THE
Pennsylvania
Magazine
OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

John Adlum on the Allegheny: Memoirs for the Year 1794

Part I

Introduction

JOHN ADLUM'S "Memoirs for the Year 1794" constitutes a remarkable work of reminiscence which covers his surveying work in northwestern Pennsylvania and tells of his dealings with the Seneca Indians, whom he persuaded both to allow him to carry on his surveying and, more important, to delay going to war against the United States. The details of his negotiations with Cornplanter, the famous Seneca chief; the reports of speeches exchanged with Cornplanter and other Indians; the descriptions of Indian customs, council procedure, social organization, ceremonies and dances—all make a magnificent picture of Seneca life on the upper Allegheny River in 1794. But Adlum has much else to tell: something of the problems involved in surveying the wilderness, something of conditions on the post-Revolutionary frontier, a side light on the Whiskey Insurrection, and even a startling glimpse of an angry Pennsylvania governor threatening resignation. The most lasting impression, however, comes from the presentation of the Seneca Indians. Their view-

point, their grievances, their hopes and their fears are expressed in many speeches and conversations which the sympathetic Adlum reported honestly, even when he was in disagreement.

The memoirs bring the reader into close association with a group of Indians in northwestern Pennsylvania during a period of crucial significance. British retention of posts on American soil, Indian hostility to white encroachment, and a series of unsuccessful treaties and military expeditions had brought matters to a crisis. Anthony Wayne had been given command of the United States Army and had raised and drilled forces to crush the hostile Indians in the Northwest Territory. As Adlum surveyed the lands, Wayne's troops were marching, and the immediate future of American westward expansion hung in the balance. Adlum was well aware of what was going on outside his own narrow sphere and thought of his personal efforts to keep the Seneca Indians from open hostilities as contributing to the success of the United States in putting an end to the Indian war.

Ten years after the Revolution, the new nation was still finding difficulty in making its authority effective in the lands north and west of the Ohio and Allegheny rivers. Most of the Indians there were hostile and not disposed to enter into any treaty which might involve yielding land for white settlement. The British encouraged their opposition, partly from loyalty to wartime allies, and partly to serve their own interests. Under pressure from fur-trading merchants in Montreal and Quebec, and fearing that American expansion to the Great Lakes might threaten their thinly settled and weakly garrisoned territory in Upper Canada (present Ontario), the British sought to create an Indian buffer state which would separate British from American territory. Charging nonobservance of a treaty provision for the payment of British private claims, they kept possession of Fort Niagara and other posts along the lakes in American territory, and encouraged the Indians to unite in a "confederacy," the better to withstand the Americans.

The United States made repeated efforts to counteract these moves by treaties with separate Indian tribes, by punitive expeditions, and by diplomatic complaints to the British. At Fort Stanwix (Rome, New York) in 1784 and at Fort McIntosh (Beaver, Pennsylvania) in 1785, the new nation made peace with the Six Nations and with the Delawares and Wyandots, and compelled them to give up

their claims to lands outside of certain specified areas which were assigned to them. At the same councils, Pennsylvania bought from the Indians all the lands in the state which had not been covered by Indian purchases of the former Proprietaries. These and other treaties remained relatively ineffective since the tribes farther west refused to make peace, and since elements in the Six Nations, Delawares, and Wyandots did not accept the Fort Stanwix and Fort McIntosh treaties as final.

Generally speaking, the Senecas of the upper Allegheny River and of the Genesee River country leaned toward the United States and were a check upon the British-inclined elements of the Seneca and other Six Nations Indians nearer Fort Niagara and at Grand River in Canada. Cornplanter and other leaders of the Allegheny-Genesee Senecas co-operated in United States efforts to make peace, even though they, too, wished to limit the American demands for land. Their policy survived even the news of Harmar's losses in 1790 and of St. Clair's disastrous defeat in 1791. The long sequence of negotiations, pulling and hauling one way and another, seemed about to end in the summer of 1793, when American commissioners went to a council in the vicinity of Sandusky, Ohio, prepared to make real concessions to the Indians. In spite of urging from the Six Nations delegation, the treaty failed. As a result, General Anthony Wayne began to move forward with the army he had been building and training.

In the meantime, Pennsylvania had taken steps to survey and sell the northwestern lands acquired in 1784 and 1785, and had bought from the United States the triangular tract on Lake Erie, known as the Erie Triangle, in order to have a port on the Great Lakes. On April 18, 1793, the General Assembly provided for laying out a town at Presque Isle (now Erie), and in the spring of 1794 Pennsylvania sent an expedition to occupy and fortify her new lake port.[1] News of this alarmed the British, for Pennsylvania's occupation of Presque Isle would put an end to hope of an Indian barrier state.[2] It also troubled the Six Nations, since it would drive a wedge between them

1 *Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series* (Harrisburg, 1877), VI, 630, 636–638, 647–648.

2 John Graves Simcoe to Dundas, Nov. 10, 1793, E. A. Cruikshank, ed., *The Correspondence of Lieut. Governor John Graves Simcoe* (Toronto, Canada, 1923–1931), II, 99–101; Simcoe to Alexander McKee, June 4, 1794, *ibid.*, V, 89.

and the western Indians and seemingly wreck their hope of recovering land by negotiation.

After the Pennsylvania expedition under Captain Ebenezer Denny had reached and fortified Le Boeuf (present Waterford), about sixteen miles south of Presque Isle, the Six Nations council at Buffalo Creek protested to Israel Chapin, the United States Indian agent. They insisted that the United States and Pennsylvania should withdraw both their forces and their settlers south of a line running from Cornplanter's Town near the state line on the Allegheny River to French Creek a little below present Meadville and thence to the head of the Cuyahoga River and westward. They threatened war if the United States did not confirm this new boundary between white and Indian land. Yielding to a request from President Washington, who wanted to keep the Six Nations quiet while Wayne's army was advancing against the western Indians, Governor Mifflin ordered Captain Denny to halt his expedition at Fort Le Boeuf and not to advance to Presque Isle.[3] This was the situation in July, 1794, when John Adlum arrived to survey lands on the upper Allegheny.

Wayne's victory over the western Indians at Fallen Timbers in northwestern Ohio on August 20, 1794, and the realization that the British would not go to war to help the Indians, caused the Six Nations to drop their demands for a new boundary. After negotiations at Canandaigua, New York, during the fall, the United States finally concluded a treaty with the Six Nations, November 11, 1794, under which Pennsylvania was free to occupy Presque Isle and the Erie Triangle in 1795.[4]

The leading figure in Adlum's memoirs is the Seneca chief known as Cornplanter, whom Adlum obviously respected and admired even when arguing and working against his intentions. *Kayūtwah'kū*, "by what one plants" (according to J. N. B. Hewitt), whom the whites called Cornplanter, John O'Bail, Abeel, etc., was born about 1750 at Ganawagus, a Seneca Indian town near Avon, New York. His father was John Abeel, an Indian trader, of the prominent Albany Dutch family. His mother was Kyashota's sister and hence of the local Wolf Clan "nobility." In "Cornplanter's Talk," dictated February

[3] *Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series*, VI, 656, 668, 669, 677, 716–722, 725–727.
[4] *Ibid.*, 799–804.

14, 1821, to the interpreter Henry York,[5] he said his wife was "the owner of the three best villages in that neighborhood"—using "owner" in the Indian sense. Given any ability at all and inclination to use it, a Seneca man with such female backing was bound to rise.

He joined his uncle Kyashota in opposing Six Nations entry on either side in the Revolution, but, like Kyashota, when the Six Nations elected for the British at Oswego in July, 1777, went off as a "captain" of Indians. Accompanied by his nephew Blacksnake, he fought through the entire war, mostly in the New York theater under the Butlers, Johnsons, and Joseph Brant. After Sullivan broke up the New York Iroquois settlements in 1779, Cornplanter's family moved with the rest to the vicinity of British Fort Niagara and, about 1782, down to the Allegheny country, where Kyashota had lived for a long time. His uncle's partiality for the Americans, whom he knew well at Pittsburgh, probably influenced Cornplanter in his decision to remain with them when the British offered their Indian allies resettlement on Grand River in Canada under Joseph Brant.

At Fort Stanwix in October, 1784, the Americans named the price the Six Nations must pay for Revolutionary hostility. Cornplanter was maneuvered against his judgment into the position of speaker for the Indians, voicing their acceptance of American demands. His role there plagued him for the rest of his life. His enemies, inspired by Brant, accused him of selling out his people, who played him off against the pro-British Brant in the events of the next ten years.

In this period when British-encouraged Indian hostility threatened the American frontiers, Cornplanter was constantly on the go between the seats of government at New York and Philadelphia and the numerous western Indian meetings, for negotiation. He felt he was working for his own people, believing the Americans would reward them for his efforts. He was, of course, disappointed. With Adlum we meet him just before Wayne's decisive victory at Fallen Timbers, when his faith in the whites is about to give way to loyalty to his own people, where his first allegiance always lay.

Pennsylvania had three tracts of land on the Allegheny surveyed for Cornplanter in July, 1795;[6] of these, only the Cornplanter Grant

5 Draper Manuscripts, 16 F 227, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison.

6 *Pennsylvania Archives, Ninth Series* (Harrisburg, 1931–1935), II, 956–958; M. H. Deardorff, "The Cornplanter Grant in Warren County," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, XXIV (1941), 1–22.

in Warren County now remains to his heirs, and that will be inundated by the projected Kinzua Dam.

In 1798 the Quakers accepted Cornplanter's invitation to teach his people. He encouraged schools and missions. His strong opposition to liquor was supported by his half-brother, Handsome Lake the Prophet. This Seneca community became a model, with roads, good houses, fences, plowed fields, and more cattle than could well be wintered. After about 1812, Cornplanter became more and more disillusioned with the whites and turned completely Indian: he burned his uniform, broke his sword, and destroyed his medals; he closed the schools and drove away the missionaries. However, he retained affection for the local Quakers, now settled at Tunesassa just off the Allegany Reservation in New York. He died on February 18, 1836.[7]

In 1866, Pennsylvania erected a monument over his grave, and he was memorialized at a special meeting of the legislature, March 15, 1867, when James R. Snowden gave an address on his life and works, printed with other relevant matter at state expense in *The Cornplanter Memorial. An Historical Sketch of Gy-ant-wa-chia, The Cornplanter. . . .*[8] Ironically, in the first edition of the *Handbook of American Indians,* the portrait of Cornplanter is actually that of his enemy Joseph Brant.[9]

Cornplanter was a fine figure of a man. His strong and impressive character shows through Adlum's account of his dealings with him. Although he spent much time with the whites, it seems he understood no English. His Dutch blood emerged in what General James Wilkinson called his "strong sense of private property,"[10] a thoroughly un-Indian trait which did not endear him to all his people. The legend on his monument says he was "distinguished for talents, courage, eloquence, sobriety and love of his tribe and race to whose welfare he devoted his time, his energies and his means."

[7] *Ibid.*; M. H. Deardorff and G. S. Snyderman, eds., "A Nineteenth-Century Journal of a Visit to the Indians of New York," American Philosophical Society *Proceedings,* C (1956), 582–612.

[8] Harrisburg, 1867.

[9] F. W. Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico,* Bureau of Ethnology *Bulletin 30* (Washington, D. C., 1907–1910), I, 349–350, hereinafter cited as Hodge, *Handbook.* The mistake was corrected in the 1912 impression.

[10] Diary of Joshua Sharples, entry for May 12, 1798, in possession of Dr. W. T. Sharpless, West Chester, Pa.

The reader of the memoirs will surely sense what manner of man John Adlum was, but a knowledge of his life and career before and after 1794 provides a better understanding of this brief interval. Adlum was born on April 29, 1759, in York, Pennsylvania, the son of Joseph and Catharine (Abbott) Adlum.[11] His grandfather John Adlum came to Pennsylvania from Ireland about 1732–1734, and his grandfather John Abbott came from England in 1735. His father was a "skin dresser," preparing deerskins and other hides to make leather breeches and other articles of clothing, and was coroner of York County from 1766 to 1780.[12]

Young John went to school in York under a variety of schoolmasters, of whom he wrote later that only three were "proper teachers" and the other six "mere quacks in their business."[13] He learned to find pleasure in reading, and a local clergyman encouraged his interest, lending him historical and scientific works. These included Antonio de Ulloa's *Voyage to South America*[14] and John Bartram's *Description of East Florida, with a Journal*,[15] which made him aware of the allurements of geographical study and of botany. He went hunting with a gun his grandfather gave him and became an expert fisherman. At the age of fourteen he began to help his father in dressing skins.

With the first stirrings of the Revolution, the men of York formed a militia company, and the boys of the town caught the fever. John joined them in forming a company of their own which was drilled by an old soldier of the Royal American Regiment. The various companies in the vicinity of York organized themselves into a regiment

11 For birth and family, see Willis W. Eisenhart, *The Abbott-Adlum-Green Families* (n. p., 1957), 1–15. Other biographical sketches include a note by J. F. Meginness in *Journal of Samuel Maclay* (Williamsport, 1887), 59–60; L. H. Bailey, *Evolution of Our American Fruits* (New York, 1898), 50–61; John A. Saul, "Tree Culture, or a Sketch of Nurseries in the District of Columbia," Columbia Historical Society *Records*, X (1907), 38–47; "Major John Adlum . . . and His Amelung Glass," *Now and Then* (Muncy Historical Society), IX (1951), 315–317; article by E. H. Jenkins in *Dictionary of American Biography* (*DAB*), I, 109.

12 *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania* and *Minutes of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1838–1853), IX, 333; X, 56; XI, 371; XII, 145–161, hereinafter cited by binder's title: *Colonial Records*.

13 Memoirs of the Life of John Adlum Written by Himself, 4–8, microfilm, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg. These memoirs, 1759–*c.* 1785, are the basis for the account of his early life.

14 Madrid, 1748; published in English, 1758.

15 London, 1769.

after the news of Lexington came. Following the Declaration of Independence, several companies marched from York to join Washington's army in the ill-fated campaign to hold New York City, and most of the boys' company went, too. John Adlum at the age of seventeen became a corporal in Captain Christian Stake's second company, Colonel Michael Swope's battalion.[16]

The alert and intelligent young corporal picked up military lore from soldiers who were veterans of previous wars, and made himself somewhat of a problem to careless, inexperienced officers when assigned to guard duty. His conscientiousness, however, earned him a friendly word of commendation from General Nathanael Greene. Adlum was taken prisoner when the British captured Fort Washington, November 16, 1776, and was confined in Bridewell prison in New York City. The captured American officers, in accordance with the usual military custom of the time, were given parole to live in private lodgings. Colonel Swope as a friend of Adlum's family was concerned about the young man, and induced Colonel Robert Magaw of Carlisle to intercede for him. They got him a parole for the city and let him live in their rooms, where he earned his keep by running errands for them and for their landlady. When the landlady, who was young and quarreling with her husband, began paying undue attention to the handsome youth, his officer friends became alarmed and secured a parole for him to go home. Adlum walked to Philadelphia and then rode on to York in a wagon. There, he was ill for some time, but after his recovery he tried to rejoin the army with the commission as ensign which had been promised him for January, 1777. In this he was disappointed because he was on parole and the commission would involve his exchange for a British officer. He went back to work dressing skins with his father.

Shortly after he became twenty-one, Adlum decided to leave home to seek some other occupation, thinking especially of going to sea. On the way, he stopped in Frederick, Maryland, to see his uncle, another John Adlum, his father's older brother, who had moved there about 1765 and built up a thriving skin-dressing business. His uncle dissuaded him from seafaring while the war was still on, pointing out the danger of capture by the British. Young John had no

16 *Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series*, XV, 637, 641.

desire to be a prisoner again. For the time being, he went to work for his uncle, again dressing skins. With an eye to the future he went to school to learn mathematics, originally with seagoing in mind, but he went on from this to study surveying. While living at his uncle's, he made the acquaintance of his young cousin Margaret (born 1767) who became his wife many years later.

His study of surveying completed, he looked northward again, for he knew there was such work being done in the frontier regions of Pennsylvania. With one hundred eleven dollars and some change in his pockets, he set out on foot from Frederick, went to York to take leave of his parents, and continued to Carlisle to call on Colonel Magaw, who offered to let him study law in his office. Adlum politely declined this friendly offer, but was grateful for letters of introduction which Magaw gave him. He bought a surveyor's chain and instruments, borrowed a compass, and purchased a horse on credit. With visions of his "probable earnings, and of establishing a reputation as a Surveyor . . . ,"[17] he headed for Northumberland, then the center for surveying operations on the North and West Branches of the Susquehanna River. On the way he stopped at Penn's Creek, now Selinsgrove, to visit a boyhood friend, Simon Snyder, later governor of Pennsylvania. At Northumberland he was disappointed in his first application for surveying work. Joseph J. Wallis, then the deputy surveyor in that area, declined to employ him because he was too young and inexperienced and because Wallis thought him not strong enough to stand the hardships of the wilderness. Temporarily, he found a job as a deputy sheriff. Then he met Captain John Lowdon, a friend of his father's, who hired him to help survey lands toward the west.

During the next few years Adlum gained experience in various surveying jobs and began to earn a living, although it was two years before he was able to finish paying for the horse he had bought in Carlisle. When he became known as a capable surveyor, he began to get assignments from the state. His first important state commission came at the recommendation of Andrew Ellicott in 1787, when he was appointed surveyor to accompany the commissioners determining the northern boundary, a job which kept him busy until late in

[17] Memoirs of the Life of John Adlum, 130.

September. It was then that he first became acquainted with Cornplanter and the Seneca Indians of the upper Allegheny River in the various villages which the surveying party passed as they marked the line from the Tioga River to Lake Erie.[18] He liked the Senecas and they liked him. Early in 1789, he felt no hesitation in accepting a commission to survey four tracts to be reserved for the Commonwealth at Presque Isle (now Erie), Le Boeuf (now Waterford), Fort Franklin (now Franklin), and the mouth of the Conewango (present Warren). In June he visited Captain Jonathan Heart at Fort Franklin, and agreed to check on the surveys which the British had supposedly made in the bay of Presque Isle. He carried out this assignment, and made his report to the Pennsylvania government on September 16, 1789.[19] That fall he had an additional assignment to "view" the Schuylkill River.[20]

In April, 1790, he was appointed with Timothy Matlack and Samuel Maclay to a commission to explore the "western waters" and find the best routes of communication into Pennsylvania's new lands. In the course of this work he traveled up the West Branch and Sinnemahoning Creek, and found and surveyed a route from the Sinnemahoning to the Allegheny River. The entire party traveled down the river, pausing to visit Cornplanter at his towns. Adlum took time to make a careful survey of the Allegheny and of Kinzua Creek, while the others went up the Conewango to see Chautauqua Lake and the portage road to Lake Erie. Joining forces again at the mouth of the Conewango, they continued down the Allegheny to Fort Franklin, and then went north to LeBoeuf and Presque Isle. Returning to Fort Franklin, they descended the Allegheny, with Adlum and Matlack making a side trip to explore Toby's Creek (the Clarion River), and then went up the Kiskiminetas and eastward to the Susquehanna.[21] These explorations must have provided the basis for the small map which Adlum made for the Society of Friends and for the great *Map Exhibiting a General View of the Roads and Inland*

18 *Colonial Records*, XV, 212; Andrew Porter Journals (1787), The Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP).

19 *Colonial Records*, XVI, 66, 161, 169; *Pennsylvania Archives, First Series* (Harrisburg, 1852–1856), XI, 576–577, 593; Jonathan Heart to Josiah Harmar, Fort Franklin, Aug. 1, 1789, Harmar Papers, William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Mich.

20 *Pennsylvania Archives, First Series*, XI, 629; *Colonial Records*, XVI, 178.

21 *Ibid.*, 319; *Journal of Samuel Maclay*.

Navigation of Pennsylvania . . . , which he executed with John Wallis and published in 1792.[22]

In the spring of 1791, Adlum surveyed the Susquehanna River from Wright's Ferry (present Columbia) to the Swatara with Timothy Matlack and James Brindley.[23] He was also commissioned on May 31, 1791, to survey three tracts which the state had granted to Cornplanter by an act of February 1, 1791.[24] By now, he began to have more and more work as an agent, surveying lands for speculators like William Bingham of Philadelphia and Samuel Wallis of Muncy.[25] He went to New Town (present Elmira, New York) in June, when a treaty was to be held with the Six Nations, in the hope of seeing Cornplanter and arranging for surveying his land; but when Cornplanter did not come in eight days, Adlum's other business would not let him wait longer. He left him a letter promising to look after his surveys "as soon as I can go to that Country in safety."[26]

His work in selecting land and laying warrants for William Bingham and other "land jobbers," to use the term current in his day, increased with his appointment on April 10, 1792, as deputy surveyor of District No. 1, an area taking in Potter and Tioga counties and a large part of Bradford, Clinton, and Lycoming counties.[27] By the looser standards of the 1790's, it was quite usual for such deputies to reap profit by helping others to obtain the best pieces of land. However, Adlum's work in association with Bingham and Wallis grew to such vast proportions that he retained his position as deputy surveyor for only a year.[28]

The operations of Adlum, Wallis, and Bingham had taken on a scope exceeding the limits of any single deputy surveyor's district,

22 The small map is here reproduced on page 283; the 1792 map was republished in *Pennsylvania Archives, Third Series* (Harrisburg, 1894–1899), I, facing title page.

23 *Pennsylvania Archives, Ninth Series*, I, 94, 234.

24 *Ibid.*, 120.

25 Norman B. Wilkinson, "John Adlum and Lycoming Speculation," *Now and Then*, X (1952), 139–146. Grateful acknowledgment is made to Dr. Wilkinson for the loan of notes and a relevant chapter of his dissertation on "Land Policy and Speculation in Pennsylvania, 1779–1800" (University of Pennsylvania, 1958), which have been helpful in working out the story of Adlum's association with land speculators.

26 *Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series*, IV, 666.

27 List of Deputy Surveyors, Bureau of Land Records, Harrisburg; *Pennsylvania Archives, Ninth Series*, I, 352.

28 *Ibid.*, 553.

ranging across the state from Bradford County to the upper waters of the West Branch and the Allegheny Valley. Thus, he wrote Bingham in 1792 that he planned to run a west line through to the Allegheny River "to go and view and explore the country myself by actual survey," and in the summer of 1793 he was surveying far up the West Branch's tributaries and across to the Allegheny and expressing his regret that he did not have warrants for half a million acres more.[29]

Meanwhile, a new factor entered the "land jobbing" picture. While Adlum was still a deputy surveyor, Governor Mifflin asked if he could find a hundred thousand acres of land in his district for some Dutch financiers who were interested in investing in Pennsylvania lands. Adlum replied that he already had many warrants on hand and could not tell until they were laid. The Governor then took him to the "Dutch Ambassador's" and introduced him to Theophile Cazenove, the agent of the Dutch interests, who asked about "the Country westward," and to whom Adlum gave "a description of the French Creek Country." Disturbed lest his and Bingham's plans might be upset, Adlum wrote Bingham to express concern.[30] About the same time, James Wilson, the Supreme Court justice, who also plunged into land speculation, wrote Cazenove outlining a transaction with the Holland Land Company involving a million acres which he had employed Samuel Wallis to explore and survey.[31] Somehow or other, the conflict of interests was ironed out, and the spring of 1794 found John Adlum heading for the Allegheny Valley to survey land for James Wilson and the Holland Land Company—and William Bingham.

In the summer of 1794, as related in his memoirs, he surveyed land north and west of the Allegheny River and east of French Creek for James Wilson, but he also completed many surveys begun the year before east of the Allegheny and as far south as the Clarion River.[32]

[29] John Adlum to William Bingham, Tyoga Point, July 24, 1792, Bingham Papers, Correspondence (1790–1799), HSP; John Adlum to Thomas Willing, Camp at the Canoe Place on the heads of the Allegany River, June 12, 1793, *ibid.*

[30] Adlum to Bingham, "Market Street 11 o clock," n. d., *ibid.*

[31] James Wilson to Theophilus Cazenove, Jan. 24, 1793 (not signed), Wilson Papers, V, 56, HSP.

[32] Adlum to Bingham, Aug. 27, 1793, and July 4, 1794, Bingham Papers, HSP; Adlum to Samuel Wallis, July 27, Aug. 8 and 12, 1794, Samuel Wallis Papers, microfilm, HSP.

Since he obtained clearance from Cornplanter's people to make the surveys, as well as an escort of Indians to protect his surveying parties, he had little difficulty in accomplishing a great deal while competitors were kept away by fear of Indian hostility. Despite occasional worries about the Indian threat of going to war, Adlum did what he set out to do, and even had to ask Wilson to send more warrants.[33]

When John Adlum returned home to Wolf Run near Muncy in the middle of October,[34] he still had problems about the delivery of drafts of survey to the Land Office and about his own compensation. Thus, John Brodhead, the deputy surveyor in the East Allegheny District, who had empowered Adlum "to do the whole business of surveying in his district," had taken the drafts of survey from Adlum's employee Colonel Alexander Craig, and claimed them as his own.[35] All the papers had to be properly submitted and approved by the Land Office. That took time, and the financial entanglements of his partners also caused difficulty. But as the lengthy process of settlement was worked out, Adlum became a wealthy man.

He had moved his father and mother to the Muncy Valley some time earlier, and now he was able to provide for them well.[36] He was commissioned associate judge of newly created Lycoming County on April 16, 1795,[37] and made brigadier general of the county militia in 1797,[38] but resigned both positions in February, 1798.[39] War was threatening with France, and Adlum sought service under General Alexander Hamilton. He was commissioned a major of the Eleventh Regiment of Infantry, United States Army, January 8, 1799, and recruited troops in Easton in April.[40] But as the danger of war faded, Major Adlum soon returned to civilian life.

Now he had time and means for the study of scientific agriculture, a field which has been his chief claim to fame. As early as 1802 his name was on a list of subscribers to a "Company for promoting the

33 Adlum to Wallis, Aug. 8 and 12, 1794, *ibid.*

34 Norman B. Wilkinson, ed., "Mr. Davy's Diary," *Pennsylvania History*, XX (1953), 266–267; Adlum to Bingham, Wolf Run near Muncy, Nov. 12, 1794, Bingham Papers, HSP.

35 *Ibid.*

36 Eisenhart, *The Abbott-Adlum-Green Families*, 11.

37 *Pennsylvania Archives, Ninth Series*, II, 964.

38 *Ibid.*, 1235.

39 *Ibid.*, 1345.

40 Eisenhart, *The Abbott-Adlum-Green Families*, 12, 16.

Cultivation of Vines."[41] On December 13, 1805, he married his cousin Margaret.[42] They lived on a farm near Havre de Grace, Maryland,[43] where the interest in science produced by his youthful reading, his acquaintance with Dr. Joseph Priestley at Northumberland,[44] and his natural bent for scientific observation found expression in experimental farming, grape culture, and wine making. Some years later, the Adlum family moved to Georgetown in the District of Columbia where Major Adlum bought about two hundred and thirty acres of land and built a home called "The Vineyard."[45]

In his farm and nursery there he grew a number of European and American varieties of grapes. Coming to the opinion shared by Thomas Jefferson that American varieties had greater possibilities than those imported from Europe, he narrowed his study to twenty or thirty American varieties, and finally from one of these about 1807 developed the Catawba grape, which he originally called the Tokay.[46] Early in 1823, he sent two bottles of wine, one from these grapes and one from another variety, to Thomas Jefferson, who commented favorably on their quality in his letter of thanks, April 11, 1823.[47] That same year he published his *Memoir on the Cultivation of the Vine in America and the Best Mode of Making Wine*, which was issued again in an enlarged edition in 1828. This was the first American work on grape culture. In 1826 he published *Adlum on Making Wine*. For these achievements he has been called the "Father of American Viticulture," and the American grape industry owes its beginnings to his Catawba grape.[48] A humbler tribute to his botanical

41 *Pennsylvania Archives, Ninth Series*, III, 1792.

42 Eisenhart, *The Abbott-Adlum-Green Families*, 14.

43 *Ibid.*, 14, 16.

44 Note by J. F. Meginness in *Journal of Samuel Maclay*, 59.

45 Eisenhart, *The Abbott-Adlum-Green Families*, 14.

46 *DAB*, I, 109.

47 Thomas Jefferson to John Adlum, Monticello, Apr. 11, 1823, Adlum Papers, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission Research Collections, Harrisburg.

48 John A. Saul, "Tree Culture . . . ," Columbia Historical Society *Records*, X (1907), 45–46; articles on "Catawba" and "Vine" in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (14th ed.). Peter Legeaux, a Frenchman, developed the "Cape" or Alexander grape near Philadelphia before 1800, but it was "superseded by a better American variety, the Catawba," by about 1850. S. W. Fletcher, *Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life, 1640–1840* (Harrisburg, 1950), 222–225. The first Nicholas Longworth (1782–1863), in his horticultural experiments near Cincinnati, Ohio, which made grape growing commercially profitable, "was unsuccessful until he obtained the native Catawba from John Adlum." Article by Henry D. Hooker in *DAB*, XI, 393–394.

work is the Allegheny fumitory, an attractive vine with delicate flowers and leaves, to which the naturalist Rafinesque gave the scientific name *Adlumia* in his honor.[49] He died on March 14, 1836, and was buried in Oak Hill Cemetery at Georgetown.[50]

John Adlum was a tall, muscular, and energetic man with blue eyes, light hair, and a ruddy complexion. Friendly, genial, and even jovial, he was a good conversationalist, interested in a great variety of subjects, and he had an even and mild disposition.[51] He was humane and kind; late in life he wrote that he was not conscious "of ever having injured any person."[52] His inquiring mind and observant eye are apparent in his memoirs and they contributed much to his scientific achievement. He also had a substantial share of human vanity. We may smile at the way he makes everything revolve around himself in his memoirs, taking credit for the successful outcome of developments which might have turned out much the same without him. For all that, his general presentation of events is so striking and he is so obviously trying to be honest that his vanity does not annoy. He may be likened to an aged grandfather telling youngsters about the great days of his youth. Sometimes he may exaggerate his own role, sometimes he may get events out of their proper order, but he has no thought of misleading and the essential truth is there: his audience will have no difficulty in discounting the errors.

Late in his life, John Adlum tells us, "In looking over various papers which were intended only to assist my memory," he was led "to put them into some form, and call them Memoirs."[53] Two such memoirs are extant. One covers his early life from birth to about 1785, but this manuscript breaks off virtually in mid-sentence as he is about to begin his surveying career. The second is the "Memoirs for the Year 1794," here published.

Although this manuscript was written, as Adlum says, forty to fifty-five years after his visits to the Indians, his narrative stands up very well when compared with contemporary sources. He says that he wrote it "from the original notes," and from the placing of marginal references to pages at various points in the manuscript it would

49 Saul, "Tree Culture . . . ," 47.

50 Eisenhart, *The Abbott-Adlum-Green Families*, 14–15.

51 Note by J. F. Meginness in *Journal of Samuel Maclay*, 59–60.

52 Memoirs of the Life of John Adlum, 2–3.

53 *Ibid.*, 1.

appear that these notes dealt with the speeches, councils, and ceremonies and various other items worth recording, and that they were not a day-by-day record of events. Occasionally, Adlum simplifies and combines, giving an example rather than the full story, and sometimes he falls into error in chronology. Various notes will call attention to cases of oversimplification, and the chronological slip is discussed in the introduction to the second part, where it occurs. Such defects are characteristic of memoirs, and do not detract from their value. A remarkable point about Adlum's memoirs is the extent to which they may be documented from contemporary sources, and various examples are shown in the notes.

The manuscript is written in two small notebooks, totaling one hundred and thirty-three pages.[54] The cover bears the title, "Memoirs for the Year 1794—No. 1—Copy—for 1794. From the original notes," and an inner title page reads: "Memoirs for the Year 1794 Copyed from the original notes—" There is no signature, no author's name, but the handwriting is Adlum's, the language and style are his, and the manuscript has many passages similar to his extant letters. It was purchased by The Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1959 from Mrs. Edward von Selzam, a great-great-granddaughter of John Adlum, and is now in the Gratz Collection.

The notes on the Indians and the interpreters are the work of Merle H. Deardorff, who has taken great pains in transliterating and translating the names. Many Indians have aided in rendering and interpreting these names, as have Dr. William N. Fenton of the New York State Museum and Dr. Wallace L. Chafe of the Smithsonian Institution. The alphabet used is a modification of Nils Holmer's, which is simple and sufficiently precise without requiring the characters used in linguistic study. These special sounds require mention:

e	as in French *été*	ũ	as in French *bon*
ẽ	as in French *vin*	j	ranges from *tz* and *ch* to *j*
i	as in English *machine*	ʔ	glottal stop
u	between *go* and *do*	:	lengthens preceding vowel

Various individuals have been treated at length in the notes, for they are important in the history of the period, and there is seldom any

[54] The page numbers run up to 131, but pages 21 and 96 are repeated by an error in numbering.

convenient material in print to which the reader might be referred. No attempt has been made to cover fully all the questions raised by Adlum's descriptions of Indian customs and ceremonies; in these a single item like the Eagle Dance might well form the basis for a lengthy ethnological study.

In transcribing the memoirs for publication, Adlum's punctuation, spelling, grammar, and arrangement have been followed as faithfully as possible with one or two exceptions which are duly noted; in most instances, however, double punctuation has been eliminated, and superscript letters have been brought to the line. Words stricken out have not been shown, since they could be of little significance in memoirs; in the single instance when they might be of some importance, a note calls attention to them. Sometimes, when it makes for greater clearness, the correct form is supplied in brackets or missing letters are inserted in brackets within words. In a few instances words have been supplied in brackets to make the meaning clear.

The editors are grateful to The Historical Society of Pennsylvania for the opportunity to work on this interesting manuscript which opened up many fascinating avenues of investigation, and to the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission for the time spent by a staff member on this research and editorial project.[55]

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission DONALD H. KENT
Warren MERLE H. DEARDORFF

55 Grateful acknowledgment is also made for information from John A. Walls, Baltimore, Md.; Dr. Guy S. Klett, Research Assistant, Presbyterian Historical Society; Dr. Hubertis Cummings, Harrisburg, Pa.; Edw. J. Sheehan, Fonda, N. Y.; and Miss Martha Simonetti and William Work of the Commission's Division of Public Records. For many helpful comments and suggestions we thank Charles E. Congdon, Esq., Salamanca, N. Y., and Dr. S. W. Higginbotham, Director of the Commission's Bureau of Research, Publications, and Records.

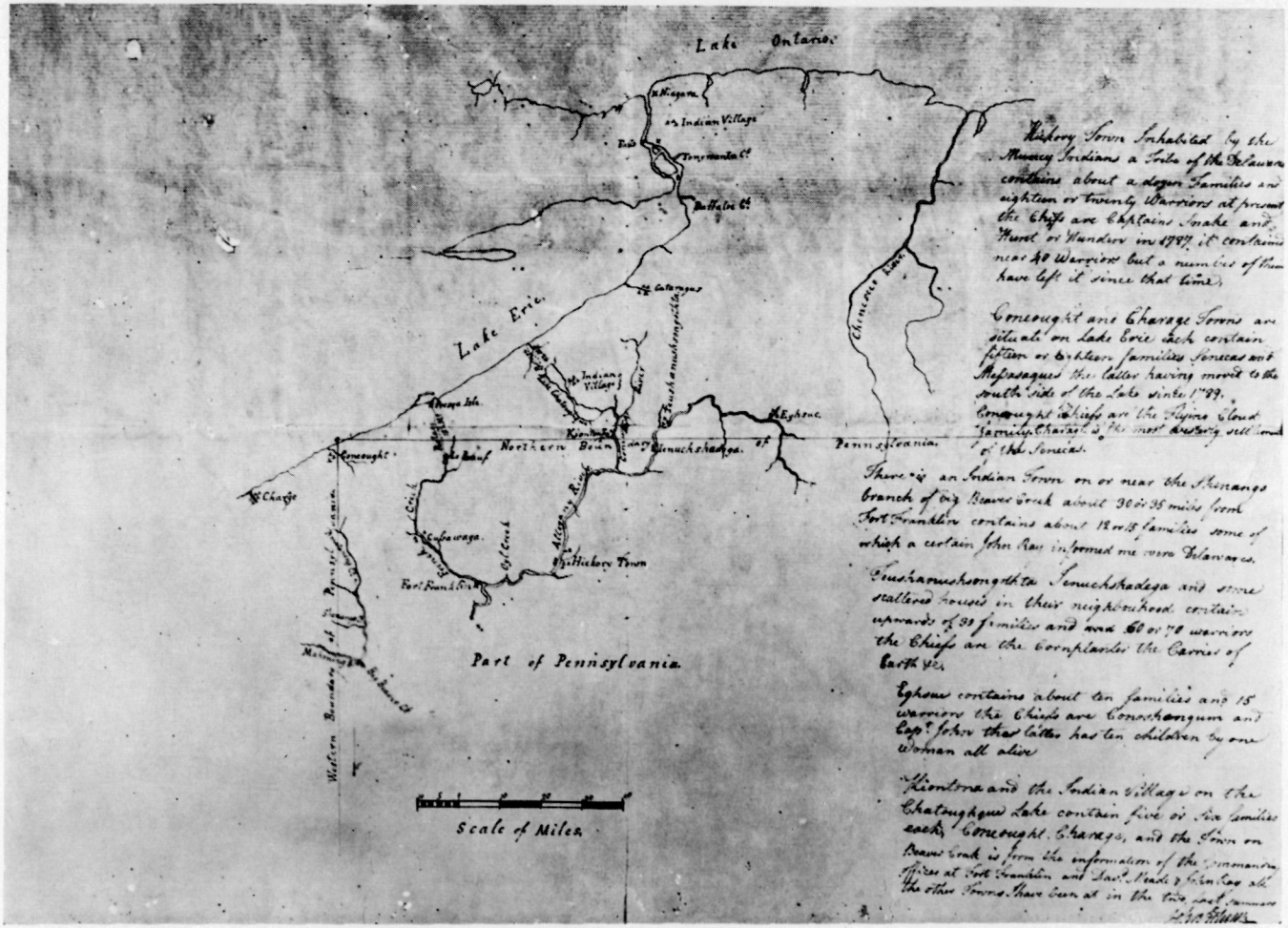
A Note on John Adlum's Map

Several years before the time of the memoirs, John Adlum made a map of northwestern Pennsylvania and western New York for the Society of Friends in Philadelphia, who in 1791 were considering the acceptance of an invitation from Cornplanter to undertake educational work among his people. This map is now in the files of the Religious Society of Friends of Philadelphia and Vicinity (302 Arch Street, Philadelphia), and is published with their kind permission.

The map cannot be dated precisely, but it shows the situation in the region as it was in the summer of 1790. Allowing for certain changes which took place in the intervening period, this map serves well to locate places mentioned in the memoirs. The principal changes to be noted are that the Munsee Delawares had moved from their village at Hickory Town to Cattaraugus in 1791, that Pennsylvania's Fort Le Boeuf was being built in 1794, and that the eastern boundary of the Erie Triangle was determined in 1790. Roughly speaking, this boundary would be a line running due north from the "N" in "Northern Boundary."

Charage was on the site of present Painesville, Ohio; *Coneought* at present Conneaut, Ohio; *Presque Isle* at present Erie, Pennsylvania; and *Le Boeuf* at present Waterford. *Cussawaga* became Meadville. *Kiantona* was on the flats along the Conewango at the mouth of Kiantone Creek; and *Hickory Town* at present East and West Hickory, Forest County.

Geographically speaking, the map is most accurate along the Allegheny River and French Creek. The arrangement of the streams in the Beaver River ("Big Beaver Ck") system is incorrect; and the Niagara River and the western end of Lake Ontario are not in their proper relation to the rest of the map. The latter would indicate either that the map was made before Ellicott's survey of the Erie Triangle in 1790, or, at least, that Adlum was not acquainted with Ellicott's findings.



Chillicothy Town Inhabited by the Munsey Indians a Tribe of the Delawares contains about a dozen Families and eighteen or twenty Warriors at present the Chiefs are Captains Snake and Hurst or Wanders in 1797 it contained near 40 Warriors but a number of them have left it since that time.

Conewaugh and Charage Towns are situate on lake Erie each contain fifteen or sixteen families Senecas and Mesasaques the latter having moved to the south side of the Lake since 1799. Conewaugh Chiefs are the Flying Cloud Family Charage is the most Western settlement of the Senecas.

There is an Indian Town on or near the Shenangos branch of big Beaver Creek about 30 or 35 miles from Fort Franklin contains about 12 or 15 families some of which a certain John Ray informed me were Delawares.

Cuskarawaoke the Tenuchshadaga and some stallered houses in their neighbourhood contain upwards of 30 families and was 60 or 70 warriors the Chiefs are the Complanter the Carrier of Earth &c.

Eghone contains about ten families and 15 warriors the Chiefs are Conoshongum and Capt. John that latter has ten children by one Woman all alive

Kiantona and the Indian Villages on the Chatauqua Lake contain five or six families each, Conewaugh, Charage, and the Town on Beaver Creek is from the information of the Commanders offices at Fort Franklin and Saml. Neale & John Ray all the other Towns I have been at in the two last Summers

John Filson

Memoirs for the Year 1794

1794 I had sold what was called a discovery of land on the west side of the *Allegany River* to the *Honble. J. W*—and which he again sold to the *Dutch Company*, Which I engaged to have surveyed and the returns of survey put into the Surveyor Generals Office[56]—I accordingly sent out sugar, chocolate, powder, lead, tents &c. early in the month of April to *Pittsburgh*—I had agreed with Cols. Campbell & Craig[57] of the militia to furnish me with a quantity of flour and bacon sufficient to last me for the season— I also directed a person in my employment to engage fifty good hands for me, and to meet me by a certain day in the month of May, And I sent a young Gentleman (M J.)[58] who was recommended to me as a young man of talents, but without any experience in surveying lands— I despatched him, (about three weeks before I was ready to set out) to have my flour bacon &c. sent to the mouth of the *Kiskemanitas river*, and if there was no place to store it there to send it to *Pittsburgh* where my other stores were, and to agree with a competent person to carry them to *Fort Franklin*[59] at the mouth of *French-creek*,— He had a classical

[56] James Wilson (1742–1798), signer of the Declaration of Independence, important member of the Federal Constitutional Convention, and associate justice of the United States Supreme Court, became involved in vast land speculations in his later years. On Aug. 1, 1793, he sold 499,600 acres of land "Situated on French Creek and the River Allegheny" to the group of Dutch financiers who became known as the Holland Land Company. John Adlum was to have this land surveyed and to receive land himself in compensation. Considerations and Proposals . . . , Apr. 17, 1799, James Wilson Papers, VI, 24, HSP.

[57] Charles Campbell and Alexander Craig, militia officers in Westmoreland Co. Campbell, who was brigade inspector, lived in present Indiana Co. on Black Lick Creek four or five miles above Blairsville. Statements of Robert Orr and Joseph Sharp, Draper Manuscripts, 6 NN 148, 8 NN 63; John Taylor, Map of Indiana Co., 1817, Bureau of Land Records, Harrisburg. Craig lived on Loyalhanna Creek above present New Alexandria. Map of Westmoreland Co., 1818, Bureau of Land Records; letter of Margaret Campbell Craig, New Alexandria, Mar. 12, 1879, *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (*PMHB*), IV (1880), 394–395. Both were thus in strategic locations to supply and aid surveying parties and other travelers to western Pennsylvania. Both were employed at various times in the surveying work of Adlum and Wallis.

[58] M. Jones, since, in the satirical passage on page 287 following, the frogs call, "Jones, Jones, Jones," but not otherwise identified. Alexander McDowell, the deputy surveyor, stated that he "met with a Mr. Jones who had been employed by John Adlum to purchase and forward provisions for his use." This was on "Black," an obvious allusion to Campbell's place on Black Lick Creek. J. H. Newton, ed., *History of Venango County* (Columbus, Ohio, 1879), 104.

[59] Built in 1787 on French Creek half a mile above its junction with the Allegheny River, in present Franklin, by a United States detachment commanded by Capt. Jonathan Heart.

education, and was a good theoretical Mathematician. He was very handsome with a fair and ruddy complexion, and easy address: and very fond of the ladies, this I only found out sometime after he was in my employment. The evening he arrived at *Greensburgh*,[60] about thirty miles from *Pittsburgh*, there was a ball and dance to which though an entire stranger he was invited; He with his easy address and fine person, was soon taken notice of by the ladies: and he to flatter them, wrote verses, praising them for real or immaginary charms (he had a ready turn for versefying, either complymentary or satyrical) and he made himself so agreeable, that they had two or three dances a week, and with which he was so entertained and engaged, that he forgot the business I had sent him on, and I believe he never thought of it untill he saw me riding into the town of *Greensburgh*— He then appeared much frightened, And I lectured him severely for neglecting the business I had sent him out on— I in going to *Greensburgh* had went by the way of *Col. Campbell's & Col. Craig's*, and they informed me that they had the flour and bacon ready for me, and were much surprised that they had not heard from me. But they informed me that they thought it fortunate that I had not come out earlier, as about three weeks before there was some boats going down the *Kiskemanetas* on their way to *Kentucky* had several persons killed and wounded in them by the indians firing on them[61]—And that if I had come out myself about that time, I would probably have had a boat under way at the same time, and that I or some of my people might have been injured, which in a great degree done away my resentment against M. J—

There had been for some years but one Clergiman in *Westmoreland County*, And he was an *American*. This year there came another from *Scotland*, and he immediately gave out that a person educated in *America* could not be an orthodox preacher, and that to be so, he must have been educated in *Scotland*, the only place where a clergiman could receive that light necessary for a *Presbiterian Minister*, and as about half the settlers at that time were foreigners, consisting mostly of those called *Scotch Irish*, They generally joined in favour of the newly imported *Parson*, And he challenged the old one, (who

60 Greensburg, at first called New Town, became the county seat of Westmoreland Co. in 1787.

61 This attack occurred on May 30. Charles Campbell to Governor Mifflin, Greensburg, June 5, 1794, *Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series*, VI, 677–678.

had been for some years enjoying the loave[s] & fishes very comfortably and much to the satisfaction of his hearers generally) to dispute the point publickly—Which the old one accepted—And a scaffold was erected for the *Parsons*[62] to appear the more conspicuously—And the whole Country for several miles round collected, and each took their sides. My man M. J. who was a clergimans son went to hear the dispute, and kept notes of their arguments, on both sides, And carricacured them in *Hudybrastic* verse. The scriptures quoted by them he put down fairly; but their arguments he placed in a most ludicrous light, and satirized both without favour or affection and made them appear in a truly ridiculous light— He commenced with giving some account of my sending him from *Philada.* [and of] his arrival at *Greensburgh*—Where he compliments the Ladies for their beauty & the gentlemen for their hospitality. He then mentions his taking a walk into the woods, where there was a pond of water of considerable size—when he heard *a hoarse* and loud voice call *Jones, Jones, Jones*— He went to see what it meant, or the cause of his being called, when he observed two bull frogs, seated on a log in the pond, and the whole fraternity of frogs collected to hear a great dispute between *these two frogs* on the log,— He then commences with their speeches &c. And giving them as mentioned above caricatured, and placing the speakers in a most ridiculous light especially the *Scotsman*—he winds up very handsomely but with keen satire; [on] the folly of such disputes, as there did not appear any one convinced, so as to change the side he had taken—Each thinking that the *Parson*, he sided with had the best of the argument. I tried hard to get a copy of it, but could not prevail on him to gratify me.

In the evening of the day, that I arrived at *Greensburgh*, Parties who went to the west of the *Allegany-river* and *French-creek* country, to seize the lands by what they called improvements, and to prevent those who had bought and paid the State for it, from surveying the

62 Since there were more than two Presbyterian ministers in Westmoreland Co. in 1794, it is difficult to identify the debaters, but a serious controversy did erupt in that area late in June within the Associate Reformed Church, a dissident branch of the Presbyterians. On May 27, 1795, a meeting of the Associate Reformed Synod at Philadelphia took up the case of the Rev. John Jamieson who, "at Hannah's town, either on the last Sabbath of June, or the first of July, 1794," made charges that the Synod had relaxed some of its regulations to please "rich men." *An Account of the Disputes Between the Associate Reformed Synod, and the Rev. John Jamieson in Matters of Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government of the Church* (Greensburg, 1800), 62, 64. Jamieson was born in Scotland. Hannastown is only a few miles from Greensburg.

lands—came running into the Town in parties of fives—tens, and more or less numbers very much frightened: as the indians took the liberty of skin[n]ing a few of the heads of those who went for the purpose,[63] of seizing the country by improvement as they called it— Those improvements were made by girdling a few trees, and driving four forked sticks in the ground, and laying two poles across in front and rear of the forks and covered them with bark— by this they expected to hold four hundred acres of land, and two persons would make upwards of a dozen of them in a day. Two of the persons killed were in my pay, and they went about twenty miles out of their way to make the improvements not for me, as I had warrants for all the lands I was concerned in, and the State was paid the cash for them. But [from] this freak of the indians, no more improvements were made that summer nor attempted to be made— those that escaped, and brought in the news caused all the parties out, to desert the Country— All my hands and surveyors, from the *West-branch* of Susquehanna, also arrived that evening on their way to join me, amounting to fifty four including six surveyors— I the next morning called them all together, and informed them of this unpleasant circumstance, which they had also heard from the fugitives with much exageration—I told them that notwithstanding what had happened I was determined to go out on the business we had set out on—and that to all who would accompany me, I would increase their wages from ten dollars per month to half a dollar per day—And that all who refused to go with me, I would pay their wages to that day inclusive—but would not pay them for the time they should be on the road going home— twenty three determined to leave me: but insisted on my allowing them wages and subsistance for the time they should be on their way home—I told them they were bound to serve me untill the first day of December, unless I sooner discharged them, at ten dollars per month, and that I did not then discharge them—I only gave them leave to go home as they were afraid of the indians, And I had offered them their wages to that day without any of them having done me one penny's worth of service. But as they did not accept of my offer, I ordered them to get ready immediately, to go

63 Skin[n]ing the head is vulgarly called scalping [*Adlum's note*]. It was a matter of common belief that claims could be established to vacant, unsurveyed land by improvement, and this was justified to some extent by some court decisions and by the Actual Settlement Act of 1792.

out with me, as first intended—And that if they did not stay with me untill I discharged them, I would sue each for one hundred dollars, the penalty they were bound in— Some of them immediately informed me that they would accept of my offer, and I paid them accordingly, and gave each five days provision to last them home— The remaining ones who refused to go with me went to a Magistrate, and sued me for a sum each, according to a calculation of their own— and a half a dollar per day for Subsistance on their way home—

I waited on the Magistrate, and they also attended, and were going to swear to the accounts they had drawn up against me, and the Magistrate was about administring the oath to them when I shewed him the contract, to demonstrate to him that I owed them nothing, untill the first day of December ensuing unless I sooner discharged them,— He was one of those trading Justices and the oaths of so many 14 or 15 would amount to a Sum with his other costs which he intended to saddle me with, [which] was so much more than he was in the habit of receiving that he could not resist the temptation— He had issued as many warrants for me as there were accounts produced— I had forbid him to administer the oath to them as I owed them nothing, and that they were my servants to the first day of December unless I sooner discharged them, and untill discharged I owed them nothing— But he replied that he would judge of that when he heard the evidence— I had the contract with me, and in the presence of the magistrate, asked every one in particular, if their names on the contract was not signed by themselves, some of them acknowledged they had signed, and others said they were not bound to answer my questions— I called Capt. McGrady[64] who had engaged the hands for me, and I asked him if he did not see, those whose names were on the contract, sign it with their own hands: he said he did and was ready to swear to it— I then requested the constable who was attending, to call a young gentleman who was a lawyer and request him to call at the Magistrates office as I wished to have his council. The Gentleman attended immediately, but while the constable was on his errant [*errand*], the magistrate was going to

64 Samuel McGrady of Buffalo Twp., present Union Co., served as a lieutenant under Lt. Col. Henry Antes in the Revolutionary War. In 1794, he was a captain in the Fifth Battalion of militia. Records in Division of Public Records, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission; J. B. Linn, *Annals of Buffalo Valley, Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1877), 236, 241.

take their Affidavits as to the justness of their accounts— I again informed him that I owed them nothing, neither were they entitled to any pay untill the first day of December unless, I sooner discharged them—And that if he permitted any of them to swear to their accounts, I would prosecute them & him for perjury—and have them sent to jail, where they would have to stay untill the next Court, as it would be a criminal act—None but the Judges of the Supreme court could take Security— He bounced and said he would not be bullied or insulted in his office— I told him that I did not mean to insult or bully him, but to prevent him from doing an improper act (and which would send the hands to the wheelbarrow) and him from losing his office, at which he threatened to commit me to jail— But just at this moment the young gentleman arrived, that I had sent for— I handed him my contract, and told him that Capt. McGrady one of the witnesses to the instrument, was present, and would answer him any questions respecting the business, he might ask him—and that the other witness was also in Town, and I had sent the Constable after him—And that he would percieve that I owed those who sued me nothing—as I had not discharged them, and as he was now present and both witnesses would attend him in a few minutes—I told him if the magistract permitted them to swear to their accounts to take out writs for them and sue them and prosecute them for perjury—As they know that I owe them nothing, and they had done me no services, neither had I nor would I discharge them—And that if this magistrace would not swear my witnesses to prove the contract to go to some other magistrate who would do it—And let his honer the magistrate know, what was done—For it was time to break up this trading business, for the sake of fees, which they wished to exact—Just or unjust, at this the magistrate waxed very wroth and again threatened me to send me to Prison—To which I did not reply—But I told the young Gentleman, that I left the business altogether with him, I left the Office & I fully expected the Constable after me, but the Magistrate, thought proper to pocket all I had said, and did not trouble me— My Lawyer had the witnesses sworn to the signing of the contract— He then asked the parties seperately whether that was their hand writing or not, several acknowledged that it was, others refused to answer; he then asked the Magistrate whether he intended to swear those that were silent—

He said he would leave it to them selves, and that if they wished to swear to their accounts he would administer the oath to them— My Law[y]er cautioned him not to be so fast, for as I looked upon myself very illy treated, he had instructions from me, to take out writs for those who swore to their accounts, for perjury, as they well knew I owed them nothing, And he demanded judgment in my favour— The Magistrate enquired whether I would pay him his fees or not— He replied that he presumed I would not & then sayes he how am I to get them. Apply to those who are in the fault—The Magistrate then adjourned the business untill the next morning— My council came and explained the manner in which he had left the business,— I told him that I would give him the money to pay those who had acknowledged their hand writing, the same as I had done to those whom I discharged—But as they had detained me two days I would not give them any thing more. And requested him to take such a receipt, as would fully exonerate me, and acknowledge their engagement with me and the reasons, I gave them leave to return home, all which was accordingly done— And they set out that evining leaving the others to pay the costs— I the next morning forwarded all my people except Capt. McGrady and the other witness, for *Pittsburgh* with the Packhorses &c. And I went to the Majistrates Office, And commanded the obstinate hands, to follow those I had sent to *Pittsburgh*, immediately—which they refused— I left my contract with them to my Council, and in their and the majistrates presence, [I told him] to sue them for the penalty mentioned in the Contract, viz one hundred dollars, And I demanded of the Majistrate to dismiss me immediately, and I told my council (who was present) that he must take such steps that would prevent my being further interrupted in my business. That I had land warrants amounting to more than four hundred thousand acres, And that for every day that I was unnecessarily interrupted in my business, to charge them two hundred dollars damages for each day and bring suit, at the end of five days, for one thousand dollars, and that a jury of my Country would judge whether the damages were over rated or not— I also informed him that I had forwarded my Surveyors, hands and Pack horses for *Pittsburgh*, And that I would follow them at eleven o clock, and that I left the whole business with him to manage as he thought best—And I left the Majistrates Office— I expected the Constable after me to

detain me to make me pay the Costs—But my Council frightened the whole of them.

Before I set out those remaining and who had Sued me, applied to Capt. McGrady to pay them, and threatened as he was the person who had engaged them for my service to sue him— I told my Council that if they attempted to stop the Capt. to take out writs for each of them for the penalty mentioned in the constract, if they did not immediately follow those I had sent on to Pittsburgh— I left money with my Council to pay them the same that I had paid those who went home, and (that is) to the day they arrived at *Greensburgh*, whenever they were ready to [sign] such a receipt as would exonerate me from future litigation—And then I set out for *Pittsburgh*[65]—In the evining of the same day they came upon terms with him, and he paid them, but as I had left no provisions for them—All they got by not accepting my first offer was to lose three days time, to pay the costs, and subsist themselves as they chose on their way home—and. . . .[66]

Upon my arrival at Pittsburgh I immediately bought twenty seven rifles in addition to the few we had making in all thirty two, that belonged to myself, and there was one or two belonging to the hands — I had sent a sufficiency of powder and lead from Philada. And I employed a gun smith to put them in the best order possible— I also engaged a Mr. Haymaker[67] then a resident of Pittsburgh: but formerly of York Town Pennsa. and an acquaintance of my fathers, to carry my stores and provisions in a large boat to Fort Franklin at the mouth of *French creek*, he had ten hands, who were well armed with rifles, and I sent with him twenty of my own hand[s] the pick of the party, and some of them had been indian hunters in our

65 "This morning I again return to Pittsburg and proceed immediately to the Mouth of French Creek having made every arrangement for that purpose." Adlum to Wilson, Greensburg, July 4, 1794, James Wilson Papers, V, 78, HSP.

66 Here several lines are stricken out and indecipherable. Adlum had more difficulty with his men than is mentioned in his memoirs. After the trouble at Greensburg, he sent into Washington Co. and hired more men, but they became frightened and returned home before reaching Pittsburgh. There he employed Haymaker and his boat, part of Thomas Rees's hands who had been surveying in the Erie Triangle, and two surveyors. At Kittanning the men "mutinied" again and demanded double pay; Adlum had trouble in persuading them to go on. Adlum to Wallis, Fort Franklin, July 27, 1794, Wallis Papers, microfilm, HSP.

67 Possibly Jacob Haymaker who was a boatbuilder in Pittsburgh. Charles W. Dahlinger, *Pittsburgh: A Sketch of Its Early Social Life* (New York, 1916), 40, 42.

revolution all well armed with good rifles to guard the boat, and where the hill came close to the river he transported them across it to the bottom land, as there was always a piece of bottom land opposite wherever the hill touched the *river*— I took the remainder of the hands and the packhorses through the woods to *French Creek*— Before I left Pittsburgh Generals Presly Nevil, Wilkins, & Woode the Honble. Mr. Brackenridge[68] & others the most respectable gentlemen of the Town waited on me, to dissuade me from the attempt, that by every information that was brought to Pittsburgh, there was a number of the indians watching the Allegany river, And that it would be very likely that we would meet with some of them when we would of a certainty be fired on— I told them in return, that it was the only chance I would ever have to survey those lands, and that if it was not for the Accident that happened to those who went to make improvements, I was pretty certain that they would have opposed all Surveyors, and the Surveying of the lands—That I had no doubt on my mind but that General Wayne would defeat the Western indians, and that peace would immediately follow, and that soon after the whole Country would be overrun by those pedling Speculators, and be employed in what they called improvements, and the next season the whole territory would swarm with such characters and [they] would drive off all who had paid honestly for their lands.

They [*The*] Gentlemen said every thing the[y] could to me as friends not to risk my self—But I persisted in my determination to go on this business—And accordingly ordered all hands to move forward— I set out with a small party, taking our pack horses with us and went to the *Kittanning*, and waited there untill my boat with the Stores came up, I then let them have one days start—When I with my party set out for *French-creek*. When I arrived there—I took all my hands and got a few men from Capt. Heath[69] who commanded at Fort Franklin and went down with this detachment to

[68] Col. Presley Neville (1755–1818), brigade inspector of Allegheny Co. militia. Dr. John Wilkins, Jr. (1761–1816), brigadier general of Allegheny Co. militia, and contractor for supplying the Pennsylvania expedition to Presque Isle, 1794. John Woods (1761–1816), Pittsburgh attorney, son of George Woods who laid out the town. Hugh Henry Brackenridge (1748–1816), Pittsburgh's leading lawyer, member of the General Assembly.

[69] Capt. John Heth, a Virginian and veteran of the Revolution, took over the command of Fort Franklin in July, replacing Lt. John Polhemus.

below the mouth of Sandy lick Creek,[70] to meet my boat as it was supposed that if any Indians were out they would be lurking in that neighbourhood— The boat met us in about two hours after we encamped near the river— All the men in the boat were in great Spirits, and said they met with no obstacle on the way, neither did they fear any, We accompanied them the remainder of the day, keeping patroles in the woods, and I left them the next day a few miles from the Fort—and as we had not seen any signs of indians in the Country, we concluded there was none in it[71]—

In the evening my boat arrived, I had it immediately unloaded, and the stores housed under the protection of the Fort for their better security,—

About the same time there was about twenty *Seneca Indians* who had been out hunting came to the Fort—Some of whom I was acquainted with—I called on them and informed them of the business that brought me there, and I wished their opinion whether I would be safe in going on with my Surveys— they informed me that the Chiefs at the Towns[72] had sent runners after them, to repair to the Towns; but for what purpose they did not know—The next morning, I observed a considerable accession of Indians. I enquired

70 Today, Redbank Creek. See *Map Exhibiting a General View of the Roads and Inland Navigation of Pennsylvania . . .* , by John Adlum and John Wallis, 1792, *Pennsylvania Archives, Third Series*, I, facing title page.

71 Adlum arrived at Fort Franklin on July 22, according to his letter to Wallis, July 27, 1794. Wallis Papers, microfilm, HSP.

72 By "the Towns" Adlum means those shown on his map as Jenuchshadega and Teushanushsongothta: *Tyunũhs'atekẽ?*, "there a house burned," and *Teyenũhsũ'kutha?*, "people go through the house there." The former was and is Cornplanter Grant, Warren Co., Pa.; the latter town was nine miles above, on Allegany Reservation, N. Y. Both were often called "Cornplanter's Towns" in the 1790's; but, to be precise, the upper town was called "New Arrow's Town" for the "sachem" who lived there. Failure to make this distinction when he gave his canoemen the address cost Col. Thomas Procter two dollars extra fare, Apr. 15, 1791. *Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series*, IV, 575. New Arrow's was much the older settlement, and in the early 1790's official communications were usually addressed to and from this place rather than the lower town, where Cornplanter lived. The situation changed in 1795 when most of the Indians moved down with Cornplanter after his grant was surveyed to him. The first Quakers to live among these Indians located at the upper town (their *Genesinguhta*), May 23, 1798; but the 1805 flood washed everybody out. After that, the site was called *Kanũtaka'yũhsa?*, "old town," and it has only one or two houses now. The Adlum map shows another town on the upper Allegheny, Eghsue (Ischua, Hihsue, etc.): *Hihsu*, "floating nettles" (L. H. Morgan). Located at the mouth of Oil Creek, near present Olean, N. Y., it was small and of significance mainly because a usual route from the Genesee River struck the Allegheny there.

what it meant, when they informed me as they had the preceding day, that they were the hunting parties called in— I requested Capt. Heath to invite all the principal chiefs into the Fort, which he did, and when they were collected together I informed them of my business, and shewed them a map, where and how much I wished to survey of the Country, and asked them whether it was safe for me to commence my business— They answered *there is no war now*, and that I might go on with safety, untill it commenced, *if it should take place*— I told them it might begin without my having any notice of it—And that I and some of my people might lose their lives— I therefore requested them to inform me how long I might go on with my surveying before it was probable that I would be disturbed— They consulted together a little while, when they replied they could not tell—That the Chi[e]fs of the Towns on the river above had called them in and untill they arrived at their towns, they could not give me a direct answer— I then asked them that if I went with them to their Towns, whether they would engage to return me safe to the Fort to my friend Capt. Heath— They consulted together a little while—When *Sken-de-sho-wa*[73] the principal replied, that they did not know what was going on at their Towns, and that they could not enter into any engagement to return me safe to the garrison— *But says he, we will return you safe if we can, and at any rate whatever your fate may be, if war is determined on, shall be ours, we will live or die with you.* I without the least hesitation, reached out my hand to

[73] This is probably the Hawk Clan Seneca name still extant on the Allegany Reservation in 1947: *Skẽjuh'shuwũ?*, translated then by Pearl and Chauncey Johnny John as "double-tailed fish; tail lapped over its head." *Kendashowa*, "a large tail," is listed as a Hawk Clan Seneca family head at Buffalo Creek on Kirkland's census, Oct. 20, 1789. Kirkland Manuscripts, Hamilton College Library. Andrew Porter, the boundary commissioner, met *Santashaway* on French Creek near Meadville, Sept. 15, 1787; he was friendly and drew a map on the ground to show Porter the best way to Le Boeuf. Andrew Porter Journals (1787), HSP. On May 19, 1788, Capt. Jonathan Heart sent *Thundaushuawau* with a message from Fort Franklin to General Harmar, and recommended its bearer as "a very faithful Honest Indian who may be confided in." Harmar Papers, William L. Clements Library. As *Kiondushowa or Swimming Fish* he signed the Six Nations treaty at Fort Harmar with the United States, Jan. 9, 1789, as well as the agreement and deed to Pennsylvania for the Erie Triangle. *Shendeshowa* was one of the Allegheny chiefs invited to Philadelphia by Pennsylvania, May 10, 1790. *Colonial Records*, XVI, 357. *Kaunoohshauwen* was among the signers of the Big Tree treaty, Sept. 15, 1797, and in the same year the store at Fort Franklin carried his account as *Sandashuau*. Fort Franklin store book (1795–1797), Reynolds Collection, Crawford County Historical Society, Meadville, Pa.

him and the other chiefs and told them that I put my self under their protection—And as soon as the meeting broke up I ordered each chief and warrior near the garrison one pound of powder and three pounds of lead, and I made the woemen and children, who were encamped at a small distance, some trifling presents of Calico &c. and a barrel of flour, and prepared to set out for the *Towns* the next morning,[74] There was six indian canoes[75] and mine made the seventh, and including woemen and children there was about forty souls Some of the men and some of the woemen at times wint on shore and walked along the path on the bottoms of the river—And they frequently changed situations— The principal man that went with us, was half Town,[76] (*Hau-chu-woot*) a chief and I dubbed him the *Commodore*, and after explaining it to him what it meant he appeared to be highly gratified, and I consequently gave him the Command of our fleet of Canoes— I had a very large *Canoe* on board of which I had three barrels of flour, some bacon two quarter casks of powder and lead equivalent, with some calicoes, blankets and various other

74 In his letter of July 27, 1794, to Wallis, Adlum wrote: "To morrow morning I go up to the Cornplanters Town to inform him I intend going out to Survey some lands and to demand of him and the other Chiefs to furnish me with a guard while on business & I expect to be able from his answers to know how to proceed—there is about a dozen Indians going with me from this place up to his Town and [I] expect to return in nine or ten days." He commented that "every thing wears an unpleasing Aspect here," but thought that "all will yet be quiet for a fortnight." Wallis Papers, microfilm, HSP.

75 From their evident size and the way they were handled, these canoes may have been pirogues of pine logs rather than the common elm bark canoes.

76 *Kaji:ut*, "it's plugged up," as a bottle is corked (Adlum's form *Hau-chu-woot*, "he's plugged up," also occurs), was a war chief of the original Seneca residents on the Allegheny before Cornplanter and his people from the lower Genesee River came there. In the Revolution he served against the Americans in raids chiefly against the Pennsylvania settlements. Blacksnake Conversations, Draper Manuscripts, 4 S 77. As *Achiout or Halftown* he signed the various Fort Harmar documents, Jan. 9, 1789. In the same year *Kagheout*, "stop it up," was listed as head of the Beaver Clan at Cattaraugus in Kirkland's census. In the winter of 1790–1791, he visited Philadelphia with Cornplanter and others to negotiate with Pennsylvania and United States authorities for redress of grievances, but with scant success. *Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series*, IV, 626–638, 649–650. Nevertheless, Halftown remained a notably good friend of the local white people. In 1791 he helped escort Meade's settlers from Cussewaga to safety at Fort Franklin, and he may be the Capt. Halftown who brought some Indians from Cattaraugus to the defense of Buffalo in July, 1813. John E. Reynolds, *In French Creek Valley* (Meadville, 1938), 32–33; William Ketchum, *History of Buffalo* (Buffalo, N. Y., 1865), II, 430. But the latter identification is not certain, since there were many Halftowns by that time. He died at Cornplanter's Town about 1825. Blacksnake Conversations, Draper Manuscripts, 4 S 77.

things— I had in the head of my canoe a young Indian about six feet two inches high and he might be from twenty two to twenty four years old, one of the best proportioned men I ever saw, he would have been an excellent model for a Statue— I had two interpreters[77] and M. J. as Secretary, and two persons besides the indian above mentioned to pole the Canoe forward— Half Town, our Commodore took the lead, I was next with my Canoe, and the others behind in a String, where there was a currant or a ripple [*riffle*] we had to use our poles, but sometimes where the water was still and deep, they used their paddles—and, Half towns Canoe was about twenty yards in front of mine—And a little ways behind me were two canoes parallel to each other about fifteen or twenty yards apart, and in the rear there was three a breast— In this way we got several miles up the river the first day without any stoppage or hindrance—And in the evening we all encamped on the bank of the river—The Woemen baked the bread and I had chocolate made for the Whole party— The next morning we set out early, and moved on, very agreeably untill about noon, when our *Commodore* ordered a halt, and all the men and my interpreters were desired to assemble together, when *Halftown*, began a Speech, reciting every thing I had said to them at Fort Franklin and the object of our Journey, and concluded by observing that as the *Great Spirit* had given us fine weather and prospered our Journey so far, for which we ought to be thankful— and wound up by telling us, that he dreamt[78] that when the sun got to its highest, that I had given each of the men present a dram— I had a ten gallon keg of whisky and one of five gallons filled with wine, neither of which I intended to broach untill I got to the indian

77 Joseph Nicholas (Nicholson) and probably Nicholas Rosencrantz, who was stationed at Fort Franklin at this time. For the former, see Note 79; the latter will be discussed in Note 25 in Part II.

78 "The Iroquois have, properly speaking, only a single Divinity—the dream. To it they render their submission, and follow all its orders with the utmost exactness. The Tsonnontouens [*Senecas*] are more attached to this superstition than any of the others. . . . [This people] would think itself guilty of a great crime if it failed in its observance of a single dream." Fr. Fremin in Relation of 1669–70, R. G. Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations* (Cleveland, 1896), LIV, 97. Originally, certain days of the ceremonial year were especially dedicated to mass dream-guessing. Once a dream was guessed, the community was obliged to fulfill the wish it expressed or join in steps to avert the evil it threatened. The occasion is still made at the New Year in the longhouses, but few present themselves publicly. However, few Senecas—no matter how sophisticated—fail to take especially vivid dreams privately to one of the wise men or women for diagnosis and prescription. See Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 400–401.

Towns— I suspected that my interpreters were at the bottom of this business, and had put it into his head to ask for it in this manner— And I conjectured that if I could not put a stop to it, that in future they would have more powerful dreams, and drain my kegs before I got to their Towns— I heard of no more dreaming on that day— but in the course of the Afternoon, enquired without any apparent design what kind of a Woman *Kyashotas* first wife was as to person &c. of *Nicholas*[79] one of my interpretters, and who had been an interpreter between thirty and forty years, *Kyashota* was a noted chief,[80] He was now dead but no one present knew that I had ever

[79] The brothers Joseph and Thomas Nicholas (Nichols, Nicholson, Nicholason, etc.) were interpreters for many years. Joseph, with Adlum on this trip, was captured when young by the Senecas, "adopted and live[d] long in our tribe was as one of us." Deed, Cornplanter *et al.* to Joseph Nichols, Aug. 24, 1788, Philadelphia Deed Book D32, 420. Joseph Nicolaus conducted 160 Tuscaroras from North Carolina to Fort Augusta, Pa., in 1766 for eventual resettlement among the Oneidas. *Papers of Sir William Johnson* (Albany, N. Y., 1921–1957), XII, 240, hereinafter cited as *Johnson Papers*. He was George Washington's guide on his 1770 land scout down the Ohio River, and was interpreter at Fort Pitt from June 2, 1776. Hugh Cleland, ed., *George Washington in the Ohio Valley* (Pittsburgh, 1955), 246–268; deposition in Dreer Collection, French Refugees, 72, HSP. He "piloted" Brodhead's 1779 foray against the upper Allegheny Senecas, and was wounded in the advance guard's skirmish near Irvine, Warren Co. *Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series*, IV, 575. This skirmish was near the land which the Indians tried to give him by the above deed, but they could not get the state to ratify it. *Ibid.*, 638. He joined other substantial Pittsburghers in an address of thanks to Gen. William Irvine when he retired from the Fort Pitt command in 1783. C. W. Butterfield, ed., *Washington-Irvine Correspondence* (Madison, Wis., 1882), 152–153. The 1790 census lists him as head of a family in Plum Twp., Allegheny Co. On May 14, 1790, Pennsylvania commissioned him to conduct Cornplanter and his party to Philadelphia; and while there they asked to have him appointed their interpreter, as one "in whom we can confide." *Colonial Records*, XVI, 362; *Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series*, IV, 637–638, 649, 650. Indians from the Illinois country to North Carolina knew and respected him. He spoke many of their languages. Few, if any, equal his record as intermediary between them and the whites.

[80] Kyashota was called the great *Ohio* chief, and considered as the head man of the six nations—He was a *Seneca* [*Adlum's note*]. *Kayah'sũtha?*, "it sets up a cross," whose earlier name was *Tu:'tũẽju:wẽ?*, "split earth," was born on the Genesee about 1725 into a "noble" Wolf Clan Seneca family. Cornplanter's mother was his sister. His family moved first to the site of Meadville, Pa., when he was very young; and his life was largely identified with the Allegheny-Ohio country where he was reared. On Nov. 30, 1753, three chiefs and "one of their best hunters" set out from Logstown to go with young George Washington to French Fort Le Boeuf on his mission for Virginia. On Oct. 28, 1770, Washington met Kyashota well down the Ohio and recognized him as an "old acquaintance" of his 1753 journey, the young hunter. Cleland, *George Washington in the Ohio Valley*, 258.

Soon thereafter, Kyashota appears in the role of internuncio between the League authority centered at Onondaga and the displaced Allegheny-Ohio Iroquoians called generically "Mingos." Since the League at least asserted jurisdiction over this territory, Kyashota tried to claim authority over them and the Shawnees, Delawares, Wyandots, and other Indians

seen him—and I had his second wife with his two sons and a daughter with me. I saw him at Pittsburgh about seven years before, so that there was no necessity to enquire of any one, as to his person and appearance— I had therefore made up my mind to get the Start of the dreamers— So just as the sun rose the next morning, I called all hands including the woemen and children to the front of my *Marquee*, (and there was an indian called *James Hudson*[81] who spoke very good english, and he had been with his family at my camp the preceding year nearly a month— I had the day before, requested that when I called the indians together, not to permit my interpreters, to misinterpret what I said, but to keep his own Council, and not to let them know that I had requested him to do so—) And when they were collected, I made a short speech to them, that we ought to continue thankful to the *Great Spirit* above, for having prospered our Journey so far, and there was a promise of a fine day, I

---

settled there. Supported by Johnson and his tame League, Kyashota increasingly realized these claims, and little was done in this area without him. Few then would disagree with Johnson's 1772 estimate: "A great chief of much capacity and vast influence, amongst all the nations." *Johnson Papers*, VIII, 615. He dressed and looked the part; the Rev. David McClure met him that year near Latrobe and says he wore "scarlet cloth turned up with lace, & a high gold-laced hat. . . . He had a very sensible countenance & dignity of manners." J. W. Harpster, ed., *Pen Pictures of Early Western Pennsylvania* (Pittsburgh, 1938), 117–118. All his influence supported neutrality for the Indians early in the Revolution, and Congress voted him a colonel's commission and a silver gorget on Jan. 27, 1776, in recognition of his stand. *Journals of the Continental Congress*, IV, 95. But he was overborne at Oswego in July, 1777, when most of the League membership opted for the British under the influence of Joseph Brant, presents, and liquor; and he accepted the decision. Thereafter, his activities were in the Allegheny-Ohio theater. The war ended, he was free to support his conviction that his people's future lay with the Americans, a line followed when at all possible by his nephew Cornplanter.

81 The second son of the noted Capt. John Hudson, his Seneca name was *Haye'ti?se?*, "he's dragging the wood." He was on several forays against American settlements near Fort Pitt, notably one early in 1781 under British Lt. Nelles which took Horatio Jones captive. The basically authentic, if somewhat muddled, story of this raid is in the "Life of Horatio Jones," by G. H. Harris, Buffalo Historical Society *Publications*, VI (1903), 383–514. He was in Cornplanter's party in Philadelphia during the winter of 1790–1791, and his name appears as witness on various addresses made there to Pennsylvania and to President Washington. *Colonial Records*, XVI, 541 ff.; *Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series*, IV, 626–638. James Hudson had an account in that name at the Fort Franklin store in 1797, and is said to have died at Franklin about 1830. Blacksnake Conversations, Draper Manuscripts, 4 S 84. It may be added that the numerous Hudsons (Hutson, Hutchins) are hard to distinguish since several had the same English and Indian names. The Seneca Hudsons were apparently identified with Caneadea, an important town on the Genesee in Allegany Co., N. Y., which escaped Sullivan's attentions in 1779. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 200.

had no doubt but that if we felt grateful for these favours, he would continue to bless us with fine weather, to the end of our journey—Here I made a pause and with great solemnity looked upwards—and resumed, by saying—He last night caused two persons to appear to me, and they told me that I had done very wrong, to broach the keg of whisky before I arrived at their *Town*, as I had in my own mind intended it, to treat all my friends at the Town, with it as well as all present; every part that I used on the way was depriving those at the *Town* of a part of their share—That the *Great Spirit*, knew my thoughts and that I was bound to preserve it according to my first intentions—And that it was not then mine though it was in my possession—but it belonged to those I first intended it for— I then gave a description of old *Kyashota*, and his first wife, he was dead several years,[82] and there was none present knew I had seen him, and his first wife was dead upwards of twenty years which was several years before I had ever been among the indians— The woemen had come to the front of the Marquee, as well as the men, and when the old ones, men and woemen heard my description of the persons they all immediately exclaimed, that it was old *Kyashota and his first wife*, that had appeared to me, his *widow* and even old *Half Town*, were satisfied that I had seen them in a vision—And after some consultation among themselves, there was two young indians, appointed to carry the kegs into, and out of my canoe, which they did with great ceremony and solemnnity—and they were looked on as sacred articles—not to be touched by profane hands— And all the indians throughout the day appeared very solemn and sober, I enquired of James Hudson the cause of it, and he informed me, that as old *Kyashota and his first wife* had appeared to me, they were afraid something was to happen to their nation—I told him that I did not think it portended any thing with respect to their nation, provided they did not offend the *Great Spirit*, they had nothing to fear—And

82 Here Adlum's uncertainty of memory is reflected by deletions and changes in the manuscript. First he wrote, "his first wife, who was dead several years, before I," and then changed the "who" to "he" and struck out "before I." Actually, Kyashota died some time after Feb. 1, 1794, when Cornplanter wrote Israel Chapin from his town that "He is alive & that is all." O'Rielly Collection, X, 5, New-York Historical Society. The unanimous testimony of Dr. Draper's 1850 Indian informants, including Kyashota's son Jacob Taylor, was that Kyashota died in Cornplanter's house and was buried on his Grant, and local Senecas could point out the grave twenty-five years ago.

that they only appeared to me to instruct me in doing what was right—And unless I did something wrong, I did not expect to see them again—And I conceived that it was a particular mark of their favour, in letting me *know what was right—And I had now, no doubts on my mind, but that I would accomplish the business I had set out on—*

We at length arrived at the town of *Jenuchshadega*, where the *Cornplanter* resided—In front of which there was a long sheet of still and deep water,[83] and before we arrived opposite the lower end of the town, my *Comodore*, gave me notice that I must now assume the command and go in front— I accordingly took my place in the front, and ordered the other canoes to follow me two abreast, and parallel to each other, and about 20 yards apart and 30 yards distant in the rear of me so that we made a double line behind me of near one hundred yards—And I ordered the Canoes to move slowly up the Stream—

The *Cornplanter* had collected most of the warriors from the two Towns, (which were about nine miles apart,) and they were formed in a single line the men about six feet apart and dressed in all their finery, and painted as if for war—with the down of Swans on their heads[84]— They had a colours on the left of their line up the river they being on the left bank of it— I took it for granted that I was to pass the whole line to the colours, and immediately upon our arriving at the lower end of the Town, The *Cornplanter*, gave the word of command & a loud *Whoop*, *Whoop*, *Whoop*, when they immediately commenced firing with ball, all of which passed between the young

83 This is the eddy in the Allegheny at the mouth of Cornplanter Run—Brodhead's Yoghraonwaga, which is *Tiyũkaũwaʔkũ*, "canoe place" (according to W. N. Fenton, Jan. 14, 1944). Brodhead said in his expedition report of Sept. 16, 1779, to Washington that his guide gave him this as the name for the main town, which he burned. *Pennsylvania Archives*, *First Series*, XII, 156. Above in the river is *Tyuʔnuʔtes*, "deep hole (in water)," still a locally famous fishing hole. Between it and "canoe place" are the riffles into which fish were driven and trapped in the "drives" that ceased only fifty or sixty years ago. W. N. Fenton, "Fish Drives Among the Cornplanter Senecas," *Pennsylvania Archaeologist*, XII (1942), 48–52. All these assets, with the overland short cut from the river at Irvine via Cornplanter Run, made this an ideal setup in Indian terms.

84 "This plume distinguishes the warrior, and is only laid on when he is going out to war, *that* tuft of hair on their heads, termed the scalp, being daubed over with tallow, the *white* plume from the head of an eagle is stuck on. . . . *Long* feathers are only made use of as an ornament." Heckewelder in P. A. W. Wallace, ed., *Thirty Thousand Miles with John Heckewelder* (Pittsburgh, 1958), 148 (note). Eagles are scarce on the upper Allegheny; swan feathers were substituted.

indian in the head of my canoe & my self many of them within less than a yard of me— I was standing in my canoe with my hat off— I counted eighty odd as we passed, those that fired first reloaded and fired a shot over our heads, when the last had fired, I fired off my pistols which I carried in my belt, in addition we had but one rifle & a shot gun which I ordered to be fired & I requested my *Comodore, Halftown*, to direct the indians that were with him to fire their rifles, all which was done before we landed—

I went on shore with all my papers viz—A letter from General Knox then Secretary of war, informing them, that the President then *General Washington*, had appointed Col. Pickering[85] to go to *Canandagua*, to meet and treat with them, of which they would be notified as soon as the Col. set out from *Philadelphia*. Also a letter from *Governor Mifflin*, of Pennsa. inviting some of the chiefs to Philada. in the winter, during the session of the Legislature—to lay their grievances before them and a paper or rather a Commission putting me on the footing of an *Ambasador* from the State of Pennsa. recommending me to their care, attention and good offices, and to represent their grievances to me, that I might forward them to the Government of Pennsa. This paper had the great seal of the State on it handsomely ornamented, with blue and pink ribbon. I had also copies of all the treaties they had with Pennsa. after the *Revolution*, also ornamented—to make as much shew as possible, and to make me appear as a man of Some consequence—

I had been often with them before, once as one of the Surveyors dividing *Pennsa.* from *New York*,[86] and also as a commissioner With Col. Matlack & Saml. Maclay Esqrs.[87] and I had also run the line

85 Timothy Pickering (1745–1829), adjutant general and quartermaster general during the Revolution, was assigned to a number of Indian negotiations while he was Postmaster General, 1790–1795. His sympathy and his efforts to understand the Indians make his papers (at the Massachusetts Historical Society) a valuable source on the Indians in this period, and contributed to his success in making a treaty with the Six Nations at Canandaigua, N. Y., Nov. 11, 1794. In 1795 he succeeded Henry Knox as Secretary of War.

86 As a surveyor under Andrew Porter and Andrew Ellicott, Pennsylvania commissioners for determining the northern boundary in 1787 from the Tioga River to Lake Erie. Porter's journals for this portion of the northern boundary survey are in HSP.

87 Samuel Maclay, Timothy Matlack, and John Adlum were commissioned by the state on Apr. 8, 1790, to explore streams and routes into western Pennsylvania and "any nearer and more convenient communication which may be effected by land or water with Lake Erie." *Pennsylvania Archives, First Series*, XI, 683–684. For an account of their explorations and of their visit to Cornplanter, see *Journal of Samuel Maclay*.

between *Gorham* and *Phelps's* purchase[88] and them; wherein I cut off from the old surveys two great bodies of land in their favour, so that I was not only well known to them, but had considerable influence with them— Numbers of them frequently came to my camp when I had been out surveying, and would with their families sometimes stay a fortnight and longer with me, so that I was well known to most of them—

When I landed the chiefs met me on the margin of the river, and shook hands and said they were glad to see me, and immediately conducted me to their Council house— There was a considerable number of woemen present, who welcomed me very cordially, and hoped that I had brought them good news, AND THAT THERE WOULD BE NO WAR— I replied there was nothing to fear, unless they were the Agressors; when I got into the Council house, I was placed between the two principal chiefs, the Cornplanter on my right, and the dark chief[89] on my left, and the others according to their seniority, my two interpreters were placed about ten feet in front of me—And an indian and white man who, had married an indian wife,[90] were seated

[88] In 1788, Oliver Phelps and Nathaniel Gorham bought from Massachusetts its preemption right to purchase lands from the Indians in New York State west of a line running south from Sodus Bay through Seneca Lake to the Pennsylvania boundary. On July 8, 1788, they bought from the Six Nations their title to 2,500,000 acres, lying for the most part east of the Genesee River. As described in the deed, the western boundary between this tract and the remaining Seneca lands was complicated. *American State Papers*, Class II, Indian Affairs, I, 210.

[89] *Thaũtatis*, "he's to one side of the trees," was usually called "The Black Chief" because of his swarthy complexion. Procter met him near Squawkie Hill on the Genesee River near Mount Morris, N. Y., on Mar. 31, 1791; and he was living there in 1811 when Mary Jemison's son John took him a dream for interpretation. *Pennsylvania Archives*, *Second Series*, IV, 561; James E. Seaver, *A Narrative of the Life of Mary Jemison* . . . (New York, 1918), 130. These Squawkies were descendants of refugee Fox (*Muskwaki*) Indians who fled the French in the early 1700's and settled with the Senecas. See "Squawkihow" in Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 630. *Thaũtatis* signed the Big Tree treaty of Sept. 15, 1797, as *Taoundaudish*. He died in 1840. He was the husband of Sir William Johnson's daughter and so possibly the *Capt. John* noted on the Adlum map as living at *Eghsue*. Residence was always fluid with Iroquoians—within certain limits. Anywhere on the Genesee or upper Allegheny could be home to a Seneca of that region. See Note 101.

[90] A rather surprising number of white men were settled among these Indians, with Indian wives and families. Only a few, however, regularly appear in the record as interpreters. Here Adlum probably means either Elijah Mathews or Nicholas Demuth. In an undated fragment he wrote sometime after 1825 in defense of Cornplanter's character, Adlum says, when he was at the towns without an interpreter of his own, Cornplanter "called in one of two persons white men who had Indian wives. one was called Nicholas De mort [*Demuth*] and the other

beside them as the interpreters on the part of the indians— There was a fire in the centre of the house, and the *Cornplanter*, took a large pipe ornamented with feathers,[91] into which he put some tobacco mixed with the bark of a species of Viburnum,[92] when he lit the pipe and took a few whiffs and handed it to me, and after I had taken a few whiffs I passed it to my left hand man, who also passed round in the same way each taking some whiffs, and each as he passed it lit his own pipe, and commenced smoking, and when the large pipe was brought back, but I do not recollect, how it was eventually disposed of— The house was quite crowded, with men and woemen, the latter shewed by their countenances great anxiety, As the house was full, a good many young men and boys, got on the beams or joice [*joists*] that passed across the house— After the pipe was returned the *Cornplanter*, addressing himself to me, enquired what news I had; I handed him General Knox's letter and my commission from the Governor of Pennsa. recommending me to their good offices &c. He first broke the seal of the letter from *General Knox*, and returned it to me and requested me to read it, which I did, & When the interpreters, had finished translating the first paragraph —The young indians on the beams above, saluted me with an univer[sal] roar, *vulgarly called farting*. I heard several of the elderly woemen exclaim Yaugh-ti-Yaughti which was as much as to say— *shame, scandalous*— I made a pause, ruminating within my self how

---

Mathews." Elijah Mathews was captured on Grave Creek near present Moundsville, W. Va., in early 1777. R. G. Thwaites and L. P. Kellogg, eds., *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777* (Madison, Wis., 1908), 242. He was a private in Capt. Henry Garnett's company. Louis A. Burgess, ed., *Virginia Soldiers of 1776* (Richmond, Va., 1927–1929), III, 1265. Gen. William Irvine used him in 1785 when he was exploring the upper Allegheny for the state, as did Lt. J. Jeffers at Fort Franklin in May, 1791. Neville B. Craig, ed., *The Olden Time* (Cincinnati, Ohio, reprint, 1875), II, 352; Richard Butler Manuscripts, No. 5433, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library. He interpreted for Adlum, Matlack, and Maclay in July, 1790, at New Arrow's town and went with their survey party to Lake Chautauqua. *Journal of Samuel Maclay*, 33–35. For Nicholas Demuth, see Note 24 in Part II.

91 See "Calumet" in Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 191–195; also for its introduction and use among Iroquoians, W. N. Fenton, *The Iroquois Eagle Dance: An Offshoot of the Calumet Dance . . .*, Bureau of American Ethnology *Bulletin 156* (Washington, 1953).

92 The Senecas use home-grown *Nicotiana rustica* for all ceremonial purposes. The common additive is *Lobelia inflata*, but others are used, too. Old Senecas think the bark of the *Viburnums* common in the neighborhood (*lentago, alnifolium* Marsh, *trilobum* Marsh) would not be good. However, Adlum was an excellent botanist. See "Tobacco" and "Smoking" in Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 603–604, 767–769.

I should act, and concluded to read another paragraph, and received another salute of the same kind— I felt a considerable degree of indignation, which I endeavoured to conceal—(we were all sitting) When I arose on my feet; and adressing myself to the chiefs, I told them that I was very sorry that the young men had spent all their amunition in saluting me while I was on the water, and that by the stench I supposed they intended to drive me out of the house; That their amunition must be very bad and fired out of very dirty guns— that if they wished to compliment me I would give them a cask of Powder, with which they might amuse themselves, untill I had finished my business with the cheifs and I ordered them a quarter cask of powder, (I had two with me) which they immediately got—

The *Cornplanter* immediately rose and reprimanded them and so did another chief, & *Mrs. Chit-ti-aw-dunk*[93]—also gave them a scolding, she was one of the great woemen— The young men and boys descended from their roosts, and sneaked off— I then went on reading without any further interruption, and when done the Chiefs asked me if I had anything further to communicate— I then explained to them the business I had come out on, and I wished to know whether they would permit me to survey a body of lands, the situation of which, I pointed out to them on a Map of Pennsa. they informed me that they would talk with me about it the next morning[94]—I accordingly left them and the *map*— The next morning they let me know that the council was met and that they wished to have

93 *Jiteʔũtũk*, "hummingbird," literally, "bird-hovering" (Seneca informants). She was probably Kyashota's sister, if Ellicott's word that her son John Deckhart was his nephew is literally true. Catharine Van C. Mathews, *Andrew Ellicott* . . . (New York, 1908), 120. This would fully account for her obvious status as matron of the Wolf Clan, so powerful in this community. Accounts at the Fort Franklin store (1797) were maintained in the name of Old Chitt and Old Chitt's Wife; hers was unusual in that it shows no charges for liquor. She may well be the "Chet's squaw" buried on the C. H. Heydrick farm in Mercer Co., Pa. One John Martin, Jr., who came to the locality about 1798, often told of witnessing the interment of three Indians: an idiot boy, "Chet's squaw," and a chief he called *Guy-a-soot-er*. In 1938, Harry L. Schoff excavated the site for WPA and found remains he identified as theirs. In 1915, Dr. Heydrick's descendants had put up a monument on the site, assuming that Martin's chief was the famous Kyashota. As the real Kyashota died early in 1794 (before Martin came to the region) and was buried elsewhere, the identification is wrong. However, if "Chet's squaw" was Kyashota's sister, the association could account for Martin's mistake. Newton, *History of Venango County*, 72–76.

94 By custom an interval must elapse between the meeting at which a proposal is made and the one at which a decision is given. Usually, it is at least a day.

some conversation with me— I accordingly attended, and they had the *map* before them, spread on a deer skin on the floor of the house— They then pointed out to me, that part of the *Country* they wished to be returned to them— I had a copy of the treaty made at *Fort Stanwix* and I read a part of it to them, where they had ceded and sold it to Pennsa. They replied that they had not got value for it, that the treaty was all on one side, and that they did not get for that great country, more than a common farm would sell for in the neighbourhood of Philada. I told them that I had paid the state for the lands, and I hoped they would permit me to survey it. When the *Cornplanter* replied that all persons who encroached on their lands were their enemies— I asked him if the western indians were of the same opinion, he answered that all indians had but one mind on this subject— I then asked him how the western Indians, came to permit the *British* to take possession of the rapids of the *Miami* river and build a Fort there.[95] He said the *British* were their friends, and that if they went to war, would furnish them with amunition and provisions, and probably join them— I enquired what evidence they had that the *British* would assist them— They replied that when the *British* took possession of the rapids of the *Miami river, Col. McKee*[96] *the British* agent attended, with a belt, and made them considerable presents, and at the same time he informed them, that it was probable that they (*the British*) would be at war with the americans before the end

95 In April, 1794, the British rebuilt Fort Miamis at the foot of the rapids of the Maumee River near present Waterville, Lucas Co., Ohio, where they had had a fort during the Revolution. This was a countermove to the establishment of Fort Greenville and Fort Recovery by Wayne in 1793. It gave the Indians hope of British help against the Americans, and also served as an advance post to protect British-held Detroit. The United States protested this further encroachment upon American territory.

96 Alexander McKee, son of Thomas McKee, the Indian trader, and of a Shawnee woman (possibly a white captive), was from 1760 an assistant to George Croghan in his activities as an Indian trader and agent, and succeeded him as deputy agent for Indian affairs at Fort Pitt in 1772. At the beginning of the Revolution he remained on parole at Pittsburgh, but fled in April, 1778, to Detroit, where he eventually became British deputy superintendent general for Indian affairs until his death in 1799. His parentage and his knowledge of Indian languages gave him great influence with the Indians of the Ohio country, and he was very successful in winning them over to the British side during the Revolution and, later, in encouraging their resistance to American demands. Anthony Wayne burned his houses and stores at the Maumee rapids after the battle of Fallen Timbers, calling him the "principal stimulator of the War now existing between the United States & the savages." Walter R. Hoberg, "A Tory in the Northwest," *PMHB*, LIX (1935), 32–41; Richard C. Knopf, ed., *Anthony Wayne: A Name in Arms* (Pittsburgh, 1960), 354.

of the summer, and that all they had to do was to persevere, that it was the only chance they (*the indians*) would ever have of getting a part of their country back again, and if they missed this chance or oppertunity, it would be lost to them for ever—and whether the *King over the Great water* went to war with us or not was immaterial—*As he had caused a great beast to run over our country, who would cause us to be at war with each other before the end of the Summer.* I enquired of them what this great beast was or meant—They said that they supposed, it was some of our own bad people—Whom they had understood were running through the country talking against our laws and Government—and that they were telling the people that they would have to pay to Government for *liberty to drink whiskey* even if they made it them selves, and also for all horses and cattle and so much per head for every child they had. I asked them if there was any *British* running through the country with these bad people they answered that they did not know— I then refered to my own business, whether they had made up their minds to let me go on with surveying the lands I had pointed out to them on the map lying west of the *Conewango & Allegany river's* and east *of French creek* and south of the line run between the States of Pennsa. & New York. The[y] said before they decided on that they wished some further information— They said as I had come direct from *Philada.* they presumed that I knew the determination *of Government*, and as they had an invitation to meet Col. Pickering, they wished to know whether the *Col.* would have it in his power, to restore to them the country they demanded, to be returned in a communication they had sent to *General Washington.*[97] I told them that those at the head of the Government had not communicated their intentions to me; but

[97] At Buffalo Creek, June 18, 1794, the Six Nations council addressed President Washington through Gen. Israel Chapin, the United States Indian agent, calling for more just treatment than Congress had given them, demanding that some land be given back, and showing a map "on which the boundaries are marked out which we want established." On June 26 an Indian deputation, accompanied by Chapin, delivered a message from this council to Capt. Ebenezer Denny at Fort Le Boeuf, demanding that he "remove those people [*the whites*] back over the line which we have marked out upon the Map." Denny wrote Governor Mifflin on June 29 that this line "began at O'Bails town, &, in a direct line, crossed French creek, just below meads [*Cussewago, now Meadville*], & on to the head of Cayahaga. . . ." On July 4, the Buffalo Creek council reiterated its demand and pressed for an early reply from the President. *Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series*, VI, 716–722, 725–727, 735–738. It is not surprising that Adlum's request to survey should provoke inquiry about the answer to their demands.

that I would pledge myself that notwithstanding (that whatever they might have been informed of by bad people to the contrary) *General Washington* (who was the greatest man in this world) through his friend and representative *Col. Pickering*, would do them ample justice— They said to do them justice the country they demanded to be returned, must be given back to them—and that if it was not returned, war was innevitable— I replied *you talk very strong*—And before you determine on war, look back, to the effects of the war of our revolution—when we were comparatively a weak people compared with our present situation—And at that time we were in a great degree unprepared, and almost without arms—*When we were assailed by the British; with a force and power that with their utmost efforts*, (*if they were so inclined*) [*they*] *will not be able again to bring into the field against us*—That they had enlisted the whole power of the indians against us—and weak as we then were—*We laid you both on your backs*,— We are now double the number we were when the revolution began—and have abundance of *Artillery* and *small arms*, and most of our Officers are yet alive, who lived to the end of our revolution, besides others young men without number will be ready to go into service whenever there is a call for them—That in the weak state we then were, we in a little more than two years after the war began we obliged the most formidable army the British had in our country, after repeated defeats, to lay down thier arms, and become prisoners. And you all know that they were backed by *numerous nations of indians* when they marched out of *Canada*, who from the severe manner, in which they were handled by our troops, left them the British to shift for themselves, and after very hard fighting *General Burgoine*[98] to save the further effusion of blood, after he had lost near if not full half his force, as above mentioned laid down their arms— That I related these facts, most of which they must know, and I did not with [*wish*] to bring to their recollections any unpleasant circumstances—and that they would look upon it, as the language of a friend who wished to prevent them from going to destruction—

[98] Adlum alluded to Burgoyne's defeat and surrender at Saratoga, Oct. 14, 1777, as an event with which these Indians were familiar but not directly involved. His failure to mention the battles of Oriskany and Newtown and the expeditions of Sullivan and Brodhead shows his tact and politeness.

That now, and I was sorry to see and Say it, their numbers were very much reduced, in comparison when they joined the *British* against us; and our numbers in the same time were more than doubled—That whatever the *British* might say to them, they never could were they So inclined, send again such formidable armies to this country. That *General Washington* had sent a minister to *England*,[99] to demand our frontier posts, and that they might depend upon them being in our possession before the end of the next year—And that I had certain information that *General Wayne* would, in a few days move his army if not already done, against the Western indians, and that whenever they met, certain defeat awaited them—That probably the great battle would be fought very near the *British fort*, and garrison on the *Miami*, and if it was; and the *British* permitted any of the indians to take shelter in the *Fort*, *General Wayne* would immediately storm it, And that his troops would follow so close on the heels of the enemy, and enter the Fort with them—And that every one who resisted after the Fort was entered would innevitably be put to death; But I did not believe that any *British Officer of character*, would permit any indians to enter the garrison as he would be certain, that the whole *British* and indians would fall together—That whatever might be their intentions as to going to war with us, it would be but *common prudence*, to wait the event of the expected battle—that any thing they could do; would not divert one man from *General Wayn's* army towards them, that a reinforcement, (if they were so inclined) would not reach the ground before the battle would be fought, and that two or three hundred men could not turn the scale of it, even if they should happen to arrive in time: that he had an army of *Veterans well disciplined*, and commanded by officers of undoubted courage and, experience, and numbers of whom served in our revolutionary war, and were used to hard fighting; They had abundance of *Artillery*, and several troops of horse, *and there was no doubt on my mind*, that whenever the indians met them, *that under providence*, a certain defeat awaited them— That they must look upon these representations from me, as the language of a friend, and not as a threat, that it was spoken to them (*if they believed me*) *to*

[99] In May, 1794, President Washington sent Chief Justice John Jay to England to make a treaty which would secure—among other things—the evacuation of the British-held posts along the Great Lakes.

put them on their guard, not to rush on certain destruction, that they must not suppose that I had any idea of intimidating them, that I knew that they were, superior to, and above all fear, And I knew there was not one man present who would shrink from death— Numbers now present knew that for the last nine years, I had been frequently at their *Towns*, and there was not one year, in all that time, that I had not some of them at my surveying camp, and sometimes they had their families with them— That they knew that I was always friendly towards them, that I sometimes carried messages to them from the *Governor* of *Pennsa.* and *from societies*,[100] who wished to have some of their children to educate; And that when I run the lines between them and *Gorham and Phelps's* purchase, I cut off from the lines first run two large bodies of land in their favour, and that they never could while at any of my camps charge me with churlishness, And I always invited them to eat on the same side of the fire with my self, *And that I never was a trader.* Therefore full faith and credit ought to be given, to what I had said— That they knew that I was frequently at their *Towns* when they were in a degree starving and if it had not been for the fish they caught in the river, they must have died for want— That I had the pleasure for the last three years, to see a great improvement in their situation and manner of living for the better—that I now saw corn in their houses two years old and in plenty, they had now both cows and hogs, and were much more comfortable in their clothing, and the abundance of various vegetables and provisions—and that if they went to war with us *General Wayne*, would after he had *chastised the western indians* turn on them, when they would be driven from all their comforts; and have to trust for a very precarious subsistance from the woods, and as the game was becoming very scarce; If the *British* did not assist them they must starve. But if they were determined on war, I begged of them not to commence, but wait untill the great battle, between *General Wayn's army* and the western indians, was fought— If the indians were successful, they could then act according to circumstances— *But I hoped that they would be advised by me, and not go to war at all, for as sure as they did certain destruction eventually awaited them.*

[100] An allusion to errands for the Society of Friends.

I continued There was some men present, whom I did not doubt were in the wars with this country when the French held *Canada*, and if they would take a review of all the wars within their recollection, they would remember that at the end of each or soon after, they were obliged to part with some part of their country: That now they had but *little left*, and if they were drove from it, there would be no place in that which was now theirs, *for them or their children to lie down on or be buried in*— That I hoped the woemen (all the principal ones, of both towns were present one of them was among the great woeman & a mother of Sachems, was a daughter of *Sir William Johnsons*,[101] with eight of her ten children attended.) would join me in endeavouring to prevent their ruin, that cultivating the corn and other vegetables providing wood for the winter, and attending to their cows and pigs, rested wholly with them, *and they also were the mothers of the nation, which ought to command the respect of all concerned*[102]—That if they were drove from their *Towns* all would be lost and destroyed, and wherever they again sat down they would have to begin anew, and it must be strongly impressed on their minds how

101 She was the wife of "the dark chief" mentioned elsewhere by Adlum, and mother of the man who gave him the fat hog. Adlum to Mifflin, Aug. 31, 1794, *Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series*, VI, 766. On July 4, 1790, Adlum was with Maclay's survey party at the first town on the Allegheny, as one came from the east. He met there a certain Capt. John. The town was the Eghsue of the Adlum map, whereon he notes that this man had ten children by one wife, all alive. Sir William Johnson's daughter had ten children, too. This may or may not be a coincidence. "Capt. John" is no identification, since *John* for an Indian was as ubiquitous as *George* for Pullman porters. However, Capt. John here may be "the dark chief" and the lady his wife. "Sir William Johnson's daughter" was also a ubiquitous term. In his will Johnson named six half-breed daughters. *Johnson Papers*, XII, 1062–1075. It is unlikely that Mrs. Dark Chief was one of these, as they were well-to-do; but Johnson certainly had other offspring among the Indians.

102 Simply put, Iroquoian society was a matriarchy with four classes: women, warriors, chiefs, and unassimilated aliens. Its nucleus was the *ohwachira*, "an organized body of persons tracing descent of blood from a common mother." The land "belonged" to the women because they alone could make it productive. The warriors (*i.e.*, males) belonged to the "mothers of the nation," too, because they had produced them. Chiefs were merely warriors temporarily or permanently charged with political or ceremonial responsibilities. As officials, their prerogatives were secure within their defined limits; but the women who made them chiefs could unmake them. Directly or indirectly, then, the ultimate say-so lay with the women when they chose to assert it. They often did so directly in matters involving land and war. Adlum knew this and laid his strategy accordingly. See "Clan and Gens" and "Social Organization" in Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 303–305; II, 608–612; and J. N. B. Hewitt, "Status of Women in Iroquois Polity Before 1784," *Smithsonian Report for 1932* (Washington, 1933), 475–488, the latter a highly idealized account of the *ohwachira* and its internal organization.

long they had to suffer before they got into their present happy situation, after the war of our revolution— That as to the men: I knew they would possibly for one year be like a sharp or pointed arrow in our sides, that in the first instance they could break up the frontier *in Part from the Chenesee* [*Genesee*] *river to near Pittsburgh*, but that would be the end of their carreer, and they would not be permitted to make a *second stroke*, that in this first instance I was conscious that numbers of us would be killed; But in the end they must submit—as they had always been obliged to do—*and accept such terms as were dictated to them—or leave their country forever.* That I would here leave the business with them, and to let me know when they had decided on my propositions—That I sincerely thanked them for the patience with which they had listened to me, and that in the end they would *determine wisely and act accordingly*— I then left the house with my interpreters, and the woemen followed, and shook me by the hand very cordially, and hoped the *Chiefs* would declare in favour of peace as I had recommended to them—*Mrs. Chit-ty,aw-dunk and Sir William Johnston's daughter*, thanked me in the name of all the woemen present for the interest I had taken in their welfare—And assured me, that nothing should be wanting on their part, to induce the *Chiefs* to do as I had recommended— I lodged in the *Cornplanters*, house, which was within hearing of *the Council house*, though we could not distinguish what they said,— They spoke very loud, more so than they generally do; my interpreters wished to know what they were saying; but I forbid them to go near the house to listen, and although they would not acknowledge it—I saw plainly, that they had some apprehension as to our safety—Which I did not feel, and it would have been considered very indecorous to be listening to them when they were in conclave—They debated untill sunset, when they adjourned, and I forbid my interpretters to enquire, about: what was said by them, or to ask them any questions, as I knew that when they determined what to do—I would be called into the *Council House*, and be informed of their determinations— They met again on the next morning, and continued debating untill about 12 o clock, when they again adjour[n]ed, and informed me that when the *sun* was in a certain point of the heavens, pointing where it was to be, they would meet again, and that I was to attend,

to hear what they had to say to me,— About 3 o clock in the afternoon a horn was sounded, as a signal to assemble, and I was invited to accompany the two principal *Chiefs*, with my interpreters— After the ceremony of smoking &c. was over. The *Cornplanter*, on behalf of the *Council*, spoke as follows.

You have alluded to the revolutionary war and have told us, that you laid both us and the *British* on our backs, we will overlook those things, and talk of those that have taken place since that time—I know that you do not only know every thing that is done in your own *Country:* but of most things that is passing through the world— You have a great advantake [*advantage*] over us, by means of committing every thing to writing, so that by these means and your ships, you know almost every thing that is passing through the world. You must know that when the fight of the revolutionary war was over— We were invited by the thirteen fires, to treat with them and to make a permanent peace. We accordingly met your commissioners at the *old Fort Stanwix*, and when we arrived there; the *Commissioners* on your part, instead of meeting us as equals, and as an independant people—They informed us that the great *King* over the great water, had given up all our Country to you, and had left us wholly at your *mercy*, one of the *Commissioners* gave us a short history of the Revolutionary war, and charged us with doing many things that we were not guilty of, and that ought to be laid to the *British* and *bad Americans*—that were among them. These latter he the Cornplanter added were infinitely more cruel than the indians, so much so, that when ever he commanded a party of warriors; he would not permit a white man to go with him, After his first trip, on account of their cruelty & insubordination— *The Commissioner*, after reciting various things, wound up his speech; by informing them that the *great King* over the great water, had given up all the Country possessed by the *Indians*, to the thirteen fires. But, so long as we kept at peace we should have the liberty of hunting and living on the lands, and that the lands were no longer ours. I, (*the Cornplanter*) informed the Commissoners of the 13 fires—That the *Great spirit above* had planted our Ancestors on this ground, and that those now living of the indians grew up out of it, and that it belonged to them; that if the *King* had given the Country away (which was a thing they could not

comprehend) he had given that which did not belong to him, and that he must have stolen the right of the *Country* from them, And that he heard the *Revd. Mr. Kirkland,*[103] *their missionary* say in his preaching, that if any one stole any thing from another, and either gave or sold it, to one who knew it to be stolen, the receiver was as bad as the thief. But the Commissioners, informed them that the *British* purchased the right of the *Country*, from the indians, so far as to prevent them (*the indians*) from selling it to any other people, and that they the *British* had given up that right to the Americans, as part of the price of *Peace*. But even if the *British* had said nothing on the Subject, that by joining them and going to war with us, they had forfeited all their right.[104] We thought this was a very hard case, and it appeared to us, *that the want of power, was the want of right*— We knew that at that time we could not contend with you—and we thought you were very angry with us; but we thought that at a future day you might reconsider their hard case and Ameliorate it— That now they asked for a very small part, compared with the Country they had relinquished and they hoped that their request would be complied with. *If it was not they must endeavour to do themselves justice*. But that in the mean time I might be going on with my survey South of an *Arrow* they had laid on the *Map*, untill I heard further from them, but that I must not presume to survey any of the land north of the line marked by the arrow. The arrow was laid from a few miles north of the mouth of the *Conewango creek*[105] *to Cusse-*

103 Samuel Kirkland (1741–1808), who knew and liked Cornplanter, began his career as a missionary to the Six Nations with a two-year stay at Canadasaga, the principal Seneca village, where he learned the language and was adopted, but encountered danger from the hostility of some Senecas who were suspicious of his motives. After he was ordained in 1766, he established his permanent mission among the Oneidas and remained with them for forty years, winning their respect and affection. His influence kept most of the Oneidas and some of the Tuscaroras on the American side during the Revolution, and he helped in making peace with the Indians afterward. He spent several weeks with Cornplanter and his party on their December, 1790, visit to Philadelphia, and said of him, "I think I never enjoyed more agreeable society with any Indian." Kirkland Journals, entry for Dec. 20, 1790. His papers are in the library of Hamilton College, successor to the Hamilton Oneida Academy which he founded in 1793 for the education of Indian and white boys. See the article by Joseph D. Ibbotson in *DAB*.

104 Cornplanter's review of the proceedings at the Fort Stanwix treaty, October, 1784, is in general agreement with the recorded minutes as published in Craig, *The Olden Time*, II, 403–430. According to this, however, he did not then quote Kirkland; that would have been unlikely since Kirkland was present as an interpreter.

105 Conewango Creek or *Kanũwũkũ*, "in the eddy, rapid," enters the Allegheny from the north at Warren, Pa.

wago,[106] now *Meadville* on French creek— This district included about half the Country that I wished to survey: *But says he you have taken the liberty to give us some advice, by which I had engaged almost all* the woemen in my favour; as they thought *my advice very good.* That I had at the same time adverted to the strength and power of the *Thirteen fires*, and had told them that destruction awaited us if they [*we*] went to war with you— These are very hard words, to be told that if we cannot get our rights by a request, and that if we endeavour to right ourselves, destruction awaits us— You have told us that this is the language of a friend, and not to intimidate us, You tell us that you know we are not to be frightened, and also that none of us when necessary would shrink from death— For your good opinion of us I thank you in the name of all the *Chiefs* & Warriors present, for we believe that you are sincere and would not on any account tell us a falshood; But we must take the liberty of disagreeing with you in opinion. As to your being able to destroy us, *We trust and hope that the Great Spirit above will not permit it.* We know that you are strong, and we also know that our friends towards the sunsetting, have defeated your Armies, and what has been twice done may be done again, and this has been since the war you have so often alluded to, may be done again. You know that *General Harmar* marched into their Country with a powerful force, and that he was beat and defeated with great loss.[107] And it is now but three winters since, that another of your *Generals* with a much more numerous force than the indians had, was defeated with a dreadful slaughter[108]— Our friends to the Westward are now embodying, in much larger

106 Cussewago is probably the Seneca version of Custalogo, the Munsee chief who lived in that vicinity for many years. Taylor Conversations, Draper Manuscripts, 4 S 109. The line limiting Adlum's surveys was approximately the same as the new boundary the Indians demanded from the United States in June. See Note 97.

107 In the fall of 1790, Brig. Gen. Josiah Harmar led an expedition of 1,453 men from Fort Washington, now Cincinnati, Ohio, to destroy the towns of hostile Indians in the Maumee country. Six towns near present Fort Wayne, Ind., were burned, but three detachments met with varying degrees of failure on Oct. 18, 19, and 22, the last with the slaughter of 183 men. Harmar did not seek to avenge this, but marched his army safely back to Fort Washington. "Military Journal of Ebenezer Denny," *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, VII (Philadelphia, 1860), 345–353.

108 On Nov. 4, 1791, an army under Maj. Gen. Arthur St. Clair was overwhelmingly defeated at the site of later Fort Recovery in western Ohio by an Indian army led by Little Turtle, the Miami chief. The American dead totaled 630, including 37 officers; 31 officers and 252 privates were wounded. *Ibid.*, 375.

numbers than ever, and that all the indians who were in the two last battles, will be present to resist all encroachments on their territory, and that numerous young men, of distant nations will also join to have an oppertunity of distinguishing themselves—So that if you have a more powerful army; the indians to oppose it, will also be more powerful and numerous, and having gained two great victories, they will attack with more spirit and confidence, and as they have demonstrated to other nations *that you are not invincible*, will join against you in great numbers—That the indians of the west had now nothing to fear, if they were unanimous in their opposition to the Whites and acted like men of which he had no doubt, and success must attend them; And that as he had previously told me I might be going on with my surveying within the bounds they had shewn to me untill I heard further from them.

I replied that before I talked to them about Surveying, I would answer that part of their speech where they claimed two great Victories—and to begin with *General Harmer*, that I thought it doubtful, whether they had beat *General Harmer*, as both sides claimed the Victory— That previous to the battle, the *General* had destroyed some of their towns, and large fields of corn. It was true it was a hard fought battle on both sides, and the loss about equal in each, and the combatants were about of equal numbers, That after the battle was over, *General Harmer* retreated towards the *Ohio* river, without being molested, which was a proof that they respected if they did not fear him. That he had accomplished all he intended to do before the battle, and as he had only provision enough to last him a certain number of days, and having accomplished all he intended to do, it would have been folly itself in him to have staid there and starved[109]—And that as to the dreadful slaughter they talked of, it was known long before the troops reached the battle ground, that if an enemy [were] nearly in equal numbers, that they would be *beat*, And though there was a great many fine young men as Officers, and who were sacrificed in endeavouring to make their men face the

109 Ebenezer Denny's eyewitness account of the campaign generally supports Adlum's argument. Because the army had begun to run short of supplies, and frost had destroyed the grass needed for feeding the horses, Harmar determined on withdrawal. This began the day before the bloody skirmish of a detachment on Oct. 22, in which the bulk of his army was not engaged. His continued withdrawal did give the impression of defeat. *Ibid.*, 349–355.

enemy and fight— There was one regiment of regulars brave men and knew how to fight, and they charged bayonet and drove those opposed to them, but the others who were generally picked up in the Towns & Cities were very ordinary fellows and were in the way of those who would fight— They were the idle and dissipated, picked up along the shores and grogs shops of the Towns & Country— They were illy clothed, their powder bad, and numbers of them were more dead than alive before they saw an enemy.[110] and here says I is a man who was in the battle and who called on me, a few days after, near the *Chenesee river*, where he informed me of the whole fight— That when the indians attacked there was a body of men who charged bayonet on them, and those charged on gave way; but the indians soon in a great degree surrounded our troops and the great body of our newly raised men instead of facing their enemy, got into a huddle and each man except the Officers were trying who should be innermost, and prevented those who would have fought, by being in their way so that they could not act without killing our own men. and he further at the time told me that he ran up to the crowd and *tomahawked* men untill his *arm was sick as he termed it*— And I now appealed to him, as to the truth of what I had said— He rose and acknowledged that he had been in the battle and that he had informed me all that I then related— I told him that I would thank him, to relate what he at the time further informed me of— He said that when our troops got into a heap as he expressed himself, that is I suppose he meant a crowd, There were a number of very fine young men, who he supposed were officers, would take the men by the shoulders and turn them about and tell them to face the enemy, and to fight like men, but as fast as those handsome young men appeared the[y] were put to death—And that all at once from some cause, the troops appeared to recollect themselves so far, as to start and run from the field of battle—and as the vengeance of the indians were by this time glutted, they followed those that were running away but a very short distance[111]—

110 Before St. Clair's expedition set out, Harmar was pessimistic about its success because "He saw with what material the bulk of the army was composed; men collected from the streets and prisons of the cities, hurried out into the enemy's country, and with the officers commanding them, totally unacquainted with the business in which they were engaged. . . ." *Ibid.*, 374.

111 This description of St. Clair's defeat is in accord with Denny's account. *Ibid.*, 369–373.

I then resumed by saying, here you have an account of the battle by a man who took an active part in it, and his account of it agrees with mine, in so far as there [was] but little resistance except that body who charged bayonet. But the Army now in the field, is more formidable in numbers, well appointed with officers, and much better supplied, with every necessary for their comfort, and with better amunition and small arms, Artillery, and horse—and they are commanded by a *General*, who knows no fear, and there will be no approaching him in any direction with impunity. The Artillery with grape shot, will make great havock, where they are not fighting under cover: and where they are covered they will be dislodged with the bayonet, a few of our men may be killed and wounded in the front on the first onset, but before your people can reload, the bayonetts will be upon them, and they will scarcely be able after the first fire, to reload for a second, they will be drove from their coverts, the horse will then fall on their rear with swords, and where the horse cannot act the great guns will soon dislodge them,— I advised them not to deceive themselves, for as I told them before, that the *Commanding general knew no fear*, and all his officers and men were inspired with his spirit— That the army would move as if they had but one soul, and every man knew his place, and their lines or divisions could not be broken, all their movements would be forward and on the enemy, and with such celerity, that the loss on our side would be very trifling—And I thought that the great battle might probably be fought not far from the *British-fort* and that if the Officer *commanding the fort* was a prudent man, he would not suffer an indian to take shelter in it,—after being beaten, If he did *General Wayne's army* would follow the fugitives so close on their heels that they would enter the fort with them, and take the fort by storm, and after they entered they would put every man that *resisted* to death. I then again thanked them for the patience with which they listened to me, and I had a strong hope that they would wait the event of the expected battle, before they decided on anything against us—and that I now would again return to my business,— They were informed that I had set some surveyors to work (by the advice of *Half-town*, *skendeshowaw*, and Tiawanias,[112] who came up with me from *Fort Franklin*,)

[112] *Tewaʔ'ēnyaʔs*, "it breaks poles." One of the two Seneca signers of the Fort Stanwix treaty and deed in October, 1784, was *Tehonwaeaghrihagi*, which seems the Mohawk equiva-

on the lands that was nearest to the fort, And that now I was informed that I might go on surveying the lands within the bounds they had shewed to me, untill I further heard from them,— I told them that this was a very indefinite kind of leave, and to be explicit with them I would inform them, what I wished to have and also wanted—that I had come out on this surveying expedition not only a great distance but at a great expense, that it had already cost me a great sum of money, and that if I did not get it done this season, my expenses would be doubled, and although they had marked bounds for me to survey within at present, I hoped that if they would reconsider, they would permit me to survey all the lands, I wished or intended within the lines or bounds of Pennsa.—And that it would take eighty days to accomplish it—And that I wished to have three chiefs and nine warriors to protect my surveyors, (who would be surveying on the Western borders) from the *enemy the Western indians* as I understood they frequently in small bodies came as far eastward as French-creek—For all of which I would make the men a suitable present of Amunition &c. And to the Woemen I would give a present of flour, clothing and blankets &c, And if they would not give me eighty days time, to fix upon such a number of days, That my self and party should be safe to a certainty, and I would

---

lent of this name. The Fort Stanwix agreement between the Six Nations and Pennsylvania, in which the state purchased Indian lands, provided for running the boundary between New York and Pennsylvania, and for Indian "commissioners" to accompany the survey party. On July 4, 1787, the surveyors found *Tiowanies*, the Indian "commissioner," waiting for them at the head of Cowanesque Creek, and they gave him a rifle as a present for his services the previous year in the survey from the Delaware River. He drew them a bark map of the country, and left for the Genesee, promising to return. Later, he did so, and was with them from Conewango Creek to the Lake Erie terminus of the line. Andrew Porter Journals, HSP. On Aug. 30, 1794, he had Rosencrantz, an interpreter, write a letter from Cornplanter's Town to Governor Mifflin, complaining that he had never received sixty dollars due him for his help in surveying the boundary. Governors' Papers, Mifflin, Division of Public Records, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. *Tawanias or Broken Twig* signed the Fort Harmar documents, Jan. 9, 1789. *Tehewanias alias Broken Tree* was one of the Seneca chiefs addressed by Pennsylvania, May 10, 1790. *Colonial Records*, XVI, 357. During 1790 he was very active as a messenger between the Americans—particularly those stationed at Fort Franklin—and the Indians. His name often appears in the record, usually merely as *Broken Twig*. In 1794 when things began to look serious, he became alarmed and "Tiawancas, an old friendly Indian," took his family down river to what he hoped would be safety at Pittsburgh. *Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series*, VI, 686. He changed his mind, however, and returned in time to write the dunning letter and to sign the Canandaigua treaty of Nov. 11, 1794, as *Thaoowaunias*. He was still alive in 1802; the time and place of his death are not known.

now leave them together to fix upon the time they would allow me— After some time I was called into their *Council house*, and they informed me that I might go on with my business for forty days, In all which time I nor any of my people should be disturbed, And that they would allow me three chiefs, and nine young men warriors, such as they would vouch for and recommend, and they would be responsible for their conduct— Two of the chiefs who came up from *French-creek* with me volunteered their services—viz *Sken-de-sho-waw*, & *Tiawanias*. *Half-town*, declined going, and they wished to know who would be agreeable to me in his place. I told them that I had alike confidence in the whole of them, and regretted that my old friend *Half-Town*, declined going with me; But here was another friend of mine *Co,ne-wan-yen-dau*.[113] I hoped he would go with me, to which he very readily consented— Some of the young men I had with me before, and others volunteered—and as they were recommended by the *Chiefs*, I made no exception to any one of them, and I might have had five times the number, if I had anything for them to do— I plead hard to have my time lengthened, but the Council would not consent—

I then endeavoured to demonstrate to them that my surveying the lands would have no effect in any treaty, that they might make with the U. S. that the right of a single individual, would not be a bar to any claim they had, and that they might as well let me begin at the line of the State, with my surveys, and it would be more convenient to have the surveys bounded by the different miles marked on the line of the State, than to begin at any point south of it, and that by

113 *Con,ne-wan-yen-dau: Ka:nũwũyẽ:tũ?*, "ripples here and there." There are so many names like this, all rooted in *-nũwũ-* ("creek, eddy, ripple, etc."), that they can be surely distinguished only when other elements in the whole word are exactly rendered. The early scribes were not scholars; they wrote what they thought they heard, each in his own way. This man may be all or any of those whose names are written *Cannewaugh*, *Canawaago*, *Kanewagiron*, *Gannowaingo*, etc.—all important Indian figures from the upper Allegheny region from about 1758. On their faces, however, the name forms are not the same. Certainly, this man was the *Canawayendo* who signed a letter from the chiefs at Cornplanter's Town to the Indians at the Newtown treaty, July 4, 1791. Pickering Papers, 61:244, Massachusetts Historical Society. He may well be the *Connawaudeau* who signed the treaties at Big Tree, Sept. 15, 1797, and at Buffalo Creek, June 30, 1802. His store account at Fort Franklin, with entries from 1795 to 1797 under various headings, indicates that he was then an old man and that he was related to Cornplanter. On Apr. 25, 1806, the Quaker Jacob Taylor, writing from Tunesassa just off the Allegany Reservation, says "Connewatu, a noted war chief," is dying. Taylor to Wistar, Box 2, Friends Historical Association, Philadelphia.

their permitting me to be going on with my surveys, might eventually operate in their favour, and it could not possibly operate against them, with other observations and that the bounds they had marked out for me would be done before the end of forty days the time allowed me, and begged of them to reconsider it; that my surveying the land could not possibly interfere with them, and they knew that a very large body of land adjoining to that I wished to Survey, was surveyed for the officers and men, who fought in our revolution, being those belonging to Pennsa.[114] They would not grant me any more time, but they informed me that instead of being bounded by a line to run from *Conewango Creek to Cussewaga* now Meadville, which was south Westwardly, I might run a line directly west untill I struck *French Creek*, which would add between fifty and sixty thousand acres to the part they had before allotted to me, I then told them that if they would send with me to Fort Franklin I would give them two more kegs of powder and lead equivalent, and that I had with me a barrel of flour for each of the Towns and that I would give it to the woemen for their young Children, with some linnen, calico and blankets, all which I performed before I left the *Town*, for *Fort Franklin*, and the indians that were to guard me and my people, also came with me in their own *Canoes*,— The day I arrived at *Fort Franklin;* [I met] A. McDowel Esqr[115] one of the deputy Surveyors, with an assistant, I immediately furnished him with such hands as he was deficient in and two of the indian chiefs and six warriors, as his surveying was on the western margin of the lands to be surveyed and nearest the western indians, and I had certain information that there was a small party of them lurking about *French Creek*, I of course cautioned my indians to be on the alert, They replied that my people had nothing to fear, as the

114 In 1785 the Pennsylvania General Assembly provided for the survey and allotment of Donation Lands to veterans of the Revolutionary War. These lands lay in the region just purchased from the Indians, and surveys were returned for them between December, 1785, and March, 1786. *Pennsylvania Archives, Third Series*, III, 577–603; also map in end pocket for location of these lands.

115 Alexander McDowell (1763–1816) was commissioned deputy surveyor of District No. 7, west of the Allegheny River, and north of the mouth of French Creek, on June 7, 1793. List of Deputy Surveyors (1713–1850), 44, Bureau of Land Records, Department of Internal Affairs, Harrisburg. As such, he was officially responsible for the surveys Adlum was having made in his district. McDowell later settled in Franklin, becoming a justice of the peace in 1796 and postmaster in 1801.

Western indians, were forbid to cross to the east side of the creek, where my business lay,[116] And that if they injured any of my people on the east side they would follow them to their *Towns;* but that they would have them, that they themselves would consider as enemies, when they found them on the east side of the creek: But if my people crossed it to the west side they would not be accountable for them, and if they went there it was at their peril—and that I must not look upon them as responsible for anything that happened or might happen on the west side of the *Creek.* Those surveyors that were at work, while I was at the indian towns had not been idle, and I sent them provisions and instructions to keep them out—I mentioned that two chiefs and six warriors were along with Mr. McDowel; the other chief and warriors I kept reconnoitering the Country, and to bring me intelligence—and I sometimes sent them a short distance down the *Allegany river,* to see if there was any spies of the western indians prowling about. On the evening of the 16th day after I had sent out Mr. McDowel the indians came in, and Mr. McDowel with them, I was not a little surprised at seeing them and could not divine what had brought them in; but upon enquiry some of them had been dreaming— The other chief and his men had arrived the evening previous— I affected to be very glad to see them: and immediately gave them eight dollars each in silver, and informed those who had wives and children, that this money was for them: and the young men I told them it was for their mothers, and other old relations; It would have been deemed an insult to have offered it as wages, as for hirelings. I then ordered them some refreshment and then gave each a dram: And I took one with them, to drink their healths, I then ordered a black bottle of whiskey somewhat diluted for every two, and informed them that I would again see them the next morning— The chief and those that were not out with the Surveyors, I re-

116 About this point Adlum inserts a marginal reference, "P 220 line 17," and similar page references—presumably to his "original notes"—occur periodically throughout the remainder of his narrative. The statement of his Indians that the western Indians were forbidden to come east of French Creek parallels that of David Zeisberger in 1767 who wrote that "the land of the western Indians" began at "Onenge (or, as it is called on the map, Venango)." Diary of Brother David Zeisberger . . . (1767), 612, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem. Similarly, in 1791, Alexander McKee wrote that a line from Venango to Lake Erie divided the Six Nations and the Lake Indians. McKee to Smith, July 5, 1791, Series Q 52:239–240, Public Archives of Canada. On the other hand, Adlum on his map called Charage "the most westerly settlement of the Senecas."

quested them to set out immediately, for fear some sneaking fellows, from the Westward might cross the creek and injure some of my Surveyors or hands that were out and that after staying out three days with the surveyors that were out, I would expect them to return, and bring answers to letters I would send with them; I knew that while these indians were out there was nothing to fear, and that by that time Mr. McDowel and the other indians would be on their ground. Those that came in with Mr. McDowel, called on me the next morning for more whiskey, which I gave them; I had bought it from the traders, and they had watered it— I further diluted it, and put to it some *Cayenne pepper*, to warm their mouths, I also coloured it with burnt sugar, and added some black tea to destroy the Whiskey taste— I did not wish it to be so strong as to make them beastly drunk, *and I thought myself justifiable in this, as I did not sell it, but gave it to them as a treat*— They would borrow a wine glass and go to the traders, and shew them what nice and good *Chee-Chaw* I gave them, the name they have for *French brandy*,— The traders told them that it was Whiskey, and that I had bought it of them, The indians replied and why do you not sell us such liquor, when we come to buy of you, let us see if you have any such, the traders told them that I had done something to it, to give it that appearance and flavour; to which they replied: and why do you not do so too, they answered they did not know how: Ah says the indians you now tell the truth, and we believe you: But our friend would not treat us with such stuff as you sell to us—In the Afternoon they again wanted more *Chee-Chaw*, I called them all together, and told them that I was under very great obligations to them, and that I supposed they wished to rest a few days from their fatiegue—And that as I was at a great expense, and a great ways from home, and my time limited by their chiefs, I would look upon it as an additional obligation, if they would recommend some persons to me, who would be as faithful as they had been— They immediately replied, *we hope you are not tired of us?* I answered: By no means—But that I could not think of sending them out on such hard service again— They said that as long as I was satisfied with their conduct, no others should take their place. I then informed them, that it was necessary that my people should go out again the next morning, when I hoped they would be ready to accompany them. To prevent their asking for more liquor,

I had ordered a good dinner to be prepared for them—And as it was then ready I invited them in to partake of it. I had knives and forks and tin plates, they sat down to their dinner some what intoxicated: and to prevent further intoxication, I had toddy made for them to drink at dinner, and I informed them that it was what was drank by *gentlemen* at their meals, and I entertained them with various interesting stories and anecdotes, untill I got them nearly sober, when I gave each a double glass of wine and informed them that it was the liquor that *General Washington and his great men, and all the Kings and their great men over the great water drank after dinner.* And that it was considered disgraceful to drink any other liquor on it on that day, pure water excepted such as run from out springs was the only drink allowed after they had drank the wine— I then got them to shoot at a mark untill evening, when they appeared quite sober— I repeated the necessity there was for my people to go to work the next morning, and wished them a good night. I was up betimes in the morning and had a good breakfast ready for them and the packhorses loaded, and as soon as breakfast was over, I started the whole party, and gave them a parting dram, wishing them a pleasant time and plenty of game— They parted and went on the business with *alacrity, and apparent pleasure—*

This farce was obliged to be played or acted over every sixteen days, and as it appeared unavoidable, I bore it with the best grace possible, and I had the satisfaction to see that not one of them appeared to wish to leave me, and they did everything I required of them with alacrity.

[*Part II will appear in October*]