practitioner, in the line of his profession. So successful and popular was he that during his whole subsequent life, he had quite an extensive practice in that part of Canada lying contiguous to this city. It will be readily perceived that a young man, (for he was then but thirty years of age), possessing the elements of character for which he was distinguished, master of a most important and useful profession, educated above most of those around him, as his correspondence and other evidences show, would necessarily assume in a new and isolated settlement, a leading position; and such a position Doctor Chapin undoubtedly held among our first settlers. He had been religiously educated, but like most young men who are cast upon the world as he was, almost without the pale of civilization, and beyond the influence or restraints of christian society, he relapsed into a disregard of christian duty, and during the war which succeeded in 1812, he was drawn into the habit, then almost universal, of a too free use of ardent spirits, which in the latter years of his life greatly hindered his usefulness, both as a physician and a citizen. But it is due to his memory and the truth of history, to affirm that during the first fifteen or twenty

years, when Buffalo was struggling into existence, no single individual exerted a wider or greater influence, than Doctor Chapin.

So fully was his character and usefulness appreciated by the first settlers of Buffalo, that as late as 1836, only two years before his death, he was presented with a valuable service of plate, consisting of two massive pitchers and twelve goblets, as a testimonial of their appreciation of his character and services, both as a citizen, and a soldier in the war of 1812.

The committee charged with the duty of procuring and presenting this memorial, consisted of the following leading citizens: Peter B. Porter, Louis Le Contenlx, Ebenezer Walden, Amos Callender, Hiram Pratt, E. D. Efner, Jacob A. Barker, Ebenezer Johnson, W. A. Carpenter, Alanson Palmer and Sylvester Mathews.

The plate was presented to him by the committee, in behalf of the donors, in the following address by their chairman, Gen. Peter B. Porter:

“SIR:—As chairman of a committee selected by your fellow citizens, from that portion of them who have been longest and most intimately acquainted with you, I take great pleasure in presenting to you, in the name and behalf of that committee, and those citizens, this service of plate, which they beg you to accept and preserve as a testimonial, for your children as well as yourself, of the respect they entertain for your services both civil and military, and more especially for the patriotism and gallantry displayed by you in our late war with Great Britain.

“Should we seem to have been too tardy in this public manifestation of our sentiments, we have only to say

that at the time when the events on which they are based occurred, the eclat of your military achievements was too generally and widely diffused, to require any adventitious aid of this sort to propitiate and secure public favor. We resort to it now, not to prop up an obscure or equivocal reputation, but to defend an established one, against a most ungenerous and unjust attempt lately made to destroy it.

“You will readily understand that I allude to a publication purporting to be a history of certain transactions on the Niagara frontier during the late war, written by Lieut. Col. Boerstler, of the United States army, exculpatory of his own blunders, and recently brought to light for the first time in an appendix to Gen. Armstrong's ‘Notices of the Late War,’ and in which you are accused, in the most unqualified terms, not only of want of patriotism and integrity, but with cowardice. It is to be regretted that this distinguished individual, to whose book I have referred, should have permitted this disgraceful tirade to appear on its pages, which he assuredly would not have done had he better known the relative characters and merits of the accuser and the accused; for, unpleasant as it is to speak unkindly of the dead, I am constrained to say there was scarcely an individual who, in the estimation of those who best knew him, was more justly obnoxious to many of the disparaging epithets he has lavished on you, than this same Lieut. Col. Boerstler.

“The introduction of these unpleasant topics may seem inappropriate to the present occasion, but the committee would feel that they had omitted an important part of their duty had they neglected this opportunity to

vindicate your character, as they abundantly do, from facts within their own personal knowledge, against these unmerited calumnies, coming as they do before the public under such imposing auspices.

“ Among those who have known you longest and best, and many of those are now present, I have had the pleasure of your acquaintance for some thirty years past. It is surely no just cause of reproach that, anterior to the war, you belonged to what was called the Federal Party, because the political distinction between the two great parties of that day consisted solely in an honest difference of opinion as to the cardinal measures most proper to be pursued, to advance the common interest and glory of the Republic. What may have been your abstract and speculative opinions in regard to the justice or expediency of the war, I do not know; but I do know that, from the moment of its declaration, no individual of my acquaintance was more active and zealous in his endeavors to render its operations successful and effective—none more reckless of personal danger, or more forward in the devotion of his private property to the public use—than yourself.

“ The charge of cowardice, so boldly made against you by this writer, seems hardly deserving of a serious refutation, especially before a Buffalo audience. If it were necessary to adduce evidence of your courage, the only fear would be that it might prove too much. For instance, the voluntary and conspicuous part you took in boarding and cutting out two armed vessels from Fort Erie; the still more daring exploit by which you, by the aid of your companions, attacked and subdued the armed guard (yourselves unarmed) who were conveying

you as prisoners to Little York, and escorted them back, your prisoners, in turn, to the American headquarters ; and your repeated attacks upon and capture of Indian warriors, in their own haunts. Indeed, the honest detail of the very expedition, in the prosecution of which Col. Boestler charges you with cowardice, would seem to show that if your courage ever was at fault, it was because it sometimes rose to rashness instead of sinking to pusillanimity.

“The appellation of the ‘self-styled Col. Chapin,’ by which Col. Boerstler so contemptuously designates you, was as misapplied and undeserved as his more grave charges ; for, although at the commencement of the war, when you held no office, either in the regular army or militia, your military services were, for a time, voluntary and of a partizan character, yet it is well known that early in 1813, you received from Gov. Tompkins the brevet commission of Lieutenant-Colonel, under which you subsequently acted.

“But I have said enough, and more, perhaps, than was required, in regard to this vindictive and libellous attack upon your reputation, the publication of which had been withheld for more than thirty years after it was written, and the events upon which it was founded had transpired. We trust that it will never be permitted to disturb your repose, and that the proceedings of this evening—this public and unbiassed expression of the sentiments of your fellow-citizens, intended to convey alike their high sense of your services during the war, and the able and impartial manner in which you have discharged your civil duties as a magistrate and citizen,

and your frank and generous deportment in all the various relations of private life—will be as kindly received by you as they are cheerfully and gratefully tendered by us.”

To which Col. Chapin replied :

“SIR :—In receiving this present from your hands, a thousand by-gone recollections are revived. The early settlement of this our now happy country—the perils and fatigues in settling a then almost unbroken wilderness, the red men then the lords of the soil—the defeats and disasters of desolating war—the ruins of our then late peaceful town—the destruction of commerce—a desolating disease—all, in rapid succession, rush upon my mind and almost overwhelm me. But, amidst all these untoward circumstances, we have had much of prosperity, and more, for which our sincere thanks are due to the Supreme Dispenser of Events, that our lives have been spared to the present time.

“In calling to mind the various scenes through which we have passed since I first knew you, we have had many hours on which memory lingers and may delight to dwell.

“Sir—In behalf of those whom you represent, as well as yourself, I shall ever regard these symbols of your affection, so closely identified with your good will towards me, as a sacred memento of my duty to you and my country, and shall remember this as one of the happiest days of my life. As this did not emanate from the excitement of an admiration of one brilliant achievement, but from the favorable, deliberate opinion of my patriotic and general exertions in the late war, confirmed and perpetuated with time to the present moment,

makes it doubly welcome. In thus tendering to you, and my fellow-citizens whom you represent, my hearty thanks, words inadequately express the emotions I feel on this gratifying occasion.

“A consciousness of having [tried to discharge my duty, is at all times a source of consolation ; but the approval of my fellow-citizens, as in this instance so kindly manifested, awakens within me a feeling of gratitude, which I hope will only be chilled with the extinction of life ; and, gentlemen, whatever may be your condition in this changing world, I pray you accept my best wishes for your future welfare and happiness.”

The following tribute to the memory of Dr. Chapin is from the Monroe Times, a paper published at Rochester. Its date is a few days after his decease, in 1838 :

“DOCTOR CHAPIN.

“From a somewhat familiar knowledge of the public services of Dr. Chapin, as one of the founders of Buffalo—as a man of exalted character and high enterprise—as one of the most patriotic and daring defenders of our frontier during the late war—as an eminent physician and truly philanthropic man—we cannot withhold (now that he is gathered unto his fathers) our testimony of his worth, and our regrets at his decease.

“More than thirty years ago, he established himself in Buffalo, in the practice of medicine. Buffalo then, as a city, or even as a village, was not ; a few scattered dwellings and a thick forest—broken only by the paths of the Indians, or the rude improvements of the pioneers—then filled up the scene, now transformed, by the

magic impulse of civilization, into a noble city, studded with magnificent buildings, adorned with squares and parks and capacious streets, enlivened by the rush of a busy, thriving population of nearly twenty thousand souls—the centre of a great and growing trade—the mart of commerce and the cradle of the arts.

“Dr. Chapin, possessed of eminent generosity of heart and energy of character, probably accomplished more than any other individual in alleviating the hardships and improving the condition of the first settlers of the Holland Purchase, and in promoting the prosperity of Buffalo.

“Previous to the breaking out of the war of 1812, he was violently opposed to that measure, in common with the party to which he belonged; but when it was once entered upon, when the tide of desolation began to deluge our northern frontier, he entered into the service of his country with his whole soul, and in the offices of Major, Colonel, &c., which he held during the contest, rendered the most signal and important services. The daring manner in which he, with a small party of sailors, cut out two armed vessels from under the guns of Fort Erie, has but few parallels in the history of individual achievement; and the re-capture of himself and party, while on their way (across the Lake) to Canada, in open boats, as prisoners of war, by rising, unarmed, upon a superior force, who acted as the guard, taking them prisoners and returning home in triumph, was an enterprise which nothing but great courage and energy of character could accomplish.

“After the close of the contest, he re-commenced the duties of his profession, which he continued till his death;

but never, even under the weight of accumulating years, were the characteristic features of his mind, or his heart, dimmed for an hour, or the ruling principle of his life, 'to do good unto all,' lost sight of.

"Two years since, his fellow citizens presented him a pair of superb pitchers and twelve goblets, of silver, as tokens of their gratitude for his services, and respect for his character. A name around which clusters so many proud and gratifying recollections needs not the page of history, or the tongue of eulogy to render it imperishable. It lives in the memories of the companions of his toils—among the monuments of the city he has helped to build up—in the prayers of the widow and the fatherless whom his charities and services have blessed—in the hearts of surviving friends, and the bosom of a bereaved family."

After the burning of Buffalo, there were those who were disposed to censure Dr. Chapin for the part he took on the occasion of its surrender, and these censures called forth from him a public statement of the facts and circumstances under which he acted at the time, from which the following is an extract:

"Finding that the force under my command, at Black Rock, was such that all further resistance on my part would be vain, having only five men left with me—the remainder being either killed, wounded or dispersed, all attempts to rally them proving abortive—I retreated to Buffalo, where all was confusion and alarm. Women and children running in every direction to avoid the fury of the British savages, which were rapidly investing the village. About thirty men were collected, who manned a twelve pounder, at the junction of the Black Rock road

with the main street. A few discharges were made from it which very much annoyed the enemy ; but the carriage breaking, it was rendered useless. A large body of British troops were now within thirty rods of us, and the Indians had nearly surrounded the town and were in full pursuit of the distressed inhabitants, who had no means of making a rapid retreat, or the least resistance. In this situation I conceived it my duty to resort to some stratagem to save the people from inevitable destruction. I requested some one to meet the enemy with a flag, but no one appearing willing, I went myself, and the moment I was received, I requested the enemy to halt, which was done ; and while I was attempting a negotiation, all was quiet, and the people had time to make their escape from the savages, who had already massacred several of the inhabitants, in their retreat, whether armed or unarmed. Altho' I failed in saving the town, still I succeeded in securing the retreat of many inhabitants who would have otherwise fallen victims to savage vengeance."

The estimation in which the enemy held the character and conduct of Col. Chapin, at the time of the surrender of Buffalo, will appear in the following :

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM LIEUT. GEN'L DRUMMOND TO SIR
GEO. PREVOST, DATED,

"YORK, February 15th, 1814.

"I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 5th instant, transmitting a communication from Col. Chapin, of the United States Army, and in reply thereto, have to acquaint your Excellency that

considering the circumstances under which that officer was captured, as reported to me by Gen. Riall, on my arrival at Buffalo, I conceive that his detention as a prisoner of war was perfectly justifiable.

“It appears that he was not only extremely active during the action at Black Rock, on the morning of the 30th December, but afterwards retreated with the American army to Buffalo, where I understand he assumed the command of the force that remained there, and having taken a commanding position in front of the town, considerably annoyed our troops with round and grape shot from a six pounder, whilst they were advancing; and as I have been informed it was not until he found that his exertions to arrest their progress were without effect that he came out from Buffalo as a self constituted flag of truce, at a time when our forces were in full pursuit of the American army. It was not until some time after Buffalo had been taken possession of that Major Gen. Riall, having mentioned to me that he had ordered Col. Chapin to remain in arrest at his house, until he was made acquainted with my intentions with regard to him, that I directed the Major General to send him across the water in charge of an officer, considering him a prisoner of war.”

CHAPTER IX.

Mr. Erastus Granger came to reside in Buffalo in 1803. Previous to the election of Mr. Jefferson, the Grangers, then young men, had been engaged in the examination and perhaps survey of Virginia lands; they having been largely purchased by capitalists in New England, where the Grangers resided. During their sojourn in Virginia, they became acquainted with Mr. Jefferson, and on his becoming a candidate for the presidency, the Grangers having returned to New England, warmly espoused his cause, and after his election he offered to do anything in his power for them, and as an evidence of the confidence reposed in them by Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Gideon Granger was appointed Postmaster General, and Mr. Erastus Granger was sent to Buffalo to exert his political influence in favor of the party which had elevated Mr. Jefferson to power. His mission therefore to this locality was entirely of a political character. Mr. Granger had been quite recently married and his wife had died before he came to Buffalo. He located himself at John Crow's tavern as a boarder, it being the only place where he could obtain even the scanty accommodation afforded him. He was invested with all the offices then within the gift of the Federal Government.

He was appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs,

Postmaster, and on the organization of the Collection District of Buffalo Creek, he was appointed Collector of Customs for that District.

Most of the leading early settlers in Buffalo belonged to the Federal party; consequently, Mr. Granger became the leader of the Democratic party in Western New York—Mr. Ellicott, so far as his quaker antecedents and proclivities would permit, acting in harmony with him; and the early correspondence between these two prominent men, for several years, was almost exclusively of a political character.

It does not appear, from the records, that Mr. Granger purchased lands until some time after his first settlement here. The first record is the purchase of Inner Lot No. 31, in July, 1805. He subsequently purchased other lands, including Lot No. 63, Eleventh Township, Eighth Range, one hundred and twelve acres, in 1810, and Outer Lots 90, 91 and 92, in 1809. It is believed that, in every case, he took a deed instead of an article of agreement, as was then the almost universal custom.

Mr. Granger, having located himself upon his farm lot, at what was called Granger's (or Four Mile) Creek, did not identify himself so much with the business interests of the village as, perhaps, he otherwise would have done. His position, however, was a prominent and influential one, and gave him a public reputation superior to that of any other man at that early day.

Several of our early settlers who became prominent in the early history of Buffalo, brought letters of introduction to Mr. Granger.

He married, for his second wife, the daughter of Mr. Nathaniel Sanborn, of Canandaigua—a lady of high

character and accomplishments. His sons were the late Rev. James N. Granger, who survived him several years, and Warren Granger, Esq., who still resides in Buffalo.

It should be said of Mr. Granger that he filled the various public offices which he held with distinguished ability and fidelity. He was highly respected during a life protracted beyond the period generally allotted to man, and died lamented by all who knew him. His death occurred in 1823.

The following are Rev. Timothy Dwight's remarks, on his visit to Buffalo in 1804 :

"Buffalo Creek, otherwise New Amsterdam, is built on the north-east border of a considerable mill-stream, which bears the same name. A bar at the mouth, prevents all vessels larger than boats from ascending its waters. For boats, it is navigable about eight miles. Its appearance is more sprightly than that of some others in this region. The south-western bank is here a peninsula, covered with a handsome grove. Through it several vistas might be cut with advantage, as they would open fine views of the Lake—a beautiful object. The prospect which they would furnish, towards the west and south-west, would be boundless.

"The village is built half a mile from the mouth of the creek, and consists of about twenty indifferent houses. The Holland Company own the soil. Hitherto they have declined to sell it, and until very lately, to lease it. Most of the settlers have therefore taken up their ground without a title. The terms on which it is leased are, that the lessee shall, within nine months, build a house, thirty feet front and two stories high, and shall pay (if I

mistake not) two dollars annually for each lot of half an acre.*

“The streets are straight, and cross each other at right-angles, but are only forty feet wide. What could have induced this wretched limitation, in a mere wilderness, I am unable to conceive.

“The spot is unhealthy, though of sufficient elevation, and, so far as I have been informed, free from the vicinity of stagnant waters. The diseases prevailing here are those which are common to all this country.

“The inhabitants are a casual collection of adventurers, and have the usual character of such adventurers thus collected, when remote from regular society, retaining but little sense of government or religion.

“We saw about as many Indians in this village as white people. The Superintendent of Indian Affairs of the Six Nations resides here.

“New Amsterdam is at present the thoroughfare for all the commerce and travelling interchangeably going on between the Eastern States (including New York and New Jersey) and the countries bordering on the great western lakes.

“The creek is frequently said to unite with the river Niagara. I should say, as I believe every other man would, who spoke from his own inspection, that it unites with Lake Erie; and that the river Niagara begins two miles further north at, or rather just below, Black Rock.† Here the first perceptible current commences; while at

* It is difficult to imagine where Dr. Dwight derived this information. Nothing in the records kept by the agents of the Holland Company would justify these statements.

† He evidently mistook Bird Island for Black Rock.

the mouth of the creek, the waters, unless agitated by the wind, are perfectly still, and have exactly the same appearance as other parts of the lake.

“ At Black Rock, a town which is a mile square, is laid out by order of the State into house lots. The lots are to be disposed of at public sale, in December of this year, upon terms with which I am unacquainted. Should they be equitable, the trade which I mentioned will soon centre here. Between this rock and the shore is the only secure harbor on the American, and a much better one than on the British side of the lake, within a great distance. A road is already begun from this spot to Fort Niagara, at the mouth of the river, and will not probably be completed within a year. The period is not distant when the commerce of this neighborhood will become a great national object, and involve no small part of the interests and happiness of millions. I shall consider it more particularly hereafter. * * * ”

“ The prospect presented at Buffalo, is most attractive, notwithstanding the interruption named above. Directly opposite at the distance of two miles, but in full view stands Fort Erie, a block-house, accompanied by a suit of barracks and a hamlet. This collection of houses is built on a beautiful shore, wears less the appearance of a recent settlement, and exhibits a much greater degree of improvement, than anything which we saw west of the Genesee River. Beyond this hamlet a handsome point stretches to the south-west and furnishes an imperfect shelter to the vessels employed in the commerce of the lake. Seven of these vessels (five schooners, a sloop and a pettiaugre) lay in the harbor at this time, and presented to us an image of business and activity, which dis-

tant as we were from the ocean, was scarcely less impressive than that presented by the harbor of New York, when crowded with almost as many hundreds. Behind this point another much more remote stretches out in the same direction, exhibiting a form of finished elegance and seeming an exactly suitable limit for the sheet of water which fills the fine scope between these arms. Still further southward the lake opens in boundless view and presents in a perfect manner the blending of unlimited waters with the sky. Over these points, assembled as if to feast our eyes at the commencement of the evening after our arrival, one of the most beautiful collection of clouds ever seen by the votary of nature. They were of elegant forms and of hues intense and refulgent. The richest crimson fading into the tinges of the pink and the rose, adorned them on the one side, and gold burnished into the brightest brilliancy on the other. Several strata of these splendors extending over one-tenth of the horizon, lay above each other in the most fascinating variety of fantastical beauty; while others, single, in pairs or in small groups, vied with the larger assemblages in contributing to the glory of the scene. Towards the south-west and the north-east two long ranges of leaden colored clouds, with fleeces of mist hanging beneath them, reached round two-thirds of the horizon. These at intervals were all along changed, sometimes gradually, sometimes suddenly into the gayest crimson and the most vivid purple, alternated in such a manner as to defy the utmost efforts of both the pen and the pencil. The sky above of that pure bright aspect which succeeds a storm, when it becomes clear with a soft serenity, was varied from a glowing yellow, a brilliant straw color and a wil-

low green into a light and finally into a dark azure, the beautiful blue of autumn. Beneath all this glory the lake, a boundless field of polished glass, glittered alternately with the variegated splendor of the clouds and hues of the sky, softening and improving the brilliancy of both with inimitable delicacy and leaving on the mind the impression of enchantment rather than reality. Not a breath was felt, not a leaf trembled, not a sound was heard, not a fluctuation disturbed the elegance of the surface. A lively imagination would easily have fancied that a paradise might be found beyond this charming expanse."

Mr. Dwight evidently obtained his information in regard to the policy pursued by the Holland Land Company in regard to the survey, settlement and sale of their land in New Amsterdam from some one who either did not possess the means of giving correct information or who had imbibed a strong prejudice against the company or their agent.

CAPTAIN SAMUEL PRATT.

Mr. Samuel Pratt, or as he was familiarly called, Capt. Pratt, came to Buffalo in 1804. He left his home in New England, in 1801, on a trip to Canada and the West, to purchase furs. On arriving at Montreal, he was taken sick, and was compelled to return home. But he started the next year, taking the same route, and coming up the St. Lawrence to Niagara, he pursued his way to Detroit, stopping on his way at Buffalo Creek. Having accomplished the object of his journey, he commenced his return in the fall of 1803. Having been favorably

impressed with the appearance and commercial advantages of Buffalo, the impressions he received had been deepened by a visit to the West, which convinced Mr. Pratt, that here, was the key to the commerce of these vast inland waters, and on a second visit he determined to establish himself here in the fur trade.

He decided to locate himself on the high bank, or terrace, upon a lot extending from the top of the bank to the Little Buffalo Creek. This lot upon the Holland Land Company's survey of New Amsterdam, was designated as Inner Lot No. 2, but upon most of our modern maps is designated Inner Lot No. 1. It is the same upon which the Mansion House now stands, embracing the land extending to what was then Little Buffalo Creek, now the Hamburg Canal. In 1804, Mr. Pratt started with his family in an old fashioned two-horse coach for Buffalo. This coach long remained an object of curiosity, being the first ever seen in Buffalo. This journey was considered by his friends and relatives as the height of folly and recklessness. The idea of taking a family of small children into a remote wilderness, beyond the pale of civilization, and among savages too, was considered little short of desperation, and there were those who did not hesitate to tell him he was crazy.

It is said he first commenced to make an improvement upon the corner of Washington and Seneca streets where the Post Office now stands, but being himself mistaken as to the location of lots 99, 100, 101, 102 and 103, which he had purchased, he removed to the corner of Seneca and Ellicott streets, where he built a large barn. At the burning of Buffalo, a frame, it is said, had but recently been erected; the timber being green,

it did not readily ignite and escaped the general conflagration, and after the war, the frame was covered, and served many years as a place to pack and store furs. It was subsequently used as the stable to the Franklin House, and quite recently gave place to a new brick structure, to be used for the same purpose.

Capt. Pratt had a large family of children. Two sons and three daughters still survive—Mrs. Hon. Orlando Allen being the youngest. Samuel Pratt, Jr., Paschal P. Pratt, and the late Hon. Hiram Pratt, all died in Buffalo, leaving families—Messrs. S. F. Pratt and P. P. Pratt, of the firm of Pratt & Co., and Mr. Lucius H. Pratt, being sons of the former, and grand-sons of Capt. Samuel Pratt.

The following notice of the death of Capt. Pratt is from the Buffalo Gazette of Sept. 1st, 1812 :

“DIED.—In this town, yesterday morning, Capt. Samuel Pratt, aged forty-eight years.

“Capt. Pratt was among the first inhabitants of this place. With them he cheerfully encountered all the privations and hardships incident to the first settlers of a new country. The public spirit displayed by him, in whatever related to the improvement of the village and the convenience of the early settlers in its vicinity, will render his memory dear to all who knew him. It may, in truth, be said of him that to the wants of the indigent his hand was ever open—to their distresses, his heart was never closed. He has left a numerous family and many friends to mourn his loss.”

Captain Pratt was a man characterized by great business enterprise and activity; and his descendents have exhibited the same traits of character in an emi-

ment degree. The name of Pratt has stood conspicuous among the names of the business men of Buffalo, in all its history, from its earliest settlement down to the present time. They have identified themselves with its interests and its enterprises, and shared in all the vicissitudes of its prosperity and adversity, contributing largely to the development of its mercantile, commercial and mechanical resources.

The late Hon. Hiram Pratt, the youngest of the sons of Capt. Samuel Pratt, was twice elected Mayor of the city, after Buffalo received its charter. He was extensively engaged in the commerce of the lakes in the early history of steam navigation—was a banker of eminent ability, and a man highly esteemed by all who knew him. Like multitudes of others of our young, enterprising men, he fell an early sacrifice to an over-worked mental and physical nature. The terrible pecuniary revulsions and disasters of 1837–8–9 proved too much for him, and he sank down under their weight—and died, almost without disease, in 1840, aged but a little over forty years.

The following is from the manuscript letter of Mr. Wm. Hall, of Cleveland, Ohio, written with his own hand in 1863, he being then eighty-five years of age. He visited Buffalo on horse-back in 1804 :

“At Buffalo there were perhaps twenty houses, of which only three or four were frame, one of which was occupied by a Mr. Pratt, who kept a small store. He had his aged parents with him, whom I saw.

“Some streets were partially laid out, but the whole were full of stumps, and no fences. We rode up the

creek some mile or two, and crossed to see a Mr. Leech, who was from Connecticut. Saw no craft, but one or two small boats, in one of which we crossed.

“Leaving Buffalo, we went to Black Rock, through woods—a small path-way, trodden mostly by Indians, with some appearance of wagons having passed that way. We crossed the river in a scow, with our horses, to the Canada side, and found a good road, on the bank of the river, all the way to Chippewa, having spent the night a few miles previous to reaching there.”

“LOUIS STEPHEN LE COUTEULX.*

“Louis Stephen Le Couteulx de Caumont was born at Rouen, in France, on the 24th of August, 1756. He was the only son of Anthony Le Couteulx, a counselor at law, and delegate to the Parliament of Normandy. He was the head of the eldest branch of the Le Couteulx family.

“This family, which originated in Normandy, was ennobled in 1505, on account of some service rendered the government, with the privilege (usually denied to the nobility) of engaging in commerce. It always enjoyed high distinction, and formed many alliances with distinguished families in France, particularly with that of La Fayette.

“He was destined for the magistracy, but, having no taste for that occupation, entered the commercial house of his relations, who had establishments in France and many other parts of Europe. Understanding the Eng-

*From Turner's History of the Holland Purchase.

lish and Spanish languages, he was sent to London and Cadiz, where he passed several years.

“In September, 1786, he married, in Paris, Miss Clouet, whose father held an honorable office in that city. She was a niece of Gen. Touzard, who came to America with Gen. La Fayette, during the revolutionary war, and lost an arm in our service. This did not prevent him from remaining in the employ of our government until his death, which occurred in 1811.

“Immediately after his marriage, Mr. Le Couteulx was sent to the United States, to negotiate a settlement of accounts with the house of Robert Morris. He arrived, with his wife, at New York on the 15th of December, 1786, and repaired to Philadelphia, whither his business called him.

“Having arranged the accounts with Mr. Morris, and being pleased with this country, he rented a house in Trenton, New Jersey, where he remained until the July following. He then purchased an estate in Bucks county, near Philadelphia, of about two hundred acres, called “La Petite France.”

“Wishing to become a citizen of the United States, he made his first declaration on the 7th day of July, 1787, and eventually obtained his certificate of naturalization.

“The climate of this country not agreeing with his wife, he accompanied her to France, the 17th of October, 1789, with his two sons, and returned alone to Philadelphia, the 17th of February following.

“He was among the first who introduced merino sheep into the United States, having imported a pair from Spain, in 1789, which he presented to Robert

Morris. They were sent from Cadiz by the house of Le Couteulx—not without great difficulty and risk, as the Spanish government had forbidden their exportation, under severe penalties.

“Having arranged his business with Mr. Morris, and being fond of traveling, he set out on horse-back, accompanied with a servant, and visited the greater part of the United States. This occupied him two years, a part of which time he spent among various tribes of Indians, for the purpose of studying their manners and customs. During this sojourn among the Indians, he was adopted by the Senecas. He wrote an interesting journal of his travels, which, unfortunately, has been lost.

“After finishing his travels, he established himself in business at Albany, in the spring of 1795, where he continued to reside for many years.

“He set out in the month of September, 1800, with a large quantity of merchandize, destined for Detroit, where he had determined to reside, in case he found it a good market for his goods.

“The usual route of travel to Detroit, at that early period, was by way of Fort Niagara, Fort George and Queenston, to Chippewa and Fort Erie, where shipping could be obtained direct to Detroit.

“On landing at Fort George, on the 7th day of October, 1800, he was arrested by the English, on suspicion of being a French spy, and sent (a prisoner) to Quebec, where he endured a rigorous captivity from the 4th day of November, 1800, until the 29th day of July, 1802, when he was released, in consequence of the ratification of peace between Great Britain and France.

“During his detention, strenuous exertions were made

by his friends to procure his release, and the government of the United States in vain claimed his discharge as an American citizen.

“His affairs experienced sad derangement during his long captivity; but, with what he could save from the wreck of his fortune, he soon after purchased, from the Holland Company, several lots in the then village of New Amsterdam (now Buffalo).

“Mr. Le Couteulx came to reside in Buffalo in the year 1804. Soon after, he employed some Canadians to construct him a frame house, opposite Mr. Crow’s, on the site of the building now known as the ‘Le Couteulx Block,’ in which he lived until the burning of Buffalo, with his second wife, whom he married a short time after his release from his captivity.

“He was soon after employed by the Holland Company as an agent for the sale of their lands in Buffalo and its vicinity, and was appointed first Clerk of Niagara county, the 26th of March, 1808, which office he continued to hold until the war of 1812. He then removed to Albany, where he had still a small property, and re-established himself in business in that city.

“He received the appointment of Forage Master, in the service of the United States, towards the close of the late war, which he held until June, 1815.

“He was elected Sergeant-at-Arms by the Constitutional Convention of 1821, and also by the New York Senate.

“He soon after returned to Buffalo, where he resided until his death, which occurred October, 16th, 1839, at the age of eighty-four years. His wife had died the year previous.

“Thus have we sketched the prominent events of the life of Louis Stephen Le Couteulx, one of the earliest pioneers of Buffalo.

“He died regretted by all who were capable of appreciating his good qualities. As a private citizen, no one was more worthy of the general esteem and consideration in which he was held. He was a kind father, affectionate husband, and firm friend. He was honest beyond suspicion. As a Catholic, he strictly observed all the requirements of his religion, and especially those of the Gospel, which induced him to regard all the unfortunate as his brethren, and to afford them assistance without reference to their religion. In the discharge of his public duties, he was distinguished for his integrity, his zeal and his affability.

“Although a foreigner by birth, no one excelled him in love of his adopted country, or more highly appreciated its institutions, and he was ever ready to sacrifice his personal interest for the general good. Some proofs of this may be found in the donations he has made to the city of Buffalo, and other corporations, for benevolent purposes. He was the founder of St. Louis Church, erected by the Catholics, on a large lot fronting on Main street, in the city of Buffalo, which he presented to the Bishop of New York and his successors in office for that purpose, and for the construction of which he contributed a large share of the funds. He also gave another lot to the Irish Catholic congregation, on which they have recently erected a church.

“In acknowledgment of these benevolent acts, and to perpetuate his memory, the Common Council of the City of Buffalo procured his portrait to be painted, a

short time before his death, and have placed it among those of the Mayors of the city, in the Common Council Chamber."

Mr. Le Couteulx was the local agent and confidential correspondent of Mr. Ellicott, in Buffalo, for several years, and his letters to Mr. Ellicott are marked with the peculiar characteristics of the writer. He was a gentleman of the old school, and a Frenchman in his manners and address. He acted as clerk of the county in the old county of Niagara, at a very early period, and the beauty of his chirography has scarcely been equaled by any incumbent of the office since. He purchased Inner Lot No. 4, and kept a small drug store. This lot was conveyed by deed of the Holland Land Company to his wife in 1815, and a portion of it still remains the property of his descendants.

It could scarcely be otherwise, than that a man of such a gentle, genial spirit should be universally beloved and respected, and his memory cherished in the recollection of all who knew him.

The following notice of Buffalo in 1806, is from Mr. David Mather, and is copied from Turner's Holland Purchase:

"I settled in Buffalo, in 1806. There were then sixteen dwelling houses, principally frame ones; eight of them were scattered along on Main street, three of them were on the terrace, three of them on Seneca street, and two of them on Cayuga street. There were two stores—one the 'contractors,' on the corner of Main and Seneca streets, kept by Vincent Grant, on the east side of Main street. The other was the store of Samuel Pratt,

adjoining Crow's tavern. Mr. Le Couteulx kept a drug store in part of his house, on (the north side of) Crow street. David Rees's Indian blacksmith shop was on Seneca street, and William Robbins had a blacksmith shop on Main street. John Crow kept a tavern where the Mansion House now stands, and Judge Barker kept one on the site of the Market. I remember very well the arrival of the first public mail that ever reached Buffalo. It was brought on horseback by Ezra Metcalf. He came to my blacksmith shop and got his horse shod. He told me he could carry the contents of his (mail) bag in his two hands."

MR. DAVID REESE.

Mr. David Reese probably came to Buffalo in the employment of the Government as the Indian blacksmith. It had been the custom to furnish the Indians a blacksmith, or gunsmith to repair their guns, axes, hatchets, hoes, steel traps and other iron implements which their intercourse with the whites had introduced among them. In 1806, Mr. Reese purchased Outer Lot, No. 176, on Seneca street and built his blacksmith shop on the corner of Washington and Seneca streets, where the Post Office now stands, and where Mr. Pratt began his improvement the year before. This shop was a frame building, one story high, painted red, and has historic importance as being one of the two buildings not burned by the British in the war of 1812, and it served as a shelter for the wounded on that occasion, and some of the bodies of the killed were taken to that building before interment.

Mr. Reese built his dwelling upon the opposite corner of

Seneca street, on Outer Lot, No. 93, a part of Johnston's lot. It is said this lot was given him by the Indians, or by Johnston. Mr. Reese continued to carry on his blacksmith shop after the settlement of the village of Buffalo, and up to about 1823, when it went into other hands. The old blacksmith shop stood for ten or fifteen years after the war, the marks of which it bore in numerous bullet holes through the clapboards which constituted its covering.

In 1815, Mr. Reese had an unfortunate collision with "Young King," then a principal chief of the Senecas, residing at Buffalo Creek. Reese with others was returning from cutting grass upon the south side of Buffalo Creek, when they met an Indian, (probably intoxicated) for whom Reese had promised to do some small job of work in his blacksmith shop; in the dispute which followed, Reese struck the Indian with his hand or fist, which felled him to the ground. At this moment Young King rode up on horseback, and sharply remonstrated with Reese for what he had done, which exasperated him to such a degree, that he threatened to serve Young King the same way; upon which, Young King having dismounted, struck Reese on the head with a stick or club, upon which Reese seized a scythe in the hands of a bystander and struck Young King a severe blow across the arm nearly severing it from his body. The arm was amputated the following day; Reese was prosecuted for the maiming, but through the influence of mutual friends the matter was submitted to arbitration, as appears by the following agreement:

"Whereas, divers controversies have existed and do now exist, between David Reese, of Buffalo, and Young

King, a Seneca Indian, of and concerning a certain assault and battery, or mayhem alledged to have been committed on the said Young King by the said David, and whereas the said parties are anxious to finally settle and determine the same :

“ Therefore, be it known that we, the said David and Young King, do hereby agree to submit, all and singular, the things touching the said assault and battery, or mayhem, to Augustus Porter, Joshua Gillett and Jonas Williams, Esquires, arbitrators, by the said parties, indifferently chosen, and to abide by any award or decision that shall be made by the said arbitrators, or any two of them, concerning the said controversy, so the said award be in writing under the hands and seals of the said arbitrators, or any two of them, ready to be delivered by the 25th day of November, instant.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands the twenty-third day of November, 1815.

DAVID REESE,
YOUNG KING.

CHAPTER X.

ORIGIN OF AMERICAN COMMERCE AND NAVIGATION ON THE LAKES.

Among the early chapters of this work we have given the account of the building of the first vessel that ever navigated Lake Erie, and a brief description of her first, (and as it proved, her last), voyage, for she never returned from her trip to Mackinac, but was lost in Lake Huron, with all on board.

We have no account of any other vessels being built by the French, but soon after the surrender of Niagara by the French to the English, they began the construction of vessels for the purposes of war, as well as of commerce upon the lakes. There were probably more than one built at Navy Island, in the Niagara River. The English had several vessels upon Lake Erie in 1791, as we learn from Proctor's journal, and in 1796 they had quite a number of war and merchant vessels, as appears from the following from Mr. Weld's account of a few days' sojourn at Fort Erie, in the autumn of that year :

“Fort Erie stands on the eastern extremity of Lake Erie. It is a small stockade fort, similar to that at Chipeway, and adjoining it are extensive stores, as at Chipeway, and about half a dozen miserable little dwellings.

“On arriving there, I had no difficulty in discovering my companions (who had preceded him, in a boat, from

Chippewa). I found them lodged in a small log house, which contained but the one room, and just sitting down to supper, they had procured through the assistance of a gentleman in the Indian department, who had accompanied them from Chippeway. This habitation was the property of an old woman, who, in her younger days, had followed the drum, and now gained a livelihood by accommodating, to the best of her power, such travelers as passed by Fort Erie. A sorry habitation it was; the crazy door was ready to drop off the hinges, and in all the three windows of it, not one pane of glass was there—a young gentleman from Detroit having amused himself, whilst detained in the place by contrary winds, some little time before our arrival, with shooting arrows through them. It is not likely that these windows would be speedily repaired, for no glazier was to be met with nearer than Newark, thirty-six miles distant. Here, as we lay folded in our skins on the floor, the rain beat in upon us, and the wind whistled about our ears, but this was not the worst. In the morning, we found it a difficult matter to get wherewith to satisfy our hunger. Dinner was more difficult to be had than breakfast—supper, than dinner. There seemed to be a greater scarcity of provisions, also, the second day than there was on the first.

“At last, fearing that we should be famished if we remained longer under the care of old mother Palmer, we embarked at once on board the vessel of war in which we intended to cross the lake, where although sometimes tossed about by the contrary, raging winds, we had comfortable berths and fared sumptuously every day.

“Ships lie opposite to Fort Erie, at the distance of about one hundred yards from the shore. They are

there exposed to the violence of the westerly winds, but the anchorage is excellent, and they ride in perfect safety.

“Three vessels of war, of about two hundred tons, and carrying from eight to twelve guns each, besides two or three merchant vessels, lay wind-bound whilst we remained here.

“The little fort, with the surrounding houses, built on the rocky shore—the vessels lying at anchor before it—the rich woods—the distant hills on the opposite side of the lake, and the vast lake itself, extending to the farthest part of the horizon—altogether formed an interesting scene.

“Whilst we were detained here by contrary winds, we regularly went on shore, after breakfast, to take a ramble in the woods. Oftentimes, also, we amused ourselves with the diversion of hunting squirrels, with dogs, amongst the shrubs and young trees on the borders of the lake, thousands of which animals are found in the neighborhood of the fort. The squirrels, alarmed by the barking of the dogs, leap from tree to tree with wonderful swiftness. You follow them closely, shaking the trees and striking against the branches with poles. Sometimes they will lead you a chase of a quarter of a mile or more; but, sooner or later, terrified by your attentive pursuit, make a false leap and come to the ground. The dogs, ever on the watch, then seize the opportunity to lay hold of them. Frequently, however, the squirrels will elude their repeated snaps and mount another tree before you can look around you. I have seldom known them to be hurt by their fall, notwithstanding that I have many times seen them tumble from

branches of trees upwards of twenty feet from the ground.

“In our rambles we used frequently to fall in with parties of Seneca Indians from the opposite side of the lake, amusing themselves with hunting and shooting these animals. They shot them principally with bows and blow-guns, at the use of which last, the Senecas are wonderfully expert. The blow-gun is a narrow tube commonly about six feet in length, made of a cane reed, or of some pithy wood, through which they drive short, slender arrows by the force of the breath. The arrows are not much thicker than the low string of a violin; they are headed generally with little tri-angular bits of tin, and round the opposite ends for the length of about two inches, a quantity of the down of thistles, or something very like it, is bound so as to leave the arrow at this part of such a thickness that they may but barely pass into the tube. The arrow is put into the end of the tube that is held next to the mouth; the down catches the breath, and with a smart puff they will fly to the distance of fifty yards. I have followed young Seneca Indians whilst shooting with blow-guns, for hours together, during which time I have never known them to miss their aim at the distance of ten or fifteen yards, although they shot at the little red squirrels, which are not half the size of a rat, and with such wonderful force used they to blow forth the arrows, that they frequently drove them up to the very thistle down, through the heads of the largest black squirrels. The effect of these guns appears at first like magic. The tube is put to the mouth, and in the twinkling of an eye you see the squirrel that is aimed at fall lifeless to the ground; no

report, not the smallest noise even, is to be heard, nor is it possible to see the arrow, so quickly does it fly, until it appears fastened in the body of the animal."

The following paper, written by the late Judge Augustus Porter, gives the best account of the origin of American commerce, upon Lake Erie, and the upper lakes, and is inserted in full, as worthy of preservation :

"I have resided in Western New York since the spring of 1789, and on the Niagara River since the spring of 1806. I first visited Lake Erie and Niagara River, in 1795, and from an early period till within the last thirty years, have been more or less interested in the navigation of the lakes.

"It is well-known that the military posts of Oswego, Niagara, Detroit and Mackinac were not surrendered to the United States until the fore part of the year 1796, under Jay's Treaty. Boats had not been permitted to pass Oswego into Lake Ontario, and as no settlements of importance had been made previous to that time on the American shores of the lakes, (excepting the old French settlements in the neighborhood of these ports, and they were under the influence and jurisdiction of the British government), no vessels were required and of course none were built.

"In August, 1795, I left Canandagua, in company with Mr. Judah Colt, on a journey to Presque Isle, Pennsylvania, (where Mr. Colt afterwards settled). The country west of Genesee River, excepting a tract twelve miles in width, extending from opposite Avon, along the river to its mouth, had not then been purchased by the Indians, and no roads opened. We of course followed the Indian trail to Buffalo.

“ At that time the only residents at that place, so far as I recollect were William Johnston, the British Indian interpreter, whose house stood on the site of the present Mansion House, an Indian trader named Winnee, a negro named Joe*, also a trader, both of whom resided on the flats near the mouth of Buffalo Creek, and a Dutchman, by the name of Middaugh, with a family, who resided some forty or fifty rods east of Johnston’s.

“ A large portion of the ground now occupied by your beautiful city was then an unbroken wilderness. By advice of Mr. Johnston we concluded to go down to Chippewa, Upper Canada, to take passage in a small sail boat, and row boat owned by Capt. William Lee, with which he made several voyages to Presque Isle, (where settlements were just commencing) and had taken up the family of Mr. Reed, the father of Mr. Rufus S. Reed. Capt. Lee had no crew engaged and only made trips when he could obtain passengers enough able and willing to work their passage. Mr. Colt, Mr. Joshua Fairbanks of Lewiston and myself joined Capt. Lee. Leaving our horses at Chippewa, we set out on our voyage and reached our destination in safety.

“ We found several families commencing their settlement at Erie, and a party of surveyors laying out the town, under the protection of a company of Pennsylvania militia, commanded by Gen. Irvine of Carlisle. While we remained, we enjoyed the hospitality of Col. Reed, in his marquee, his house not being ready to occupy.

“ Without entering into further details, I will merely

* His name was Joseph Hodge.

add that we had a safe and pleasant passage back to Chippewa, and Mr. Colt and myself crossed the Niagara at Queenston, on our return home. At that time, I am not aware that a single vessel was owned on the United States side of the Lakes, and I remember that Capt. Lee, who would have known, informed me that there were none.

“In 1796, I was employed by the Connecticut Land Company, to survey the Western Reserve, and I prepared to go on, early in the season, with some other surveyors and a party of men to perform the work. At Schenectady, we fitted out three batteaux, manned with four hands each, with the necessary articles for the expedition, such as tents, blankets, cooking utensils, groceries, &c., &c., with a quantity of dry goods designed as presents for the Indians.

“These boats were put under the eye of Mr. Joshua Stow, uncle of Judge Stow, of Buffalo. Understanding that the military posts of Oswego and Niagara, were to be given up to the United States early this spring, under a stipulation in Jay's Treaty, Mr. Stow took the route by way of Oswego and Niagara, to Queenston.

“On his arrival at Oswego, that port had not been surrendered, and the boats were not permitted to pass. Determined not to be delayed, Mr. Stow took the boats a mile or two up the river, and the night following, ran them past the fort into the lake, and pursued his voyage, and before he reached Niagara, that port had passed into the possession of our troops.

“He landed at Queenston, had his boats and lading taken to Chippewa, where he took in provisions to complete his cargos, which had been purchased at Canandai-

gua, and forwarded by way of Irondequoit and the lake, in open boats, and arrived a day or two before. At Buffalo, he was met by others of the party, who had come on by land. Among these, Gen. Moses Cleveland, one of the directors of the Connecticut Land Company, (from whom the city of Cleveland took its name), who by way of securing the good will of the Indians to the expedition, held a council and distributed presents among them.

“The expedition went on from here, part by boats, and part by land, with pack horses, and arrived at the mouth of Coneaut Creek, on the 4th of July, 1796, and celebrated the day. The party then consisted of fifty-two persons.

“At this time we ascertained there was not a white person residing on the Reserve, excepting a French family, just within the mouth of Sandusky Bay.

“One of our boats was employed during the season in bringing up provisions from Chippewa; and in October, on her up trip, was wrecked in a gale off the mouth of Chetauque Creek, and Tinker, the master, drowned.

“No American vessels had yet been built, and some of the baggage and stores for the troops at Detroit had been transported from Western Pennsylvania, by the contractor, Gen. O'Hara, up the valley of the Big Beaver and through the wilderness, to Detroit, on pack-horses.

“One of the horses, that had strayed from the caravan, and branded with the letters ‘O. H.,’ was taken up by one of our surveying parties, far up the river on the Reserve.

“The first American craft that I know of as navigating Lake Ontario, was a Schenectady batteaux, fitted

out for a trading expedition to Canada, in 1789, by John Fellows, of Sheffield, Massachusetts—its cargo mostly tobacco and tea. On arriving at the Oswego river, he ascertained that he would not be permitted to pass the British post at Oswego, and he manifested no little ingenuity and enterprise in overcoming the difficulty. He took his boat up the outlet of Canandaigua (lake), to what is now called Clyde, where he built a small log house, (long known as the block house) to store his goods until he cleared out a sled road to Sodus Bay, whither he transported boat and goods, and pursued his voyage; and, by the aid of some secret friends, disposed of his cargo to great advantage, and brought his boat back to Irondequoit Creek and sold it to a man by the name of Lusk, who had that year began a settlement at that place.

“In 1798, a small schooner of thirty tons, in which I had an interest, was built at Hanford's Landing, on the Genesee river, about three miles below Rochester, by Eli Granger, and called the *Jemima*.

“Between the years 1796 and 1800, (I am unable to particularize the year) the schooner *Gen. Tracy* was built at Detroit, and in August, 1808, purchased by Porter, Barton & Co., and thoroughly repaired, and on her second or third trip, was wrecked on the Fort Erie reef, in 1809.

“The brig *Adams*, a government vessel, was built about the same time as the *Gen. Tracy*, and was sailed by Capt. Brevoort for a number of years. She was built at Detroit.

“A small vessel, called the *Good Intent*, was built at Presque Isle by Capt. Wm. Lee, and I believe was

partly, and perhaps wholly, owned by Rufus S. Reed. She, I think, was built about 1800, and was wrecked near Point Abino in 1805.

"In 1802 or '3, the schooner Gen. Wilkeson, of seventy tons, was built at Detroit, and, in 1811, thoroughly repaired and her name changed to the Amelia. One half of her was purchased of Solomon Sibley by Porter, Barton & Co., in 1811. She was sold to the United States during the war.

"In the winter of 1802-3, the schooner Contractor was built at Black Rock, by the company having the government contracts for the supply of the military posts, under the superintendence of Capt. Wm. Lee, by whom she was sailed until 1809, and afterwards by Capt. James Beard.

"In 1803-4, a small sloop called the Niagara, of about thirty tons, was built at Cayuga Creek, on the Niagara River, by the United States government, but not put in commission. She was purchased by Porter, Barton & Co., in 1806, and her name changed to the Nancy, and sailed by Capt. Richard O'Neil.

"In 1806, the schooner Mary, of one hundred and five tons, was built at Erie by Thos. Wilson, and purchased, the one-half by James Rough and George Bueshler, and the other half by Porter, Barton & Co., in 1808, and sailed by Capt. Rough until the war, and then sold to the United States.

"In 1808, Porter, Barton & Co. purchased the schooner Ranger of George Wilber, then several years old. She was repaired and sold by Capt. Hathaway.

"In 1810, the sloop Erie was built at Black Rock by Porter, Barton & Co., and sold to the United States in time of the war.

“The schooner *Salina*, sailed by Capt. Dobbins, and the schooner *Eleanor*—and probably others that I do not recollect—were built and sailed before the war; but I am unable to say when they were built or by whom owned.

“Messrs. Rufus S. Reed, Bixby and Murray, of Erie, and others whose names I do not recollect, built and owned vessels on the lake. Mr. Reed was largely interested in transporting over to Waterford and Pittsburgh. * *

“A number of vessels on both lakes, owned and armed during the war by the United States, were afterwards sold and employed in the commerce of the lakes.”

Mr. John Despar, a Frenchman, came to Buffalo about the same time as David Reese, and probably was employed to furnish the Indians with bread. He was the first baker in Buffalo, and is undoubtedly the person spoken of by Seneca White. Despar's bakery was upon Johnston's lot, a little south of Reese's dwelling house, on what is now Washington street. He, like Reese, was probably permitted to build there by Johnston.

Despar remained in Buffalo until after the war of 1812, pursuing his business as a baker. Becoming quite dissipated in his habits, he removed a little out of town. He purchased Outer Lot No. 31, in 1807. He removed to a lot on what is now High street, after 1820, where he died soon after.

Judge Samuel Tupper was an early settler in Buffalo. He purchased Inner Lot No. 7, in 1805. He had settled here a little previous to that time, it is probable. He took up Outer Lot No. 17 in 1808, and built a house upon the corner of Tupper and Main streets. He was

appointed a Judge at an early period, and it is believed he held the office until his death, in December, 1817. He had no children. An adopted daughter of his became the wife of Mr. Manly Colton, who occupied the old homestead many years after the death of Judge Tupper.

Mr. Vincent Grant was an early merchant, or trader, in Buffalo. He probably came here in 1805, and kept what was called the "Contractors' Store." He purchased Inner Lot No. 8, in 1808, and built a store upon it, which was burned, with the rest, when Buffalo was burned. After the war, he re-built a cheap building upon the old foundation, on the corner of Main and Seneca streets—south side of Seneca and east side of Main. He continued there until after 1820, and died a few years after, at an advanced age, leaving no family.

Judge Zenas Barker, came to Buffalo, prior to 1807, as it appears from the books of the Holland Land Company, that he took up Outer Lots, Nos. 76 and 77, July 1st, 1807.

Judge Barker kept tavern at a very early period, on the Terrace, near where John Palmer had kept before him. His house was on the corner of Main street and the Terrace. Mr. Barker had a large family of children. One of his sons, Jacob A. Barker, Esq., continued to reside in this city up to the time of his death, in 1859. He was well and favorably known among our business men, particularly upon the dock, being for a long time engaged in the commerce of the lakes. He possessed public confidence and respect in an eminent degree, having been frequently honored with the confidence of the people, by being elected to offices of trust and distinction,

among which was his election to represent the county in the Legislature of the State, which office he filled with credit to himself and the satisfaction of his constituents.

A daughter of Judge Barker became the wife of Major John G. Camp, who was an officer of distinction in the army of the United States, in 1812; he subsequently settling in Buffalo. Another daughter married the son of William Johnston, as has already been stated; another married Capt. Hull, of the army of 1812, and another became the wife of Mr. Lyon. Mrs. O. G. Steele, it is believed, is the only descendant of Judge Barker, now living in Buffalo.

Judge Ebenezer Walden, was the first lawyer in Buffalo. He came here in 1806, bringing the following letter of introduction to Mr. Granger:

“BATAVIA, Sept. 23d, 1806.

“DEAR SIR:—Permit me to reconimend to your particular attention, Mr. Walden, the bearer of this—a young gentleman with whom I have long been acquainted—a correct scholar, liberally educated, an attorney in the Supreme Court, and a gentleman who will be quite an accession to your society at Buffalo Creek. He is a stranger in your country; any attentions paid him will be a favor done to your friend and

“Humble servant,

“D. B. BROWN.

“ERASTUS GRANGER, Esq., Buffalo.”

He immediately entered upon the practice of his profession, in Buffalo, and for some years was the only licensed attorney, west of Batavia, in Western New

York. He purchased Inner Lots Nos. 12 and 13, for which he received a deed, in 1810. He subsequently became the purchaser of other lots, most or all of which he retained. So remarkable was he in this respect, that it became a common remark that he was never known to sell a lot. He married in 1812, and had several children. Two only survives him, Mr. James Walden, of Hamburgh, Erie county, and Mrs. Col. Myer, of the United States Army. He was appointed Judge in 1823, and held the office of Mayor of the city during one term, and died in 1857.

Judge Walden was greatly respected and honored through a long and active life. Perhaps it is not too much to say that no man stood higher in the public estimation, during the whole period of his residence in Buffalo, which extended from 1806 to a few years before his death, when he removed to his farm in the country, where his son and widow now reside. He accumulated a large fortune, chiefly by the enhancement of the value of the real estate he held in Buffalo, to retain which, he led a life of laborious industry and the most rigid economy, while at the same time, his house was the seat of refined and generous hospitality.

He has left a record that should satisfy the ambition of any man—that of a gentleman of learning and intelligence, a man of perfect honor and integrity, a true friend fulfilling all the relations of life with fidelity, ever exerting a conservative influence in favor of law, religion and morality, contributing both by his example and his means to the establishment and perpetuation of all the institutions which go to build up intelligent civil society, based upon the great principles of christian morality and religion.

Mr. Elijah Leech came to Buffalo in 1805 or 6. He married a daughter of Capt. Samuel Pratt ; was engaged in mercantile business with his brother-in-law, Mr. Samuel Pratt, Jun., for a time. He purchased Inner Lot, No. 46, in 1807, and subsequently bought Outer Lots, 47, 48, 49, 50, near the toll bridge. He built a dwelling on the south side of Buffalo Creek, at the old Ferry, where he resided many years.

Mr. Leech was a man of character and influence. He held various town and county offices, being clerk of the county one term. He was one of the founders of the Washington street Baptist Society. He removed from Buffalo to Clarence Hollow, where he died. He was greatly respected, and died lamented by a large circle of friends and acquaintances. He left children ; none, however, remain in Buffalo.

CHAPTER XI.

We have spoken of most of the prominent settlers in Buffalo, who were here prior to 1807. It is time to say something of the efforts of those early settlers to reduce to order the discordant social elements around them. There were, of course, other individuals here besides those we have named, but they do not seem to have come with any fixed purpose of making this their permanent abode.

There had always been numbers of white men, who from one motive or another, followed and attached themselves to the Indians ; sometimes as traders, sometimes as trappers, and as it had always been the custom of the Six Nations to encourage the amalgamation of their people with the whites, many of these men married (after the Indian mode) Indian wives and raised families of children. So long and persistently had this custom been persevered in, that the saying became proverbial, that a full blood Indian could not be found among them. It is easy to see that this half-and-half element found here by the first settlers from New England, was more difficult to deal with, than if it had been of a purely savage, or uncivilized character. But with characteristic Yankee forecast, wisdom, energy and enterprise, they invoked the aid of those instrumentalities which they had seen

so successfully employed by their fathers in their New England homes, and under which they had received their training. These were schools, and churches.

We have seen that as early as 1801, "the inhabitants of Buffalo" applied to Mr. Ellicott, the agent of the owners of the soil, for a lot upon which to build a school house. This was promptly granted by Mr. Ellicott, as we see by his journal, that immediately on receiving the application, he started for New Amsterdam "to lay off a lot for a school house, the inhabitants offering to build one at their own expense." This school house was built probably in 1802 or 3, by subscription, as in the controversy about the money paid by the general government for this school house which was burned in 1812-13, a claim was set up, that the money belonged to those who contributed to the original expense of erecting the school house, of whom Doctor Chapin claimed that he was the chief.

As has been already stated, this school house stood on the west side of Pearl street, below Swan street. It was probably Father Holmes, (as he was familiarly called) through whom the offer to furnish a school teacher by the Missionary Society was made. It is a little uncertain who was the first teacher in this school house. A son of the Rev. Mr. Holmes, who had just finished a collegiate course of study, is spoken of as an early teacher in this school. Hanchett, Tomlinson, and Callender all taught in it before the war, and it is likely some others. It was usual for both young men and women, from the neighboring towns to attend this school, which was considered to be of a higher order than any taught in the surrounding country. There are men still living in the

county of Erie, who received their education, or a good part of it, in this school; men too, who have occupied high and responsible positions in society, and have acquitted themselves well in those positions.

This school house also served as a place of public worship. It will be seen by reference to Mr. Ellicott's journal, that as early as in January, 1801, the Rev. Elkanah Holmes was here as a Missionary to the Indians, and "preached for the inhabitants of New Amsterdam." There was here about the same time, as appears by Mr. Ellicott's journal, another Missionary, of the name of Palmer, who appears to have been sent out by the Dutch Reformed Church. He was sent especially to the Dutch settlements upon the head waters of the Susquehannah, in 1796-98. He probably only visited Buffalo at the period mentioned. Mr. Holmes is therefore entitled to be considered the first preacher in Buffalo. He was followed by other missionaries who visited Buffalo at different times, but without any permanent stay. Meetings were held in the school house when the services of a minister of any denomination could be obtained. These meetings were generally attended by all the inhabitants without distinction of sect or party.

The following authentic record of the Missions to the Six Nations, is from a manuscript letter written by Rev. John A. Vinton, Dated Boston, January 15th, 1863. As it has not been published, it is thought to be worthy of preservation:

"The first attempt of the New York Missionary Society to establish a mission among the Senecas was made in the year 1811. In that year, the Rev. John

Alexander and Mr. Jabez B. Hyde were sent to the tribe, with the hope of forming a permanent missionary station. After repeated conferences with the chiefs in council, the minister of the gospel was rejected, while the teacher was invited to remain and commence a school on the Buffalo Creek Reservation, for the children of the nation.

“Mr. Hyde accepted the invitation, and continued in the school until 1819, when he was succeeded in the school by Mr. James Young, an experienced and pious teacher from New York city.

“Mr. Hyde was subsequently appointed a reader and catechist among the Senecas. In that capacity he resided at the station till March, 1821, when, in consequence of a new arrangement, his services were no longer needed. During all this time, there was no church among the Senecas.

“In November, 1820, these two missionary stations—that among the Senecas and that among the Tuscaroras—were transferred to the United Foreign Missionary Society, a society which had been formed in the city of New York, July 28th, 1817, by a union of members of three different evangelical denominations of Christians, viz: the Presbyterians, (then one compact body, represented in the General Assembly, meeting annually in Philadelphia); the Dutch Reformed Church, and the Associate Reformed Church. Hence the name of the new society.

“The Hon. Stephen Van Rensselaer, of Albany, was President of this Society, while among the Vice Presidents and Directors we find the names of Col. Henry Rutgers and Col. Richard Varick, of New York city;

Hon. Jonas Platt and George Huntington, Esq., of Utica; Rev. Henry Davis, D. D., President of Hamilton College, Clinton; Rev. Henry Dwight (afterwards H. Dwight, Esq.) of Geneva; Rev. Drs. Livingston, Alexander, Milledoller, Spring, and many other honored names. Among these I find the name of Rev. Miles P. Squier, of Buffalo, who, I think, is still living. * * *

“At the time of the transfer of the two missionary stations already named, the society itself, which sustained them, merged its existence in the United Foreign Missionary Society, as already mentioned.

“To complete the transaction, and secure the concurrence of the Indians, as well as to obtain the information (necessary) to an intelligent administration, for the future of the missionary concerns at the two Reservations, two commissioners were appointed to visit those Indian tribes. The commissioners were the Rev. Stephen N. Rowan, President of the New York Missionary Society, and the Rev. Paschal N. Strong, Recording Secretary of the United Foreign Missionary Society.

“These gentlemen proceeded to the two Reservations, and met the chiefs and warriors of the Indians in council—of the Tuscaroras on the 11th of December, 1820, and of the Senecas on the 14th. The Indians readily gave their consent to the transfer, and a new and unwonted interest was awakened in behalf of the Christian religion.

“At this time the Rev. J. C. Crane was the missionary among the Tuscaroras, and the church on their Reservation consisted of seventeen members. The whole number of that tribe on that Reservation was two hundred and sixty souls. The Pagan party had removed to Canada some time previous.

“At the same time, (December, 1820) Mr. Jabez B. Hyde was catechist among the Senecas, and Mr. James Young, school-master, as above stated.

“The number of the Senecas does not appear, but there was a strong Pagan party among them, who vehemently opposed the introduction, not only of the gospel, but of all the arts and decencies of civilized life. Nevertheless, the Senecas, Onondagas and Cayugas, at the Buffalo Reservation, agreed in council to be placed under the care of the United Foreign Missionary Society, so far as relates to missionary purposes. They also requested, on a proposal and explanation of the matter by the commissioners, that a faithful minister of the gospel might be appointed by the society to reside among them, ‘to do his duty, and be for that particular purpose, and not to be led away by other matters.’ Even this answer shows the jealousy of the Indians.

“On a similar report and explanation, they requested to have a female teacher to instruct their daughters in knitting, sewing, spinning, weaving, &c., and promised to send their children to learn.

“On the 14th of December, after the council was adjourned, the commissioners repaired to the house of the teacher, Mr. Young, for the purpose of uniting in marriage the interpreter, Thomas Armstrong, (probably a half-breed) and Rebecca Hempferman. There we found, among the principal chiefs and warriors of the nation, who had attended the council, Jonathan Jacket, youngest son of the celebrated chief, Red Jacket. He, as we were informed by Thomas, was engaged to a young woman by the name of Yah-ah-weh, from Cattaraugus, who was then distant from Mr. Young’s about four miles, and he was anxious to have his marriage also solemnized

according to the Christian institution, if we would wait until he could go and bring her to Mr. Young's.

"We accordingly delayed the marriage of Thomas until Jacket returned with his bride, when both couples were married at once, with the approbation and to the satisfaction of the chiefs and warriors present.

"These marriages were the first ever solemnized in the Seneca nation after the Christian manner.

"Pursuant to the plan of proceeding now arranged, the managers of the United Foreign Missionary Society, on the 13th September, 1821, appointed as missionary to the Senecas—Mr. Thompson S. Harris a licentiate of the Presbytery of New Brunswick, who had just finished his professional education at the Theological Seminary at Princeton.

"On the 29th of October then ensuing, Mr. Harris and his wife arrived at the Seneca Reservation, and were cordially welcomed by the chiefs of the tribe. Not long after, a church was formed.

"Two unmarried ladies—Miss Van Patten and Miss Reeve, sent as teachers to the Seneca nation by the United Foreign Missionary Society—arrived there in June, 1821.

"In April, 1822, Mr. Wm. A. Thayer, an experienced teacher in New York, who, with his wife, was a member of the First Presbyterian Society in that city, departed from that city, with his family, and soon after commenced a missionary station, as teacher, at the Seneca Reservation at Cattaraugus. This was in pursuance of a 'talk' agreed upon by the Senecas in their great council, signed by twenty-six chiefs.

"Mr. Thayer was the father of Miss Mary Jane

Thayer, who labored about three years as teacher among the Tuscaroras, (1849 to '52) and to whom those Indians were greatly attached.

"In June, 1826, a union was effected between the United Foreign Missionary Society and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The several missions of the former were transferred, as soon as convenient, to the care of the latter.

"The subsequent history of these missions may be learned from the *Missionary Herald* and the *Annual Reports of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.* * *

"I will only add that Rev. Asher Wright, who has been a faithful and laborious missionary to the Senecas since 1831 till now, was my class-mate, room-mate and endeared friend, at Andover.

"Yours very truly,

"JOHN A. VINTON."

Mr. Holmes was a missionary sent out by the "New York Missionary Society" to the Indians. The following letter in regard to Mr. Holmes, written by the Secretary of that Society to Joseph Brant, is copied from "Stone's Life of Brant," page 439, vol ii :

"NEW YORK, June 16th, 1801.

"SIR:—The Directors of the New York Missionary Society have instructed me to tender you their acknowledgments for your friendship to their missionary, the Rev. Elkanah Holmes. This gentleman, in whose discretion and integrity they repose entire confidence, they have employed in a second mission to those tribes of In-

dians whom your influence particularly effects. The purity of their views, embracing the moral and religious interest of the Indians, induces them to believe that their attempts will not be unacceptable to you; and your former kindness to Mr. Holmes, emboldens them to ask for him such countenance and advice as your intimate knowledge of Indian affairs, and weight of your opinion in directing them, render it expedient for you to give. For your farther satisfaction in regard to the missionary system, Mr. Holmes will present you with a volume containing the sermon preached before the Society, and the annual account of their procedure; of which the directors do themselves the pleasure to request their acceptance. With respect, I am sir,

“Your obedient servant,

“JOHN M. MASON, Secretary.

“CAPT. JOSEPH BRANT.”

In a note, it is added, “Mr. Holmes devoted many years to Missionary labors among the Indians of whom he took his leave about the year 1812. He lived many years afterwards, and died at a very advanced age. * * His appearance in the latter years of his life was truly patriarchal. His hair was long and white, fell down upon his shoulders, his manner was remarkably impressive and his whole demeanor that of one who was ripe for heaven. He was a Calvinistic Baptist.”

The occasional visits of the missionaries was all the preaching enjoyed by the first settlers in Buffalo. A son of the Rev. Mr. Holmes, married a daughter of Doctor Cyrenius Chapin, which brought that venerable missionary here often and it is believed he made Buffalo his residence for a short period.

This state of things continued until 1811, when the Rev. John Alexander and Mr. Jabez B. Hyde were sent to establish a mission among the Indians, at Buffalo Creek; the first as a preacher, and the latter as a school master. But upon their arrival here, a good deal of opposition to the missionary preacher was manifested and after several days spent in council, the school teacher was accepted but the preacher was rejected. Red Jacket was the leader of the party opposed to the preaching of the gospel being introduced among the Indians, and it was on this occasion that he is said to have delivered the following decision of his people on the subject.

He said they had listened attentively to what had been argued in favor of the religion of the whites, and if it would accomplish what those who advocated its introduction among them promised, it was very good—if it would make them sober, honest, truthful and kind, that was very good; but as they were not fully satisfied on the subject, they thought the experiment had better be tried on the people in Buffalo, for they were great rascals; they cheated the Indians, they drank a great deal of whiskey and caused the Indians to get drunk, and they never spoke the truth, and were always quarrelsome. If the missionaries would go down and preach to them a year, they (the Indians) would see what effect it would have upon them, and would then be able to decide what was best for them.

Mr. Hyde being accepted as a teacher remained, and identified himself with the professors of religion in Buffalo, and aided in conducting meetings in the absence of any one to preach.

The first church, of any denomination, was organized

in February, 1812, by the Rev. Thaddeus Osgood, the well-known itinerant missionary. It is believed to have been organized as a Congregational Church. It consisted of twenty-nine members of whom eight were males, and twenty-one females. It is the same now known as the First Presbyterian Church of Buffalo. After the burning of Buffalo, the Church became scattered; the few returning inhabitants however, endeavored to keep up their meetings. Their first meeting after their dispersion, was in the dwelling house of Deacon Amos Callender, afterwards in a part of Landon's Tavern, where the Mansion House now stands, then at a tavern, corner of Huron and Main streets, next in a barn on the opposite side of Main street, and subsequently in a long room in the brick tavern, built by Mr. Gaius Kibbe,* then in the court house, from there to the district school house on Niagara, a little north of Main street. From this the meetings were removed to a small lecture room erected on the lot occupied by the present church edifice of the society, the present building having been erected by the society in 1828. This church was received under the care of the Presbytery of Geneva, in 1816, and on the division of that Presbytery, it was transferred to the Presbytery of Buffalo.

In the Spring or Summer of 1815, the Rev. Miles P. Squier, visited Buffalo as a Missionary, and preached two Sabbaths. He soon after returned to New England, but came back in the month of November, in accordance with the written invitation of the principal citizens of Buffalo, and was ordained and installed pastor of the church by the Presbytery of Geneva. This ordination

* The old Eagle Tavern.

took place in the barn, corner of Main and Huron street, east side of Main and north side of Huron. Mr. Squier continued the Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, until 1824, identifying himself with all its interests, spiritual and temporal. He became an early purchaser of several lots of land, and erected a dwelling on the east side of Main street, above Chippewa street, where he resided many years.

Rev. Gilbert Crawford was the next Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church. He remained until 1828, and was succeeded by Rev. Sylvester Eaton, who remained until 1834, when he was succeeded by Rev. A. T. Hopkins who died November 27th, 1847. The Rev. M. L. R. P. Thompson was next called to the pastorate of the Church and he remained until he was succeeded by Rev. Walter Clark, the present incumbent.

Although the two lots upon which the First Presbyterian Church edifice and St. Paul's Episcopal Church stands were originally designated by the Holland Land Company, for religious use, they were not regularly conveyed to the respective societies until 1820, sometime after both those societies had built upon them. St. Paul's Church erected a handsome structure, in the Gothic style, of wood, some time before the first Presbyterian society erected their brick edifice. This wooden building was removed to give place to the present massive stone edifice which, when completed, will be an ornament to the city.

After the war, and up to 1818, a school was maintained for most of the time, and was kept in such rooms as could, from time to time, be obtained. In the winter it was kept by male, and in summer by female teachers.

In 1818, the first organization under the common

school law took place, embracing the whole village in one district. The first trustees were H. B. Potter, R. B. Heacock and Elias Ransom.

A tax was levied that year (of \$554.25) to build a school-house. The house was built, but no permanent conveyance of a lot was obtained, and the school house did not remain long stationary, but was removed several times, but was kept in the vicinity of where the churches now are—at one time on Niagara street, on Mr. Peacock's lot, at another, on the corner of Erie and Swan street, and finally on Pearl, above Niagara.

In the mean time, as the population increased and more room was required, the district was divided and sub-divided, as the public necessities seemed to require. Other (or private) schools were also opened, as the want of schools of a higher order than the common schools seemed to be demanded. Some of these were taught by men of superior qualifications.

A brother of Maj. John G. Camp taught one of these schools. Mr. Camp had a high reputation as a teacher in all the higher branches of education, and gave great satisfaction.

Deacon Amos Callender occasionally taught school (generally in winter) after the burning of Buffalo—sometimes in the chamber of his own house, on the east side of Pearl street, between Swan and Seneca streets. He possessed, in a high degree, the confidence of the people, and proved a competent and successful teacher.

The organization of St. Paul's Episcopal Church Society is believed to be the next in order, in point of time, to the First Presbyterian—having been organized

in 1817. Its first Rector was Rev. Samuel Johnson, and the following were the Rectors, in the order in which their names are given :

Rev. William A. Clark, Rev. Deodatus Babcock, Rev. Ravarard Karney, Rev. Addison Searle. The present incumbent, Rev. Dr. Shelton, was instituted in 1829.

The First Methodist Church and Society was organized by Elder Glezen Fillmore, in 1818. A small church was erected that year on Pearl street, opposite to where the First Presbyterian Church now stands. The usages of that denomination not permitting any permanent settlement of pastors or ministers, none remained any length of time in Buffalo. The Rev. Glezen Fillmore, a relative of the Hon. Millard Fillmore, preached in Buffalo perhaps oftener than any other preacher of that denomination, in the early history of that Church, and his influence and labors contributed largely to give the Methodist denomination the great influence and usefulness it has and still continues to exert in our city.

Besides those mentioned as having settled in Buffalo at the period of its history now under consideration, there were some others who took up farms in the vicinity of Buffalo, who identified themselves more or less with those who were settlers in the village proper.

As the Indian Reservation, the lake and river surrounded Buffalo on three sides, there was but one direction in which settlements could be made. This was upon the east ; consequently the early settlements were upon what was called the "old Buffalo and Batavia road." Most of the lands lying upon this road were plains, or oak openings, having only a sparse growth of stunted timber upon them. It was easily subdued and brought under cultivation.

It being of a limestone formation, the soil proved to be excellent for the cultivation of grain, and was taken up with avidity by that class of settlers who had agriculture only in view. Several of the first settlers in the village also took up farm lots. Dr. Chapin, the Pratts and others, were of the number.

Samuel Tupper bought Lots No. 27 and 50, Township 11, Range 8; Joseph Wells, No. 28, also Lot 41, same Township and Range; Frederick Miller, Lots 36 and 37; Zachariah Griffin, Lot No. 43; Ebenezer Walden, Lot No. 52; Joshua Gillett, Lot 51; Alvin Dodge, Lot 54; William Hodge, Lot 57; Elijah Holt, Lot No. 75; Daniel Chapin, Lots 66 and 81; Rowland Cotton, Lot No. 75.

Several of these purchasers of farm lots were active and influential men in aiding to reduce the discordant elements of a half-civilized community into something like social order.

Gen. Elijah Holt should be particularly mentioned in this connection. His name frequently appears in the proceedings (as the chairman) of public meetings, particularly those which were held for the purpose of considering questions relating to the social, moral and religious interests of the community. The task of organizing society out of such discordant elements, required no ordinary degree of moral courage on the part of those who were the constituted leaders in the work, and this Gen. Holt (for he was thus familiarly called) seemed to possess. He was a man of commanding presence, of pleasing, dignified address, and apparently well qualified to occupy the position assigned him. Some of the principal men in Buffalo were, at that time, not

the most perfect examples of morality. Deacon Callender observed one of his neighbors engaged in carting his hay into the barn, publicly on the Sabbath. He went to him and kindly remonstrated with him, but with little effect, and it was not until Deacon C. told him he should certainly enforce the law against him, that he finally desisted from his work.

A society was formed of which Gen. Holt was the president, and Deacon Callender, Secretary, for the suppression of vice and immorality, and this society among other measures, adopted for the accomplishment of the object of its organization, published an advertisement in the Buffalo Gazette, of which the following is a copy :

“ RESOLUTION OF THE MORAL SOCIETY OF BUFFALO.

“ Resolved, That after the 23d November, inst., the laws of the State prohibiting violations of the Sabbath, shall be strictly enforced against all persons who on that day shall drive into the village loaded teams, or who shall unload goods, wares and merchandise, or who shall vend goods or keep open stores, or shops for the purpose of trading or laboring, or who shall engage in hunting, fishing, &c., &c. Also against all parties of pleasure, riding or walking to Black Rock, or elsewhere.

“ Resolved also, That the above resolution be published two weeks in the Gazette, published in this village, that strangers as well as villagers may be informed of the same, and govern themselves accordingly.

“ By order of the Society.

“ A CALLENDER, Sec’y.”

Mr. Amos Callender came to Buffalo in 1807 or 8 but did not remove his family until a year or two after. He was born in the town of Milton in the State of Vermont. His education, although not a graduate of any college, was superior to most of the young men of his day ; so much so that he had taught school before he left his native State, to reside in Buffalo. He soon found use for his acquirements in this then new settlement. He was first employed to keep the books of several of the early merchants, but usually taught school during the winter. He subsequently became Deputy Postmaster, an office which he held many years. He was appointed Surrogate of the county, in 1813, which office he held during one term.

He identified himself at a very early period with the cause of education and religion. So far as active duty and labor was concerned, he, perhaps more than any other individual, was influential in sustaining schools and religious worship, in the early history of Buffalo. A man of great firmness and equanimity of temper, of the most inflexible integrity, ever ready to perform any duty, always wise, discreet, and charitable towards the feelings and infirmities of others, Buffalo had no more useful citizen than Deacon Amos Callender. He had been educated in the faith of the Episcopal Church, but upon the organization of the First Presbyterian Church, in Buffalo, he united himself with that church, of which he remained a ruling elder until his removal to Black Rock, about the year 1840.

He was constituted a ruling elder in the church at Black Rock, but ultimately removed to this city and connected himself with the Central Presbyterian Church

and remained a ruling elder of that church to the time of his death in 1859.

Deacon Callender was thrice married and had six daughters, four by his first, and two by his second wife; all but two are still living; two only are now residents of the city, Mrs. Wm. Ketchum and Mrs. Willcox. It may be truly said that Deacon Callender led an active useful life. Few men have the opportunity of doing so much good by active labor, by precept and by example. His memory will be cherished with esteem and gratitude by all who knew him and could appreciate a truly good and upright man.

Mr. Jabez Goodell became a ruling elder in the First Presbyterian Church at an early period of its history, and lived in the city to a very advanced age. He was peculiar in many respects; extremely moderate in speech and in action, yet possessing a good deal of quiet energy and perseverance. By a skillful management of his lands which he bought at their original price from the Holland Land Company, and the gradual growth of the city for the period of nearly half a century, the increase in the value of his lands swelled into a very large estate. Having no children, he left the bulk of his property to be distributed to the different societies, or religious, missionary and educational associations of the denomination to which he belonged. All that he left for the benefit of the city where his wealth accumulated was a donation of a few thousand dollars to the Buffalo Female Academy to aid that association in erecting their academy building, which in acknowledgment of the donation was called Goodell Hall.

CHAPTER XII.

There were more lots sold in Buffalo, in 1808, than in any previous year. The following names appear on the books of the Holland Land Company as purchasers of lots in Buffalo in 1808 :

Jabez Goodell, Outer Lots, 136 and 145 ; John Roop, Farm Lot, 76 ; Elisha Ensign, Inner Lot, No. 60 and Farm Lot, No. 19 ; Joseph Wells, Inner Lot, No. 62 ; Asa Fox, Inner Lot, No. 61 ; Gilman Folsom, Inner Lot, No. 72 ; David Mather, Outer Lot, 123 ; William Hull and others, Inner Lot, No. 8 ; Rowland Cotton, Farm Lot, No. 75.

Most, if not all the names in the above list, became permanent settlers in, or near the village of Buffalo, and participated in the first efforts to establish society. Mr. Ensign married a daughter of Gen. Holt. She was the mother of Messrs. E. W. Ensign, and Charles Ensign of this city. Mr. Roop, it is believed was killed in the War of 1812, and was the father of Mr. Henry Roop of this city.

The date of the conveyance of a lot is not in all cases the date of the first settlement of the individual to whom the lot was conveyed. But it is a safe and perhaps the most reliable record of the names of the pioneer settlers of Buffalo, now to be obtained. Several of the earliest

settlers remained but a short time after the settlement under the Holland Land Company's title began. William Johnston, and his son, John Johnston, both remained and died here. Maybee, Robbins and Henry Chapin, with probably others of whom we have no record, left soon after the Holland Land Company began to sell lots in the village of New Amsterdam.

Mr. Joseph Landon, who is well remembered by many of our old inhabitants came here in 1806 or 7. He kept a tavern upon the present site of the Mansion House for many years. He purchased Outer Lot, No. 81, in July, 1807. He married Mrs. Marvin, the mother of Mrs. Judge Ebenezer Walden, who died in 1819. Mr. Landon afterwards married Mrs. West, the widow of Doctor West, long stationed at Fort Niagara, as physician and surgeon at that post. Mr. Landon removed from Buffalo to Lockport, where he kept a public house during the construction of the canal, and locks at that place. None of his descendants, so far as is known to the author, reside in Buffalo.

Mr. Joseph Wells was the father of Messrs. William Wells, and C. J. Wells, and C. C. Wells, all well known citizens of Buffalo. Capt. William Hull, was the father of Mrs. O. G. Steele. Mr. Gilman Folsom was one of the first, if not the first regular butcher in Buffalo. His sons were Gilman, Jun., and Ezekiel; none of the family remain in Buffalo.

Mr. Jabez Goodell, it will be seen by examining the list of village lots and the names of the purchasers in the

Appendix, became a large purchaser of lots in the village of Buffalo, as well as of lands in the country. He kept a tavern for the accommodation of teamsters, at a very early period, on the corner of Main and Goodell streets, and purchased a large tract of land in that neighborhood, being a little without the bounds of the village.

Capt. Rowland Cotton, as he was familiarly called, had his residence about five miles out, on the old Buffalo and Batavia road, now Main street. He had been an officer in the Revolutionary War. He had a large family of children, and there were other collateral branches of the family settled in the neighborhood. Capt. L. H. Cotton is a son and is believed to be the only one of the children of Capt. Rowland Cotton, now living in the city. He had other sons, some of whom settled in the west. Capt. Rowland Cotton died in an adjoining county at a very advanced age.

Mr. Henry Ketchum and his brother, Zebulon Ketchum, were early settlers in Buffalo. The former purchased Outer Lot No. 17, and farm Lot No. 70, in 1807. He built a dwelling on the corner of Main and Chipewa streets, where he remained until the burning of Buffalo, in 1812-13. He and his family fled with the rest, and never returned here to reside, but sold his property in Buffalo and settled, it is believed, somewhere in Orleans county.

Mr. Zebulon Ketchum remained a resident of Buffalo up to the time of his death. Some of his descendants still reside in Buffalo.

Mr. Henry Ketchum and Zebulon Ketchum were

brothers of Mr. Jesse Ketchum, who is extensively known as the patron and constant visitor of our public schools. . He is more widely known, perhaps, through his connection with our public schools and Sunday schools, than any other individual in our city. The benefits he has conferred—and is still conferring—upon the children of our city will only be disclosed in eternity. His yearly contributions in books, money, and in many other ways, for the benefit of the children of the city, must have been for many years quite large; and they are made in a most liberal and catholic spirit. The name of “Father Ketchum” will go down to posterity embalmed in the tender recollection of thousands of youthful hearts who have been the recipients of his kind words and liberal benefactions.

Mr. Jesse Ketchum became an early purchaser of real estate in Buffalo. It is not unlikely that he would have settled here at the first, but the death of an elder brother at Toronto (then York) called him there to look after the estate his brother left there, and he remained many years a citizen of that place, engaged largely and successfully in the tanning business, which his brother had established there. Mr. Ketchum, however, never lost his interest in Buffalo. Owning a large property here, he visited Buffalo frequently, manifesting his regard for its improvement and prosperity by contributing liberally towards the various objects of public interest. When the First Presbyterian Church was built, in 1828, although not a resident here, (and, at that time, probably never expecting to be) he contributed liberally towards the expense of the building, taking and eligible pew, which he continued to own, notwithstanding he was a resident in a foreign territory.

On the breaking out of the Patriot war, (as it was called) in 1837-8, Americans became the especial objects of suspicion, and surveillance, and a state of things existed in Canada very repugnant to the republican principles of Mr. Ketchum. He removed with his family to this city, where he has ever since resided.

Among the purchasers of lots, in 1809, we find the names of Marmaduke Wells, a brother of Joseph Wells, of whom we have already spoken, Otis R. Hopkins and others, who do not seem to have become settlers in Buffalo. Mr. Otis R. Hopkins settled in the town of Clarence. Mr. Wells appears to have held the office of Constable in Buffalo, at an early period.

Doctor Ebenezer Johnston arrived in Buffalo in 1809. He had studied his profession with the celebrated Doctor White, of Cherry Valley, and was furnished with the following letter of introduction to Mr. Granger :

“CHERRY VALLEY, 31st August, 1809.

“ERASTUS GRANGER, ESQ.,

“DEAR SIR : — The bearer of this letter (Doctor Johnson) is in pursuit of a place in order to settle himself in his professional business. I have directed him to call on you as the most suitable person to advise him of the propriety or impropriety of his settling at Buffalo. Doctor Johnson hath been a student with Judge White before, and ever since my partnership with the Judge, and it is but doing my duty to Dr. Johnson to state that he is a young man of unblemished morals, well read in his profession, and justly entitled to the patronage of the public.

“I remain, with respect and esteem,

“Your much obliged friend,

“HEZEKIAH L. GRANGER.”

Dr. Johnson entered upon the practice of his profession, which seems to have been his object in coming here. But he soon found a field opened for the employment of his business faculties, which he possessed in a high degree. He followed the practice of his profession up to the time of the war in 1812, and served as a physician and surgeon, during the war, on the Niagara frontier.

After the war he engaged in business, commencing, it is believed, with a drug store. He was associated in business for several years with the late Judge Samuel Wilkeson, subsequently he became a banker and broker. He possessed extraordinary executive capacity as a business man, and as his business led him to associate much with business men, his promptness and punctuality became proverbial.

By his enterprise, activity, and industry, he accumulated a large property, and was esteemed one of the wealthiest men in the city. He was the first Mayor of Buffalo after it received its charter, and held that office for two terms. He was a gentleman of pleasing address, fine commanding presence with something of a John Adams contour and expression; he would attract notice in any assemblage of men.

He built for his residence the stone cottage mansion, now occupied as the dwelling of the Female Academy, on Delaware street, where he lived in opulence and splendor, having a large park, enclosed, with a high picket fence, ornamented with trees and shrubs, plants and flowers, walks and waterfalls, with deer feeding and gamboling in the mimic forest-lawn, prepared for them.

But like all our active business men, Doctor Johnson

had to meet the terrible pecuniary revulsions of the time, and his ample fortune was swept away, and himself driven to seek support for his family in a distant State, by working some iron mines which in the course of his business had come into his hands, where he died not many years after he left Buffalo, having scarcely attained a period of life much past middle age. He had several children, but a single one only remains in Buffalo, Mrs. Rev. Dr. Lord.

Mr. Joshua Lovejoy was a tavern keeper at Avon, Genesee River, in 1805-6, in a hotel erected at that place by Mr. James Wadsworth. He came to Buffalo in 1807 or 8, but his name is not mentioned in the books of the Holland Land Company as the purchaser of a lot. The name of his family has become historic on account of the murder of his wife at the burning of Buffalo. This piece of barbarity, the murder of a defenceless woman, was excused by the British officer in command, on the ground that she resisted or assaulted those who entered her house, where she remained when her family and neighbors had all fled, and that her death was owing entirely to her own indiscretion and desperation.

Mr. Lovejoy died in New York, in 1824, aged fifty-three years. Mr. Henry Lovejoy, the well-known surveyor in Buffalo, is a son.

Among the early merchants in Buffalo, may be mentioned the firm of Juba Storrs & Co. This firm was originally composed of Mr. Juba Storrs, Mr. Benjamin Caryl and Mr. Samuel Pratt, Jun. Mr. Storrs had been educated for the bar, and came from Mansfield, in

Connecticut, to Buffalo, in 1808, to establish himself in the practice of the law. The following letter was written on his arrival at Buffalo :

“ BUFFALOE CREEK, July 15th, 1808. ”

“ MY DEAR PARENT :—You will perceive by the date of this that I am farther from home than I contemplated when I left Mansfield. It is a good day's ride from Ontario, where I thought of making a stand ; but the information which I received at Geneva and Canandaigua induced me to pursue my route to this place. You will find it on the map, by the name of New Amsterdam. It is a considerable village, at the mouth of Buffaloe Creek, where it empties into Lake Erie, and is a port of entry for Lake Ontario, (Erie) the St. Lawrence river and all the western lakes, and will eventually be the Utica, and more than the Utica, of this western country.

“ Buffaloe is in the county of Niagara, on an extensive and elevated plain, and is very healthy, subject to no fevers, or uncommon diseases whatever ; and there are but four attorneys in the county—so that I think my chance for success is better than it would be in Ontario county ; yet I shall, I think, get admitted in that county also, and in Genesee, which is between this and that.

“ I have been very successful in my acquaintance. Mr. Lewis, an attorney of Geneva, in respectable standing, (although I had no letters to him) treated me very handsomely. I dined with him once, and he gave me letters to gentlemen on my route, which I found useful. Again, I fell in company with a former Judge of the Common Pleas in Ontario county, who was traveling in the stage this way—a strong Federalist and a man much

respected—who was so good as to introduce me to men of his acquaintance, (which I found was very extensive) particularly to Mr. Granger, Postmaster and Collector of this port.

“As Judge Hosmer was going to Niagara Falls, about twenty miles from this place, I thought it would be useful to me to cross Niagara river, (and) form acquaintances in his majesty’s dominions of Lower (Upper) Canada and the Falls, so celebrated throughout America and Europe ; and this is the reason of my not writing sooner ; as the mail goes from here but once a week, I did not before have time to write. * * * * ”

“I will write again soon, and more fully. In the mean time, I wish very much to receive a letter from home. ‘Buffaloe Creek, State New York,’ will be sufficient direction.

“JUBA STORRS.”

It does not appear, however, that Mr. Storrs carried out his intention ; for we find that in 1809, or ’10, he associated himself with the gentlemen above named in the mercantile business.

They built a brick store on the corner of Washington and Exchange streets, (then South Onondaga and Crow streets) in 1810—on the west side of Washington and north side of Exchange. This was undoubtedly the first brick building erected in Buffalo.

Mr. Storrs writes to his father, under date of July 26th, 1810, and says :

“My partner nor myself have been able to obtain from Ellicott a well situated village lot. Caryl (his part-

ner,) contracted for a lot, with a house sufficient for a store, for five hundred dollars—then the best we could get, for which I suppose we could get six hundred, if we did not think the rise would be something handsome within a short time. It is not now as eligible a stand as the one we occupy, and have contracted for at four hundred dollars, and on which we are now building. Both these lots are said to be well bought, and the payments are made (payable) in such a way that I think we shall be able to get along with them, and keep both lots till the rise may induce us to dispose of one or both.

“The lot which we have got to-day is in a very eligible situation for business, and is one that we have before tried to get, but without success, and is said to be well bought. Either lot, with the house, (one on each) will give us fourteen per cent. on a rent.

“This lot and house I think I shall keep in my own name. Could we have got it a month ago, we should not have attempted to build at present, but we have now progressed so far that we must go on.”

Mr. Pratt retired from the firm, and Mr. Lucius Storrs, a younger brother of Mr. Juba Storrs, came on from Connecticut and took his place.

In 1812, the Company leased the mill property, belonging to Mr. Jonas Williams, at the Eleven Mile Creek, as it was then called, (now Williamsville) and Mr. Caryl removed his family there. The Company purchased the property during that year, and Mr. Caryl became a permanent resident there.

After the burning of Buffalo, Juba Storrs & Co. removed their mercantile establishment to Canandaigua,

Mr. Storrs himself remaining there. It is believed that Mr. Juba Storrs was never married.

Mr. Benjamin Caryl, removed from Vermont into Canada, soon after 1800. It is certain that he lived near Long Point, in Upper Canada, in 1805. It is probable he came to reside in Buffalo, about 1807 or 8. He lived at Williamsville, when Buffalo was burned, and continued to live there some time after the war, but subsequently returned and remained in Buffalo until his death. Mr. C. C. Caryl is a son. His daughters, now living in Buffalo, are Mrs. Gen. Lucius Storrs, Mrs. Doctor Warner and Mrs. J. H. Coleman.

Mr. Isaac Davis was an early merchant in Buffalo. He had a store and dwelling on the west side of Main street, below Seneca street. He was the purchaser of Outer Lot, No. 84, and probably Inner Lots 33 and 34, where he had his house and store. He did not remain in Buffalo long after the war. The pecuniary revulsion which immediately followed the close of the war, caused almost universal failure and bankruptcy among the merchants over the whole country; Mr. Davis suffered in common with the rest, and died by his own hands in a fit of weakness and depression caused by a fit of sickness at Canandagua, in 1818.

The organization of the political machinery for the establishment of civil government, became the next object of the first settlers. Up to about 1805-6 nothing but the ordinary organization of towns existed and all the territory west of the Genesee River had been included in the

town of Northampton, but Buffalo Creek lay entirely without the pale of civilization.

Upon the organization of the County of Niagara, in 1808, the Legislature made "Buffalo or New Amsterdam," the county-seat, upon the condition that the Holland Land Company should erect a court house and jail upon a suitable lot, and convey the same to the county.*

The Holland Land Company complied with the terms of this stipulation and built the court house in the middle of what is now Washington street, directly in front of the present "Old Court House," and conveyed to the county half an acre of land upon which it stood, lying in a circle, the centre of the building being the centre of the lot. This conveyance was made in 1810.

The first court in the new county was held in June, 1808, in Landon's Tavern. The Judges were Augustus Porter, first Judge, Erastus Granger, Zattu Cushing, James Brooks and Martin Pendergrast, Judges. Asa Ransom, Sheriff, and Louis Le Conteulx, clerk.

"*AN ACT TO DIVIDE THE COUNTY OF GENESEE INTO SEVERAL COUNTIES AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES, PASSED MARCH 11TH, 1808.

"§ III. And be it further enacted, That the Court House and Jail, in and for the said County of Niagara, be erected in the village of Buffalo or New Amsterdam, in the said county ; provided the Holland Land Company, their agent or agents shall within three years from the passage of this act, and at their sole expense, erect in the said village a sufficient and suitable building or buildings for a Court House and Goal for the said county, and shall legally convey not less than half an acre of land whereon the same shall be erected, together with the said building or buildings for the use of said county.

"§ V. And be it further enacted, That the first Court of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace, for the said County of Niagara, shall be held at the house of Joseph Landon, in the village of New Amsterdam, and until the said Court House and Jail shall be erected and certified as aforesaid (in Sec. IV) the said Courts of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace for the said county, after the first term of the said court, shall be held at such place in the said village of New Amsterdam, as the Judges of the said County of Niagara or a majority of them shall appoint."

The Court House and Jail built by the Holland Land Company were completed in 1810. Mr. Juba Storrs speaks of the jail, in a letter to his father, in July, 1810: "I suppose it would enhance the value (of property in Buffalo) in brother Zalmon's estimation (to know) that we have a very nice stone jail building." This jail was upon Washington street, a little south of the old Court House, and although attempts were made to burn it, when Buffalo was burned by the British, in 1813, it escaped entire destruction and was repaired after the war, and used many years. It was surrounded by a picket wall, made of round sticks of timber, set deep in the ground and sharpened at the top, probably a more secure prison than the one built since, and still in use.

It is difficult to obtain the means of illustrating the period of history now under consideration, although a considerable population had settled in and near Buffalo, but as yet no newspaper was published and no public records were kept.

The war of 1812, and the burning of Buffalo, which occurred at the end of the next year, destroyed all the private papers of individuals, so that among the records and papers of several families then residing in Buffalo, to which the author has had access, no papers of a date earlier than 1813, are to be found, therefore all the information in regard to the history of Buffalo, anterior to that date, could only be found in the Holland Land Company's records or the few remaining papers left belonging to the late Hon. Erastus Granger, which have been placed by his son, Warren Granger, Esq., in the custody of the Buffalo Historical Society, who informs the author that many of the letters and papers left by his father,

were taken or borrowed before he was aware of their historic importance, and never returned.

The names of purchasers of lots in Buffalo, in 1810, are William Best, Asahel Adkins, Asa Coltrin, Eli Hart, John Mullett, Gamaliel St. John, and Nathan Toles. Asa Coltrin was a physician and the partner for a time of Doctor Chapin. John Mullett was a tailor and the partner of Mr. James Sweeney. He purchased Inner Lot, No. 10. This lot was afterwards occupied by Mr. Sweeney and also by Sweeney & Efner who were for a long time known as the leading merchant tailors in Buffalo. Mr. Thos. Kennett succeeded to that old established firm, and still continues the business near the spot where it was originally commenced.

Mr. Gamaliel St. John appears to have been in Buffalo prior to 1810, as his name appears in the records of the Holland Land Company, as the purchaser of Inner Lot No. 53, January 24th, 1810. It was upon this lot that he built the house that escaped the general destruction by the British, December 31st, 1813. The preservation of this house was owing to the courage and intrepidity of Mrs. St. John, who was then a widow with a large family of small children. Her husband had not long before been drowned at Black Rock by the capsizing of the scow used at the Ferry, in which Mr. S. seems to have been at the time interested. This accident occurred by the drifting of the scow, by the force of the current, upon the hawser of a vessel lying at anchor in the rapids.*

*The following notice of this accident is copied from the Buffalo Gazette, of June 8th, 1813 :

“UNHAPPY ACCIDENT.

“On Sunday last, a boat upset by running foul the United States vessel Caledonia, anchored in the Niagara River at Black Rock. There

Upon the approach of the British, Mrs. St. John, with her children remained in her house, and sent a message to the officer in command, who immediately visited her. She represented her situation to the officer as a helpless woman with a family of equally helpless children. This appeal to his humanity was successful, and a guard was placed over her house, and it was preserved from destruction, the only dwelling spared in the town. Mrs. St. John was a woman of extraordinary energy and force of character. She lived to educate her children, (most of them daughters) and to see them well settled in the world. One of her daughters was the second wife of the late Judge Samuel Wilkeson, another married the late Doctor Foote, long the editor of the Buffalo Commercial Advertiser; another married the late Capt. Jonathan Sidway—Mrs. Sidway is still a resident of Buffalo—another married Mr. Asaph S. Bemis; she is the mother of Mr. E. S. Bemis, and Mr. A. S. Bemis, well-known citizens of Buffalo. One of the sons of Mrs. St. John resides in Lockport, Niagara County, and another is a resident of Buffalo.

Mr. Eli Hart was an early merchant in Buffalo. He purchased Inner Lot, No. 41, September 1st, 1810, and built a store upon it. His brother-in-law, Mr. John Lay, then a young man, had charge of the store and soon became a partner, under the firm of Hart and Lay. It is believed that Mr. Hart came to Buffalo from Oneida

were nine men in the boat; one got on board the *Caledonia*, three saved themselves by swimming, and the remaining five were drowned, viz: Gamaliel St. John, (inn-keeper of this village), Elijah St. John, (son of the above), Adam Rhoades, of Swift's United States Volunteers, and two Regular soldiers."

County, in this State. He did not remain permanently but subsequently removed to New York, where he became a prominent flour merchant.

Mr. Lay remained in Buffalo and continued in the mercantile business under the firm of Hart and Lay, many years, but taking a fancy to travel in Europe, his place was filled for several years by a young man from New York, of the name of Cunningham, and the business was conducted under the firm of Hart and Cunningham. Mr. C.'s health failing him, he went to the West Indies, where he died. Mr. Lay died in this city leaving a wife and children. Mrs. Chas. Ensign is a daughter.

Mr. Frederick Miller came to reside at Black Rock at a very early period, but did not come to reside in Buffalo until 1810. His name appears as the first licensed ferryman at Black Rock Ferry, when the State first began to exercise jurisdiction over it, in 1805-6. He kept the ferry, and a tavern at the ferry landing, until 1810, when he removed to Buffalo, as has been already observed. He remained however but a year, when he removed to the "Cold Spring," where he kept a tavern. During the war, he removed to Williamsville, and remained there till his death, which occurred in January 1836. Mr. Miller served during the war of 1812, in the army of the United States, in the capacity of Major of Artillery, hence his title by which he was afterwards known as "Major Miller." It was said that his men gave him the nick-name of "Major Squat," from the following circumstance:

A battery had been erected upon the high bank of the river near the ferry, nearly upon the ground now occu-

pied by the Niagara Street Railroad building. The British had a battery directly opposite, and the two were hotly eaged in bombarding each other. Major Miller stood upon the breastwork directing the firing, and with a glass watching the effect of their shots upon the enemy's works, and at the flash of their guns, would order his men to squat behind their breastwork. The Major noticed that some of his men, in their excitement did not promptly obey the order to "squat;" he reiterated the order with emphasis, saying, "squat d—n you, or I'll squat you."

The Major was an uneducated man, but an energetic and useful officer, and much esteemed by the officers of the army. He left a large family of children; Mrs. Gen. H. B. Potter, was a daughter, the late Capt. Wm. T. Miller, and Capt. Fred. S. Miller, were sons. It is believed that all his sons became sailors—the fruit of their early training on the river—and rose to distinction as masters of vessels, and steamboats. Major Miller's descendants are still numerous in Buffalo and have been active and influential, in all the stages of its history, in contributing in their several spheres of action to its growth and prosperity.

Mr. Ralph Pomeroy had traded in Detroit as early as 1808, but had formed so favorable an opinion of the locality of Buffalo, that he determined to establish himself here, which he did in 1810. Samuel Tupper had taken up Inner Lot, No. 7, corner of Main and Seneca streets, in 1805; this lot Mr. P. purchased, and began the erection of a house which he designed to keep as a public house or hotel. He completed his house and brought his

family on from Boston, where his wife then was, in the fall of 1811, and commenced to keep the hotel. His house became very popular, and was considered to be the best in all the country at that time. On the breaking out of the war, the next year, it became the resort of the officers of the army, and others who visited Buffalo, on business, or in pursuit of a place for settlement.

A call was made by the Government for volunteers, and troops of all ranks and arms, were hurried on to the Niagara frontier. Amongst the troops sent to Buffalo, was a company from Baltimore, called the "Baltimore Greens." It is said this company was composed almost entirely of men who were engaged in the great riot, in that city, a few months previous ; that they had been enlisted by the citizens of Baltimore for the double purpose of aiding the Government in the war, and to get rid of a very dangerous and troublesome body of men. This company came to Buffalo in the Summer of 1812 ; feeling but little the restraints of discipline, they visited the houses demanding food and drink of the inhabitants, as a right which they claimed as the defenders of the place against a foreign enemy.

Pomeroy being a man of stalwart frame, and not easily influenced or intimidated, peremptorily refused their unreasonable demands, and in consequence became very obnoxious to the "Greens," and they threatened to help themselves to what they wanted. But Pomeroy, not in the least daunted by their threats, entirely disregarded them and ordered them out of his house. The few that were present left the premises threatening him with vengeance. While the guests were at dinner, among whom were several officers of the army, an assault was com-

menced upon the Seneca street front by hurling an axe through the window, which fell directly upon the table. Instantly all in the room sprang to their feet. The mob rushed in from the Main street front, armed with clubs, bayonets, &c., and met with but little resistance from the unarmed company within.

An indiscriminate destruction of everything in the house immediately commenced. The mob helped themselves to the viands upon the table, the liquors in the bar, and appropriated whatever they could eat, drink, or carry away. Tables, chairs, furniture of every description, were demolished—the stairs torn down, the windows in the whole building, from bottom to top, were broken, and, to render the destruction more complete, the broken furniture in the upper story was piled in the middle of the floor and set on fire.

Among others at the table was Col. McClure. He ran to the stable, mounted his horse and rode into the house from the rear, and passing through into the front hall, in a loud voice commanded the rioters to disperse.

Col. Moses Porter was then in command here; and while the mob were engaged in their work of destruction, some one ran down to Landon's (now the Mansion House) to notify him. He came up immediately, rushed in at the front, drew his sword—but apparently discovering the desperate condition of things, returned it to its scabbard, and hastened to the head-quarters of his men in the vicinity of the Court House.

He ordered out a company of artillery, with a six pounder loaded with grape—each man armed with a sword, and a pistol in his belt. They were ordered down Main street on double-quick time, and drawn up

in line in front of the hotel, the gun being brought to bear directly upon the building and the matches lighted.

He then detached to the front a squad of men, under a subordinate officer, to enter the building and expel the mob. The first order given by this young officer was to "draw sword." In an instant, twenty blades flashed in the air. The next order, "forward quick!" followed immediately. As they approached within a few feet of the door, the officer leaped in. Instantly the report of one or two pistols was heard. Soon the rioters began to jump from the windows; and, as the distance to the ground was some ten feet, some would hang by the window sills and drop to the ground. Swords were seen hacking their fingers as they clung to the windows; and the building was soon cleared of the mob—such of them, at least, as were able to escape.

Some were known to have been killed; others wounded; but no inquiries were ever made into the affair—the action of "Old Blow-hard" (as Col. Porter was familiarly called) being generally approved.

Mrs. Abell, the sister-in-law of Mrs. Pomeroy, was confined to her bed in a back room of the house, and it was with difficulty that she was removed. She had been confined but a few days previous. Mrs. P. caught the babe and fled to a neighboring house on Seneca street. Mrs. A. was taken on the bed, by four men, and carried to the same place of safety.

As Mrs. P. was returning, she saw one of the mob breaking in the kitchen door. As the door opened and he was on the point of entering, she saw the arm of a

man, grasping a sword, thrust out, and the rioter fell dead on the spot, and was dragged away by his comrades.

Pomeroy escaped, and, by the advice of friends, remained several days at the Seneca village, on Buffalo Creek, a few miles from the town.

A guard of soldiers occupied the front part of the building for several weeks.

The fire was extinguished in the upper story by "Hank Johnson," who was a white man, and had lived with the Indians from childhood. A ladder was procured during the progress of the destruction, and placed upon the outside of the building. Hank ascended it, and had just got his hands upon the sill of the upper window, when the mob discovered it and jerked the ladder from under him. He clung to the window and drew himself up, entered, and threw the already burning combustibles out of the window with his hands. He was rewarded by a present of ten dollars from the by-standers.

CHAPTER XIII.

We now enter upon a new era in the history of Buffalo. Hitherto we have had no guide but the scanty records of the Holland Land Company. All the records, public and private, that existed in families or in the hands of private individuals, were destroyed when Buffalo was burned at the close of the year 1813, and it is a noticeable fact, that in all the collections of papers, letters, &c., of families residing in Buffalo, which the author has examined, there is nothing to be found that dates prior to 1813, showing how sudden and complete the destruction of Buffalo was. But in 1811, the Buffalo Gazette began to be published by Messrs S. H. & H. A. Salisbury. A pretty full and perfect file of that paper, from the first number, which was published on the first day of October, 1811, has been preserved and deposited in the fire-proof vault of the Buffalo Historical Society.

Buffalo received a very important accession to its population too, in that year, in the Grosvenors, Gen. Potter, Stocking & Bull, R. B. Heacock, and many others who became permanent residents here, in that year, and exerted a decided influence upon all the material interests of Buffalo, thenceforward.

Mr. Abel M. Grosvenor, purchased the article for Inner Lot, No. 38, of David Mather, who took up the

lot in 1806, but the store of Grosvenor & Heacock, was at first opened upon the opposite side of Main street, not far from the present site of the store of Messrs. Sherman, Barnes & Co. Mr. Grosvenor had married the sister of Mr. Heacock, and he reciprocated the compliment by marrying the sister of Mr. Grosvenor. A large family connexion was attracted hither by these families. Perhaps they had been induced to come by the Holts and the Cottons who had preceded them. These families had been connected by marriage before they came here. They all came from Columbia County, in this State. Indeed many of the emigrants that came in 1811, appear to have been from that neighborhood. Mr. Grosvenor was a large athletic man, and his resemblance in this respect to Mr. Ralph M. Pomeroy, the well-known keeper of a leading hotel on the corner of Main and Seneca streets, where "Brown's Buildings" now stand, nearly cost him his life.

Early in the war of 1812, Pomeroy had given offence in his hotel to some of the members of a company of volunteers from Baltimore, called the "Baltimore Greens," (it is believed they were Irish), and the whole company were incited to resent the affront by mobbing and murdering Pomeroy in his own house, and they assembled to carry their threats into execution. As they were tumultuously passing down through Main street, Mr. Grosvenor happened to be on the street, and was mistaken by some of the mob for Pomeroy; immediately a cry was raised, "There he is, kill the d—d Tory!" Instantly a rush was made after Grosvenor, who ran down upon the east side of Main street, toward his own store. Just before he reached it, his foot tripped and he

fell; the mob came upon and would have despatched him in a moment, had not some one shouted, "Don't kill him, it is not Pomeroy." It is said Mr. Grosvenor received a wound at the time which caused his death, but the better authenticated account is that he left Buffalo soon after the riot, with his family, to escape the epidemic which was raging on the frontier, and died at the place of his former residence, by an attack of the disease he attempted to escape. He left two sons, Abel M. and Seth H. Grosvenor, now both deceased. His widow still survives and is a resident of Buffalo, she having married Mr. Isaac Kibbe—Mr. George R. Kibbe being a son.

Mr. R. B. Heacock continued the business many years after the death of Mr. Grosvenor, generally in connection with a partner. He was distinguished for great energy, enterprise and activity as a business man. He was principally instrumental in developing the hydraulic power in the eastern part of the city by means of a canal from the rapids of the easterly branch of the Buffalo Creek, which before the general use of steam, was used for manufacturing purposes. For many years he was a leading and influential man in politics, having represented the county in the State Legislature. During a period of nearly a quarter of a century, Buffalo had few as active and influential men. His activity continued up to a period near his death, which occurred in 1853. He had a large family of children. Rev. G. W. Heacock of Buffalo, is a son, and the only one now living. Another son, Capt. R. B. Heacock, was killed in the War of the Rebellion in 1864.

Gen. H. B. Potter also came from Columbia County at the same time with Messrs. Grosvenor and Heacock. He had studied his profession in the office of the Hon. Elisha Williams of Hudson. Gen. Potter immediately opened a law office in Buffalo, and continued the practice of his profession for a longer period than any other lawyer in Buffalo, and the records of his office exhibit the evidences of a regular, uninterrupted course of business hardly to be found equaled anywhere.

Gen. Potter became early identified with all the interests of Buffalo, especially with the moral, religious and educational interests of society. In respect to these he was consulted more than any other man, and although he had an extensive law-office business during the whole period of his residence in Buffalo, and no man kept his business more snug and under his own control, he always found time to discharge all his public duties, and to attend to all the demands made upon his time in the discharge of the social duties of life. He was proverbially faithful and punctual in all his engagements, and possessed the confidence of all who knew him. He married in Buffalo in 1812, his wife being a daughter of Major Miller, of whom we have already spoken. He had several children, one of whom only survives, Mrs. Hon. Geo. R. Babcock. Gen. Potter, survived his wife, but a short time and died in 1854, at the age of 67.

Messrs. Stocking & Bull, came to Buffalo, in 1811, and established themselves in the hatting and fur business, Mr. Joseph Stocking being the senior partner of the firm. He was the brother of Mr. Samuel Stocking, of Utica, in whose business Mr. Bull had been brought up. They

bought Inner Lot, No. 11, on the corner of Main and Swan streets, which had been taken up by Daniel Lewis, and built a hat manufactory on the rear end of the lot, on Washington street; their factory was just completed when the war broke out. This was considered an important business in Buffalo, at that time, and was the first of the kind established here, and has continued to be the leading house in that trade from 1811, down to the present time; M. L. Comstock, 202 Main street being the present owner and representative of that old and respectable house.

Mr. Stocking was a widower, and somewhat advanced in life, when he came to reside in Buffalo. He was a man of an exceedingly mild and amiable disposition. He was one of the first elders in the First Presbyterian Church, and an active leading member of that society up to the time of his death, in 1832. He contributed, pecuniarily and in labor, more than any other individual to the erection of the old brick church, erected in 1828, and now occupied by that society. After his settlement here in 1811, he became the co-laborer with Deacon Candler in sustaining public worship and establishing Sunday Schools, to which he devoted himself with a quiet, self-sacrificing zeal, up to the period of his death.

He had several children; two only survive—Mr. Thomas R. Stocking and Mrs. E. A. Lewis.

Mr. Joseph Bull remained in Buffalo during the war, or up to the time of the burning of Buffalo. He was appointed Captain of a military company, organized by Col. Chapin at the beginning of the war, upon the appointment of Dr. Chapin to the office of Major of Volunteers by the Governor of the State.

* Capt. Bull gave satisfaction in the office to which he had been appointed, and proved an active, vigilant and brave officer. The company which he commanded, composed entirely of citizens of Buffalo, had to perform a great deal of guard duty, in the absence of any regular troops, in the early part of the war; and at every alarm, which were then frequent, he was always found prompt to respond to every call.

This company participated in several skirmishes with the enemy. It was in the engagement at Black Rock, the night before the surrender and burning of Buffalo. In this engagement, Capt. Bull was slightly wounded.

After the destruction of their manufactory in Buffalo, Stocking & Bull removed the manufacturing part of their business to Canandaigua, supplying their store in Buffalo from there. Capt. Bull never returned to Buffalo to reside.

Mr. Daniel Bristol was among those that were in Buffalo in 1811. He was a well-known master-builder, or carpenter and joiner, for many years. He is the father of Mr. C. C. Bristol, and is one of a very few survivors of those who settled in Buffalo before the war of 1812.

As yet, nothing had been done towards opening the mouth of Buffalo Creek so as to admit vessels of any size. Nothing had been erected to check the drift of the sand along the shore towards the Niagara river, and at almost all seasons of the year, there was a continuous, broad beach of sand along the lake shore—scarcely

broken by the discharge of the waters of Buffalo Creek into the lake. At the dry season of the year, it was but a mere rivulet which required little exertion to step across, and all vessels navigating the lake were necessitated to go into the Niagara River for shelter, or to discharge a cargo on the American side, and business began to experience some inconvenience, as by the act organizing the Collection District of Buffalo Creek, the office of the Collector was required to be kept at Buffalo Creek. Congress passed an act authorizing the office of the Collector of that District to be kept at such place or places, within the district, as the President of the United States should designate, and in accordance with the provisions of the act, the President on the 16th of March, 1811, designated Black Rock, as the Port of Entry for the District of Buffalo Creek, in the following proclamation :

“TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME :

“Whereas, by an Act of the Congress of the United States, passed on the second day of March, 1811, it has among other things been declared, ‘That the office of the Collector of the Customs for the District of Buffaloe Creek, shall be kept at such place or places in the town of Buffaloe as the President of the United States shall designate’ —

“Now know ye, that I, James Madison, President of the United States, by virtue of the power and authority in me vested by the Act aforesaid, have decided, and by these presents do decide that from the first day of April to the first day of December, in every year, Black Rock shall be the Port of Entry for the District of Buffaloe Creek, and that for the residue of each and every such

year, the village of Buffaloe, shall be the Port of Entry for the District aforesaid.

“ Washington, March 16th 1811.

“I certify the foregoing to be a true copy of the original Act on file in the office of the Secretary of the Treasury.

“ EDWARD JONES, 1st Clerk.”

The restrictions imposed by Congress upon trade with Great Britain, prior to the war of 1812, it was feared might be construed as an act of hostility to them by the Indians, under the representations of British agents and traders who still exerted a great influence over them, induced the Secretary of War to issue the following circular:

“(CIRCULAR).

“ WAR DEPARTMENT, April 15th, 1811.

“ SIR :— It is possible, (indeed it has been intimated), that in consequence of the operation of the late law prohibiting the importation into the United States of British goods, the British agents and traders with the Indians, may attempt to excite in their minds, prejudices and hostile dispositions towards the United States, insinuating, that as the British goods intended for their trade will not be permitted to enter and pass the American posts on the Western Frontier, this act, which has been dictated as a measure of general policy in relation to Great Britain, was intended as an act of hostility against the Indians. You will be on your guard ; and use all proper means to anticipate

and frustrate any such attempts; explaining to the chiefs of the several tribes as occasion may offer, that the Government of the United States has been compelled by long continued injuries and violation of their rights on the part of Great Britain, for which no satisfaction or redress has been had, to interdict their trade rather than make war against them. That as the white people have, it is expected the red people will, submit to an inconvenience which it is in the power of Great Britain to terminate, by returning to a sense of right, and pursuing a course of justice.

“In resisting such endeavors and conciliating the disposition of the Indians, your vigilance and exertions are expected, and in case it should become necessary to extend indulgencies, and to make presents exceeding the usual allowance, your discretion is confided in, to act as circumstances may require.

“The Agents at the several factories will receive instructions on the subject, from the Superintendant of Indian Trade.

“Respectfully, Sir,

“Your Ob’t Serv’t

“W. EUSTIS.

“GEN. ERASTUS GRANGER,

“Indian Agent, Six Nations.”

Mr. Charles Townsend and Mr. George Coit, two young men, natives of Norwich, Connecticut, associated themselves together and emigrated to Buffalo in 1811. The following paper, prepared at the request of the Buffalo Historical Society, on the occasion of the death of Mr. Coit, in 1865, contains a brief history of the firm of Townsend & Coit and is inserted at length:

“Mr. Coit was a native of Norwich, Connecticut. The late Judge Townsend and himself were clerks together in a drug store in that city, and came together to reside here, in 1811, and established themselves in the same business. They continued in it until 1818, when they sold out their drug store to Doctor John E. Marshall. During these few first years of their residence in this city, (then a village), they established for themselves a high reputation for integrity, and pecuniary responsibility, which they maintained through all the succeeding years of an extensive and successful business. It may be mentioned as a fact, almost perhaps without precedent, that during the entire period of their copartnership of more than forty years, they owned, and used, everything in common. Even after they both had families this continued to be the case; each taking from the joint stock what was required for the daily expenses of their families, no account being made as against either individual partner, and although this continued measureably up to the close of their co-partnership, and final division of their property, it is believed no difficulty in fact, or in feeling, was ever known to exist between them, growing out of this circumstance.

“After the sale of their drug store, Townsend & Coit engaged in the storage and forwarding business. Their first ware-house was upon the Creek, at the foot of Commercial street, at the mouth of the Little Buffalo Creek, now the termination of the Erie canal, where they built a dock and frame building, which was used many years, but subsequently gave place to a brick ware-house, which is still standing and in use.

“After the Erie canal was extended to this city,

Messrs. Sheldon, Thompson & Co., removed their business from Black Rock to Buffalo, which led to a union between the two firms of Townsend & Coit and S. Thompson & Co. This firm engaged extensively in the transportation and forwarding business on the Erie Canal and subsequently upon the lakes, forming a connection with all the principal points, both East and West, doing business for many years under the name of the 'Troy and Erie Line,' enjoying a reputation attained by few if any other companies among the numerous associations engaged in the business at that or any subsequent period.

"It was the common observation and remark, that it was seldom that partners in business were so well adapted to each other's peculiarities, as Townsend and Coit. Judge Townsend becoming permanently a cripple soon after they commenced business, rendered him incapable of active, out-of-door employment, while he had extraordinary clerical capacity; while Mr. Coit possessed vigorous health, great activity and energy, all the out-door business devolved on him; they thus became essential to each other.

"Mr. Coit married a sister of Judge Townsend in 1816. She was the mother of all his children—four sons, and two daughters—all of whom survive their father except one, the Rev. John T. Coit, who died last year, at Rochester, where he was settled as the pastor of St. Peter's Church.

There are few men who are permitted to enjoy so much comfort in their children as did Mr. George Coit. They had remained under the parental roof until they were all married and settled in the world, with the exception of John, who was absent a few years pursuing his theolog-

ical studies, in Europe. The family were remarkably affectionate, extremely attached to each other, and to their father and to their father's house. Their mother who was entirely devoted to her children, while she lived having died when they were all yet quite young. But they never forgot her instructions or the influence of her example.

Mr. Coit was twice married after the loss of his first wife, both of which connections seem to have been eminently judicious and happy.

Although Mr. Coit had lived to see Buffalo grow up from an insignificant village to become a large and populous city, his own chosen dwelling being, as it were, in the very heart of business, he chose to remain in his old home, and continued to occupy his plain unpretending house on the corner of Pearl and Swan streets, where he had first pitched his tent, fifty years before. Here he enjoyed almost uninterrupted health up to within a few days of his death. He continued to enjoy the use of all his faculties with the exception of his hearing, in a remarkable degree. His deafness had, in a great measure, disqualified him for the enjoyment of that social intercourse to which he had been accustomed, and which he greatly enjoyed. He therefore sought, and found, enjoyment within the sacred precincts of his own family. His last sickness found him neither anxious or unprepared, and the prospect of its fatal termination, of which his symptoms gave early indication, did not disturb the natural equanimity of his mind; his only regret seemed to be in parting with his dear children, who notwithstanding they had all settled in families, still clung to their home and visited almost daily their father's house.

This record of our departed friend would be incomplete without some notice of his peculiarities of character. Mr. Coit did not attempt great things. He seemed perfectly satisfied in the position where Providence had placed him, and his ambition was to discharge the duties of that position with fidelity, and maintain with consistency, the character he had assumed, of an upright, conscientious business man, and all who knew him will say that in this, he was eminently successful. In all the varied and extensive ramifications of a large business pursued with enterprise and energy for a longer period of time than is usually allotted to men of his class, he sustained throughout, a high character for integrity, wisdom and discretion, and there was no period of his business career when the firm of which he was a prominent member did not stand A No. 1, in the public estimation, not only for pecuniary responsibility, but for punctuality, honor, and integrity. The name of Townsend & Coit, associated as it was, with that of others of the highest business standing, in almost every principal town from New York, through the Erie Canal, and the lakes to Chicago, was a guarantee that whatever was committed to their hands was safe and sure to receive the most vigilant care and attention.

In 1818, on the application of the citizens of Buffalo the Legislature of the State authorized the survey of the mouth of Buffalo Creek, with a view to the construction of a harbor. This survey was to be at the expense of the county ; it was made however gratuitously, by the Hon. Wm. Peacock. The next year the Legislature authorized a loan of twelve thousand dollars for the construction of the work. This loan was secured by the bond and mort-

gage of Charles Townsend, Oliver Forward, Samnel Wilkeson and George Coit. The money was expended under the superintendence of Judge Samuel Wilkeson. A pier was built upon the outer side of the channel of the creek, extending into the lake about eighty rods, reaching twelve feet of water; and, in 1821, a channel was formed of sufficient depth to admit vessels of ordinary size into Buffalo Creek, giving assurance of the success of what had been considered a doubtful experiment. When, however, the agent of the Steamboat Company came on from New York, in January, 1822, to build a new steamboat to take the place of the "Walk in the Water," which had been wrecked, he did not regard the harbor improvements sufficiently advanced or secure to ensure the boat a safe passage out of the creek, if constructed upon its banks, and decided to build it at Black Rock, where the "Walk in the Water" had been built. To induce the building of the boat in Buffalo, however, the citizens offered to indemnify the Company against loss, by agreeing to pay one hundred and fifty dollars per day for every day the boat should be detained in Buffalo Creek after the first of May, by reason of any obstruction of the channel. Charles Townsend, Samuel Wilkeson, George Coit, Ebenezer Johnson, Elijah D. Efner and Ebenezer Walden, executed this bond. The boat was accordingly built on Buffalo Creek, and when the boat was completed and ready to sail, in the spring of 1822, the "Superior" found an open, unobstructed channel into the lake; and the bond was cancelled. This was a great day of triumph and rejoicing in Buffalo.

As has already been observed, Mr. Coit did not seek public notoriety out of the legitimate sphere of his busi-

ness, yet his political opinions were decided, and freely expressed on all proper occasions. In these, as in all else, he was conservative in his views and principles. He held his religious views and principles in the same way—never obtruding them upon others, yet always exhibiting in his daily life an example which created a favorable impression upon all who came within the sphere of his influence. He professed no more than he practiced, and he practiced what he professed. His charities were unostentatious—the natural impulses of a kind, sympathizing heart, ever open to the woes and wants of others—not practiced by any rule, but the promptings of a tender sympathy with suffering wherever found. No worthy object or applicant was ever refused his aid, or left his door empty-handed.

Townsend & Coit were almost if not the first who came to settle in Buffalo who possessed capital. Most, if not all, who had hitherto settled here, had little else than strong hands and a resolute purpose. Mr. Granger came here mainly for political purposes; Mr. Ellicott was here as the agent of the Holland Land Company; Dr. Chapin, Gen. Potter, Judge Walden and others, to practice their profession, in which their capital mainly consisted. It is believed that none of the settlers, prior to 1810, could be considered, even in those times, rich. Townsend & Coit were reputed wealthy, and their means and credit contributed to give permanency to the business here, which it had not hitherto enjoyed. The first vessel registered in the district of Buffalo Creek (the sloop *Hannah*) was built, in part, at least, with their means. Capt. Oliver Coit, who was a relative of Mr. Geo. Coit, was master and part owner of this vessel. Her register

dates May 26th, 1817. They continued to be interested in the commerce of the lakes from this time to the introduction of steam boats, and the firm to which they belonged were large owners both in steam and sailing craft, up to the time of its dissolution in 1843 or 4, and perhaps it is due to truth to say that the capital and credit of Townsend & Coit contributed as much or more than that of any other individual at that early day, to develop the resources of the country and carry forward the commerce of our inland waters. The same may be said with equal truth, in relation to the improvement of our city.

They at an early day became the owners of a large amount of real estate, much of which they improved. The stores they built upon Main street and their warehouses upon the docks, were the best of their class at the time they were built, and it is no disparagement to others to say that during the whole period of their active business, from 1811 to 1844, theirs was the leading house in the city, and the reputation of the house under the various names which the changes of the individuals composing it from time to time, rendered necessary, has been maintained up to the present time.

Mr. Raphael Cook was a cotemporary tavern-keeper in Buffalo with Ralph M. Pomeroy. He kept a house of less pretension, on the opposite side of Main street from Pomeroy. It is not certain whether Mr. Cook came to Buffalo, prior to 1810. It is certain that he kept a public house at the place above stated in 1810. He removed from Palmyra, or its neighborhood to Buffalo, and rented the place he occupied and may have added to the buildings as they were low and occupied considerable ground

Public meetings appear to have been held at "Cook's Tavern," in those days. Mr. Cook's wife becoming partially deranged, he procured a former friend and neighbor, Mrs. Swan, to keep house for him. He left Buffalo, with the rest, when it was burned, but returned after the war, and re-opened his tavern on Main street, up town, on the present site of the "Tiff House." The old building which he occupied, stood a great number of years, and was long known as the "Old Phoenix Hotel." Mr. Cook continued to keep it, until his death, in 1821 or 2. A daughter of his married Wm. Grant, the son of Vincent Grant.

Mr. Oliver Forward came to Buffalo about this period. He married the sister of Mr. Erastus Granger. He officiated as the deputy of Mr. Granger, in the Post Office, many years, and on the resignation of Mr. Granger, as Collector of Customs, Mr. Forward was appointed in his place. He was subsequently appointed a Judge, by which title he was best known to the early inhabitants of Buffalo. He purchased Inner Lot, No. 72, on what is now Pearl street, in 1813, where he built a brick dwelling, soon after the war, which is still standing. He had several children, some of whom died in infancy. It is believed that Mrs. A. S. Sterling is now the only resident in Buffalo.

Doctor Josiah Trowbridge was an early physician in Buffalo. He commenced practice upon the opposite side of the river in 1810, but on the breaking out of the war, in 1812, he removed to this side, and became a permanent resident of Buffalo, where he practiced his profession nearly half a century. The Doctor stood high in his

profession, and at an early period of his residence was for a time associated with Doctor Chapin. During the long period of his professional career, his practice was among the leading families of the place, and he stood high in the estimation of his professional brethren, among whom he was looked upon as the senior member. Like Doctor Chapin, he had an extensive acquaintance and practice in Canada, having married his wife there, or rather the war having compelled him to leave about the time fixed for the wedding, he was driven to the necessity of invoking the aid of friends, and going over in the night making a willing prisoner of Miss Wintermoot, his affianced bride, brought her across the river, and they were married in Buffalo, soon after the declaration of war, in 1812. Doctor Trowbridge had a large family of children; Doctor John S. Trowbridge is the only one now living in Buffalo.

The first newspaper published in Buffalo was the "Buffalo Gazette," issued on the 3d day of October, 1811, by the brothers Smith H., and Hezekiah A. Salisbury, who came here for the purpose, from Canandaigua, where they had learned the printing business of the late James D. Bemis, in the office of the "Ontario Repository." The "Gazette" was the only paper then published in Western New York, excepting one at Batavia, established in 1807. They likewise opened a bookstore, being the only one in the State west of Canandaigua. S. H. Salisbury, in 1818, retired from the "Gazette," and it was continued by H. A. Salisbury, under the title of the "Buffalo Patriot," until 1836, when he disposed of it, and it has since been published as the weekly issue of the "Buffalo Daily

Commercial Advertiser.' S. H. Salisbury removed to Rochester, in 1830, and became editor of the "Rochester Daily Advertiser," where he died in 1832. H. A. Salisbury died in this city, in 1856.

Hitherto Buffalo had been spelled with an e, but soon after the establishment of the first newspaper in Buffalo in 1811, Mr. Salisbury, the editor, took up the subject and in a series of rather humorous articles, showed the absurdity of using the superfluous e on the end of that name. This is one method he took. He says, "Buf—there's your Buf, fa—there's your Buffa, lo—there's your Buffalo, e—there's your Buffalo-e." The following record of a hypothetical lawsuit is copied :

(From the Buffalo Gazette, Dec. 29th, 1811.)

"LAW INTELLIGENCE.

Ety-Mol O. Gy	}	Court of People's Bench, Buffalo-e,
vs.		
General Opinion.		

"This was an action brought before the Court for the purloining the fifth letter of the alphabet, and clapping it on the end of the name Buffalo.

"The Plaintiff contended that he had both reason and right on his side, and that he could not only prove from high authority that the Defendant was guilty not only of a gross dereliction in thus adding the silent, superfluous e to the high sounding Buf-fa-lo, but that he had in his filchings, taken one of the official functionaries, one of the most important members of the alphabet, one in fact introduced into all circles, parties, societies and even into

electioneering caucuses, and placed him where his usefulness would be entirely abridged, where he must raise his final head in silence, where he would be known only in name.

"The Plaintiff now proceeded after some pertinent remarks to the Court, in which he pointed out the enormity of the offence of General Opinion, to call his witnesses. Several Dictionaries were brought forth and examined, who testified from Doctor Johnson down to Noah Webster, that there was no such character as e, in the town of BUFFALO. General Use who was subpoenaed by both parties was qualified.

"He said he did not hesitate to state to the Court that he had been in the constant practice of dating his notes, receipts and memoranda with 'Buffaloe,' but that since the establishment of a public paper, he should accommodate it to his conscience to cut it short and dock off the final e. The Plaintiff then said, that if necessary he could produce to the Court a cloud of certificates which would fully and unequivocally convince and convict their minds, but that he would not insult their Honors by supposing that any further evidence was wanting and should therefore rest his case."

These efforts of Mr. Salisbury were successful and the superfluous e was gradually dropped, and the improved method of spelling Buffalo without an e prevailed.

CHAPTER XIV.

Among the settlers in Buffalo at the period we are now considering, was Mr. Job Hoysington. His name becomes historic as being the only citizen of Buffalo killed in the battle which preceded the burning of Buffalo, on the morning of the 30th of December, 1813. The following notice of Mr. Hoysington, was written by Mr. Benjamin Hodge, for the Buffalo Historical Society, in 1862 :

“ Mr. Hoysington came to reside in Buffalo, in 1810. He was a man of great energy, and perseverance ; of indomitable courage and great endurance. He was well calculated to battle with the trials and difficulties of a frontier life. He was a very expert marksman with the rifle. He could bring at almost every shot, a squirrel from the top of the highest trees. He seemed to take great delight in his hunting excursions. But when the war of 1812 opened, Hoysington had a new field before him, and none entered it more willingly, or with more readiness to meet the invading foe. So far as others could judge he was a stranger to fear. He always seemed perfectly cool and collected ; nothing ever shook his nerves, and if for once he did miss his mark (as we shall presently relate), it may be attributed to other causes. * * *

“On the morning of the 11th of July, 1813, the enemy crossed the river at Black Rock, dispersed the few militia we had, and burned the barracks. Gen. Porter and others rallied a force of some two hundred men and about twenty Indians, under the celebrated Indian chief, Farmers Brother, vigorously attacked the enemy and drove them back, with the loss of some fifteen or twenty killed and wounded. Mr. Hoysington was on the right flank with the Indians. He cautiously advanced, under cover of some trees, until he found himself near the enemy, who were standing near the turn of the road in Niagara street. He fired the first gun, taking deliberate aim, at a British officer. He felt sure of his man, but, unaccountably to him, he missed his mark. He afterwards declared if it had been a squirrel he should have killed him.

“In this affair, the Indian chief Young King was wounded in the foot, and we lost two or three other men.

“A British sergeant, while retreating, was shot through the leg, and lay just under the bank, a little west of Gen. Porter's house, the present residence of L. F. Allen, Esq. One of our Indians, who had just discharged his rifle, jumped down the bank, some twenty feet from the wounded man, and stopped to load. The sergeant partly raised himself up and attempted to shoot the Indian; his gun missed fire. The Indian, in a paroxysm of rage, sprang upon his foe with the ferocity of a tiger, wrenched the gun from his grasp, and with one well-directed blow, knocked his brains out. The gun was an elegant, silver-mounted piece, but was broken off at the breech by the blow, but was afterwards mended and did good service.

“In the disastrous battle fought at Black Rock on the morning of the 30th Dec., 1813, and which resulted in the defeat of our troops and the burning of Buffalo, Job Hoysington bore a most conspicuous part. Himself, and indeed all Capt. Hall's company of Buffalonians, fought most bravely. Nearly all our raw militia, amounting to nearly three thousand, many of whom had been in camp but a few days, fled at the first onset like a flock of sheep. It was a real ‘Bull's Run’ stampede. For more than half an hour, a few hundred of our men made a most determined resistance; but a thousand disciplined British troops, with a few hundred Indians on their flank, soon compelled our men to give way. Hoysington did so with great reluctance, and after retreating some distance with the rest, suddenly stopped and said, ‘I will have one more shot at them.’ In vain was he entreated not to tarry.

“Days, weeks and months passed away, but no tidings came of the missing Hoysington. But when the spring came, and the winter snows had melted away, his remains were found beside a log, not far from the present residence of F. Gridley, Esq, on North street. A bullet had passed through his head, and the marks of the tomahawk in his skull told too plainly that he fell by the hand of the savages. His empty rifle lay by his side. His remains were buried in the old neighboring burial ground.

“About the year 1850, the remains in this old cemetary, some one hundred in number, were exhumed and placed in boxes, preparatory to their removal to ‘Forest Lawn.’ The writer, with a friend, called to look at the remains. In one of the boxes evidently lay

the skull of Hoysington. The bullet holes and the marks of the tomahawk were too plain to be mistaken. A few days after, with other friends, he called again to view the sad relics, but the skull was gone ; no one could give any information in regard to it. Some one had taken it away ; possibly it is in the hands of some medical man in our city." * * *

On the morning after the battle at Black Rock, when our troops were flying before the enemy, Mrs. Hoysington with her children waited in anxious expectation of her husband's return, but he came not. Their house was out on Main, near Utica street. She remained until all her neighbors had gone, and great numbers of the panic-stricken militiamen had passed. At last with a heart weighed down with anxiety about her husband, she started on foot, with her little children, to follow on with the rest. She had not gone far before she was overtaken by two cavalry horsemen. They proposed to take each, one of the smallest of her children on their horses to help her in her flight. She consented, and for many weeks she knew not what had become of her children ; at length a notice was published and Mrs. Hoysington found her children in a distant county. They had been carried home by the sympathizing soldiers, and cared for. They were returned to her in safety, and her oldest son was educated at the expense of the First Presbyterian Church in Buffalo, for the ministry, and became the celebrated missionary to India and died recently, greatly honored and beloved.

Among the early lawyers of Buffalo, was the venerable John Root, attorney and counsellor at law. He came to Buffalo in 1810. He was the cotemporary of

Walden, Potter, Harrison and other early practitioners in Western New York. A book might be filled with the witty sayings and sharp repartees of "Old Counsellor Root," as he was familiarly named. These are still remembered and often repeated by the older members of the bar, even to this day.

"Counsellor Root," is remembered as a man of gigantic proportions, rather stooping or round shouldered, addicted to drink in his later years, yet never losing an innate propensity to utter sharp, witty sayings. In a case upon one occasion where the judge had decided a point against him, Root, in animadverting upon it, remarked that it was only equaled by the memorable decision made by Pontius Pilate, on a well-known occasion. The judge sharply rebuked him, saying, "Mr. Root, sit down sir—you are drunk." Root slowly settled himself into his seat, muttering, *sotto voce*, "That is the only correct decision, your honor has made during the whole term." The court and bar could scarcely restrain the general outburst of laughter which ran through the whole courtroom.

On another occasion, he and Gen. Potter were opposed to each other in trying a case of assault and battery. Root, in the course of his argument, said he had known a case, where a man from a slight blow of a stick on the head became idiotic for the rest of his life. Potter suspecting the counsellor of drawing upon his imagination, rather than stating facts, interrupted him by the inquiry, "Who was it?" Root turned slowly toward him and said in a mild voice, "I dont mean you Brother Potter."

After practicing in his profession to an advanced age, Mr. Root retired to a farm upon the lake shore in the

town of Hamburgh, but died in this city in 1846, at the age of 76. He was twice married, but left no children.

We have spoken of most of the prominent settlers in Buffalo, up to 1811, or those who were here before the war, that became permanent settlers. It now remains to speak of the transactions of this eventful period. It was during the year 1811, that fears of a war between the United States and Great Britain began to be entertained, and the people of Buffalo began to realize that their position was a dangerous one in case war should be declared. Not the least of their anxiety grew out of the fact that the Indians residing in the vicinity were known to still hold friendly relations with their brethren, the Mohawks, who had settled in Canada, and they were known to be still under a strong British influence, exerted through British agents and officers, who still held intercourse with them.

In order to ascertain the state of feeling among the Indians on the subject of anticipated difficulties, Mr. Granger, the Agent, held a council with them. He explained to them the nature of the difficulties between the two governments; that it was in relation to questions in which they had no interest, counselling them in any event to remain quiet at their homes and all differences would be speedily settled upon a solid basis, while they should remain in undisturbed possession of their lands. To this the Indians replied through their chiefs, that they should remain in peace; that in no case, and under no circumstances would they be drawn into hostility with the United States, and that they should endeavor to influence their brethren in Canada, to the same course of action.

But when hostilities actually commenced the fear of our own Indians operated powerfully on the public mind, and caused numbers to leave the place, so that it is probable that not over one thousand inhabitants remained at the beginning of the war.

A very irritable state of feeling existed upon both sides of the river. A shot from a musket was fired across the river at Black Rock from the Canada side which occasioned some rather beligerent correspondence between the public authorities on both sides, but was finally satisfactorily explained by Col. Warren and others upon the other side, showing that the firing was the act of a mere boy, done in sport. This state of feeling however was not confined to this locality, but existed upon the whole line of the river. A public meeting was held at Lewiston, which passed strong resolutions in regard to a similar transaction at that place, and the public mind seemed to be preparing for what soon followed. The following article appeared in the Buffalo Gazette, June 16th, 1812 :

“WAR.

“War has been so long the order of the day that it is very difficult to ascertain by the signs of the times whether we shall have it in reality, or have it in words—mere paper shot. The information contained in this paragraph may be of the utmost importance to the people of this country. Time will determine. On the first instant the President sent a message to both Houses of Congress accompanied with documents lately received from England, upon receipt of which, Congress went into secret session, and remained in conclave on the evening

of the second, when the last news arrived from Washington. This message related to a declaration of war against England, as is stated in the New York papers, which also state that a bill declaring war against England had passed the House of Representatives by a majority of thirty-five. The bill was sent to the Senate where it is also rumored that it was rejected by a majority of one! Other accounts state in substance the same. The next mail, we expect, will further elucidate the subject."

The same paper contained the following:

" FRONTIER MILITARY AFFAIRS.

" Col. Swift returned from Albany and resumed the command of the volunteers on the Niagara River. The volunteers have all arrived on the frontier to the number of six hundred. Nathaniel Allen, Esq., member of the Assembly from Ontario County, has been appointed Paymaster to these troops, and has arrived at Black Rock, bringing with him forty thousand dollars, as we understand."

A courier was known to have been sent from Washington to Niagara, by the British Minister at Washington, with news of the declaration of war, which gave the information to the British officer in command in Canada, in advance of any official information communicated to our own officers; and measures were immediately taken by the British to capture everything belonging to the Americans, within their reach.

The first act of open hostility was the capture of a small vessel loaded with salt which lay off the mouth of Buffalo Creek waiting for a wind. The captain of the vessel saw two large row-boats, filled with armed men, come out from under the guns of Fort Erie, and steer directly for the vessel. The wind was light; he could not enter Buffalo Creek; his only alternative was to hoist sail and attempt to escape up the lake, but the wind failing, he fell an easy prey to the enemy. The following notice of this affair is from the Buffalo Gazette, June 30th :

“On Saturday last, at 1 o'clock P. M., the schooner Commencement, Capt. Johnson, was lying off Buffalo Creek, waiting for a wind. Two British armed row-boats fitted out at Fort Erie, put to sea and took the direction of the schooner, meanwhile Johnson stood out with a faint breeze, intending, if the wind should increase, to double Sturgeon Point, but by the time the schooner had beat six or seven miles up the lake, the breeze almost failed, and the boats came up with her, captured and towed her into port.

“The schooner belonged to Mr. Peter H. Colt, of Black Rock, and was loaded with salt. There were forty men on board the boats, and only three men and a boy on board the schooner. The crew of the Commencement were released on Sunday morning.”

Scattered through the Province of Upper Canada were numbers of Americans—young men engaged in business for themselves, or as agents for others. These were captured as prisoners of war, without distinction or excep-

tion, many of them however through the assistance of friends were enabled to escape or elude their pursuers. It was very evident that the British were much better prepared for war than the Americans, and the most extravagant stories of their preparation and purpose to invade our shores with a formidable army were in circulation. The following appeared in the Buffalo Gazette, July 14th :

“ The British are understood to have about six or seven hundred regular troops stationed between the lakes from Fort George to Fort Erie. These men are generally those who have seen service in various parts of the old world.

The militia of the Province are ordered out en masse. Great discontent prevails in consequence of this requisition, there being no help to gather in the crops ; the clamors of the people are but little short of open rebellion. There is no civil authority in Canada—no magistrate will act—the martial code has usurped the civil law. Many young tradesmen in Canada will be ruined. They are required to take up arms or leave the country. They cannot collect their debts, nor bring away their property, but many have come away and left their all in jeopardy.

The British are said to have more than one hundred pieces of flying, field and garrison artillery in the different defences on the Niagara river. Fort Erie has been strengthened considerably ; a redoubt of many rods in length was thrown up on Wednesday and Thursday last, on the hill, a few rods below the house of John Warren, Jun., and directly opposite the dwelling house of Gen. Peter B. Porter, at Black Rock. * * Gen. Brock, President of

the Parliament of Upper Canada, acting Governor of the Province and Commander-in-Chief of his majesty's forces in Upper Canada, is at present at Newark, superintending the various defences on the river. He is stated to be an able and experienced officer, of undoubted courage. He came from Little York (Toronto) soon after hearing of the declaration of war, and, it was believed, with a serious intention of attacking Fort Niagara ; but, contrary to what has been reported, he made no demand of surrender." * *

Immediately on the report of a declaration of war, the militia in the neighborhood of the lines were ordered out. Gen. Hopkins, who resided a few miles east of Buffalo, on what was called the "plains," ordered out his entire brigade. Gen. Porter, who had been to Washington, returned to his home at Black Rock and immediately assumed the direction of affairs, taking the most active and strenuous measures for defence, as nothing but an immediate invasion by the enemy was expected.

The following appeared under the editorial head of the Buffalo Gazette, June 30th, 1812 :

"Major Frederick Miller, of this town, has been appointed major-commandant of the forces at Black Rock. Col. Swift has taken command at Lewiston. Gen. Porter arrived in town on Saturday, and, we understand, immediately sent an express to Canandaigua to expedite, with all possible dispatch, the arms and ammunition deposited in the arsenal at that place to Black Rock. Several companies of militia, of Gen. Hopkins' brigade, have been ordered en masse to Black Rock. The light infantry company of Capt. Wells, and militia company

of Capt. Hull, are embodied, and rendezvous in this village to protect the town."

The act declaring war was published in the Buffalo Gazette, July 7th, 1812.

The most absurd and startling rumors were put in circulation every day. Mr. Granger held frequent consultations with the Indians—issued a proclamation, addressed to the inhabitants of Buffalo, assuring them of the friendly disposition of the Indians, and that no fears need be entertained in regard to them.

Among the other rumors which were put in circulation, it was said the British and Indians had crossed over and taken possession of Grand Island in the Niagara river, which the Indians at that time claimed as their property. This led our Indians to call a meeting of consultation and conference with Mr. Granger, their agent. The result of this conference is spoken of in the Buffalo Gazette of August, 4th, 1812, as follows :

"The rumor of the British and Indians taking possession of Grand Island (in the Niagara river, and owned by the Senecas) having reached the ears of the Senecas, they assembled for the purpose of counseling with their agent, Mr. Granger, on the subject. The famous Red Jacket, after having stated the information they had received, addressed the agent in the following manner :

"BROTHER :—You have told us that we had nothing to do with the war between you and the British ; but we find the war has come to our doors. Our property is taken possession of by the British and their Indian friends. It is necessary now for us to take up the business, defend

our property and drive the enemy from it. If we sit still upon our seats and take no measures of redress, the British, according to the customs of you white people, will hold it by conquest, and should you conquer Canada you will claim it upon the same principles, as conquered from the British. We therefore request permission to go with our warriors and drive off these bad people, and take possession of our lands."

The rumor, like many others, turned out to be groundless, and of course the Indians were called upon to make no further display of their patriotism at that time.

There is little doubt that this circumstance, trifling as it really was, had a beneficial effect both upon the Indians and upon the white inhabitants. It gave the Indians an opportunity of identifying themselves with the American cause, in a public manner, and it also served to dispel all fear that the Indians were inclined to join, or favor the British. Johnston and his son had both previously died, and there was no one left here likely to exert any influence over them adverse to the American cause, and the Indians after this public expression of their loyalty to the Government, were invited to join in the defence of the country in which they had as deep a stake as the whites. All the warriors of the Six Nations residing in their several towns and villages were organized into companies and Farmers Brother was appointed their commander, with other chiefs as his subordinates, and they did good and efficient service through the war.

Although a war with Great Britain was rather looked for and anticipated by politicians and close observers of the signs of the times, yet the great mass of the people

looked upon it as something remote and improbable, and when the news of the declaration of war came to be viewed as a reality, they were aroused to a sense of their exposed condition. Nothing had been done either by the State or General Government, in the way of protection or defence of the exposed inhabitants on the Niagara frontier. A peace of thirty years had served to remove the generation that had achieved our independence. It is true there were here and there a few of those who had participated in the war of the Revolution, but they were in general exempt by law from military duty; the great mass of the local militia were almost entirely destitute of military experience or discipline. The imperfect organization of our militia system, and the imperfect instruction received at the "trainings," and annual "inspections," did little else than to bring the whole thing into ridicule, rendering the whole system a hindrance, rather than an aid, to the public defence. It was no uncommon thing for our officers who had received a thorough military education at West Point, to say that it was far easier to make soldiers out of men who had never "trained" a day in their lives, than to bring under discipline those who had acquired habits at these country trainings which they had to unlearn before the first step in military instruction could be taken. The first efforts of a few weeks to organize a defensive force on the Niagara frontier convinced the people of the real condition of affairs.

Early in September, 1812, a public meeting was called at the Court House, in Buffalo, of which the following is a notice from the Buffalo Gazette, September 8th, 1812:

"COUNTY MEETING :

"A meeting of many citizens of Niagara County was held pursuant to public notice, at the Court House, in Buffalo, on Thursday last ; Gen. T. S. Hopkins, Chairman, Richard Smith, Esq., Clerk. The officers of the meeting having failed to furnish us a copy of the proceedings of the meeting, we can only say that a committee of five was appointed to address the Governor on the present critical situation of the frontiers, to acquaint him with the great deficiency of arms and ammunition, and pray relief, and that a general committee of safety was appointed to give all necessary information of approaching danger, and also to prevent all unnecessary alarm from the thousand rumors and falsehoods that are constantly afloat."

Fears had been entertained that the Indians, in case the enemy should make a successful invasion, would join their ancient ally, and every indication of the loyalty of the Senecas was hailed with delight. The following is copied from the Buffalo Gazette of September 29th, 1812 :

"About one hundred and forty warriors of the Seneca Nation of Indians from Alleghany River arrived in town last week, and are encamped near the village. More are expected from different parts. Several conferences and councils have lately been held with the chiefs. They voluntarily offered to take up arms for defensive operations. Yesterday they performed a war dance in the streets of this village."

Early in October of this year, a detachment of sail-

ors from New York arrived at Black Rock, destined for the fleet which was organizing on Lake Erie.

Two British vessels—the brig Adams and the schooner Caledonia—were then lying at Fort Erie, and a plan was organized to capture them by surprise, under cover of the night. There was a double purpose in this enterprise. The Americans were sensible of their weakness upon the whole Niagara frontier, and it was their true policy to keep up an appearance of strength by making occasional aggressive demonstrations. The vessels, although armed, were known to have on board very valuable cargoes of furs. The enterprise was entirely an impromptu affair, and was enthusiastically entered into by the newly arrived sailors, just from a long, dull overland journey—some of our own citizens entering in to it with spirit, led by the brave Dr. Chapin. An attack, in open boats, upon two armed vessels, was an act which, had it failed, would have been pronounced the height of presumption and rashness; but, as it proved successful, was characterized as a “gallant and daring exploit.” None but brave men could have planned and executed it.

The following brief notice of this transaction is taken from the Buffalo Gazette of October 13th, 1812 :

“GALLANT AND DARING EXPLOIT.

“About one o’clock on Friday morning, three armed boats, with one hundred and two men, crossed from this shore to Fort Erie on the opposite side, for the purpose of attacking two British vessels—the brig Adams, of six guns, and the schooner Caledonia, of two guns—at anchor near that place; one boat containing about fifty

men, another between forty and fifty, and the third six men—the first under the command of Lieut. Jesse D. Elliott, of the United States Navy, the second under Lieut. L. Watts, sailing master, and the third commanded by Capt. Cyreneus Chapin, of this village. Owing to the delay occasioned by the darkness of the night, the attack did not commence until about three o'clock. Both vessels were boarded at nearly the same time, and captured after a resistance of a few minutes. The cables were immediately cut and the vessels taken down the river. The *Caledonia* anchored near the Rock. The brig was carried by the current to the west side of Squaw Island, (about half a mile from Black Rock) and run aground at a short distance from the shore. When opposite to the Rock, a heavy cannonading commenced from the batteries and flying artillery from the other shore, which was soon returned from the vessels. The brig, from her situation, was much exposed. Those on board, however, were safely landed on our own shore.

“The *Adams* was soon after re-taken by the British, but the destructive fire from the Island and our artillery on shore soon compelled them to abandon her. There is good reason to believe they lost a number of their men before they got off. * * * It being thought impracticable to keep possession of the brig, (a very hasty conclusion, however, we fear) she was set on fire and burnt to the water's edge.

“This achievement does equal honor to both officers and men engaged in the expedition. * * * The boarding party had one killed and eight or ten wounded. A marine was killed a few hours after, while unloading the *Caledonia*, by a cannon shot.

"The first shot from the British batteries killed Major Cuyler, whose death is published in the succeeding column. A twenty-four lb. ball passed through the house of Orange Dean. Another six lb. shot passed through the store of N. Sill & Co. Above three hundred shots were fired from the British batteries." * *

Perhaps there was scarcely an incident during the whole war that created a profounder sensation than the death of Major Cuyler, mentioned above. The capture of the two armed vessels from under the very guns of the fort, and the death of an officer who had already attracted universal notice and admiration, being almost the first of the war, touched a chord of sympathy in the hearts of multitudes both in and out of the army. Major Cuyler belonged to a wealthy family, early settled at Palmyra, in Ontario county. He came on to the lines as the aid of Maj. Gen. Hall, of the New York Volunteers, who was from the same county. He was a young man of fine appearance and address, and entered upon the discharge of his duties with great energy and enthusiasm. On this occasion, it is said, he was engaged in procuring relief for the wounded in the boats and upon the vessels. He was mounted and riding rapidly down the beach of the river, carrying a lantern. He was struck by a cannon shot and instantly killed.

The following is the obituary alluded to above :

" OBITUARY.

" Killed instantly, on Friday morning last, between the hours of four and five o'clock, while passing the

beach at Black Rock, on horse-back, at full speed, by a cannon shot from the British batteries, Major William Howe Cuyler, aged thirty-seven years, principal aide-de-camp to Maj. Gen. Hall, late from the town of Palmyra, in the county of Ontario.

“His body was conveyed to this village, and interred at the burying ground on Saturday, with the honors of war. An address was delivered at the grave by J. E. Chaplin, Esq., from which we make the following extract: * *

“His situation in life was such as to enable him to gratify the benevolent feelings of his heart. The blessings of heaven seemed to have descended upon him, and all around seemed to conspire to crown his life with happiness. All the comforts which wealth could purchase were within his grasp. The affections of a fond and doating wife had given to his home a charm which nothing could dissolve. Three infant children, as they played around his fire-side, awakened the tenderest feelings of the parent and gave him all a father's happiness. While thus enjoying every domestic felicity, the din of war reached his ears. His country had resorted to arms against a powerful nation, and called upon her children to exchange the sweets of peace and tranquility for hardship, havoc, carnage and slaughter. His courage and patriotism were too great to suffer him to remain an idle spectator of the contest. * * * Every selfish consideration vanished before the shrine of patriotism, and friends, and wife, and children, and home,—all, all were left for the service of his country. -Alas!—nor wife nor children more shall he behold, nor friends, nor sacred home! * * * But he is gone! The friend,

and husband, and parent, and soldier, and patriot, has gone forever ; and while we mourn his loss, let us endeavor to imitate his virtues, and teach our hearts to become assimilated to his."

The surrender of Gen. Hull's army at Detroit preceded the capture of the two British vessels at Fort Erie, but a few days, and it appears that on board of these vessels were some of those American prisoners, sent down from Detroit ; a number of these were retaken. The battle of Queenston, also occurred about the same time. These two disastrous events caused great depression in the minds of the inhabitants on the Niagara frontier which the brilliant achievement of the capture of two of the enemy's war vessels, almost without loss, was calculated in a measure to dispel. The following further notice of the affair and the condition of things here at the time is copied from the Buffalo Gazette of October 20th, 1812 :

"WAR EVENTS AT BLACK ROCK.

"On Monday of last week the British came over to Squaw Island and captured two American boats, one of which was loaded with cannon balls. On the same day while a boat was passing down the river from Black Rock to Schlosser, loaded with flour and whisky, the British opened their batteries upon the boat and fired upwards of thirty rounds of grape shot at her while passing from Squaw Island to the head of Grand Island, most of which struck the sails or some part of the boat. There were about thirty men on board the boat, and only one was wounded. The only thing that saved the men from

being killed or wounded, was this: whenever they discerned the smoke of the cannon, they resorted to the fashionable mode of prostrating themselves in the boat. The wounded man, Thomas Morgan, lying with his elbow above the railing, received a grape shot in the elbow-joint, which came out at the shoulder. The limb being much shattered, an amputation took place next morning. He survived the wound about thirty hours. He was from the county of Cayuga, a young officer of much merit.

“On Tuesday last, the British batteries below Fort Erie, opened a very heavy fire upon the fortifications and village of Black Rock, which continued with intervals, spiritedly all day. But few shots were returned from our batteries, having there no larger calibre than field-sixes, at the breastworks. Two shots, in the morning, pierced the house of Orange Dean, which did little damage besides bilging a barrel of old Pittsbnrgh whiskey in Dean’s cellar, belonging to Peter H. Colt. Several cannon shot struck the battery, and two or three passed through the upper loft of the west barracks. A bomb thrown from a twenty-four pounder struck the east barracks and destroyed them; it entered and burst near a cask of powder which blew up. Several stands of arms, two boxes of fixed ammunition, and some property of the soldiers was destroyed; a quantity of skins, a part of the cargo of the *Caledonia* were much injured. The event caused much shouting among the British. Several shot passed through Sills’s store. A twenty-four pounder struck the upper loft of the stone house of Gen. Porter, while the General and his friends were at dinner; it passed through one of the chimneys and injured the ornamental work near the eaves. Another ball passed

through the roof of the house. Several other houses were injured. In the course of the day a marine, a black man, was killed by a twenty-four pound shot. The cargo of the *Caledonia* which has been estimated at the eastward at one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, is not now rated higher than eight or ten thousand dollars. The immense packs of beaver, musk-rats, &c., with which it was said the *Caledonia* was laden, prove to be nothing more than deer, bear, and buffalo skins. * *

Capt. Thomas Davis, of this village, commanded one of the boats that captured the *Adams* and the *Caledonia*.

* * * On Saturday a flag came over from Fort Erie, informing our General, that they should consider any attempt to remove the guns which remained in the hold of the *Adams* which was burned last week, near Squaw Island, as an infringement of the armistice, (concluded at Lewiston,) and would fire upon our troops, should they come near the hulk. An answer, we understand, was returned saying that considering the property our own, no attention would be paid to their request. The flag returned and the moment it landed, they fired two guns of grape at our troops on board the hulk which however did no damage. In the course of the night Capt. C. Chapin with a party of soldiers and marines went on board and took out an elegant long twelve pounder from the ruins of the ship, which together with an eighteen pounder lately brought up from Schlosser, are mounted on our batteries. On Sunday evening Lluet Watts went on board with a number of men, and brought away another long twelve-pounder.

“ We are sorry to state that several American officers have met with severe losses in the destruction of the brig

Adams. * * The property of the American prisoners (on board the Adams) was either plundered or destroyed on board the Adams ; it is suspected a part was taken by the British, when they took possession of the brig a second time. * *

“It is ascertained that Major Ormsbee, late Commandant at Fort Erie, together with twenty or thirty British were killed on board the brig Adams, after she grounded, on the day of her capture.”

The following is an extract of Lieut. Elliott's official report :

“BLACK ROCK, October 9th, 1812.

“SIR:—I have the honor to inform you that on the morning of the 8th instant, two British vessels which I was informed were His Britannic Majesty's brig Detroit, late the United States brig Adams, and the brig Hunter, mounting fourteen guns, but which afterwards proved to be the brig Caledonia, both said to be well armed and manned, came down the lake and anchored under the protection of Fort Erie. * * On the morning of their arrival, I heard that our seamen were but a short distance from this place and immediately dispatched an express to the officers directing them to use all possible dispatch in getting their men to this place as I had important service to perform. On their arrival, which was about 12 o'clock, I discovered that they had only twenty pistols and neither cutlasses or battle-axes. But on application to Generals Smyth and Hall, of the regulars and the militia, I was supplied with a few arms, and Gen. Smyth was so good on my request as immediately

to detach fifty men from the regulars armed with muskets. By four o'clock I had my men selected and stationed in two boats which I had previously prepared for the service. With these boats, fifty men in each, and under circumstances very disadvantageous, my men having scarcely had time to refresh themselves after a fatiguing march of five hundred miles, I put off from the mouth of Buffalo Creek at one o'clock, the following morning and at three I was along side the vessels. In the space of about ten minutes, I had the prisoners all secured, the top-sails sheeted home and the vessels under way. * * * To my officers and men, I feel under great obligation. To Capt. Towson, and Lieut. Roach, of the 2d Regiment of Artillery, Ensign Prestman of the Infantry, Capt. Chapin, Mr. John McComb, Messrs. John Tower, Thomas Davis, Peter Overstocks and James Sloan, resident gentlemen of Buffalo, for their soldier and sailor-like conduct. In a word sir, every man fought as if with their hearts animated only by the interests and honor of their country. The prisoners I have turned over to the military.

"The Detroit mounted six six-pounder long guns, a commanding lieutenant of marines, boatswain, gunner and fifty-six men; about thirty American prisoners on board, muskets, pistols, cutlasses and battle axes. In boarding her, I lost one man, one officer wounded. * * * The Caledonia mounted two small guns, blunderbusses, pistols, muskets, cutlasses, boarding pikes, twelve men, including officers; ten prisoners on board. The boat boarding her, commanded by Sailing-master George Watts performed his duty in masterly style. But one man killed and four wounded badly, I am afraid mortally." * * *

CHAPTER XV.

In the battle of Queenston, which resulted so disastrously to the Americans, notwithstanding the bravery exhibited by some of our officers, some things were developed that gave uneasiness to all true-hearted patriots. It appears that some portion of the volunteer force assembled on the Niagara frontier with loud protestations of courage and patriotism, refused to cross the river to sustain Col. Van Rensselaer, taking the ground that they could not be ordered out of the State in which they had enlisted, or had been enrolled. This refusal of some of the forces assembled at Lewiston, to cross into Canada, lost the battle of Queenston. Col. Van Rensselaer was severely wounded and brought to Buffalo, where he lay nearly four weeks and until he was so far recovered as to be able to stand the journey to his own home, in Albany. The following article appeared in the Buffalo Gazette, November 11th 1812:

“COL. SOLOMON VAN RENSSELAER—HONOR TO WHOM HONOR
IS DUE.

“Those to whom the lives of the brave and patriotic are dear, and who regard the welfare of our common country, and esteem its resolute defenders, will learn with

pleasure and satisfaction that Col. Solomon Van Rensselaer, who fought and bled under the intrepid Wayne, has so far recovered from the numerous wounds received at the battle of Queenston, as to be able to commence his journey for Albany. He left this village yesterday morning, accompanied by John Lovett, Esq. When the Colonel left Landon's (Hotel,) a salute was given him by Chapin's Independent Buffalo Matross, commanded by Capt. Chapin, Capt. Babcock's Light Dragoons, Capt. Allison's Pennsylvania Volunteers, and a Rifle Company under the command of Lieut. Smith."

The same paper contained the following remarks :

" DRAFTED MILITIA.

"It appears to be pretty generally admitted that the detached military volunteer companies who offer their services to the State, cannot be ordered out of the Union ; and some, indeed, pretend to say that they cannot be marched out of the State where they are enrolled. Now if the militia cannot be depended on to assist in any great enterprise out of the Union, why are the Pennsylvania militia ordered to this place? We should say that at a point of so much importance as this, no force should be employed but such as can be ordered where their commanding general may direct. Events have proven that men who boasted and blustered the most at the opening of the campaign, were the last to put their heads in harm's way."

It is very evident that our military interests upon the Niagara frontier suffered for the want of an efficient

head or leader. The frequent changes which took place in the early stages of the war, of the commanding officers on the frontier, led to dissatisfaction, if not jealousy, among the officers themselves, and proved very unfavorable for organizing an efficient force out of the heterogeneous material assembled in considerable numbers upon the lines.

Gen. Amos Hall, of Ontario, Gen. Wm. Wadsworth, of Genesee, and Gen. Stephen Van Rensselaer, of Albany, were all upon the frontier early in the war. Each new arrival of volunteers was generally accompanied with a new General, and, instead of adding strength to the defences, actually weakened them.

It was in the latter part of the summer, or in the fall, of 1812, that Brig. Gen. Alexander Smyth arrived upon the lines, and issued an address "to the men of New York," dated at "Camp near Buffalo," in which, after making some allusion to the late disasters, he says :

"The valor of the American people has been conspicuous ; but the nation has been unfortunate in the selection of some of those who have directed it. One army has been disgracefully surrendered (Hull's) and lost ; another (Van Rensselaer's) has been sacrificed by a precipitate attempt to pass it over at the strongest point of the enemy's lines with the most incompetent means. The cause of these miscarriages is apparent. The commanders were popular men, but destitute alike of theory and experience in the art of war."

He says : "In a few days, the troops under my command will plant the American standard in Canada. They are men accustomed to obedience, silence and steadiness. They will conquer, or they will die."

He then makes an appeal to their patriotism, and urges them to "Advance to our aid. I will wait for you a few days. I cannot give you the day of my departure; but come on; come in companies, half-companies, by pairs or singly. I will organize you for a short tour. Ride to this place, if the distance is far, and send back your horses; but remember that every man who accompanies us, places himself under my command, and shall submit to the salutary restraints of discipline."

On the 17th of November he issued a proclamation, addressed "to the soldiers of the Army of the Centre," in which he says:

"The time has come when you are to cross the stream of the Niagara to conquer Canada—a country that is to be one of the United States."

He forbids all private plundering, but promises that "whatever is booty by the usages of war, which shall be captured, you shall have"; and offers two hundred dollars each for all the artillery horses captured from the enemy, to be "secured to the party who may take them," and forty dollars "for the arms and spoils of each savage warrior who shall be killed."

He closes his bombastic address in these words:

"Come on, my heroes; and when you attack the enemy's batteries, let the rallying word be—The Cannon we lost at Detroit, or Death!"

This proclamation is dated "Camp near Buffalo."

The following paragraph in the Buffalo Gazette, Dec. 11th, sums up the result of Gen. Smyth's expedition, which was to capture and annex Canada:

“From seven until ten or eleven o'clock in the morning there was a constant embarkation of troops at the Navy Yard, (near the head of Squaw Island,) and before the hour of eleven there were about sixty boats loaded and stationed in shore, awaiting the signal to make a descent. The day was fine, the troops were in excellent spirits ; no opposing force appeared on the shore. A flag was now sent by General Smyth to the British commander. The flag returned. The troops in the boats were ordered to debark, and the volunteers who were in readiness for embarkation, were ordered back to their respective encampments. Since which period several movements have taken place, but as we are in possession of no official statements, we can at present give no further account, perhaps indeed hereafter, some satisfactory statement may appear.”

A card appeared in the Buffalo Gazette of December 8th, signed by Gen. Peter B. Porter, of which the following is a copy :

“TO THE EDITOR OF THE BUFFALO GAZETTE :

“SIR — A friend has just handed me a proof-sheet of your paper of this morning, in which is contained what purports to be Gen. Smyth's official account of the 28th November, and 1st December. I beg that you will suspend the publication so long as to assure the public that in your next I will give a true account of some of the most prominent transactions of those days. When our lives, our property ; when the precious and dear bought gift of our ancestors, the sacred honor of our country ; when everything that we prize as men, or ought to hold

dear as patriots, are falling and fading before us, it is time to speak out what ever be the hazard.

“ In ascribing as I shall not hesitate to do, the late disgrace on this frontier to the cowardice of Gen Smyth, I beg to be understood as not intending to implicate the characters of the officers whose opinions he has brought forward to bolster up his conduct. Several of them I know to be as brave men as ever wielded a sword; and their advice, if indeed they gave the advice imputed to them, may be accounted for in the obvious consideration with which every one who saw him, must have been impressed, that any military attempt under such a leader must in all human probability prove disgraceful.”

The publication of the card of Gen. Porter was followed almost immediately by a challenge from Gen. Smyth, and a meeting upon the head of Grand Island, in the Niagara River, was arranged by their respective friends; Gen. Winder, of the army in behalf of Gen. Smyth, and Lieut. Angus, of the Navy for Gen. Porter. They met and after the exchange of one ineffectual shot, through the interference of their seconds, an amicable arrangement was made and further hostilities prevented. The following is a notice of the affair copied from the Buffalo Gazette of December 15th, 1812:

“ We are happy to have it in our power to give the official account of the recent affair on Grand Island. It will tend to counteract the numerous falsehoods which are in circulation respecting the meeting. The challenge, we understand, was given by Gen. Smyth.”

“ A meeting took place between Gen. Smyth and Gen.

Porter, yesterday afternoon, on Grand Island in pursuance of previous arrangements. They met at Dayton's Tavern and crossed the river with their friends and surgeons. Both gentlemen behaved with the utmost coolness and unconcern ; a shot was exchanged in as intrepid and firm a manner as possible by each gentleman, but without effect. It was then represented by Gen. Smyth's second, that Gen. Porter must now be convinced that the charge of cowardice against Gen. Smyth was unfounded and should in honor be retracted, which after mutual explanations as to the matters which had given rise to the charge, was accordingly done by him. Gen. Smyth then explained that his remarks on Gen. Porter were the result of irritation and were intended as provocation from having been assailed by Gen. Porter, and that he knew nothing derogatory to Gen. Porter's character as a gentleman and officer. The hand of reconciliation was extended and received. We congratulate the friends of these gentlemen upon the fortunate termination of a difference arising from too much precipitation, but which has been adjusted in a manner so honorable to both.

“W. H. WINDER,

“SAM'L ANGUS.

“Black Rock, December 13th, 1812.”

Of course the public mind was greatly agitated and excited by the events connected with “Smyth's Expedition,” the result of which was so different from what his bombastic addresses and proclamations had given the people reason to expect. Gen. Porter was a member of Congress. He had returned home and entered into the war a volunteer with great spirit. Although he had ad-

vocated a declaration of war, in Congress, yet he advised a prudent delay, in order to give time for preparation, as he well knew the defenceless condition of the country, especially upon the Niagara frontier, where his own home was situated.

Gen. Smyth was a Virginian. He had recently been promoted to the office of Brigadier, and had been ordered on to the Niagara frontier with some fifteen hundred regular troops and instructed to report to Gen. Van Rensselaer, who was then in command. But instead of marching to sustain Gen. Van Rensselaer, at the battle of Queenston, he lay encamped at "Flint Hill," a little east of the Four-mile or Granger's Creek, near Buffalo, where he remained passive, until after the defeat of our army at Queenston, when Gen. Van Rensselaer withdrew and left Gen. Smyth in command on the Niagara frontier. He signalized the event by issuing the celebrated address already given, in which he casts unnecessary reflections and imputations upon those who had preceded him in command, arrogating to himself superior sagacity, skill and experience, and when the performance fell so far below the promise, it is not surprising that all the officers and soldiers under him should have become perfectly disgusted, and demoralized. There were unquestionably many palliating circumstances in the case, but they seem to be in general such as ought to have been foreseen, and acted upon before the disaster, and not pleaded in extenuation afterwards. An epidemic prevailed upon the frontier at this time which made frightful havoc, not only in the army, but among the inhabitants. The season, too, was far advanced, and the inclemency of the weather, and consequent exposure of the troops, added

greatly to the prevailing mortality, and also made the crossing of the river much more difficult. Notwithstanding all these obstacles, had Gen. Smyth landed his whole army on the opposite shore at the first attempt, the expedition would undoubtedly have been successful; but, failing in this, the volunteers lost confidence, and numbers of them became disheartened and withdrew, greatly weakening the force which had been assembled under Gen. Smyth's pretentious proclamations. Under all these discouraging circumstances, it is not surprising that, on consultation with his officers, Gen. Smyth found many of them doubtful of the propriety of any further attempts under the then existing circumstances.

Gen. Smyth became the object of general ridicule. His grandiloquent proclamations were done into poetry and published in the Buffalo Gazette, and that paper contained several articles and communications, animadverting, in the strongest terms of reproach, upon the character and conduct of Gen. Smyth. Dr. Chapin came out, over his own signature, in an article published in the Gazette, several columns in length, of great severity. Our limits do not allow its republication; a single paragraph will serve to show its character and spirit:

“The disgraceful attempt by Gen. Smyth to invade Canada has everywhere excited astonishment; and, though much has been said and written respecting it, yet no statement has been laid before the public calculated to make the impression which the public mind ought to feel. The official dispatch of Gen. S. is in many instances erroneous; and, so far from being a

dignified statement of facts, is but a pitiful attempt at personal abuse, containing little more than the suggestions of humbled arrogance and pride. From Gen. Porter a statement was expected that would enable the public to form an opinion of the shameful transaction of the 28th Nov. and the 1st inst.; but the affair of Grand Island has induced Gen. P. to deviate from his original intention, and he has merely given a detail of facts so far as they came within his knowledge, without once referring to the causes of the extraordinary conduct of Gen. Smyth. The public have, therefore, a right to expect a statement of somewhat different features from those of one whose pen has been shackled by an 'affair of honor.' Under this impression, the writer of the following article feels that he need not further apologize to his fellow-citizens for thus intruding upon their attention." * *

Under date of Nov. 24th, the following article appeared in the Buffalo Gazette, showing the hopeful state of affairs at that time :

"The most active and indefatigable exertions are making to forward the enterprise on foot. Volunteers from different parts are coming in daily to join the American army. The town of Batavia has been patriotic; a subscription of seven hundred dollars, we understand, has been made for the purpose of paying volunteers an extra price for coming forward and joining the army.

Capt. Stevens' "Greys," from Willink, and Capt. Bemus' "Greys," from Hamburg, have arrived in this

village. Gen. P. B. Porter, we learn, is to take command of the volunteers. Doctor C. Chapin is appointed Major; Samuel Pratt, Esq., Adjutant, and J. E. Chaplin, Quartermaster. The names of other officers are not in our possession. Brigadier Gen. Smyth has now the command on the lines."

On the 8th of December, after the failure of Gen. Smyth's expedition, the Gazette says :

"The militia volunteers who came forward under the invitation of Gen. Smyth, have all returned home, cursing their stars because they have not "seen" or "felt" a battle. The Pennsylvania volunteers, consisting of nearly seventeen hundred men, have nearly all gone home for winter quarters. These troops were much dissatisfied. Since their arrival here they have been exposed in tents; we understand that last week they were ordered to build huts which they would not comply with. The United States twelve month's volunteers are to be stationed in this village with the exception of Swift's regiment. Several families in this village have relinquished their houses for the comfort of the troops. The articles of forage and provisions are now very dear and scarce."*

On the 29th December, the following notice appears in the Buffalo Gazette :

"MESSRS. SALISBURY—I was desired yesterday evening to request you to insert in your paper an invitation to the good people of the County of Niagara, to meet on

*See Appendix No. 6.

Friday, next, at the house of R. Cook, in this village at 10 o'clock, A. M., to consult on measures of public safety, and if possible concert some means to avert the impending dangers which are so visibly threatening our once peaceable and happy dwellings.

“Yours, &c.,

“RICHARD SMITH.

“Buffalo, December 25th, 1812.”

The close of the year 1812 left the military situation of affairs on the Niagara frontier, particularly at Buffalo, in a very unpromising condition, and the few inhabitants remaining began to feel as if they were left with very little dependence except upon themselves. Early in January, 1813, the following appeared in the Buffalo Gazette:

“Arrangments are in great forwardness, we understand, for completely guarding the lake coast, since the lake has closed. During the last week several families have removed out of the country; we think their fears are groundless. We have no doubt but we shall be effectually guarded; however, it would not be inconsistent with principles of self preservation that every citizen have his arms in good order, with a supply of amunition.”

Active measures had already been taken to organize a fleet of armed vessels on Lake Erie, and several had been purchased by the Government and during the winter several vessels had been in process of repair and construction at Erie. Hitherto very few American vessels of any size had been built on Lake Erie, while the Brit-

ish had both war and merchant vessels in considerable numbers. In March, 1813, the following notice appeared in the Buffalo Gazette :

“Last week, Capt. O. H. Perry, of the United States Navy, lately commanding at Newport, Rhode Island, arrived in this village, on his way to Erie, Penn., to superintend the completing and fitting out a naval force at that place. The Captain, we understand, will command the naval force on Lake Erie, the ensuing summer.”

The mortification of the country at the results of the first season of the war on the Niagara frontier, led to more strenuous efforts on the part of the Government to enter upon the campaign of 1813, under better auspices. Major Gen. Lewis and Brigadier Gen. Boyd were sent to the Niagara frontier, early in the spring. Their arrival at Buffalo is announced in the Gazette, April 20th, 1813 :

“On Saturday last, arrived in this village, Major Gen. Lewis, accompanied by Brigadier Gen. Boyd ; Capt. Gibson is one of Gen. Lewis’s Aids. On their arrival, they were very handsomely saluted by the troops stationed in this village—the flying artillery, under Capt. Leonard, the infantry under Col. Milton.”

A force had been assembled at Sackett’s Harbor under Gen. Dearborn, and embarked on the fleet of Commodore Chauncey, early this spring, crossed over to Little York, (now Toronto,) and captured that place ; after which the fleet returned and in May assisted at the capture of Fort George, opposite Fort Niagara. In this

affair Gen. Lewis had the immediate command, although Gen. Dearborn was on board the fleet disabled by sickness. Gen. Porter went as volunteer Aid to Gen. Lewis, and it is said in the published account that Doctor Chapin led the van-guard. The British army retreated before our victorious forces, after the blowing up of their magazines and destroying all the public property, and were pursued towards the head of Lake Ontario. The following is from the Buffalo Gazette, of the same date :

“About four o’clock in the afternoon of the same day, (of the capture of Fort George,) an express arrived at Fort Erie from the British commander below. It is understood the express brought orders for all the regulars to march immediately to join Gen. Vincent, on his retreat, and also for Major Warren, (of the militia) to open a fire upon Black Rock, and continue the same until next morning and then burst his guns, blow up the magazines, and dismiss his men. He executed his orders. The batteries below the fort immediately opened a fire upon Black Rock, which was returned and continued at intervals during the night. Early in the morning the destruction of their military stores commenced ; all their magazines, all their barracks, public stores and store-houses from Chippewa to Point Abino have been blown up or burned. Not a person was injured at Black Rock, during the whole cannonade. The barracks received a few shot. In the evening of the following day Lieut. Col. J. P. Preston, commandant at Black Rock crossed over with his regiment and entered Fort Erie. From the humane and salutary measures adopted by Col. Preston, on his entrance into the enemy’s territory, in discrimina-

ting between friends and enemies, and securing those well disposed in their persons and property, we anticipate that he will be very favorably received by the inhabitants of Canada."

The capture by the British of Gens. Winder and Chandler, at Stoney Creek, and other disasters, compelled our army to fall back upon Fort George, and ultimately to abandon that place. When Gen. McClure, then in command of the American forces, decided to abandon Fort George, he ordered the village of Newark (formerly Butlersbury) to be burned. This was considered at the time to be a most wanton and unjustifiable act, and, as the result proved, was made the pretext for the burning of Buffalo. Under date of December 14th, 1813, the Buffalo Gazette thus speaks of the transaction :

"Fort George was evacuated and Newark burned on Friday last. Gen. McClure evacuated Fort George, blew up the magazine, and burnt the fort. The village of Newark was ordered to be burnt, and in the evening it was fired, and, we understand, every house was consumed. We have no particulars of the above distressing intelligence, but have our information from gentlemen who witnessed the awful conflagration. Newark was formerly a fine, flourishing village, and commanded the most beautiful prospect on any of our western waters. Before the war it contained above one hundred and fifty houses."

Early in July, symptoms of greater activity began to

be exhibited by the enemy all along the Niagara River. They crossed in the night and captured a guard of twenty or thirty men at Schlosser, carrying off some public and private property, and soon after appeared in considerable force opposite Black Rock. Our forces having been sent to aid the invading army at Fort George, Buffalo was left in an exposed condition. A volunteer corps, under Capt. Joseph Bull, was enrolled for the defence of the place, and a battery was erected on the point of the terrace fronting the lake, mounting one long twelve, and one six pounder. Every man capable of bearing arms was enrolled and regularly drilled every day, under Capt. Bull—Col. Chapin and many others being absent with the army in Canada. Col. Brady arrived very opportunely, with two hundred and fifty regulars and fifty horse, from Pennsylvania.

On Sunday morning, July 11th, just before daylight, the British, under Cols. Bishop and Warren, crossed the river a little below Squaw Island and landed a force of about two hundred and fifty regulars, and marched up to what was called the Navy Yard, near the head of the Island, before they were discovered. The few militia stationed at Black Rock, being surprised, retreated and left the enemy in undisturbed possession of the village. The alarm was immediately given, and all the force, regular and irregular, that could be mustered, marched down to Black Rock, met the enemy, and after a sharp engagement of about fifteen minutes, repulsed him, driving the enemy into their boats, and inflicting upon them severe punishment.*

* For a full account of this transaction, copied from the Buffalo Gazette, see Appendix No. 7.

Although affairs on the Niagara frontier bore a discouraging aspect in the fall of 1813, yet the news of the victory of Com. Perry on Lake Erie was no where received with greater enthusiasm than by the citizens of Buffalo, and the event was celebrated in a suitable manner, as appears by the following record in the Buffalo Gazette of Sept. 28th :

"On Wednesday, at ten o'clock, Major Chapin fired a salute at the battery, in honor of the victory. In the evening the village was brilliantly illuminated. A large procession formed and marched through the streets, preceded by music."

Upon the arrival of Com. Perry and Gen. Harrison, in October, they were suitably honored by a public dinner. The following is a notice of the event, copied from the Gazette of Oct. 26th, 1813 :

"Yesterday the citizens of Buffalo, in conformity to some previous arrangements, gave a public dinner to Com. Perry and the naval officers in port, and Gen. Harrison and the officers of the army at this place. In our next, we shall give the outline of the proceedings."

At the meeting, Col. Chapin was chairman, and H. B. Potter secretary. At the dinner, Gen. P. B. Porter presided, assisted by Col. Chapin, Judge Townsend and Dr. J. Trowbridge, as Vice-Presidents.

It was well understood that preparations were making on the opposite side of the river to invade our territory, but as these preparations were carried on principally at Fort

Erie it was very uncertain at what point the attack would be made, and when on the night of the 29th of December, a report was given that the British had landed down the river, below Squaw Island, it was suspected to be only a feint to draw off the force at Buffalo, where it was anticipated the principal attack would be made, consequently reinforcements from Buffalo were not immediately sent in any numbers or strength.

As the enemy had landed under cover of an extremely dark night, his force could not be ascertained. The mounted parole or picket in that direction was soon dispersed, or driven in, and the enemy slowly and cautiously, under cover of the darkness, advanced up the river. The company of Buffalo volunteers under Capt. Bull were ordered forward to reconnoiter; when it had advanced nearly to Conjockety Creek, a volley from about fifty muskets, drawn up in line, directly in front, gave the first warning of the whereabouts of the enemy. The company was thrown into utter confusion, and in spite of all that the officers could do by threats and persuasion, most of them took to their heels. The darkness of the night, the close proximity of the enemy and the profound silence which reigned around was too much for raw recruits. Not a word was heard before or after the first fire which ran in a feu-de-joie from right to left of the enemy's line. All was uncertainty until the daylight revealed a large force embarking in boats higher up the river, and the whole American force was directed against this new invading party. As soon as this movement was observed by the force of the enemy that had landed down the river, it began to move up, and was not observed until it commenced an attack upon our forces in

rear. This attack from an unexpected quarter caused our forces, mostly volunteers and militia to give way and it became impossible to rally them.* After this the enemy had an almost unobstructed march to Buffalo, taking the direct road, now Niagara street, throwing out their Indians as skirmishers upon each flank under cover of the woods.

The adult male population of the village had gone down to Black Rock, early in the morning, leaving the women and children, under a strong belief that the enemy would be repulsed as he had been upon a former occasion, and when the alarm was given that the British and Indians were advancing in full force to Buffalo, a universal panic seized every breast, and self preservation, the first law of our nature, became the ruling motive of action. It is true there were many examples of self abnegation and sacrifice for the benefit of others; one well authenticated instance deserves to be recorded. On the morning of the flight of the inhabitants from their burning dwellings, a farmer from one of the south towns, on his way to Buffalo with a load of^e cheese for market, met the retreating mass of women and children on the beach of the lake, a short distance out of town. He immediately threw his cheese out upon the ground, abandoned it, and loaded his wagon with the most helpless of the women and children, and helped them on in their flight. Horsemen took up females behind them, and in some instances, children before them, and thus aided them in their escape. Families were thus separated and in some instances, did not re-unite for weeks. So sudden

* For official account, and other particulars, see Appendix No. 8.

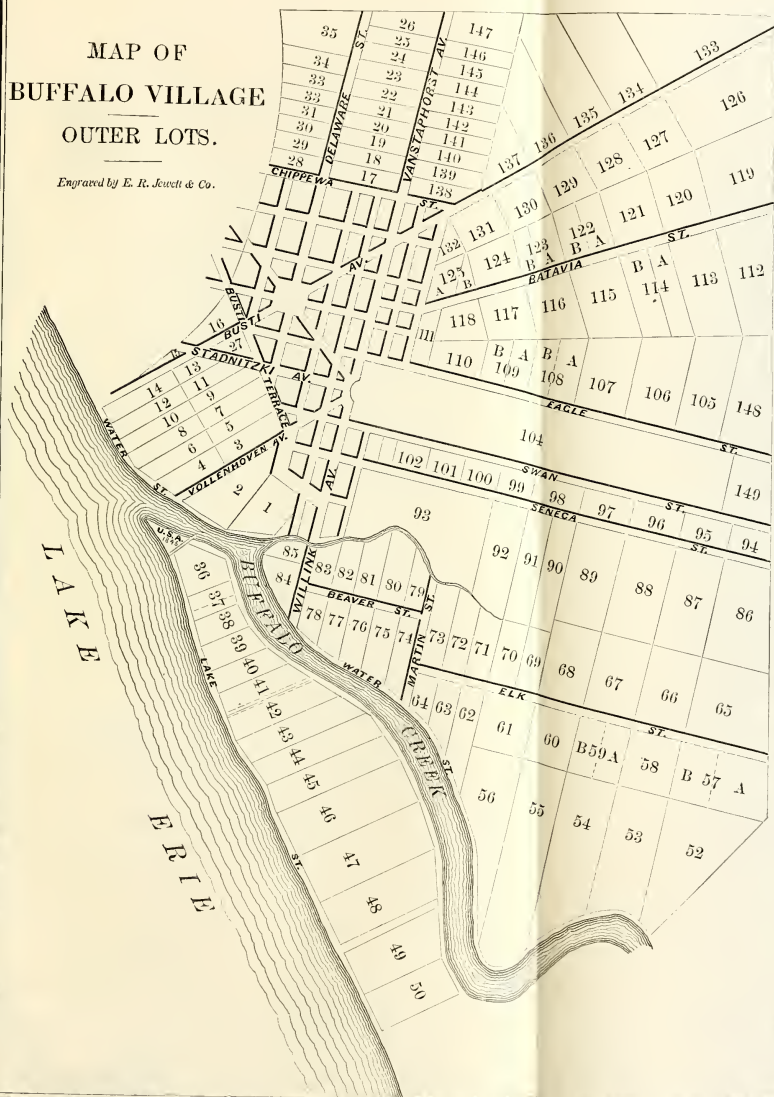
was the surprise, and so destitute were those who were left in the village of the means of escape, that very few saved anything except what they had upon their persons. A few families had taken the precaution to remove a day or two previous to the attack, but the great mass of the families remained. Some few took the old road to Batavia; some, took the Cayuga Creek road, as it was called; some fled to the Indian village, but the greater number took the road across the Ferry, to the lake, and up the road on the beach, this being considered the safest route. A few men who were in the battle at Black Rock, in the morning, were able to reach the village, in advance of the enemy. Among these was Doctor Chapin, and when he arrived near the junction of Niagara with Main street, he found a small squad of men and boys, with a cannon procured from a vessel that had been beached near the mouth of the creek, mounted on a pair of cart or wagon wheels. He joined them, and a few shots were fired at the advancing foe, doing considerable execution; but the gun becoming disabled, Doctor Chapin, with a white handkerchief on his cane, advanced to meet the enemy to obtain terms of capitulation, but his efforts only served to retard the advance a little, which gave more time for the people to escape. The torch was soon applied, in retaliation it was said for the burning of Newark, and on the next day every building in Buffalo, with two exceptions,* was burned to the ground.

It would seem that the Buffalo Gazette office had been removed some days before the burning, as the last paper on file before that event was published the 14th of December. The next paper on file is dated the 18th of January, 1814, at "Harris' Tavern, near Williamsville."

*Mrs. St. John's dwelling and Reese's blacksmith shop.

MAP OF BUFFALO VILLAGE OUTER LOTS.

Engraved by E. R. Jewett & Co.

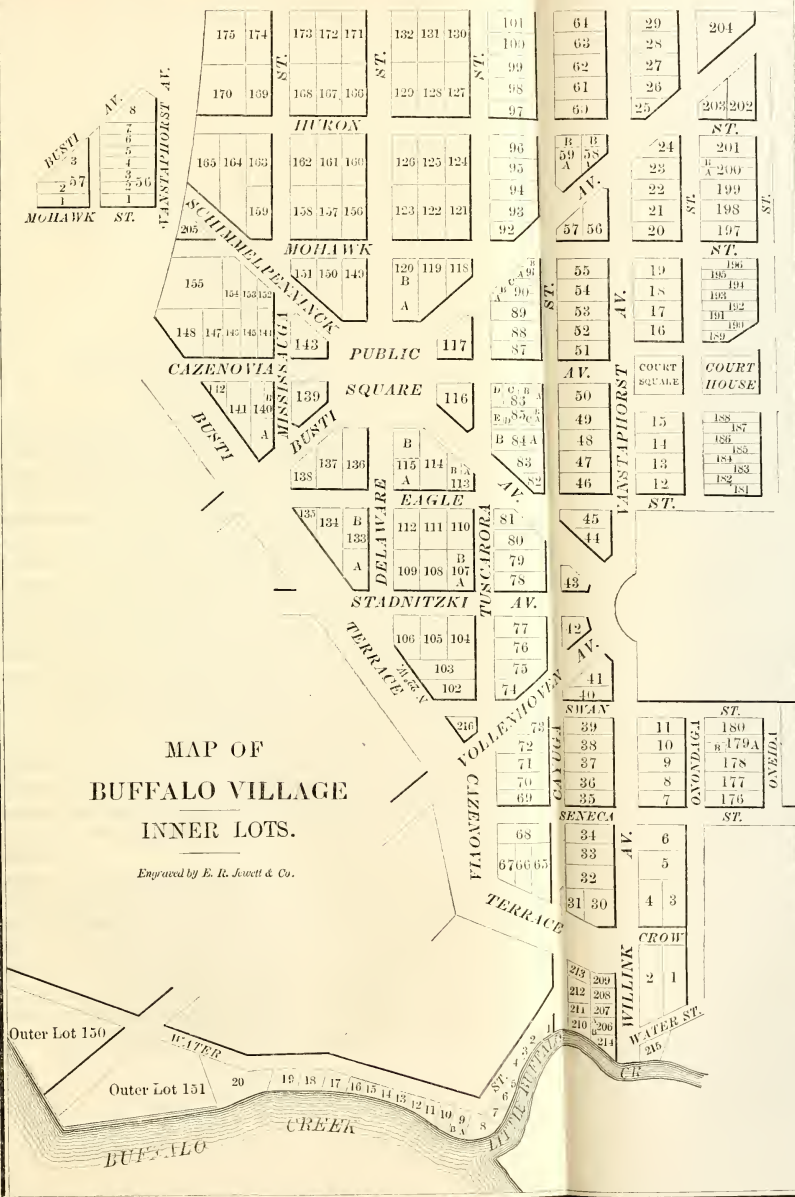


NO. 111
JOURNAL OF THE
CITY OF NEW YORK



MAP OF BUFFALO VILLAGE INNER LOTS.

Engraved by E. R. Jewett & Co.



A P P E N D I X .

NARRATIVE OF COL. THOMAS PROCTOR.

[Concluded from Volume One.]

The foregoing speech of Red Jacket, as done by the advice of the Young King and Fish Carrier, (for they sat one on either side of him and prompted him.) plainly demonstrates that most of the chiefs of the Six Nations are under the influence of the British, as no business of consequence will be undertaken, to the advantage of the United States, but what must first be sifted by British counsel. These suggestions, which were pressed on my mind at this time, gave me to fear that I should not meet the wished for assistance, that I had a right to expect from the Six Nations ; but fully determined to persevere in my endeavors, till I should gain the summit of difficulty, which I saw arranged before me.

April 30th. No business to-day, but private counselling among themselves. In the evening Captain Powell invited me to go with him to a store about four miles distant, in which he was interested, and his partner who kept it, a Mr. Cornelius Winney of Fishkills. With the last named gentleman I staid till the Monday following, through a very pressing, polite invitation, which at length I accepted of, being lame and much indisposed through fatigue and change of diet, such as from poor to exceeding poor indeed ; but with him there was plenty of every necessary, and given with so good a grace that I shall seek occasion to return the compliment.

May 2. No further business with me, but the Indians still continue their councils, keeping their fire burning, waiting the arrival of Col. Butler, and by information which I received that leaked out of the cabinet of the sachems, the council were much divided upon my account. About two in the afternoon a messenger arrived from Niagara informing them that Col. Butler, &c., had set out from Niagara for this place. Among other circumstances in their private council, by the friends of the British interest, that the place where I was desirous they should accompany me,

was on the verge of the ocean ; that it would take them twelve months to reach the place of treaty ; but those falsaties were soon explained to my friends, and through which I plainly showed them, by my draughts, that the distance rom thence to Fort Washington, did not exceed six hundred miles, and that half that distance we should go by the waters of Lake Erie, and that, when I was satisfied of their going with me, I would charter one of the trading vessels on the lake for that purpose.

May 3. Finding, upon inquiry, that there was no general council to be held this day, waiting the coming of Col. Butler, I sent the interpreter to invite the chiefs to my cabin, as I had some matters to communicate to them, previous to their going to general council. They soon attended me and I opened my map before them, and showed from our situation at Buffalo, the trace we should make into the Miami Nation ; from thence to Fort Washington on the Ohio ; the first by a transport on Lake Erie, to the Miami, which, with anything of a fair wind, could be completed in less than two days and two nights. From the mouth of the Miami to the Missasagoe Nation, situate on the same, and from thence to the Miami and Wabash tribes, at such place where they might generally be assembled ; plainly demonstrating to their satisfaction, that the whole tour could be performed in a short time ; and, therefore, enjoined them, under the friendship which they professed to bear to the thirteen fires, that they would, in their next council, promote and further my business, that I came to receive their assistance to perform ; so that I might go on my journey without further hesitation, as my orders were not to remain at any council longer than two or three days, if I could possibly do otherwise, so that it might be reasonably expected that my stay here could not be much longer, this being the seventh day since my arrival. I hoped therefore, they would be silent with me longer, as I plainly saw that they were not to exercise their own opinions, but the opinion of the British agent. These remarks I made, with intention that they should feel the force of my observations ; upon which Red Jacket desired that I should hear him speak, as I had been speaking a long time. " Tell him (said he to the Interpreter,) that some of his language is soft, but that other parts of it are too strong ; for the danger that is before us is great, and our enemies are drunk ; and they will not hear what we say, like a man that is sober, and we consider that whatever number of the Six Nations accompany him, will be in the same danger with himself, and it is likely that we shall not live long, when the bad Indians shall see us. Therefore as it is a business of such weight to us, we must take counsel, in order to save ourselves and him, from falling by their hands. Moreover, the In-

dians are not like white men, for they must think a great while. He must therefore attend our councils, and look, and hear, till we shall speak on his business ; and to-morrow our head men will meet together, and try what can be done." While we were in conversation together, a runner came to the Young King, acquainting him that Col. Butler, with several officers from Niagara, had arrived at the store house on Lake Erie, where, Col. Butler said that the sachems and head men of the nation should meet him in the morning, but did not advise that I should attend with them. This the Young King desired might be told me, that I might know that Col. Butler had called them together. The circumstance of their moving the council fire from home to Lake Erie had never been attempted before, and may with propriety be said, that their being called together without my being present, was intended to answer some private purpose ; perhaps to damp the ardor of such friends as I might have gained among the Indians, through the fair and honorable statements which I had laid before them in their councils. Since the dusk of the evening, Capt. O'Beel has called a meeting of the chiefs at the cabin of Cayassutta, as I understood it, to advise them not to do anything to injure me in the business I had to do with them. In the course of this day Capt. Half-Town and Big-Tree, and several of the head men and warriors from O'Beel's Town and Cattaraugus, about sixty in number, and Capt. Snake, with about forty of the Delawares arrived, attended by many of their women, youth, &c. By invitation, I dined this day (in company with Capt. Houdin,) with the principal chief of the Onondaga Nation, named Big-Sky. His castle lay about three miles east of Buffalo, near which were about twenty-eight good cabins, and the inhabitants appeared in general to be decent and well clothed, particularly their women, some of which were dressed so richly with silken stroud, &c., and ornamented with so many silver trappings, that one suit must be of the value of at least thirty pounds, some of the latter attended the feast, which principally consisted of young pigeons, some boiled, some stewed, and the mode of dishing them up was, that a hank of six were tied with a deer's sinew round their necks, their bills pointing outward ; they were plucked, but of pin-feathers there were plenty remained ; the inside was taken out, but it appeared from the soup made of them, that water had not touched them before. The repast being the best I had seen for a long time, I ate of it very heartily, and the entertainment was given with the appearance of much hospitality. Returned about sunset to Buffalo.

May 4. The whole of the head men and warriors repaired to the place yesterday appointed by Col. Butler to open that council they intended

holding at the British garrison of Niagara. I pressed my friend O'Beel to go forward with them, by all means, lest the United States should not be represented. About eleven o'clock, an Indian runner delivered me a letter from Col. Butler, through which Capt. Houdin and myself received a polite invitation to dine with him and his officers, viz : Capt. Burrows, Com't of Fort Erie, Col. Street, Capt. Johnson, Capt. Powell, and Capt. Butler Shane ; most of which gentlemen appeared to speak the Indian language fluently, and all appeared to be busily engaged with the parties, holding converse with them ; the tenor of which was, as I since understood it, that they must be cautious what they should undertake to do, in such matters as I had laid before them ; and before they might determine, they must repair to Niagara, and receive the instructions of Col. Gordon ; Col. Butler speaking to them, in my hearing, to the same effect, also mentioning that, as Col. Brant of Grand River, and Mr. McGee, agent for Indian affairs for Detroit, were now preparing to go among the Indians at war with the Americans, to know what their intentions were, whether for war or for peace ; advising them by all means to wait the information that would be received from them, and, should it not come as early as might be expected, they should not go without it, as thereby they would draw war upon their own nations, for they were very angry with them already, and would be more so on finding an American among them, and that notwithstanding his going among them was to establish peace, they would kill them all, without waiting to hear what errand he had come upon. This, and the like conversation from Col. Butler, besides what was doing by his officers of the Indian department then present, lasted till late dinner time, and previous to their going away to their Castle (village,) at Buffalo. The Young King and Red Jacket remarked to Col. Butler, that the speech intended for the Miami and Wabash Indians, contained threatening sentences, which would be more likely to irritate them, than soften them into a compliance. Upon this information being given, I undertook to show them to Col. Butler and others present, that on the same being read publicly, they acknowledged that they had not understood it so well before, and appeared satisfied that a mistake rested with them. A considerable conversation took place with Col. Butler and myself, in presence of the Young King and other chiefs, entirely on the subject of a peace, and of my intended progress through the Miami country, which were severally interpreted to them, the tenor of the Colonel's advice being to leave the whole of the treaty, and adjustment of the same, to the chiefs of Buffalo, Col. Brant and McGee, whom he should engage for, to accommodate the disputes between the Indians at war and the

United States, and on no account to attempt the undertaking myself, as he was well aware what must be the consequence. Col. Butler having given his opinion so fully, gave me the opportunity to explain myself by saying, that if I possessed weakness enough to submit to a negotiation on the terms he had introduced, that a peace could not be confirmed with the thirteen States, but with his Britanic Majesty's subjects in their behalf; that, on the completion of this business due honor would rest with the negotiators, and, by such a passive procedure in me, I should justly entail on myself lasting disrepute. That for those reasons the chiefs of the Six Nations must be decisive in their answers to me, within a few days, being compelled, by my duty, to seek assistance by other expedients which are in my power, perceiving in some of their chiefs an indifference of conduct in matters which I held to be of the utmost importance.

These expressions having been interpreted to them, they severally retired to their villages, and I received the invitation of continuing the night with these gentlemen, and complying with the same, I received the utmost civility and agreeable conversation, till one o'clock in the morning.

May 5. This morning Col. Butler and his suite took boat from hence, which was rowed by six British soldiers, across the lake, for Fort Erie; and previous to their departure, as before mentioned, I saw that each and every public paper received by Cornplanter at Philadelphia, together with the message that I brought to the Six Nations, was safely put under the care of Col. Butler, and by him to be presented to the commanding officer at Niagara, as concluded upon by the council of the Six Nations, so that the counsel of Col. Gordon might be obtained by them. In the afternoon I wrote a letter to obtain permission from the commanding officer of Niagara, to freight one of the schooners upon the lake to conduct me, and such Indians as were willing to go with me, to Sandusky, in order that no time might be lost when I should gain their concurrence, and forwarded the same by an Indian, being unwilling to trouble either of the officers with its carriage to Col. Gordon.

May 6. Red Jacket and Capt. O'Beel came to see me, when the former acquainted me with the reason why no council would be held to-day, to-wit, that it was their pigeon time, in which the Great Spirit had blessed them with an abundance. * * This is a matter worthy of observation, that at some convenient distance from every one of the Indian settlements, the pigeons hatch their young in this season of the year, and the trees which they commonly light on are low and of the bushy kind, and they are found in such great abundance, that exceeding a hundred nests, a pair of pigeons in each, are common to be found in a single tree; so that I

have seen in one house belonging to one family, several large baskets full of dead squabs ; these they commonly take when just prepared to leave the nest, and as fat as is possible for them to be made ; when after they are plucked and cleaned a little, they are preserved by smoke, and laid by for use.

May 7. Capt. O'Beel called the chiefs together on business concerning themselves, to take into consideration when land should be settled for the accommodation of certain tribes and families, who had put themselves under the protection of the Six Nations, being compelled to leave their former situations, dreading the rage of the Shawnese and Miami Indians.

To Capt. Smoke and the Delawares under his immediate care, the place appointed was the village of Cattaraugus ; to the families of Connon-doghta, a chief of the Messasagoes, and to the Bear Oil chief and his family, who fled from their settlement at Conyatt, all of the same nation, had their planting grounds assigned to them near the village of Buffalo.

May 8. A great dance was performed here this day, and worship by the Six Nations present ; but in the fore part of the day they held council and I was present. For particulars see the speech of Fish Carrier, a chief of the Cayugas, and is the right hand man of Butler and Brant.

May 9. The council being convened, I replied to the speech of Fish Carrier, delivered yesterday, in which I gave them to understand that I thought it was useless for me to stay any longer with them at Buffalo, seeing that those who were in the interest of the British, deterred others from serving in the cause of the United States. * * Previous to my leaving the council, Red Jacket and Young King desired that I would wait their future deliberations, and from a few words which were afterward spoken to me by Red Jacket in council, gave me the first reason to expect their assistance.

May 10. Worship was performed this day as usual.

May 11. The great dance that succeeded was attended with a very drunken entertainment, from the Young King to the meanest subject, Cornplanter and some of the elder of the women excepted, but not the least insolence was offered me, or any of my people.

May 12. There was a general alarm took place in all the villages in this quarter, the cause of it I judged to proceed from the enemies of the United States. * * Capt. O'Beel, on this feigned alarm, sent out early in the morning of the 13th, a number of his Indians to discover if there were any appearance of an enemy's track ; but they returned in the afternoon and reported that there had been no Indians where it had been said they were seen in numbers. * *

May 14. Private council this day with Indians as usual, in which they strongly debated the principles under consideration between me and Col. Butler. * *

May 15. Early this morning the elders of the Indian women resorted to my hut. (Present a number of chiefs.) Having heard the general conversation that took place between me and the Young King the evening before, addressed me in the following manner :

“ Brother—The Lord has spared us until a new day to talk together. Moreover your sisters, the women, have taken the same into great consideration, because that you and our sachems have said so much upon it. Now that is the reason why we have come to say something to you, and to tell you, that the Great Spirit hath preserved you, and you ought to hear and listen to what women shall speak, as well as to the sachems ; for we are the owners of this land—and it is ours ; for it is we that plant it, for our and their use. Hear us, therefore, for we speak of things that concern us and our children, and you must not think hard of us, while our men shall say more to you ; for we have told them.”

The above speech being ended, I acceded to a request they made, that I would attend their sachems in council this day, and hear what should be said by the women's speaker, the Young Prince of the Turtle tribe, (Red Jacket.) Soon after their departure, the alarm gun was fired, which was to summon their head men into council. They were soon assembled from their adjacent villages, and sent some of their sachems to usher me and my colleague into their assembly. Being arrived, the first matter unusual that presented itself, were the elders of the women seated near their chiefs. When, after a short silence, the speech of the women was continued by Red Jacket, agreeably to the terms entered into between them, and the whole of the leading sachems of the Six Nations, as follows :

“ Brother from Pennsylvania, you that are sent from Gen. Washington, and by the Thirteen Fires :—You have been sitting side by side with us every day, and the Lord has appointed us another pleasant day to meet again. Now listen. Brother—You know what we have been doing so long, and what trouble we have been at ; and you know that it has been the request of our head warrior, (O'Beel,) that we are left to answer for our women, who are to conclude what ought to be done by both sachem and warriors. So hear what is their conclusion.

“ Brother—The business you have come on is very troublesome, and we have been a long time considering on it, even since you came here ; and now the elders of our women, considering the greatness of your business,

have said that our sachems and warriors must help you over your difficulties, for the good of them and their children. Moreover you tell us, since the treaty at Tioga with us, the Americans are strong for peace. Now, all that has been done for you has been done by our women, and the rest will be a hard task for us ; for the people at the setting sun are bad people, and you have come on us in too much haste for such great matters of importance. And now Brother, you must look when it is light in the morning until the setting sun, and you must reach your neck over the land, and take all the light you can, to show the danger. And this is the word of our women to you, and the sachems and warriors who shall go with you. * * Now, Brother from Pennsylvania and from Gen. Washington, I have told you what has been directed. * * You now know that Col. Butler, of the British, told us that he must take our writings down to Col. Gordon, as he is a very wise man, and perhaps he may have something to say to us that is for our good. And we also want his assistance, as he is the man that keeps all the vessels that is on the lake. Therefore, my Brother, make your mind easy, for your request is granted, and when we hear from our brothers, the British, then we shall know what time we can start. And you must not be uneasy that our brother, O'Beel, does not go with you, for he is very tired, and he must rest awhile, and take charge of our young warriors, while they are playing, (hunting,) to keep them in peace, for fear of danger. And now, while we are speaking, more of our young warriors have given their names to go with you."

Having received this welcome information, and so firmly authenticated by so complete a council, I undertook to write a second letter to Col. Gordon, Commandant of Niagara, making request of him to grant me a passage in one of the merchant or other vessels on Lake Erie, for a certain number of Indians, and others, intended to accompany me to the Miamies, and from thence to Fort Washington, on the Ohio ; and the better to prevent any miscarriage or delay, I sent it by Mr. Horatio Jones, my interpreter, on the morning of the 16th, enjoining him by all means, to present it to the Colonel himself, and to return with an answer to me as speedily as possible. Early on the morning of the 17th, he crossed the River St. Lawrence to Niagara, and, being well acquainted there, he went through any part of the garrison he thought proper, until about 10 o'clock, when he went to the Commandant to present my letter. Mr. Jones informed me, that, as soon as it was known that he was charged with a public message from me, the town Major had orders to put an orderly non-commissioned officer to attend him, and to prevent his going through the garri-

son, or of holding any particular conversation with the inhabitants. And, as soon as Col. Gordon sent to him the answer to my letter, he was ordered to return to Buffalo by the same route he had came ; and the orderly conducted him to the ferry where he had crossed in the morning, and returned on the 19th, to me at Buffalo.

The answer which Col. Gordon sent in his letter was, that as he had not seen those public documents that I had wrote him of, therefore he could not enter into a discussion with me on matters of a public nature, viewing me only in the light of a private agent ; nor was he authorized to permit me a passage for the Indians I proposed carrying to Sandusky, in any of the vessels on the lake. This unfriendly denial puts a stop to the further attempting to go to the Miamies, as the Indian chiefs who proposed accompanying me, were unable to walk the distance required, and it was held by them to be unsafe to go in a large Albany boat, I had contracted for, fearing disappointments : as, to gain a harbor for such a boat in case of rough weather, it could not be met with at times, under going the distance of twelve or fifteen miles, and all winds from the northeast, and northwest, and northerly, made the lake very turbulent, and the waters as rough as the ocean.

While Mr. Jones continued at Niagara, six engineers and twenty-five or more artificers arrived there from Quebec, being sent by Lord Dorchester for the purpose of carrying on some works of fortifications. He likewise saw that fresh work had been done to the face of the garrison, &c. I have likewise been informed that the British have laid the foundation of a new fortress on the north side of Lake Erie, at some distance higher up the rapids, and I presume (beyond the range of thirteen inch shells,) from the present garrison it being evident that in justice they cannot maintain it much longer. The reason of their establishing of new garrisons on the lakes is very obvious, they being intended for the purpose of the fur trade, which produces abundance of wealth yearly to Great Britain. But this revenue, I hope, will be very soon decreased, on the surrender of the Fort of Detroit, the key of the fur trade by the lakes, and such posts as may be established by the United States in the Western territory, near the Mississippi, and also in the Wabash country, and by the government of Pennsylvania, at the old French garrison at Presque Isle ; which will invite most of the trade from the Grand River that empties itself into Lake Erie on the north side, and at a small distance from that beautiful station, of as fertile lands as America produces, of pure air and a healthful climate.

During the absence of the interpreter, twelve of the chiefs, headed by

the Young King, came to the storehouse on the lake, (at which place I was writing my despatches for the Secretary of War,) and informed me that they understood that I had intentions of going away from them secretly in the night, and that I had proffered an extraordinary price for a horse for that purpose, and had likewise offered a large sum of money to an Indian to carry my letters to Pittsburgh. I then inquired who was their informant that I had communicated these things to. They answered that John Berry, an Indian, who interpreted for Mr. Ewing, had told them so, and they had come to know my reason for my doing so. I replied that such a thought had not passed my mind ; and that if I had such intentions, why should I have sent my interpreter to Niagara to obtain a vessel to conduct me and them to the place I so earnestly and so constantly had solicited them to accompany me ? And that were I disposed to leave them in that manner, I should not have sold my horse yesterday to a trader, Mr. Winnie, and the sole reason of my having sold, was that we could not take a horse to Sandusky by water, for when there, we should have the utmost occasion for them, having to travel a long distance on foot. But the mistake or wrong interpretation, rested on this point : my intention of going by water, as above related, prompted me to engage one of O'Beel's Indians, whom I believed to be an honest man, to carry my letters to Fort Franklin, and as well as having offered him certain payment for his services, I had proposed to him a horse to carry him to the New Arrow's Town, where the horse belonged, and the rest of the way he might go by water, if he chose to do so. Moreover, to speak in their own language, I was more of a man than to leave my friends in that manner ; and that whenever I was about to go from them, I should tell them so, and take my leave of the Six Nations. Having so said to them, I gave them a treat and they returned to the towns fully pleased and satisfied.

May 17. Red Jacket and other of the chiefs informed me that my friends in the different towns expected I would give them something to drink, as they were going to have a great dance before they should leave their women. I readily accepted this proposition, and readily ordered eight gallons of the best spirits to be presented to them for the entertainment, and I desired that the women should be attended to, particularly for their valuable conduct during the last great council.

May 18 and 19. I was engaged in preparing my despatches for the Secretary of War, and other letters of the same import for Gov. St. Clair, and I proposed to forward them by way of New Arrow's Town, thence to Fort Franklin and Pittsburgh, and appointed Capt. Stingfish of New Arrow's Town to be the bearer, whose wife was the principal governess and leader

of the chiefs among the women, and the principal promoter in gaining the sachems over to my interest. It is well known to every person entrusted with a public commission among the Indians, that they are expected to possess a liberal hand. Red Jacket, whom we have often spoken of, called on me this morning to tell me that his house wanted a floor; that, as he was going with me, and being desirous to leave his family more comfortable during his absence, he expected I would have it done for him. Moreover, he wanted some rum for his wife and his mother, and that he might drink with them before setting out on his intended journey, he wanted a little for himself. The first request of laying his floor, I promised to have done immediately before going on board the vessel, and to make him and his wife cheerful at parting, gave orders to present him with one gallon of rum.

The Young King was not less pressing in his requests for rum on various occasions; and although he did not behave so well in their councils as I desired, I did not send him away empty handed, sound policy having dictated my motives. And as I perceived that Capt. O'Beel's modesty prevented him from calling on me in that way, to him and Cuyasatta I was not less liberal. To a Shawnese Indian named Chafudet, (or Hot Sun,) one of the chiefs appointed to conduct me into the Shawnese country, I gave a blanket, being entreated in a particular manner to furnish him, for which I gave 18s 9d. This afternoon, and immediately after Mr. Jones' return from Niagara, the Young King and the major part of the chiefs came to be (made) acquainted (with) what was the result of Col. Gordon's answer to me, upon which I informed them to meet me in general council in the morning, being desirous of communicating some matters of consequence to them, and then they should be informed of the contents of his letter. About this time I received information that about eight days since, Col. Brant had set out from Grand River, with about forty warriors to touch at Detroit, to take with him Mr. McGee, agent for Indian affairs in that district, from thence to proceed to the great encampment of those Indians at war with the United States; and by those who are professed friends of the British family, believed that his motives were not to pacify them, but to influence their minds to a more vigorous opposition.

May 20. According to my proposals of yesterday, I met them in general council, introduced and explained the substance of Col. Gordon's letter to me, apprising them that I was sensible of the cause that led him to give me such a denial; that it was replete with envy in him towards the United States; and it bespoke no affection in him towards the Indians;

and that ultimately it must reflect on his name and station, the unfavorable epithet of a discerning public, as preferring to cherish the rage of the desolating sword of war, to the happiness which flows in such abundance through the channels of peace. And perceiving from those causes that nothing further can be done by us at this time, I must take my leave of the Six Nations, and return with my information to the chiefs that sent me, to whose attention I will recommend them, seeing that no fault at this time lay at their doors. Having placed our disappointment to the fountain from whence it came, and to-morrow being the day I propose moving hence, I have now to desire that the chiefs will prepare to deliver me their farewell speech, which I will duly communicate to the great chief of the Thirteen Fires, and hope that it may be done soon to-morrow.

May 21. The whole of the chiefs resorted to my cabin, and the Young King, by appointment, gave their farewell speech, but not without the aid of Fish Carrier, whose physiognomy when speaking, put me in remembrance of the old Roman Senators, possessing so much keen gravity in his manner. (For the conclusive speech of Farmers Brother, see subsequent page.) Settled with Mr. Cornelius Winney for liquors &c., had for the Indians occasionally, £26 5s, deducting thirty-two dollars for a horse sold to him, bought of Mr. Maxwell at Tioga. Also gave a white prisoner that lived with said Winney, nine pounds four and a half pence. Having now all matters arranged, I delivered to Capt. Houdin all the public writings I had prepared for his Excellency, the Secretary of War, and sent him by the Genesee, in company with Messrs. Smith and Ewing, residents of said place, (in the several villages adjacent to the castle of Buffalo, to-wit, the Cayugas, the Onondagas, &c; there are more than one hundred and seventy tolerable well built huts,) and proceeded by the verge of the lake for Cattaraugus, with an interpreter and servant, where we arrived on the 22d. * * The reason of my taking the route for Pittsburgh was, that I was apprehensive that my letters might have been intercepted, had I put them into the hands of the Indian before named, and taken to a British garrison for inspection; and that my conducting them myself might give me the opportunity of meeting with Gen. St. Clair, or Col. Butler, and giving them personal information of such matters as might not have been treated of in my letter. Having found myself fully disposed to make a forced march to Pittsburgh, though late in the afternoon, I hired fresh horses and an Indian to go to New Arrow's Town and to return, for which I paid eight dollars, and for a supply of stores to a British trader, sixteen pounds ten and a half pence. I arrived at the New Arrow's Town on the 24th in the evening, (distance

eighty miles,) having encamped out in the woods the two preceding nights. I had no sooner arrived than the chiefs were summoned to council by the sound of a conch shell, which was intended for nothing more than to take leave of me. Here I parted with my interpreter, for him to return to the Genesee country, the place of his residence, and accounted with him for sixty-one days services, allowing him six days to return, at ten and a half shillings per day. I gave him my obligation to pay the balance found his due at sight, in Philadelphia; and at a late settlement with the Pay Master General of the United States, I left the same, together with eighteen pounds payable to Messrs. Hollenbeck & Maxwell, for a small horse received of them at Tioga Point, and seven pounds ten shillings to the payment of my draft on the Secretary of War to Joseph Smith, Indian interpreter. Previous to my leaving this town, 23d of April last, I was obliged to send my own riding horse to the Genesee settlement, it being impossible to procure forage or corn for him, and at which place he has remained ever since at expenses. Not having it in my power of doing otherwise, and whether the same will be allowed for to me, I must submit to the judgment of the Secretary of War.

Being in private conversation with Capt. O'Beel this evening, and sitting between him and the New Arrow sachem, I hinted to Capt. O'Beel, that if he would go and join Gen. St. Clair with thirty-five or forty of his warriors, as well equipped as he could make them, purely to counterbalance the force that Brant had taken with him to the unfriendly Indians, I would use endeavors with the Secretary of War to procure him a commission that should yield to him and his people a handsome stipend. He replied that the Senecas had received a stroke from the bad Indians, by taking two prisoners, a woman and a boy, from Conyatt, and that should the hatchet be struck into the head of any of his people hereafter, he would then inform me what he would undertake to do.

I hired a canoe and two Indians, this evening, to carry me to Fort Franklin, and should have set out immediately, but for a heavy rain that fell. I agreed to pay them four dollars and thirty cents, and a portion of whisky, when we should reach the garrison, and provisions to bring them back. I arrived the next morning by daylight at Fort Franklin, took breakfast with Lieut. Jeffers, had a canoe prepared with four fresh hands put into it, and after adjusting my engagements with the Indians brought to New Arrow's Town, pushed off as speedily as lay in our power for Fort Pitt, (distance about one hundred and fifty-six miles by water,) and gained the same in twenty-five hours, the men having worked hard all night to complete it, and assisted myself, for which I paid extra to

each one dollar, and one dollar for entertainment at Pittsburgh, having completed in five days and two nights, going by land and by water from Buffalo to this place, four hundred and eleven miles. * * * Set out from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia on the evening of the 29th of May, and arrived on the 7th day of June. * *

THOMAS PROCTOR TO THE HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

PHILADELPHIA, June 8th, 1791.

SIR—I left the castle of the Six Nations of Indians at Buffalo Creek, the 21st of last month in the afternoon, the fore part of the day being spent in council with the chiefs of the above Nations, of which there were a full representation; and by the following, as delivered by the Young King and the Farmers Brother, will evidence their friendly disposition towards the United States, in maintaining with them an inviolable peace, as also with the British, as from the situation of their Nations, they are centrally placed between them. The same day I sent forward my despatches for your Excellency, under the care of Capt. Houdin, by the route of Wyoming, while I should proceed by way of Fort Franklin and Pittsburgh, with the letters I had written for the information of Gen. St. Clair, and arrived here yesterday afternoon. It is also with pleasure I inform you that as to the several posts on the Alleghany River, &c., they were under no apprehension of danger from the unfriendly Indians, and were in good health and high spirits.

I am Your Excellency's most Obedient Servant,

THOMAS PROCTOR.

TO THE HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

NO 2.

Oration by Samuel Treat, Esq., in 1841, on the occasion of the exhumation and interment of the remains of Lieut. Boyd, of Gen. Sullivan's army, who was taken by the Senecas and put to the torture in the most barbarous and cruel manner, at Little-Beard's Town, on the Genesee River, in 1789. From "Notices of Sullivan's Campaign."

ORATION RESPECTING REVOLUTIONARY WARFARE IN WESTERN NEW YORK.

With muffled drum and lengthened funeral train, we have this hour followed from their long and silent resting place, the mouldering remains of those gallant men who, in the depths of the wilderness, fell early martyrs for American liberty.

Long have their bones lain, unhonored, beneath the sod moistened by their life-blood, whilst the rank grass has waved, unnoticed, above their fast-decaying frames. The little stream has flowed gently by, and the waters of the neighboring spring gushed forth, unheeded, save when one more curious than his fellows, has, in his love of traditionary lore, turned aside from the adjacent path, to linger over the grave of these champions of freedom.

And now, after the lapse of sixty-two years, the valiant dead receive the honors which they have so long and hitherto fruitlessly claimed. (See Note A.)

From the distant city and all the neighboring towns, an eager multitude have assembled in this sacred temple "not made with hands," under the broad canopy of heaven, sheltered only by these majestic oaks that have, for more than half a century, stood, the silent sentinels of the heroes' graves, to pay the last solemn rites of sepulture to the brave and generous-hearted of another and heroic age.

Thus it always has been—it always must be. The noble deeds, the self-sacrificing heroism of those who die in the cause of God and their

country, of virtue and liberty, will at length, though it be at a tardy pace, receive the just tribute of well-earned praise—of solemn admiration. The thousands crowded together here at the present moment, who have left their harvest-fields and their workshops, their quiet firesides in the still country, and the bustling din of the city's varied pursuits—the high and honored in station, and the humble laborer—all, inspired by one deep and common feeling of reverence for the valiant dead, speak in no faint tones of the immortality of heroism and virtue.

Standing, as I do at the present hour, in sight of these everlasting hills, clothed in many a spot with the richest verdure, and here and there covered with the primeval forest—hills once pathless and untenanted, save by the wild beasts and the ruthless savage—gazing out upon the far-spread valley, “the richest and most fruitful which the sun, in all his course, looks down upon”—the luxuriant crop yet scarcely gathered in by its many happy proprietors—an expanse, save in an occasional spot, but a few years since an unreclaimed morass, through which nought but the prowling wolf and the startled deer had ever threaded their dangerous way; and where no sound was heard save the gentle murmurs of yon lazy stream, broken, ever and anon, by the wild bird's shrill cry, the snake's deadly rattle, and the Indian's horrid yell—standing here, at this hour, with the scene changed from the desolation of the past, as it were by some magic spell, to yellow fields laden with plenty, barns bursting with the fruits of the harvest, populous villages sown broadcast over the extended prospect—boats, laden with the various products of every clime, hurried along yon artificial stream, that has superseded the ancient river and robbed it of its former glory—at our feet, too, on the very site of the red man's home, a busy mart that has sprung into existence in nearly the short space of a single glance—every thing within the limits of the vision, instinct with life, industry, and wealth—thus encompassed by all the blessings of the joyous present, the thoughts, involuntarily turning back to the dismal past, are lost in amazement at the mighty change, and seek, in the thousand mementos around, for the great secret of the wonder-working power which has thus wrought out a fairy land from the gloomy wilderness and the stagnant marsh.

That sable pall and consecrated urn tell how, and at what cost, all these wonders have been wrought. As the eye returns from its wanderings over this far-extended and beautiful scene, and rests upon those sacred emblems of death, the mind is filled with the traditions of that direful hour which we have met to commemorate. With the vividness of present reality, imagination calls up the very spot of that awful conflict

—the frightful dangers of that painful hour—the sharp and deadly ringing of the Indian's rifle—the glittering tomahawk and bloody scalping knife—the stern yet resolute despair of the gallant few—the short yet fierce encounter—the ground reeking with gore, and covered with the mangled corpses of the dead and yet-quivering bodies of the dying—the painful march and dread suspense—the agonizing torture of the heroic leader, and the demoniac rejoicings of the savage foe.

But let us, for a moment, turn aside from this awful scene, to learn the course of previous events leading to these painful calamities, that, with the voice of an impartial posterity, we may fix upon their guilty authors the deep and damning stain of inflicting upon their fellow-men of the same common blood and common country, the most cruel and merciless tortures that fiendlike malice ever devised.

At the commencement of the controversy between England and her trans-Atlantic colonies, there resided in the fertile valley of the Mohawk, in what was then called Tryon county, which embraced all of that part of New York west of Schoharie creek, several rich and powerful families, that, from their vast possessions and intimate associations with the mother-country, could not long remain indifferent spectators of the controversy. Among these, the wealthiest and most influential were the Johnsons and Butlers. Sir William Johnson had endeared himself to the colonists, not only by his private character, but also by his great exertions during the French and Indian War. For his gallant services and brilliant victories, he had received from his sovereign a baronetcy, and the commission of General Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

He possessed an unbounded influence over the savage tribes of this State, for whom he ever felt a fatherly care. Bound to the cause of his king by the many marks of special favor which he had received from the royal hand, and equally attached to his neighbors, whom he had so often led to battle, and by whose generous aid he had been enabled successfully to brave the dangers of the wilderness, and to triumph over their common foes, he looked with agonizing emotions upon the fratricidal contest which he foresaw must soon commence. Having suddenly expired in his castle, in June, 1774, he was spared the heart rending anguish of witnessing the atrocious cruelties of the commencing conflict. His son, Sir John Johnson, succeeded to the titles and estates of Sir Wm. Johnson, his distinguished father; and his son-in-law, Col. Guy Johnson, to the office of Superintendent. Brant, the celebrated Indian chief, was the private secretary of the latter, and rendered him the most important services in his efforts to win over the warriors of the Six Nations to the

cause of England. Col. John Butler and his son, the infamous Walter N. Butler, were near neighbors of the Johnsons, and associated with them in official duties. These men, together with the most influential loyalists of the county, taking advantage of the gathering at the court in Johnstown, in the year 1775, procured the signatures of a majority of the Grand Jurors and the Magistrates present, to a declaration in opposition to the proceedings of the Continental Congress, then about to reassemble after the bloody battles of Lexington and Concord. At this meeting the discussion ran high ; and, after its adjournment, the patriots returned home filled with generous indignation. They soon infused some of their own burning spirit of liberty into their neighbors' souls, and meetings of the people were held in every town and hamlet. The first assembly met at Canghnewaga. Among the three hundred unarmed men who had come together to that spot to deliberate on the momentous question of their endangered freedom, Sampson Sammons was by far the most zealous. He and his two sons, afterwards so celebrated in the border warfare, with their associates, were just raising a liberty-pole, the emblem of rebellion, when the Johnsons and Butlers, with their armed retainers rushed into the crowd. Col. Guy Johnson harangued the people at great length, on the power and resources of England ; and denounced, in the bitterest terms and with the most unsparing invective, the measures taken by the disaffected. Jacob Sammons, unable to restrain his goaded feelings, pronounced the speaker a "liar and scoundrel." Johnson retorted the epithet, and seized Sammons by the throat. In the scuffle which ensued, Sammons was severely wounded ; and, on the retreat of the loyalists, returned home, "bearing on his own body the first scars of the Revolutionary contest in Tryon county."

One of the most spirited meetings was held in the church at Cherry Valley. There the fathers took with them their children, that they might early imbibe, at the altar of religion, an undying love of liberty. From various indications, the patriots supposed that Johnson was endeavoring to enlist the Indians against the colonists. In consequence of the information sent by their committees, Congress took early measures to prevent such a fearful result. In the address read by the Colonial Commissioners at the council of the chiefs, held in Albany, Congress said : "This is a family quarrel between us and England. You, Indians are not concerned in it. We do not wish you to take up the hatchet against the king's troops. We desire you to remain at home and not to join either side, but bury the hatchet deep." Here, as at a council subsequently held at German Flats, the chiefs of the Six Nations promised to remain neutral during the pending contest.

After various consultations with the Indians and the employment of every artifice in their power, without success, the Johnsons and Butlers sent runners over the whole Indian country, and visited, in person, most of the tribes, to procure their attendance at a council to be held at Oswego in the month of July, 1777. The Indians were invited to assemble on that occasion "to banquet on a Bostonian and drink his blood." Walter Butler harangued the assembled chiefs; and, after portraying, without effect, the great wealth and power of England, stated that the king would give a bounty for the enemy's scalps—money and food to all who joined his troops; that "his men were as numerous as the sands on the sea-shore, and his rum as plenty as the water in Lake Ontario." His representations and bribes produced the expected result. All of the Indians—with the exception of about one-half of the Oneidas—took up the hatchet, in violation of their solemn pledges at Albany and German Flats.

The foul stain of stimulating the savages to the innumerable acts of barbarity exhibited on the frontier settlements during this contest, must rest on the escutcheon of England. Indeed, the shameless avowal of Lord Suffolk, in the British Parliament, that the ministers had resorted to such measures, called forth that burst of eloquent indignation from Chatham which stands unrivalled in our language for withering rebuke. The emissaries of England traversed the whole Indian country; and, in their endeavors to arouse the savages to deeds of the most horrid cruelty, omitted no artifice which could excite their passions—no bribe which could tempt—no statement which could influence—no promises which could lure them on to the most relentless warfare.

Burgoyne, in his proclamation, "denounced the most terrible war against those who opposed him. He admonished them not to flatter themselves that distance or coverts could screen them from his pursuit, for he had only to let loose the thousands of Indians under his direction to discover, in their most secret retreats, and to punish with condign severity, the hardened enemies of Great Britain."

Thus, whilst Congress, averse to enlisting in the war the merciless savages of the surrounding wilderness, employed her agents to procure pledges of neutrality, the mother country left no means untried to arouse the native ferocity of the Indian warriors against her own children. But her own gifted orator and statesman "has damned to everlasting fame the pale-faced miscreants" guilty of this inhuman device. From the time of the council at Oswego until the close of the war—nay, for a

long series of years after—the savages of the North and West continued their depredations and murders on the frontier settlements.

About ten miles south of the Mohawk river, and fifty-two west of Albany, is a fertile valley sixteen miles in length, and varying from one-quarter to a mile in breadth. Far away at the north-east, may be seen in the dim distance the Green Mountains of Vermont mingling with the horizon—whilst, immediately surrounding the valley, and terminating in the Catskills on the south-east, are chains of hills whose sides gently slope down to the vale, through which, for miles, a small creek flows to the south until its waters mingle with the Susquehannah. At a very early period this lovely spot had attracted the settlers attention; and the people who had taken up their abode in this romantic and fruitful valley, became noted for their exemplary lives and fervent piety. Though animated by the most ardent love of liberty, that feeling partook of their religious devotion, and was interwoven with the loftiest sentiments of duty to God. Of the many families residing at this spot, none was more beloved, or more marked for all the virtues that adorn the Christian character, than that of Mr. Robert Wells. His family consisted of himself and mother, his brother and sister, his wife and four children. He had held the office of Judge in the county, and been an intimate friend of Col. John Butler and Sir William Johnson.

On the morning of the 11th of November, in the year 1778, this family, with the Colonel and Lieutenant of the neighboring fort, were assembled around the domestic altar. Without, the snow-storm of the preceding night had changed to a heavy rain, and the dense mist shrouded all objects in obscurity. All of that little group, on bended knee, were joining the husband and father in his fervent prayer; and, absorbed in their devout aspirations, were lost to all earthly objects. Whilst the old man's voice, eloquent in prayer, was rising above the fierce raging of the storm without, the fierce war-whoop broke upon their horror-struck ears; and, with a single bound, the Seneca warriors and their more ferocious associates stood, with glittering tomahawks, over that still kneeling group. Ere the half-uttered sentence was closed, or the speaker's voice had ceased vibrating on their ears, he—his lips yet trembling with the fervent devotion of his morning worship—lay quivering in the agonies of death; and by his side were the mangled corpses of all that family save the loved sister. She who had been an angel of mercy to all within the reach of her ever active virtues, was now a captive in the relentless grasp of the savage foe. His tomahawk, yet reeking with the blood of her kinsmen, swung over her defenceless

head. As it descends on its death-errand, a tory domestic of her father's, turns aside the falling blow, and claims her as his sister. The merciless savage is not thus to be robbed of his victim ; the next moment the tomahawk is driven through her upturned face. Col. Alden has escaped from the house, but the deadly weapon speeds unerringly on its course, and he falls, "one of the earliest victims of his most criminal neglect of duty." Lient. Stacia is a prisoner in the hands of the dusky warriors. From the adjacent house, the aged father of Mrs. Wells is led forth, tottering with age—"the rain falling upon his bare head, and his feeble limbs shaking like an aspen,"—to meet, in the fury of the storm, the taunts and cruelties of his savage captors. Mitchell, a near neighbor who had been absent but a few minutes from his home, rushes back, only to find his wife and four of his children, silent in death, and his little girl quivering in the last agonies of dissolution. As he raises her dying frame the foe again approaches ; and Newbury, the fiend like tory drives his hatchet deep into her scarcely throbbing temples.

A few moments thus sufficed to turn a quiet village into a heap of ashes, to change the happy villagers into mangled corpses or miserable captives. The morning prayer was suddenly changed into the groans of the dying and the frantic yells of the ruthless savage. The father, just as his lips were teaching his loved children early devotion to God, was summoned with his little ones to another and unseen world. Most of those who had escaped the first blow, were wretched prisoners, doomed to suffer in the remote wilderness the agonies of long and hopeless captivity, or perish by the most frightful tortures. The few who fled to the overhanging hills, turned back to behold those dearest to their affections, borne away amid the demoniac shouts of the Indian braves ; or their reeking scalps waving on the spears of the unsparing foe. On that morning, sixty men, women and children of that village, were inhumanly butchered, and all others save a mere handful, hurried away to a more cruel fate. Of the three hundred troops, most of whom had been quartered out of the fort, but fifty escaped—one of whom is now by my side.* Such, in a few words, is the painful story of Cherry Valley.

This attack was concerted by Walter Butler and the Indian Brant. The former had been taken prisoner the preceeding year, and condemned as a spy. By the intercession of his former friends he had been spared, and even released from the rigors of close confinement. Having, however, treacherously effected his escape, he returned to the Indian country, breathing the direst vengeance against the American settlements. When

* Mr. Elnathan Perry.

he had incited the Seneca braves to deadly hatred, and sufficiently urged on their enkindled passions, he hurried forward with them and his father's Rangers to wreak his burning revenge on the Mohawk settlers. More fiendlike than even his savage allies, the most ferocious of the Indian tribes, he spared neither age, sex nor condition. Brant had reluctantly joined him, and even attempted to save the family of Mr. Wells. But no : his more savage friend, though boasting of a refined and christian education, would listen to no suggestions of mercy. His father, Col. John Butler, on hearing their unhappy fate, is said to have exclaimed, "I would have gone miles on my hands and knees to have saved that family ; and why my son did not do it, God only knows." But the hand of divine justice was not long withheld. Newberry, the murderer of the infant girl on that fearful morning, next year suffered by the halter for his inhuman rage ; and Butler was spared only till his many crimes should call down severe but well merited punishment.

Throughout the many painful scenes exhibited during this and the preceding year, along the frontiers of Pennsylvania, in the valleys of the Mohawk and of the Susquehanna, the Tories who composed the corps of Rangers and hovered over the unprotected settlements, were guilty of barbarities far more inhuman than those of their Indian associates. At the massacre near Schoharie, all of one family, a mother and her many children, had been cruelly butchered—one alone, an infant having escaped the general slaughter. An Indian warrior, noted for his cruelty, discovered the babe as it slept in its cradle. As, with uplifted tomahawk, he was about to do the work of death, the little innocent, awaking, looked up in his face and smiled. The better feelings of his nature triumphed over his savage ferocity, and throwing aside his blood-stained hatchet, he took the smiling infant in his arms, and gently caressed it. But a royalist, who had witnessed the humanity of his darker but less savage comrade, thrust his bayonet through the infant, and, as he held it up, struggling in the agonies of death, exclaimed, "This, too, is a rebel."

At the destruction of Wyoming, immortal in the numbers of the gifted bard, a few having thrown down their muskets, swam to an Island in the river, and endeavored to conceal themselves in the brush-wood. A party of Tories, discovering their retreat, swam the river with their rifles ; and, having wiped their firelocks and re-loaded, went in search of the fugitives. One of the pursuers found his own brother lying unarmed and defenceless in a neighboring covert ; and regardless of his entreaties and prayers, the Cain-like monster replied : "All this is mighty fine, but

you are a d—d rebel," and deliberately shot him dead on the spot. So, after the battle of Oriskany, where the gallant Herkimer fell, when Major Frey was brought a priosner into Butler's camp, his elder brother, one of the tory rangers, was restrained only by force from the most infamous fratricide.

The annals of the world do not furnish more atrocious acts of villainy, than those oft performed by the refugees along our frontiers, during the revolutionary contest. Scarcely a hamlet was spared the loss of some of its best and most honored citizens. Scarcely a family that mourned not the death or captivity of some loved member. Danger was in every path. Death seemed lurking for his prey, behind every covert. Defenceless women and children, the aged grandsire and the sturdy youth, oft fell in one promiscuous slaughter. No one dared venture into the open field without his loaded musket ; and the farms along the whole frontier were left tenantless and uncultivated. Their occupants had fled for safety to the neighboring villages. The Indians "hung like the scythe of death, upon the rear of our settlements ; and their deeds are inscribed by the tomahawk and scalping knife, in characters of blood, on the banks of the Mokawk and the valleys of the Susquehanna."

Congress at length determined to execute the project previously formed of carrying the war into the Indian country. Gen. Sullivan was ordered to ascend the Susquehanna to Tioga Point ; and Gen. Clinton to pass through the Mohawk valley to meet Gen. Sullivan at the place of rendezvous. After various delays caused by the character of the country through which the march was directed, the combined forces amounting to nearly five thousand men were ready on the 22d of August, 1779, to commence the campaign. Sullivan's orders were to destroy the Indian villages, cut down their crops, and inflict upon them every other mischief which time and circumstances would permit, and not return until the cruelties of Wyoming, Cherry Valley and the border-settlements had been fully avenged. * * *

After the battle of Monmouth, in 1778, Morgan's riflemen were sent to protect the settlements near Schoharie. Among those whose term of service had expired before the autumn of '79, was the bold Virginian, Timothy Murphy. Instead of returning home, he enlisted in the militia and continued to wage desultory war against the savages, then hovering over the Mohawk settlements. By his fearless intrepidity, his swiftness of foot, his promptness for every hazardous enterprise, he was though a mere private, entrusted with the management of every scouting party sent out. He always carried a favorite double barrellled rifle, an object of the greatest terror to the Indians, who for a long time were awe struck at its

two successive discharges. In the hands of such a skillful marksman, the greatest execution always followed its unerring aim. He had been several times surprised by small Indian parties, but with remarkable good fortune had as often escaped. When the savages had learned the mystery of his double rifle, knowing that he must reload after the second discharge, they were careful not to expose themselves until he had fired twice. Once when separated from his troop, he was suddenly surrounded by a large party of Indians. Instantly he struck down the nearest foe and fled at his utmost speed. Being hard pushed by one runner, who alone he had not outstripped in his flight, he suddenly turned and shot him on the spot. Stopping to strip his fallen pursuer, he saw another close upon him. He seized the rifle of the dead Indian and again brought down his victim. The savages supposing all danger now passed rushed heedlessly on with yells of frantic rage. When nearly exhausted, he again turned, and with the undischarged barrel, fired and a third pursuer fell. With savage wonder the other Indians were riveted to the spot; and exclaiming that, "he could fire all day without re-loading," gave over the pursuit. From that hour Murphy was regarded by the savages as possessing a charmed life. When Gen. Clinton passed along the valley of the Mohawk, on his way to Tioga Point, Murphy again joined his rifle corps to share the dangers of the march into the wilderness.

A few Oneida warriors joined the expedition and acted as guides. Cornelius and Honyerry had distinguished themselves in the battle of Oriskany; and from the destructive fire of their rifles, had been marked by their foes as objects of special hatred. Murphy was placed in the company commanded by Capt. Simpsom and Lieut. Thomas Boyd. This was also the company in which the late Mr. Salmon, * * served during the expedition.

Lieut. Boyd was born in Northumberland, Penn., in the county of the same name, in the year 1757. His father and only sister died before the commencement of the Revolutionary struggle. When that contest began the noble hearted widow proved herself a more than Spartan mother. She too had learned the great lesson of liberty, and was prepared to make any and every sacrifice in her country's cause. In the language of our venerable President,* "When fire and sword had ravaged our frontier, when the repose of the defenceless settlements was disturbed by the savage war-whoop, and the bloody tomahawk and scalping knife were doing

* Major Van Campen.

their work of death, then this noble matron gave her three sons to God and her country, with the parting injunction never to dishonor their swords by any act of cowardice, or disgrace them by a moment's fear or reluctance, when called to the defence of home and freedom." Lieut. William her second son had fulfilled the mother's noble request and laid down his life at Brandywine, a willing sacrifice at his country's call. The mouldering bones of the youngest, Thomas Boyd, now lie beneath that sable pall.

All the necessary preparations being completed, Sullivan's army left Tioga on the morning of the 26th of August, 1779. The Indians when first informed of the contemplated expedition, laughed at what they supposed the folly of a regular army attempting to traverse the wilderness, to drive them from their fastnesses. When, however, they had learned that the campaign was determined upon, they resolved to make an early stand in defence of their crops and their wigwams. Accordingly a large force, variously estimated from one thousand to fifteen hundred Indians and Rangers collected near Newtown, to risk a general engagement. History has fully recorded the particulars of this hard-fought action. The combined forces of British and Savages at last fled precipitately across the river, leaving behind a large number of packs, tomahawks and scalping knives. The disasters of this terrible battle spread the utmost consternation through all the Indian villages. Many a brave warrior had fallen, and the death song was heard in every town. Their warriors seemed struck with a panic that nothing could avert. They left their defiles and the dangerous marshes open to the advance of their enemies, and fled at their approach.

Sullivan hastened forward without interruption, destroying everything on his route. At Honeoye he left a small force to guard the sick and provisions, and advanced with the utmost caution to the head of Conesus lake. The principal villages of the Senecas were situated along the valley of the Genesee. A few miles from this spot, at the fording place of the Canasaraga, was a small town and council house, called Williamsburgh. Little Beardstown (so named from the chief) was just beneath the hill, and stretched for nearly a mile from the bridge, over the creek, almost to the cluster of houses on the main road to the valley. In the centre of the little village just at the base of this hill, stood the council house of this fierce warrior and his ferocious clan. Along these hillocks and for a short distance up the valley, were their largest corn-fields and vegetable gardens. From these their favorite haunts their warriors had oft, in times of yore, wandered to the far south and brought back the

scalps of the Catawbias, and ravaged the towns of their foes in the distant prairies of the Mississippi and Alabama. The ruin they had often carried into the wigwams of the red-men and the huts of the white settlers, was now for the first time to fall upon their own loved homes. They resolved, however, once more to strike in defence of their firesides, and, if possible, avert the impending blow. In pursuance of the resolution of their council, they lay concealed in ambush at the head of Conesus lake, near an Indian town, on what is at present called "Henderson's Flats." At the approach of the army they rose suddenly upon the advance guard, which, after a brisk skirmish, fell back upon the main body. Fearing a repetition of the destructive havoc which they had already suffered at Newtown, they waited not the attack of the whole army, but, having seized the two friendly Oneidas, fled with their prisoners into the adjacent forest. One of these captives had been Sullivan's principal guide, and had rendered many important services to the Americans. He was therefore regarded by his captors as a prisoner of no little consequence.

There is an incident connected with his fate worthy of note, as presenting a striking contrast to the inhumanity of the tory brothers at Oriskany and Wyoming. This faithful Indian had an elder brother engaged with the enemy, who, at the beginning of the war, had exerted all his power to persuade his younger brother into the British service, but without success. At the close of this skirmish, the brothers met, for the first time since their separation, when they had respectively chosen to travel different war-paths—the younger a prisoner to the elder. The latter had no sooner recognized his brother, after the melee, than his eyes kindled with the fierce and peculiar lustre which lights up the eyes of a savage when meditating revenge. Approaching him haughtily, he spoke thus:

"Brother, you have merited death! The hatchet or the war-club shall finish your career. When I begged you to follow me in the fortunes of war, you were deaf to my entreaties.

"Brother, you have merited death, and shall have your deserts! When the rebels raised their hatchets to fight their good master, you sharpened your knife, you brightened your rifle, and led on our foes to the fields of our fathers!

"Brother, you have merited death, and shall die by our hands! When those rebels had driven us from the fields of our fathers to seek out new houses, it was you who could dare to step forth as their pilot and conduct them even to the doors of our wigwams, to butcher our

children and put us to death! No crime can be greater; but, though you have merited death, and shall die on this spot, my hands shall not be stained with the blood of a brother. Who will strike?"

A pause of a moment ensued. The bright hatchet of Little-Beard flashed in the air like lightning—and the young Oneida chief lay dead at his feet. Thus did the red warrior of the wilderness prove himself nobler than his civilized associates.

After the skirmish just alluded to, Sullivan encamped for the night at the Indian village, and was detained the next day to build a bridge over the inlet and marsh for his artillery. Early on the evening of the encampment, Lient. Boyd requested leave to advance with a small detachment and reconnoiter the next town. The Indian guide, Honyerry, endeavored in vain to dissuade him from the attempt. The army was near the redmen's stronghold, and their warriors lurked behind every covert. But the gallant Boyd, fearless of all danger when he could be of service to his country, persisted in his request until the consent of his commander was obtained. He set out upon his perilous enterprise about sunset, with a small band, the brave Honyerry acting as his guide. Murphy, ever ready on a scout, joined the troop to share in the dangers of the attempt and enjoy the excitement of fighting the savages in their own way.

Near the summit of a hill, about one mile and a half from the camp, the path divided—one branch leading in the direction of Williamsburgh, the other of Little-Beard's-town. Boyd advanced cautiously, and took the former path to the Canasaraga. Aware of the dangers with which he was surrounded, he proceeded slowly, prepared for instant action. So great were the difficulties he encountered that the night was far spent before he reached the first village. Here all was silent and deserted. The Indians had fled but a short time before, as their fires were still burning. His little troop was too much exhausted and the night too far advanced for his immediate return. He determined to encamp near the village, and at early dawn to dispatch two messengers to the camp with information that the enemy had not yet been discovered, and then continue his search until he learned the position of the enemy.

Surely, a more hazardous enterprise was never undertaken:—about thirty men, seven miles from their camp, a dense forest between them and the army, before them a trackless morass, the Indians lurking, perhaps, behind every tree, ready to fall upon their prey. But Boyd had offered his services for this perilous task, and he would not shrink from its performance. Whilst his comrades are yet buried in sleep, taking

with him the dauntless Murphy, he creeps cautiously from the place of concealment until he gains a view of the village. About its out-skirts they perceive two savages stealing along the woods; and in a moment their unerring rifles have laid their foes prostrate in death, and Murphy shakes in triumph the reeking scalp of his victim. Fearing that this occurrence would alarm the Indians hovering near, Boyd thought it now prudent to retire.

During that night the red warriors had not been idle. Little Beard had summoned his braves for the work of vengeance, and the messengers of Boyd never reached the camp. Brant, with five hundred warriors, and Butler, with an equal number of rangers, at early dawn set forth from Beard's-town to intercept Boyd and his party. They selected the spot where the two paths united, near the summit of the hill, for their ambuscade. Concealed in a deep ravine near the adjacent path, they were hidden by the dense forest from the view of the army, and by the brush-wood from the path. Whether Boyd returned along the trail from Williamsburgh or Beard's-town, they knew he must pass the spot where they lay concealed. They had wisely conjectured that, if he were attacked farther from the army, he would be prepared for a bloody resistance; and that the first fire would hasten a large detachment to his relief. Whatever was done, must be accomplished in a moment; and their success would be certain, if, as they supposed, he should relax his vigilance when so near the camp.

As soon as Boyd had decided to return, he arranged his little troop to avoid being thrown into confusion on a sudden attack. With Honyerry in front and Murphy in the rear, their eagle-eyes fixed upon each moving leaf and waving bough, they marched forward slowly, and with the utmost caution. Five weary miles had they thus traversed the dangerous route, and were beginning to descend the hill at whose base the army lay encamped. With rapid march they hurry on, regarding all danger as now past. But just as they emerge from the thick wood into the main path, more than five hundred warriors, with brandished tomahawks, rise up before them. With horrid yells they close in upon their victims on every side. Boyd is not wanting in this fearful crisis. Quick as thought, he perceives that against the fearful odds—the foe twenty times his own number—one chance of escape, and but one, remains; and that the always doubtful step of striking at a given point and cutting the way through the surrounding foe: At the word, his gallant band fire and rush to the onset. The charge tells fearfully upon the dusky warriors, and a ray of hope gleams upon their clouded fortunes.

With unbroken ranks—not one of his own comrades yet fallen—he renews the attack; and still the third time. With only eight now left, he braves the fierce encounter once again. The fearless Murphy indeed bears a charmed life. He tumbles in the dust the huge warrior in his path; and, while the rude savages are shouting with laughter, he and two fortunate companions escape. True to his own dauntless nature, he turns to the foe, and, with clenched fist, hurls at them bold defiance. Poor Honycerry, noted for the wonders he had wrought at Oriskany, and for his unwavering attachment to the American cause, falls, literally hacked to pieces! But the unhappy Boyd—he, the gallant and noble-hearted, who never had known fear or shrunk from the most imminent peril—he and the equally wretched Parker are prisoners in the hands of the merciless enemy. At this frightful moment what are the emotions of these hapless captives? Does not the stout heart of Boyd now beat slowly? Is not his cheek yet blanched with fear? No!—not such his spirit! His courage fails him not, even now! “Red men,” he exclaims, “where is your chief? Bring me before the brave warrior! Aye, brandish your hatchets, ye coward squaws, against the helpless!—ye dare not strike! Your chief, I say!” At this request, the upraised tomahawk is turned aside, and the Indian chief Brant stands before him. At the mystic signal known only to those initiated into the secrets of the craft, the stern brow of the warrior is relaxed, and Boyd and Parker are safe.

The approach of Hand’s brigade causes the immediate flight of the Indian foe; and, in mad haste, they hurry away with their prisoners, leaving behind their blankets and the rifles of their victims. But this friendly succor comes too late! The fearful strife is over, and the red men are gone.

Brant leaves the unfortunate Boyd and Parker in the charge of Butler, and withdraws to provide for the coming danger. With painful march* the captives pursue their cheerless route, amid the fierce exultation of the savage tribe, to the Indian village at our feet.

Walter Butler—than whom not a more ruthless fiend ever cursed the human form!—summons before him the two prisoners, to learn, if possible, the number, situation and intentions of Sullivan’s army. His questions remain unanswered. Boyd will not, even by a word, betray his country’s cause. Perhaps, relying on the plighted faith and generous nature of the Indian chief, he has no fears for the result. Around

*The sinews of their feet had been cut by the Indians.

him gather the painted forms of the grim savages; and, with tomahawks cutting the air, and reeking knives thrust toward his unprotected breast, amid the most hideous yells and frantic gestures, demand the life-blood of their prey. Still the dauntless Boyd trembles not. He disregards the threats of his base interrogator, and refuses to reply. Denunciations avail not—danger does not intimidate. He has been nurtured in a nobler school than to basely yield when he should be most firm. His country calls—his mother's parting charge is still fresh in his memory—he cannot falter. She had engraven on his heart of hearts, deeper, far deeper than all other sentiments, love of country; and love of life cannot usurp supremacy in this direful hour. But surely it cannot be that a man educated in all the refinements of civilized life—early nurtured in the merciful tenets of the christian faith, against whom the noble prisoners have been guilty of no more heinous offence than fighting for liberty, will—nay, he cannot execute his bloody threat. Do you doubt, ye hapless pair, that such a monster lives? Ah! remember the bloody deeds of Cherry Valley, and know that such a monster now threatens “to give you over to the tender mercies of the savages,” clamoring for your blood. Again the question is asked, and again Boyd shrinks not. The fate of the army and the success of the expedition hang upon his firmness. He prefers to die, if it were possible, a thousand deaths, rather than betray the lives of his country's soldiers and her holy cause. He well knows that their secret must remain unrevealed by his lips—that on his decision now rests the safety of the whole army; and he nobly chooses, by his own fall, to preserve the dangerous secret locked in his own speechless and mangled breast. The bloody command is at last given. Little Beard and his clan have seized their helpless victims. Stripped and bound to that sapling, Boyd hears the death-knell ringing in the air, and sees the demoniac ravings of his ruthless tormentors, as madly they dance around him. The chief takes the deadly aim; his glittering hatchet speeds through the air. But no—this were too kind a fate. It quivers in frightful proximity, just above his uncovered head. Another and yet another follows—still they glance within but a hair's breadth of his throbbing temples. Their fury becomes too great for so bloodless sport. Now they tear out his nails, his eyes, his tongue, and—but the horrors of that awful hour are too agonizing for description. The ear is pained at the direful tale. The mind revolts at the cruel reality.

Poor Parker, thine is a milder death. With one blow, your frightful suspense, as you lay a witness of your heroic leader's anguish, and expect a similar fate, is ended.

Noble men ! Could we but conjure up the agonies of your last hour—could mortal tongue disclose the secret emotions of your soul, the fierce pain of your mangled limbs—every heart in this assembly would cease to pulsate, every cheek grow pale with horror. Gallant Boyd ! Thy widowed mother's sacred injunction has been—oh, how sacredly—obeyed. Here, in the depths of the wilderness, you ceased not to cherish the spirit of her own noble soul ; and at the immense price of the most lingering death, to show that your love of liberty was stronger than all the ties of life and kindred. Far away in your native village, perhaps at that very hour, your mother's fervent prayer, for her youngest and her darling son, was winging its course to the Mercy-seat. Little did she imagine with what pious devotion you were fulfilling your high duties to God and your country. Oh, what will be the fearful agony of her widowed soul, when she learns your cruel fate ! Already has she mourned your elder brother's fall ; and now in the bloom of early manhood, twenty-two summers scarcely passed over your devoted head, and your mangled corpse lies unburied in the remote wilderness.

Talk not of Spartan daring, nor Roman firmness, to illustrate his matchless heroism. In the excitement of battle, under the eyes of those who will honor his bravery, the soldier may dare the chances of even the cannon's mouth, to win undying fame. But to die in the remote wilderness, by the most excruciating torture—to die, too, with the power of safety in your hands, rather than fail in your duty, even by a word—to die, where no pitying eye can behold your fate, and the last solemn rites of sepulture cannot be performed by christian hands, with no one to bear your dying words to your bereaved mother—to know and feel at that dread hour, that her scalding tears will flow in torrents, when as the dreary months drag heavily by, she lingers to hear from some passing stranger, if perchance her youngest, her brave-hearted boy, yet lives—to die thus, for one's country—where, in the annals of the world, can you find a parallel ?

But your blood, ye gallant men, shall not be unavenged. Ere the morrow's sun shall have gone down behind these hills, the homes of your savage tormentors shall be smouldering in ashes, their crops prostrate, their wives and children houseless wanderers. A year shall not roll away, before they shall perish by thousands, in all the horrors of the most lingering and loathsome disease, dependent for the humblest necessities of life upon the white man's bounty. And he, your merciless betrayer, shall flee for life before the Oneida warrior. His pursuer, like the angel of death, shall not lose his prey. His horse shall not save him—the

tangled wood shall not conceal his flight—the foaming stream shall not hide his foot-prints. In vain shall he beg for mercy—in vain shall he conjure the dusky warrior by all that makes life dear, to spare him, if but for an hour. The hand of vengeance shall fall upon his head when his crimes are thickest and blackest. His tears and prayers shall be lost in the remembrance of his past enormities. Cherry Valley, Cherry Valley! shall your captor thunder in your guilt-stricken soul, and deep in your brains bury the avenging tomahawk.

Yours, ye noble dead, though a cruel, was not an unhonored fate. Yours is the glory of marking with your own life-blood, the very limit of the great struggle for American liberty. With your martial garments, dyed with your own blood, wrapped around your lifeless bodies, you found a grave on the spot of your glory. The insignia of your services and of that high cause for which you fell,* have remained upon your mouldered bones until, when, after sixty-two years have run their round, a grateful posterity, in seeking for your battle field and resting place, have been thus assured that their warm-hearted efforts have not been unsuccessful. When your lives were offered up in your country's cause, on yon battle-ground, your struggling countrymen had hardly dared hope for the wonders which we now behold. That spot seemed the very verge of safety—the farthest extreme to which their undaunted troops should venture to push their conquests. Now it is but the starting point in the journey to its western borders. You perished nearly two hundred miles beyond the remotest western settlement, and now your graves are nearly two thousand east of your country's civilization. Many millions of happy freemen, crowned with the richest blessings, now crowd her extended limits—the few of your day having become a mighty nation. These few initials, borne on your heroic breasts, then told of a dim possibility—of a mere handful struggling for liberty, against the most powerful and determined people on earth. Now, how significant, how full of meaning, are these three simple letters! What visions of past honor and of future promise do they call up, as the eye rests upon them! For more than a half century have your bones borne in death, as did your martial breasts in life, the name of your country, unchanged, by their side. And now they reappear, to show us, your honored posterity, that virtue and heroism, whatever the cost, however momentous the sacrifice, must remain, in death as in life, inseparable from the American soldier.

*The three letters "U. S. A." distinctly legible on the buttons which the speaker held in his hand, found with the bones.

NOTE "A," PAGE 319.

The funeral procession, which left the village of Geneseo on the morning of the solemnities, was nearly a mile in length. The remains of those who fell on the battle-field at Groveland, had been previously deposited in an appropriate sarcophagus, and were followed by the citizens living east of the river to the spot where the bones of Boyd and Parker had been found.

At this spot, the funeral train from the east was met by that from the west, and by the military and civic delegations from Rochester.

Whilst these two processions halted a few rods from each other, the Rochester Military Corps being drawn up on two sides of the mound, the Committee of Arrangements, with the survivors of Sullivan's army, ascended to the summit; and, during the mournful air played by the band, raised the urn and bore it to the hearse, where it was placed on the sarcophagus by the venerable President of the Day.

The campaign into the country of the Senecas, in its original inception, contemplated a combined movement of three divisions—one from Pennsylvania, under Gen. Sullivan, one from New York, under Gen. James Clinton, and another from Fort Pitt, under Col. Daniel Broadhead. This last was designed to proceed up the Alleghany, destroying the settlements of the Mingoës, Miamis and Senecas, on that river, proceeding northward, and uniting with that of Sullivan on the Genesee, and co-operating in an united movement upon Niagara, the great stronghold of the semi-savage army. It would seem, however, that the plans of Gen. Washington, in regard to the latter part of the campaign, were not carried out.

Col. Broadhead left Pittsburgh on the 11th of August, 1779, at the head of about six hundred, rank and file, and proceeded up the Alleghany, but found most of the Indian settlements abandoned and their houses burned. He penetrated up the river only about two hundred miles, destroying extensive fields of corn and capturing some booty, without encountering the Indians in any force. He returned to Pittsburgh, where he arrived on the 14th of Sept., having been absent but little over a month. The reasons for his not accomplishing the original design of the campaign are not very apparent, unless they are to be ascribed to the same cause assigned by Gen. Sullivan for not prosecuting his successes and capturing Fort Niagara, which was the want of sup-

plies, as it appears Col. Broadhead's men were provided with only thirty days' provisions.

The following papers, relating to the history of Sullivan's campaign, procured in Canada, it is believed have never been published, serve to throw light upon the history of the time, viewed from a different point of observation:

CAPT. WALTER BUTLER TO MR. GORIN.

GENESEE RIVER. August 8th, 1779.

SIR:—I received yours of the 28th ultimo, with the articles wanted for each of the companies of the rangers here, which must be packed up by companies, and then can be divided here. You must charge every individual agreeable to the memorandum. The memorandum marked for Capt. Caldwell's company, all but two are new comers, and not placed to any company as yet; a separate book must be kept for them. It is impossible for me to have the things sent in bulk here, and to be charged by me in my present situation, and, in fact, in any, would I do it without two clerks. After you have charged agreeable to the memorandum, the non-commissioned officers can divide the articles into small quantities. They have copies of the memorandum.

Please send me two bear-skins. If Capt. Robinson gets up any port, please send me a barrel, on my account.

I am obliged to you for the hooks, for now it is, that he that will not hunt or fish, must not eat.

Give my best respects to Mrs. Robinson.

I am your very humble servant,

WALTER BUTLER.

MR. GORIN.

FROM JNO. STEDMAN TO MR. GORING, NIAGARA.

LITTLE NIAGARA, Aug. 27th, 1779.

SIR:—Yours by the bearer I received last night. I have inclosed to you an order to pay the old grey-headed squiea (squaw) fifty dollars for the boy I bought of her. As the order is stoale, I dare say you will take notice not to pay an order for the same dated Aug. 23d, 1779. I gave two

small orders, for five dollars each, at the same time. You will pay them as they are presented.

I am, sir, your most and very humble servant.

JNO. STEDMAN.

MR. GORING, Niagara.

ENDORSED COPY OF A LETTER TO MR. ROB'T HAMILTON.

NIAGARA, Sept. 19th, 1779.

DEAR HAMILTON:—As you have desired me to communicate to you all the news from this, I shall now finish my story.

Col. Butler, last Sunday morning, went from the village (where he lay) to meet the rebels, and meant to attack them at a swamp where they were obliged to cross. The Colonel, taking the advantage of a hill, lay undiscovered from Sunday till the Tuesday following, though only a musket shot from the rebels, and even within sight. The Colonel could observe that they had a great number of men employed making a bridge over the swamp, for the canzon and baggage, which they never leave for a baggage guard to bring up, but always march in order for battle, with their provisions, &c., in the centre. Col. Butler, hearing a firing to his right, imagined he was discovered and immediately flew to the place, where they saw a party of twenty-six of the rebels and three Indians pursuing and firing on an Indian or two, that was a little ways off from the rest; twenty-two of those and three Indians was immediately killed, and the Lieut. and one private taken prisoners, (two escaped.) The Lieut. was examined, and told that they were then about five thousand, consisting of continental troops with fifteen hundred riflemen, with four six, and two three pounders and a small mortar, commanded by Gen. Sullivan and two other general officers—one regiment of five hundred men left at Tioga and another at Genesee, which completed the whole six thousand; and that they had only one month's provisions with them, and intended only to destroy the Indian country and then return.

Col. Butler then retreated back, for by this time, the rebels hearing the firing, was advancing very fast toward them, and on Thursday was obliged to leave the last village, though joined by one hundred and fifty regulars from this, and yesterday he and his whole retinue arrived here. The plain is all day covered with Indians, (something like people returning from English fairs.) Every man, woman and child is coming in.

I leave you (to) judge how busy we are. Five times—a compleat as-

sortment of goods in store, and Taylor none. Three hundred per cent., and fifty over. Be kind enough to acquaint Mr. Pollard that his butter, when weighed here, was one thousand two hundred and forty-four and one-half pounds neat, for which he has credit with Mr. Robinson, at two shillings per pound.

ENDORSED COPY OF A LETTER TO MR. JAMES CRESPAL.

NIAGARA, Oct. 10th, 1780.

DEAR UNCLE:—Think what anxiety I feel in not receiving a line from you this year. I am so desirous of being acquainted with the situation of my sister and friends. Last year I sent you twenty pounds sterling to pay the tailor, and the remainder to be shared between my sisters, as you should think most proper. I now send you fifteen pounds sterling more, by the favor of Mr. John Stedman, (brother of the gentleman that was so kind as to bring me a letter last year from you) which you will please to dispose of in necessities for my sisters, as you may think most proper for them in their situation. The bearer, Mr. Stedman, will inform you what circumstances I am in, as I am extremely hurried at present, and the vessel just ready to sail. I therefore must conclude with my love to Nancy, Sally and Charlotte, wishing them health to do well. Pray make my respects to my cousins and Mr. Bastie, and all inquiring friends, and if I have another opportunity, you may depend on hearing from me more fully. If convenient, send me, next year, two neat German flutes and a collection of all the new songs, set to music, that have been published lately, which will greatly oblige

Your Nephew,

F. GORING.

Direct to me at Niagara, to the care of Mr. Rob't Cruikshank, Montreal.

NIAGARA, Dec. 10th, 1781.

SIR:—I would be very much obliged to you if you would set my servant at work to but (put) the corn into bags as soon as possible, and I would thank you greatly if you would sent (send) it over the carrying place as soon as the servant returns, as I am very much in want of it at present. If there is not bags enove (enough,) I wish you would let me have some, and I shall sent (send) them back immediately.

I am, Sir, your humble servant,

JANE POWELL.

TO MR. BENNETT.

Superscribed to Mr. James Bennett, at Little Niagara.

NO. 3.

Mr. James Duane who had been a delegate from this State, in Congress, communicated to the Governor, the following views in regard to the treaty at Fort Stanwix:

Great difficulty arises from the interference of the proposed treaty with the authority and views of Congress. Five of the Six Nations of Indians are at open war with the United States. The general treaty of peace doth not mention or extend to them; Congress therefore on the ninth article of the confederation claims the exclusive right to make this peace and if the tribes are to be considered as independent nations, detached from the State and absolutely unconnected with it, the claim of Congress would be uncontrovertible. There is then an indispensable necessity, that these tribes should be treated as ancient dependants upon this State, placed under its protection with all their territorial rights, by their own consent, publicly manifested in solemn and repeated treaties, (of this there is sufficient evidence) and particularly by the deeds of 1701, and 1726, which though in the name of the King, were obtained at the expense of the people of the State, and for their benefit. On this ground the tribes in question may fall under the character of members of the State with which Congress have no concern. But the spirit of the message from the Indians renders it questionable whether they will submit to be treated as dependants. The piece bears a strong appearance of a British emissary in its manner and composition. The Indians used to be respectful in their address. This is familiar and even impertinent. They assume a perfect equality, and instead of contrition for their perfidious behavior, seem even to consider themselves as the party courted and solicited for reconciliation and favor.

This then, will be a point to be managed with skill and delicacy. Nor will any care bestowed on it be misapplied, for besides the respect which we owe to the Union, our own particular honor, interest and safety require that those tribes should be reconciled to the idea of being members of the State, depending upon its government and resting upon its

protection. If we adopt the disgraceful system of flattering them as great and mighty nations, we shall once more like the Albanians, "be their tools and slaves, and this revolution in my eyes will have lost more than half its value.

From these observations it will follow that the style, as well as the substance of the communications on the part of the Government are very material, and I may add, that instead of conforming to the ceremonies practiced among the Indians it would be wise to bring them to adopt gradually our forms. At an interview with some Southern Indians, a committee of Congress adopted this idea, and told the Indians it was not the usage of Congress to deliver strings or belts.

1st. Then, if it will not be too great and hazardous an innovation, which I think is not to be apprehended, I would use neither belts nor strings in any communication. Instead of it, all messages or communications should be signed or sealed or both.

2d. I would never suffer the word "Nation," or "Six Nations," or "Confederates," or "Council Fire at Onondaga," or any other form which would revive or seem to confirm their former ideas of independence, to escape. I would say nothing of making peace or burying the hatchet, for that would be derisive to Congress, perhaps very justly. But I would study to carry on the intercourse (for I object even against the term treaty which seems too much to imply equality) with as much plainness and simplicity as possible, and as if I was actually transacting business with the citizens.

3d. As to the substance of the speech, it may be introduced by observing, that the return of the tribes into the State, and the eagerness of our citizens to obtain settlements in the western countries led to the apprehension that mutual resentment, and animosity might break forth into outrage and hostility, disturb the peace so lately established and render a reconciliation altogether impracticable. That these considerations had induced me to consent to the present meeting. * * *

4th. The style by which the Indians are to be addressed is of moment also. They are used to be called Brethren, Sachems and Warriors of the Six Nations. I hope it will never be repeated. It is sufficient to make them sensible that they are spoken to without complimenting twenty or thirty Mohawks as a nation, and a few more Tuscaroras and Onondagas as distinct nations. It would be not less absurd than mischievous. They should rather be taught, by separating from the Oneidas and entering into a wicked war, they had become wretched and destroyed themselves, and that the public opinion of their importance had long since ceased.

NO. 4.

COPY OF A LETTER OF ARTHUR LEE AND RICHARD BUTLER TO GOV.
CLINTON.

NEW YORK, August 10th, 1784.

SIR — As Commissioners appointed by Congress to negotiate treaties with the Indians, we wish to hear from your Excellency, if measures are taking for raising the armed force recommended by Congress for the protection of those treaties. Nothing now prevents the Commissioners from entering upon the business, but the want of such force to garrison the frontier posts, or protect the negotiation. We therefore beg the favor of your excellency to inform us what measures you have taken for raising the quota of this State and when we may rely upon its being ready for service.

We have the honor to be with great respect,

Your Excellency's Most Ob't Humble S'v't,

ARTHUR LEE,

RICHARD BUTLER.

HIS EXCELLENCY GOV. CLINTON.

REPLY OF GOV. CLINTON.

ALBANY, August 13th, 1784.

GENTLEMEN — Your letter of the 10th of this month, by Mr. Monroe, has just been handed me.

The recommendation of Congress to the State to raise from the militia a certain number of troops for the purpose of garrisoning the frontier posts and protecting the treaties to be held with the Indians, did not reach me till some time in July. The Legislature of the State who alone were competent to this business, had then dispersed, after a session, which from the peculiar circumstances of the State, had detained them from the fall until late in the spring, and it was not only my opinion, but that

of every member of the Legislature, whom I had opportunity of consulting, that it would then be impracticable to convene them together, nor indeed did the urgency of the case seem to require that they should be put to so great inconvenience; for though they had assembled and complied with the recommendation of Congress, it would have been already too late in the season to have established the garrisons for which the troops were required, and besides I had received information in a manner which deserved credit, and which, Congress could not be apprised of, at the time, that although the definitive treaty was officially received in Canada, no orders had come from Europe for evacuating the posts, and have good reason to believe that until such orders are received, no measures will be taken for that purpose. If therefore the Legislature were to raise a permanent force, as recommended, they could not be applied to the purpose proposed and would only be a useless addition to expenses, which we are already too little able or disposed to discharge. I conceive myself, however, authorized to draw from the militia a force sufficient, should any be necessary, to protect the Commissioners of Congress in any negotiation with the Indians and this will in a great measure save the unnecessary expense attending a present permanent force. The Indians of the Six Nations, whom I have requested to convene at Fort Schuyler have advised me that they will be accompanied by deputies from other nations, possessing the territory within the jurisdiction of the United States; I shall have no objections to your improving this incident to the advantage of the United States, expecting, however, and positively stipulating that no agreement be entered into with the Indians residing within the jurisdiction of this State, (and with whom only I mean to treat) prejudicial to its rights.

These engagements being made on your part, you may rely on every exertion in my power, and that of my colleagues to promote the interest of the United States; which I flatter myself no State in the Federal Union has at any time more cheerfully and efficiently supported than this.

I have the honor to be, &c., &c.,

GEO. CLINTON.

THE HON. RICH'D BUTLER AND ARTHUR LEE, Commissioners of the United States for Indian Affairs.

NO. 5.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM MR. GORING TO MR. E. POLLARD.

NIAGARA, Sept. 12th, 1779.

DEAR SIR:—Your favor of the 26th July I received per Mr. Forsyth of the 26th ultimo ; also a letter from Lieut. Harrow, which I took care to forward. Prior to the receipt of yours, I had already credited you for the 170lb oat meal at 6d per pound. You have also another credit for 2,000 lb flour, which is charged to Wm. Lyons, the baker, at 40s. per cwt. ; that quantity, he informs me, you paid him for, the morning you left this. I have waited on Mr. Bliss several times, in order to settle the butter account, but have been always put off by his saying he has not time at present to weigh it, nor will not take it by invoice. Indeed, he is a very litigious, troublesome gentleman to deal with, but hope in a few days to bring him to a settlement—I having been very busy drawing out another Indian account for £5,808. There is like to be a very great change in our house in a short time, having once more taken an account of stock, &c., but everything is kept entirely secret from me.

Yesterday came in Capt. Powell from Canawagoris, where he left Col. Butler two days before in perfect health and spirits. He informs me their first attack with the rebels was about fifteen miles from Shimango, where Col. Butler made a breast-work, which the rebels observed, and with two six, and four three pounders and small mortars, in half an hour obliged Col. Butler to retreat. On the same day, a few miles from this, Col. Butler attempted again to stop them, but in vain. In this attack the Colonel lost four rangers killed, two taken prisoners, and seven wounded—three Senecas and one Cyugo (Cayuga) killed. Your son, John Montour (not Roland) was shot in the back, and the ball lodges in him; however, he is likely to do well, for in a few days after, he, with twenty Indians, stopped the pass of the advanced guard of the rebels, which was upwards of one thousand, and obliged them to retreat. In

this action Col. Butler and all his people was surrounded, and was very near being taken prisoners. The Indians here all run away, being struck with a panic, and has not been able to gather till very lately. The Colonel retreated to Canadasagoe, but since that is now come to the last village, which is Canawagoras. The number of the rebels is not known for certain. Young Clement, from the top of a tree on a hill, counted upwards of five hundred tents and seven pieces of cannon, and a great quantity of live cattle which they drive with them, and keep such close order that a prisoner cannot be taken, though the Indians are often very close to them, which they no sooner see when a whole regiment fires, even at one man. The rebels has since been joined by 2,800, three large parties from Crokin's lake slope-house, and the whole of their army is thought to be about six thousand, under the command of three Generals—Sullivan, Markfield and Hands. The Indians are determined, to a man, to dye with Col. Butler, and have requested of Col. Boulton to send all the men he can, which a few days ago he sent sixty men, mostly the light infantry, with Lieuts. Coote and Pepyat, and two grass-hoppers, and by the next vessels expects one hundred from Carleton Island, and as many more from Detroit, which are to go immediately to join Col. Butler, as they mean once more to try their fait. Live or die—is the word all through their camp. Lieuts. St. Magin and Harkimer are expected in every day from the Colonel's with ninety rangers, who are all sick, which is a great loss to Col. Butler at this critical juncture.

Lieut. Dochsteder writes from the Ohio that a party of rebels has destroyed several Indian villages, with all the corn. He also informs me that a party of Indians going on a scout in three canoes, was fired on by a scout of rebels from the shore, which killed three, among which was a son of yours, the eldest and handsomest of the white boys, that was formerly married to your daughter, Belle Montour.

ENDORSED COPY OF A LETTER TO MR. JAMES CRESPAL.

NIAGARA, Oct. 14th, 1780.

DEAR UNCLÉ:—On the 10th inst. I writ you a short letter, which I hope will come safe to hand, enclosing a duplicate of the bill which you have here enclosed, for fifteen pounds sterling, on James Phyn, merchant, which you will please distribute among my sisters in necessaries, as may best suit their situation. In my letter of last year I sent you twenty

pounds sterling, to be divided in like manner (after paying the tailor) which I hope you received, but my not receiving a line from you this year, gives me a great deal of uneasiness, especially when I heard that Capt. Gibson, of the vessel Montreal, was arrived safe, to whom I look most for letters, as Mr. Cruickshank informed me you was particularly acquainted with him. Still I will not think it any neglect of yours, as I am informed that a number of the Quebec fleet are taken, which I dare say is the occasion of my disappointment.

I have quite altered my mind since I wrote you last, when I mentioned that I should stay in the same capacity I was then in. I have lately entered into partnership, by the approbation of some friends, with two others; built a house and have now the pleasure to inform you that I am doing business for myself, being determined either to "win the horse or loose the saddle."

Though I believe there is no place in America so dangerous as this communication for a young beginner, owing to the great losses that are sustained in bringing up goods. When they leave Montreal, they are brought near three hundred miles in battoes, and often times obliged to be carried in many places, on account of the great rapids which are in this river; then shipped on board of vessels in order to cross Lake Ontario, which is near two hundred miles further, before they reach Niagara; therefore, you may imagine to yourself what trouble there is in getting goods this length and what the experience must be.

I expect that you will receive this per the hands of Mr. Thomas Robinson, my late employer, who has resigned business here. If he should call, pray show him all the civility you can, on my account, as he has always showed a great deal of kindness to me, and he will give you a particular account of my conduct ever since I have lived at Niagara, which is now upwards of four years, which when I think of the liberty and pleasure I had when at home, and compare them with the confinement which I have had ever since I have been here, where there is not the least thing that affords amusement, often makes me very serious; to be confined in this country among hardly anything but Indians which we have at times thousands, these are employed at a very extravagant rate by Government to massacre the poor inhabitants of the frontiers of the Colonies. The scenes that are daily practiced by these inhuman butchers dare not be described. In short this place is shut up from all society of human creatures, therefore if ever chance should throw me in your way, you must expect very little from one who has lived among savages so long, however, I shall do all in my power to help my poor unhappy family.

Mr. Cruickshank has lost a considerable venture this year by the vessels being taken, in which was his cargo, which has been a disappointment to me as I every year had a quantity of silver work from him, such as buckles, spoons, cups, ear-bobs, &c. If you can supply with such articles the next year, you may depend on the payment in the fall. Let me know and I will send you a list of such articles as I shall want. For the present, if you can conveniently, send me three dozen of the neatest and newest fashioned shoe and knee buckles, one dozen good and neat silver table spoons and two of tea spoons, with four pair of sugar tongs. I must entreat of you to let me know this as soon as possible, and pray write a little oftener and by more opportunities as I am sure you may be of great service to me in other matters as well as this. You can send anything to me by Capt. Gibson of the Montreal, and direct them to the care of Mr. Cruickshank, who I am sure will serve us both in anything of this kind.

I cannot at present say much of my health. I am troubled with the ague which has pulled me down very much, but the cold weather is now coming on which will drive that away, as it has done often before.

I cannot help mentioning that last winter was the severest that was ever felt here. Our river was frozen over for seven weeks, so that horse and sley could pass, which was never known to be froze over before, owing to the great rapidity of the water from the falls. The snow in the woods eight feet on a level ground.

Believe me dear Uncle, in comity,

Your Most Affectionate Nephew,

F. GORING.

EDWARD POLLARD TO MR. F. GORING.

MONTRAL, 6th October, 1781.

DEAR SIR— On the arrival of Mr. Street, I was surprised and concerned at being informed at your having dissolved the connection you so lately had engaged in which by every account, (for a beginner,) was advantageous and in particular at a season of the year that must put you out of employ six months and that in an expensive place. Mr. Street told me you intended to write me by the next opportunity after he came away, but as that hath elapsed and my stay will be only a few days longer here, I enclose you the order for the company's next year's supply, and am with wishing you success,

Your friend and humble servant,

EDWARD POLLARD

Mr. F. GORING.

NIAGARA, March 7th, 1781.

By the authority I have received from His Excellency Gen. Haldemand, Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the Province of Canada and the frontier thereof, &c., &c., &c., I hereby permit Messrs. Goring, Street and Bennett to erect a store-house on a parcel of ground at the lower landing, measuring sixty feet in front and thirty feet in depth, bounded by the bank of the river on the west, by the foot of the hill on the south, and by the head of the cradle-ways on the north. But the condition of this permission is such that the said Messrs. Goring, Street and Bennet, their heirs, executors, administrators or assigns, shall not in any wise consider this ground as private property, but as entirely invested in the Crown, and the building liable to be removed or burnt at a moment's warning, whenever the commanding officer of this post, for the time being, finds it essential for his majesty's service so to do. Nor is the aforesaid Messrs. Goring, Street and Bennett, their heirs, axecutors, administrators or assigns, to sell or dispose of any part of the building they may erect, without a permission in writing from the commanding officer of this post. For all provisions, stores, &c., stored in said store-house on account of government, the said Messrs. Goring, Street and Bennett, shall be paid six pence, New York currency, per barrel.

G. H. WATSON POWELL,

Brigadier-General.

We agree to the above.

GORING, STREET & BENNETT.

TO MR. GORING, NIAGARA.

LITTLE NIAGARA, Nov. 23d, 1779.

SIR:—Mr. Abbet desired me to mention to you and Mr. Hamilton of a box of candles he left at Niagara as he passed. Mr. Hand, his clerk, has wrote, if it can be found, you will be good enough to forward it by the same opportunity you will have, as there is some things to be sent up to the officers at Detroit, and to go by this vessel.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.,

JNO. STEDMAN.

ENDORSED LETTER FROM MR. JOHN WARREN.

FORT ERIE, 1st January, 1780.

DEAR SIR:—I promised to let you know how I got up, but have, till

now, not been able to write, occasioned by one of the horriddest fingers that ever took the place of a left hand.

How it came I know not; only this I know—that I have got very little rest ever since I left Niagara. From the upper joint to the entire point it is one piece of proud flesh, which does not a little surprise me, as I was of opinion (until hereby convinced) that I had very little of that kind in my composition.

I beg you will be so good as to send by Corporal Reed, two and one-half yards second cloth, with buttons, lining, twist, &c., &c., to make a coat and waist-coat, as I entirely forgot it when I was below. The color, if blue or inclining that way, will best answer; if not, any other color which you yourself would fancy for a winter suit, will answer. This and one pound stone blue, and half a dozen pounds of raisins, if to be had, the Corporal has promised to take care (of,) which please to let him have, and at the bottom of your letter please send me account, as I want to keep my debts in view, to prevent their swelling imperceptibly beyond my reach.

I hope St. John used you all well while he staid. Had I remained, this ugly finger of mine would not let me have bawled one single verse in his praise, for I assure you I did nothing but grin the whole day, and grew so sulky that I did not so much as drink one glass to congratulate his arrival.

I wish you could spare us one doctor from Niagara—one would hardly be missed among so many—but not any of your commissary killing ones. I forget that gentleman's name that stops with you—the man with the two heads, both of which wear his wig by turns. However, without any joke, I at present stand much in need of one. I was thinking of sending my finger down by the Corporal, but have deferred it, as he is to bring me up some blue stone, from which, and some salve I brought up with me, I promise myself to effect a cure.

I have said enough to tire any man of more patience than you, and all about a rotten finger. Perhaps many people would not have said so much about a whole hand. Well, I wish any person had mine, and they may be welcome to say what they please. I shall say no more than that I am, Sir,

Your very humble servant,

JOHN WARREN.

MR. FRANCIS GORING.

NO. 6.

[PAGE 155.]

NUMBER AND DATE OF SALE BY DEED, OF ALL THE LOTS IN THE ORIGINAL SURVEY OF NEW AMSTERDAM, OR BUFFALO, BY THE HOLLAND LAND COMPANY, WITH THE NAME OF THE PURCHASER OF EACH LOT.

Inner Lot, No. 1, Zerah Phelps, September 11th, 1806.

- do No. 2, Samuel Pratt, April 20th, 1807.
- do No. 3, William Johnston, October 27th, 1804.
- do No. 4, Jane Eliza Lecouteulx, July 28th, 1815.
- do No. 5, Richard M. Green, February 1st, 1805.
- do No. 6, Vincent Grant, July 8th, 1808.
- do No. 7, Samuel Tupper, August 28th, 1805.
- do No. 8, Oliver Forward, May 24th, 1813
- do No. 9, Asahel Adkins, September 5th, 1806.
- do No. 10, John Mullett, November 16th, 1812.
- do No. 11, John Landis, October 10th, 1811.
- do No. 12 and 13, Ebenezer Walden, September 1st, 1810.
- do No. 14 and 15, James W. Stevens, September 10th, 1810.
- do No. 16, David E. Evans, April 2d, 1810.
- do No. 17, Oziel Smith, December 18th, 1809.
- do No. 18, William Wood, May 23d, 1815.
- do No. 19, John Gilbert, February 21st, 1816.
- do No. 20, Joseph Stocking, August 28th, 1826.
- do No. 21, Aaron Brink, January 10th, 1811.
- do No. 22, Asa Coltrain, May 25th, 1814.
- do No. 23, Oliver and Susan White, May 7th, 1829.
- do No. 24, Moses Baker, May 8th, 1826.
- do No. 25, Elias Ransom, April 23d, 1813.
- do No. 26, Moses Baker, August 23d, 1833.
- do No. 27, Jonathan Sidway, January 3d, 1826.
- do No. 28, Charles Davis, April 8th, 1830.

Inner Lot	No. 29, Silas A. Forbes, April 16th, 1831.
do	No. 30, William Johnston, August 15th, 1804.
do	No. 31, Erastus Granger, July 31st, 1805.
do	No. 32, William Johnston, October 27th, 1804.
do	No. 33, Birdsey Norton, October 7th, 1807.
do	No. 34, Nathaniel Norton, July 15th, 1806.
do	No. 35, James McMahan, May 17th, 1823.
do	No. 36, Samuel McConnell, May 19th, 1813.
do	No. 37, John Ellicott, May 6th, 1811.
do	No. 38, Abel M. Grosvenor, May 30th, 1812.
do	No. 39, Samuel Pratt, Jr., November 17th, 1810.
do	No. 40, Cyreneus Chapin, January 17th, 1810.
do	No. 41, Eli Hart, September 1st, 1810.
do	No. 42, St. Paul's Church, June 14th, 1820.
do	No. 43, First Presbyterian Society, December 12th, 1820.
do	No. 44 and 45, William Peacock, June 2d, 1810.
do	No. 46, Elijah Leech, November 10th, 1812.
do	No. 47, John Haddock, April 29th, 1814.
do	No. 48, Letitia Ellicott, May 6th, 1811.
do	No. 49, Junba Storrs, January 10th, 1811.
do	No. 50, Bennett Stillman, January 16th, 1811.
do	No. 51, Benjamin Ellicott, May 6th, 1811.
do	No. 52, Joseph Ellicott, May 6th, 1811.
do	No. 53, Gamaliel St. John, January 24th, 1810.
do	No. 54, Otis R. Hopkins, April 22d, 1814.
do	No. 55, James Miller, Oct. 25, 1824.
do	No. 56 (part of,) William Wood, June 20th, 1816.
do	No. " " Elihu Pease, May 7th, 1818.
do	No. " " Lester Brace, May 8th, 1818.
do	No. " " Seth Grosvenor, April 24th, 1818.
do	No. " " Gilman Folsom, May 28th, 1817.
do	No. 57, David Burt, November 20th, 1830, &c., &c.
do	No. 58, Moses Baker, January 1st, 1822.
do	No. 59, William J. Wood, May 22d, 1823.
do	No. 58 and 59, James Chapin, August 5th, 1811.
do	No. 60, Elias Ransom, June 14th, 1811.
do	No. 61, Asa Fox, December 18th, 1813.
do	No. 62, Ruben B. Heacock, November 13th, 1813.
do	No. 63, Ebenezer Johnson, April 25th, 1814.
do	No. 64, Henry Roop, August 29, 1831.

- Inner Lot No. 65, 66, 67 and 68, Benj. Ellicott, April 2d, 1810.
- do No. 69, Smith H. Salisbury, September 16th, 1812.
- do No. 70, R. B. Heacock, December 27th, 1821.
- do No. 71, Seth Grosvenor, April 21st, 1818.
- do No. 72, Oliver Forward, December 18th, 1813.
- do No. 73, Benjamin Haines, August 19th, 1815.
- do No. 74, Nathan Dudley, March 29th, 1815.
- do No. 75, Gilman Folsom, April 2d, 1814.
- do No. 76, Cyrenius Chapin, March 8th, 1811.
- do No. 77, Walter P. Groosbeck, May 20th, 1813.
- do No. 78, David Burt and G. H. Goodrich, June 24th, 1823.
- do No. 79, Levi Strong, April 16th, 1810.
- do No. 80, George Keith, April 17th, 1810.
- do No. 81, William Baird, May 16th, 1814.
- do No. 82, Nathaniel Vosburgh, October 16th, 1824.
- do No. 83, Trustees M. E. Church, October 15th, 1821.
- do No. 84, Sylvester Mathews, January 20th, 1830.
- do No. 85 and part of 86, S. H. Salisbury, March 20th, 1820.
- do No. 85 and 86 (part of,) P. Bennett, Feb. 6th, 1826.
- do No. 85 and 86 (part of,) Erastus Gilbert, Feb. 5th, 1826.
- do No. 85 and 86 (part of,) Miles P. Squier, July 13th, 1825.
- do No. 87 and 88, A. H. Tracy and John Lay, Jr., Dec. 28, 1829.
- do No. 89 (part of,) Geo. R. Babcock, November 16th, 1830.
- do No. " " Archibald S. Clark, Sept. 20th, 1819.
- do No. 90, " Barent I. Staats, January 5th, 1830.
- do No. " " Platt and Clary, September 27th, 1829.
- do No. 91, " Sylvester Chamberlin, April 26th, 1826.
- do No. " " Moses Baker, November 17th, 1825, and
June 10th, 1835.
- do No. 92, Thomas C. Love, January 20th, 1823.
- do No. 93, First Baptist Society, January 17th, 1822.
- do No. 94, (part of,) Denison Lathrop, July 2d, 1823.
- do No. " " Walter M. Seymour, January 5th, 1827.
- do No. 95 and 96, Ebenezer Johnson, December 20th, 1825.
- do No. 97, 98 and 99, G. H. Goodrich, June 6th, 1829.
- do No. 100 and 101, Ebenezer Johnson, August 9th, 1824.
- do No. 102 and 103, David E. Evans, April 5th, 1811.
- do No. 104, Jesse Bivens, Sept. 25th, 1813.
- do No. 105, Gilman Folsom, April 24th, 1818.
- do No. 106, Oliver Newbury, Dec. 13th, 1825.

- Inner Lot No. 107, Sally Groosbeck, August 27th, 1829.
- do No. " (part of.) Charles T. Hicks, January 7th, 1825.
- do No. 108 and 109, quit-claim to Trustees Buffalo village, September 20th, 1821, and to city, January 2d, 1833.
- do No. 110, Amos Callender, December 19th, 1816.
- do No. 111 and 112, Trustees Buffalo village, September 20th, 1821, city of Buffalo, January 2d, 1833.
- do No. 113, (part of,) Stephen K. Grosvenor, April 21st, 1818.
- do No. " " George W. Fox, January 20th, 1817.
- do No. 114, E. Johnson and S. Wilkeson, January 18th, 1825.
- do No. 115, (part of,) Wm. Keane, June 8th, 1826.
- do No. " " S. G. Austin, January 3d, 1828.
- do No. 116, Henry Lake, December, 26th, 1809.
- do No. 117, R. B. Heacock, May 14th, 1814.
- do No. 118, John B. Stone, August 8th, 1827.
- do No. 119, E. Johnson and S. Wilkeson, December 20th, 1825.
- do No. 120, (part of,) Albert H. Tracy, September 9th, 1828.
- do No. " " Daniel Bristol, September 9th, 1828.
- do No. 121, Joseph Clary, September 28th, 1825.
- do No. 122, George Stow, April 26th, 1826.
- do No. 123, James Demarest, February 22d, 1830.
- do No. 124, John Lay, Jun., September 1st, 1825.
- do No. 125 and 126, Ezekiel Folsom, September 12th, 1829.
- do No. 127, Ebenezer Johnson, July 28th, 1826.
- do No. 128, do do November 5th, 1829.
- do No. 129, Jonathan Sidway, November 11th, 1828.
- do No. 130, 131 and 132, Thomas C. Love and Henry H. Sizer, July 1st, 1828.
- do No. 133, (part of,) William Williams, September 10th, 1831.
- do No. " " Roswell Chapin, October 30th, 1830.
- do No. 134, 135, 136, 137, and 138, Ebenezer Johnson and Samuel Wilkeson, January 18th, 1825.
- do No. 139, Samuel Wilkeson, December 17th 1825.
- do No. 140, (part of,) Moses Ferrin, September 14th 1825.
- do No. " " Samuel Wilkeson, September 14th, 1835.
- do No. 141 and 142, Jonathan Sidway, January 3d, 1826.
- do No. 143, Guy H. Goodrich, February 22d, 1830.
- do No. 144 and 145, Belinda Lathrop, April 16th, 1825.
- do No. 146, Elizabeth A. Barnes, August 20th, 1830.
- do No. 147 and 148, Christopher and John D. Woolf, March 26th, 1826.

- Inner Lot No. 149, 150 and 151, Emanuel Winter, June 12th, 1812.
- do No. 152, 153 and 154, Jeremiah Staats, February 4th, 1833.
- do No. 155, Barent I. Staats, March 12th, 1829.
- do No. 156 and 157, Myndert M. Dox, January 5th, 1825.
- do No. 158, Ontario Insurance Company, June 22d, 1825.
- do No. 159, William Keane, September 14th, 1827.
- do No. 160 and 161, Jonathan Sidway, November 11th, 1828.
- do No. 162, Stephen G. Austin, September 13th, 1830.
- do No. 163, Walter M. Seymour, January 5th, 1827.
- do No. 164 and 165, John C. Lord and Hiram Pratt, October 12th, 1829.
- do No. 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174. and 175. Peter Huydekoper, August 8th, 1825.
- do No. 176, David Resse, June 21st, 1808.
- do No. 177, Joseph D. Hoyt, June 21st, 1815.
- do No. 178, Moses Bristol, January 14th, 1825.
- do No. 179, (part of,) Theodore Coburn, January 13th, 1832.
- do No. " " J. and J. Townsend, January 13th, 1830.
- do No. 180, Samuel Bell, December 23d, 1819.
- do No. 181, William Keane, July 8th, 1815.
- do No. 182, Nath. Wilgus, September 1st, 1831.
- do No. 183, Ebenezer Walden, December 9th, 1830.
- do No. 184 and 185, Supervisors Niagara County, November 21st, 1810.
- do No. 186, Horace Griffin, February 27th, 1826.
- do No. 187, Noyes Darrow, January 26th, 1832.
- do No. 188, H. J. Redfield, March 31st 1843.
- do No. 189 and 190, Jonas Harrison, March 16th, 1814.
- do No. 191 and 192, do do May 11th, 1819.
- do No. 193 and 194, Townsend & Coit, December 11th, 1816.
- do No. 195 and 196, John E. Marshall, April 12th, 1816.
- do No. 197, Seth Grosvenor, November 10th, 1818.
- do No. 198, Gilman Folsom, Jr., July 22d, 1830.
- do No. 199, Caleb Gillett, August 31st, 1825.
- do No. 200, (part of,) Gilman Folsom, Jun., January 22d, 1828.
- do No. " " Richard E. Sill, January 22d, 1828.
- do No. 201, Denison Lathrop, November 3d, 1825.
- do No. 202 and 203, M. A. Andrews, July 26th, 1828.
- do No. 204, Elon Galusha, June 21st, 1824.
- do No. 205, Henry H. Sizer, July 16th, 1833..

- Inner Lot No. 206 (part of), Elijah D. Efner, November 2d, 1822.
do No. " " Elias Hubbard, " " "
do No. 207, E. Johnson and S. Wilkeson, January 18th, 1825.
do No. 208, " " July 1st, 1824.
do No. 209, John A. Lazell, January 27th, 1826.
do No. 210 and 211, E. Johnson and S. Wilkeson, January 18th, 1825.
do No. 212, Abner Bryant, January 27th, 1826.
do No. 213, Jonathan Sidway, January 31st, 1822.
do No. 214, Elias Hubbard, August 19th, 1825.
do No. 215, Thomas Coatsworth, June 30th, 1823.
do No. 216, Ira A. Blossom, May 16th, 1827.
- Water Lot No. 5, Abraham Larzelere, November 18th, 1823.
do No. 6, Samuel Barber, October 13th, 1823.
do No. 7, 8 and 9, Chas. Townsend and George Coit (part of,) September 26th, 1823.
do No. 9, (part of,) C. Townsend, Geo. Coit, S. Wilkeson, E. Johnson, September 26th, 1823.
do No. 10, S. Wilkeson and E. Johnson, November 1st, 1823.
do No. 11, Jonathan Sidway, April 23d, 1824.
do No. 13, Hiram Pratt, September 24th, 1823.
do No. 14, Elisha C. Hickox, September 24th, 1823.
do No. 15 and 16, S. Thompson, H. Thompson and J. L. Barton, Dec. 2d, 1823.
do No. 17, G. B. Webster, February 18th, 1824.
do No. 18, 19 and 20, Samuel Wilkeson, May 8th, 1828.
- Outer Lot No. 1, Louis LeCouteulx, Dec. 6th, 1821.
do No. 2 and 3, Benjamin Ellicott, April 2d, 1810.
do No. 4, Joshua Gillett, September 1st, 1810.
do No. 7, 8, 9 and 10, Wm. Peacock, April 2d, 1819.
do No. 11, David E. Evans and J. Ellicott, Jr., Sept. 21, 1821.
do No. 12, Asa Coltrin, May 25th, 1814.
do No. 13, David E. Evans and J. Ellicott, Jr., Sept. 21, 1821.
do No. 14, Asa Coltrin, May 25th, 1814.
do No. 15 and 16, David E. Evans and J. Ellicott, Jr., September 21st, 1821.
do No. 17, Henry Ketchum, June 18th, 1812.
do No. 18, Stephen Stillman, February 15th, 1811.
do No. 19, E. Ensign, July 8th, 1813.
do No. 20, C. R. Sharp, May 10th, 1816.

- Outer Lot No. 21, Samuel Tupper, May 5th, 1812.
- do No. 22, " " June 21st, 1815.
- do No. 23 and 24, Juba Storrs, January 30th, 1811.
- do No. 25, Louis LeConteulx, November 22d, 1815.
- do No. 26, John White, April 7th, 1810.
- do No. 27, John B. Ellicott, Jr., and David E. Evans, September 21st, 1821.
- do No. 28, Sylvester Mathews, October 5th, 1825.
- do No. 29, Ebenezer Johnson, August 9th, 1824.
- do No. 30, do do November 14th, 1814.
- do No. 31, John Desparr, April 20th, 1807.
- do No. 32, Gilman Folsom, September 28th, 1829.
- do No. 33, Jabez Goodell, April 23d, 1830.
- do No. 34, Thomas Day, April 23d, 1830.
- do No. 35, Louis Le Conteulx, May 11th, 1816.
- do No. 36, (part of,) Jos. and Benj. Ellicott, Feb. 29th, 1812.
- do No. " " United States, September 29th, 1819.
- do No. 37, " Jos. and Benj. Ellicott, Feb. 19th, 1812.
- do No. " " Horatio J. Stow, July 16th, 1844.
- do No. 38, 39, 40, and part of 41, Jos. and Benj. Ellicott, February 29th, 1812.
- do No. 41 and 42, (parts of,) Letitia M. Bliss, June 15th, 1837.
- do No. 42, (part of,) 43, 44, 45 and 46, Jos. and Benj. Ellicott, February, 29th, 1812.
- do No. 47, 48, 49, and 50, Elijah Leech, July 19th, 1815.
- do No. 52, Jonathan Sidway, November, 11th, 1828.
- do No. 53, Hiram Pratt, December 1st, 1830.
- do No. 54, do do April 11th, 1833.
- do No. 55 and 56, Joseph Ellicott, February 28th 1811.
- do No. 57, (part of,) Jonathan Sidway, November 11th, 1828.
- do No. " " Sherwood & White September 29th, 1829.
- do No. 58, Theodore Coburn, November 27th, 1826.
- do No. 59, (part of,) Geo. Stow, December 29th, 1825.
- do No. " " Heman B. Potter, September 27th, 1827.
- do No. 60, 61, 62 and 63, Joseph D. Hoyt, December 26th, 1825.
- do No. 64, Elijah D. Efner, December 21st, 1821.
- do No. 65, Stephen Clark, March 9th, 1832.
- do No. 66 and 67. Thomas Coatsworth, August 25th, 1830.
- do No. 68, Martin Daley, November 29th 1830.
- do No. 69, C. Tappan and J. Mansfield, November 27th, 1829.

- Outer Lot No. 70, Stephen Champlin, May 23d, 1825.
- do No. 71 and 72. Robert Pomeroy, April 6th, 1820.
- do No. 73, Hiram Hanchett, June 9th, 1810.
- do No. 74, Elijah Leech, December 23, 1808.
- do No. 75, Ebenezer Walden, November 26th, 1817.
- do No. 76 and 77, Zenas Barker, August 1st, 1814.
- do No. 78, Vincent Grant, July 21st, 1807.
- do No. 79 and 80, William Grant, July 8th, 1808.
- do No. 81 and 82, J. M. Landon, July 28th 1825.
- do No. 83, Jane E. Le Conteulx, July 28th, 1825.
- do No. 84. Isaac Davis, January 29th, 1814.
- do No. 85, Wm. Johnston, February 5th, 1804.
- do No. 86, Hydraulic Association, November 21st, 1827.
- do No. 87, Amasa Ransom, November 20th, 1824.
- do No. 88 and 89, Apollos Hitchcock, December 6th, 1809.
- do No. 90, 91 and 92, Erastus Granger, December 31st, 1809.
- do No. 93, Wm. Johnston, October 27th, 1804.
- do No. 94 and 95, R. B. Heacock, December 15th, 1826.
- do No. 96, Townsend & Coit, May 31st 1813.
- do No. 97 and 98, Noah Folsom, January 12th, 1825.
- do No. 99, 100, 101, 102 and 103, Samuel Pratt, June 7th.
1813.
- do No. 104, Joseph Ellicott, October 2d, 1810.
- do No. 105, Hiram Pratt, July 21st, 1829.
- do No. 106, Silas A. Fobes, April 16th, 1831.
- do No. 107, Noyes Barrow, January 13th, 1830.
- do No. 108, (part of,) Nath. Vosburgh, December 11th, 1829.
- do No. 108 and 109, (parts of,) John Lay, Jun., July 27th,
1827.
- do No. 109, (part of,) Ebenezer Walden, April 4th, 1828.
- do No. 110, David E. Evans, September 10th, 1821.
- do No. 111, do do April 5th, 1811.
- do No. 112 Jos. Stocking and Jos. Dart, September 8th, 1829.
- do No. 113 and 114, G. H. Goodrich, October 19th, 1830.
- do No. 115, E. A. Bigelow, November 30th 1827.
- do No. 116, James W. Stevens, April 2d, 1810.
- do No. 117 Heman B. Potter, May 18th, 1815.
- do No. 118, David E. Evans, April 5th, 1811.
- do No. 119, Isaac Davis, October 9th, 1812.
- do No. 120 and 121, M. A. Andrews, July 28th, 1831.

Outer Lot	No. 122, (part of,)	Walter M. Seymour,	January 5th, 1827.
do	No. " "	Jonas Harrison,	May 17th, 1814.
do	No. 123	"	Ira A. Blossom, June 30th, 1828.
do	No. " "	Oziel Smith,	June 26th, 1815.
do	No. 124,	Oziel Smith,	February 26th, 1813.
do	No. 125, (part of,)	William Williams,	April 13th, 1830.
do	No. " "	Ira A. Blossom,	June 30th, 1828.
do	No. 126,	Isaac Davis,	October 9th, 1812.
do	No. 127, 128, 129 and 130,	M. A. Andrews,	July 28th, 1831.
do	No. 131 and 132,	M. A. Andrews,	March 19th, 1828.
do	No. 133 and 134,	James Rough,	October 9th, 1812.
do	No. 135,	Jabez Goodell,	November 11th, 1834.
do	No. 136,	do do	June 14th, 1817.
do	No. 137,	do do	July 22d, 1825.
do	No. 138,	Jas. and Henry Campbell,	June 22d, 1815.
do	No. 139,	Eli Hart,	April 1st, 1815.
do	No. 140,	Amon Teft,	October 23d, 1815.
do	No. 141,	Matilda Sharp,	July 26th, 1814.
do	No. 142	Philo Andrews,	April 16th, 1810.
do	No. 143,	Henry Lake,	March 16th, 1810.
do	No. 144,	Samuel Helm,	December 22d, 1809.
do	No. 145,	Jabez Goodell,	April 8th, 1816.
do	No. 146,	do do	July 22d, 1825.
do	No. 147,	do do	December 1st, 1823.
do	No. 148,	Silas A. Fobes,	November 8th, 1834.
do	No. 149,	James Sweeney,	August 23d, 1825.
do	No. 150 and 151,	Walter M. Seymour,	December 1st, 1827.

NO. 6.

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[From the Buffalo Gazette, December 1st, 1812.]

From the time the armistice expired until Saturday last, the weather, with the exception of one day, inclement and extremely unfavorable to military movements and warlike operations. However, on Friday last, a movement being resolved upon, the troops removed from their several encampments and concentrated their forces in the vicinity of Black Rock. On Saturday morning, a party of about two hundred sailors and soldiers, under the command of Capt. King, made a descent upon the enemy's shore—attacked and carried three several batteries, dismounted and spiked their cannon, and destroyed their gun carriages.

The most determined and intrepid bravery was displayed on this occasion. About thirty prisoners, among whom were two British officers, were captured. A large two-story house was burned, in which was a quantity of ammunition. A barn near the house was also fired and consumed, in which, it is said, were the enemy's light artillery. Several horses, already harnessed, were also destroyed.

The loss of the British, in killed and wounded, is uncertain; it is rated at between twenty and thirty. Our loss consists of four or five killed and (say) twenty wounded; Capts. King and Dox taken prisoners—the latter wounded and retaken. Sailing-master Watts was killed. The party returned to Black Rock about six o'clock.

A short time after this achievement, Col. Wynder, with a column of three hundred regulars from his regiment, embarked (whether to cross the river, or to reconnoitre, we know not,) at the mouth of Conjockety Creek, behind Squaw Island, and after passing the foot of the Island, dropped a few minutes down the river on the enemy's shore, when the boats were furiously attacked with grape and musketry from a considerable force on the shore, which had lain in ambush; the fire was very spiritedly returned from the boats for several minutes. Seeing, however, the danger of effecting a landing against a superior force on shore, possessing

every advantage, the boats returned, with small loss in killed and wounded.

A detachment of Col. Porter's light artillery had now passed over to Squaw Island, where two pieces played upon the enemy with some effect. From an early hour in the morning until twelve o'clock, the several batteries at Black Rock, mounting twenty-four, eighteen, twelve and six pounders, played upon the opposite shore. The enemy returned but a few shots—from a six pounder which had escaped spiking. Between nine and ten o'clock, three sailors embarked in a boat, passed over to the enemy's shore, and set fire to the house of B. Hardison and the store of Mr. Douglass, which were consumed. After remaining on that shore about two hours, they returned, with a boat loaded with articles taken from the houses. We understand that this act was unauthorized.

From seven until ten or eleven o'clock in the morning, there was a constant embarkation of troops at the Navy Yard, and before the hour of eleven, there were about sixty boats loaded and stationed on shore, awaiting the signal to make a descent. The day was fine. The troops were in excellent spirits. No opposing force appeared on the shore. A flag was now sent by Gen. Smyth to the British commander. The flag returned. The troops on the boats were ordered to debark, and the volunteers who were ready for embarkation, were ordered back to their respective encampments.

[From the Albany Gazette, December 14th, 1812.]

On Saturday last, arrived in this city, on his way from the camp at Buffalo to his family at Troy, Capt. Wool, of the Thirteenth U. S. Regiment, whose distinguished and gallant conduct in storming the batteries on the heights of Queenston on the 13th September last, in which he was severely wounded, and his subsequent conduct on that day, gained him the respect and applause of Major-General Van Rensselaer, and of the whole army, and the universal esteem of his fellow-citizens. We are happy to observe that he is in good health, and has nearly recovered of his wounds. He was a volunteer with Col. Winder in the late unsuccessful attempt at crossing the Niagara river.

Capt. Wool has put into our hands, for publication, the following paper, containing Gen. Smyth's reasons for not planting the American standard on the Canada shore, agreeably to his late proclamations. We submit it to our readers without comment:

HEADQUARTERS, CAMP NEAR BUFFALO, Dec. 3d, 1812.

GENTLEMEN:—Your letter of 2d December is before me, and I answer

it in the following manner: On the 26th of October, I ordered that twenty scows should be prepared for the transportation of artillery and cavalry, and put the carpenters of the army upon that duty. By the 26th of November, ten scows were completed, and by bringing some boats from Lake Ontario above the Falls of Niagara, the number was increased to seventy.

I had, on the 12th November, issued an address to the men of New York, and perhaps three hundred had arrived at Buffalo. I presumed that the regular troops and the volunteers, under Cols. Swift and McClure, would furnish thirteen hundred men for duty, and from Gen. Tannehill's brigade, (from Pennsylvania,) reporting a total of one thousand six hundred and fifty men, as many as four hundred and thirteen had volunteered to cross into Canada. My orders were to "cross with three thousand men at once." I deemed myself ready to fulfill them. Preparatory thereto, on the night of the 21st November, I sent over two parties—one under Lieut. Col. Boestler, the other under Capt. King, with whom Lieut. Angus, of the Navy, at the head of a body of seamen, united. The first was to capture a guard, and destroy a bridge about five miles below Fort Erie; the second party were to take and render useless the cannon of the enemy's batteries and some pieces of light artillery. The first party failed to destroy the bridge; the second, after rendering unserviceable the light artillery, separated by some misapprehension. Lieut. Angus, the seamen and part of the troops, returned with all the boats, while Capt. King, Capt. Sproal and Lieut. Houston, and about sixty men, remained. The party, thus reduced, attacked, took and rendered unserviceable, two of the enemy's batteries, captured thirty-four prisoners, found two boats, in which Capt. King sent the prisoners and about half his party, with the other officers, he himself remaining, with thirty men, whom he would not abandon.

Orders had been given that all the troops in the neighborhood should march at reveille to the place of embarkation. A part of the detachment sent in the night having returned and excited apprehensions for the residue, about two hundred and fifty men, under the command of Col. Winder, suddenly put off in boats for the opposite shore. A part of this force had landed, when a force deemed superior, with one piece of artillery, was discovered. A retreat was ordered, and Col. Winder's detachment suffered a loss of six killed and nineteen wounded, besides some officers.

The general embarkation commenced as the troops arrived, but this being a first embarkation, the whole of the scows were occupied by about

one-third of the artillery, while about eight hundred regular infantry, about two hundred twelve months volunteers, under Col. Swift, and about two hundred of the militia, who had volunteered their services for a few days, occupied all the boats that were ready. The troops then embarked, moved up the stream to Black Rock without loss. They were ordered to disembark and dine.

I had received from my commanding-general an instruction in the following words: "In all important movements, you will, I presume, consider it advisable to consult some of your principal officers." I deemed this equivalent to an order, and the movement important. I called for the field officers of the regulars and twelve months volunteers embarked. Col. Porter was not found at the moment. These questions were put: "Is it expedient now to cross over? Is the force we have, sufficient to conquer the opposite coast?" The first question was decided in the negative by Col. Parker, Col. Schuyler, Col. Winder, Lieut. Col. Boerstler, Lieut. Col. Coles and Major Campbell. Col. Swift, of the volunteers, alone gave an opinion for then crossing over. The second question was not decided. Col. Parker, Col. Coles and Major Campbell were decidedly of opinion that the force was insufficient. Col. Winder, Col. Swift, Lieut. Col. Boerstler and Capt. Gibson, deemed the force sufficient. I determined to postpone crossing over until more complete preparation would enable me to embark the whole force at once—the counsel prescribed by orders. The next day was spent in such preparation, and the troops were ordered to be again at the place of embarkation at eight o'clock on the morning of the 30th of November.

On their arrival, they were sent to the adjoining woods, there to build fires and remain until three o'clock in the morning of the 1st of December, when it was intended to put off two hours before daylight, so as to avoid the fire of the enemy's cannon in passing the position it was believed they occupied below, to land above Chippewa, assault that place, and if successful, march through Queenston, to Fort George.

For this expedition, the contractor was called on to furnish rations for twenty-five hundred men for four days, when it was found that he could furnish the pork, but not the flour; the deputy quarter-master called for sixty barrels, but got but thirty-five. The embarkation commenced but was delayed by circumstances so as not to be completed until after daylight, when it was found the regular infantry, six hundred and eighty-eight men; the artillery, one hundred and seventy-seven men; Swift's volunteers, estimated at twenty-three; six companies of the Federal volunteers, under Captains Collins, Phillips, Allison, Moore, Mather, and

Marshall, amounting to two hundred and seventy-six men, commanded by Lieut. Col. McClure; one hundred men of Col. Dobbins' militia, and a few in a boat with Gen. P. B. Porter, had embarked—the whole on board, exclusive of officers, amounting to one thousand four hundred and sixty-six men, or thereabouts—and it was now two hours later than had been contemplated. There were some groups of men not yet embarked. They were applied to, requested and ordered, by the Brigade Major, to get into the boats; they did not. The number of these, the Brigade Major estimated at about one hundred and fifty. It was probably greater.

It then became a question whether it was expedient to invade Canada in open daylight, with fifteen hundred men, at a point where no reinforcements could be expected for some days. I saw that the number of regular troops was declining rapidly. I knew that on them I was chiefly to depend. I called together the officers commanding corps of the regular army. Col. Parker being sick, those present were Col. Porter, of the artillery, Col. Schuyler, Col. Winder and Lieut. Col. Coles. I put to them this question: "Shall we proceed?" They unanimously decided that we ought not. I fore-saw that the volunteers, who had come out only for a few days, would disperse. Several of them had, on the evening of the 28th, broken their muskets. I fore-saw that the number of regular troops would decrease—measles and other diseases being among them; and they were now in tents, in the month of December. I informed the officers that the attempt to invade Canada would not be made until the army was reinforced; directed them to withdraw their troops and cover them with huts immediately.

You say that on Saturday every obstruction was removed, and that a landing might have been effected "without the loss of a man." This proves you unacquainted with the occurrences of the day. Col. Winder, in retreating from the enemy's shore in the morning, lost a tenth part of his force in killed and wounded. The enemy showed no more than five or six hundred men, as estimated by Col. Parker, and one piece of artillery, supposed a nine pounder. That force, we, no doubt, might have overcome; but not "without loss,"—and that, from the great advantage the enemy would have had, might have been considerable.

To recapitulate: My orders were to pass into Canada with three thousand men at once. On the first day of embarkation, not more than fourteen hundred were embarked, of whom four hundred—that is, half of the regular infantry—were exhausted with fatigue and want of rest. On the second embarkation, only fifteen hundred men were embarked,

and these were to have put off immediately, and to have descended the river to a point where reinforcements were not to be expected. On both days, many of the regular troops were men in bad health, who could not have stood one days march—who, although they were on the sick report, were turned out by their ardent officers.

The affair at Queenston is a caution against relying on crowds who go to the banks of the Niagara to look on a battle as on a theatrical exhibition, who, if they are disappointed of the sights, break their muskets; or, if they are without rations for a day, desert.*

I have made to you this frank disclosure without admitting your authority to require it, under the impression that you are patriotic and candid men, and that you will not censure me for following the cautious counsels of experience, nor join the senseless clamor excited against me by an interested man.

I have some reason to believe that the cautious counsel given by the superior officers of my command was good.

From deserters, we learn that two thousand three hundred and fourteen rations were issued daily on the frontiers on the British side. Capt. King, a prisoner at Fort George, writes to an officer thus: "Tell your friends to take better care of themselves than it appears I have done."

I am, gentlemen, with great respect,

Your most obedient,

ALEXANDER SMYTH,

Brigadier-General.

To Messrs. GEO. MCCLURE, JOHN GRIFFEN and WM. B.

ROCHESTER, Committee from the patriotic citizens
of Western New York.

GEN. PETER B. PORTER'S STATEMENT.

TO THE PUBLIC:—In the Gazette of last week, I promised to give an account of some of the most "prominent transactions of the 28th November and 1st December." Having, since that time, received from Gen. Smyth assurances—which, as a man of honor, I am bound to believe—that the course pursued by him on those days was such as was required by his

* Six hundred of Gen. Tannehill's brigade deserted in twenty-four hours. A court-martial of this brigade have fined a man twelve-and-a-half cents for the crime of desertion.

orders and instructions from the Secretary of War and Gen. Dearborn, this communication will assume a character quite different from the one then contemplated; I am pledged, however, to the public, to give facts, which I shall proceed to do, without comment—leaving it to time to develop the object of military movements which have appeared to me and others not only extraordinary, but inexplicable.

On the 27th November, there was collected at this point a military force of about four thousand five hundred effective men, consisting of regular troops, New York and Pennsylvania and Baltimore volunteers, all under the command of Gen. Smyth. There were lying at the Navy Yard near Black Rock, which had been previously prepared for the purpose of transporting the troops across the river, seventy public boats, calculated to carry forty men each,—five long boats belonging to private individuals, but which had been taken into the public service, calculated to carry one hundred men each, ten scows for artillery and twenty-five men each—besides, a number of small boats; in all, capable of carrying three thousand five hundred and fifty men. At two o'clock on that day, I received a copy of Gen. Smyth's order for the march of all the troops, the succeeding morning, at reveille, to the Navy Yard to embark for Canada. I immediately gave orders for the New York volunteers, who had been placed under my command, to parade at four o'clock in the morning, at their encampment, about one-and-a-half miles from the Navy Yard. In the evening, I learned that the parties mentioned in Gen. Smyth's dispatch, were to cross the river at eleven o'clock at night, to attack the enemy's batteries opposite Black Rock. Gen. Smyth not being here, I waited on Lieut. Angus, and suggested to him the propriety (if within the scope of his orders,) of postponing the enterprise until nearly morning, to give as little time as possible, before the passage of the army, for the enemy's troops to collect from their stations down the river. They landed at three in the morning, under a severe fire of musketry and grape-shot from two pieces of flying artillery. Lieut. Angus, with our little band of sailors, assisted by Capt. Craig and a few of his party, attacked the principal force of the enemy, consisting of about one hundred, at the red house—the seamen charging with their pikes and swords against muskets and bayonets—and routed them in all directions. Capt. Dox, who took a distinguished part in the affair, was severely wounded. After a hard and desperate struggle, the enemy was completely dispersed, the two field-pieces spiked, and the house, in which the enemy quartered, fired. The seamen returned to our shore, bringing off their wounded and several prisoners. Out of

twelve naval officers who embarked in this enterprise, nine of them, with more than half their men, were killed or wounded. If bravery be a virtue—if gratitude of country be due to those who gallantly asserted its rights—the government will make ample and honorable provision for the heirs of those brave tars who fell on this occasion, as well as for those who survived. Capt. King proceeded to spike and dismount the guns in the batteries. Lieut. Col. Boerstler dispersed the enemy lower down the river, taking a number of prisoners.

By sunrise in the morning, most of the troops had arrived at the place of embarkation, and the day was fine. I marched three hundred of the volunteers who had rallied under Gen. Smyth's invitation, well armed and provided, and in high spirits. About one hundred and fifty more, who came in the evening before, were at Buffalo drawing their arms and ammunition, with orders to join us as soon as possible. I stationed my men, as instructed by Gen. Smyth, in a field at the Navy Yard, with directions to wait for further orders. The parties which had crossed in the night, aided by our batteries—which, at daylight, opened a powerful and well directed fire—and a piece of flying artillery on the Island, under charge of Capt. Gibson, had driven everything from the opposite shore. Col. Winder, an officer of great intelligence, zeal and bravery, under the mistaken apprehension that the party under Lieut. Col. Boerstler were in danger of being cut off, made an unsuccessful attempt (though his own boat landed) to land two hundred and fifty men at a difficult point down the river, and had, as stated by Gen. Smyth.

The general embarkation now commenced, but it went on so tardily that, at twelve o'clock, the whole of the regular troops and Gen. Swift's regiment were not in boats. A considerable number of boats were lying upon the shores of the river and creek, having been thrown up by the high water of the preceeding day. Several were in the creek, half filled with water and ice. I called on Gen. Smyth, and proposed to occupy a part of these boats with my volunteers, many of whom were impatient to embark. Being at this moment informed by Col. Porter that the boats which had been used by Col. Winder were lying about a mile below, Major Chapin and myself, with about thirty men, went down the shore, brought up five boats, filled them with men, and arrived at Black Rock, the point at which it was proposed to put off, as soon as any of the regular troops. About two o'clock, all the troops which, it appears, were intended to be crossed at first, were collected in a group of boats at Black Rock, under cover of our batteries. I have no official account of the number of men in the boats. My opinion was that the number ex-

ceeded two thousand. Most men of observation who were present, estimated it at two thousand six hundred. The men were in fine spirits, and desirous of crossing.

Gen. Tannehill's volunteers, Col. F. McClure's regiment, some riflemen, cavalry, &c., amounting to about two thousand, were still paraded on the shore, and, as I am informed, were ready to cross. Several boats, of sufficient capacity to carry one thousand men, were still lying at the Navy Yard unoccupied. I have not been able to learn that any order or request was made for the embarkation of the troops, other than the regulars of Col. Swift's regiment. The enemy, estimated at about five hundred, were drawn up in a line about half a mile from the river.

After remaining in the boats till late in the afternoon, an order was received to disembark. It produced, among the officers and men generally, great discontent and murmuring, which was, however, in some degree allayed by assurances that the expedition was only postponed for a short time, until our boats could be better prepared.

On Sunday, another order was issued by Gen. Smyth for the march of the troops to the Navy Yard, to embark at nine o'clock on Monday morning. I was at Buffalo when it was received, and found that, as to time and manner, it was generally disapproved by the officers of the volunteers. I saw Gen. Smyth in the evening, at Black Rock, with Col. Winder, and stated my objections to his plan.

The enemy had re-mounted his guns on the batteries, so as to render it inexpedient to cross at the favorable point which had been taken on Saturday, above the Island, that covers the Navy Yard. Immediately below the Island, the enemy lay in force, much augmented in consequence of the affair of Saturday, occupying a line of shore of about a mile, where the current is rapid and the banks abrupt. I did not believe it possible to effect a landing with raw troops, in any tolerable order, if at all, in the face of artillery and infantry, which a full view of our movements in the day time would enable them to oppose to us. I proposed to postpone the expedition till night; to march and embark the troops silently; to put off about an hour and a half before day-light, so as to pass this dangerous line of shore in the dark, when we should suffer less from their fire, and to land about five miles below the Navy Yard, where the stream and the banks of the river were peculiarly favorable to a safe and orderly landing. Col. Winder seconded my proposals with great earnestness and force, and it was adopted.

The army embarked about three o'clock on Tuesday morning, and to proceed, at half-past four, according to the order of line of battle sub-

mitted a few days before by Gen. Smyth—the regulars on the right, or in the front boat, Gen. Tannehill's troops in the centre, and the New York volunteers on the left. I was to go in the front boat with a chosen set of men, direct the landing, and join the New York volunteers on their arrival.

On Monday evening, seven boats for Col. Swift's regiment, and eight for the late volunteers, were brought some distance up the river and left at different points, to avoid the noise and confusion of embarking the whole army in one place. At half past three on Tuesday morning, eight boats were filled with volunteers (a corps which has on every occasion while on the line, shown great exactness of discipline, promptitude and zeal for the service,) had embarked, and the residue were embarking. Not a man of the regular infantry was in the boats for half an hour, when Col. Winder's regiment entered their boats, with great order and silence.

About three quarters of an hour after this, the remaining regulars commenced the embarkation, when I dropped down to the front of the line, with a flag in my boat to designate it as the leading boat. I was accompanied by Majors Cyrenius Chapin and John W. McComb, Capt. Mills, of the cavalry, Adjutant Chase and Quartermaster Chaplin, two pilots, and about twenty-five volunteers of Buffalo under Lieut. Haynes. I mention the names of these gentlemen because they had before decidedly objected to passing at the proposed point by daylight, but when day appeared and one of the men raised some difficulty on that account, he was induced to remain, and it was unanimously agreed to incur the additional hazard and patiently wait the order of the General to put off. At daylight, we discovered the troops disembarking, and were informed that the invasion of Canada had been abandoned for this season; and the troops were ordered to winter quarters. A scene of confusion ensued which it is difficult to describe—about four thousand men, without order or restraint, discharging their muskets in every direction.

About one thousand volunteers came in under Gen. Smyth's proclamation, but owing to the state of the roads, which was bad beyond example, many did not arrive until after the 1st of December.

It is impossible for me to form any estimate of the number of troops embarked at any time this morning—it yet scarcely light, and I was at one end of the line of boats, occupying a distance of half a mile.

When the volunteers first arrived at the Navy Yard, it was found that the regular troops had not yet appeared. Their officers were instructed to permit them to land and keep themselves warm by exercise, as the

boats were covered with snow, which had fallen during the night; but they were instructed not to leave the side of the boats, that they might immediately re-enter.

PETER B. PORTER.

BLACK ROCK, December 14th, 1812.

GEN. SMYTH'S PETITION.

The following is a copy of the memorial of Alexander Smyth, laid before the House of Representatives on Tuesday, the 28th December, 1813, and by that body referred to the Secretary of War:

TO THE HONORABLE THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE UNITED STATES IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED:—

The petition of Alexander Smyth, a citizen of Virginia, respectfully represents: That having, in 1807, written to an honorable member of the House of Representatives that, in case of war with Great Britain, he was desirous to enter into the regular service, he received, in 1808, an appointment as Colonel of a regiment of riflemen; that, although war had not commenced, yet the event being probable, he abandoned his profession, which was then lucrative, left his family, vacated his seat in the Legislature of Virginia as the representative of thirteen counties, and joined the army of the United States; that your petitioner had the good fortune to give the utmost satisfaction to his superiors—Gen. Wilkinson, Gen. Hampton, Gen. Dearborn, and the late Secretary at War—while acting under their immediate orders, was promoted to the rank of Brigadier and Inspector-General in July, 1812, given the command of a Brigadier in September, and one of the armies of the United States in October in the same year; that at the expiration of five weeks, during which period he made every exertion in his power to serve the nation, he found it necessary to put his troops into winter quarters—having determined on that measure as your petitioner had been absent from his home the last eight winters, much the greater part of the last five years, and the whole of the last fourteen months, and had been refused leave to visit his family in the month of July preceding, and calculating that it was probable the campaign of 1813 might terminate his existence, he, without resigning his command, asked for leave of absence, which was granted, until the 1st of March, 1813, at which time your petitioner was ordered to report himself to the Secretary of War; that your petitioner

left his troops in cantonments, under an officer of thirty-six years experience, and in February, 1813, reported himself by letter to the Secretary of War, and solicited orders; and as the failure of your petitioner to take Fort George, York and Kingston, and to winter in Canada, as he was instructed, had created some clamor, your petitioner proposed that an inquiry into his conduct should take place, which the Honorable Secretary, through the medium of the Adjutant-General, was pleased to promise; since which time, your petitioner has not had the honor to hear from the War Office; your petitioner would represent that he has heard that some members of your honorable body are of opinion that, by an act of last session regulating the staff of the army of the United States, your petitioner has become a private citizen—and with this opinion his own might perhaps accord, were it not impossible to believe that the Congress of the United States, at their last session, could have intentionally committed an act of injustice; your petitioner affirms that he has not done or omitted anything to the injury of the nation; that his chief, if not his only error, has consisted in expressing too freely his indignation against those who had done injuries or omitted to perform duties to the nation; the motives which led him astray, he conceives, might procure, for this error, forgiveness; that this affirmation is true, he believes he can satisfy a committee or committees of your honorable body on short notice. Your petitioner has assayed to engage again in the pursuits of civil life, but finds that while the din of war continues, it is impossible for him to give the necessary attention to any peaceful pursuit. He desires to serve—to die, if Heaven wills it—in the service of his country—a country that has protected him in his infancy, given him a family, and at times distinguished him with considerable honors; from whose government no act of wrong, personal to himself, will force his esteem, while it maintains with steady perseverance that country's rights.

Your petitioner confidently trusts that in deciding on his prayer, you will be mindful of the rule of justice—"To others do (the law is not severe) what to thy self thou wishest to be done," and of the rule of policy—"The social body is oppressed when one of its members is oppressed." The prayer of your petitioner is that you will revise the act organizing the staff of the army of the United States, and by a declaratory act, preserve the rank of your petitioner as a Brigadier-General in the line, abolishing only his authority as Inspector-General.

And your petitioner, &c.,

ALEXANDER SMYTH.

It is believed Gen. Smyth's application to Congress was as unsuccessful as his military expeditions had been. He subsequently became a Member of Congress, where he soon became so obnoxious for his long winded, irrelevant speeches, that whenever he obtained the floor to speak, it became the signal for a large number of the members to take their hats and leave. The General, upon one occasion, took notice of this fact by saying, in his usual pompous manner: "gentlemen can retire if they please; I do not wish them to hear me unless they choose; I do not speak to the members on this floor merely, but I speak to posterity." An old member, not choosing to be driven from his seat, threw himself into an attitude of patient endurance and exclaimed: "go on sir, go on, your audience will be here, before you get through."

COPY OF A LETTER FROM MAJOR CHAPIN TO GEN. DEARBORN.

FORT GEORGE, June 13th, 1813.

SIR:—I have just arrived from my confinement in Canada, with my men, without my parole. Our return happened in the following manner: I received orders at Burlington Heights, on Monday morning, to go to Kingston; we set off accordingly, under a guard of sixteen men. I had with me twenty-eight men. We all went on very quietly till four o'clock in the afternoon, at which time I gave a signal to attack the guard, which was stationed in the following order: a Sergeant and one man in the boat with my men, a Lieutenant and thirteen men in the boat with me and two officers. At the signal my men run along side of the boat I was in. Lieut. Showers ordered them to fall astern. I ordered them on board, at which time the officer attempted to draw his sword. I seized him by the neck, and threw him on his back; two of his men drew their bayonets upon me. I immediately seized both bayonets at the same instant, and threw them on the top of the officer, and kept all down together; at the same moment my men seized the guard and wrested from them their arms. We then having possession of the arms, changed our course and arrived here this morning, half after two o'clock, all safe. We have brought two boats with us.

I have the honor to be very respectfully,

Your Obedient Servant,

CYRENIUS CHAPIN.

MAJ. GEN. DEARBORN.

NO. 7.

From the Buffalo Gazette, July 13th, 1813.

On Sunday morning last, just before daylight, Cols. Bishop and Warren, with about two hundred and fifty of the 41st, 49th, and King's Regiment, crossed the Niagara below Squaw Island, and marched far above the Navy Yard before any alarm was given. The detached militia of Black Rock being surprised, retreated up the beach, and left the enemy in the undisturbed possession of the village, who immediately burned the sailor's barracks and block house at the Navy Yard, and barracks at the great battery. They then proceeded to the batteries, dismounted and spiked three twelve pounders, and took away three field pieces and one twelve pounder ; and also took from the beach and store house a quantity of whisky, salt, flour, pork, &c., but to what amount is unknown. While part of them were thus engaged in disposing of the public property, the remainder went through the village, entering many of the houses, but we have not heard that they committed any outrages upon private property. Messrs. Joseph Sill, A. Stannard, E. Seely, and J. Caskey, were taken across the river. Major Adams, at the moment of retreat, dispatched an Express to Buffalo ; a part of his men came to Buffalo ; the remainder left the beach and made (for) the road leading from Buffalo to Black Rock, and took post near the road. When the Express arrived at Buffalo, Capt. Cummins of the regular army, with one hundred infantry and dragoons, marched for Black Rock ; perceiving however, that the enemy was advantageously posted at the upper battery, with a superior force, very prudently returned to Buffalo. Capt. Bull had now collected his company, which was considerably augmented by volunteers.

From the first moment of the alarm, Gen. Porter left Black Rock for Buffalo, and was actively employed in arranging the subsequent operations, and encouraging volunteers. The alarm came to the neighborhood of Maj. Miller's, (Cold Spring,) and Judge Granger's (Four Mile Creek,)

early, and in a short time thirty or forty volunteers came from the Plains. About twenty or thirty Indians, stationed at Judge Granger's, came down, and all the forces formed a junction within about one mile from the enemy. Gen. Porter, with about one hundred detached militia under Maj. Adams, took the left, the regulars and Buffalo volunteers (under Capt. Bull,) the centre, and Capt. Wm. Hull, with about thirty volunteers from the Plains, and thirty Indians under Farmer's Brother, formed the right. It was expected that the enemy had posted two field pieces at the barracks to rake the road, and it being therefore imprudent to advance the centre until the enemy were forced from their position, the right and left moved on the enemy's flanks, the left commenced the attack, which was quickly seconded by the right, the right being pretty well concealed, they suffered but little from the enemy's fire. After a contest of fifteen or twenty minutes, the enemy left his position at the barracks, and by the time the centre began to move, at the sound of the bugle he retreated precipitately, with the utmost disorder and confusion to the beach at the lower store house, and embarked in several of our boats, and pulled for the opposite shore. All the boats, except the last, it is believed, got off without injury ; but the hindmost boat was much exposed to our fire, and from the appearance of the boat, the crew must have been nearly all killed or wounded.

The British lost two killed on the field, five wounded, besides those killed and wounded in the boat. We took fifteen prisoners, which are to pass on to Batavia. Capt. Saunders of the (British) 49th, was mortally wounded while stepping into the boat ; he was taken to Gen. Porter's (house,) where he now lies. He states that Col. Bishop was badly wounded and carried into the boat, and says also that several killed and wounded were carried into the boats.

Our loss, three killed five wounded, and probably a few militia taken prisoners. The killed were Jonathan Thompson of Caledonia, Sergeant Hartman of Riga, and Joseph Wright of Black Rock. Nearly half of the drafted militia (as Maj. Adams informs us,) have gone home ; those who remained did their duty like soldiers. Young King and another Indian were wounded. The Indians behaved well. They committed no act of cruelty. They fought because they were friendly to the United States, and because their own possessions, which are very valuable, were in danger of invasion. They are opposed to crossing the river to fight, but are ready to meet the enemy at the threshold in defence of the country which protects them. Major King was at Black Rock over night, and assisted in the action. It is now more than a year since the declaration of war,

and this is the first attempt of the enemy to cross at Black Rock, and considering the repulse he has met with, it will certainly not redound to his credit, when his force was composed of veteran troops who had seen service ; and ours consisting of militia and new recruits, who had very few of them been in an engagement before. The next attack of the enemy will probably be made at a different point. Some pains ought to be taken to give him a suitable reception. During the whole day the roads leading to Buffalo were filled with volunteers from the different towns.

Since the above was in type, we have been informed that the enemy took a quantity of goods from Sill's store, and from buildings which were deserted some plunder was taken. Two hundred regulars have just arrived in boats from Erie, and are, as we understand, to be stationed at Black Rock.

NO. 8.

HEADQUARTERS, Fort George, Aug. 27th, 1813.

SIR :—In the last letter which I had the honor to address to you, I had to communicate the information that Com. Chauncey had left this part of the Lake. Yesterday an Express arrived from the Eighteen Mile Creek, stating that he was then off that place in pursuit of the British fleet, which was likewise to be seen. A body of volunteer militia and Indians under the command of Brigadier General Porter of the New York militia, having arrived at this place, and very impatient to engage the enemy, a plan was concerted this morning to cut off one of his pickets. About three hundred volunteers and Indians under the command of Major Chapin, was to effect this object, supported by two hundred regulars under the command of Maj. Cummings of the 16th Infantry. A heavy rain and other untoward circumstances defeated the primary object, but in a skirmish that ensued, in which the enemy was completely routed, our Indians captured twelve of the British Indians and four whites. Many of the enemy's dead were left on the field, among whom is supposed to be the famous chief Norton. Our loss was only two Indians and a few slightly wounded. Those who participated in this contest, particularly the Indians, conducted with great bravery and activity.

Gen. Porter volunteered in the affair, and Major Chapin evinced his accustomed zeal and courage. The regulars under Major Cummings, as

far as they were engaged, conducted well. The principal chiefs who led the warriors this day were Farmers Brother, Red Jacket, Little Billy, Pollard, Black Snake, (Hank) Johnson, Silver Heels, Capt. Halftown, Major Henry O'Bail (Cornplanter's son,) and Capt. Cold, Chief of Onondaga, who was wounded. In a council which was held with them yesterday, they covenanted not to scalp or murder, and I am happy to say that they treated the prisoners with humanity, and committed no wanton cruelties upon the dead. The Canadian volunteers, under Major Wilcox, were active and brave, as usual.

I have the honor to be

Your most obedient servant,

JNO. P. BOYD,

Brig. Gen. Commanding.

Hon. JOHN ARMSTRONG, Secretary of War.

HEADQUARTERS, FORT GEORGE, Aug. 18th, 1813.

Hon. JOHN ARMSTRONG:—

SIR:—Yesterday I had the honor to address you a letter detailing the conduct of the Indians in the late skirmish. Their bravery and humanity were alike conspicuous. Already the quietness in which our pickets are suffered to remain, evinces the benefit of their presence and assistance. Permit me to suggest the propriety of immediately depositing presents for them, in the hands of Mr. Granger, of whose exertions, and those of Mr. Parish, I must express my approbation.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your respectful, obedient servant,

JOHN P. BOYD,

Brigadier-General.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM GOV. TOMPKINS TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

ALBANY, Dec. 24th, 1813.

Upon my arrival in this place to-day, I was met by express, bringing dispatches, of which I send you a copy. The express further informs, that on his arrival at Batavia, he learned from Major Allen, (the contractor's agent at Niagara) and from Lieut. Loomis, who, with two or three others, made their escape, that Fort Niagara had been attacked by the British. The garrison was surprised. Capt. Leonard (First regiment infantry) had the command, but it is rumored that he was not in the fort at the time, but, with his family, some miles off. What became

of the rest of the garrison, those who escaped do not know. In consequence of this information, Maj. Gen. Hall has been ordered to repair to that frontier with as many of his division as may be necessary to expel or destroy the invaders. The British have with them a number of Indians, and continue to sanction their massacres.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM BRIG. GEN. TIMOTHY HOPKINS, OF THE NEW YORK MILITIA, TO GOV. TOMPKINS, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, &C.

HEADQUARTERS, BUFFALO, Dec. 20th, 1813.

SIR:—I would respectfully represent to your Excellency that on the morning of yesterday, the enemy crossed over a little below Lewiston, and every house from that place to within two and a half miles of Schlosser, and the Tuscarora village, is burnt. The last express states that the enemy were fortifying on the mountain below Schlosser.

The force of the enemy is differently represented. It is stated to be from four to eight hundred regulars and six hundred Indians. It is further stated that the enemy are still crossing. The force the enemy can bring is not precisely known. It is probably from fifteen hundred to two thousand, including regulars, militia and Indians. Our force is about two hundred regulars at Fort Niagara, and about one hundred and fifty near this place. I have ordered out my brigade to repel the invasion. I am in hopes of success, with the assistance of the militia of Genesee.

I am, respectfully, &c.,

TIMOTHY HOPKINS,
Brigadier-General.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER TO A GENTLEMAN IN ALBANY.

BATAVIA, Dec. 23d, 1813.

I hasten to give you a correct statement of the movements of the enemy on the Niagara frontier, received here by express and by people that have removed to this place in consequence of their houses having been destroyed by the enemy. The first express arrived here on Sunday evening. He left Lewiston in the morning, at which time the British were crossing at the five mile meadows. Their force was estimated at seven hundred regulars and the same number of Indians. They immediately marched to Lewiston, which was commanded by Major Bennett. The force under his command is stated to have been forty Tuscarora Indians. The Major, after having given the enemy a few shots, set fire to

the buildings that contained the public property, and retreated, leaving them in full possession of Lewiston. After having burned the village, and, as is supposed, murdered a great number of families who could not make their escape, they proceeded eight miles in the country, plundering and burning every house. It is said that many women and children were murdered by the Indians. After these outrages, they proceeded to attack Niagara Fort. The various reports relative to the circumstances of this attack, render it impossible to obtain any correct information of the manner in which it was made, but it appears that the Indians rushed into the fort before our troops had time to discharge a single gun. The commander, Capt. Leonard, it is said, was four miles distant when it was taken by the enemy.

After they had taken possession, and murdered several persons after they had surrendered, they sent out a party to Schlosser and burnt that place, together with Porter's mills, and probably, ere this, they have plundered and laid waste the whole country for fifteen or twenty miles round.

By the last accounts, they were at the mouth of Tonewanta Creek, twenty-nine miles from this place and ten from Buffalo. The militia of this place have all been ordered to repair to the frontier without delay. There is fifteen hundred or two thousand assembled in this village all ready to march, except the want of arms, which are coming in as fast as possible. I have no doubt there will be five thousand men on the march in twenty-four hours from this time.

TO THE INHABITANTS OF NIAGARA, GENESEE AND CHAUTAUQUA.

The present crisis is alarming. The enemy are preparing to invade your frontier and let their savages loose upon your families and property. It is now in your power to avoid that evil by repairing to Lewiston, Schlosser and Buffalo. Every man who is able to bear arms is not only invited, but required, to repair to the above rallying points for a few days, or until a detachment of militia arrives. The enemy are now laying waste their own country. Every man who does not take up arms, or who are disposed to remain neutral, are inhumanly butchered, their property plundered and their buildings destroyed.

Information has just been received that six or eight of their most respectable inhabitants between Queenston and Fort George have fallen victims to their barbarity. Every man in the province is required to take up arms, and he that refuses is inhumanly butchered. What, then,

fellow citizens, have you to expect from such an enemy, should they invade your frontier? Think of the consequences; be not lulled into a belief that because you live a few miles from the river that you are secure; no, fellow citizens, the place to meet them is on the beach; there you will have it in your power to chastise them; but should they be suffered to penetrate into the interior with their savages, the scene will be horrid! If, then, you love your country and are determined to defend its rights; if you love your families and are determined to protect them; if you value your property and are determined to preserve it, you will fly to arms and hasten to meet the enemy, should they dare to set foot on our shores.

Since the above was prepared, I have received intelligence from a credible inhabitant from Canada (who has just escaped from thence), that the enemy are concentrating all their forces and boats at Fort George, and have fixed upon to-morrow night for attacking Fort Niagara—and should they succeed, they will lay waste our whole frontier. In that case our supply of arms, which are deposited at Niagara, will be cut off. Therefore, all who have arms, accoutrements or ammunition, will do well to bring them; and all who have horses, will come mounted.

GEORGE McCLURE,

Brig. Gen. Commanding Niagara Frontier.

HEADQUARTERS, BUFFALO, 18th December, 1813.

GENERAL M'CLURE'S EXPLANATION.

TO THE PUBLIC:—The late descent of the enemy on our frontier, and the horrid outrages committed on our defenseless inhabitants by the British allies (Indians), being laid to my misfortune as commanding officer of the American forces on the frontier; and although my conduct has been approved by the Secretary of War, the commander-in-chief of this State, and by Gen. Harrison before his departure, still I deem it a duty which I owe to my own reputation, in order to put a stop to the evil reports which are propagated against me, without knowing my orders, or the means which I had in my power to execute them, to give a brief statement of my most prominent acts since I had the honor of so important a command. On my arrival at Fort George, and previous to the departure of General Wilkinson, with his army, from that post, I suggested to the General the necessity of marching out against the enemy at Cross Roads and Four Mile Creek; that his army, with my militia, were sufficient to take or destroy all the British forces in the neighbor-

hood, which would leave nothing more for the militia to do, than to protect and keep in order the inhabitants of that part of the Province, as otherwise our frontier would be liable to be invaded. This proposition, however, was not agreed to, as the General's instructions were of a different nature.

The General left with me Col. Scott and 800 regulars, who were to remain until I considered my force sufficient to hold the fort without them, when they were to march to Sacket's Harbor.

About the 12th of October, the British army commenced their retreat towards the head of the lake. I issued orders for my militia to pursue, which was promptly obeyed. We advanced as far as the Twelve Mile Creek, and within a short distance of the enemy's rear guard, when Col. Scott sent an express, requesting me to return, and said he would abandon the fort the next day and march with his troops for Sacket's Harbor; and at the same time detained my provisions and ammunition wagons, which compelled me to abandon the further pursuit of the enemy, and induced them to make a stand on the Heights of Burlington. I was then left with about one thousand effective militia in Fort George, and two hundred and fifty Indians, a force not more than sufficient to garrison the post. On the arrival of Gen. Harrison's army, I was elated with the prospect of uniting our forces, of driving the enemy from Burlington, taking possession of that post, and giving peace to the upper province and our frontier.

We were prepared to march in twenty-four hours, when the arrival of Commodore Chauncey, with orders for that excellent officer, Gen. Harrison, to repair immediately, with his army, to Sacket's Harbor, frustrated it. I remonstrated against his going off, as will be seen in a correspondence between the General and myself; but in vain.

By this movement all my expectations were blasted, and I foresaw the consequences, unless a reinforcement was immediately sent on to supply the place of the drafted militia, whose term of service would shortly expire. I considered my force, which had become ungovernable, as then insufficient to go against the enemy. The object of the last expedition to the Twenty Mile Creek is fully explained in the general order which I issued on my return.

For six weeks before the militia were discharged, I wrote, and continued writing, to the Secretary at War the necessity of sending on a detachment of militia and regular troops; that I found it impossible to retain the militia in service one day beyond their term; I also stated, from the best information, the enemy's forces. I offered a bounty of two

dollars per month, for one or two months, but without effect. Some few of Col. Bloom's regiment took the bounty and immediately disappeared, and I was compelled to grant a discharge to the militia and volunteers, which left me about sixty effective regulars of the Twenty-fourth United States Infantry, under Capt. Rodgers, to garrison Fort George. I summoned a council of the officers and put the question, "Is the fort tenable with the present number of men?" They unanimously gave it as their opinion that it would be madness in the extreme to attempt to hold it, and recommended its evacuation immediately, as the enemy's advance was then within eight miles. I accordingly gave orders for all the arms, ammunition and public stores of every description to be sent across the river, which was principally effected, [though the enemy advanced so rapidly that ten of my men were made prisoners,] and ordered the town of Newark to be burnt. This act, however distressing to the inhabitants and my feelings, was by order of the Secretary at War, and, I believe at the same time, proper. The inhabitants had twelve hours notice to remove their effects, and such as chose to come across the river, were provided with all the necessaries of life. I left Capt. Leonard in command of Fort Niagara, with about one hundred and fifty effective regulars, and pointed out verbally and particularly in a general order how he should prepare for an attack, which would certainly take place. I stationed Col. Grieve's artillerists, consisting of about twenty men, with two pieces of artillery, at Lewiston, under command of Major Bennett, and made them a present of four hundred dollars for volunteering their services three weeks; but before the place was attacked they nearly all deserted, except the officers, who bravely defended themselves and cut their way through the savages. The Canadian volunteers, about forty in number, under Major Mallory, an officer of great merit, I stationed at Schlosser, and went myself to Buffalo to provide for the safety of that place and Black Rock, which I trust are out of danger, having called out the militia en masse.

The public are now in possession of some of the leading facts which have governed my conduct in the discharge of the trust assigned me, and I appeal to the candor of all dispassionate men to determine with what justice to my feelings as a citizen and pride as a soldier, have been wounded and my character aspersed. If insubordination to the orders of superiors are justifiable, then, possibly, I may have failed in my defense. If to have suppressed the risings of mutiny is reprehensible, then also am I not justified. If to have enforced the disciplinary laws of camp is a proceeding unwarranted, then have I been in error. But, fellow

citizens, I do not think so meanly of you as to credit the monstrous supposition that you deliberately advocate such a strange hypothesis. Your prejudices against me have been the result of feeling, misled by the acts of my enemies, and not the result of your own sober judgment operating upon facts and principles. Those facts are now before you. By them judge me in candor, and I will abide the decision.

GEORGE McCLURE.

GENERAL ORDERS.

HEADQUARTERS, FORT NIAGARA, Dec. 12th.

Capt. Leonard will, as soon as possible, have a proportion of hand-grenades in the different block houses; and give directions to the officers of the infantry where they should be posted, with their men, in case of an attack. And should they not be able to maintain the out work, to repair to the block and mess houses, and have everything arranged in such a manner as though he expected an immediate attack. Much is expected of Capt. Leonard, from his long experience and knowledge of duty; and the General feels confident that he will be well supported by Capt. Loomis, of the Artillery, as well as the officers of the Infantry.

By order of,

Brigadier General McCLURE.

DONALD FRASER,

Lieut. 15th U. S. Infantry, and Vol. Aid de Camp.

From the *Manlius Times*, Jan. 4th, 1814.

BUFFALO BURNED.

This distressing occurrence, which has been anticipated ever since Niagara was taken by the enemy, took place last Thursday forenoon. We have seen no official account of this affair, but have conversed with the express, Mr. Landon, who passed through this village on Saturday morning last; and since, with several gentlemen who have left Williams-ville since that time, from whom we have obtained the following particulars: On Thursday morning, about one o'clock, it was discovered that a detachment of the enemy had landed just below the Navy Yard, about a mile from Black Rock. A skirmish immediately commenced with our Indians and a body of militia, who were stationed there as a corps of observation, which lasted several hours. Towards daylight, a body of

regulars, from eight hundred to one thousand, with cannon, &c., landed at the mouth of Buffalo Creek, directly above the village, when, by a signal made, the party below commenced a violent attack on the advance. Our men—finding themselves attacked on both flanks—immediately retreated, or rather fled, through the woods on to the road near Major Miller's. Here General Hall rallied them and conducted them towards Buffalo, where they met the enemy, and considerably hard fighting took place. But what availed courage or numbers. Our troops were not organized—had no cannon. Their muskets could not be depended on, and but few had but four rounds of ammunition when they took the field. They were soon put to flight. It is said that Gen. Hall continued upon the field until he was almost entirely deserted, when he was obliged to retire. The village was then burnt, with the exception of a few houses, which are probably destroyed before this time. The village at Black Rock is also destroyed. The enemy are said to be in the vicinity of Black Rock. The inhabitants are scattered in every direction—most of them have come off to Williamsville, eleven miles this side of Buffalo, where our force is assembled. No particulars of our loss in this affair have been received; but it is believed to be considerable. Amongst the slain is Col. Boughton, of Ontario Dragoons.

A gentleman in high standing in the Quartermaster's Department, informs that the loss the United States must have sustained in the capture of Niagara, cannot be less than two million five hundred thousand dollars. There were in the fort when taken, ten thousand stand of arms and two hundred and seventy tierces of clothing.

A general order of Gen. Provost, dated December 12th, directs that all the American officers and non-commissioned officers, prisoners of war in Canada, be put in close confinement, on the principle of retaliation.

From the Ontario Repository.

It is said the whole frontier, from Niagara as far up as Schlosser, and several miles wide from the river, is laid waste, and the inhabitants either killed, taken or fled into the interior. The number of the enemy that has effected so much in so short a time, or the name of their commander, is not known. From the varied opinions expressed, there were perhaps twelve hundred, including Indians. A friend has obtained and handed us the following account of the invasion of the Niagara fron-

tier by the British and Indians, the capture of our fort, and the atrocities committed on our territory. It appears to us the most probable of any that we have heard. It comes from a soldier who deserted from the British at Lewiston on Sunday evening, after the event which he relates, took place. Gen. Drummond, with between ten to eleven hundred regular troops, two hundred Canadian militia, and two hundred and fifty Indians, landed soon after midnight at the Five Mile Meadow, from seven boats which they had brought by sleighs from Burlington Heights. The regular troops consisted of a part of the 100th regiment, part of a regiment of Scotch Royals, and a few of the 49th. After they had landed, orders were given and preparations made for attacking Fort Niagara, with the first appearance of daylight, and, in the meantime, Col. Murray, with five or six hundred regulars, was sent toward the fort to reconnoitre. Instead of reconnoitering with intelligence, as was expected, by daylight in the morning he informed Col. Drummond that he had taken the fort; that two of the Scotch Royals had surprised our outermost sentinel and compelled him to communicate the countersign, with which he had been able to enter the gates of the fort without opposition; that after he had entered the gate he had little difficulty in possessing himself of the place; that not much American blood was spilt, and that the assailants had not a man killed. The Colonel himself was wounded in the right arm. The deserter further says, that a stone house, and two others, were saved at Lewiston; that the British army had in their possession a considerable number of men, women and children, as prisoners, who they have placed in a building near the fort, around which they had planted a guard of regular troops. He says that some of our people were murdered by the Indians, but he thinks not near so many as we supposed.

In speaking of the above distressing event, the Editor of the Geneva Gazette remarks: Fort Niagara was the grand depot of military stores for the northern and western frontiers. A great quantity of arms, ammunition and clothing, besides the cannon and other munitions of war, have fallen into the hands of the enemy. Various estimates have been made of the amount of public property in the fort. Some have estimated it at five hundred thousand dollars; others a million. At the time these events happened, Gen. McClure was at Buffalo, and the last we heard of him was at Batavia. We forbear to remark upon the military career of this commander. The times are too gloomy for subjects of a trifling nature. One circumstance we cannot omit to mention—which is, that as often as the movements of the enemy indicated an intention to distress our frontier or attack our army, our Generals are found absent from

the sticking place," or surrendering—especially those of the proclamation class; witness, Hull, Smyth, &c., &c. From the spirited manner in which the militia turned out on the first news of these disasters, we are in hopes that the village of Buffalo is safe, and that the enemy will be checked in committing depredations in the country.

NEW YORK, Tuesday, Jan. 11th, 1814.

From the Niagara Frontier the accounts continue to be distressing in the extreme. Want of room compels us to give only the heads of the principal events.

A party of the enemy, on the 30th December, crossed the Niagara, near Black Rock. They were met by the militia, under Gen. Hall, who, being overpowered by numbers, was forced to give way. The enemy burnt the villages of Black Rock and Buffalo. Col. Charles and Major Chapin were taken prisoners, and Mrs. Lovejoy, whose husband was serving in the militia, was murdered by the British Indians.

After the destruction of Lewiston by the British, the bodies of William Gardiner, John E. Low, E. St. John, (whose family can not be found,) Doctor Alvard and others, were found scalped and horribly mangled; many others, it was supposed, had been thrown into the flames. It is said that the enemy are marching towards Canandaigua, for the safety of which place great fears are entertained.

COPY OF AN ARTICLE IN A NEW YORK PAPER, JAN. 13TH, 1814.

SURPRISES.—After the surprise and capture of Winchester's army—the surprise and capture of Ogdensburgh last winter, with its valuable stores—the surprise and capture of Gens. Winder and Chandler—and numerous other surprises, so disgraceful to our arms—we had fondly hoped that common prudence and vigilance had been beat into our military officers, and that we should no more witness such disgraceful scenes. But, to our surprise and mortification, we have to confirm the melancholly fact that the Fort of Niagara, which was entrusted to a garrison of only three or four hundred men, has been surprised in the very moment of an expected attack, and taken possession of by the enemy, with all its valuable stores, among which, we regret to say, were several thousand stand of arms belonging to this state. Whether the evident misconduct of making this exposed post a depot for military stores, clothing, &c., is to be attributed to Gov. Tompkins or the Secretary of War, we will not pretend to know, but if our military affairs are not

conducted better in the future than they have hitherto been, we shall not be surprised to learn, before the ensuing spring, that every frontier post has fallen before the superior activity and vigilance of the enemy.

LETTER OF NATHANIEL SILL TO GEN. PORTER, AT ALBANY.

LIMA, 3d January, 1814.

DEAR SIR:—Last Thursday morning the British made an attack at Black Rock. Their plan of operation was so well concerted that they could not fail of succeeding. From the best information I could get, it would seem that our officers were apprised of the design, and, in consequence, took measures to repel the attack.

The enemy first landed a detachment below the Navy Yard, which caused an alarm and drew the attention of our whole force to that quarter, at which time their main force was discovered to be approaching our shore near the ware-house. Our whole force was then ordered to oppose this landing. It is said they fought well, but by the time they found themselves well engaged, the detachment of the enemy which first landed, fell upon our rear with such impetuosity as broke the line, threw the whole force (about five hundred,) into confusion, and those who escaped, escaped by flight.

The enemy then marched to Buffalo—a detachment taking the road to Granger's mills. Chapin, with a few volunteers, fought with a field piece till his men mostly deserted their post, when he surrendered. Our army retreated to Eleven Mile Creek, and left the enemy in full possession of the whole country beyond that. We have as yet been able to obtain but a very imperfect account of the affair. We suppose our loss must have been severe. What the fate of the women and children must have been who remained at Buffalo, is not yet known. We must have lost all our goods. They were deposited at Mr. Atkin's. Joseph (Sill) was with them. I have this morning heard from him, that he was trying to save such articles as he could, but I think he could save but few. The inhabitants were flying from Batavia. We know that the whole country, as far as this place, is in imminent danger. It is full of men who would defend it, but they are destitute of arms and ammunition. One thousand horsemen would burn Canandaigua, and return with little loss. The event rests only in the counsels of the all-wise governor of worlds.

In haste, your servant,

NATHANIEL SILL.

P. S.—The volunteers who turned out on this occasion from this quarter, have been returning since the action, and we are told that Gen. Hall is left with a very small force. I shall be at Albany, if I am prospered, in a few days.

EXTRACT OF AN ARTICLE IN A NEWSPAPER.

Dated BATAVIA, Jan. 8th, 1813.

To the want of discipline, of subordination and proper concert, is to be attributed the fate of Buffalo and Black Rock. Our forces were not only sufficient to have repelled, but to have captured the invaders. Our frontier, from Buffalo to Niagara, now presents one continued scene of ruin. The buildings that now remain in Buffalo are the jail (built of stone) and a small wooden dwelling belonging to the widow St. John, who had the address to appease the ferocity of the enemy so far as to remain in her house uninjured.

Since our last publication, the enemy have evacuated Black Rock. Their last detachment crossed the river on Tuesday, since which time the alarm so generally spread through this section, has in a great measure abated, and a degree of calmness succeeded that of bustle and confusion. Previous to evacuating Black Rock, the British fired every building in that place but three. Two of these—a stone dwelling-house, belonging to Peter B. Porter, and a store-house on the bank of the river, —were blown up by a quantity of powder placed in them for that purpose. A log house, in which some women and children had taken refuge, was suffered to remain. This is an act of humanity in the enemy not to be expected after the barbarous assassination of about twenty of our wounded who had been carried into a barn near that place. We have not been able to procure a list of the names of our men who have been made prisoners. Of the killed, thirty-three have been found, but being stripped of their clothing, few of them have been recognized. This number, together with the wounded said to be inhumanly butchered in a barn at the Rock, swells the list of killed to upwards of fifty.

The schooners *Ariel*, *Little Belt*, *Chippewa*, and sloop *Trippe*, lying near Buffalo Creek, fell into the enemy's hands, and are probably destroyed.

AN APPEAL TO BENEVOLENCE.

CANANDAIGUA, 8th Jan., 1814.

GENTLEMEN:—Niagara county, and the greater part of Genesee

which lies west of Batavia, are completely depopulated. All the settlements in a section of country forty miles square, and which contained more than twelve thousand souls, are effectually broken up. These facts you are undoubtedly acquainted with, but the distresses they have produced, none but an eye witness can thoroughly appreciate. Our roads are filled with people, many of whom have been reduced from a state of competence and good prospects to the last degree of want and sorrow. So sudden was the blow by which they have been crushed, that no provision could be made to elude or to meet it. The fugitives from Niagara county especially, were dispersed under circumstances of so much terror that, in some cases, mothers find themselves wandering with strange children, and children are seen accompanied by such as have no other sympathies with them than those of common suffering. Of the families thus separated, all the members can never meet again in this life; for the same violence which has made them beggars, has forever deprived some of their heads and others of their branches. Afflictions of the mind, so deep as have been allotted to these unhappy people, we cannot cure; they can probably be subdued only by His power who can wipe away all tears. But shall we not endeavor to assuage them? To their bodily want we can certainly administer. The inhabitants of this village have made large contributions for their relief in provisions, clothing and money; and we have been appointed, among other things, to solicit further relief for them from our wealthy and liberal minded fellow-citizens. In pursuance of this appointment, may we ask of you gentlemen to interest yourselves particularly in their behalf? We believe that no occasion has occurred in our country which presented stronger claims upon individual benevolence, and we humbly trust that whoever is willing to answer these claims will always entitle himself to the precious rewards of active charity.

We are, gentlemen, with great respect,

Your very obedient servants,

Z. SEYMOUR,

WILLIAM SHEPARD,

MYRON HOLLEY.

THADDEUS CHAPIN,

THOMAS BEALS,

MOSES ATWATER,

PHINEAS P. BATES.

NATHANIEL GORHAM,

Committee of Safety and Relief at Canandaigua.

To the Hon. DEWITT CLINTON, Col. ROBERT TROUP, Gen. MATHEW CLARKSON, JOHN B. COLES, Esq., THOMAS MORRIS, Esq., MOSES ROGERS, Esq., ROBERT BOWNE, and THOMAS EDDY, New York.

NEW YORK, Jan. 22d, 1814.

The Committee to whom this communication was addressed, are persuaded that a publication of this affecting appeal to the benevolence of the community, is alone sufficient to insure the most liberal contributions; and they therefore inform their fellow-citizens that they will receive subscriptions at the places annexed to their names, for the relief of our distressed brethren on the western frontiers, and that subscription papers for the same purpose will be left at the Tontine Coffee House and City Tavern.

DEWITT CLINTON, City Hall.

MATHEW CLARKSON, 26 Pearl street.

MOSES ROGERS, 7 State street.

ROBERT BOWNE, 256 Pearl street.

THOMAS MORRIS, 84 Chambers street.

THOMAS EDDY, 220 William street.

N. B.—Col. Troup and Mr. Coles are absent from the city.

EXTRACT OF A PROCLAMATION OF HIS EXCELLENCY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL
GEORGE PREVOST, COMMANDER OF HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES IN NORTH
AMERICA.

Dated at QUEBEC, 12th January, 1814.

The complete success which has attended his majesty's arms on the Niagara frontier having placed in our possession the whole of the enemy's posts on that line, it becomes a matter of imperious duty to retaliate on America the miseries which the unfortunate inhabitants of New-ark had been made to suffer upon the evacuation of Fort George. The villages of Lewiston, Black Rock and Buffalo, have accordingly been burned.

At the same time that his excellency, the commander of the forces, sincerely deprecates this mode of warfare, he trusts that it will be sufficient to call the attention of every candid and impartial person, both among ourselves and the enemy, to the circumstances from which it has arisen, to satisfy them that this departure from the established usages of war has originated with America herself, and that to her alone are justly chargeable all the awful and unhappy consequences which have hitherto followed and are likely to result from it. * * * It will hardly be credited by those who shall hereafter read it in the page of history,

that in the enlightened era of the nineteenth century, and in the inclemency of a Canadian winter, the troops of a nation calling itself Christian had wantonly, and without the shadow of a pretext, forced four hundred helpless women and children to quit their dwellings and to be the mournful spectators of the conflagration and total destruction of all that belonged to them; yet such was the fate of Newark, on the 10th of December, a day which the inhabitants of Upper Canada can never forget, and the recollection of which cannot but nerve their arms when opposed to their vindictive foe.

On the night of that day, the American troops, under Brig. Gen. McClure, being about to evacuate Fort George, which they could no longer retain, by an act of inhumanity disgraceful to themselves and to the nation to which they belong, set fire to upwards of one hundred and fifty houses, composing the village of Newark, and burned them to the ground—leaving without covering or shelter those “innocent, unfortunate and distressed inhabitants,” whom that officer, by his proclamation, engaged to protect. His excellency would have ill consulted the honor of his country and the justice due to his majesty’s injured and insulted subjects, had he permitted an act of such needless cruelty to pass unpunished, or had he failed to visit—whenever the opportunity offered—upon the inhabitants of the neighboring American frontier the calamities inflicted upon those of our own. The opportunity has occurred, and a full measure of retaliation has taken place—such as (it is hoped) will teach the enemy to respect, in future, the laws of war, and recall him to a sense of what is due to himself as well as us.

In the future prosecution of the contest to which so extraordinary a character has been given, his excellency must be guided by the course of conduct which the enemy shall hereafter pursue.

Lamenting, as his excellency does, the necessity imposed upon him of retaliating upon the inhabitants of America the miseries inflicted upon Newark, it is not his intention to pursue further a system of warfare so revolting to his own feelings and so little congenial to the British character, unless the future measures of the enemy should compel him again to resort to it.

To those possessions of the enemy, along the whole line of the frontier, which have hitherto remained undisturbed, and which are now within his excellency’s reach and the mercy of the troops under his command, his excellency has determined to extend the same forbearance and

the same freedom from rapine and plunder which they have hitherto experienced; and from this determination the future conduct of the American government shall alone induce his excellency to depart. * * *

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE, }
HEADQUARTERS, }
QUEBEC, 8th January, 1814. }

GENERAL ORDERS.

His excellency, the commander of the forces, has the satisfaction of announcing to the troops that he has received a dispatch from Lieut. Gen. Drummond, reporting the complete success of an attack that was made at daybreak on the morning of the 30th December, on the enemy's position at Black Rock, where he was advantageously posted with upwards of two thousand men, and after a short but severe contest, the enemy was repulsed in the most gallant manner, and pursued in his retreat to Buffalo, where he attempted to make a stand; but, upon receiving a few rounds from the British field-pieces, he abandoned that post also and fled with precipitation to the Eleven Mile Creek, on Lake Erie, leaving seven field-pieces and four schooners and sloops, with a considerable quantity of ordnance and other valuable stores, which have fallen into our hands.

The enemy suffered severely, but from the rapidity of his flight, seventy prisoners only were taken, among whom is Doctor or Lieut. Col. Chapin.

The corps under Maj. Gen. Riall consisted of detachments of the Royal Scots Eighth (or King's) Forty-first, and the flank companies of the Eighty-ninth and One Hundredth regiments—the whole not exceeding one thousand men.

The Lieutenant General bestows the highest praise upon the undaunted courage and patient submission of the troops, in contempt of the inclemency of the weather and hardships to which they were exposed.

No British officer has fallen on this occasion. Lieut. Col. Ogelvie, Eighth, (or King's) and Capt. Fawcett, One Hundredth Grenadiers, were wounded; and it is supposed our loss does not exceed twenty-five killed and fifty wounded.

Black Rock and Buffalo were burnt, previous to their evacuation by our troops, together with all the public buildings and the four vessels.

A considerable quantity of stores were sent away previous to the conflagration.

EDWARD PAYNES,
Adjutant-General N. G.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

HEADQUARTERS, NIAGARA FRONTIER, Jan. 6th, 1814.

SIR—The confusion into which everything was thrown by the events of the 30th December, and the imperious necessity of taking precautionary measures against the advances of the enemy, put it out of my power to furnish at an earlier period a detailed account of the operations on this frontier during my hitherto unfortunate and embarrassing command; add to this the extreme difficulty of collecting authentic facts relative to our loss, since the forces under my command were of that multiform description, which they necessarily were, being composed almost wholly of volunteers, militia and exempts, hastily and confusedly assembled in the moment of alarm, and dissipated by the events of a battle.

The storming of Niagara and the burning of Lewiston, presaging further devastation, threw this whole country into the most violent agitation. On the moment, and without any previous preparation, I hastened to Batavia with a view to take such measures as might be within my power to repel the enemy and protect the frontier. I hastily collected from the militia and volunteers of Genesee county, and the brigade of Gen. Wadsworth, of Ontario county, a considerable force; but generally deficient in arms and ammunition, and the necessary conveniences of a camp.

In the evening of the 22d December, Gen. McClure, with the regulars under command of Major Riddle, arrived in Batavia, and on the morning of the 23d signified by a letter his desire that I would take the command during this moment of general alarm. I accordingly proceeded to organize, in the best manner in my power, the forces then in Batavia; and with the arms collected from different sections of the country, and what little could be procured from the arsenals at Canandaigua and Batavia, I was enabled to get under march on the 25th, for Lewiston, a body of infantry about 150 strong, under Lieut. Col. Lawrence, supported by one company of cavalry, under Capt. Marvin, with orders to proceed and join a corps of militia, said to be two hundred strong, under the command of Lieut. Col. Atchinson, which was stationed at Forsyth's, on the ridge road, fifteen miles east of Lewiston, to collect and save all the am-

munition in his power, which had been removed from the arsenal at Lewiston, and was then dispersed on the road and different parts of the country, and with instructions to act as circumstances and the nature of his force would permit, against the enemy; and, if practicable, to effect a junction with the main force at Buffalo, by the way of Manchester and Schlosser, and thence up the river to Black Rock; leaving, as a reserve, the corps under Col. Atchison at their station near Lewiston. I then ordered the remainder of the troops to Buffalo, with the exception of the regular forces, over whom I assumed no command.

On the morning of the 25th, I proceeded to Buffalo, leaving General McClure at Batavia, with instructions to organize such detachments of volunteers as might arrive, and direct their march for Buffalo. I arrived in Buffalo on the morning of the 26th, and there found a considerable body of irregular troops of various descriptions—disorganized and confused—and everything wore the appearance of consternation and dismay. On the same day, I issued an order to the several commandants of corps, for a return of the number of effective men under their command; and an order to Capt. Camp, A. D. Q. M. General, for a return of the ordnance stores, in the Quartermaster's Department; a copy of which return I have heretofore had the honor to forward to your Excellency, and which sufficiently exhibits the destitute condition of the department. On the 27th, I ordered a review of all the troops under my command at Buffalo and Black Rock, when I found my numerical force to be as follows: At Buffalo, under Lieutenant Colonel Seymour Boughton, of the cavalry and mounted volunteers, one hundred and twenty-nine; Lieut. Col. Blakeslie, of the Ontario exempts and volunteers, four hundred and thirty-three; Lieut. Col. Cyrenius Chapin, of the Buffalo militia, one hundred and thirty-six; Lieut. Col. Mallory, of the Canadian volunteers, ninety-seven; Major Adams, of the Genesee militia, three hundred and eighty-two. At Black Rock were stationed, under command of Brig. Gen. Hopkins, three hundred and eighty-two effective men, composed of the corps commanded by Lieut. Col. Warren and Lieut. Col. Churchill, exclusive of a body of thirty-seven mounted infantry, under command of Capt. Ransom; eighty-three Indians, under command of Lieut. Col. Granger, and one piece of field artillery—a six pounder—and twenty-five men, under command of Lieut. Seely; making my aggregate nominal force on the 27th to be one thousand seven hundred and eleven men; add to this a regiment of Chautauqua militia, under command of Lieut. Col. McMahan, which arrived at Buffalo on the 29th, about three hundred men, which swells my force to two thousand and

eleven, which was reduced on the morning of the alarm, by desertions, to less than twelve hundred; and so deficient were my supplies of ammunition, that a greater part of the cartridges for Col. McMahan's regiment were made and distributed after they were paraded on the morning of the battle. The movements of the enemy already indicated their intention of attacking the village of Buffalo or Black Rock, which left me not a moment's repose from the arduous duty of preparing the most effective means in my power for meeting the enemy with the crude force under my command.

On the 27th I was so fortunate as to procure such information as to the enemy's movements—from a citizen who made his escape from Canada—as to leave me no doubt as to their intentions.

In the evening of the 29th, at twelve o'clock, I received information that our horse patrols had been fired on a short distance below Conjokaties Creek, and one mile below Black Rock. Lieut. Boughton, an enterprising and brave officer, had his horse shot under him. The enemy advanced and took possession of the Sailor's Battery, near Conjokaties Creek. The troops were immediately paraded and stood by their arms. I was yet uncertain at what point the enemy would attack me; for the darkness of the night was not favorable for making observations. I was apprehensive the enemy designed to make a feigned attack below Black Rock, for the purpose of drawing off my force from the village of Buffalo, preparatory to a landing above the village, intending thereby to take me by surprise. At the same time being anxious to anticipate the enemy's landing, and meet him at the water's edge, I gave orders to the troops at Black Rock, commanded by Cols. Warren and Churchill, (Gen. Hopkins being absent from camp,) to attack the enemy and endeavor to dislodge them from the battery and drive them to their boats. The attempt failed through the confusion into which the militia were thrown, on the first fire of the enemy and the darkness of the night. They were dispersed, and not again embodied under the proper officers through the day. I then ordered the corps under Major Adams, and the corps under Col. Chapin, to make the attack. This was attended with no better success. The men were thrown into confusion by the enemy's fire, and after skirmishing a short time fled, and were not again embodied through the day. I then ordered the corps under the command of Col. Blakeslie to advance to the attack, and at the same time I put the remainder of my troops in motion for the same point, and proceeded by the hill road to Black Rock. On approaching the village at Black Rock, I discovered a

detachment of the enemy's boats crossing to our shore, and bending their course toward's Gen. Porter's house.

The day was now beginning to dawn. I immediately countermanded the order given to Col. Blakeslie, to attack the enemy's left, and directed them to form and attack the enemy's centre, at the water's edge.

I now became satisfied as to the disposition and object of the enemy, which I ascertained to be as follows: Their left wing was composed of about eight hundred regular troops and incorporated militia, and one hundred and fifty or two hundred Indians were disposed below Conjokaties Creek, and had been landed under cover of the night. With this force the enemy designed to cover their left, out-flank our right, and cut off our retreat by the woods.

With their centre, consisting of four hundred Royal Scots, commanded by Col. Gordon, the battle was commenced. The right—which was purposely weak—was landed near the main battery merely to divert our forces; the whole under the immediate command of Lient. Col. Drummond, led on by Maj. Gen. Riall. They were attacked by four field pieces in battery at the water's edge; at the same time the battery from the other side of the river opened a heavy fire upon us of shells, hot shot and ball. The whole force now opposed to the enemy was at most not over six hundred men, the remainder having fled, notwithstanding the exertions of the officers. Those few brave men disputed every inch of ground, with the steady coolness of veterans, at the expense of many valuable lives. The defection of the militia, by reason of the ground on which they must act, left the forces engaged exposed to the enemy's fire in front and flank; and after standing their ground for half an hour, opposed by an overwhelming force, and nearly surrounded, a retreat became necessary to their safety, and was accordingly ordered. I then made every effort to rally the troops, with a view to attack their columns as they entered the village of Buffalo, but all in vain. Deserted by my principal force, I fell back that night to Eleven Mile Creek, and was forced to leave the flourishing villages of Black Rock and Buffalo a prey to the enemy, which they have pillaged and laid in ashes.

At the Eleven Mile Creek I collected between two and three hundred men who remained faithful to their country. With these I preserved the best show of defense in my power, to cover the fleeing inhabitants and the advances of the enemy. The enemy have gained but little plunder from the public stores. The loss has fallen upon individual sufferers. Eight pieces of artillery fell into the hands of the enemy, of which but one was mounted on a traveling carriage. What little remained of the

public stores, capable of being removed, is preserved, through the exertions of Capt. Camp, of the Quartermaster's Department, whose bravery is only equalled by his active zeal for the public service.

It is not in my power to give a particular account of our loss in killed and wounded, as the wounded generally got off by the aid of their friends and taken to their homes, and our dead were mostly buried by the enemy; but from the best information I can collect, our loss is about thirty killed and, perhaps, forty wounded. In prisoners, our loss is ascertained to be sixty-nine—twelve of whom are wounded.

The enemy's loss must be much greater, as many were killed in their boats before landing. Their loss may reasonably be presumed, in killed and wounded, at not less than two hundred.

Lieut. Col. Boughton, of the Light Dragoons, is among our slain. He was a good officer and a valuable citizen. I regret it is not in my power to do justice to all those who were engaged on this day. The veteran Blakeslie and his corps were pre-eminently distinguished. There were of the broken remains of other corps many officers and soldiers whose bravery and good conduct deserve my warmest praise; but having fought irregularly in detachments, I cannot designate to them the justice they deserve. The good conduct of Lieut. Seely and Lieut. Farnum, who had charge of the artillery, was particularly noticed. The cavalry, under Col. Boughton, and the mounted volunteers, under Major Warren, receive my thanks for the prompt obedience of orders, and the valuable services rendered in the fatiguing duty of patrolling. And it is a matter of regret that the nature of the ground deprived me of that support which I might confidently expect from their bravery. To Lieut. Fraser, of the United States Infantry, I tender my thanks for the volunteer service which he rendered me as one of my staff. To my two aids-de-camp, Majors Holmes and Norton, I cannot withhold my warmest thanks for their cool, deliberate bravery, and the alacrity with which they executed my orders from the first movement of the troops in the morning to the close of the day.

I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant,

A. HALL, Major General.

LIST OF AMERICAN PRISONERS TAKEN AT BLACK ROCK.

Allen H. Millard, aid to Gen. Hopkins, Lieut. Col. Gardiner, wounded in the thigh, Ensign C. Stewart, Rueben Peirce, Eli Shattuck, Jona-

than Putnam, S. Towler, John Amsden, Jonathan Alger, Bloomfield; Capt. J. Rowley, Lieut. John Lusk, Hezekiah Parmelee, Ira Smith, Samuel Perkins, Samuel Gillis, Henry Pardy, Orris Turner, Luther Hawley, Victor; Lazarus Church, William Miller, (wounded in the cheek), — Whiting, Abram Whitney, John Conant, Samuel Clark, Seth Chappel, Amos Jameson, Anson Murray, Dennis Frost, (wounded in the shoulder), Avon; Dr. Jonathan Cammel, Asa Woodford, Asahel Martin, Jonathan Richardson, Socrates Swift, (wounded in the belly), Benjamin Barrett, (wounded in the body), Livonia; Capt. R. McKay, Levi Broughton, Wm. Martin, Samuel Burgis, Stephen Peabody, (wounded in the head), Thos. Grant, (wounded in the thigh and body), Chester Noramore, Caledonia; Levi Farnham, Willis Buell, Wm. G. Hathaway, Leroy; Wm. Hutchinson, Holden Allen, Black Rock; Friend Johnson, Oliver Stetson, Chautauqua; Ensign Wm. Martin, Ellicott; Heman Willcox, Bethel; Wm. Kickox, Jacob C. Loomis, Canandaigua; Daniel C. Gould, Daniel S. Cole, Pomfret; James Lyon, Joel Allen, Sylvester Blodgett, Apollos Fordham, Levi Wright, David Palmer, Anson Bristol, Lemuel Chipman, Jr., Jacob Jackson, (wounded in both thighs), Sheldon; Lodowick Champion, Mathew Peck, Benjamin Russell, Henry Dorsey, Daniel Vail, Bethany; John Harris, Clarence; Jesse Warner, (wounded in the thigh), Amos Thompson, Wanton Brownell, (wounded in the arm), Phelps; Jabez Smith, (wounded in the thigh), Bristol; Wm. Lyon, Honeyoye; Col. C. Chapin, John Lay, Charles C. Wells, William Wilbur, Rufus Botsford, Joseph D. Hoyt, Robert Keane, Timothy Strong, Benjamin Hodge, Jr., Daniel Buxton, Captain R. Harmon, George Stow, Daniel Perry, Buffalo.

Killed at her house, in the village of Buffalo, by the British Indians, Mrs. Sally Lovejoy, wife of Joshua Lovejoy, Esq., aged about 35 years.

The editor of the Buffalo Gazette informs his former subscribers that the Gazette is again established at Harris' Tavern, near Williamsville. All letters, communications, &c., may be directed Williamsville, Niagara county, N. Y.

The following persons have been identified among those that fell on the morning of the 30th December and the 1st inst., in the attack on Black Rock and Buffalo: Col. Seymour Boughton, Avon; Major Wm. Dudley, Calvin Carey, Peter Hoffman, Eden; Adjutant Joshua Tottman, Canadian Volunteers; Aaron Nash, Hanover; Dennis Bracket,

Esq., Chautauqua; Mr. Smiley, near Chautauqua Lake; Job Hoysington, John Roop, Samuel Holmes, N. D. Keep, John Trisket, Jas. Nesbit, Robert Franklin, (colored) and Mr. Myers, Buffalo; Robert Hill, Adam Lawfer, Black Rock; Newman Baker, Parley Moffat, Wm. Cheesman, Hamburgh; Jacob Vantine, Jr., Moses Feno, Clarence; Mr. Reed, Willink; —. Lindsay, of Livonia; —. Wilson, of Bloomfield; Bethel Martin, a transient person.

We had collected materials to give a short narrative of the battle of Black Rock, but on reflecting that a month has already elapsed since that event; that several accounts coming from officers in the action have been published; that all the statements disagree in essential particulars, and that any statement we might make would be liable to inaccuracies, we have determined to omit any publication at present. The official account may soon be expected.

FROM THE ONTARIO REPOSITORY, MARCH 13TH, 1814.

The Committee of Supplies and Relief at Canandaigua, have received for distribution among the inhabitants of the Niagara Frontier, who suffered by the late invasion, one thousand three hundred and forty-seven dollars and ten cents.

THADDEUS CHAPIN,
MYRON HOLLEY.

The Legislature appropriated fifty thousand dollars for the same purpose.

ANTHONY LAMB TO GOV. TOMPKINS.

ALBANY, Jan. 20th, 1814.

SIR:—Agreeably to your excellency's orders, I left this city on the 4th instant, and proceeded with all possible dispatch to the Niagara frontier. On my arrival at Bloomfield, in the county of Ontario, I met Gen. Hall, who was on the point of returning to Batavia, to collect the troops who had been detached under your excellency's order of the 26th November, which amounted to one thousand, which he had ordered out on authority subsequently given him.

On my arrival at Batavia, I found that the inhabitants of that place and the country west as far as Buffalo, on the main road, had, on receiv-

ing information of the landing of the enemy, fled and left their homes, but were generally returning. I proceeded to Buffalo and found that flourishing village totally destroyed. The only buildings remaining in it are the goal, which is built of stone, a small frame-house and an armorer's shop. All the houses east of Buffalo on the Batavia road, for two miles, excepting log houses, are also destroyed, and almost every building between Buffalo and Niagara, along the river, had, I was informed, shared the same fate.

The enemy had with him at Black Rock and Buffalo a number of Indians, (the general opinion in that country is about two hundred,) who pursued their accustomed mode of horrid warfare by tomahawking, scalping and otherwise mutilating those who fell into their hands. Among the victims of their savage barbarity was a Mrs. Lovejoy, of Buffalo, who was tomahawked and afterwards burnt in her own house. The conduct of these savages has struck the minds of the people on the Niagara frontier with such horror as to make it absolutely necessary that a more efficient force than ordinary militia of the country be employed for its protection, to prevent its becoming entirely depopulated.

There was, when I left Batavia, between five and six hundred militia at Williamsville and in its vicinity, under the command of Gen. Hopkins, and about the same number on the Ridge Road, near the arsenal, under the command of Col. Hopkins. It was the intention of Gen. Hall, who was at Batavia, to make up a number at each of these stations to one thousand men. There was also at Batavia about one hundred regulars, under the command of Major Riddle, who had received orders to march to Williamsville.

As the enemy had re-crossed into Canada, leaving no part of his force on our territory, except the garrison of Fort Niagara, I did not think it necessary for me to remain in the country, or to exercise the plenary powers with which you were pleased to invest me, especially as the authority given to Gen. Hall appeared to me to be amply sufficient to enable him to give a temporary protection to that frontier. I am decidedly of opinion, however, that it is absolutely necessary that a force of a more permanent, substantial nature should be provided, with as little delay as possible,

Sir, I have the honor to be,

With the greatest respect,

Your most obedient servant,

ANTHONY LAMB.

His Excellency Gov. TOMPKINS.

MAJOR LEE TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

FORT GEORGE, Sept. 18th, 1813.

SIR:—I am ordered by Gen. Wilkinson to forward the enclosed papers—one a letter from a committee of three, of which P. B. Porter is the first, and the other a letter from Daniel Rodman, the organ of an association of residents in and near Canandaigua.

I have the honor to be

Your most obedient servant,

H. LEE, JR.,

Major of Infantry and

Aide-de-Camp to Maj. Gen. Wilkinson.

Gen. ARMSTRONG, Secretary of War.

LETTER TO GEN. WILKINSON, AT FORT GEORGE.

BLACK ROCK, Sept. 17th, 1813.

SIR:—In consequence of encouragements from Gen. Boyd that a general and decisive movement was about to be made by the army, and that an additional force was desirable, we repaired to Fort George, about five weeks ago, with five hundred men, consisting of volunteers, militia and Indians. Most of us remained there twelve or fourteen days, but our hopes not being realized, the men continually dispersed and went home, not, however, without expectations again encouraged by Gens. Boyd and Williams, that we should be shortly called on again to aid in operations which the people in this part of the country, so long harrassed by the calamities of war, feel so strong an interest in forwarding.

Under similar expectations, many of our friends in the interior have intimated to us their readiness to join with respectable reinforcements, on the shortest notice, and we are informed that one company, about seventy strong, is actually on its march, and will be here to-day or to-morrow.

We are, at this moment, much at a loss how to act, and our difficulty is increased by the various rumors and conjectures circulated by the various officers daily arriving at headquarters, some of whom represent that no offensive operations are to be undertaken on this frontier, but that the regular army is immediately to be marched either to the east, to attack Kingston, or to the west to join Gen. Harrison. Others state that an attack is to be made upon the British forces in the vicinity of this place. Under these circumstances we are induced to inquire of you

whether such a force as we have in our power to raise, is desired by you to effectuate your plans, and if so, in what numbers and at what time. If it be your object to sally out upon the enemy at Fort George, we could bring you a respectable force; but, on the contrary, if you meditate an attack at some other point, and the withdrawal of the regular troops at Fort George, and placing this frontier on the defensive only, by means of militia, we would observe that our prepared force is of such a character as could not be engaged in this service. Upon the supposition that you intend to withdraw the regular troops from this frontier, we beg leave to submit a proposition for your consideration.

We believe that we are not incorrect in saying that it would require nearly or as great a force to defend this line of frontier against a given force of the enemy, as it would to attack and subdue him. Sir George Prevost has ordered the militia of Upper Canada to be ordered out en masse. They are to assemble on Sunday next. And if, after your departure, the enemy opposite here should take it in his head to retain all his regular force and play off his skill against the inexperience of our militia, we might have occasion to fear a repetition of former scenes in the present war. Our proposition (in case of your leaving this place) is that we be permitted to raise, between this and the first of October, a volunteer force of from one thousand to twelve hundred men, exclusive of Indians; that we add to it as many of the militia stationed on the lines as may be willing to join us; that we be furnished with a small train (say four pieces) of field artillery, with experienced officers and men to fight them; and that with this force we be authorized to invade the enemy's country. Should you think proper to confer such authority on us, and direct that the volunteers shall be furnished with arms, ammunition, provisions, &c., and receive pay while in actual service, we pledge ourselves that before the close of the season, that we will occupy the whole of the valuable and populous peninsula opposite this river, and either capture, destroy or disperse, all the enemy's force in this quarter.

You may, perhaps, make it convenient to send an answer by the bearer, Capt. Hall.

We are, sir, most respectfully, &c.,

PETER B. PORTER,
CYRENIOUS CHAPIN,
JOSEPH MORELLE.

Gen. WILKINSON.

FORT GEORGE, Sept. 18th, 1813.

GENTLEMEN:—Your letter of yesterday, which reached me last evening, gives you a claim to my acknowledgments, and to those of your country. But as I am altogether unauthorized by law or instructions to sanction your plan for the levy of a body of volunteers, and as your anticipations, propositions and suggestions embrace a range and character upon which I have neither right nor authority to deliberate, I have considered it my duty to present a copy of your letter to the Secretary of War, now at Sacket's Harbor, by express, for his deliberation and decision. I hope he may find it convenient and proper to meet your views, and have only to add that you shall be advised of his answer without a moment's delay, after it reaches my hands.

With high consideration and respect,

I have the honor to be, gentlemen,

Your most obedient servant,

JAMES WILKINSON,

To P. B. PORTER, Major CHAPIN and JOSEPH MCCLURE.

FROM THE BUFFALO GAZETTE, FEB. 8TH, 1814.

FORTUNATE ESCAPE.—It is with pleasure we inform our readers of the escape of Mr. Jacob A. Barker, son of Judge Barker,, and Lieut. Isaac Warner, son of Deacon Warner, of Phelps, from captivity in Canada. Mr. Barker, it will be recollected, was taken at Pierce's tavern, Schlosser, and Warner was wounded and taken at Black Rock.

On Tuesday evening last, Barker and Warner were in the hospital, two miles up the river from Fort George. According to some previous arrangements, they left the hospital, which was guarded, and proceeded two miles up the river and formed a raft, with rails, and proceeded, at much hazard, to cross the river. The river being some choked with ice, they were obliged, in a measure, to take the current of the river, and landed only about a mile and a half above Fort Niagara. They then went on in safety to the American camp.

From Mr. Barker, we learn that the force assembled for the invasion of Black Rock and Buffalo was about two thousand, including Indians and militia; that, from the best information he could gain, the British lost, in killed, one hundred and fifty, and out of between eighty and a hundred taken across the river, two thirds died of their wounds; that

no public or private property of any amount was taken across the river by the British army from any part of our frontier, save what was taken at Fort Niagara and what the savages carried on their backs. The Canadian militia plundered considerable.

The British have removed the pickets of Fort George, and are strengthening Fort Niagara. All their wood they obtain from the Canada side since Gen. John Swift captured their choppers.

Maj. Gen. Riall commands on the Niagara frontier—has his headquarters at Queenston Mountain. The One Hundredth regiment is at present stationed from Chippewa to Fort Erie. Lieut. Gen. Drummond has gone to Kingston, and is understood to be preparing a force to go against Sacket's Harbor. He only waits the arrival of two regiments of Highland Scots, which were on their march from Quebec a fortnight since. A great effort will unquestionably be made to destroy our shipping at that place. It is said that Gens. Proctor, DeRottenburg and Vincent, are ordered home to England. It is rumored that the One Hundredth regiment, with all the British Indians, are to be sent against Malden.

The British give our militia credit for the spirited manner in which they commenced the action, and had stated unreservedly that had they held out half an hour longer, the British would have been defeated.

DANIEL RODMAN TO GEN. WILKINSON.

CANANDAIGUA, Sept. 14th, 1813.

SIR:—A large number of the patriotic citizens of this and the adjoining towns, anxious to do their duty in a crisis so interesting to the nation in general, and to this part of the country in particular, have associated themselves to volunteer their services to the United States for the residue of the campaign at least.

In order to effectuate their intentions, however, it will be necessary that their movements should receive your approbation and sanction, and that they should be assured that the corps, whether a company, or battallion, or (as is possible) a regiment, should be received, organized, and countenanced by your order and authority.

The lateness of the season, and the anxiety of the members, induce us to request an early and authoritative reply, that the association may be equipped according to law, and be useful to their country this season.

It may not be hardly decorous for us to say it, but we must observe that the subscribers will prove to be excellent and brave soldiers.

In their behalf, I am, &c.,

DANIEL RODMAN.

Maj.-Gen. WILKINSON, Commanding Fort George.

From the Buffalo Gazette of Jan. 25th, 1814.

INTERESTING PARTICULARS OF THE FALL OF FORT NIAGARA.

Robert Lee, Esq., late of Fort Niagara, has just returned from the Province of Upper Canada, where he had been taken as a prisoner on the surrender of Fort Niagara. Not having seen anything like a correct account of the loss of our fort, of the slaughter of our brave soldiers, or of the enemy's treatment of them and our fellow citizens whom they had taken prisoners, we feel it a melancholy satisfaction that we have it now in our power to give the particulars of that tragical event, from a gentleman so intelligent and so well acquainted with the situation of Fort Niagara, and of the subsequent conduct of the enemy.

The fort was attacked, or rather entered, by the enemy about four o'clock on the morning of the 19th ult. So silently was this done, that the garrison was not alarmed when the enemy entered the gates of the fort. On their entering, some firing took place between the guard at the southeast block house, and the sick in the red barracks, on the part of the Americans and the enemy that had, and were, entering the gate. The whole American force in the fort at that time was, at least four hundred, including men of all descriptions; three hundred and fifty of those were able and willing to defend the fort to the last extremity, in the way the impotent and convalescent were able to do, viz: firing on the enemy from the block house, barracks, &c. The principal, and in fact the only resistance the enemy met with, was from the sick in the red barracks, and the guard at the southeast block house.

From the order of congratulation issued by the enemy the same morning, it appeared we had lost sixty-five in killed, and fifteen wounded—the wounds, as the order said, were by the bayonet, but this order was issued very soon after the enemy got possession of the fort, and did not include fifteen of our poor fellows that were afterwards bayoneted in the cellars of the houses. Our whole number killed was, at least, eighty. The British force that took possession, was about four hundred, commanded by Col. Murray, who was wounded in the arm on entering the gate; the command then devolved upon Col. Hamilton. The private property in the fort was given up to plunder. He does not believe that any individual saved anything, except the clothes he had on. Capt. Leonard, the American commander, was at his house, about two miles distant from the fort, and, hearing the attack, rode towards the fort and was made prisoner, and was kept in close confinement two days and a half—how much longer our informant does not know. A

non-commissioned officer and about twenty privates made their escape about the time of the attack, by scaling the pickets. Our soldiers were kept two days in close and miserable confinement, without the use of provisions and with a very scanty supply of wood and water; at the expiration of which, both the citizens and soldiers were crossed over the river and lodged in a part of what had been the British magazine at Fort George, and in open plank and board huts, in either situation it was impossible to lie down. The magazine was so filthy that many of the prisoners became infested with vermin. They remained there seven days. The citizens were then removed to a brick building near Queenston, where they were so much crowded that it was impossible to take any kind of comfort either by day or night. The supply of provisions was not only scanty, but of the worst kind. Meat of the most inferior and repulsive quality, and bread that cannot be described, both at this place and at the magazine, &c. What water the prisoners used they had to purchase. Our informant believes that through the influence of a gentleman residing in Upper Canada, himself, with ten other citizens, were permitted to cross over to the United States.

On the 13th inst., the residue of the citizens, to the number of about seventy, were marched under a strong guard to Burlington Heights, and from thence, it was said and believed, would be sent to Kingston. It was a matter of frequent conversation and exultation between the British non-commissioned officers and the privates, while our informant was a prisoner under guard, that the Americans cried out and begged for quarter, but that they bayoneted, or in their language skivered them, notwithstanding. The women and children that were taken at and near Lewiston were stripped of the principal part of their clothing and taken across the river. After our informant was allowed to cross, he applied for some kind of protection from the British commander from parties of their Indians and others scouting on the American side of the river, but was answered he could have none; he, and the rest, must make the best of their way to the American line.

COL. CHAPIN TO THE PUBLIC.

The distressing scenes exhibited on the Niagara frontier last fall and winter having excited many painful sensations and anxious inquiries for the causes which led to those disgraceful disasters, have induced me to lay before the public some of the most conspicuous actors of those base exploits.

While the American regular forces continued at Fort George nothing occurred to effect our security till that strange phenomenon, George McClure appeared. He, with much pomp and parade, however, kept out of harm's way by riding up and down upon the east side of the Straights of Niagara, till I had with a small force of volunteers, militia and Indians, routed the enemy from his encampment at the Four Mile Creek. Then this mighty man crossed the river with all the wind of a Hull or a Smyth, aided by the fetid breath of J. C. S., who burst forth with terror and rage upon the defenseless inhabitants of Canada. These terrible heroes, however, very cautiously avoided any engagement with the enemy. They conceived it sufficient for them to war with women and children; to lay waste their dwellings; to "burn up the d—d rascals" was their favorite maxim.

Their march from the Beaver Dam to Queenston, will long be remembered by the distressed victims of that march. Property of almost every description was plundered, and buildings burned under his own eye. This, however, was a mere prelude to the tragedy he was destined to enact.

The ill-fated town of Newark was burnt, under his orders, the night of the 10th of December, 1813. Here was exhibited a scene of distress which language would be inadequate to describe. Women and children were turned out of doors in a cold and stormy night; the cries of infants, the decrepitude of age, the debility of sickness, had no impression upon this monster in human shape; they were consigned to that house whose canopy was the heavens, and whose walls were as boundless as the wide world. In the destruction of this town, he was aided by the most active exertions of Joseph Willcox, who had for a number of years resided in this pleasant village, and had been patronized far beyond his merits; and at that time, when it became his duty as a man of justice and as a subject of His Majesty, whose government he had sworn to protect and defend, he, like a cowardly sycophant, deserted the cause of his country and actually led a banditti through the town, setting fire to his neighbor's dwellings and cursing every American—applying the epithet of tory to every one who disapproved of this flagrant act of barbarity. It will be remembered that this town was burned when the British forces were not in any considerable force within the distance of thirty miles.

The General next selected the American side of the river for the theatre of his operations. He took up his quarters at Buffalo. A small force of about two hundred regulars was called from Canandaigua, which we should have supposed ought to have been sent to the protection of Fort Niagara, as that place was menaced by the enemy.

Instead of this, the General ordered them to remain at Buffalo. Fort Niagara was taken on the morning of the 19th of December, 1813. The day previous, the General was informed by a citizen—who had made his escape from Canada—that an attack would be made on Fort Niagara at the time it was made. Here, then, is something very remarkable in the conduct of Gen. McClure; instead of dispatching an express with this very important intelligence, he omitted it, if not altogether, until it was too late for the express to reach there.

As soon as the capture of that post was known at Buffalo, the General removed himself and men from Buffalo to the Cold Springs, a distance of two miles. This movement appeared to be made, that the redoubtable General should have time to retreat, without hearing the whistle of British balls—which, by the bye, we suppose would have been very unpleasant to the General's organs of hearing, as he was totally unused to such sounds. Here he remained for a few days, but, finding from intelligence which he received from Canada, that the enemy were preparing to attack Buffalo, he took up his line of march to Batavia, a distance of forty miles, no doubt conceiving that, a place of greater safety, as there he could not hear the report of the enemy's guns. From Batavia, I was told, he made good his retreat to his own home in Steuben county, having covered himself and his associates with laurels of disgrace. As to his assertions, that he was fired upon by men who, he said, were under my command, I believe to be utterly false. The inhabitants of Buffalo all felt deeply interested in the protection of that place, apprehending full well the consequences of an invasion of it by an enemy whose character had been marked with acts of outrage and cruelty, and who was now stimulated to the most desperate measures of retaliation by the conduct of McClure in the burning of Newark. They repeatedly requested him to afford them the necessary protection. The public are already acquainted with the protection he afforded. The ruins of the Niagara frontier, the tears of the widows and the cries of orphan children, still testify to his cowardice and villainy. As it regards myself, and the command I held in the army, while it was under Gen. McClure, I think proper to state the principal reason that induced me to resign. After having been repeatedly exposed to much danger by his order, especially when he ordered me to the Forty Mile Creek, in Upper Canada, and while I remained there, under his orders, with about forty men, he said, in presence of Mr. Curtiss, whose affidavit I procured, "that he regretted I had not been taken by the enemy; that he wished I had been; and that he hoped the damned rascal would be." Now, the public will

observe that I was acting under the orders of Gen. McClure, and had taken a commanding position at that place. He ordered Col. Hopkins to command the men in rear of me, who were twelve miles from that place. I was ordered to remain at the Forty Mile Creek till I was reinforced, but contrary to the assurances which McClure gave me, Colonel Hopkins was ordered to remain twelve miles in rear of me. Should any person concerned, reply to these observations, further facts will be developed; meanwhile, the public are requested to peruse the subjoined documents. Others are in my possession, and will be published next week.

CYRENIUS CHAPIN.

JUNE 13th.

NIAGARA COUNTY, ss.—Benjamin Caryl, of Buffalo, being duly sworn, deposes and says: that he, in company with Capt. Frank Hampton, of the 24th regiment of United States Infantry, on or about the third day of January last, at Batavia, then and there heard the said Hampton declare that he most cordially rejoiced at the burning of the village of Buffalo—that he regretted the loss of two or three of its inhabitants only; and in the same conversation he heard him say he wished he had the power of the Almighty, he would exercise the same in d—g the greater part of the inhabitants of Buffalo to all eternity. Further this deponent saith not.

BENJAMIN CARYL.

Sworn to, this 14th day of March, 1814, before me, SAMUEL TUPPER,
First Judge of Common Pleas for Niagara county.

STATE OF NEW YORK, }
NIAGARA COUNTY. } ss.

Asa Ransom, of the town of Clarence, in said county, being solemnly sworn, deposeth and saith: that on the 23d or 24th of December last past, he (this deponent) was at the house of Frederick Miller, near the late village of Buffalo. Brig. Gen. McClure and his aids, and several gentlemen from Buffalo and elsewhere were there. In a conversation with Erastus Granger, Esq., this deponent heard Gen. McClure publicly declare that he would take away the regulars, and was going away himself. Judge Granger asked him if he meant to take away the ammunition. Gen. McClure answered that he did. Judge Granger observed, “for God’s sake, don’t do that, for we shall all be destroyed. Buffalo will be burned, and we shall have nothing to defend ourselves with.” Gen. McClure said: “I will stay and defend you, if the inhabitants will arrest and bind that d—d rascal (Chapin) and bring him to me; if they

will not do that, they may all be destroyed, and I don't care how soon." And this deponent further saith, that he had understood that McClure and Chapin had quarrelled violently about the burning of Newark, and that he believed that animosity continued to exist up to the time of McClure's departure from Buffalo, which was on or about the day above-mentioned. And further this deponent saith not.

ASA RANSOM.

Sworn, &c.

NIAGARA COUNTY, ss.—Dudley Frink and Jacob L. Fort, being duly sworn, say that on or about the 23d day of December last, they were in company with Capt. John A. Rogers, of the Twenty-fourth regiment of United States Infantry, then acting aid to Gen. McClure, at Key's tavern, in Batavia; these deponents heard the said Rogers solemnly declare in the presence of a number of other gentlemen, that he wished to God Buffalo was burned, and that he would give one hundred dollars to any person who would bring him information that Buffalo was actually burned. And further these deponents say not.

DUDLEY FRINK.

JACOB L. FORT.

Sworn to, &c.

STATE OF NEW YORK, }
COUNTY OF NIAGARA, } ss.

Nehemiah Seeley, late a resident of the village of Buffalo, being duly sworn, says that on the 22d or 23d day of December last, this deponent had a conversation at the house of Frederick Miller, with Donald Frazer, a Lieutenant in the regular service, who was then acting as an aid to Gen. McClure, in which conversation the said Frazer said that if Buffalo should be burned, he had no doubt the inhabitants would be remunerated by government; that he believed that it would be an advantage to the country to have it burned; it would make hundreds of soldiers; it would stimulate men to enlist—to prosecute the war with more vigor; he said if he had a house in Buffalo, he should be glad to see a fire brand in it in two minutes. And further saith not.

NEHEMIAH SEELEY.

Sworn to, &c.

NIAGARA COUNTY, ss.—Reuben B. Heacock, late of Buffalo, in the county of Niagara, on oath, saith that on the 3d or fourth day of Janu-

ary last past, he saw Capt. Hampton, of the Twenty-fourth regiment United States Infantry, four miles east of Batavia, in the county of Genesee, and heard the said Hampton say that he rejoiced that Buffalo was burned; that he did not regard the loss of any, except one, and all he regretted was that some of the inhabitants of Buffalo were not burnt in the village. And further deponent saith not.

R. B. HEACOCK.

Sworn to, &c.

NIAGARA COUNTY, ss.—Edmund Raymond, being sworn, saith that on or about the 23d day of December, at Porter's tavern, in Clarence, he fell in with Gen. McClure and Capt. John A. Rogers, the General's aid, on their march with the regular troops from Buffalo to Batavia, at which time and place he heard Capt. Rogers say (in the hearing of Gen. McClure) that he hoped Buffalo would be burned, and if he could save it by lifting up his hand, he would not do it, at which remark the General made no reply.

E. RAYMOND.

Sworn to, &c.

NIAGARA COUNTY, ss.—Frederick Miller, in the county of Niagara, being sworn, deposes and says that on the 21st or 22d day of December last, Gen. George McClure was at the house of this deponent, and while he was at his house, this deponent heard him say that he hoped to God the village of Buffalo would be burned by the British; that he would do nothing to save it, and that he would march the regular troops to Batavia. And this deponent further saith that Gen. McClure marched the regular troops from Buffalo to the house of this deponent, on the 19th day of December last, and marched said troops from this deponent's house to Batavia on the 22d day of December. And this deponent further says that at the time Gen. McClure ordered the said troops to Batavia, it was not ascertained whether the enemy were proceeding up this side of the Niagara river towards Black Rock and Buffalo, or remained at Schlosser, as this deponent understood and verily believes.

FREDERICK MILLER.

Sworn this 12th day of March, 1814.

SAMUEL TUPPER, *

First Judge of Common Pleas for Niagara County.

STATE OF NEW YORK, ss.—Mosely W. Abell, late a resident of the late

village of Buffalo, being solemnly sworn, deposeth and saith that a few days previous to the burning of Buffalo by the enemy, he saw Gen. McClure, with his aids, at Porter's tavern, in Clarence; they were then on their march from Buffalo towards Batavia with regular troops; that he heard Capt. Rogers, one of the aids of Gen. McClure, publicly declare that he believed the village of Buffalo would be destroyed, and he hoped it would be, for the inhabitants were all a pack of d—d rascals; that he hoped that would wake them up. Gen. McClure was at the same time standing by the side of Rogers, and observed that he did not know of but one d—d rascal, and that was Chapin. And this deponent further saith that there was a number of the militia present, who were on their march to the frontier, and heard the above mentioned declaration. And further, this deponent told Rogers he ought to be arrested for his conduct. And further saith not.

M. W. ABELL.

Sworn, &c.

STATE OF NEW YORK, } ss.
NIAGARA COUNTY,

William T. Miller, of the town of Buffalo, of the age of twenty-two years, being solemnly sworn, deposeth and saith that Lieut. Riddle, of the United States service, came into the house of Frederick Miller, (father of deponent) soon after the discharge of the alarm guns at Black Rock, on the night of the 29th of December last past; that the said Riddle called for a brandy sling and drank part of it. He then went to sleep in his chair, before the fire, in a room adjoining the bar-room. After the said Riddle had slept some time, on this deponent's going into the room he woke up, and began to pull bank notes out of his coat sleeve; this deponent believes he pulled out to the amount of eighty or a hundred dollars, and observed that he had won so much that night at playing cards. This deponent believes that he again drank of his sling, lay down on the floor and went to sleep. He continued to sleep until nearly or quite daylight, when he awoke, drank the remainder of his brandy sling, mounted his horse, and started for the Eleven Mile Creek after his men. And this deponent further saith that the said Riddle did not return from the Eleven Mile Creek, with the regulars, on the morning of the 30th of December, till after the British had entered Buffalo village. This deponent further saith that the said Frederick Miller did then (and still continues to) keep a tavern, two and a half miles from the village of Buffalo. And further saith not.

WILLIAM T. MILLER.

JULY 29th, 1813.

On Wednesday night last, Major C. Chapin arrived in this village, together with his company, escaped from the enemy on Monday preceding. The Major has given us the following narrative of the action at the Beaver Dam, &c., which we now lay before the public:—

On the 22d of June last, a party of the regular troops, consisting of five hundred infantry and twenty light dragoons, under the command of C. G. Boerstler, together with forty-four mounted riflemen, composed of militia from the country, under Major C. Chapin, were detached from the American encampment at Fort George, for the purpose of cutting off the supplies of the enemy and breaking up the small encampments they were forming through the country. On the 24th, about nine miles west of Queenston, they were attacked by a body of about five hundred Indians and nearly a hundred regulars, who lay concealed in the woods near the road they were passing. The attack was made upon the dragoons, who were placed in the rear. The infantry were soon brought into a position to return the enemy's fire to advantage, and succeeded in driving them some distance into the woods. In a short time, the Indians, having taken a circuitous route, appeared in front and opened a fire upon the mounted riflemen, who were stationed there. Here they met with so warm a reception that they were compelled a second time to retreat in much haste. After this, every exertion was made to drive the Indians from the woods to the open ground, but without much effect. The few who were bold enough to venture, were handled so roughly that they soon returned to their lurking places. In the meantime, the enemy were receiving considerable reinforcements, which at length gave them a great superiority. A retreat for a short distance was ordered, and effected with very little loss.

The Indians soon made their appearance on our right and left, and the regulars and some militia in front. Our troops were formed into close columns, for the purpose of opening for themselves a way through the enemy with their bayonets. At this juncture a British officer rode up and demanded the surrender of the American party. The demand, he said, was made to prevent the further effusion of blood. He asserted, upon his honor, and declared in the most solemn manner, that the British regular force was double that of the American, and that the Indians were seven hundred in number. Lieut. Col. Boerstler, under a belief of these facts, and thinking it impracticable to get off the wounded, whom

he was unwilling to abandon to the mercy of the savages, and deeming it extremely uncertain whether a retreat could be effected, thought proper to agree to terms of capitulation, which were at length signed by himself, on the one part, and Lient. Col. Bishop on the other. By these it was stipulated that the wounded should be taken good care of; the officers permitted to retain their side arms; private property to be respected; and the militia paroled and permitted to return home immediately.

The articles of capitulation were no sooner signed than they were violated. The Indians immediately commenced their depredations, and plundered the officers of their side arms. The soldiers, too, were stripped of every article of clothing to which the savages took a fancy, such as hats, coats, shoes, &c. It is impossible to give any correct account of the killed and wounded, as the enemy did not furnish a list. The loss of the enemy is supposed to be much greater than ours. Between thirty and forty Indians were counted that lay dead on the field. From their known practice of carrying off their killed and wounded, it is believed they must have suffered severely.

The regular troops were, in a few days, sent to Kingston, from whence it is probable they have proceeded to Quebec. Major Chapin and his corps were detained, under guard, at the head of Lake Ontario, and no attention paid to the article of capitulation, which provided for their being paroled.

On the 12th instant, they were ordered down the lake to Kingston, for which place they were embarked in two boats, accompanied by a guard of fifteen men, under the command of a Lieutenant. Thirteen of the men, with the Lieutenant, were stationed in the forward boat with Major Chapin and the other officers, while the remaining two (a sergeant and one man) took the direction of the other boat, which contained the soldiers.

An agreement had been entered into previous to their departure, of seizing the first opportunity that offered, to regain their liberty, which they determined to effect, or die in the attempt. When they were within about twelve miles of York, the boat which was filled with the prisoners was moved by them alongside the other, under pretense of taking something to drink. The signal being given, they sprang upon the guard, who little expected such a manœuvre, and, in a short time, disarmed them and gained possession of the boats.

They immediately altered their course from Kingston to Fort Niagara; and after rowing hard for most of the night, and escaping with difficulty

from one of the enemy's schooners, which gave them chase, arrived in safety, with their prisoners, at the American garrison.

When the Major and his company arrived in this village, they were welcomed with suitable demonstrations of public feeling.

The following appeared in the Buffalo Gazette, April 5th, 1814, established at Harris' Tavern, near Williamsville:

Buffalo village, which once adorned the shores of Erie, and was prostrated by the enemy, is now rising again. Several buildings are already raised and made habitable. Contracts for twenty or thirty more are made, and many of them are in considerable forwardness. A brick company has been organized by an association of the most enterprising and public spirited citizens, with a sufficient capital, for the purpose of rendering the price of brick so reasonable, that the principal streets may be built up of that article. All that is required to establish Buffalo in its former prosperity, is ample remuneration from government, and peace; peace, if not obtained by negotiation, must be obtained by a vigorous and successful prosecution of the war.

Buffalo had its charms; the situation, the prospects, and the general health of the inhabitants; to which we may add the activity and enterprise of the trade, the public spirit of the citizens, and the state of society, all conspire, to render it a chosen spot for the man of business, or pleasure.

ADDRESS TO THE CANADIANS.

The commandant at Fort Erie, finding the people in its vicinity anxious to obtain special protection, deems it necessary to make a public declaration, that all those who may come forward and enroll their names with him, and claim the protection of the United States, shall have their persons and property secured to them inviolate.

He invites all who mean to pursue this course, to take it immediately, that they may be distinguished from the enemy. And while he assures them that their interests and happiness will be regarded by the United States, he solemnly warns those who obstinately continue inimical, that they are bringing on themselves the most rigorous and disastrous consequences, as they will be pursued and treated with that spirit of retalia-

tion, which the treatment of prisoners in the hands of the British so justly inspires.

JAMES P. PRESTON,
Lieut. Col. 12th Regiment Infantry,
Commanding at Fort Erie.

[From the Buffalo Gazette, June 17th, 1814.]

Maj. Gen. Jacob Brown, and suite, arrived in Buffalo on Sunday last.

JULY 5th, 1814.

Maj. Gen. Brown has the satisfaction to announce to the troops of his division on this frontier, that he is authorized by the orders of his government to put them in motion against the enemy. The first and second brigades, with the corps of artillery, will cross the streight before them this night, or as early to-morrow as possible. The necessary instructions have been given to the Brigadiers, and by them to the commanding officers of regiments and corps. Upon entering Canada, the laws of war will govern; men found in arms, or otherwise engaged in the service of the enemy, will be treated as enemies; those behaving peaceably and following their private occupations, will be treated as friends. Private property will be in all cases held sacred. Public property, wherever found, will be seized and disposed of by the commanding General.

Our utmost protection will be given to all who actually join, or who evince a desire to join us. Plundering is prohibited. The Major General does not apprehend any difficulty on this account with the regular army, or the honorable volunteers who press to the standard of their country to avenge her wrongs, or to obtain a name in arms. Profligate men who follow the army for plunder, must not expect that they will escape the vengeance of the gallant spirits who are struggling to exalt the national character. Any plunderers shall be punished with death, who may be found violating this order.

By order of the Major General.

C. K. GARDNER,
Adjutant General.

FORT ERIE CAPTURED.

In pursuance of the above order, the army passed the Niagara River on Sunday morning last. The brigade of Gen. Scott, and the artillery

corps of Major Hindman, landed nearly a mile below Fort Erie, between two and three o'clock, while Gen. Ripley, with his brigade, made the shore, about the same distance above.

The enemy was perfectly unapprised of these movements. Gen. Scott led the van, and was on shore before the enemy's pickets, stationed at this point, fired a gun. The guard discharged their guns and retreated.

In the morning a small Indian force was crossed over. The fort was approached on the right and left, and the Indians skirted the woods in the rear. Gen. Brown now demanded a surrender of the garrison, and gave the commander two hours for consideration. In the meantime, a battery of long eighteens was planted in a position to command the fort. The enemy surrendered as prisoners of war—marched out of the fort at six o'clock, stacked their arms—and were immediately sent over the river to the American shore. There were upwards of one hundred and seventy prisoners, of the Eighth and One Hundredth regiments, among which were seven officers. Major Burke commanded the fort. The schooners *Tigress* and *Porcupine* assisted in crossing the troops, and lay all day within cannon shot of the fort. Capt. Camp, of the Quartermaster General's Department, volunteered on the expedition, and crossed in the boat with Gen. Scott. During the morning, the enemy fired two or three cannon from the fort, which killed one man and wounded two or three others. We learn the enemy had one killed. There were several pieces of ordnance in the garrison and some military stores.

Thus had the Niagara been crossed and a fort captured, without the loss of scarcely a man. We understand the army commenced its march down the river yesterday morning.

BATTLE NEAR CHIPPEWA.

[From the Buffalo Gazette, July 12th, 1814.]

On the 4th instant, Brig. Gen. Scott, with the First brigade, took up his line of march from camp near Fort Erie, and proceeded to Black Creek, about three miles above Chippewa, where the enemy appeared in force.

Gen. Scott went immediately against the enemy, who retreated to Chippewa and burnt several buildings—as well, perhaps, to secure his retreat, as to clear the way for his cannon to play upon our columns. The enemy crossed Chippewa Creek and entered his fortifications, and our forces fell back to Black Creek. During the afternoon, Gen. Brown marched down with the remaining regular force; and in the evening,

Gen. Porter, with a few of his own and the Pennsylvania volunteers, together with a band of Indian warriors, passed down.

The enemy, from the first moment of alarm on Sunday, had been concentrating his forces at Chippewa Creek—that position from that creek, which is wide, deep and unfordable for many miles, being the most defensible between Forts George and Erie. Burlington, Forts George and Niagara are said to have been almost entirely deserted, to enlarge the enemy's forces at that point.

Maj. Gen. Riall commanded the British forces. About noon on the 5th, his reinforcements had come in, among which was a heavy body of Indians. The British commander came out of his entrenchments with a confident expectation of victory, and between two and three o'clock made his disposition of attack, resting his left on the Niagara River, his centre in the open fields, supported by several pieces of artillery, and extending his right, composed principally of Indians, some distance in the woods. These movements were anticipated. The American forces were at Black Creek. Gen. Porter, with the volunteers and Indians, formed in the woods on the left, and soon came in contact with the enemy's right. In a short time after the action commenced on the left. Gen. Scott, with the first brigade, composed of the Ninth, Eleventh and Twenty-second Infantry, and Major Hindman's train of field and battering artillery, moved upon the enemy's centre and left. A part of the troops had to cross the bridge at Black Creek, under the fire of the enemy's artillery. The action in the centre was commenced and continued with great impetuosity, and with little or no intermission for two hours. The enemy's Royal Scots, One Hundredth, Eighth, and several other regiments who had conquered in Europe, had now to turn their backs upon an inferior force in point of numbers, and fought on their retreat to their entrenchments across the Chippewa, after which they pulled up the bridge. The enemy was hard pressed in his retreat, until he was under cover of his batteries, and suffered severely.

In this battle the enemy are represented to have had the advantage of the ground in the onset. As a field action, this battle, without doubt, was better fought than any in the annals of this war. The brigade of Gen. Ripley was not brought into action. The artillery maintained its former high reputation.

The steady and persevering bravery of Gen. Scott, and the undaunted firmness of his officers and men, produced unbounded enthusiasm.

The skill, the bravery and activity of Maj. Gen. Brown, and the whole staff, were every where conspicuous. Gen. Porter, and the officers and

men, generally, of the volunteer and Indian corps, contended nobly against the enemy's savages, routed and cut them on their retreat, and acquitted themselves with honor. In fine, there was scarcely an officer or soldier in the engagement who does not deserve well of his country.

The enemy's loss in killed, wounded and prisoners, is reported to be at least five hundred. Between one and two hundred were found dead on the field; among them a Major and several other officers; one hundred and twenty-five prisoners—mostly wounded. Many of their killed were taken off the field before the retreat. Nearly five hundred muskets were found on the field.

Our loss, in killed, is about fifty, including several Indians; one hundred and thirty or forty wounded, and a few taken prisoners, among whom are Lieut. Col. Bull, (reported to have been killed,) Major Gallo-way and Captain White, of the Pennsylvania volunteers, Lient. Col. Campbell, Lient. Barron, Eleventh, Capt. Harrison, Ninth, Capt. King, Twenty-second, Capt. Reed, with his two Lieutenants, Twenty-fifth, all severely wounded.

On Friday, Gen. Brown caused a bridge to be thrown across the Chippewa Creek, about two miles from the mouth. The enemy, while the bridge was preparing, took up several pieces of artillery and fired upon the bridge party. A battery—which had been previously planted—was opened upon them, and, after a few shots, they retreated. The enemy evacuated his fortifications, and, it is said, has entered Forts George and Niagara.

On Sunday morning, Gen. Brown, having crossed the Chippewa, pursued the enemy, and halted at Queenston. We learn that on Sunday morning, the army moved from Queenston and marched for the vicinity of Fort George.

Since the action of Chippewa, the army has been reinforced by several detachments of regulars, a corps of bombardiers, (attached to the engineers,) and a body of Gen. Porter's volunteers—about six hundred strong—of infantry and mounted men. The American and British wounded have been removed from Chippewa to Buffalo.

MAY 3d, 1814.

The troops at Buffalo, under Brig. Gen. Scott, are generally in good health, in excellent discipline, and behave remarkably well to the inhabitants. The greatest activity and enterprise continues in building up and improving that place.

MAY 10th, 1814.

The postoffice for the village of Buffalo will be opened for the present

at Judge Granger's house. In a short time it will be removed to the village.

MAY 24th. 1814.

The village of Buffalo continues to advance in building with great spirit. We have taken some pains to ascertain the number of buildings which have been recently erected, which follow: twenty-three houses, occupied principally with families; three taverns, four dry-goods stores, twelve grocer and other shops, three offices, thirty or forty huts or shanties.

RED JACKET'S SPEECH TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR, IN 1812.

BROTHER:—As you are appointed the great war chief of your nation, we are told that it is to you that all communications from the different tribes of Indians residing in the United States must be made; therefore we, the delegates of the Six Nations of Indians, have come forward to the great council fire of the United States to make known our wishes, and we hope you will listen with attention to our voice, and hear what we have to say.

Brother—There has been, from time to time, treaties made between the United States and the Six Nations; but the principal treaty which now governs us, and which binds us together, was made at Canandaigua about fifteen years since. To this treaty we now call your attention. At the time it was formed, all the disputes between us were settled. It also pointed out the way in which difficulties or disputes which might afterwards arise, should be adjusted. After this treaty was formed, your government appointed an agent to keep bright this chain of friendship. We were also told by your Commissioner, Col. Pickering, that if the chain became rusty, and your agent could not make it bright, we should have liberty to send some of our chiefs to the seat of your government, and there make known our complaints to our great father, the President of the United States.

Brother—We were told by your commissioner that, in time, difficulties might arise to disturb the peace and friendship then to be established. He said “We have some bad men among us, and so have the Indians, who will, perhaps, commit unfriendly acts on both sides, such as stealing property from each other.” In order, therefore, to preserve our peace, it was agreed in the treaty that no private revenge or retaliation should take place, but if either party was injured, complaint should be made to the offending party of the injury done; and that compensation should be made to the satisfaction of the sufferers, and their minds made easy.

For some years this great chain was kept bright. Compensation was made for damages done, to the satisfaction of the injured party. On our part, we have to this day complied with the treaty, and we still wish to hold fast to it.

But, Brother—Let me remind you that your part has become rusty. For three years past we have received injuries from the white people. Our cattle and horses have been stolen and carried off; and although we have made complaint to your agent, yet we have received no compensation for our losses.

Brother:—We have thus far made known to you our minds; and in behalf of the Six Nations, whom we represent, we now call upon your government to fulfill this part of the treaty and make good the damages to our people.

Brother:—Why should you hesitate to comply with a treaty which you yourselves have made? With you it is but a small thing; to us it is of consequence. And will you suffer us to return with heavy hearts? Shall it be said that the government of the United States are the first to violate their treaties? We acknowledge that every part of the treaty has been faithfully fulfilled on your part, except that part of which we now complain, and as we believe there has been some mistake about it, we have no doubt that when you come to understand the thing, you will not be slow in doing us justice.

Brother:—We have often made complaints to the agents whom you have appointed. They have told us they had not the means to make satisfaction. We want to know whether the fault is in them. If it is not, we wish you now to instruct them that whenever we make satisfactory proof of losses sustained by the bad conduct of the white people, they should immediately satisfy our minds by a reasonable compensation—thereby forever maintaining that peace and friendship so necessary to both nations.

Brother:—We still ask your attention to what we further say. We often meet with our agents to do business, but have no proper place to hold councils. Sometimes they are held in a blacksmith's shop; at other times in a kitchen or a bar-room. You must be sensible how inconvenient it is to do business in such places. As we are poor, we hope you will consider our case, and feel willing to build us a suitable house for doing business.

Brother:—At the time we were making bright the chain at Canandaigua, the Commissioner on your part told us that the time might come when your enemies would endeavor to disturb and do away the friend-

ship we had then formed with you. That time, Brother, has already come. Since you have had some disputes with the British government, their agents in Canada have not only endeavored to make the Indians at the westward your enemies, but they have sent a war belt among our warriors, to poison our minds and make us break our faith with you. This belt we exhibited to your agents in council, and then sent it to the place from whence it came—never more to be seen amongst us. At the same time, we had information that the British were circulating like belts among the western Indians, and within your territory. We rested not, but called a general council of the Six Nations, and resolved to let our voice be heard among our western brethren, and destroy the effects of the poison scattered among them. We have twice sent large deputations to their council fire, for the purpose of making their minds strong in their friendship with your nation; and, in the event of war between the white people, to sit still on their seats and take no part on either side. So far as our voice has been heard, they have agreed to hearken to our counsel and remain at peace with your nation.

BROTHER:—If war should take place, we hope you will inform us of it through your agents, and we will use our influence with all the Indians with whom we are acquainted, that they shall conduct according to your wishes.

MR. GRANGER'S MEMORANDUM OF A COUNCIL AT BUFFALO.

At a council held at Buffalo May 25th, 1812, with the chiefs of the Six Nations—after a congratulatory speech by the agent—Red Jacket, in behalf of the chiefs, spoke as follows:

BROTHER:—We thank you for your speech. We thank you for advising our young warriors to listen to the counsels of the old chiefs, and not to listen to inexperienced young men.

BROTHER:—I wish the interpreter to be very particular and listen to what I say, that no mistakes may be made. The appearances now are the same they were at the beginning of the last war. We were told that the Great King would punish his disobedient children. We were invited to assist him, and were promised many good things if we would do so. Each one of our warriors was promised a new suit of clothes and a large sum in gold, and abundance of rum, as long as the grass should grow and water run. A great council was held. An ox was roasted. Sir Guy Johnson took the head and threw it into the fire, saying—“This is

the way we shall punish the rebels." A belt was then produced, representing the British and the Indians—a heart in the middle. The Mohawks first took it up, and abused the rest; at last they all took, and danced the war dance. The Senecas were invited to go with the British, for "amusement," to see them punish their rebellious children, and were at length drawn into the war.

We have related what took place in the last war. You spoke then as you speak now. The British now speak as they spoke before. We are now determined to listen to your words. We have appointed a deputation to go to Canada, to speak to our brothers on that side of the river. This deputation is before you. This is not private; we wish the British to know it—the sooner the better for us. The British have tried to persuade us to cross. They showed us a map of the country; offered us great seats if we would come over and take an active part. We have refused. We like our seats among you, and are determined to remain with you. The men we have selected to visit our brethren at Grand River, to persuade them to agree with us, are wise men. Their voice will be strong. It will be heard not only by our brothers there, but by others to the westward; they will listen to us. It is true, we have received a message from the Mohawks that they have agreed to take up the hatchet, but we hope they will listen to us. Our deputies have received instructions. They have family connections on that side. Some of them may come here to live, if they are not prevented from getting over.

If war takes place, we hope you will be candid with us; let us know all your mind; what regulations you adopt. Let it be written down, that our delegates may take it to Grand River.

Brother—We want the money received from Phelps placed where it will bring us interest; take land as security, and be sure to take enough.

MINUTES OF A COUNCIL HELD AT BUFFALO,

SEPTEMBER 8th, 1812.

Council opened, and the war-chief Little Billy spoke—first a compliment to the agent; thanks to the Great Spirit for health, and for bringing them together; is glad that the chiefs from a distance are present, prepared to attend a protracted council, &c.

BROTHER (addressing himself to the agent):—You recollect, after we were collected as a body, you made a communication to us, upon which we then deliberated. You sent us a letter from the President. This gave us a new subject for our deliberation, and now we come forward to reply to that communication.

Brother:—At the council at the village, you told us you should have further to say. We considered this council important. We, the Senecas, took up the business separately. * * * * We are now prepared to give an answer.

Brother:—You must be sensible we have been for a number of years in the path of peace. Our exertions have been great to keep in this path. We tried to keep peace. We thought the western Indians would listen to our voice, but they would not. Perhaps you are to blame. Your commander gave up Detroit before the western Indians had time to decide.

Brother:—I have spoken of the pains we have taken to preserve peace. Your agents have done the same, but in vain. We went to Grand River (in Canada) lately, to keep peace, but in vain. The path of peace is broken in every part. We find no place to flee to, where there is peace, now. Upon this subject we have been deliberating.

Brother:—I have said we have come with all the others to seek the path of peace. We find there is no path left for us but between us and the United States. It is cut off in every other direction. Agreeably to your communication, we, the Senecas, shall now prepare to defend ourselves against the common enemy. It is true, we have friends on the other side, but we are exposed to the blow as well as you, and must prepare to meet it. We know of no other way to preserve peace but to rise from our seats and defend our own fire-sides, our wives and our children. We hope you will not ask us to cross over. Those that go over must go at their own risk. If our men go, they must go voluntarily. We wish to act only on the defensive. Part of the Onondagas and Cayugas who live amongst us, agree with us. We volunteer; we must act under our own chiefs, according to our own customs; be at liberty to take our own course in fighting; we cannot conform to your discipline in camp. So far as we can, we will conform to your customs. When you see a boat with a white flag, you do not fire; we shall do the same; but when a boat comes over without, we shall then begin the attack.

Brother:—We have no secrets; let the enemy know what we have done. Our council on the other side began privately; we are willing our position should be known. The deputation we sent over after war was declared, were not permitted to go up the country. We did not have an interview with our Canada friends. We were told that friendship was at an end. We hope, if you take Canada, we should enjoy our land on that side.

Brother:—If the British should come over and make a stand, we that

are on the lines want you to point out a place where our women and children can retreat to, as you own the country to the eastward; for it will be necessary that our women and children should have refuge, and what provision will be made for the women and children of those who fall.

Brother:—You have told us you were strong, and could conquer them. You have said they would not fight you; that you had friends among them, &c., How shall we distinguish between friends and enemies.

Brother:—We volunteer for this service. We wish you not to place us in forts, where we cannot act. You know what took place at Detroit; an army was sold; we wish not to be sold.

PAPERS RELATING TO THE CONNECTION OF THE SENECA, &C., WITH THE
WAR OF 1812.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:

BROTHER:—The undersigned, chiefs and warriors of the Oneida, Onondaga, Stockbridge and Tuscarora tribes of Indians, as far west as Tonawanda, regularly deputed by our respective tribes, have this day lighted up a council fire at Onondaga, the ancient council ground of the Six Confederate Nations of Indians, and have invited our white brothers of Onondaga to meet with us and hear what we have to say.

Brother:—We see that the tomahawk is lifted up between you and the British; we are uneasy about it, and, therefore, we have met and determined to tell you our minds about it.

Brother:—At the close of the late war, Gen. Washington told us to be sober, and attend to agriculture, and to refrain from shedding blood; this advice was good. Our good prophet* of the Seneca tribe, who is now with us in this council, has given us the same advice, and our tribes have entered into a league to follow that advice. We wish to hold fast to it, and not to take any part in the contest between your people and the British.

We have been repeatedly told, by your agents, that it was your wish that we should remain neutral, and, therefore, we are much surprised and disappointed in the council lately held at Buffalo Creek, at being invited to take up the tomahawk.

Brother:—You must not suppose, from what we have now told you, that we are unfriendly to you, or your people. We are your decided friends. We reside among your people. Your friends are our friends; and your enemies are our enemies.

*Brother of Cornplanter.

In the former war between your people and the British, some of us took up the tomahawk on their side. When the peace took place, we buried it deep, and it shall never again be raised against you and your people.

Brother:—We are few in number, and can do but little; but our hearts are good, and we are willing to do what we can; and if you want our assistance, say so, and we will go with your people to battle.

We are anxious to know your wishes respecting us, as soon as possible, because some of our young men are uneasy, and we fear they may disperse among different tribes and be hostile to you. Pray direct your communication to the chiefs and warriors of the respective tribes, to be left at Onondaga Postoffice.

ONONDAGA, Sept. 28th. 1812.

Signed by sixteen chiefs and warriors.

We, the subscribers, do certify that we were present at the council herein before mentioned; that the same is as interpreted, and that the same was subscribed in our presence.

ONONDAGA, 29th September, 1812.

EPHRAIM WEBSTER,

Interpreter and agent for the Onondagas.

JOSEPH HOPPER,

Clerk of Onondaga County.

THADDEUS PATCHIN,

Captain of Artillery.

POLASKI KING,

Justice of the Peace.

ANSWER OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

WAR DEPARTMENT, Oct. 12th. 1812.

SIR:—Your letter of the 30th September, addressed to the President, has been received and transmitted, with the enclosed talk to Erastus Granger, Esq., agent for the Six Nations, with directions to inquire into the facts therein stated, and instructions to keep the Indians quiet, if possible. Should this be impracticable, he is authorized to organize and report them to the commanding officer at Niagara.

Respectfully, sir, your obedient servant.

W. EUSTIS.

EPHRAIM WEBSTER, Esq.

MEMORANDUM OF A COUNCIL HELD WITH THE CHIEFS OF THE SIX NATIONS, at Buffalo, February 2d, 1813, by Erastus Granger, agent, &c.,—Little Billy, speaker.

BROTHER:—Pay attention to what I say. It is the voice of the Six Nations that speaks to you. I am appointed to speak.

Brother:—I feel inadequate to the task, but shall proceed. We now are about to reply to your talk some days since, on the subject of your going to Washington. We are unanimous in the answer we are about to give.

Brother:—Perhaps you will not be pleased with the manner in which our minds are made up. We have been told that all communications between us and your government must be made through the agent. At the same time, we were told that in any business of an important nature we might be permitted to send a deputation to Washington.

Brother:—What the President meant, we know not; but we believe this is one of those cases in which we are permitted to go. What can be more important than our present situation? Since the declaration of war, we have received nothing direct from the President. We think we ought to be permitted to go, and have a full understanding as to the course we shall pursue if the war continues.

Brother:—It would be more satisfactory to those who remain if we could see the President. We do not doubt but you will do all you can for us; but if a few chiefs go, the warriors will be better satisfied.

Brother:—Since the declaration of war, your exertions have kept us all united. Your measures have kept us bound to the United States. The enemy are near; we do not think proper for you to leave here.

Brother:—Another reason: you are unwell; it is a long journey; we fear that you are unable to perform it—and your loss to us would be great. Capt. Parish lives at Canandaigua; there is less danger there. He can be better spared to go with us.

Brother:—We have selected three from the Seneca Nation, one from the Onondaga, one from the Oneida, and one from the Tuscarora Nation. We think we can raise money for the expense of taking us to Washington, which we think the government will refund.

Red Jacket, in reply to my answer, said: We have agreed to postpone going to Washington, under the idea suggested by you that a commissioner will be appointed to meet us and come to a firm understanding

between us and the United States. Let a man be appointed who is acquainted with Indian customs and with us.

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE SIX NATIONS.

BROTHERS OF THE SIX NATIONS:—Through your sub-agent and interpreter, Jasper Parish, you have expressed some uneasiness in regard to the attacks of the British upon your wives and children. Be not disquieted. Should the enemy cross the Niagara river, you will be removed to a place of safety. Others of your brothers have been removed. They were honest to us, and therefore were hated and menaced by the British. They are now eating our bread in the State of Ohio and in places of safety.

My Brothers:—While upon this subject, let me offer to you my advice, that during the war you should gather yourselves together and remove to your reserved tract, on the head-waters of the Alleghany, where you may work and sleep in safety.

Brothers:—You have also expressed some fears lest your annuities and the interest on your bank stock would not be punctually paid. Bad men have raised in your minds these doubts. Listen to such no longer. Have not your claims upon us been punctually paid hitherto? And can you have a better assurance of our conduct towards you than what is furnished by your own experience of that which is past? It is true that this year's list of goods, payable as part of your annuity, is somewhat less than formerly, but this is the effect of the war forced upon us by the British. They, therefore, are the true cause of this evil.

My Brothers:—Continue your good faith to the United States, and be true to their justice and kindness.

By order of the President.

JOHN ARMSTRONG,

Secretary of War.

WAR DEPARTMENT, April 8th, 1813.

LETTER OF JASPER PARISH TO GEN. LEWIS.

CANANDAIGUA, May 2d, 1813.

SIR:—I received your letter of the 27th ult. At the time of delivering your letter to the Secretary of War, I had some conversation with him on the subject of the war, and of employing such of the Indians as have fire-arms, and were offering their services to the United States last fall.

He observed that they may be of service to our army, and he would refer the matter to the President.

The President has given no permission to employ the Indians, or even to accept of their services. He has sent a speech to the Six Nations by me, in writing, giving his advice to them to retire from the lines, during the war, to Alleghany, where they may sleep in safety.

I am, sir, your most humble servant,

JASPER PARISH.

Gen. LEWIS.

LETTER OF MR. GRANGER TO THE CHIEFS AT ALLEGHANY.

BUFFALO, June 22d, 1813.

BROTHERS:—I have just received a speech, in a letter from Gen. Dearborn, the commander-in-chief at Niagara, requesting one hundred and fifty of the young warriors of the Six Nations to meet him at Fort George. It is therefore my request that forty or fifty of the young men of your village should turn out and come to this place as soon as possible. Let a suitable number of chiefs come with them. Bring your guns along with you, and come prepared to stay one or two months. When you get to this council fire, the business shall be more fully explained. Call on the Cattaraugus Indians, and get as many of their young warriors to turn out as you can. I wish you to be here immediately.

Your friend and brother,

ERASTUS GRANGER.

To the chiefs of the Alleghany village.

REPLY OF THE CHIEFS.

CATTARAUGUS, 30th June, 1813.

BROTHER:—We received yours of the 22d instant, two days after date, requesting us to turn out and come to Buffalo, in order to aid in the present contest. We have turned out and come as far as Cattaraugus, where we are requested, by the runner sent by Mr. Parish, to return home. This is twice that we have been called from our business, and traveled near one hundred miles at our own expense, and leaving our own business, in obedience to your calls, and when we arrive here, directed to return home, without any explanation on the business, or any reward for our troubles.

We feel ourselves injured with the treatment we receive at your hands,

and shall return home to our business, and there remain until we receive some explanation of the cause of such trouble and disappointment. We feel ourselves ready to turn out and defend our country, but cannot be treated in this way, as your brothers.

HENRY O'BEAL,

HIS

BLACK \propto SNAKE.

MARK.

HIS

JOHNSTON \propto SILVERHEELS.

MARK.

HIS

BIG \propto JOHN.

MARK.

MINUTES OF A COUNCIL HELD AT BUFFALO BY ERASTUS GRANGER,

JULY 25th. 1813.

Farmers Brother opened the council by an address to the Indians, and one to me by way of compliment. He then addressed himself to the Indians, and said that as it respected the great question before them of peace or war, each village must speak for themselves.

Red Jacket spoke for the Senecas, as follows:

We are once more met in council to give an answer to the speeches made by you and Gen. Porter. It has taken time, the subject being important.

Brother:—We have heard your speeches. You wanted us to assist and watch to the edge of the water. We of Buffalo have agreed to what you requested. You will now hear the decision of the old men. I speak for the Indians of Buffalo; a part will be here for a time; others will then take their places. We count the whole at Buffalo village. We count all who are to be on guard. We cannot designate numbers. Those who live in the little village will be on the ground in case of an alarm. The pay will be distributed among the whole, and be divided according to the number employed. We, the old men, who have seen war, will from time to time instruct and regulate the young warriors. We, the chiefs of Buffalo, (Senecas) turn out one hundred and sixty-two warriors

to be under arms. This is all I have to say. The next who speak are the Cattaragus.

A Cattaragus chief spoke:

Brother:—You will now hear what the Senecas and Delawares from Cattaragus have to say. We have always been ready to assist in defending your boats upon the lake. We are not deceitful. We hope you will not suspect us of any want of friendship to you. We of the Cattaragus, under Capt. Half Town, have for some time been in your service, watching at the mouth of Cattaragus Creek. You will now hear how many we have turned out from our village, including Delawares. The number is twenty-one. If we hear you are in danger, we will all rise from our seats and come forward to your defence. We expect to add to our numbers when we return home and let our young men know. We shall continue to protect your boats as they go up the lake, and we wish to know if we shall be paid for this.

Capt. Shongo, from Canakedea, on Genesee River, spoke, &c. He said that eleven from their village intended to stay and fight. We have been here almost one month, and we mean to stay one month longer.

Sharp Shins, from Squakie Hill, will stay alone.

John Sky, from Tonawanda, spoke as follows:

We turn out none at present, but will return to-morrow and consult the rest of the chiefs. Our friendship is great for the United States.

Cornplanter spoke for the Indians at Alleghany:

We turn out seven. We have a great deal of work to do in our village. If the danger increases, we will turn out more.

He then addressed himself to those who are to stay, which was not interpreted. He then addressed himself to me, and said:

You must pay well. You must open your purse. You must pay some now; and do not let your taverns supply our warriors with spirituous liquor. We feel some anxiety that there is no provision made for the families of our men who fall in this war. There is no promise of compensation. Brother, we expect you to do your best in our behalf.

Red Jacket again spoke:

Brother:—You are now writing what has taken place this day. The part we take in this war is not voluntary on our part; you have persuaded

us into it. We hope you will say so to the President. You must not be displeased with what we say. Your voice was for us to sit still, when the war began, but you have beat us—you have got us into the war.

Brother:—If any of our friends of the Six Nations, except the Mohawks, fall into your hands, we hope you will treat them well; deliver them up to us; we will do the same by white persons we take. Write to the commander-in-chief, and let him know this.

LETTER FROM E. GRANGER TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

BUFFALO, Aug. 9th, 1813.

SIR:—A letter from Gen. Dearborn, dated at Fort George, June 21st, 1813, was received by me, and in it a request was contained that I would immediately bring forward to Fort George one hundred and fifty Indians, on condition they were willing to join our army and enter into the service of the United States. The Indians did not choose to give a positive answer as to what part they would take in the war until they had seen the General. A few of the principal chiefs, with some warriors, repaired with me to Fort George. The General wished them to stay, but as they had, at the request of our government, taken a neutral part, and the unfortunate affairs at Stoney Creek and the Beaver Dams had recently taken place, the Indians thought their safest course was to continue their neutrality. They urged, in their private councils, that the invitation for them to go to war did not come through the right channel; that it was necessary that it should come from the great war chief of the United States, meaning the Secretary of War. They, however, agree to return home and call a council of the confederacy and take up the question, and let Gen. Dearborn know the result.

In the communications which I had heretofore received from the War Department, I had been instructed to use my influence in keeping the Indians quiet, by telling them that they had nothing to do with the war; that the quarrel was ours, &c.

In the situation I was placed, anything I would say in favor of their taking an active part in the war, would come with an ill grace from me, unless I had something to show from you on the subject. Believing, however, that Gen. Dearborn was authorized to accept their services, I was determined to promote his wishes.

The Indians returned and sent runners to the distant villages, inviting them here, with their arms, to attend a council for the purpose of deciding the question of peace or war.

Soon after my return from Fort George, I was informed from deserters and others who came from Canada, that an attack was meditated on Black Rock and Buffalo, and that my person and property were threatened by the British—a reward offered for my head, &c.

The evening before the attack was made at Black Rock, I invited a few Indians to come to my house, being convinced the British would be over the next morning. As our force was small, and a large quantity of public property at Buffalo and its vicinity, I thought the step a prudent one. Thirty-seven Indians, with Farmers Brother at their head, came to my house on Saturday evening at eleven o'clock. So confident was I of a visit from the enemy the next morning, that I got the Indians armed that night.

About sunrise the next morning, Major Wm. King came to my house through the woods from Black Rock, and informed me that the enemy had landed a considerable force. My residence is three miles from Buffalo and two from Black Rock.

Farmers Brother, on being informed that the enemy were on our shores, told the warriors they must go and fight the red-coats. He told them that our country was invaded; that they had one common interest with the people of the United States; that they had everything dear at stake; that the time had arrived for them to show their friendship for their brethren of the United States, not only in words, but in deeds. He led off his little band, and when they came in sight of the enemy they prepared for action, and he directed the warriors to follow his example. He was instantly obeyed; and the action was commenced and continued on the part of the Indians with the greatest coolness and intrepidity. Their personal bravery greatly contributed in routing and defeating the enemy. They showed no disposition to commit any improper acts on the field of battle—not offering any abuse to the wounded prisoners.

LETTER OF CAPT. JASPER PARISH TO MR. GRANGER.

CANANDAIGUA, Sept. 18th, 1813.

DEAR SIR:—Yours of the 12th and 14th instant is received. The Onondaga Indians left here yesterday morning—thirty, including some women. I explained your letter of the 14th, and was able to satisfy them that the President had now requested all the Six Nations should take up the hatchet immediately and join our army at Fort George; that they should receive rations and pay, &c.; the war chiefs who would be their leaders, to be commissioned according to our rules, and receive pay according to

rank. I stated to them, if they were real friends to our government they would not hesitate one moment; if they were to hesitate, and be a long time counselling on the subject, it would be said by some that they were friends to the British.

I stated to them that it was my wish and yours that they would go direct to Buffalo; not to call on the Old Prophet, for he must not interfere with the wishes of our great chiefs. The chiefs requested me to inform you that they would go that way, but it was for a religious purpose; they should stay there but a short time, and then go on to Buffalo. They further requested me to inform you that they were as ready to turn out and join our army as any other of our Indians, and had been whenever the President of the United States had requested them so to do.

There were two Indians here yesterday from the Genesee river. I sent a message to Sharp Shins, Bill Shanks, and other chiefs and warriors, to turn out, with their arms, and to be at Buffalo in five days; then, from there, go to Fort George, where they may have some "amusement," as they term it.

In your letter you seem to doubt my integrity and exertion in this object of government; from what cause, is best known to yourself. I have always made it my duty to obey my orders, directions and instructions from my employers, as far as in my power to do so. In nineteen days, yesterday was the first day that I have missed the intermitting fever. I sweat so very much every night that I am very weak. It wearies me to ride two miles in my carriage. I shall start for Buffalo as soon as I am ready to ride, and attend to the Indian business.

Mr. Fox has returned to this place; is waiting for the Oneida Indians to come on. Mr. Smith and your mother just arrived here on a visit. In a few moments after they arrived, the Postmaster-General passed my house.

I am, sir, your friend and humble servant,

JASPER PARISH.

ERASTUS GRANGER, Esq., Buffalo.

By Capt. Cotton.

SPEECH OF RED JACKET AT A COUNCIL HELD AT BUFFALO.

OCTOBER 21st. 1813.

Addressed to ERASTUS GRANGER, Esq., Agent, &c.:

BROTHER:—We are rejoiced to meet you in health, for which we are grateful to the Great Spirit. Brother, our feelings were hurt that after the

willingness we have shown to assist our brethren of the United States in the war in which they are engaged, that our friendship should be suspected. Our dissatisfaction arose from another cause.

Brother:—Gen. Porter and myself had promised our warriors that they should have pay for one month's services, for guarding the lines. Gen. Wilkinson also promised them pay for their services, but went away, and told them that Gen. McClure would fulfill the promise made to them. We have not received pay, according to promise. We think you were not authorized to promise us. We think we are trifled with. We were promised that all horses and cattle should be free plunder. We took horses; we had to give them up. We have been deceived. We, the Senecas and Onondagas, gave up the property we took. The Oneidas, whom you have educated and taught your habits, gave up nothing. We want you to state this to the President. We want permission to go to Washington. We are an independent nation. We have taken up arms in your favor. We want to know on what footing we stand. We know not how long the war will last. It was agreed by all at Fort George that we should send word. We want a small deputation from the friendly Indians at the westward to meet us at Washington. Let us unite, and in one season more we will drive the red-coats from this Island. They are foreigners. This country belongs to us and the United States. We do not fight for conquest, but we fight for our rights—for our lands—for our country. We hope our request will be granted. We trust you will make known our request to the President, and that we shall not be deceived.

ERASTUS GRANGER'S LETTER TO GEN. M'CLURE.

BUFFALO, Dec. 11th, 1813.

Gen. GEORGE M'CLURE:—

DEAR SIR:—The various reports in circulation this day on account of the approach of the enemy on these frontiers, has induced the citizens of this place to assemble for the purpose of taking into consideration the alarming situation in which they are placed.

Gen. Peter B. Porter and myself have been requested to transmit the proceedings of the meeting. The proceedings or resolutions will speak for themselves. I would briefly observe that the immense amount of private property in this place and Black Rock, as well as that belonging to the United States, is well deserving of the immediate protection of government.

I have had a conversation with Farmers Brother and other chiefs. They say they are ready to turn out, do duty and defend this place, as their wives and children are here, but that they are unwilling to go to Fort George (in Canada.) It is a fact that Indians are of no consequence in doing garrison duty, nor can they be compelled to be shut up in fort. I think they would form a part of an efficient force at this place, and at less expense to the government than the same number of militia. If you think proper to direct the raising two hundred Indian volunteers, to be stationed at this place and Black Rock instead of Fort George, at the same pay and rations as the infantry of the United States troops. I think I shall be able to procure that number shortly.

I feel devoted to the service of my country, and having received a military appointment, I shall impatiently await further orders from you.

I am, very respectfully,

Your obedient, humble servant,

E. GRANGER.

GEN. PORTER'S INVITATION TO THE INDIANS TO JOIN HIM AT CHIPPEWA.

CHIPPEWA, July 25th, 1814.

BROTHERS:—It is the wish of Gen. Brown and myself that as many of your warriors as are disposed to fulfill your engagements to the United States will come on and join us by to-morrow night. Those who live more remote, and cannot reach here so soon, will join us as soon thereafter as possible. We are strong, and in great spirits. We shall soon drive the enemy, who dare not show their heads where we go. We want your aid to assist us in the pursuit. You have already lost one glorious opportunity by being absent. We are aware of the conduct of three of your chiefs—Red Jacket, Cornplanter and Blue Sky. If they do not choose to act for themselves, they should not dissuade others. They should know that the President will be informed of their proceedings; and he has the power to reward and to punish.

Col. Hopkins, who is now at Buffalo, and the bearer hereof, Capt. Frazer, my aid, will see and explain to you many things more at large. We wish you to come on with them, and be assured that the United States will be your friends.

Your friend and brother,

P. B. PORTER.

FARMERS BROTHER, Capt. BILLY, YOUNG KING,

MAJOR BERRY, SHONGO, Col. LEWIS.



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