John Adlum on the Allegheny: Memoirs for the Year 1794

Part II

Introduction

In the first part of his “Memoirs for the Year 1794” John Adlum related how he came to survey lands in northwestern Pennsylvania for James Wilson and the Holland Land Company, touching on his difficulties in persuading men to go there in the face of possible danger from the Indians. The threatening situation, however, was regarded by Adlum as a good opportunity to survey the lands he wanted; fear of the Indians was keeping competitors away from the Allegheny Valley. He knew Cornplanter and his people well from previous visits to their country, and felt that he could rely upon their protection. Arriving at Fort Franklin (present Franklin) on July 22, he talked with Indians in the vicinity and found them willing to let him survey, but unable to say that war would not break out. Therefore, he set out on July 28 and journeyed with them up the Allegheny River to Cornplanter’s Town. There he had a warm reception, a salute by gunfire in which the bullets came uncomfortably close, but this was meant to honor him. After several days’ discussion of the question of peace or war and of his proposed surveys, the Indians gave him permission to survey within specified limits for forty days and provided an escort to guard his men. He returned to Fort Franklin on August 5 and began his surveying operations on a grand scale.¹

¹ Adlum to Thomas Mifflin, Fort Franklin, Aug. 8, 1794, in private hands. Adlum’s secretary “M. J.,” who is identified merely as M. Jones in Note 58, Part I, has since been further identified by Miss Mildred Goshow of Philadelphia as Morgan Jones (1771–1840), the son of the Rev. David Jones who was a chaplain in Wayne’s army. Morgan Jones had a classical education, became a surveyor, and eventually settled near Moundsville, W. Va. His nephew described him as “an erratic, brilliant man.” Horatio Gates Jones, Jr., “Descendants of Morgan ap Rhydderch and Jane Rhydderch” (typewritten copy, Delaware State Archives, Dover).
Adlum does not tell much about this work in the memoirs, but some details can be filled in from his letters. The memoirs give the impression that he was working only for James Wilson and the Holland Land Company in the district north and west of the Allegheny River and east of French Creek, the district for which Alexander McDowell was deputy surveyor. This is an oversimplification, for he also had work to complete for William Bingham and others in John Brodhead's district south and east of the river, which had been partially surveyed the year before. On July 27, before leaving for Cornplanter's Town, he had put surveyors to work in the northern part of Brodhead's district.\(^2\) The day after he returned to Fort Franklin, McDowell arrived with a surveyor and nine men; they went out on August 8 to survey in McDowell's district. Adlum wrote his associate Samuel Wallis that he expected this latter survey would be completed in twenty days, and that the land east of the river would be "cut to Pieces in about ten or twelve days more in bodies of ten thousand Acres and some less and if the Indians keep peaceable I will send out and have new lines run through the tracts so as to have all the Corners to each Tract—"\(^3\) It should be understood that a great deal of more detailed surveying had to be done in these large tracts before warrants could be regarded as properly laid.

Later, Adlum instructed Colonel Alexander Craig to make surveys to connect with those made the year before in Brodhead's district, and to find good land to survey for some warrants held by Governor Mifflin. He wrote Wallis on August 12 that he expected "to have all the lands North of Toby's Creek [the Clarion River] Cut up in ten or twelve days." He was sending to Mead's settlement at Cussewago to hire more men to help his surveyors. He complained that John Brodhead had left his district, and that he had taken some of Adlum's horses. Brodhead was expecting Adlum to do all his work north of the Clarion River, but to pocket the fees himself. Adlum grumbled that Brodhead "was afraid to go and do it himself." But Adlum remained hopeful of good progress: he made arrangements for James Wilson to send more warrants so that McDowell would have no excuse for

\(^2\) Adlum to Thomas Willing, June 12, 1793, Bingham Papers, Correspondence (1790-1799), The Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP); Adlum to Bingham, Aug. 27, 1793, and July 4, 1794, ibid.; Adlum to Samuel Wallis, July 27, 1794, Samuel Wallis Papers, microfilm, HSP.

\(^3\) Adlum to Wallis, Fort Franklin, Aug. 8, 1794, ibid.
delaying or questioning any survey. Obviously, he was accomplishing a great deal.  

On August 17, Adlum received a message from Cornplanter inviting him to “Buffaloe Creek, to hear General Washington’s Answer.” He accepted the invitation since it would mean several weeks more of safety for his men, and again set out for Cornplanter’s Town, leaving the supervision of his “business” to Captain McGrady.  

This brings up the question of the chronology of the second part of the memoirs. As has been mentioned, Adlum made his first trip of 1794 to Cornplanter’s Town late in July, leaving Fort Franklin on July 28 and returning there on August 5. According to the memoirs, he made a second trip shortly before the expiration of the forty days’ permission to survey, and a third trip shortly before the expiration of twenty days’ extension which was granted on his second visit. Actually, various details given in his letters describing the second trip, in which he reached Cornplanter’s on August 23 and returned to Fort Franklin on August 30, correspond to details of the third trip as described in the memoirs. His letters of August 31 from Fort Franklin mention the arrival of the Indians from north of Lake Erie, the gift of the fat hog, the feast and the “brags,” and Cornplanter’s speech ending with the presentation of a pair of moccasins. In the memoirs he indicates that he left Fort Franklin with his men as soon as he could after the “third trip,” but his letters show no such intention. He wrote Wallis on August 31 that he thought it would be “as well to make a retreat by the 25th Septr.” On September 5 he wrote Andrew Ellicott at Fort Le Boeuf: “I shall have about half my business done by the middle of this month, and as my hands are uneasy I have determined to order them home at that time.” In a letter of August 31 to General William Wilson of Northumberland County, Adlum warned that, if the Indians attacked, it would be “between the 25th of Sept, and the middle of October,” and on September 7 he alerted another militia commander, General John Wilkins, to be prepared for Indian attacks on the frontier on Septem-

4 Adlum to Wallis, Fort Franklin, Aug. 12, 1794, ibid.
5 Adlum to Wallis, Kuskuskee Narrows 25 Miles above Fort Franklin, Aug. 20, 1794, ibid.
6 Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series (Harrisburg, 1877), VI, 764-770.
7 Adlum to Wallis, Fort Franklin, Aug. 31, 1794, Wallis Papers, microfilm, HSP; Adlum to Andrew Ellicott, Fort Franklin, Sept. 5, 1794, Denny-O’Hara Papers, Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh.
ber 25. He told Wilkins that he intended to go home himself about the 16th. Assuming that the first permission to survey was granted about the first of August, the forty days would expire about September 8, and the twenty days’ extension about September 28, which gave him good reason to warn of Indian attacks on September 25.

It seems very likely that Adlum did make a third trip about September 12, or possibly later. He planned to go again at that time to accompany Cornplanter to Buffalo Creek. He did not actually go to Buffalo Creek, perhaps because Andrew Ellicott declined to go with him as official Pennsylvania representative; instead, he sent a white man and an Indian to observe what happened. His expenses in September were fairly high, for Samuel Wallis sent him a thousand dollars from James Wilson, which John McAdams brought to him through the woods. McDowell, the deputy surveyor, said later that his party did not leave Fort Franklin until September 20; and, in his diary entry at Fort Le Boeuf on October 9, Ebenezer Denny noted news about the Indians as if just received from “John Adlum, a surveyor, who was lately at Cornplanter’s town.” These statements are hardly conclusive, but Adlum would have had plenty of time for such a third visit, since he did not return to his home at Wolf Run near Muncy until about the middle of October.

Whether he made a third trip or not, most of the events assigned by the memoirs to a third trip actually occurred on the second trip at the end of August. It may be conjectured that, in working over his notes for the memoirs many years later, Adlum became confused about what happened when and assigned all the material to the third visit, although most of it belonged to the second. This does not invalidate his reporting of the speeches and ceremonies and his descriptions of Indian life and customs. Marginal page references (presumably to his notes), which occur at frequent intervals through-

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8 Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series, VI, 768-769, 777-778.
9 Adlum to Wallis, Aug. 31, 1794, Wallis Papers, microfilm, HSP.
10 Andrew Ellicott to Adlum, Le Boeuf, Sept. 4, 1794, Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series, VI, 776-777.
11 Account with Samuel Wallis, James Wilson Papers, IX, 100, HSP.
13 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.
out the latter part of his manuscript, show indirectly that he was taking care to tell his story as correctly as possible. His notes were probably rough jottings of the speeches exchanged during his meetings with the Indians, easily taken down during the slow process of interpreting, together with other memoranda on ceremonies and customs. The defect lies merely in the chronology; otherwise, his account is generally confirmed by extant letters. After all, there was an air of finality in Cornplanter’s speeches during his second visit and especially in the presentation of moccasins so that his friend John Adlum could fight or run away when war made them enemies. That sense of finality may have given him the mistaken impression that these events belonged to the third visit. With this caution as to his mistake in chronology, we now turn to John Adlum as he resumes his adventures.

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Memoirs for the Year 1794

A short time before the forty days expired I again went to the Towns, and carried presents of amunition and other things with the intention, if possible, to get forty days more of time. But with all my address and management they would grant me but twenty days more, with the liberty of surveying any where within the bounds of Pennsa. or marked limits— A few days before these last twenty days expired, I was preparing to again go to the Towns, when there came a runner as they call them, from the Cornplanter, informing me that Col. Pickering, had arrived at Canandagua, and that they wished to see me immediately at their Towns; I immediately, got ready, and set out for the Towns, with some presents; when I arrived at Je,nu-sha,de,ga the Cornplanters Town, I found a person there to conduct me to the upper Town, about nine miles above on the river— When I arrived there I was immediately taken to the Council house, and they informed me that they had that day received an invitation to go to Conandagua to meet Col. Pickering, And that they had decided, and determined that if the Col. wished to speak to them, he must meet them at the Buffalo Town, on Buffalo Creek, that they did not want to treat—That the question with them would be—Are you come to restore us the land we have asked of you—To which he must

14 Adlum identifies this messenger from Cornplanter as "Capt. Crow his son in law," writing that he arrived on Aug. 17. Adlum to Wallis, Aug. 20, 1794, Wallis Papers, microfilm, HSP. Captain Crow or Little Crow, whose Seneca name was HaneYtakuwa, "big hemlock," was at Wyoming in 1778. Blacksnake Conversations, Draper Manuscripts, 4 S 27, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison. Charles O'Bail, Cornplanter's son, said he was one of the small party of Indians bound down the Allegheny who were surprised near Irvine, Warren Co., by Brodhead's advance guard in August, 1779. He got away, but several were killed. C. O'Bail Conversations, Draper Manuscripts, 4 S 123. He was one of the Indians who bought Warren lots when the Commonwealth offered them for sale in February, 1802. In a deed to one, dated Feb. 9, 1808, he is described as "a resident of the Cold Spring, Genesse Co., N. Y."
He signed, by mark, the Buffalo Creek treaty of Aug. 31, 1826, as Nich-ta-go-or or Capt. Crow. He died about 1830 at Cold Spring.

15 Teyenūshk'ah', often called New Arrow's Town, nine miles above the town where Cornplanter lived. See Note 72 in Part I.

16 The League's "central fire" was traditionally among the Onondagas, near Syracuse, N. Y. After Sullivan's expedition in 1779 and the post-Revolution land sales had completely upset the original alignment of the constituent "nations," it was moved to Buffalo Creek where most of the Onondagas had resettled themselves. Since official League actions had to be taken under Onondaga supervision at its capital, Pickering was, in effect, asking them to move it to Canandaigua for the occasion, a thing not done lightly.
JOHN ADLUM, c. 1794
Attributed to Charles Willson Peale
CORNPLANTER, 1796
By F. Bartoli
reply, yes, or no—And that they expected on the next day a party of indians from the north side of the great Lakes—Who were a deputation from several tribes, that if we did not return the lands they asked for, would join in a war against us, and that they had sent for me to go to Buffaloe creek with them, if I chose to do so—That I did not seem to have, it sufficiently strongly impressed on my mind that if their request was not granted, they were determined to go to war.

I replied, that I was very sorry to see them so determined on war, and I was also sorry to hear them say, that Col. Pickering must come to Buffaloe creek, if he wished to speak to them—The Col had come all the way from Philada. to Canandagua, which was some hundreds of miles, I could not exactly say how many, that they were in their own Country, and comparatively it was but a little way for them to go, to meet him, after he had come so far—That I had no doubt, he had considerable presents with him, which would be difficult of transportation, after the Chenesee river, was passed, and it would be attended with great difficulty and expense, to carry provisions to provide for them; as there was no roads for wagons, every thing must be packed on horseback to Buffaloe which would be causing unnecessary expense and trouble—that possibly if they requested it in a proper manner, to accomodate them, he might meet them on the banks of the Chenese river, but for the Col. to go to Buffaloe creek was out of the question, and the least they ought to do was to send a civil answer to his message—that the Col. came in the place of General Washington, who was the greatest and best man in this World, and he was the representative of a great and powerful people, and that if they treated the Col. in this manner there would be no treaty,—They replied that they did not want to treat, that it was not of their seeking, they wanted no presents, they wanted a part of their Country to be restored to them, and which they had or would ask for—and it was very easy to say, when they asked for it, whether it would be returned or not. I told them they were about to put it out of their power to ask that question. As I was very Sure, and would tell them explicitly that the Col. would not go to Buffaloe Creek, that he represented the greatest man known and a very powerful people. And if they met him at all it must be as meeting their equals if not superiors—That if their whole people did not chuse to meet him, they
ought to select some of their most respectable chiefs and warriors, to go to him with powers to treat with him or to know what he had to say to them. And that he would not notice anything that was not brought to him by the authority of the Chiefs, and that if an insolent message [message] was sent to him by the authority of the Chiefs, and [it should] tell him that they did not wish for or intend to treat, and that he must say to them, Yes, or No. He would at once cover up the fire, and turn his back on them until they had recovered their senses, for none but madmen could act with such impropriety, or manner, and I hoped that they would consider before they had sent such a threatening message to him, or treat[ed] him with the least disrespect.

They then informed me that a number of their friends from the north side of the great lakes were to be in town on the next day—I told them that it was better before they took any further steps or sent any message to wait their coming and to hear what they had to say.

Accordingly the next morning about 10, o clock nineteen Indians headed by one Duquania, a very muscular man arrived—all the warriors of the Town turned out of the town to meet them, and just as they were entering it, a salute was fired different from any I had ever seen before, they ran up to the newcomers and fired so near them as to singe their clothes, and in some instances carried off some part of them, and I afterwards understood, that the nearer they fired the ball to them, the greater the honor,—Duquania had several

17 A half-breed whose father was probably Jean Baptiste De Couagne, interpreter at Fort Niagara during Sir William Johnson's superintendency of Indian affairs. The father was of good Montreal French stock. As a youth he went to the Illinois country, where he spent fourteen years. In March, 1751, he presented himself to Johnson, proposing to enter the New York Indian trade. Papers of Sir William Johnson (Albany, N. Y., 1921–1957), I, 325, hereinafter cited as Johnson Papers. Johnson's confidence in him was never shaken, though not always shared by others—witness, for example, De Couagne's incarceration in the Albany jail in October, 1757, on suspicion of communicating with the enemy French. Ibid., II, 746. Adlum's Duquania had a Cayuga mother. Kirkland to Henry Knox, Jan. 17, 1792, Kirkland Manuscripts, Hamilton College Library. He was at St. Clair's defeat and generally active against the Americans. On Aug. 7, 1794, Joseph Brant wrote from Grand River that Cornplanter had asked for a few warriors from there to come to his village to help scout the Americans, and that twenty were to go. Simcoe Papers, Fourth Series, A:17, Public Archives of Canada. This man must not be confused with the contemporary Kaskaskia chief, Jean Baptiste De Couagne (or Ducoigne), doubtless a souvenir of the senior De Couagne's Illinois days. The Kaskaskia chief was a friend of the Americans. F. W. Hodge, Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Bureau of Ethnology Bulletin 30 (Washington, D. C., 1907–1910), I, 405, hereinafter cited as Hodge, Handbook.
pieces shot off of his matchcoat he being the head of the party was the most honored. They were immediately taken to the Council house, and refreshments sent to them, and afterwards, the chiefs and warriors called on them to hear the news, and as I was not asked to attend I thought it would be improper for me to ask them for fear of a refusal, and I knew that I should know all before the next morning.

*Duquania*, informed them that the British Agent Col. McKee had told them, that there was a great probability, that there would soon be a war between them and the Americans, and as they had heard, that their friends the six nations had demanded a part of their Country to be restored, that they were a deputation from seven different tribes who would join them in case of necessity, and that they themselves were ready to join their friends whenever required and that a great portion of the warriors of the tribes they represented would also join them—

There was no council called on that day, to which I was asked, so I spent my time loitering in and about the houses conversing with the residents by my interpreter, to find out their dispositions as to war or peace.

I found the women invariably for peace and most of the old men, and some of the young ones where their parents were inclined to preserve peace. I exhorted the women to preserve peace if possible— I could speak to them on the subject without its being thought an improper interference, and also to the old men; But it would have been thought highly indecorous and impertinent, to attempt the young men called warriors.

A son of Sir William Johnstons daughter had made me a present of a large hog, which probably would weigh more than two hundred pounds— I had made him and his mother some presents, and I also had him out in the woods with me, and by treating him kindly, he became very much attached to me— The next morning about sunrise, Old *Halftown*, previously mentioned in this narrative called on me and looked very sad, or affected to do so; as he was a begarly old fellow, I suspected he was come to ask for something by informing me that he had a dream— I therefore spoke to him without noticing his sorrowful countenance, but after some time as I had conjectured,

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he informed me that he had a dream: which he was very sorry for, and was ashamed to tell it— I told him if he was ashamed of it he had better not tell it. But he was not to be put off so, he said that if he did not tell it some bad luck would befall him. I told him that as it was a dream that he was very sorry for, and ashamed of, and that he must tell it—he had better tell it to one of his confidential friends. He replied that I was the only one to whom it could be told with propriety— I answered & why did you not say so at first— I thought you came to ask my advice, but as it is necessary—that it should be told to me, tell it to me at once, He replied that I might think him a beggar, but that was not the case and that he had really dreamed— I said I did not dispute his word and to tell his dream at once— He then informed me that I had given that large hog (that was presented to me by my young brother) to the people of the town and strangers to make a feast of. I felt somewhat indignant at his beggarly proposal, but I said that it was a present from my Younger brother, and it was a custom among the white people never to give anything away that was presented to them, more especially the first present—which this was—But that probably I myself might dream by the next morning—which if I did, I would let him know it— In the course of the day, I discovered that I could get another hog of about the same size for eight dollars— I had the owner of it sounded privately, so that no one knew that I intended to purchase it— Half Town, called on me early the next morning, to know if I had dreamt—I told him I had—And that I dreamt that I had bought another hog for which I paid eight dollars, and that I gave it to the Warriors of the two towns, and that they made a feast of them after their own ancient manners and customs, and that the women of the town brought the necessary bread, and that there was a young warrior who brought me a stick, with a notch on it for every warrior that was to partake of the feast or be present at it— One great object with me was to learn the number of men that were at the two towns— A short time after I had told Halftown, my pretended dream I heard a horn blown, as a signal to assemble at the Council house, and soon after a messenger, waited on and told me I was expected at the Council house, I immediately attended with my interpreter, and I found all the men seated, After smoking and a short pause the Cornplanter, related Halftown's dream and the conversation that passed between us, then he related my dream, and observed that it was the custom of the
indians to pay respect to them, as they might be communicated from above to answer purposes unknown to us, and that it was the duty of all implicated to render their services towards the accomplishment of whatever might be intended by them: I in return told them that I supposed the Great Spirit, communicated those dreams to all of us, that it would be much better for us to feast and dance together in harmony, affection and brotherly love—Than to be governed by the bad Spirit or by his instigation—to make us go to war with each other, to have his dominions made more populous.

The meeting then rose, and I bought the hog for eight dollars, and gave both to the young men, who killed them and cut them to pieces, each of which was tied round with a piece of linden bark and they had a large kettle that might hold about fifty gallons and another that might hold about a barrel, all the meat was put into them to boil— The woemen brought pounded corn rapped neatly in green corn husks, and boiled it with the meat, so as to make a sort of dumplin or pudding\(^19\)— In the course of the day a man brought me a stick notched on three sides, each notch he informed me represented a man or warrior who was to be at my feast exclusive of the nineteen strangers— I counted one hundred and seventy odd notches on the stick, so that including the nineteen strange[r]s, would make near two hundred warriors, who were to partake of my feast— I was invited to attend an eagle dance\(^20\) which they could not perform

\(^{19}\) "Corn bread is a mass of meal kneaded without regard to cleanliness, without either leaven or salt. They cover it with corn leaves and cook it in the ashes or in a kettle." J. F. Laftau, *Moeurs des Sauvages Ameriquains* (Paris, 1724), II, 94.

\(^{20}\) The Eagle Dance, *Kanu?'kwatek*, “to strike a fan” (W. N. Fenton), is the ceremonial of the Eagle medicine society, dedicated to the mythical Dew Eagles. Adlum’s description omits elements commonly considered minimum essentials for this ceremonial, such as the ritual bundles, the eagle-feather fans, and the small gourd rattles. It does, however, include the dancers, who do some remarkable things. Today, as they dance they usually crouch to pick up objects (generally crackers) with their mouths and shake their shoulders (wings) as they do so, in imitation of birds. In their left hands they hold and manipulate the fans; in their right, the rattles. Even this performance requires athletes. The positions Adlum’s dancers assumed—bent backwards, with forelegs perpendicular to the ground—are impossible if we take him literally. Gertrude P. Kurath, authority on Indian dances, says: “it is amazing to read of such a trick among the Iroquois, or at that among any Indians. I know of only one dance which incorporates this bend, namely the Limbo of Trinidad.” Communication to W. N. Fenton. The requirement that this dance be done in the daytime indicates its special nature—traditionally, all good things belong to the daytime. Now, for practical reasons, this requirement is not always honored. See W. N. Fenton, *The Iroquois Eagle Dance: An Offshoot of the Calumet Dance . . . ,* Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 156 (Washington, 1953), which includes “An Analysis of the Iroquois Eagle Dance and Songs,” by Gertrude P. Kurath.
after sundown—I attended; it was danced by two men who twisted and writhed themselves into various contortions, and after exercising themselves in that way for about two minutes they would rise up in imitation of a panther rising on its hind legs, and act with their heads and eyes, as an angry panther would do, if he was going to fight and imitated him in his noise—They would also imitate a bear, eagle, and other animals, but their most extraordinary feat appeared to be to stoop backwards, with their body parallel to the ground from the knee upwards and from the knee downwards their legs were perpendicular to the ground, and after moving a few steps in that way, they would endeavour to appear like a panther or other ferocious animal, and give a most hideous screech. The war and brag dances21 were danced after night—The war dance consisted of twenty young men ranged in two lines of ten each facing each other; they had no dress on but a breech clout and mocsins, they were painted in various colours, black, red, blue, yellow and white, each according to his fancy I suppose; as there was no two alike—each had a fillet of an Elks mane round their foreheads and knees, with the hair standing strait out from their foreheads and knees, they had also clusters of small deers hoofs tied round their knees and ancles, to rattle as the[y] danced, they had a drum made of a kettle covered with parchment, they had also horns, and gourds, with beans, or corn in them to rattle while the drum was beating, the old men who had the horns and gourds sung—The warriors had each a tomahawk in his hand, they would begin to beat the drum very slowly and the singers and ratlers would keep time by it; but they would very soon get into quick time, and the dancers were obliged to use every nerve, and exert themselves in so extraordinary a manner that they could stand it but a few minutes before they halted—and when they halted one of the company attending would come forward and Strike the war post by which I was sitting, by their direction as the most distinguished place on a seat prepared for me, there was also a fire a short distance from it, and my interpreter was placed beside me, after the post was struck all was silent—and the person who struck it would boast of some feat he had done in the wars. The old men when they boasted, generally prefaced their speech by telling me that they would not relate any thing they had done against the Whites as pos-

possibly I had lost some of my relations or friends, and that they did not wish to hurt my feelings— Then they would relate something they had done against the Cherokees, or other southern Indians.\textsuperscript{22} I had no doubt but that they sometimes exagerated— And if the braggart thought he had related a feat, that none present could exceed, he would throw on the ground a small piece of tobacco rapped in a leaf or other substance, at the same time saying if any of you can beat that (meaning the story) take it up and let us hear what you have to say— It was always taken up and sometimes a more extraordinary story told. Sometimes one would take it up and say, though he was not so often at war, or had taken as many scalps or prisoners, he would relate something to them at least equal if not more meritorious— In the interval of time the war dancers would again commence dancing and by way of finishing they would dance round the post, and strike or rather rattle their tomahawks against the post within a few inches of my head. This trip I had but one interpreter\textsuperscript{23} with me, and he became alarmed, att their ratling their tomahawks against the post so near my head, and advised me that when the fire was burnt down to get out of the way, I told him that I had no apprehensions of their intending to do me any harm, he replied that he had been thirteen years amongst them, and he never saw them do so before, neither had he ever seen them worked up in such a frenzy, and that he had done his duty by informing me of my danger, I told him that as they were my guests and [I was] the head man of the feast: they could not possibly intend to do me any harm, or injury: but no doubt that some of them would be gratified, if we attempted

\textsuperscript{22}By the middle of the eighteenth century, the annual Seneca excursions against the Cherokees, Catawbas, and other southern Indians had lost whatever meaning they surely once had. Young bucks proved their virility by joining up with a tried leader for a leisurely jaunt south to harry the natives there, and all but the victims enjoyed it. There was credit to be had against the Cherokees, an Iroquoian people who were often adopted by their captors. The Catawbas, Chickasaws, and others (called generically “flatheads”) were “bush-leaguers” and did not count for much. As long as the back-country raid routes were clear, the sport went on unimpeded; but the frontier settlers found it annoying after they moved into the area. Under Sir William Johnson, especially, efforts were made to break up the pattern. Thomas Nicholas (Nicholson), brother of Joseph, conducted a Cherokee delegation in 1768–1769 to Johnson Hall where, under pressure, the Six Nations went through the motions of calling off the raids. Johnson Papers, XII, 761. But the word was a long time in reaching the boys in the back country and the fun continued. This passage in the memoirs is paralleled in Adlum’s letter of Aug. 31 to Mifflin. Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series, VI, 767.

\textsuperscript{23}See Note 25 on Queeto.
to sneak out of the way, and that if I did such a thing I must expect to be treated by them with the most sovereign contempt—He again said that he had done his duty by telling me of the danger I was in—I replied that I did not apprehend any, as I was under their protection, and if they did intend to do us mischief they would take care that we should not escape and therefore we had best keep our seats. When the fire burnt down again, he gave me the slip, so quietly that I did not miss him, until an Indian struck the post, when there was some more pine splits put on the fire, and I was obliged to call a white man who had an Indian woman for a wife to interpret for me—It was now some time after dark, the dancing and bragging appeared to be coming to a close—When Halftown, who had observed me to call Nicholas Demoot, (24) (the man abovementioned) to interpret for me, he saw that my interpreter was not in his place—he came and struck the post, and began by telling us that he was the man who took my interpreter Queeto, (25) prisoner, he was then a grown man, and he had his tomahawk raised to put him to death; but he observed

24 Nicholas Demuth (Demoot, Dimont, De Mort, Deamhout, Decomood, Demooth) was taken captive near Fort Planck (or Plain), New York, on Oct. 7, 1780. Public Papers of George Clinton . . . (Albany, N. Y., 1906), VI, 725; and New York State Library, communication of Feb. 1, 1960. Allegheny-Genesee Indians figured prominently in this second of Sir John Johnson's raids through the Mohawk Valley that year, since his army had approached the valley from the south through their country. Nicholas was apparently very young when taken. In August, 1787, W. W. Morris, surveyor, met him at New Arrow's Town on the Allegheny—"a white lad who was taken from the Mohawk River in the late war. . . . His ears are slit and large pendants of silver play at the end of his nose." He did not want to go home, preferring to live with the Indians. Morris to Baron von Steuben, Aug. 27, 1787, Steuben Manuscripts, X, New-York Historical Society. Col. Thomas Procter met him at Fort Franklin, Apr. 9, 1791. "He was dressed in Indian garb . . . his ears were cut around and each hung with a considerable weight of lead." He told Procter that his father had lately died leaving him a considerable sum of money, but he feared that, if he went home to get it, his relatives would not let him return. Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series, IV, 571. He must have changed his mind. He is no doubt the interpreter Complanter, New Arrow, and their party brought with them to see Wayne at Legionville in March, 1793. Wayne says he had been "taken from the German Flats above Albany in his infancy and adopted by the Complanter, he has lately been two or three years at home with his parents in which time he has learnt a little English but can neither read nor write." Richard C. Knopf, ed., Anthony Wayne: A Name in Arms (Pittsburgh, 1960), 205. He had an Indian wife. There is record of his occasional employment thereafter. The store at Fort Franklin inventoried among its assets at the close of business, Nov. 30, 1797, a note of Lt. Rosencranz in Demuth's favor, which he had apparently discounted there.

25 Queeto was my interpreters Indian name which means Wood pecker. He had red hair which I suppose was the cause of his having that name [Adlum's note]. Adlum's interpreter on this trip was Nicholas Rosencranz. Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series, VI, 765. In his own account, Rosencranz makes no mention of Adlum at all. Rosencranz to Wayne, Sept. 4, 1794, Wayne Papers, XXXVII, 35, HSP. Nicholas was born on Aug. 25, 1760, the son of Rev.
that he was so frightened, and trembled so—that he knew that killing
him would have put him out of pain—I therefore (says, he) seeing
him to be such a coward, concluded to spare him—that he might be
always a dying, you see he has left his friend who pays him for
interpreting, and no doubt he is now, at this moment sheltered under
some of the Woemens petticoats—and is dying in imagination—But
your brave man never dies, \textit{that is}, he does not shrink from; or feel
death—'Tis true that the spirit leaves this body, \textit{and goes to him who
made it, there to enjoy uninterrupted happiness.}

There was then some more pine splits put on the fire so as to give
a good light, when the \textit{Cornplanter}, came and struck the war post, he
had a tomahawk in one hand and a pair of mocasins in the other,—
He fixed his eyes \textit{sternly} on me, and then again struck the post most
violently three times, I felt some alarm, but could not believe he
intended to do me any harm,—I rose on my feet, when he again
struck the war post three times, keeping his eyes, fixed sternly upon
me; I held my breath, and my teeth together to keep the blood in my
face, and fixed my eyes on his, \textit{as sternly as I could}—and seeing the
mocasins, in his hand I could not conjecture what it meant, but I
supposed they were intended for me. After a pause, still keeping his

Abraham Rosencrantz, pastor of the German Flats (N. Y.) Reformed Church, 1752–1796. His
mother was Anne Herkimer, sister of Gen. Nicholas Herkimer of Oriskany Battle fame, who
was his godfather. Information from Edw. J. Sheehan, Fonda, N. Y., from church records.
Nicholas was a private in Col. Jacob Klock's Second New York Regiment, Tryon County
militia, when he was captured in 1783, probably in October at the Battle of Klock's Field.
Apparently, he was one of Cornplanter's numerous adoptees, which perhaps explains Indian
reference to him as "the Wolf interpreter"—i.e., of the Wolf Clan. Big Tree to Wayne, Fort
Franklin, July 10, 1793, Gratz Collection, HSP. His adoptive people showed their confidence
in him by appointing him on the committee to receive and count the money and goods de-

delivered by Phelps and Gorham at Canandaigua, Aug. 1, 1789, as first payment on their pur-
VI (1903), 482. He engaged in the Indian trade for a while. De Bartzchi to Slough, July 5, 1791,
Burton Historical Collection, No. 5433, Detroit Public Library. His first introduction to Gen.
Anthony Wayne was in July, 1792. Wayne was impressed by him and said "he speaks the
Seneca, Delaware, \& Shawaney Language's." Wayne to Knox, July 27, 1792, in Knopf,\textit{Anthony Wayne: A Name in Arms}, 47–48. For the next two years, Rosencrantz was very
actively employed by Wayne with the Indians. He left Fort Franklin, July 11, 1793, to go with
Cornplanter, New Arrow, and their party to the Sandusky Indian meeting. His experiences,
really harrowing, he reported to Wayne on Sept. 23. Wayne Papers, XXIX, 71, HSP. He was
commissioned an ensign in the army on May 12, 1794; on May 15, 1797, he became a lieutenant
and held this rank until his discharge, June 1, 1802. Knopf, \textit{Anthony Wayne: A Name in Arms},
48 (note). He is said to have had an Indian wife. J. S. Schenck, \textit{History of Warren County . . .}
(Syracuse, N. Y., 1887), 107.
eyes sternly on me he began, and spoke as follows— He in the first place gave a short account of my arrival at Fort Franklin, and my then coming to their towns, and my business there, he also gave a sketch of what I said to them at different times, and the replies made to me,— He also spoke of the confident manner in which I spoke of General Wayne defeating the western indians, a point in which they could not agree with me,— That it might be so, but it rested with the Great spirit above, who had given them two great victories, and he hoped and trusted that he would continue his favours to them and give them a Still greater one. And as to you (raising his voice) you are the most dangerous man we know of as an enemy. You know every path and avenue in our Country and you have acquired an influence that no one ought to have with an enemy, every woman in the two towns side[s] with you, and you have also a great influence with our old men, and you are also a favourite of all the young warriors that are acquainted with you— In short as I said before, you are the most dangerous man we know of as an enemy— You are now here and in our power, and it would be but common prudence, for us to keep you here. But we have promised that while you are with us—you and all your people shall be safe— We will now be as good as our words, we scorn to forfeit them, AND TOMORROW YOU MUST DEPART FROM THIS PLACE. We promised to send you to the West branch of Susquehanna, Fort Franklin or Pittsburgh at your option, we are ready to give you an escort, and to deliver you and your people safe to any one of the places mentioned— We are at peace now but in a few days it will be otherwise— If the piece of Country we have asked for; is not returned to us, war will follow— And we will break up the frontier, from the mouth of the Chenesee river to Pittsburgh, and that part of the West branch of Susquehanna, where two of our people were murdered.

26 After the opening ceremonies, the business part of every Seneca council session begins with a recapitulation of what has gone before, no matter how familiar it may be to all present. White officials dealing with Indians often fretted under the long delays the custom occasioned.

27 On June 27, 1790, two friendly Seneca Indians came into the Pine Creek settlement near present Jersey Shore and were murdered by four settlers. Pennsylvania offered a reward of $800 for the murderers, and Timothy Pickering held a council at Tioga Point in the fall of 1790 to condole with the Senecas, but it remained a sore point with them since one of the dead men was a chief and the other a chief-designate. Colonial Records, XVI, 396–398. Ens. John Jeffers, the commander at Fort Franklin in 1790, wrote that he wished “the people who committed the murder might be given up to the Indians & be by them burnt at the Stake—for I believe the Senecas before this, were at heart friendly.” Jeffers to Harmar, Sept. 15, 1790, Draper Manuscripts, 2 W 322.
when you were out with us some years since will not escape our Vengeance. That place I understand is not far from your home, when you are on the Susquehanna, We suppose that when that settlement is invaded, you will turn out and act like a man, And as I have always seen you wear mocasins when you are with us or in our Country—I suppose you can move in them more alertly than with shoes: I therefore present you with this pair, (handing me a pair of mocasins handsomely ornamented with porcupine quills of various colours) that you may be ready for us, and meet us, when we make a stroke on your settlements. I reached out one hand and took the mocasins; and with the other took the tomahawk, out of his hand and struck the post in return and told them that it was with great grief that I saw them so determined for war and to rush on certain destruction—And as I must go home I would endeavour to be prepared for them—And that if they invaded the settlement I lived in, or any where within reach of me—I would take care that none of them should ever return to their towns to tell what became of them. They then gave a great shout—which ended the bragging and dancing—And every man took a wooden spit which he had provided, and also took a portion of meat on it which was tied up with linden bark—and numbers had kettles which would hold about three pints, in which they took soup with a dumplin in a green corn husk, and immediately disappeared, without having offered me a mouthful of meat or a Spoonful of soup—or even a dumplin— And in a few minutes I was standing by the war post alone— I went to the Cornplanter's house where I lodged and found him and his family, enjoying themselves on the meat dumplings and soup— They had a light of pine splits; I enquired for my interpreter, I understood that much of the indian tongue: but they informed me he was not there; But an interpreter was immediately called, and he the Cornplanter laughingly said, that this must appear to me a very curious feast— With you (says he) a number of men assemble, but [you] never ask woemen or children, except when you are at a private house when the woemen of the family attend, but very seldom any others— And when I have been among you, and

28 The presentation of the mocasins and a summary version of Cornplanter's speech are in Adlum's letter to Mifflin, Aug. 31, 1794, Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series, VI, 767.

29 This is the custom. At longhouse and medicine society "doin's," only a token amount of food is consumed on the premises. Participants bring pails to carry most of it away for home consumption, for reasons which Cornplanter gives later in his lesson on Indian etiquette.
have been at your feasts, where there was large company’s of men and not one woman—And there was no expense spared in providing the good things of all countries, when probably if it was known, some of their families at the same time was suffering at home, and as much spent in meat and drink for each person as would provide for a family several days— Which to say the least of it, is very selfish: But by our mode you treat the whole town men woemen and children, as well as all Strangers, and at this moment, the mothers of the children are talking of you to them, and explaining the cause of the feast, and expatiating on your generosity and hospitality, and though you had often partaken of ours, we had no right to expect such a treat— And as to yourself, as you wished to see our ancient manners and customs, you have now seen a sample of them, and the gratification and honor in having so many partaking of your feast is a sufficient reward, without your setting down to a part of it, as it is always supposed that he who treats so many, has a sufficiency in reserve for himself. There was only one thing wanting, and that was, you ought to have made a Speech, pointing out all the most prominent things or circumstances that led to, or was the cause of it, and you ought to have concluded by thanking, the Great Spirit above the clouds, the giver of all things, for enabling you to treat so many of your brothers and friends so handsomely. When some one of the Company, would have replied by thanking you in return, and would have, probably, adverted to certain things, I did not mention, and he would have wound up his speech, by Saying, you could not have acted with more propriety or Shewn more good breeding, than you did, if you had all your life lived amongst us—(the Indians.)

Soon after sunrise the next morning, the horn sounded for the Indians to assemble at the Council house, and after some time I was invited to attend there—When I observed Du,gua,ni,a, with his Indians from the north Side of the Great Lakes, seated on a platform beside each other at the end of the house opposite the chiefs belonging to the place, and a number of young men warriors, And the Little Crow,30 a son in law of the Cornplanters, and the Cornplanters nephew31 were sitting on the platforms round the inside of the

30 See Note 14 on Captain Crow.
31 At this time his name was Tekayéštū, “two (betting) games going on at the same time,” but in the record he appears commonly as Cornplanter’s Nephew, Nephew, and Neffue. About
house, and also a number of young men and boys behind the chiefs & Warriors on the platform— *Du,qua,ni,a* and his party consisted of nineteen, the other two viz. The *Little crow* and the *Cornplanters*, nephew with their party including themselves amounted to thirty seven, making in all fifty six— They were all painted, and clothed with all the insignia of war— The *Cornplanter* observed that they supposed that I might still have some doubts about their going to war with us, if a part of their Country was not returned to them— They therefore had me called in to hear the instructions, they were about to give to the Warriors,— I thanked them, and told them it was a mark of Attention I had no right to expect of them— He replied that it demonstrated to me, that they were in earnest, and not

1800, he was given the nickname Governor Blacksnake by which he was thereafter generally known to the whites. His own people’s pet name for him, however, was *Hahji?* uses, “tall (elder) brother,” and it is by this they remember him today. About 1820, the Six Nations council awarded him the honorific title of one of its two war chiefs: *Thë:wû:’nya?*s, “he cuts wire (pins, nails, etc.).” His numerous descendants surname themselves Blacksnake, Black, or Nephew, according to taste.

He was born about 1760 at Kendaia on Seneca Lake. His mother and *Cornplanter* were probably sister and brother. Quite certainly, his mother and Red Jacket’s mother were sisters. All were of the Wolf Clan. Throughout the Revolution, he accompanied *Cornplanter* as his assistant and messenger. He moved to the Allegheny with him about 1782, and succeeded his uncle as the leading figure there, just as *Cornplanter* had succeeded his own uncle, *Kayah’süha’t*. Blacksnake was a steady supporter of another uncle, Handsome Lake, and of his religion, but this never cost him the respect of its opponents, Indian or white. Generally, he was friendly to the whites. He was among the first Senecas to offer his services to the United States at Buffalo in July, 1813. He died on the Allegany Reservation, Dec. 25, 1859. New York erected a monument on his grave in tribute to his abilities and integrity. The superficial likeness between his League title of *Thë:wû:’nya?*s and the name of another prominent Indian who figures in *Adlum*’s memoirs— *Tewa?*’enya? or Broken Twig—has created confusion. Broken Twig was much the older man. Blacksnake was still using his early name when he signed the Buffalo Creek treaties of June 20, 1802, as *Tekiaindau*. He used his title on the Moscow, N. Y., treaty of Sept. 30, 1823: *Tywaneash* or Blacksnake.

About 1840, Dr. Lyman C. Draper commissioned a half-educated Indian, Benjamin Williams, to record and translate *Blacksnake*’s memoirs. Williams made two remarkably confused versions. *Draper Manuscripts*, 16 F 107–219. In February, 1850, Draper himself came to see *Blacksnake* to get them straightened out. He wrote an elaborate gloss on and supplement to the Williams accounts. All are owned by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Together they constitute what must be a unique account of the Revolution as seen by some of its important Seneca participants. *Blacksnake*’s memory was good, and he was absolutely honest. When he could not recall a particular thing he said so frankly—an uncommon virtue in an old veteran. These manuscripts have been heavily relied on for personal details about the Indian characters in *Adlum*’s memoirs—not only *Blacksnake*’s accounts, but those of other surviving participants whom *Draper* interviewed at the same time. *Draper Manuscripts*, 4 S 13–127.
afraid of us—I told him that it was unnecessary to tell me so—as I knew it, And that if I had any doubts on my mind as to their going to war, when I first came among them, they had cured me of them the evening of the feast. He then spoke to the Warriors to the following effect, (and paused frequently that my interpreter and theirs might interpret what he said accurately and fairly; so that I should understand him) Brothers from the other side of the great Waters, and Brothers, who are a part of us—You are to go to such and such places, (naming them)—There to kill Elk, Deer, and bears, which you will carefully dry and preserve, until you hear further from us—And if you meet any white people, tell them they had better go home, as times will soon be bad; but do not injure nor hurt any one untill you hear from us. We are going to Buffaloe-Creek, Where a number of chiefs from all our tribes are to meet us, And the great woemen, from our Towns, will accompany us, and there we will meet the great woemen of our other Towns and tribes. There we will form the plan of our operations, and from thence you will receive our orders how to act, and what you are to do—We would give you orders at once: but our great woemen are opposed to our going to war: and we may in a great degree thank our friend for that: if thanks are due to him for preventing us from carrying our views into execution. But perhaps it is for the best, as the Great Spirit, above directs all things, all we have to do is to submit patiently to what he wills—When we are all assembled chiefs, warriors, and the great Woemen, at Buffaloe the woemen may change their minds, and join us in our wishes, as it is the only chance we shall ever have of getting back a part of our Country—We have received a message, from our brothers at Buffaloe, wishing to know, whether it was our opinion that it would be best to go and meet Col. Pickering or not, at Canandagua,—And then turning to the messenger from Buffaloe—He continued: Inform our brothers that we do not think it necessary to go to Canandagua, we have not desired nor requested a treaty, and that if Col. Pickering has any thing to say to us he must come to Buffaloe, as we are determined, to hear nothing, respecting our demand, but his yes or no, for if he has no power to say, that a part of our demand will not be restored

32 After his return to Fort Franklin, Adlum wrote on Sept. 7 that the Indians from north of the Lakes were “at present hunting between Hickory Town and Oyl Creek.” Adlum to Wilkins, Sept. 7, 1794, Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series, VI, 778.
to us, there will nothing further be said on the subject—OUR FRIEND here has told us that the Col. will not come if we send him such a message, and that he will cover the fire and turn his back on us: he has also told us that the Col. is in the place of the greatest man in the World and that he (the Col.) represents him, and a great and powerful people, and that he has no doubt but that justice will be done us. TO DO US justice a part of our country must be returned to us, (This was spoken with great energy or emphasis)—Our friend here has told us very positively that if we did not change our language, and at least propose to meet him at the Cheneseeo river, that he will cover the fire and turn his back on us—This is strong language, but if justice is intended to be done to us, our friend may be mistaken—You will therefore tell our brothers at Buffaloe that we will be with them in a few days, and that in the mean time if they agree with us in opinion, they will send the following message to the Col.—That if he wishes to speak to them he must come to Buffaloe and that it is unnecessary to bring either presents or provisions, and if he (the Col.) can put up with such fare as the indians have: he will be provided for, by them. But if he cannot consent to live on their fare, he may bring with him such things as he chooses, for himself and such friends as he may bring with him: And as to ourselves we want none of his: that they would not treat, without he in the beginning informed them, that he was empowered to restore to them a part of their Country. THAT THIS WAS THEIR DETERMINATION, and they hoped that their brothers at Buffaloe, would agree with them, so that they might be strong in their resolutions—He then wound up his speech addressing himself to me. You told us not to deceive ourselves, WE tell you the same, do not deceive yourself, for if we do not get an answer soon, WAR WILL FOLLOW,

I waited sometime to see if they had anything more to say—And thinking I should say something: I told them that I would not repeat what I had so often told them—But that I hoped when they got to Buffaloe, they would reconsider what they had that day spoken.

For as to Col. Pickering going to Buffaloe, I would tell them at once, that I did not believe he would go there—That possibly by a civil request, he might accommodate them so far as to meet them on the line dividing us on or near the Cheneseeo river; but as to going any further it was in vain for them to look for it—And if they did
not change their opinions and language—**war was inevitable.** But it was not expected by us and would not be believed until they commenced it—and if they were so mad as to begin, they would find volunteer companies, riflemen, musketry and horse in sufficient number to follow them to their towns—And it would raise such an universal resentment against them over the whole Country, that they must never expect to treat with us again, and they would all be drove to the other side of the Great Lakes—And the frontier Garrisons now held by the British, if they did not give them up in the course of the next summer: we would be under the necessity of taking them by force. But I had no doubt on my mind, that they would be given up peaceably by the British in the course of the next summer—They had the experience of one war with us, in which they got nothing but hard knocks from us, and they lost a great country by their folly: they would pause before they went to war with us again—as they could not gain any thing by it.

I then expressed a hope that if they were so infatuated as to go to war with us, that they would carry it on, differently from all the wars they had hither to with us—And that was: that they would cease to put to death women & children—These words were scarcely uttered before every man present, simultaneously rose on his feet, and all fixed their eyes on me with a mixture of sternness & resentment: at which I was not a little surprised, and after a pause, the Cornplanter, asked me if I meant to insult or affront them— I replied there was nothing farther from my intentions.

He then spoke loud and with great emphasis and energy—By saying Who began that business, (to which I did not reply) When he resumed, If you do not know I will tell you. When the white people first came to this country and before that—as well as since we were so foolish as to make war on each other—And if we were successful we took the women and children prisoners, whom we invariably adopted into our families, and they according to their age, were called, mother, sister, brother, or child, and they were considered as related to the family—The men with few exceptions were put to death—But sometimes a woman who had lost a son had a right to chuse one, and sometimes a widow would claim a man for a husband and take them as such. 33 When you first came to this Country our

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fathers have informed us, that they took you under their protection, and they assisted in supplying your wants, by giving you provi-
sions, they then called you their children—But it was not long before you increased in number, and by your fire arms increased in power, Our fathers were then content to call you brothers, and they also gave you land to till, to raise corn & other things—But you still increased in numbers and power and you took possession of any part of our country that suited you, and when our fathers remonstrated—they were told, that they did not worship the true great spirit, and the country did not belong to them, and that it was meretorious to drive them (our fathers) from the face of the earth, and they were treated by the whites as if they were beasts and not men— Our fathers built houses, and fortified them, but the whites with their superior arms took those places, where there was men woemen and children, and did they ever spare one great or small— As I suppose your books do not tell these things, I will answer for you, no. You in your books charge us with many things we never were guilty of—But if we were to or could write books we could tell you of things, that an indian never practiced and would be ashamed to be charged with. Whenever we treated with you at the end of a war, there was always an article that all prisoners on both sides should be delivered up,— Did you ever deliver up any? Did you ever deliver up one? I answer for you no. When at the end of the war of the revolution as you call it, we delivered up to you hundreds, hundreds & hundreds—whether your books tell you of this or not I do not know; But I know the fact, and the truth of my assertion— Does your books tell you of indians legs being skinned and tanned? Does your books tell you of parts of indians being skinned, and those skins being dressed and made razor strops of? I know that all these things were done by the whites and I heard them boast of it. Does your books tell you, that an indian ever did such a thing— If they had done those things they would have been recorded in your books—And I know that there is a great many lies written in your books respecting us—We have thought of your suggestion before, and at Buffaloe we will decide how this war is to be carried on—And if my advice is taken, we will never again injure woemen and children, for it is mean, & contemptible, for a warrior to put to death those that do not, or cannot, fight, And it is of no use to take them prisoners, as they must be returned—at the end of the
war— But we will give you men no quarters— As I saw the Angry passions arising, I did not reply further than to observe to them, If I understand you, among men no quarters are to be given, and that if we do not kill you, you, will kill us— They replied that would be the result— When the meeting broke up, with their offering to conduct me and my people according to my agreement with them— I told them that it was unnecessary to give themselves any trouble about me or my people, as I had their word not to molest me— That I had more than thirty men well armed with the best of rifles, and if any party of the Western indians attempted any thing against us, if they were not more than twice our numbers, they would repent ever having seen us, That I had two Captains with me who were on the frontiers during the whole of the last war, and had frequent fights with the indians, and my young men did not fear any thing. All I asked of them, was, to let me collect my people in safety at Fort Franklin, when we would, then, take care of ourselves afterwards— They replied that I had twelve indians in my employment, who would see all my men safe at Fort Franklin, and they expected that when they had done that, that I would not put any obstacle in their way to return to their towns, as I did not want their further protection. In about an hour after I saw Du-qua-ni-a— Little Crow, and the Cornplanters nephew, march towards our frontiers, to execute the instructions, I had heard given to them in the Council house that morning— I went into the different houses where I knew there was old men & old Woemen, to thank them for the many civilities I had received from them, and I told them that if they would go with me to Fort Franklin I would make each family a present of a barrel of flour— I wished to delay my leaving the Town as long as possible, as I expected every hour of hearing that a battle was fought and that General Wayne, had beat the Western indians, when I was sure if I

34 “The Cornplanter said that before they attacked us they would give us notice to clear the frontiers. That the Indians did not intend to make War upon Women and Children, but against men....” Adlum to Wilkins, Sept. 7, 1794, Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series, VI, 777.

35 The news of Wayne’s victory over the western Indians at Fallen Timbers, Aug. 20, 1794, was slow in traveling eastward. It did not reach Israel Chapin at Canandaigua until Sept. 16, when he received it from Buffalo Creek. Chapin to Henry Knox, Sept. 17, 1794, O’Rielly Collection, X, 72, New-York Historical Society. The news could not have reached Buffalo Creek more than two or three days earlier, and may have taken longer to reach the upper Allegheny. Ebenezer Denny at Fort Le Boeuf did not hear of it until Oct. 19. “Military Journal of Ebenezer Denny,” 405–406.
was in the Country, the Indians would permit me to finish my Surveying, which would save me the expense of another tour or campaign the next spring—Accordingly I kept loitering and talking in the different houses until after dark—When I went to the Corn-planters house, he appeared somewhat vexed and disappointed in my not having left the Town on that day—I told him, that I could not leave my friends without taking leave of them, and they had so many things to say, and so many questions to ask me, that the day passed away before I knew it—but that I would set out the next morning—to which he replied, (somewhat petulantly) *it is quite time*—I again called at the houses the next morning and informed them, that I was going to leave them, and that I would encamp at the mouth of Conewango creek. I accordingly set out between ten and eleven o’clock by water and arrived at the mouth of the Conewango about the middle of the afternoon. I moved slowly to show them that I was not under any alarm, and had confidence in their words and in the course of the afternoon, six canoes from the Town joined me, and encamped with me, the next morning we set out again and went down the stream about thirty miles, and encamped on the bank of the river—In the morning we again set out and arrived at Fort Franklin, about the middle of the afternoon—I had immediately some provisions prepared for them, and as soon as they had refreshed themselves, I gave to the family in each canoe a barrel of flour, and I had some bread baked for them and told them, they must none of them open their barrel of flour until they got to their Town; and that I would furnish them with provisions while they staid with me, and that I would give them a sufficiency of bread to carry them home, without their breaking on their barrel—and when all this was done and said, I took care to make all the men drunk—I had sent runners from the Town to notify my people to come to the garrison immediately—the next morning the Indians in the canoes that came with me from the Towns called on me to take leave of me, and to inform me that they were about to return to their Towns, I would express some regret but took care to make them drunk again, and would give them as much diluted liquor as would keep them so without making them beastly drunk. I practised this until all my people were collected at the Fort, with the twelve Indians I had to guard them—the morning after I got all hands ready, I took care to have the Indians
sober, and we started together, they in their canoes and we by land as soon as we had crossed the Alegany river— One of my indians\textsuperscript{36} came running after me, to inform me, there was fifteen Delaware indians out, and that we must take care of ourselves, for if they got any advantage of us, we might expect to be attacked by them—And to be very particular when we arrived at Mahoning Creek\textsuperscript{37} (formerly a town was there) and have the ground well reconnoitered before we passed it— The next place was Toby’s creek,\textsuperscript{38} but we must not be off of our guard on any part of the way,— The next place was a very brushy hill rising out of a plain with a great number of dead trees on it—And if we escaped these places, Mohulbughteetum\textsuperscript{39} creek and narrows would be the last place we had anything to apprehend, as the scouts from the Kittanning, frequently came up to that place, and if we passed it in safety we had nothing to apprehend further—To be particular to attend to all noises that I heard, If I heard a wolf howl or bark, and it was answered by an owl, raven, or turky, that was indians— If I heard any one animal answered by another, that was indians, and I must act accordingly— About half a mile before we arrived at the creek (Mahoning) we heard such signals. I immediately dispatched Capt. McGrady to run a distance up the creek, through the woods and then to cross it and run down on the opposite side from me untill he struck the indian path we were then traveling on, and then to give a shout to notify us of it— I advanced to the margin of the bottom land, which was overgrown with long grass nettles &c. And there was no timber trees the bottom being covered with, Plumtrees, crabs and thorns &c. so that I had no fear of being attacked on the side I was on, but we might be attacked after we crossed the Creek— As soon as I heard Capt. McGrady Shout, we

\textsuperscript{36} One of the twelve who guarded my Surveyors— [Adlum’s note].

\textsuperscript{37} The name comes from Mahoni, “a lick.” Munsee vocabulary in David Zeisberger, Indian Dictionary (Cambridge, Mass., 1887), 114. This is probably the present East Sandy Creek, entering the Allegheny from the east about six miles below Franklin, which is called Mahoning Creek in the 1806 edition of Reading Howell’s Map of the State of Pennsylvania, 1792.

\textsuperscript{38} The Clarion River. The earlier name, Toby’s Creek, probably comes from thitpan, “bitter,” or tschuppic, “root.” Zeisberger, Indian Dictionary, 24, 161. It is the R. du Fiel (“gall”) of the Mandeville-De Léry map of 1740, and its early English name was Stump Creek.

\textsuperscript{39} “Mocholpakiton, where we abandon our canoes, or, in our language, at the head of navigation.” John Heckewelder, “Names Given by the Delaware Indians. . . ” (Pennsylvania German Folklore Society reprint, Allentown, 1940), 25. This is the present Mahoning Creek, entering the Allegheny from the east some miles above Kittanning.
immediately crossed the bottom and Creek—And within a few yards of the Creek there was a small spring run with a muddy bank and bottom, we saw in it fresh mocasin tracts, the mud had not settled in them, so that the indians must have been there a few minutes before, and I have no doubt they saw us, and sneaked out of the way from between Capt. McGardy & myself— we moved on a few miles further that evening, and encamped before night, where there was some very tall white pines, we cut down a dead one to make a fire of—And after dark I placed the men by fours, from forty to fifty yards from the fire, with instructions, that they must lie close to the ground with their backs to the fire, so that if any indians came upon us, to get them if possible between us and the fire, and not to fire in too great a hurry but to make sure work—And not to throw their fire away for nothing. I staid near the fire to keep it up, but a little while before day, tho', it was quite dark, I let the fire burn down, so that there was no blaze; and I went to visit the different parties, and I had left directions with; and two men at the fire with orders when I was absent a certain time, to kindle it up, and to make a great blaze, which they did, I was at the foot of a large tree with four men I had placed there in the evening— One of the men whispered to me, there is an indian, I observed a pair of eyes that exceeded brilliants in brightness, by the light of the fire shining into them and appeared to be but six or eight yards from me, I told him to give me the rifle, (as I only had a pistol) and I would shoot him— he handed me the rifle, and I presented it, When a large dog we had with us, rose up and began with a Whau, Whau, as much as to say dont shoot me— I called him to me and told him to seek out, which he did not appear much inclined to do, which made me apprehensive that some indians might be lurking about—I called to all the men to be on the alert, and to keep a good look out, but we were not disturbed— This day we crossed Toby’s creek, and the thicket spoken of, and though we frequently heard the signals, we were not in any ways molested— We used the same precautions, that we did the preceeding night, and the next day we passed the Mohulbughteetum creek and narrows, when we looked upon ou[r]selves as perfectly out of danger—And proceeded home by pretty rapid marches, as I was apprehensive of an Indian war and I wished to be on the frontier to prepare the militia for it—
To return to Fort Franklin on French Creek

When I last arrived there; I immediately laid a plan for having an indian militia,\textsuperscript{40} I had enticed one of the chiefs from the Towns, and I had Chi-ti-aw-dunks wifes son, John Deckhart\textsuperscript{41} in my employment, and there was a message sent to him from the Towns to go to Buffaloe, as they intended there to make him a chief— I requested Capt. Heath the commander of the Fort, to invite all the indians that were in my employment into the Fort as well as the few who came from the Towns with me— We both spoke to them of the folly of going to war with us for if they did, they would certainly be drove out of their Country, And that they had better claim our protection, for if they did go to war it would soon be settled, by the destruction of their Towns and provisions— And that if others commenced a war, they might come and live under the protection of the Fort— Some of them answered that they had been thinking of it and they would further consider it—And they asked Capt. Heath if he would give them protection, under the guns of the Fort, he answered he would, and that he would write to General Knox on the subject— I drew up a small scheme, for an Indian militia, proposing to the chiefs, that each who could raise and keep ten men with him should be

\textsuperscript{40} Adlum actually made this suggestion to Mifflin on his return from his first trip to Corplanter's towns, and alluded to it after his second trip, when he still thought "tryal worth the experiment." Adlum to Mifflin, Fort Franklin, Aug. 8, 1794, in private possession; Adlum to Mifflin, Aug. 31, 1794, Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series, VI, 768.

\textsuperscript{41} John Deckhart (Decker, Diekart, Deeker, Duker, Dicker, Dick, Dickey, etc.) told Dr. Draper his Indian name was Dah-gan-non-do or He-Who-Patches. Tekal"nütut" is "shanks in the water" (W. L. Chafe). He-Who-Patches might translate his white name from the German Deckter. His seldom-used Indian name appears as Tekonnondu on the Buffalo Creek treaties of June 20, 1802. He was born near Franklin, Pa., about 1750 and spent his life on the Allegheny. As Kyashota's nephew he was of the local "nobility." Catharine Van C. Mathews, Andrew Ellicott . . . (New York, 1908), 120. The only Revolutionary exploit he claimed was participation in the attack on Hannastown, July 13, 1782. His ability to speak English made him a useful member of Corplanter's 1790-1791 delegation to Philadelphia, where he signed, by mark, several speeches as a witness. Other qualities that commended him were his integrity and veracity, his power to retain and transmit "talks" verbatim, and his skill in Indian protocol. O. H. Williams to Alexander Hamilton, Mar. 5, 1792, Hamilton Papers, Library of Congress. In 1820, he lived on a small farm on the Alleghany Reservation, grew a few acres of wheat, and had some cattle. Halliday Jackson, Civilization of the Indian Natives . . . (Philadelphia, 1830), 87. In February, 1850, Dr. Draper had a lengthy interview with him. Draper says "he was of ordinary size—somewhat bent with age—beard under his chin hanging down—walks around to his neighbors—mild and kind in his deportment—is very poor—his wife, a son and daughter live with him." Draper Manuscripts, 4 S 94-102. He died in April, 1851.
called a Capt. these men to as far as they were able to cover the frontiers, and to act as spies and to give notice of any parties that might be out—that in case of war they should be found provisions, and arms and be paid for their services—and that John Deckhart, Chittyawdunks wives son, should also have a commission as soon as war commenced, And I wrote to Governor Mifflin of Pennsa. on the Subject—I had a young man in my employment, who had been a prisoner to the indians in the last war NAMED SALTSMAN— and who could speak the indian tongue tolerably well, and John Deckart could speak some English, And as Deckart was invited to Buffaloe to be made a chief of, and his mother who was one of the great woemen had gone with other great woemen and chiefs to Buffaloe— As his J. D.s mother was averse to giving permission to go to war, I told, J. D. that if war began and that if he would be faithful to us, I would get him a Capts. Commission, and that he should have pay and rations while he was in our service, And I gave him a horse that cost between thirty and forty dollars, a saddle and bridle, also a new suit of clothes and hat, And he agreed to take Saltsman with him, And I was obliged to furnish Saltsman with a horse that cost me sixty dollars with a saddle and bridle, and to pay him six shillings per day (80 cents) while he was on that business and, if any accident happened to him to prevent his return, I was to give his mother a poor widow one hundred dollars—

I gave Saltsman a letter to Col. Pickering to cover appearances, if he should be stopped by some busy body— And Deckhart was to communicate everything that passed in Council against us, and if they determined on War, Deckhart was to contrive to have him (Saltsman) sent to notify Col. Pickering of it—

It is here proper to observe that if the indians go to war without the consent of the great woemen the mothers of the Sachems and Nation, The Great Spirit will not prosper them in War, but will cause them and their efforts to end in disgrace. Deckhart & Saltsman, arrived at Buffaloe two or three days after they [the] indians had commenced their business the woemen were obstinate and refused

42 William Saltsman (1777–1829) seems to have been one of Thomas Rees’s men who had surveyed in the Erie Triangle in the spring of 1794; Adlum had hired him in Pittsburgh. In 1800, he settled in Erie Co. near Wesleyville where he had a sawmill and later a gristmill. Benjamin Whitman and N. W. Russell, *History of Erie County, Pennsylvania* (Chicago, 1884), 945–946.
their consent to go to war, there was also a number of their old men averse to it—which kept them several days, debating the Subject—The Cornplanter, eventually got tired of the obstinacy of the Woemen and to do away [with] the superstition of the men respecting it, rose and made a speech against superstition, he called it folly and nonsence, and was surprised that men of understanding, had so long submitted to this ancient custom handed down to them by their ancestors, and now was the time, for men to decide for themselves and take this power from the woemen,— He was grieved to see their nation divided on a point where they should be unanimous, And he was sure if they saw Col. Pickering, He would persuade them to listen to his terms of peace, be they what they might, And that they suffered me to amuse them for more than sixty days—And that If I had been a few days longer In arriving at their Town, war would have commenced and then they would have been obliged to be unanimous,— That he believed I had frightened some of them by my talking to them of the Strength and power of the U. S—That from the divesions I had caused among them, and which delay would increase—He therefore to do away this evil, and to prevent further divesions among themselves he would propose that runners should be sent that very day to order those that they had sent to hunt deer elk &c—to make a stroke immediately—which would put a Stop to all further divisions amongst the men, AND NOW WAS THE TIME to take this power of controlling the warriors from the Woemen as he saw very plainly that they never would consent to go to war with us—

Mrs. Chitty aw dunk in reply told him and all present—That the Great Spirit had given that power to their ancestors, and it was handed down to them from time immemorial, and they would not relinquish their right, And that it was given to them by the Great Spirit, to prevent madmen and fools from doing mischief, that if they went to war without their consent, they could have no success, and the Great Spirit would punish them for it—And while she was yet speaking—They heard the news, shout or war & news whoop\(^43\) as it is called, When it is their custom to suspend all business untill the news is heard or communicated, They left the Council house as is customary, to give the news man time to refresh himself and to

\(^{43}\) Adlum expands this at the foot of the page to “or war and news whoop, whoop whoop.”
dress— When he was ready the Council again assembled to hear the news, He happened to be in the action with our troops under Genl. Wayne, wherein the Western indians were defeated— He gave a melancholy account of the battle, and that he saw an Officer on horse back cut off the heads of two indians at two strokes; And that some indians endeavoured to get within the Abatis round the British fort, when our horsemen gallopped up to the Abatis and cut down two indians who were endeavouring to get inside and the British had shut their gates and were looking on at the time, and those that were not cut down had to run round the Fort, to make their escape and that he did not know how many were killed, but he thought the loss great—as he did not see any men after the battle—and no one of their own nation overtook him, although there was a number of his companions in the Action— After hearing this news there was a dead silence for some time in the Council house, when one of the Old men arose, and observed that as there was a number of their friends and relations to the West ward in that battle, and no doubt but they felt great anxiety for them, He proposed that they should adjourn for that day, and meet again on the next morning, when by that time some more of their friends who were in the battle might arrive from the Battle ground—

They accordingly adjourned untill the next morning—And by that time several men who was in the Action had come in, And after the usual ceremonies they met in the Council house, and upon enquiry of the new comers, They all agreed that the British had shut the gates of the Fort on them, and some of them had seen our horsemen cut down two indians endeavouring to get within the Abatis round the Fort—

After a pause of some time an old man who was my friend, observed that I had told them, that probably the battle would be fought not far from the British fort, and that they dare not assist them, neither would the British suffer them to take shelter in their Fort— And that every thing I had told them, so far came out to be true, Tho' some would not believe and he supposed there was none

44 This was Capt. Shomberg, who acted as a volunteer aid to General Wayne, on that day [Adlum's note]. According to Wayne, it was Lt. Leonard Covington of Maryland who “cut down two savages with his own hand.” Knopf, Anthony Wayne: A Name in Arms, 353. Capt. Bartholomew Schaumburgh of Pennsylvania also served in Wayne’s army. Ibid., 511 (note).

45 Chitty, aw-dunk—[Adlum’s note].
now so hardy as to talk about war, and he believed that the best thing they could do was to go to Canandagua, and meet Col. Pickering and make the best terms they could, and he now proposed it to them to go and see what could be done—and to set out without loss of time—Several approved of the proposition, and no one spoke against it; no one dissented, And they began to prepare to meet Col. Pickering as soon as they could get ready—All this information was brought to me from Buffaloe Creek by Saltsman, above mentioned, after my arrival at my Fathers at Muncy Lycoming County in Pennsa—

There is one circumstance worth relating, as it is greatly to the honor of the person tho' an Indian, I cannot omit it.

Logan⁴⁶ nephew to the Logan⁴⁷ mentioned in Jefferson's notes on

⁴⁶ Thatkasthwas, “he looks around there.” The Logan name was borne by many Indians of various tribes, originally taken from James Logan, secretary and for a time acting governor of Pennsylvania. Adlum's Logan is said by the Indians who knew him to have been a Conestoga, born on the Susquehanna about 1755. Blakesnake Conversations, Draper Manuscripts, 4 S 67. This probably accounts for the fact that his name does not appear on any of the lists of Six Nations Indians active before and during the Revolution given to Draper, or on any important treaties signed by these Indians. He was one of the best customers at the trading house near Warren, Pa., 1796; the numerous charges are all for liquor. Ledger of J. Daniels, Warren County Historical Society, Warren. The Mental Elevator, a paper published by Rev. Asher Wright on the Cattaraugus Reservation, notes in the issue for Dec. 31, 1846: “Tut-kotence or The Searcher or Capt. Logan died at Cold Spring about 1846, aged near 100: nephew (or cousin?) of John Logan.” His son, Young Logan, was Cornplanter’s son-in-law.

⁴⁷ Tu:ne?tawus, “split hemlock.” His nickname was Tahkefjut, “his hair sticks out there”—descriptive of anyone with bushy eyebrows, hair, etc. Few Indians have received the attention over the years which students, starting with Thomas Jefferson, have accorded this John (?) Logan. The reason, of course, is the speech he is alleged to have made to the whites after they slaughtered his family on the Ohio in 1774. The experts agree on almost nothing about him, except that he was killed by a relative. See Hodge, Handbook, I, 772, for a brief account. Adlum’s unique story of what happened, and why, is from the slayer’s own mouth. Thatkasthwas means to say that he was merely the executioner carrying out a family decision to get rid of an undesirable member. If someone outside the family had done the job, the killer and his kin would have had to give the life of one of their own in kind, and it would have been up to Thatkasthwas, as the nearest eligible relative of the deceased, to take it. By agreement, a wergild of money or goods could be substituted and a blood feud avoided, but this would be expensive. The going rate for such settlements is indicated by Andrew Ellicott, the surveyor, in a letter to his wife from Chemung, June 6, 1787, about the premeditated killing at Tioga Point in March of “the great Onondaga Chief Capt. Cornelius Sturgeon” because “he was an absolute despot in his tribe” and had made himself generally obnoxious, just as Logan had. Moreover, he had adopted the dress and customs of the whites, and even planned to send his son to a white school. “The friends of the Murderer purchased his life for a sum of money not exceeding £375. . . .” Mathews, Andrew Ellicott . . ., 62–63.
Virginia, was encamped about a mile and a half above the garrison on French creek, as I knew he had been sent for, by the chiefs of the upper Towns on the Allegany river and that he did not attend to them but staid in his camp—I therefore concluded that he did not approve of the war, then contemplated, and that he would not join in it—I accordingly, on the day after I last arrived from the upper towns went to pay my respects to him—I was also surprised that he had never called to see me as all other Indians chiefs and warriors had made it a point of—He was encamped near a path that was on the bank of the creek, and as I walked in mocsins I got near his bark covering unperceived by him—I was astonished to see the tears rolling down his manly cheeks very copiously—After viewing him a few moments for fear he might observe me and think I was improperly intruding on his privacy—I made a little noise by putting my foot on a stick which broke, to draw his attention—When he saw me, he arose and advanced and took me by the hand—When I pronounced the name of Logan, to which he replied Ne,au, which signifies yes—I then told him that I was Kyasteesae, to which he replied Kyasteesae, E,un,joch,que,go, and he led me into his bark camp, but we could understand each other very imperfectly—Jim Hudsons camp was but a short distance off I called to him, he spoke the English very fluently, and I requested him to interpret for us—I told him that Logan looked sorrowful, and if it was not an improper question I should like to know the cause of it, and that anything that I could do for him he might command without reserve—He thanked me very politely, and said he believed that it was beyond my power to relieve him, as it was a disease of the mind, I told him that if I knew what he meant, I might perhaps give him some relief—To which he replied I have always heard you well spoken of, as a friend to the Indians, and I will (says he) without reserve relate to you the whole of my griefs—The chiefs and most of the young men of our Nations are going mad, they want to make war with you, without considering what the event may be—It is now but a few years since you laid us and the British on our backs,—I know that your power is at least double to what it was then, and ours has diminished nearly in the same proportion—The British had large Armies in your Coun-

try, and strong garrisons on your frontiers, now they have neither, the garrisons are but small compared to what they were then— You have now a strong army against the Western indians, and if we begin a war a part of that army, after they have defeated our Western brethren, will be sufficient to subdue us— *It appears to me that the great Spirit above is determined on our destruction— Perhaps it is to answer some great and now incomprehensible purpose, for the better And whatever his will is I will bear like a man—For I do not think that he will punish us in this world and the next too.*

I told him that he had better apply to Capt. Heath, for protection under the guns of the garrison, for it [if] they did begin war it could last but a very short time— He said he knew that—But that if his brothers and friends, went to war; however he might disapprove of it, it, was his duty and inclination to assist them: But says I, you ought to have regard and thought about your children and wife,— There is no necessity for that he replied, we have now, but a small spot of Country left, and if we begin a war, it will soon be overrun by your troops, And you will have to kill us as we will fight desperately, and in revenge you will send our wives and children after us— I told him we were not so savage, that we only killed so long as we found resistance—But whenever a man was disarmed, he was considered as under our protection—And as to woemen and children we never injured them— I have no doubt (says he) that you think so, because you say so, *but I know that it is otherwise*—We have the account of several wars handed down to us by those who lived before us, and we also have accounts of treaties, where it has been stipulated at the end of every war, that all prisoners on both sides should be delivered up— We according to that article always gave up *great numbers*: did your people ever return us one? I told him it was probably owing to our not being able to catch them— that (says he) is not so— You have destroyed our towns and sometimes by surprise, and you never spared any— I told him to point out one instance— He gave me a look of *surprise and indignation*, and said if you do not know I will tell you of one, And he began— There was a town on the *Muskingum* river,⁴⁹ settled by some of your good white people amongst the Indians, These white men were not such men as the traders are

⁴⁹ Gnadenhütten, Tuscarawas Co., Ohio, where Moravian Indians were massacred, Mar. 8, 1782.
composed of— They had persuaded a number of Indians to cease going to war, to cultivate the ground, and to worship the Great Spirit, after the manner of these good white men, and not after the manner the Indians used to— these people were peaceable and never went to war— And what became of them? Speaking with great emphasis (I then understood him and was sorry that I had given him an opportunity to give me such a rebuke and case in point)— He then related it to me with great energy, the horrible massacre of those innocent people— As I consider it a disgrace to our Country, I will here let it drop and not relate it as he gave it to me— I then invited him to dine with me, to which he assented—

After dinner I enquired of him if he knew a great man a namesake of his called Logan, or whether he was related to him. He informed me he was his Uncle, I enquired of him is he yet alive? he Answd. No, he is dead—

**ADLUM.** How long is it since his death?

**LOGAN.** About eight winters have passed since—

**ADLUM.** What disease did he die of?

**LOGAN.** None—

**ADLUM.** How came he by his death?

**LOGAN.** I killed him—

**ADLUM.** You killed him for what?

**LOGAN.** It was the order of the nation—

**ADLUM.** What did the nation order him to be put to death for?

**LOGAN.** Because he was too great a man to live—

**ADLUM.** How could that be?

**LOGAN.** He talked so strong, that if he differed in opinion on any subject or business, he made them believe that they were wrong and that he alone was right,—

**ADLUM.** The presumption is, that he was right or he would not have a majority with him—

**LOGAN.** He could not always be right, for no matter what plans they had laid, he would defeat them, whenever he thought proper to interfere—for though they were satisfied they were right he talked so strong that nothing

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The conversation has been arranged in standard dialogue form to make it easier to follow. The manuscript ran on without a break, and the names were abbreviated.
could be carried contrary to his opinions, his eloquence always took all the young men with him—

ADLUM. But why did the nation order you to kill him as he was your Uncle, could they not have got some other one to do it?

LOGAN. If any other man had killed him, I would have put him to death—

ADLUM. Why put him to death?

LOGAN. Because I was his nearest relation living and no other had a right to kill him unless I refused to do it—

ADLUM. And was you not very sorry to be ordered to put your Uncle to death?

LOGAN. Not much sorry—

ADLUM. How so you say not much sorry, what do you mean by saying not much Sorry?

LOGAN. He was a very, very, great man, and as I killed him, I am to fill his place and inherit all his greatness—

ADLUM. And when you become so great a man as he was, the nation will order you to be put to death, Will they not?

LOGAN Ans: When I am so great a man as he was (putting his right hand over his heart speaking with emphasis), I am ready to die—And whomsoever puts me to death will inherit all my greatness, As I do his.

One day while I was at Fort Franklin Capt. Heath the Commandant came to me with a letter in his hand saying the great beast spoken of by the indians, has made his appearance— I asked where? He replied at Parkinson's ferry on the Monongahela river, Here says he is a letter from Col. Butler the Commandant at Pittsburgh, ordering me to send to his assistance, the one half of my garrison— An insurrection has taken place, and the garrison at Pittsburgh is menaced— There has been a meeting of about five thousand people

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51 In the manuscript this “stage direction” had no parentheses or italics, which have been supplied.

52 Parkinson's Ferry, present Monongahela City, Washington Co., was a hot-bed of the Whiskey Rebellion. A meeting of delegates from the western counties was held there, Aug. 14 and 15, 1794.

53 Maj. Thomas Butler (1754-1805) commanded the United States detachment at Fort Fayette, Pittsburgh, in 1794. On July 18, he wrote Secretary of War Knox to report the first riot at Pittsburgh. Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series, IV, 74-75.
at the ferry, and they threaten to go to war if the excise law is not repealed—And on the next morning a person by the name of McAdams, brought me letters from Samuel Wallis Esqr. who was surveying lands nearer to Pittsburgh than I was, and also letters from John Brodhead and John Wallis Esquires— These latter Gentlemen passed through the insurgent region about the time the meeting took place, and their letters gave me an account of the meeting at the Ferry, and of the disposition of the people of the Country—And that two Militia Colonels, whom they named and who I knew, told these latter Gentlemen that if a force was sent against them, to that Country—that the Whole Country would rise in opposition, and that they (meaning the Cols. mentioned) would march their regiments to the brow of the Alleghany mountain, and with the general rise of the Country would beat any force that could be sent against them—

I immediately sent a letter to Governor Mifflin of Pennsa. enclosing Mr. Brodheads and Mr. Wallis's letters, by an express to John Kidd

54 John McAdams (or McAdam) served as "express" or messenger between John Adlum on the upper Allegheny, Samuel Wallis on the West Branch of the Susquehanna, and James Wilson in Philadelphia. Wallis had sent him to Fort Le Boeuf in July for information about the Indians, and he had returned to Anderson's Creek from Fort Franklin on July 31. James Wilson Papers, V, 114, HSP. In September, he took a thousand dollars to Adlum. Ibid., IX, 100. In 1804, he moved to Champaign Co., Ohio, and died there in 1839. History of Champaign County, Ohio (Chicago, 1881), 501, 863.

55 Samuel Wallis (1736-1798) settled on Muncy Creek in present Lycoming Co. about 1768. As a surveyor and land speculator he was first an employer and later an associate of Adlum's, and was involved with William Bingham, James Wilson, and the Holland Land Company in various deals. His contemporaries did not suspect his activity as a British spy during the Revolution. See Carl Van Doren, Secret History of the American Revolution (Garden City, N. Y., 1941), 217-220, 410-413, 427-428.

56 John Brodhead (1776-1821) was commissioned deputy surveyor of District No. 6 on Apr. 28, 1794, his district extending east and south of the Allegheny River as far as the purchase line of 1768 (the line from Kittanning to Cherry Tree). List of Deputy Surveyors (1713-1850), 44, Bureau of Land Records, Harrisburg. He was the son of Garret Brodhead and a relative of Daniel Brodhead, then the surveyor general of Pennsylvania and formerly commander of the 1779 expedition against the Indians of the upper Allegheny. In 1798 he became the first prothonotary, clerk of courts, register, and recorder in Wayne Co., and he was elected to the General Assembly in 1812. Alfred Mathews, History of Wayne, Pike and Monroe Counties (Philadelphia, 1886), 1059. He should not be confused with another John Brodhead (1770-1838), son of Daniel, who became a Methodist minister about 1794 and later served in Congress from New Hampshire.

57 John Wallis (1775-1810), son of Samuel Wallis and Adlum's collaborator on the map of Pennsylvania which they published in 1792.
with a letter to him requesting him to deliver my letters to
the Governor personally—And in my letter to the Governor, I re-
quested him to look upon my letter as confidential, for reasons which
I will hereafter give—

The purport of my letter to the Governor was to call on President
Washington, and inform him, that if but a small force was sent
against the insurgents they would certainly be met, and probably
defeated, say four or five thousand, and that if they once shed blood
with success, there was no knowing how and where it would end— I
had no doubt but that a force would be necessary to put down this
insurgent disposition in the people—and to render it effectual, it must
be so great as to frown down all opposition— Sometime after the
Governor had returned to Philada. John Hall Esqr. secretary to the
land Office, and my self were dining with him, and there was none
at table but ourselves, when the insurrection became the Subject of
conversation—the Governor told us, that my letter to him came in
good time—For as soon as Mr. Kidd delivered it, and he had made
some enquiries of him he had carried the letter to the President,
General Knox the Secretary of war and his other ministers was
present— They had just concluded to send a force of four thousand
five hundred men—And he observed, I told them that from other
information he then had in addition to mine, that if a less force than
from twelve to fifteen thousand men was sent out, there would be
serious times— But addressing himself to me—That untill I received
your letter I did not reflect upon what might follow if there was not
an imposing force sent out in the first instance— But after some
conversation, General Washington and all present, thought that the
greatest number, would be attended with the least risk and danger,
and in the end would be most advantageous to the Country—

The reason for my wishing not to have my name appear was this,—
I had twice been attempted to be assasinated, as before related and

58 Mr. Kidd was Phrotonatary of Lycoming County—[Adlum's note]. John Kidd (d. 1813)
was prothonotary of Lycoming Co. from its creation in 1795 to 1809, and also held the offices
of county treasurer, register and recorder, clerk of courts, and clerk to the county commis-
sioners.

59 John Hall (d. 1826) was secretary of the Land Office from 1796 to 1799, when he became
United States marshal for the district of Pennsylvania. His wife was the distinguished essayist
Sarah Ewing Hall.
I frequently received messages that if I did not desist from surveying, that my bones should whiten on the ground—And although I intended this to be my last trip to the woods, I plainly foresaw that it was very problematical, whether the indians would permit me to finish my business that season—And I knew that after General Wayne, had defeated the Western indians and made peace, that the next season would swarm with those who would pretend to make settlements as well as some actual settlers—The probability was that they would not permit any surveyor whatever to execute any land warrants or survey any lands west of the Allegany river—And if the advice I had given was known, it would be an additional motive for driving me away or any in my employment out of the Country or perhaps treat me worse—

Shortly after the Governor had given this advice to the President &c., he received letters from the Westward endeavouring to demonstrate that no military force was necessary, and in consequence several letters passed between him and the Government of the U. S—on the Subject—

The history of the times mentions how the insurrection was put down—It is therefore unnecessary for me to say anything further on the Subject further to notice it.

A few days before the meeting of the Legislature of Pennsa. at Philadelphia, I was walking down Market Street, When the Governor’s servant, who was at the door, told me the Governor wished to speak to me— I accordingly walked in— He was in his dining room, pacing it backwards and forwards somewhat agitated— I enquired what was the matter, he handed me a newspaper, in which there was a very scurrilous piece against him, and several such pieces had appeared in the papers for some time back, he got out of all temper and patience—I told him that I had seen those pieces; but they were of no account, as all his friends, knew that they were not true, and even those who wrote them know them to be false and that in his situation he must expect the shafts of envy and malice raised against or leveled at him—When he interrupted me by handing me a paper, saying read that—I will not hold an office when such vilanous pieces appear against me— I read the paper, more than once, to be certain that I understood it— It was a resignation to be presented to the Legisla-
— I looked at him with surprise and astonishment, and began to tear the paper to pieces, I believe unconsciously: when he aroused me from my reverie, with a damn you what are you about. I found the paper in my hand torn to pieces, and I threw them into the fire— He was very angry, and I did not know but that he would strike me—but he did not—He said he never was so insulted in his life, and ordered me to leave his house immediately— I was obliged to speak pretty loud to draw his attention—And replied, as soon as you hear what I have to say, I will leave you: if you then desire, or order me to do so— I said that nothing could be further from my intentions than to insult him: But I continued, will you make yourself the jest and sport of your enemies, and to gratify them to the utmost of their wishes—And make yourself an object of pity if not of contempt with your friends, to be so easily drove from your post: who will in future support your pretentions to any office? none: There is upwards of one year of the term for which you were elected unexpired, and at the next election; if you do not disgrace yourself by some improper action, you will go into Office at the next election by a vote of ten to one, against any candidate that can be brought against you— I know the State and the dispositions of the people West of the Susquehanna river and the Alleghany mountains, better, much better, than any one man in the State does—And as I said before, you will have ten votes to one in that part of the State and you will also have an overwhelming majority East of the Susquehanna river,— I spoke with earnestness and calmness, tho' somewhat loud to keep up his attention—

He still kept pacing the room, and I waited to see the effect of what I had said to him— After some time he recovered his calmness in a degree—When he said I never had my feelings so much hurt before— I replied, my astonishment was so great that I was unconscious of what I was doing untill he aroused me from my reverie. And that nothing could be further from my intention, than to insult him— And I asked pardon for tearing the paper, and said, I hoped, that before he attempted such a thing again, he would consult a friend or

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60 At first glance, this story about Mifflin's intention to resign offers difficulty. He had been re-elected governor in October, 1793, and had two years, not one, still to serve of that term. However, on Dec. 5, 1794, the day before the General Assembly met, D. St. Clair wrote from Philadelphia to inform his father Arthur St. Clair that "Governor Mifflin seriously talks of resigning" and that influential Philadelphians wished to know if Arthur St. Clair was interested in becoming his successor. St. Clair Papers, microcard No. 46, Ohio State Library, Columbus.
friends, of more talents than I pretended to possess—And was about to take my leave, when he reached out his hand to me, and requested that I would call on him the next morning, and take breakfast with him, and in the mean time not to mention what had taken place—which I promised, and I further said that I would not mention it to any person whatever while he continued to be the Governor of the State—

I called on him the next morning to breakfast, and took with me a list of the number of the taxable inhabitants in each County of the State, which I had got the preceding year, for some purpose not now recollected—And from that, by allowing a certain probable portion to vote in each County, and the probable number of Votes that he would have; and of any candidate that could be brought against him, [it] would give him near or about ten votes for one in the state—He said that he did not think he could have so great a majority; But I had satisfied him, that there was every probability of his being again elected by a large majority—And he very politely thanked me for the trouble I had taken.

In a few days after he met the State Legislature, and made to them a very able speech; in his usual and dignified manner.

It may be as well to mention in this place, that at the next election he did not get ten votes for one, but he wanted but a few votes of nine for one. The Honble. Frederick Muhlenberg, 61 who had been speaker of the House of Representative[s] of the United States, was his opponent.

In looking back and reviewing the events of this year, I am filled with astonishment—If I am correct in my conclusions, Providence made me the instrument to prevent an Indian war with the six nations—As I went to their Country contrary to the opinions and advice of very able men, men of unquestionable talents, and for whose opinions I entertained the greatest respect, And always being diffident of my own—It must have been providence that urged me

61 Frederick Augustus Conrad Muhlenberg (1750–1801), second son of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, was a Lutheran clergyman, but turned to politics during the Revolution, serving in Congress and the General Assembly. He was the first speaker of the United States House of Representatives. As candidate for governor against Mifflin in 1793 and 1796 he was defeated each time, first by 19,590 to 10,700 votes, and later by 30,020 to 1,011 votes, a much greater margin than Adlum remembered.
on—For when I first arrived at the **Indian Towns**, The men were decorated with all the insignia of war, being painted, and had Swans and other down on their heads—and in a few days they would have marched to the Westward against **General Wayne**—And also to our frontiers on the **Susquehanna, Allegany, & Chenesee**— The woemen were not then so decidedly against war before my Arrival as they were afterwards— The great pains I took to gain time, and to cause them to put off the time of going to war, and to persuade them to wait the event of the Battle—**which had a great effect, with the old men and great woemen, which caused them to hesitate and to change their minds**—But it caused the war chiefs to be much out of humor, Particularly when they saw that I did not leave their **Towns** promptly—the morning after the feast—and it caused them to speak to me in a very decided manner—and they appeared to be quite out of temper with me, when they last ordered me to leave their Country—

If my letter to **Governor Mifflin**, was the cause of the insurrection being put down without bloodshed, I must have been in the hands of **Providence** an instrument of prevention—

I was always enthusiastic in my love of Country, and was always ready to serve it according to my limited ability, And was ardent in all pursuits after my mind was made up upon any business or Subject, and sometimes persevered for years to carry my views.

The expences I was at this summer was somewhere between fifteen hundred and two thousand dollars more than it would have been, if I could have gone on with my business in the usual manner and without interruption—I was under the necessity of giving my surveyors and hands extra wages, and I was obliged to purchase twenty seven rifles to arm my people in addition to the few my hands had, and I was obliged to pay twelve indians half a dollar per day by way of a present, for guarding my people, exclusive of other presents that I was obliged to give to their poor old relations and friends— I gave **John Deckhart** a horse and accoutrements, with a dress I gave him cost me altogether about sixty dollars— I gave to **Saltsman** whom I sent as a spy on the indians at Buffalo Creek—though ostensibly he was my messenger to Col. Pickering, and I had written a letter to the Col. to make him appear as such, if any busy body had or should attempt to stop or interfere with him— But he would [not] undertake the journey untill I gave him a horse, saddle
and bridle which cost sixty dollars, and I had to advance him money
to bear his expences, and to allow him six shillings Pennsa. currency
(80 cents) per day untill he should arrive at my fathers at Muncy in
Pennsa.—If he ever reached it, and if any accident happened to him
to prevent his returning I was to give his mother, (who was a widow,) one hundred dollars.

I also paid Mr. Kidd's expences to Philada. for carrying my letter
giving an account of the insurrection to the Governor of Pennsa. But
he refused any compensation for his trouble.

After looking over the preceding pages, I must confess that I feel
a secret satisfaction and gratification, which cannot be estimated by
any one but myself: for by my perseverance, in staying at the Indian
Towns, with my popularity, and the presents I gave them, I got from
them leave to survey forty days and afterwards twenty days, before
I was ordered by them to leave their Towns, and Country, I loitered
the best part of two days, to gain time: as I was expecting every hour
to hear of the great battle being fought, between General Wayne and
the Indians which I felt very confident would end in the defeat of the
latter, and which I was sure would cause the Indians to let me finish
my business that season; but as the battle was not fought as soon as I
expected, I was obliged to leave their Country: but I had been long
enough with them, to cause divisions amongst them so as to delay
the intended war so long that the great battle was fought as above
related—and which caused them to make peace—and as their plans
were very extensive, if they had began, there would without doubt,
[have been] several hundreds put to death, and the whole frontiers
from the mouth of the Genesee River to Pittsburgh, would have been
broke up, and to cause, great numbers to go into the interior; and
others to fortify themselves—and to form companies &c. to resist in
war a merciless enemy— If they had began their depredations, it
would have raised such an universal indignation against them, that
in a very short time, they would have been drove over the great
Lakes, In short it would have been a war of extermination, as far as
it was possible to effect it.

I have here put down facts: simply as they happened, and without
exagration—To persons unacquainted with Indian customs and
manners as they were from forty to fifty five years back: [they] may
have doubts of some of the circumstances related, and most of those who were in my employment as well as contemporaries "having gone to that bourne whence no traveler returns"—I have now no living evidence of what I have written—If it should ever appear before the public; it must like all other history, be left for every one to draw his own conclusions—