OUR COUNTY AND ITS PEOPLE

A

DESCRIPTIVE AND BIOGRAPHICAL RECORD OF

GENESEE COUNTY

NEW YORK

EDITED BY

SAFFORD E. NORTH

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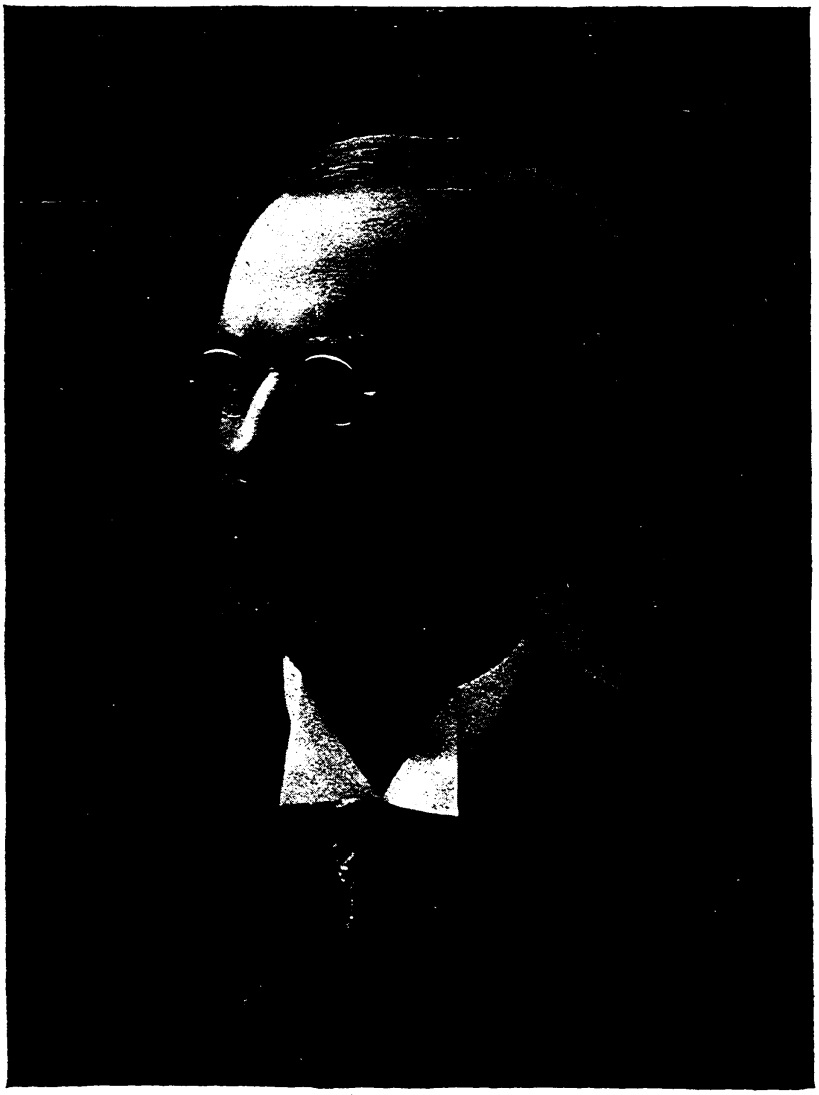

SAFFORD E. NORTH.

INTRODUCTORY.

It has occurred to me many times in the course of the preparation of this book that those who have purchased it have invested even wiser than they knew. The interest and value of this volume are certain to increase and the man or woman who shall be the possessor of a copy a century hence will realize the force of this suggestion. Even at this time there is a great deal of interest in the pioneer history of this region, fostered as this interest is by the local society of The Daughters of the American Revolution and by the Holland Purchase Historical Society. This interest is likely to increase as the years go by. It is often said that history repeats itself, but such history as is made up of blazing pathways through primeval forests and of fighting battles with Indians will not be repeated in Western New York, and when viewed in the romantic light in which time robes the distant past will become of even more absorbing interest than at the present day.

While attempts have been made in past years towards placing in permanent form the interesting history of Genesee county and its immediate vicinity, it is generally conceded that such attempts, although quite worthy in some of their features, have not as a whole resulted satisfactorily. In undertaking the preparation of a work bearing the title, "Our County and Its People," as a successor to such books of local history as previously have been issued, it was fully comprehended that if a favorable verdict was expected from readers it could be secured with nothing less than a publication that would stand as the best of its kind, containing a complete, comprehensive and reasonably correct historical and biographical record of the county. An earnest and painstaking effort has been made by all who have shared in this task to reach that high standard. It remains with the public to determine how far the effort has been successful.

To those whose ancestors settled and who have long dwelt in this

locality; who have figured in its memorable historical incidents or shared in its important events; who have watched the growth and contributed to the welfare of the community; who have aided in developing its industries, in clearing and making productive its lands, and in founding its institutions, the skillfully told history of the region will have a peculiar interest and charm. Events and objects long familiar, perhaps, gain a new and more vivid fascination when the story of their creation or occurrence is placed upon the printed page, possibly linking them closely with vastly more momentous events of early times. The often-rehearsed story of a local battle ground is read with renewed interest by one who learns that his neighbor's sire or grandsire there shed his blood. A road so often traveled that its every feature is permanently pictured in the mind, becomes more than a familiar highway when the reader learns its history as an Indian trail, or that his immediate ancestors laid it out through the primeval forest. The very hills and valleys and streams assume a new and more interesting aspect when the historical record peoples them with the men and women of long ago. These are facts which enhance the value of all properly prepared local history and biography, through which the reader is made acquainted with the past of his dwelling place, and in which are preserved records that no community can afford to lose.

Local history bears to general history a similar relation to that of a microscopical examination and one made with the naked eye. The former must take cognizance of a multitude of minute details which of necessity must be passed over in the latter. Minor facts of little value in themselves, often assume great importance when considered with their attendant circumstances and surroundings. It is the gathering, compilation, and arrangement of these many minor details that demand patience, time, and skill. Descriptions of local events, unless of paramount importance, frequently went unrecorded in early years, thus doubling the task of obtaining them at the present time. The placing on record of hundreds of dates and thousands of names is alone an arduous task and one demanding the utmost watchfulness and care to avoid error. Harsh criticism will, therefore, be tempered with mildness by the fairminded reader who may find a single error among a myriad of correct statements.

It is impossible to perform the otherwise pleasant task of expressing gratitude to the many persons who have given substantial aid during the preparation of this work. This is especially due to George B. An-

derson in recognition of his scholarly and valuable work. He devoted several months to research, in gathering and arranging material for the pages of this history, to the examination of the records of the office of the Secretary of State at Albany, old newspaper files and to local records public and private wherever available. It seemed to me throughout his work that he brought to bear not only great industry and zeal but the literary discrimination of a mind thoroughly fitted for historical research. In this connection it will not be considered invidious to mention the assistance cheerfully accorded by the various county and town officials, and the heads of many institutions that have been founded in the county, all of whom have shown their interest in the progress of this work.

A word should be said with reference to that portion of this work devoted to personal sketches. It has not been attempted to go much further than to include the subscribers to the work and their kindred. To have attempted to include a sketch of every family in the county would have been out of the question, while any effort to discriminate by arbitrarily selecting from among living residents those who might be considered "prominent" would have been more impossible. The chapter referred to therefore is distinctly a subscribers' chapter. Those who are paying for this work are afforded an opportunity to preserve in permanent form a family sketch, with some detail as to ancestry. It is believed that upon reflection no subscriber can complain that a like opportunity has not been given to all others or that those who have prepared the work have not attempted the task of selecting from non-subscribers those especially deserving of notice.

BATAVIA, August 1, 1899.

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OUR COUNTY AND ITS PEOPLE.

CHAPTER I.

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The original ten counties of the Province, now the State, of New York, were created November 1, 1683, and named New York, Kings, Queens, Suffolk, Richmond, Westchester, Orange, Ulster, Dutchess and Albany. March 12, 1772, Tryon county was taken from Albany county, and the name was changed to Montgomery in 1784. Montgomery county originally included nearly all the central and western part of the State. January 27, 1789, Ontario county, occupying most of the western portion of the State, was set apart from Montgomery county. March 30, 1802, all that part of the State lying west of the Genesee river and a line extending due south from the point of junction of the Genesee and Canaseraga creek to the south line of the State, was set off from Ontario county and designated as Genesee county. It will thus be seen that the original Genesee county comprised all the territory embraced within the present counties of Genesee, Orleans, Wyoming, Niagara, Erie, Cattaraugus and Chautauqua, and the western portions of Monroe, Livingston and Allegany counties.

The first division of the original county of Genesee occurred April 7, 1806, when Allegany county was set off by act of the Legislature. Allegany county then comprised parts of Genesee, Wyoming and Livingston counties. The northern section was set off to Genesee county in 1811, and the northern central part was set off to Wyoming and Livingston counties in 1846. March 11, 1808, the counties of Cattaraugus, Chautauqua and Niagara were erected, the latter then including Erie county, which was erected as a separate county April 2, 1821.

February 23, 1821, the size of the county was still further reduced by the erection of Livingston and Monroe counties, whose western portions lay within the original limits of Genesee. A part of Covington was annexed to Livingston county in 1823. November 11, 1824, Orleans county was taken off, and April 5, 1825, the town of Shelby was annexed from Genesee county. The final reduction in territory occurred May 14, 1841, when the major portion of the present Wyoming county was taken off.

It will thus be seen that in recording the history of Genesee county prior to 1841, the writer is compelled to deal with a very large portion of Western New York, and the early history of all that region is intimately connected with the story of the modern development of this county.

Genesee county lies in the midst of one of the most fertile regions in the vicinity of the Great Lakes, joining the most westerly tier of the New York counties on the east. It is bounded on the north by Orleans and Monroe counties, on the east by Monroe and Livingston, on the south by Wyoming and Livingston, and on the west by Erie and Niagara. A narrow strip in the extreme southeastern corner is also bounded on the west by Wyoming county; a portion of the town of Le Roy is bounded on the north by Monroe county and an extremely small strip of the same town is bounded on the south by the same county; and portions of Le Roy and Pavilion are bounded on the south by Livingston county. The area of Genesee county is five hundred and seven square miles.

The surface of the county is mostly level or gently undulating, except along the southern border, which is occupied by ranges of hills extending northerly from Wyoming county. Some of these hills rise to an elevation of from two hundred to three hundred feet above the flat lands, and about one thousand feet above the level of the sea. Extending east and west through the county, north of the centre, is a terrace of limestone, bordered in many places by nearly perpendicular ledges. In the extreme eastern and western parts of the county this terrace ranges from fifty to one hundred feet in height, but toward the central portion the height averages from twenty to forty feet.

The principal streams are Tonawanda creek,[1] which, rising in Wy-

[1] The name Tonawanda, strangely enough, when the generally sluggish course of the stream is considered, signifies in the Indian language, "swiftly running water," from the rapid current for about ten miles below Batavia.

oming county, enters the town of Alexander from the south, flows in a northeasterly direction through that town and Batavia to the village of Batavia, where it turns and flows in a westerly, then northwesterly, direction through the latter town, Pembroke and Alabama, leaving the latter town at a point a trifle north of the centre of its western boundary. The course of Tonawanda creek is exceedingly tortuous, and for the most of its course it flows in a very sluggish manner. An idea of its tortuosity may be gained from the fact that between Attica, in Wyoming county, and Batavia this stream flows between two parallel roads about a mile apart; and while the distance between these two points is about eleven miles by the highway, by the course of the stream it is forty-three miles.

The principal tributaries of Tonawanda creek are Little Tonawanda and Bowen's creeks. Oak Orchard creek has its source near the centre of the county, and winds its way through Batavia and Elba, turning at the northeast corner of the latter town and continuing westerly and flowing through the great Tonawanda swamp, which occupies the northern part of the towns of Elba, Oakfield and Alabama. Black creek, known by the Indians as Checkanango creek, flows in a northerly direction through the central parts of the towns of Bethany, Stafford and Byron, and thence easterly through Bergen into Monroe county. Its principal tributaries are Spring and Bigelow creeks. Oatka creek flows across the southeast corner of the county. Murder creek and Eleven Mile creek flow through the southwest corner. Tonawanda, Black and Oatka creeks form a series of picturesque cascades in their passage down the limestone terrace north of the centre of the county.

The lowest rocks in Genesee county form a part of the Onondaga salt group, extending along the northern border. Gypsum abounds in large quantities in Le Roy, Stafford and Byron. This is succeeded by hydraulic, Onondaga and corniferous limestone, which form the limestone terrace extending through the county. The outcrop of these rocks furnish lime and building stone. Succeeding the limestone, in the order named, are the Marcellus and Hamilton shales, which occupy the entire southern part of the county. The surface generally is covered thick with drift deposits, and the underlying rocks appear only in the ravines of the streams. Most of the swamps contain thick deposits of muck and marl, furnishing in great abundance the elements of future fertility to the soil. Nearly all the springs and streams are constantly

depositing lime in the form of marl. Along the northern boundary of the county are numerous wells yielding water which is strongly impregnated with sulphuric aid, and known as "sour springs." Salt was discovered in the town of Le Roy in 1881, at a depth of six hundred and fifteen feet. The supply is considered practically inexhaustible.

Genesee county is well supplied with railroads, furnishing transportation facilities equalled by but few counties in New York State. Batavia and Le Roy are the two principal railroad centres, as well as the most populous villages.

The main line of the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad enters the county at the eastern boundary of Bergen, and passes in a generally southwesterly direction through that town, Byron, Stafford, Batavia, Pembroke and Darien. The Tonawanda railroad has its eastern terminus at Batavia, and extends thence westerly through that town and Pembroke. The West Shore Railroad passes easterly and westerly through the northern part of the county, traversing the towns of Bergen, Byron, Elba, Oakfield and Alabama. The Buffalo and Geneva Railroad enters the town of Le Roy at its eastern boundary and extends in a generally southwesterly direction through Le Roy, Stafford, Batavia, Pembroke and Darien. The Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad crosses the southern part of the county from east to west, traversing the towns of Pavilion, Bethany, Alexander and Darien. The Buffalo, Rochester and Pittsburgh Railroad enters the county at the southern boundary of Pavilion, runs northerly through that town and Le Roy to the village of Le Roy, where it turns and extends easterly, leaving the county at the east bounds of Le Roy. The New York, Lake Erie and Western Railroad enters the county at the western boundary of Darien, crosses that town to Alexander and runs thence to Attica. At the latter place one branch takes a northeasterly and southeasterly curve through the southern parts of Alexander and Bethany, leaving the county near the southwest corner of the latter town. Another branch runs northeasterly through Alexander and Batavia to the village of Batavia, where it turns and thence pursues an easterly course through the towns of Batavia, Stafford and Le Roy. The Batavia and Canandaigua Railroad enters the county at the eastern boundary of Le Roy, passes westerly through that town, Stafford and Batavia to the village of Batavia, where it forms a junction with the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad.

There are thirteen towns in Genesee county—Alabama, Alexander,

Batavia, Bergen, Bethany, Byron, Darien, Elba, Le Roy, Oakfield, Pavilion, Pembroke and Stafford.

Of these towns Batavia is the oldest, having been erected when the original county was formed, March 30, 1802. As at first constituted it comprised the territory now composing the towns of Alexander, Bergen, Byron, Bethany, Pembroke, Darien, Elba and Oakfield, and parts of the towns of Alabama and Stafford. Alexander, Bergen (including Byron), Bethany and Pembroke (including Darien and a part of Alabama) were taken off June 8, 1812;. Elba (including Oakfield) and a part of Stafford were taken off in March, 1820. Le Roy was formed from Caledonia (Livingston county) June 8, 1812, and was originally called Bellona. Its name was changed April 6, 1813. A part of Stafford was taken off in 1820 and a part of Pavilion in 1842. Stafford was formed from Batavia and Le Roy March 24, 1820. A part of Pavilion was taken off in 1842. Alabama, originally called Gerrysville, was formed from Pembroke and Shelby (Orleans county) April 17, 1826. Its name was changed April 21, 1828. A part of the town of Wales was annexed in 1832. Pavilion was formed from Covington (Wyoming county) May 19, 1841. Parts of Le Roy and Stafford were annexed March 22, 1842.

CHAPTER II.

The Great Iroquois Confederacy—Its Foundation, Customs and Laws—Its Wide Dominion—The Seneca Indians, the Aborigines of Genesee County—Subdivisions of the Five Nations—Political Aspect of This Powerful Savage Republic.

The Seneca Indians, the immediate predecessors of the Holland Company in the occupancy of the region west of the Genesee river, were the fifth and most westerly nation of the great Iroquois Confederacy. The Mohawks were the original Confederates, their abode being along the banks of the Mohawk river. The Oneidas were located upon the southern shore of Oneida lake; the Onondagas near Onondaga lake; the Cayugas near Cayuga lake; and the Senecas upon Seneca lake and Genesee river. These localities were the seats, or places of the council fires of the various tribes, though the tribes did not confine themselves to these localities alone. They really occupied, in de-

tached villages, nearly the entire State, from the Hudson to the Niagara river. Each nation had a principal seat, as indicated, with tributary villages.

The actual dominion of the Iroquois had a much wider range, however, than the territory mentioned. They laid claim to sovereignty to "all the land not sold to the English, from the mouth of Sorel River, on the south sides of Lakes Erie and Ontario, on both sides of the Ohio till it falls into the Mississippi; and on the north side of these lakes that whole territory between the Ottawa River and Lake Huron, and even beyond the straits between that and Lake Erie."[1] When the settlement of Manhattan, Beverwyck and Rensselaerwyck was begun by the Dutch, the Long Island Indians, those on the north shore of Long Island Sound, and those inhabiting the banks of the Connecticut, Hudson, Delaware and Susquehanna rivers were dominated by the Iroquois, to whom they paid annual tribute. Even the powerful Canadian tribes were conquered by the warlike Five Nations. Schoolcraft says:

> At one period we hear the sound of their war cry along the Straits of the St. Mary's, and at the foot of Lake Superior. At another, under the walls of Quebec, where they finally defeated the Hurons, under the eyes of the French. They put out the fires of the Gah-kwas and Eries. They eradicated the Susquehannocks. They placed the Lenapes, the Nanticokes, and the Munsees under the yoke of subjection. They put the Metoacks and Manhattans under tribute. They spread the terror of their arms over all New England. They traversed the length of the Appalachian Chain and descended like the enraged yagisho and megalonyx, on the Cherokees and Catawbas. Smith encountered their warriors in the settlement of Virginia, and La Salle in the discovery of Illinois.

In 1660 the French declared the number of the Iroquois warriors to be 2,200; in 1677 an agent of England, dispatched to their country for the sole purpose of ascertaining their strength, confirmed the French estimate. Bancroft says that their geographical position "made them umpires in the contest of the French for dominion in the west."

The strength of these Five Nations lay in the fact that they were confederated. The nations they made war against were detached, and not only would not join in attempting to bar the progress of the triumphant Iroquois, but doubtless had feuds among themselves. The Iroquois, on the other hand, invariably acted as one nation in war, always in perfect accord. Perhaps by reason of their constant intercourse and interchange of ideas, possibly from other reasons, they had a physical and mental organization, a certain degree of enlightenment,

[1] Smith's History of New York.

far ahead of that of all other tribes or nations. They were most appropriately termed the Romans of the West, a name first applied to them by Volney, the French historian. "Had they enjoyed the advantages possessed by the Greeks and the Romans," wrote President Dwight in his "Travels," "there is no reason to believe they would have been at all inferior to these celebrated nations. Their minds appear to have been equal to any effort within the reach of man. Their conquests, if we consider their numbers and circumstances, were little inferior to those of Rome itself. In their harmony, the unity of their operations, the energy of their character, the vastness, vigor, and success of their enterprises, and the strength and sublimity of their eloquence, they may be fairly compared with the Greeks."

While the Seneca Indians were the aboriginal inhabitants of the eastern portion of the territory which subsequently became the original Genesee county, the Neutral Nation inhabited that part of the territory contiguous to the Niagara river and the eastern end of Lake Erie. The Senecas were the most numerous of the five nations known as the Iroquois, or the Five Nations, and they occupied the most westerly portion of the territory controlled by this great confederacy. The English called the Iroquois the Confederates; the Dutch, more particularly those who settled the Mohawk valley, knew them only as the Mohawks and Senecas; and the Indians called themselves the Aganns-chioni, meaning "United People." They also called themselves the Hodenosaunee, meaning "People of the Long House," all their habitations being low, narrow and as a rule very long. They also likened their confederacy, stretched for two hundred miles along a narrow valley, to one of the long wigwams containing many families.[1]

The Five Nations were composed of the Mohawks, on the east; next west being the Oneidas, then the Onondagas, then the Cayugas, and finally the Senecas, who held most of the original county of Genesee. When the Tuscaroras, from the Carolinas, joined the confederacy known as the Five Nations, they became amalgamated with the Oneidas and gradually lost their identity. When the confederacy was established is not known. In David Cusick's history he relates the Indian traditions relative to the origin of the kingdom. The following is abstracted from the work referred to:

[1] For the brief résumé of early Indian history contained in this chapter the writer is indebted to David Cusick's sketches of ancient history of the Six Nations, with annotations by W. M. Beauchamp, and to data furnished by the late George S. Conover, the well known authority on Indian history.

By some inducement a body of people was concealed in the mountain at the falls named Kuskehsawkich (now Oswego). When the people were released from the mountains they were visited by Tarenyawagon, i. e., the Holder of the Heavens, who had power to change himself into various shapes; he ordered the people to proceed toward the sunrise as he guided them and come to a river and named Yenonanatche, i. e., going around a mountain (now Mohawk), and went down the bank of the river and come to where it discharges into a great river running towards the midday sun; and Shaw-nay-taw-ty, i. e, beyond the pineries (now Hudson), and went down the bank of the river and touched bank of a great water. . . . The people were yet in one language; some of the people went to the banks of the great water towards the midday sun, but the main company returned as they came, on the banks of the river, under the direction of the Holder of the Heavens. Of this company there was a particular body which called themselves one household; of these were six families and they entered into a resolution to preserve the chain of alliance which should not be extinguished in any manner. The company advanced some distance up the river of Shaw-na-taw-ty (Hudson), the Holder of the Heavens directs the first family to make their residence near the bank of the river, and the family was named Te-haw-re-ho-geh, i. e., a speech divided (now Mohawk) and their language was soon altered; the company then turned and went towards the sunsetting, and traveled about two days and a half, and come to a creek, which was named Kaw-na-taw-te-ruh, i. e., Pineries. The second family was directed to make their residence near the creek, and the family was named Ne-haw-re-tah-go, i. e., Big Tree, now Oneidas, and likewise their language was altered. The company continued to proceed towards the sunsetting; under the direction of the Holder of the Heavens. The third family was directed to make their residence on a mountain named Onondaga (now Onondaga) and the family was named Seuh-now-kah-tah, i. e., carrying the name, and their language was altered. The company continued their journey towards the sunsetting. The fourth family was directed to make their residence near a long lake named Go-yo-goh, i. e., a mountain rising from the water (now Cayuga) and the family was named Sho-nea-na-we-to-wah, i. e., a great pipe, their language was altered. The company continued to proceed towards the sunsetting. The fifth company was directed to make their residence near a high mountain, or rather nole, situated south of the Canandaigua lake, which was named Jenneatowake and the family was named Te-how-nea-nyo-hent, i. e., Passing a Door, now Seneca, and their language was altered. The sixth family went with the company that journeyed towards the sunsetting, and touched the bank of a great lake, and named Kau-ha-gwa-rah-ka, i. e., A Cap, now Erie, and then went towards between the mid-day and sunsetting, and travelled considerable distance and came to a large river which was named Ouau-we-yo-ka, i. e., a principal stream, now Mississippi. . . . The family was directed to make their residence near Cau-ta-noh; i. e., Pine in water, situated near the mouth of Nuse river, now in North Carolina, and the family was named Kau-ta-noh, now Tuscarora and their language was altered. . . . The Holder of the Heavens returns to the five families and forms the mode of confederacy which was named Ggo-nea-seab-neh, i. e., A Long House, to which are 1st—Tea-kaw-reh-ho-geh; 2d—New-haw-teh-tah-go; 3d—Seuh-nau-ka-ta; 4th—Sho-nea-na-we-to-wan; 5th—Te-hoo-nea-nyo-hent.

This organization is supposed to have taken place between 1900 and 2000 years before Columbus discovered America, or between 400 B.C. and 500 B.C. While this account is purely traditional it is conceded by most authorities to be the most authentic in existence.

When the white intruders first discovered that such an alliance existed, all that was known of the organization of the form of government so remarkable among a savage people was, as we have shown, mere tradition. Each nation of the confederacy was independent of every other in all matters of a local character, and in the councils no sachem was superior to another, except by reason of higher intellectual attainments, such as they might be. The fifty offices created at the organization of the confederacy were distributed among the nations according to their numerical strength. Although these offices were hereditary, no one could become a ruler or sachem until elevated to such a place by a council of all the sachems of the original American confederacy. The sachems, who, in council, constituted the legislative body of the union were also the local rulers of their respective nations. While a sachem or chief had civil authority, he could not be a chieftain in war until elected to that position. Every sachem went on the war-path as a common warrior unless he had been doubly honored and made a military leader as well as a civil officer. The Iroquois nation then was practically a republic, founded on much the same principles as the United States of America.

The policy of the Iroquois nation in war appears to have been not alone for the sake of war, but for conquest and the extension of the nation's power and influence. So successful were they in their efforts that at the end of the seventeenth century they dominated a very large portion of what is now the United States. The Iroquois of New York and the Algonquin tribes of New England were perpetually at war.

For many years, during the early French and Indian wars and doubtless for a long period prior thereto, the principal and probably the most western of the permanent villages of the Senecas, was located at Boughton Hill, about twenty miles east of Rochester. Sporadic camps were to be found among the forests and in the sheltered places in the territory further west, which afterward became Genesee county; but aside from a village (probably a summer encampment) on the site of Buffalo, we have no knowledge of the existence of any centres of population among the Senecas west of the Genesee river prior to 1687, when Governor de Nonville of Canada made his first invasion. As late

as 1779, when Sullivan entered upon his campaign against them, he went no further west than the Genesee river. The year following the Senecas, who had deserted their villages at Sullivan's approach, established a permanent settlement on Buffalo Creek, on territory from which they had driven the Kah Kwah tribe. This settlement was made upon the advice and under the auspices of the British at Fort Niagara, to whom the Indians had fled from the French for protection and relief.

The Neutral Nation (the Kah-Kwahs), to which reference has been made, occupied the territory adjoining the Niagara river on both the east and the west, but they ventured but a short distance eastward from that stream. They had but four villages on the east side of the river. The Kah-Kwahs were called the Neutral Nation by reason of the fact that they found it necessary for their own preservation to maintain peaceful relations with both the Iroquois of Central New York and the Hurons of Canada. The two latter nations were hostile, but they met under an armistice in the territory of the Kah-Kwahs. The latter were unable to continue their policy of peace and neutrality for long, and the nation was finally disrupted and overthrown by death in battle, and adoption into the rival tribes of the Hurons and the Iroquois.

It is a fact worthy of note that the confederacy recognized no religious functionaries, though in each nation there were officers who officiated at the religious ceremonies held at stated intervals throughout the year. Among most of the aboriginal nations there existed a regular religious profession; but among the Iroquois this was unknown. In reality the Iroquois were governed but little. Each warrior was in a measure independent. But the moral state of the Iroquois was high, and it was their boast that they had ever maintained it.

There were in each nation eight tribes, named as follows: Wolf, Bear, Beaver, Turtle, Deer, Snipe, Heron and Hawk. The Wolf tribe was divided into five parts, one-fifth being located in each of the five nations. The remaining tribes were similarly divided and distributed, thus giving to each nation the eight tribes, and in their separated state making forty tribes in the confederacy. Between the separated parts of each tribe there existed a relationship which linked the nations together with firm bonds. The Mohawk Indian of the Hawk tribe recognized the Onondaga or the Seneca of the Hawk tribe as his brother, and each considered the other bound to him by ties of consanguinity. This custom prevailed among all the tribes of the various nations, probably furnishing the chief reason why the fragments of the ancient con-

federacy continued to cling together long after it was disrupted by the encroachments of the whites. The wisdom of these divisions and distributions is shown by the history of the nation; for its various nations never fell into a state of anarchy, nor did any nation ever hint at such a thing as secession. The confederacy was, in fact, a lasting league of tribes, interwoven into one great family, the tribes themselves, in their subdivisions, being composed of parts of many households. Thus it will be seen that the basis of the entire organization was the family relationship.

The Wolf, Bear, Beaver and Turtle tribes were brothers to one another and cousins to the tribes known as Deer, Snipe, Heron and Hawk. These groups were not permitted to intermarry. But any of the first four tribes could intermarry with any of the last four. Whoever violated the laws of marriage incurred everlasting disgrace and degradation. In the course of time, however, the rigor of this system was relaxed until the prohibition was confined to the tribe of the individual. The children always followed the tribe of the mother.

Naturally, in accord with such a system, the separate rights of each tribe and of each individual were jealously guarded. One of the most remarkable civil institutions was that which confined the transmission of all titles, rights and property in the female line to the exclusion of the male. For example, if the Wolf tribe of the Senecas received a sachemship at the original distribution of these offices, the descent of such title being limited to the female line it could never pass out of the tribe. One of the most marked results of this system was the perpetual disinheritance of the son. Being of the tribe of his mother it formed an impassable barrier against him; and he could neither succeed his father as a sachem nor inherit from him even his medal or his tomahawk. For the protection of tribal, rather than individual or family rights, the inheritance was thus directed from the descendants of the sachem to his brother, his sister's children, or some individual of the tribe at large under certain circumstances.

The method of reckoning degrees of consanguinity was clear and definite. No distinction was made between the lineal and collateral line, either in the ascending or descending series. The maternal grandmother and her sisters were equally grandmothers; the mother and her sisters were equally mothers; the children of a mother's sisters were brothers and sisters; the children of a sister would be nephews and nieces; and the grandchildren of a sister would be grandchildren—

that is, the grandchildren of a person from whom the degree of relationship is reckoned. These were the principal relatives within the tribe. Out of the tribe the paternal grandfather and his brothers were equally grandfathers; the father and his brothers were equally fathers; the father's sisters were aunts, while in the tribe the mother's brothers were uncles; the children of the father's sister were cousins, as in the civil law; the children of these cousins would be nephews and nieces; and the children of these nephews and nieces would be his grandchildren. The children of a brother were reckoned as children, and the grandchildren of a brother were grandchildren. The children of a father's brothers were brothers and sisters; and their children were reckoned as grandchildren.[1]

The peculiarities of the mode of computing the degrees of blood relationship were nothing as compared with the intricacies of the succession among the rulers of the confederacy. Some authorities claim that the sachemships were elective offices; others have endeavored to point out that they were hereditary. Apparently they were, many times, both elective and hereditary. One fact should be borne in mind, in order that the casual reader may not be misled; and that is that the titles of of sachem and war-chief are absolutely hereditary in the tribe to which they were originally assigned, and can never pass out of it, except with its extinction.

As has been shown, the sachem's brothers, and the sons of his sisters, are of his tribe, and therefore in the line of succession. Between a brother and nephew of the deceased there was no law establishing a preference. Between several brothers, on the one hand, and several sons of a sister, on the other, there was no distinction in the law. Nor was there any positive law that the choice should be confined to the brothers of the deceased ruler, or to the descendants of his sister in the female line, before a selection could be made from the tribe at large. It thus appears that the offices were hereditary in the particular tribe in which they ran, while being elective as between the male members of the tribe itself.

Upon the decease of a sachem a council of the tribes was held to select his successor. In the absence of physical and moral objections

[1] The names of the several degrees of relationship recognized among the Iroquois are as follows, in the Seneca tongue: Grandfather, Hoc-sote; grandmother, Uc-sote; father, ha-mih; mother, Noh-yeh; son, ho-ah-week; daughter, go-ah-week; grandchildren, ka-ya-da; uncle, hoc-no-seh; aunt, ah-geh-huc; nephew, ha-yan-wan-deh; niece, ka-yan-wan-deh; brothers and sisters, da-ya-gwa-dan-no-da; cousin, ah-gare-seh.

the choice generally fell upon a son of the deceased ruler's sisters, or upon one of his brothers. If the new sachem was an infant a guardian was chosen for him, and such guardian performed the duties of a sachem until the young sachem reached a suitable age. It seldom happened that a selection from the tribe at large was made unless the near relatives or direct heirs proved unfit for or unworthy of the office.

The tribes held the power of deposition as well as that of selection. If a sachem lost the confidence and respect of the tribe, and was deemed unworthy of authority, he was at once deposed by a tribal council.

The manner of selecting names for infants was unique. Soon after a birth occurred, a name for the infant was selected by the near relatives of the same tribe. At the next national council public announcement of the birth and name was made, with the name and tribe of the father and name and tribe of the mother. When an individual was invested with authority as a sachem, his original name was cast aside and that of his sachemship itself assumed. The same rule applied to war-chiefs. When a chief was chosen, the council of the nation performing the ceremony took away the original individual name and assigned to the incumbent a new one. Thus, when the celebrated Red Jacket was raised to the dignity of chief, his original name, O-te-ti-an-i (meaning Always Ready), was laid aside and the name of Sa-go-ye-wat-ha (meaning Keeper Awake), signifying the power of his eloquence, was bestowed upon him.

A tribe of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee involves the idea of descent from a common mother. In the formation of an Iroquois tribe portions were taken from many households and bound together by a tribal bond, in reality by the ties of consanguinity. All the members of the tribe were connected by easily traceable relationship. The wife, her children, and her descendants in the female line were forever linked with the destinies of her own tribe and kindred; and the husband, his brothers and his sisters, and the descendants of the latter in the female line, were held by affinity to the mother tribe.

This magnificent republic was founded upon terms of absolute equality. Those apparently special privileges that were granted to certain tribes arose solely from locality. For instance, the Senecas, located upon the western frontier of the nation, were allowed to have the head war-chiefs; while the Mohawks, by reason of their most easterly location, became receivers of tribute from the subjugated nations to the north, east and south of them.

A great peculiarity of the confederacy was that unanimity was one of the fundamental laws. Such a thing as majority rule was unknown. With the idea of obviating altercations in council, as far as possible, the founders of the confederacy divided the sachems of each nation into classes, usually of two and three each. No sachem was allowed to express an opinion in council until he had agreed with the other sachems of his class upon the opinion to be expressed and had been designated as spokesman for his class. Thus, the eight sachems of the Senecas, being divided into four classes, were entitled to but four opinions. The four sachems representing the four classes then held a consultation, and when they had agreed they selected one of their number to express their opinion. This opinion was the opinion and decision of the nation. The final settlement was reached by a conference of the individual representatives of the several nations; but no determination was reached until these delegates were unanimously agreed upon the question at issue. Thus, the Iroquois war against the French was declared by a unanimous vote; but when the question of an alliance with the British in the Revolution came up, the council was divided, and although most of the confederates were allies of the British in that war, it was by reason of the fact that each nation was permitted to act as it deemed best.

The earliest detailed notice, from English sources, of the territory which subsequently became, for the most part, the original county of Genesee, was contained in a work published in London in 1780 under the title of "Chalmer's Political Annals of the United Colonies." The descriptive article which was of interest in this connection appeared under the heading of "Observations of Wentworth Greenhalph, in a journey from Albany to the Indians westward, begun the 28th of May, 1677, and ended the 14th of July following." After describing the country of the first four nations of the Iroquois Confederacy, the writer alludes as follows to the Senecas and their abode:

The Senecas have four towns, viz:—Canagorah, Tistehatan, Canoenada, Keint-he. Canagorah and Tistehatan lie within thirty miles of the Lake Frontenac; the other two about four or five miles to the southward of these; they have abundance of corn. None of their towns are stockaded.

Canagorah lies at the top of a great hill, and, in that as well as in the bigness, much like Onondagoe,[1] containing one hundred and fifty houses, northwestward of Cayuga seventy-two miles.

Here the Indians were very desirous to see us ride our horses, which we did. They made feasts and dancing, and invited us.

[1] Onondagoe is described as "situated on a hill that is very large, the bank on each side extending itself at least two miles, all cleared lands, whereon the corn is planted."

Tistehatan lies on the edge of a hill; not much cleared ground; is near the river Tistehatan, which signifies bending.[1] It lies to the northward of Canagorah about thirty miles; contains about one hundred and twenty houses, being the largest of all the houses we saw; the ordinary being fifty or sixty feet long, and some one hundred and thirty or one hundred and forty feet long, with thirteen or fourteen fires in one house. They have good store of corn growing about a mile to the northward of the town.

Being at this place, on the 17th of June, there came fifty prisoners from the southwestward, and they were of two nations; some of whereof have a few guns, the other none. One nation is about ten days' journey from any Christians, and trade only with one great house, not far from the sea; and the other, as they say, trade only with a black people. This day, of them were burnt two women and a man, and a child killed with a stone. At night we heard a great noise, as if the houses had all fallen; but it was only the inhabitants driving away the ghosts of the murdered.

The 18th, going to Canagorah, we overtook the prisoners. When the soldiers saw us, they stopped each his prisoner, and made him sing and cut off their fingers and slashed their bodies with a knife; and, when they had sung, each man confessed how many men he had killed. That day, at Canagorah, there were most cruelly burned four men, four women and one boy; the cruelty lasted about seven hours; when they were almost dead, letting them loose to the mercy of the boys, and taking the hearts of such as were dead to feast on.

Canoenada lies about four miles to the southward of Canagorah; contains about thirty houses, well furnished with corn.

Keint-he lies about four or five miles to the southward of Tistehatan; contains about twenty-four houses, well furnished with corn.

The Senekas are counted in all about 1,000 fighting men.

Whole force—Magas		300
	Oneydoes	200
	Onondagoes	350
	Cayugas	300
	Senekas	1,000
	Total	2,150 fighting men.

Rev. Samuel Kirkland left Johnson's Hall at Johnstown, Fulton county, January 16, 1765, accompanied by two Seneca Indians, upon a mission embracing all the centres of population among the Iroquois. He finally reached Kanadasagea, the principal town of the Senecas, where he delivered to the sachem the message, or letter of introduction, furnished to him by Sir William Johnson. He was received in a friendly spirit, excepting by a limited number of Indians, who appeared to dislike his advent. The Senecas, after deliberating over the matter, finally decided that he should establish his residence among them. A few weeks after his arrival he was formally adopted into the family

[1] Probably the Genesee.

of the chief sachem of the nation. This adoption was effected only after formal ceremonies. Upon his entrance into the council one of the chiefs, after a short period of silence, said:

> Brothers, open your ears and your eyes. You see here our white brother who has come from a great distance, recommended to us by our great chief, Sir William Johnson, who has enjoined it upon us to be kind to him, and to make him comfortable and to protect him to the utmost of our power. He comes to do us good. Brothers, this young white brother of ours has left his father's house, and his mother, and all his relations. We must now provide for him a house. I am appointed to you and to our young white brother, that our head sachem adopts him into his family. He will be a father to him, and his wife will be a mother, and his sons and daughters will be his brothers and sisters.

The head sachem of the Senecas, arising, then took him by the hand, called him his son and led him to the spot where his family were seated. "A smile of cheerfulness sat on every countenance," says Mr. Kirkland in his journal, "and I could not refrain from tears; tears of joy and gratitude for the kind Providence that had protected me through a long journey, brought me to the place of my desire, and given me so kind a reception among the poor savage Indians."

Unfortunately, however, the relations begun on such a friendly basis were destined to be interrupted with a menace against the missionary sent out by Sir William. A few days after Mr. Kirkland had become a member of the Indian family referred to, the head of this family, a man greatly respected, fell ill and died. Several of the Senecas, who were jealous of the young missionary on account of his great popularity among the nation as a whole, at once made the death of this Indian a pretext for creating, or attempting to create, a feeling of prejudice against him, alleging that the death was produced by magic, or that it was "an intimation of the displeasure of the Great Spirit at his visit and residence among them." They insisted that the safety of the remainder of the nation demanded that the newcomer must instantly be put to death. Upon these presentations councils were convened, and for several days the Senecas deliberated over the matter. In this hour of trial the chief sachem proved the steadfast friend of Mr. Kirkland, opposing every proposition to do him any harm of whatsoever nature. The counsels of the friends of the threatened minister prevailed in the end, and thereafter he lived, as he said in his journal, "in great harmony, friendship and sociability." For eight years prior to the Revolution he lived among the Senecas, and during that struggle, though he had been sent among them by a warm adherent of the British cause,

he succeeded in diverting many of the members of the nation from adherence to the cause of the crown. He exerted a strong influence among them, and in after years his services were much sought by those who desired to hold councils with them for the purpose of entering upon treaties with them.

About a hundred years ago Red Jacket was a powerful chief of the Senecas, who at that time had lost their independent power and become wards of the American nation. In 1792 he and Farmer's Brother, representing the Senecas, visited the American capital, Philadelphia, when President Washington presented to the former a silver medal, which he wore on State occasions during the remainder of his life. Red Jacket at that time professed to be friendly to civilization, but in after years he became a slave to spirituous liquors and lost much of his prestige, both with the federal government and his own tribe. He died January 20, 1830. Farmer's Brother was an influential and eloquent chief and warrior. During the latter days of his life he was the staunch friend of peace and civilization and did much to spread principles of temperance among his tribe. Another famous Indian of those days was John O'Bail, commonly known as Cornplanter, who was acknowledged as leader by a band of Senecas on the Allegany Reservation.

Red Jacket was born in 1756. His birthplace is believed to have been at a place formerly called "Old Castle," about three miles west of Geneva. His Indian name was Sa-go-yon-wat-ha, signifying "one who keeps awake by magical influence." During the Revolution the Senecas fought under the British standard. Although quite young, his activity and intelligence attracted the attention of the British officers, who presented to him a richly embroidered scarlet jacket. This he wore on all occasions, and from this circumstance arose the name by which he was known among the whites. During the Revolution he took little or no part therein as a warrior, but his personal activity and transcendent talents won the esteem of his tribe. A gentleman who knew him intimately for more than thirty years in peace and war spoke of him in the following terms:

> Red Jacket was a perfect Indian in every respect, in costume, in his contempt of the dress of the white men, in his hatred of and opposition to the missionaries, and in his attachment to and veneration for the ancient customs and traditions of his tribe. He had a contempt for the English language, and disdained to use any other than his own. He was the finest specimen of the Indian character that I ever knew, and sustained it with more dignity than any other chief. He was second to none in

authority in his tribe. As an orator he was unequalled by any other Indian I ever saw. His language was beautiful and figurative, as the Indian language always is, and delivered with the greatest ease and fluency. His gesticulation was easy, graceful and natural. His voice was distinct and clear, and he always spoke with great animation. His memory was very strong. I have acted as interpretor to most of his speeches, to which no translation could do adequate justice.

Many interesting anecdotes, illustrative of the peculiarities of his character and his ready eloquence, are related. At a council held with the Senecas, a dispute arose between Governor Tompkins and Red Jacket, in relation to a treaty of several years' standing. The governor made a cerain statement, and the famous chief insisted that the reverse was true. "But," came the reply, "you have forgotten—we have it written down on paper." "The paper then tells a lie," was Red Jacket's reply; "I have it written here," placing his hand with great dignity upon his brow. "You Yankees are born with a feather between your fingers; but your paper does not speak the truth. The Indian keeps his knowledge here—this is the book the Great Spirit gave us—it does not lie." The treaty in question was immediately referred to, when, to the astonishment of all present, and to the triumph of the bronzed statesman, the document confirmed every word he had uttered.

At a treaty held with the Indians during the Revolution, La Fayette was present. The object of the convention was to effect a union of the various tribes in amity with the patriot cause. The majority of the chiefs were friendly, but there was much opposition made to the proposal, especially by one young warrior, who declared that when an alliance was entered into with America, he should consider that the sun of his country had set forever. In his travels through the Indian country, when on his last visit to America, La Fayette referred to the treaty in question at a large assemblage of chiefs, and turning to Red Jacket said: "Pray tell me, if you can, what has become of that daring youth who so decidedly opposed all propositions for peace and amity?" "I myself, am the man," answered Red Jacket, "the decided enemy of the Americans so long as the hope of successfully opposing them remained, but now their true and faithful ally until death."

During the war of 1812 Red Jacket and his tribe enlisted in the American army. He fought through the entire war, displaying undaunted intrepidity; and in no instance did he exhibit the ferocity of the savage nor disgrace himself by any act of inhumanity.

Red Jacket was the foe of the white man until late in life. His nation was his god; her honor, preservation and liberty his religion. He

hated missionaries, because he feared some secret design upon the lands, the peace or the independence of the Senecas. He could never comprehend the apparent mysteries of Christianity. He was a keen observer of human nature, and saw that among both white and red men sordid interest was equally the promoter of action. Naturally enough he therefore suspected every stranger who came to his tribe of some design on their little but dearly prized domains.

His tribe was divided into two factions, one of which was called the Christian faction, by reason of its favorable attitude toward the missionaries; the other, from their opposition, was known as the pagan party. His wife, who attended the religious meetings of the Christian party, was persecuted by him on this account. But during his last sickness his feelings respecting Christianity appeared to have undergone quite a change. He frequently remarked to his wife that he was sorry that he had persecuted her, that she was right and he was wrong; and on his deathbed he said to her: "Persevere in your religion. It is the right way."

A few days before his death he sent for the local missionary, whose name was Harris; but as the latter was in attendance upon an ecclesiastical council he did not receive the message until after the great chieftain's death. In his last wandering moments he is said to have directed that a bottle of cold water should be placed in his coffin, so that he might have something with which to fight the evil spirit. Many persons from Buffalo attended his funeral, some of whom wished him buried according to the pagan custom. But in accordance with the expressed desire of his Christian wife and other relatives he was buried in the Christian manner. He left two wives, but none of his children survived him. Two of his sons are believed to have died Christians. Rev. Jabez B. Hyde, who taught among the Senecas prior to the war of 1812, was authority for the statement that one of Red Jacket's sons was the first convert to Christianity from this tribe.

For several months prior to his death time had made such ravages on the old chief's constitution as to render him fully sensible of his approaching dissolution. He often referred to that approaching event, but invariably in calm and philosophic terms. He visited successively all his most intimate friends at their cabins, conversing with them upon the condition of the nation in the most affecting and impressive manner. He told them that his counsels would soon be heard no more. He ran over the history of his people from the most remote period to which

his knowledge extended, and pointed out, as few could, the wrongs, the privations and the loss of character which almost of themselves constituted that history. "I am about to leave you," he said, "and when I am gone, and my warning shall no longer be heard or regarded, the craft and the avarice of the white man will prevail. Many winters have I breasted the storm, but I am an aged tree and can stand no longer. My leaves are fallen, my branches are withered, and I am shaken by every breeze. Soon my aged trunk will be prostrate, and the foot of the exulting foe of the Indian may be placed upon it in safety; for I leave none who will be able to avenge such an indignity. Think not I mourn for myself! I go to join the spirits of my fathers, where age cannot come; but my heart fails when I think of my people, who are so soon to be scattered and forgotten."[1]

Ganothjowaneh, a distinguished chief of the Seneca tribe, is said to have been an orator superior even to Red Jacket. The whites called him Big Kettle. It is stated that he never tasted intoxicating liquors, opposing the practice among the Indians, and suffered some persecutions on that account. During the early period of his life he opposed the introduction of Christianity, but later was favorable to the faith. Mr. Wright, a missionary living among the Senecas near Buffalo in 1840, attempted to persuade him to embrace the Christian religion. When told that he was a sinner in the sight of God, Big Kettle apparently was greatly surprised. Throwing himself into an oratorical attitude he recounted a long list of his good deeds and endeavored to make it appear that he was not a sinner. Once he said to Mr. Wright: "Does God overrule all things?" Being answered in the affirmative he continued: "I tell my people so, in council, but when I am alone and think how much iniquity is practiced by the white people in getting away our lands, etc., and how they go on without being punished, I have my doubts." He concluded by saying that the preaching of the missionaries was good, and that the Indians would listen to and follow it; but it would have little effect, for the bad habits of his people were so strong and confirmed that the attempt to break them up would be as idle as to "stop the wind from blowing down Lake Erie."

Cornplanter was the son of a white man who lived in the vicinity of Fort Plank. His mother was a young woman of the Seneca tribe. During the Revolutionary war he led the Senecas against the Amer-

[1] This sketch of Red Jacket was compiled from various sources, but principally from Vol. XIV of the New York Mirror, where it appeared soon after the death of this celebrated chieftain.

icans in the Mohawk valley, and during one of his incursions he took his father prisoner. However, he treated him well and released him from confinement. In a letter written by this great chief to the government of Pennsylvania in 1822, complaining of the attempt to impose taxes upon him and the Senecas residing on the Allegany, he began as follows:

"When I was a child, I played with the butterfly, the grasshopper, and the frogs. As I began to grow up, I began to pay some attention, and play with the Indian boys in the neighborhood, and they took notice of my skin being a different color from theirs, and spoke about it. I inquired of my mother the cause, and she told me that my father was a resident of Albany. I still ate my victuals out of a bark dish: I grew up to be a young man, and married me a wife, but I had no kettle or gun. I then knew where my father lived, and went to see him, and found he was a white man and spoke the English language. He gave me some victuals while at his house, but when I started to return home he gave me no provision to eat on the way. He gave me neither kettle nor gun, neither did he tell me that the United States were about to rebel against the government of England," etc., etc.

Cornplanter lived to a great age, having deceased within the last eight or ten years. He was an able man, distinguished in subsequent negotiations. He was eloquent, and a great advocate for temperance. He made a very effective and charactertistic speech upon that subject in 1822.

"The Great Spirit first made the world, and next the flying animals, and found all things good and prosperous. He is immortal and everlasting. After finishing the flying animals, he came down upon the earth and there stood. Then he made different kinds of trees, and woods of all sorts, and people of every kind. He made the spring and other seasons, and the weather suitable for planting. These he did make. But *stills*, to make wiskey to give to the Indians, he did not make. . . . The Great Spirit told us that there were three things for people to attend to. First, we ought to take care of our wives and children. Secondly the white people ought to attend to their farms and cattle. Thirdly, the Great Spirit has given the bears and deers to the Indians. . . . The Great Spirit has ordered me to quit drinking. He wishes me to inform the people that they should quit drinking intoxicating drink." In the course of the same speech, he gave evidence that he was not very much pleased with the admixture of his own blood. . . . "The different kinds the Great Spirit made separate, and not to mix with and disturb each other. But the white people have broken this command, by mixing their color with the Indians. The Indians have done better by not doing so."[1]

[1] Stone's Life of Brant.

CHAPTER III.

From the Discovery of the Hudson to the Inauguration of the Final Contest for Supremacy on the American Continent Between the French and English—Expeditions of Champlain, La Salle, De Nonville and Others—Construction of the Fort at Niagara—La Hontan and His Expedition—The Attack Upon Montreal—Struggle Over the Control of Lake Ontario.

Soon after sunrise on the third day of September, in the year 1609, a small band of one of the aboriginal tribes of America stood at the doors of their rude dwellings on the northern part of Sandy Hook and gazed in amazement and fear at the white sails of a small vessel sailing slowly along the coast in a northerly direction In abject terror at the strange apparition the savages fled to the mainland and spread among their tribe the news of the mysterious object they had beheld. The vessel, in the meantime, continued on its course, and soon lay at anchor in the water now known as the Lower Bay of New York. It is almost superfluous to add that this strange craft was the little ship Half Moon, in command of that daring English navigator, Sir Henry Hudson, who had been engaged to sail hither by the Dutch East India company for the purpose of discovering, if possible, a northwest passage around the American continent. Two days after entering the bay the intrepid explorer landed, but on the 10th of the month he again set sail and entered the noble river which still bears his name.

As the result of Hudson's voyage Holland set up a weak claim to the country extending from Cape Cod to Delaware bay, to which it gave the name of New Netherland. This territory claimed by Holland also extended inland an indefinite distance, and included all the vast unknown West of which the territory embraced within the confines of Genesee county formed a part. Great Britain and France treated the claim with contempt, but Holland nevertheless began the settlement of the rich territory between these two points, making the first permanent settlement on the island of Manhattan.

At this time the Netherlands, which but a comparatively short time before had won their independence from Spain, had fairly entered upon

the heroic period in their history. They had become powerful on the sea. They felt that the right of discovery entitled them to full control of a region of practically unexplored country which since has become the richest and most populous on the American continent. For more than a score of years—despite the threatening attitude of the English and the French claimants to practically all of the soil of North America north of Florida—the stupid Dutch government maintained nothing in the territory it claimed excepting a few trading posts. Then, when it was too late to remedy the condition brought about by its stolid indifference to the menace confronting it, and after having allowed ignorant and most thoroughly incompetent men to manage its affairs in the New World, the government partially awoke to the necessities of the occasion—if it would retain possession of its rich claim.

The English government steadily contended that the Dutch had no right to the territory in question, particularly inasmuch as no well defined plan for colonization had been adopted. The latter therefore concluded that the only way in which they could make their tenure of the territory secure and their title indisputable was by actual occupation. Their next step was the founding of the patroonship system, which resulted in the establishment of colonies on the Delaware and on the Hudson. The latter was successful, but the Delaware colonies failed and soon after the French government had made extensive grants in that region to its subjects. In the meantime the English settlements in New England were encroaching upon the domain claimed by the Dutch. Both the English and French claimed priority of discovery, excepting a limited region near the Hudson, and even this territory the English included in their claim. The advent of the Dutch, as we shall soon see, was the cause of a general awakening to the danger of a conflict of authority on the part of both the French and English.

The French based their claim to the vast expanse of territory in question to the early explorations of Cartier and Champlain. Cartier sailed from France in 1534, just three-quarters of a century before Hudson ascended the river bearing his name, discovered and named the St. Lawrence river, raised the standard of the King of France on the site of the city of Montreal, proclaimed the country to be a possession of the French crown and named it New France. The year following he made another voyage to the same region. In 1540 Francis de la Roque sailed with a commission from his king and made an effort to effect a permanent settlement. But little was done in this direction

until 1603, when Samuel de Champlain began his famous voyage of exploration.

Champlain was a navigator of experience. With several other Frenchmen, he had received the royal authority to form colonies on the St. Lawrence and to explore the country as he should see fit. Fitting out an expedition in 1603, he ascended the St. Lawrence as far as the site of Quebec, where he determined to erect a substantial fort. Soon the fur trade and the enormous profits to accrue to him therefrom became the subject uppermost in his mind. In order to hold this trade for the French he finally decided to join the Hurons and Algonquins in an expedition against the Iroquois tribes of New York, hoping thereby to conquer the latter and unite all the Indian tribes in an alliance with France. Had he better understood the situation and the relations of these tribes, he would have hesitated before waging war against the powerful and warlike Iroquois confederation.

July 2, 1609, Champlain, at the head of a considerable party of French and Canadian Indians, left Quebec and began the ascent of the Sorel river. Here the majority of the French invaders returned with their vessel to Quebec, finding the Chambly rapids impassable with their craft, and left Champlain and two other white men at the head of the Indian band to continue the journey in canoes. Soon they reached the lake which now bears the name of its discoverer. Landing at the south end of the lake, near the site of Ticonderoga, N. Y., they met a body of Mohawk Indians, and the first battle on American soil ensued. Had Champlain exercised discretion on this first expedition and sought to make friends of the Iroquois, the entire course of future events in American history might have been different. But the warlike and revengeful Mohawks, and their fellow tribes in the great Five Nations, never forgot the wanton killing of one of their number by a French musketoon, and when the opportunity came, they and, in later years, their sons and their grandsons carried the war repeatedly into the country of the French and Algonquins, finally forming an alliance with the English for the purpose of wreaking still further vengeance on their hated enemies.

In 1615 Champlain planned and carried out a greater expedition, this time entering the heart of the country of the Onondagas, bringing defiance to all the Iroquois tribes, and spreading death and devastation on every side. On this expedition he discovered Lake Ontario, the name meaning, in the Indian tongue, the "beautiful lake." He ex-

plored its shores along the western border of northern New York in the vicinity of what was afterward known to the French as La Famine. On his return he passed near the head of the St. Lawrence, thus becoming the first explorer of the Thousand Island region.

During the same year in which Champlain made his first expedition into the Iroquois country, and even a day or two before he saw the waters of Lake Champlain, Sir Henry Hudson had entered the mouth of the Hudson river. But before either of these expeditions, the English had begun their attempts to colonize a part of the territory now claimed by both the Dutch and the French. In August, 1606, the Plymouth company sent their first ship to America. The voyage was but half completed when the company's vessel was captured by a Spanish man-of-war. In the fall another ship was sent out. This party remained on the American coast until spring, and then returned with glowing accounts of the new country. In 1607 the first colony was sent out, but it met with disaster. About the same time the London company sent a colony to America, and Jamestown was founded. But it was not until 1620 when the Pilgrim fathers arrived, that the first permanent and successful English colony was founded.

It will thus be seen that at the close of the first quarter of the seventeenth century the English had permanent settlements in Massachusetts, the French had settlements on the St. Lawrence and Chesapeake bay, and the Dutch had possession of Manhattan island and had a fort on the site of Albany. Little was known of the interior country, and each of these nations set up a claim to most of the disputed territory. The Dutch standing between the two fires and being represented in America by ignorant, stupid men, the result was inevitable. Their power was eventually annihilated and the struggle for supremacy narrowed down to the French on one side and the English on the other.[1]

Unfortunately for the French, success did not attend their efforts to colonize the region of country to which they had set up a stout claim. But the disappointment of their government was lessened by the indefatigable labors of the Jesuit priests who had come from France to America. In 1615 a number of Franciscan friars had come to America with Champlain, but soon they were supplanted by the more powerful

[1] Though many of the events narrated in this chapter transpired at points far from Genesee county, they were closely connected with the conflict which ultimately resulted in English dominion in this country, whose original territory at one time formed the objective point of a series of frontier struggles. The long struggle for supreme control of this territory and its outcome, have had a great influence in directing the destiny of Genesee county and its inhabitants.

order of Jesuits. The latter arrived in Canada in 1625, and at once began preparation for penetrating the interior wilderness by way of the St. Lawrence, with the purpose of carrying the principles of civilization and the Christian religion to the Indian tribes. As early as 1626 Father De La Roche Daillon visited the Neutral Nation and spent the winter among them. Other priests soon had stations established as far west as the eastern shore of Lake Huron. Champlain died in 1635, and his successors in charge of the French colonies had small capacity for carrying on the great work he had inaugurated. The hostility of the Iroquois nation—incurred by Champlain himself through his early expeditions against the great confederacy—had resulted in the destruction of many of the habitations of the French colonists along the St. Lawrence and the material reduction of the number of its inhabitants at Quebec and elsewhere. Nevertheless, the French had succeeded in establishing fur-trading posts at four points on the Great Lakes as early as 1665. The Canadian Indians being friendly to the French, the missionaries traveled the northern path of the traders in comparative safety.

The English control of Manhattan and the Hudson river region began in 1664, when the Dutch were compelled to capitulate. It was not until 1670, however, that English control of the country hitherto known as New Netherland, embracing Genesee county, was made permanent. But the Dutch continued to be a powerful factor in the fur trade, as well as in the development of the agricultural resources of the territory whose control had been wrested from them; and, moreover, they established the firm foundation on which the higher social fabric of the future was to rest. The English were discreet enough to continue the peaceful relations which their predecessors had established with the Iroquois confederacy, which fact redounded greatly to their advantage when the final struggle for supremacy between the English and French began.

To Robert de La Salle, the most illustrious of the French explorers, his country owed the greatest debt. In 1673 Joliet and Marquette had passed down the Wisconsin river and penetrated the wilderness to the Mississippi, sailing in their canoes on that river below the mouth of the Arkansas river. But it remained for La Salle to determine whether the waters of that great river were discharged into the southern gulf or into the broad Pacific. In 1665 La Salle came to Canada and engaged in the fur trade at La Chine, where the Sulpitian Fathers gave him

an extensive grant of land. His love for adventure was great, and his imagination having become excited by the story of the voyage of Marquette and Joliet, he determined to push still further south in the hope of discovering the desired route to the "South Sea," erecting a line of military posts and trading stations along the route. This, he believed, would give France a still stronger claim to this vast territory.

In 1672 Frontenac was made Governor-General of Canada. Their aspirations being of the same nature, it was easy for La Salle to secure the co-operation of the former. Returning to France in 1674, La Salle received grants to large tracts of land about Lake Ontario and a title of nobility was conferred upon him by the king. Returning to Canada he sought a monopoly of the fur trade, but his prosperity and ambition resulted in the creation of animosities on the part of numerous rivals, and in 1677 he again returned to France to maintain his position, and also to obtain aid and authority to complete his plans for explorations in the far west. In this he was successful. May 12, 1678, the French crown granted to him the sole authority over all the western part of New France, with permission to construct all the forts necessary to the accomplishment of his purpose, and a commission for the discovery of the Great River. The commission read as follows:

LETTERS PATENT.

GRANTED BY THE KING OF FRANCE TO THE SIEUR DE LA SALLE, ON THE 12TH OF MAY, 1678.

Louis, by the Grace of God, King of France and Navarre, to our dear and well . . beloved Robert Cavalier, Sieur de La Salle, greeting:—

We have received with favor the very humble petition which has been presented to us in your name, to permit you to endeavor to discover the western part of our country of New France; and we have consented to this proposal the more willingly because there is nothing we have more at heart than the discovery of this country, through which it is probable that a passage may be found to Mexico; and because your diligence in clearing the land which we granted to you by the decree of our council of the 13th of May, 1675, and by letters patent of the same date, to form habitations upon the same lands, and to put Fort Frontenac in a good state of defence, the Seigniory and government whereof we likewise granted to you; affords us every reason to hope that you will succeed to our satisfaction, and to the advantage of our subjects of the said country.

For these reasons, and others thereunto moving us, we have permitted, and do hereby permit you, by these presents, signed by our hand, to endeavor to discover the western part of our country of New France; and for the execution of this enterprise, to construct forts wherever you shall deem it necessary; which it is our will you shall hold on the same terms and conditions as Fort Frontenac, agreeably and

conformably to our said letters patent of the 13th of May, 1675, which we have confirmed as far as is needful, and hereby confirm by these presents,—and it is our pleasure that they be executed according to their form and tenure.

To accomplish this, and everything above mentioned, we give you full powers; on conditions however, that you shall finish this enterprise in five years, in default of which these presents shall be void and of none effect; that you carry on no trade whatever, with the savages called Outaouacs, and others, who bring their beaver skins and other peltries to Montreal; and that the whole shall be done at your expense, and that of your country to which we have granted the privilege of trade in buffalo skins. And we call on Sieur de Frontenac, our governor and lieutenant-general, and on Sieur de Chesneau, intendant of justice, policy and finance, and on the officers who compose the supreme council of said country, to affix their signatures to these presents; for such is our pleasure. Given at St. Germaine en Laye, this 12th day of May, 1678, and of our reign the thirty-fifth.

[Signed] LOUIS.

COLBERT.

Late in the summer of 1678 La Salle, accompanied by Tonti, an Italian, a number of mariners and mechanics, and carrying naval and military stores and goods for the Indian trade, arrived at Fort Frontenac. Here his formidable expedition was joined by Father Louis Hennepin. Early in the fall, accompanied by Father Hennepin and a part of his company, he embarked in a wooden vessel of ten tons burden, crossed Lake Ontario and sailed up the Niagara river as far as Lewiston. Upon the present site of Fort Niagara at Youngstown he established a trading post. Proceeding thence to a spot on the east side of the Niagara river, now the site of the hamlet of La Salle, he built a ship of sixty tons burden, called the Griffin.[1] Tonti and Father Hennepin meanwhile established friendly relations with the Senecas. August 7, 1679, La Salle, having completed his boat, and also having dispatched messengers to apprise the inhabitants of the Illinois district of his intended visit, set sail up the Niagara river, carrying a colony of fur traders destined for the valley of the Mississippi. In Father Hennepin's account of this expedition of La Salle he says:

On the 14th day of January, 1679, we arrived at our cabin at Niagara to refresh ourselves from the fatigues of our voyage. . . . On the 20th, I heard, from the banks where we were, the voice of the Sieur de La Salle, who had arrived from Fort Frontenac in a large vessel. He brought provisions and rigging necessary for the vessel we intended building above the great falls of Niagara, near the entrance into Lake Erie. But by a strange misfortune, that vessel was lost through fault of the two pilots, who disagreed as to the course. The vessel was wrecked on the southern shore of Lake Ontario, ten leagues from Niagara. The sailors have named the place

[1] This ship was built upon the bank of Cayuga creek on the present Angevine farm.

La Cap Enrage (Mad Cap). The anchors and cables were saved but the goods and bark canoes were lost. Such adversities would have caused the enterprise to be abandoned by any but those who had formed the noble design of a new discovery.

The Sieur de La Salle informed us that he had been among the Iroquois Senecas, before the loss of his vessel, that he had succeeded so well in conciliating them, that they mentioned with pleasure our embassy, which I shall describe in another place, and even consented to the prosecution of our undertaking. This agreement was of short duration, for certain persons opposed our designs in every possible way, and instilled jealousies into the minds of the Iroquois. The fort, nevertheless, which we were building at Niagara, continued to advance. But finally the secret influences against us were so great, that the fort became an object of suspicion to the savages, and we were compelled to abandon its construction for a time, and content ourselves with building a habitation surrounded with palisades.

On the 22d we went two leagues above the great falls of Niagara, and built some stocks, on which to erect the vessel which we needed for our voyage. We could not have built it in a more convenient place, being near a river which empties into the strait which is between Lake Erie and the great falls. In all my travels back and forth, I always carried my portable chapel upon my shoulders.

On the 26th, the keel of the vessel and other pieces being ready, the Sieur de La Salle sent the master carpenter named Moyse, to request me to drive the first bolt. But the modesty appropriate to my religious profession, induced me to decline the honor. . . . Finally the Sieur de La Salle undertook his expedition on foot over the snow, and thus accomplished more than eighty leagues. He had no food, except a small bag of roasted corn, and even that had failed him two days' journey from the fort. Nevertheless he arrived safely with two men and a dog which drew his baggage on the ice. . . . In the meantime the two savages of the Wolf tribe, whom he had engaged in our service, followed the chase, and furnished us with roebucks, and other kinds of deer, for our subsistence. By reason of which our workmen took courage and applied themselves to their business with more assiduity. Our vessel was consequently soon in a condition to be launched, which was done, after having been blessed according to our church of Rome. We were in haste to get it afloat, although not finished, that we might guard it more securely from the threatened fire. The vessel was named The Griffin (Le Griffon), in allusion to the arms of the Count de Frontenac, which have two Griffins for their supports. For the Sieur de La Salle had often said of this vessel, that he would make the Griffin fly above the crows. . . .

After a few days, which were employed by the Sieur de la Forest in treating with the savages, we embarked with the vessel, having with us fifteen or sixteen squaws, who embraced the oppotunity, to avoid a land passage of forty leagues. As they were unaccustomed to travel in this manner the motion of the vessel caused them great qualms at the stomach, and brought upon us a terrible stench in the vessel. . .

A few days after, a favorable wind sprung up, and Fathers Gabriel de la Ribourde and Zenobe Mambre and myself embarked from Fort Frontenac in the brigantine. We arrived in a short time at the mouth of the river of the Senecas [Oswego], which empties into Lake Ontario. . . . On the 4th of August I went overland to the great falls of Niagara with the sergeant, named La Fleur, and from thence to our shipyard, which was six leagues from Lake Ontario; but we did not find there the vessel

we had built. Two young savages slyly robbed us of the little biscuit which remained for our subsistence. We found a bark canoe, half rotten and without paddles, which we fitted up as well as we could, and having made a temporary paddle, risked a passage in the frail boat, and finally arrived on board our vessel, which we found at anchor a league from the beautiful Lake Erie. Our arrival was welcomed with joy. We found the vessel perfectly equipped with sails, masts and everything necessary for navigation. We found on board five small cannon, two of which were brass, besides two or three arquebuses. A spread griffin adorned the prow, surmounted by an eagle. . . .

We set sail on the 7th of August, 1679, steering west southwest. . . . On the 8th a favorable wind enabled us to make about forty-five leagues, and we saw almost all the way, the two distant shores, fifteen or sixteen leagues apart. . . .

Aug. 11. We sailed up the strait [Detroit river] and passed between two small islands of a very charming appearance. This strait is more beautiful than that of Niagara. It is thirty leagues long, and is about a league broad, except about half way, where it is enlarged, forming a small lake which we called Sainte Claire, the navigation of which is safe along both shores, which are low and even.

Reaching Green Bay, Wisconsin, the Griffin took on a rich cargo of furs and started on the return voyage. After sailing from that point no tidings were ever received of the vessel or crew, which undoubtedly were lost in a storm on one of the lakes. Soon after La Salle and the remnant of his band were obliged to return on foot to Fort Frontenac, a distance of a thousand miles. During his absence Father Hennepin traversed Illinois and explored the Mississippi northward as far as the Falls of St. Anthony.

In 1681 La Salle returned to his station on the Illinois, bringing men and supplies. Another boat was built and launched, and early in the following year the heroic adventurer, with a small band of companions, descended the river to its mouth and entered the Mississippi. He finally reached the waters of the Gulf of Mexico, and after a brief sojourn he started on his return journey. This adventure was one of the greatest exploits of modern times.

Returning to Quebec La Salle immediately set sail for France. That country was now in a state of high excitement on account of the marvelous expedition which the intrepid adventurer had successfully carried out. Vast plans were at once made for beginning the work of colonizing the valley of the Mississippi.

In the meantime De la Barre had been appointed Governor of Canada, in 1682. His brief administration was a failure. In 1684 the Senecas, who had been at war with the western Indians, pillaged a number of French canoes and captured fourteen prisoners. De la Barre was

ordered to invade the Seneca country; but before he did so he sought from Governor Dongan of the province of New York a pledge that the latter would not permit the sale of guns or ammunition to the Iroquois Nation. The English were on terms of friendship with the Iroquois, and consequently Governor Dongan refused to pledge himself to neutrality. De la Barre then made an invasion of the country of the Senecas and Onondagas, but the fiery eloquence of Garangula, a celebrated Onondaga chieftain, so thoroughly alarmed him that he was glad to leave the country. Disgusted with his weakness, his government recalled him in 1685, and Marquis de Nonville was appointed to succeed him.

In July of the same year in which De la Barre allowed the Iroquois to overawe him, La Salle left France at the head of a colony of two hundred and eighty emigrants, in four ships commanded by Beaujeu. His plan was to ascend the Mississippi river and plant colonies on its banks and tributaries. Against La Salle's entreaties the blundering captain allowed the fleet to be carried out of its course, beyond the mouth of the Mississippi. Here a landing was effected and the first colony in Texas planted, on the shores of the bay of Matagorda. After several unsuccessful efforts to rediscover the mouth of the Mississippi, La Salle finally set out overland, with sixteen companions, to cross the continent to Canada. The march began in January, 1687, and on the 20th of March following the intrepid explorer was assassinated by two conspirators in his company.

In the meantime De Nonville, the new Governor of Canada, began preparations for subduing the Seneca Indians, who inhabited most of the territory within the limits of the original county of Genesee. He proposed energetic measures, including the establishment of a strong fort at Niagara and another on Lake Erie, for the double purpose of holding the Indians in check and preventing the English from further extending their fur trade among the western nations. In 1686 he wrote to his government:

> War once declared, it is an indispensable necessity to establish and maintain a post of two hundred men at Niagara, where married farmers ought, in my opinion, be placed to make clearances and to people that place, in view of becoming, with barks, masters of Lake Erie. I should greatly wish to to have a mill at Niagara.[1]

De Nonville also advised the erection of other fortifications on account of the defenseless condition of the French, insisting that the Iroquois

[1] O'Callaghan's Doc. Col. Hist. of N. Y.

were powerful and hated the French, and that their ability to procure arms and ammunition from the English made them dangerous foes. He also corresponded with Governor Dongan, insisting that the French had the first rights in Western New York. Meanwhile he had pushed his preparations for invading the country of the Senecas

June 13, 1687, De Nonville left Montreal with a force of two thousand men, four hundred of whom were Canadian Indians. Arriving at Fort Frontenac on the 30th, he proceeded July 4 to the south shore of Lake Ontario, landing at what is now Irondequoit, Monroe county, where the forces at Niagara had been ordered to meet him. After erecting a small stockade he started for the interior July 12, leaving a garrison of four hundred men to occupy the fort. The Senecas, finding the invading force so vastly surperior, fled before the French, burning their villages before they did so.

The Indian village of Gannagaro, located near the present village of Victor, Ontario county, was the first point attacked. On the 13th they arrived at a defile near the Indian village, where they were ambushed by a considerable force of Senecas. Many of the invading force threw away their guns and clothing to escape into the woods, so great was their consternation. The Senecas finally retreated before the French army, burning all their villages, and sought refuge among the Cayugas. The French remained in the Indian country, however, until the 24th. The deserted villages were entered and large quantities of corn and beans destroyed. The Indian allies of the French scouted the country and tomahawked and scalped those Senecas who fell behind in the flight. In his report of the expedition to the king De Nonville painted his exploits in very vivid colors; but Baron La Hontan, one of his officers, in his account of the expedition, accused De Nonville of cowardice, or at least timidity.

De Nonville was so dispirited with the fright that had struck his men that his Indians could not persuade him to pursue. He halted the remainder of the day, and the next day proceeded on with the intention of burning the village; but the Senecas had laid their settlement in ashes. On the 24th, finding his invasion practically fruitless, the expedition returned to the bank of Lake Ontario

The four Indian villages which De Nonville visited are supposed to have been as follows:

Gannagaro, as the French called it, or Gaosaehgaah in the Seneca language, near Victor, Ontario county; Gannogarae, in the town of

East Bloomfield, in Ontario county, near where the ancient Indian trail crossed Mud creek; Totiakto, or Deyudihaakdoh as the Senecas called it, on the northeast bend of Honeoye outlet, near West Mendon, in Monroe county; and Gannounota, or Dyudonsot in the Seneca tongue, about two miles southeast of East Avon.

On the 26th of the month the whole army set sail for Niagara, where it arrived on the morning of the 30th, having been delayed by head winds. There the army at once began the erection of a fort "at the extremity of a tongue of land between the river of Niagara and Lake Ontario, on the Iroquois side." In three days the post was in good condition for defense in case of assault. In his journal De Nonville says his object in constructing this fortification was for the protection of the Indian allies and to enable them to continue the war against the Iroquois. He left a garrison of one hundred Troyes there, with ammunition and provisions for eight months; but they were besieged by the Senecas, and a sickness which broke out soon after killed off nearly the entire garrison.

August 2 De Nonville left Niagara, reaching Montreal August 13, having left one hundred men at Fort Frontenac. The Senacas soon after returned and occupied the territory they had deserted. In opposition to his personal desires La Hontan was directed to assume command of a detachment and accompany the returning western Indian allies. At Lewiston, "where the navigation stops," his men carried their canoes up "the three mountains," launching them again at Schlosser, in the southeastern part of the present city of Niagara Falls. A large body of Senecas were soon upon his trail. From the foot of Canandaigua lake, where they had temporarily encamped, they started for the vicinity of Niagara Falls, for the purpose of attacking the French troops or their Indian allies. The latter had just sailed from Schlosser, when a large body of Senecas appeared on the bank of the river. La Hontan's forces proceeded along the north shore of Lake Erie, and eventually reached the fort of St. Joseph's, relieving the garrison at that point.

During the succeeding winter a party of Huron Indians started for the fort at Niagara, intending to enter the Seneca country and kill or capture detached parties of trappers. On their way through Canada they fell in with a party of Iroquois and killed or made prisoners of the entire party of sixty. When they returned to Mackinaw some of the prisoners informed La Hontan that they were members of the band

which had intended to capture him and his command at Niagara Falls. When they left, they said, eight hundred Indians had besieged the fort at Niagara, and famine and disease were rapidly reducing the small French garrison there.

De Nonville's invasion, the most formidable which the French had yet undertaken, served to aggravate the strained relations between that nation and the English, the latter insisting that the French had entered territory belonging to England. But the French occupation of the post at Niagara was short lived. The Iroquois Indians, thoroughly enraged over the attacks made upon them by the white invaders, harassed the fort constantly, until the French were compelled to sue for peace. In the summer of 1688 De Nonville ordered an armistice and invited five hundred Iroquois to meet him at Montreal to conclude peace negotiations. At the same time a band of twelve hundred warriors were ready to attack the French settlement there if the results of this convention should prove unsatisfactory. The Iroquois insisted upon the destruction of Fort Frontenac and Fort Niagara, the payment to the Senecas of a sufficient sum to reimburse them for the losses they had incurred by reason of the French invasion of their country, and the return of a number of their tribe who had been carried in captivity into Canada.

The French were willing to concede what the Iroquois asked and these stipulations were inserted in the treaty then and there made. But, unfortunately, the peaceful intentions of this convention were foiled by an act of treachery on the part of the Hurons. A chief of that tribe, accompanied by a hundred braves, visited Fort Frontenac for the purpose of assuring the French of his friendship. Reaching the latter place he learned of the friendly negotiations then in progress between the French, his allies, and the Iroquois, his enemies; jealousy prompted him to ambush the band of Iroquois returning from their mission to Montreal, killing many of them and making prisoners of the remainder. His treacherous spirit prompted him to tell the prisoners that he had attacked them under directions of De Nonville. He then liberated the prisoners, who returned to their country and spread the story of French perfidy.

The consequence was inevitable. The enraged Iroquois immediately went upon the warpath for revenge. July 26 twelve hundred warriors attacked Montreal, slaughtered about a thousand of the French settlers and left the village in ruins. This left the French in desperate straits,

and on the other hand strengthened the bonds of friendship between the Iroquois and the English. To this fact, more than any other single occurrence, the victory of the English in their contest against the French was due. The latter immediately abandoned Forts Frontenac and Niagara; and war between France and England having been declared, the allied forces of English and Iroquois wrought havoc among the French settlements in Canada. The enemies of the English devastated Schenectady and a portion of the Onondaga country; but the victory lay with the English. The treaty of Ryswick, in 1697, again brought peace, but for a few years only.

The main point which produced the contest between these two nations—the conflicting territorial claims—unfortunately was not settled by this treaty; and until the boundaries between the colonial possessions of the two countries should be settled hostile operations were inevitable. The Jesuit priests in Canada continued actively to spread their religion among the Indians, giving offense to the English by establishing missions among the Iroquois. The result was easily foreseen. The differences between the two nations grew wider until the conflict known as Queen Anne's War, which began in 1702 and continued until 1713. Before the inauguration of this war the French, gaining the friendship of the Western Indians through the offices of the Jesuit priests, had strengthened their position by the erection of numerous forts and the establishment of settlements. The French considered western New York—the territory subsequently becoming the original Genesee county—a great point of vantage to them; but the English directed their attentions principally to other points. The details of this war are of little interest in this connection. Peace was concluded with the treaty of Utrecht April 11, 1713, France ceding to England Nova Scotia and Port Royal, and agreeing to refrain in the future from molesting "the Five Nations subject to the dominion of Great Britain." Still the most important matter of all—the boundary question—was left unsettled and made another war certain.

Little by little it became evident to the French that the English had determined to obtain control of Lake Ontario. In 1721 or 1722 the latter established a trading post at Irondequoit, and in 1726 one at Oswego. France still claimed the territory. To strengthen her position she erected, in 1726, a new fort at Niagara, on or very near the site of the present stone fort there. The French had objected to the military occupation of the two points on the lake by the English; the latter

contended that the French were going beyond their rights in erecting a fort at the mouth of the Niagara river. The positions at both ends of the lake were of the highest commercial and strategic importance to both parties, as the nation holding both could absolutely control Lake Ontario and the bulk of the great fur trade. Both intrigued with the Indians in the hope of securing their allegiance.

In 1712 the remnant of the Tuscarora tribe was adopted by the Iroquois Confederacy, becoming the sixth nation of that republic. The Tuscaroras originally came from North Carolina, where they had inhabited the country of the Neuse and Tar rivers. In 1708 their twelve hundred warriors inhabited fifteen towns. In 1708 they had a rupture with the colonists, and soon after they were robbed of their lands. Hostilities followed, and many warriors were slain, while larger numbers were made captives. Tired of their persecution and hopeless over their defeats, the remainder of the tribe who had not remained neutral migrated to New York.

In 1744 war was declared involving not only England and France, but Spain and Austria. During the summer of that year the old stockades at Niagara were strengthened, but little else of direct interest in this connection transpired before the peace of October 18, 1748. While there was peace on paper, the conflict in America in reality never ceased. Both nations struggled with intensity to secure the undivided allegiance of the powerful Iroquois. In 1754 the English, probably aware of the fact that their enemies were planning to capture Oswego, repaired the fortifications at that point. While Braddock's stubbornness was leading him into the greatest of mistakes, Governor Shirley of Massachusetts strengthened the post at Oswego, which was heavily garrisoned, built Fort Ontario on the east side of the river, and created a small navy on the lake. In the meantime the French were bettering the condition of Fort Niagara, which had been saved from Shirley's contemplated attack by reason of storms on Lake Ontario. These preparations were progressing during the period of technical peace. The next, and final, struggle for supreme control was not inaugurated until the formal declaration of war on May 18, 1756.

CHAPTER IV.

The Final Struggle Between the French and English for Supremacy in North America—Capture of the Fort at Oswego—Bradstreet Takes Fort Frontenac—General Prideaux's Expedition Against Fort Niagara—The Tragedy of Devil's Hole—End of French Dominion in America.

Before the beginning of actual hostilities in 1756 it had become evident to each party to the impending struggle that the other had been preparing with great energy to make a most desperate effort to maintain its claims in America. At the beginning of the war the outlook for the cause of the English was far from flattering. It was, indeed, ominous. The French had been exceedingly active, and had secured many of the best points of vantage. Niagara had been placed in splendid condition by the French. Abercrombie's expedition against the post was unsuccessful. A few days after the declaration of war Commodore Bradley, commanding the little English fleet at Oswego, started for Niagara, but was soon compelled to return by reason of tempestuous weather on Lake Ontario. On his second expedition in June one of his vessels was captured by the French squadron.

In August, 1756, Montcalm, the successor of Dieskau, commanding the French army of Canada, led five thousand men, consisting of regulars, militia and Indians, against the English fort at Oswego, which Governor Shirley of Massachusetts had left in charge of Colonel Mercer and a garrison of seven hundred men. Erecting trenches about the fort, he opened a terrific fire August 12. The English had but a small supply of ammunition, and were compelled to retreat across the river to Little Fort Oswego, spiking their guns before they left. Montcalm at once occupied the deserted fort, and from it assaulted the lesser fort, killing Colonel Mercer and many of his men. On the 14th the disheartened English capitulated, and the French were for the time being practically masters of the Great Lakes, as well as Lake Champlain and Lake George.

Montcalm destroyed the fort at Oswego after he had captured it, principally for the purpose of showing the Iroquois that the French did

not intend to maintain a military station in their territory. This move caused many of the Indians to turn to the French, greatly to the elation of the latter.

The campaign of 1757 was also disastrous to the English, leaving their enemies in control of the West. In 1758 the English, strengthened by a better organization of the regular and colonial volunteer forces, succeeded in capturing Fort Frontenac.

Colonel Bradstreet, who first suggested the attempted capture of Fort Frontenac, was placed in commad of the army assigned to the great task. At the head of about three thousand men, with eight cannon and three mortars, he left Lake George and embarked at Oswego. On the evening of August 25 he landed about a mile from the fort. Within two days he had planted his batteries and opened fire. On the 27th the French commander surrendered one hundred and ten men, nine vessels, sixty cannon, sixteen mortars, many light arms and large quantities of military stores, provisions and merchandise. The fort was destroyed, as was everything else which could not be carried away by the victorious English army.

The tide had turned, and the French were now as despondent as they had been elated. Their anxiety was also greatly increased by the rapid development of the English colonies, whose population was increasing at an entirely unanticipated rate.

The spring of 1759 found the French in a wretched condition. While their crops had failed and there had been no considerable accession to their forces, the numerical strength of the English had become greater and the internal ties between the colonies, fighting in a common cause, stronger. On Fort Niagara the French placed their greatest dependence. The Iroquois had now come out openly in favor of the English cause, and even the courageous Montcalm was discouraged.

Among the expeditions planned by the English was one against Niagara. Major-General Amherst had become commander of the English forces in North America. So successful had the English been that they now planned the complete conquest of Canada. The three strong positions still held by France were to be attacked simultaneously. Quebec was to be besieged by General Wolfe, the hero of Louisburg. General Amherst was was to proceed against Crown Point and Ticonderoga, and after taking those places, cross Lake Champlain and join Wolfe. General Prideaux, accompanied by Sir William Johnson, was to have charge of the expedition against Fort Niagara. General Stan-

wix and his detachment was to guard Lake Ontario and reduce the remaining French posts in the Ohio valley.

Early in the summer General Prideaux, at the head of an army of European and Provincial troops and Indians, proceeded to Oswego, coasted along the southern shore of Lake Ontario, and landed at the mouth of Four Mile creek July 6. When this army reached Niagara it consisted of two thousand whites and one thousand six hundred Indians. Despite the fact that it was broad daylight the French knew nothing of the approach of their enemy until the forces had passed the fort and entered the river.[1]

July 7 seven English barges appeared near the shore. Scouts sent out by Captain Pouchot reported that fifteen or twenty barges, all told, lay near by, while numbers were flocking on the beach. The following day the English camp on the lake shore was assaulted and broken up. On the 9th the surrender of the position was demanded by the besiegers, but Pouchot sent word to Prideaux that he should defend the post. On the 15th the fort was shelled, wounding several French soldiers. All this time the English had been strengthening their position, from which the assault was continued each day. July 19 General Prideaux was accidently killed in the trenches by the carlessness of a gunner who was preparing to fire a shell.

The English kept up a regular fire, doing great damage to the fort and killing and wounding many of the garrison. The French were running short of ammunition and many of their arms had become worthless. So desperate had their condition become that they were compelled to resort to the use of hay, straw, and even the mattresses and linen from their beds for wadding for their cannon. By the 24th the French had not more than a hundred muskets fit for use. Reinforcements dispatched to the relief of the fort by Aubrey and Lignery, at Fort Machault and Presque Isle, were driven back by the English. Seeing that further resistance was useless Pouchot surrendered, upon the demand of Sir William Johnson, on July 25, when the victors took possession of the fort.

By this victory the Niagara river, which the French had controlled for more than a century, came under English domination. Quebec, falling before the magnificent assault under Wolfe, French dominion on the American continent was forever at an end. Still Canada was

[1] The account of the ensuing operations in this campaign is taken from the memoirs of Pouchot, commander of the French forces at Niagara.

not ceded to England until the signing of the treaty of 1763, so tenaciously did France cling to her colonies.

Immediately after the surrender of Fort Niagara the English took possession of the frontier of Western New York, with the intention of keeping control of a means of communication with their western points. Of all these posts the most important to England, as it had been with France, was Niagara. In 1760 this carrying-place was placed in charge of John Steadman, who was instructed by Sir William Johnson to open and improve the road. This step was highly displeasing to the Senecas who, disregarding the authority of Johnson as superintendent of Indian affairs, united with western tribes in marauding expeditions, pursuing their depredations almost to the gates of Niagara. In these attacks several Englishmen were killed.

At this time the Senecas had no settlements between the Genesee and the Niagara. The English had erected a palisaded fort on the east bank of the Niagara near the east boundary of the present city of Niagara Falls, which they named Fort Schlosser, in honor of its first commander, Captain Joseph Schlosser. Fort Niagara, which had been greatly strengthened, was for the time used as a base of supplies for the West and the growing Indian trade. A few of the Senecas inhabited cabins on the present site of Lewiston, where they assisted the English in transporting goods across the river.

July 24, 1761, Johnson reached Niagara on his way to Detroit. Here he remained for four weeks inspecting the various points on the frontier. He also learned that attempts were being made by certain traders to cheat the Indians, a course well calculated to produce an uprising among them. In 1762 Johnson, learning of the murder by the Indians of two traders who were passing through the Seneca country, informed the natives that any future crimes of this character would be followed by summary punishment. But the Senecas, foreseeing their ultimate expulsion from their country and their extinction as a nation, seemed determined to retard, if not prevent, the encroachments of the whites. The portage between Lewiston and Fort Schlosser, passing most of the way through the woods, was a dangerous road, and soldiers were stationed at both ends to protect and accompany trading teams. Soon after this occurred the terrible massacre at Devil's Hole, a point on the east bank of the Niagara river a short distance north of the city of Niagara Falls. The following old account of what took place at that spot is considered authentic by historians:

In 1760 Mr. Stedman, an Englishman, contracted with Sir William [Johnson] to construct a portage road from Queenston Landing, now Lewiston, to Fort Schlosser, a distance of about eight miles. The road having been completed, on the morning of the 17th of September, 1763, fifteen wagons and teams, mostly oxen, under an escort of twenty-four men, commanded by a sergeant, and accompanied by the contractor, Stedman, and Captain Johnson, as a volunteer, set out from Fort Niagara, with stores, &c., intended for the garrison at Fort Schlosser. Arriving something over two miles from the top of the mountain above Lewiston, and ten or twelve from Niagara, the escort and wagons halted about eleven o'clock, on a little savanna of green sward to rest and take refreshments, beside a gulf called in Indian and English, the Devil's Hole. This is a semi-circular precipice or chasm of some two hundred feet in diameter up and down the river on the summit, but less at the bottom. A little distance from the brink of the hole is a kind of natural mound, several feet in height, also of crescent shape; and sixty feet from the top issues a fine spring, which dashes down through the underbrush to the river. A small brook in the neighborhood, called the bloody-run, now runs into the chasm. The Seneca Indians continued in the French interest at this period, and fearing a hostile movement on their part, a detachment of volunteers consisting of one hundred and thirty men, under the command of Captain Campbell, marched from Queenston to strengthen the escort. Just as the troops under Capt. C. reached the spot where the escort halted, about five hundred Indians, who had been concealed behind the mound, sprang from their covert with savage yells, and like so many tigers began an indiscriminate slaughter of the troops, who were thrown in the utmost confusion. Resistance against such odds did not long continue, and those of the party who were not killed or driven from the precipice with their teams, attempted their escape by flight. In the midst of the conflict, Stedman sprang upon a small horse, and giving the faithful animal a slap on the neck with his hand, it bore him over the dead and dying, and through the thick ranks of the foe, who discharged their rifles, and hurled their tomahawks in vain at his head.

Of those who jumped directly down the precipice in front, some seventy or eighty feet, which has an uneven surface below, only one escaped with life. This was a soldier named Mathews, from whom these particulars were obtained by the tourist. He was then living on the Canada shore, near Niagara, and familiarly called Old Brittania. Several trees were growing from the bottom of the hole, the tops of which reached near the surface of the ground. Into one of these trees Corporal Noble leaped and hung, in which position eleven bullets riddled his body. Captain Johnson, of the escort, was killed, and Lieut. Duncan, of the relief, a native of Long Island, and a promising young officer, was wounded in the left arm, of which he died. The whole number of troops and teamsters was about one hundred and seventy-five, of this number only some twenty-five escaped with life, and all of them, except Stedman and Mathews, did so below or near the north end of the hole, at a little sand ridge, which served to break the fall. Of Capt. Campbell's command, only eleven escaped with life. The loss of the enemy was inconsiderable compared with that of the British. A short time after this horrid affair, the Indians, who considered Stedman a charmed man, gave him as a reward for his daring feat, a large tract of land, which embraced all that he rode over in his previous flight. He returned to England,

taking along this favorite horse, and never afterwards would he allow it to be saddled or harnessed.[1]

Most other accounts of this treacherous and bloody attack agree with the one quoted in its essential points. Some state that it occurred September 14 instead of September 17, the date given by Mr. Simms; that the escort consisted of twenty-five men instead of twenty four, and that the train was bound for Detroit instead of Fort Schlosser. But these details are of minor importance. Some recent publications state that but eight men are believed to have escaped, whereas Mr. Simms's informant, who was one of those whose lives were spared, puts the number at about twenty-five.

In the meantime Pontiac's war had broken out in the West, the cause being similar to that which resulted in the massacre at the Devil's Hole—the English encroachments upon Indian territory and their defeat of the French. In July, 1764, General John Bradstreet, at the head of eleven hundred provincial troops, started for the west to put down the uprising inaugurated by the wily Ottawa chief. At Oswego his forces were augmented by five hundred Iroquois under Johnson, and at Niagara the army was nearly doubled, three hundred of the additional forces being Seneca Indians. While waiting in this vicinity the erection of Fort Erie was begun.

October 19, 1763, while six hundred English soldiers in command of Major Wilkins were on their way to Detroit in boats, the rear guard, consisting of one hundred and sixty men, were fired upon from the shore by a band of Senecas, who were concealed in the woods about on the site of Black Rock. At the first volley thirteen men were killed and wounded. Fifty men were sent ashore, where three more men were killed and twelve seriously wounded. This was the last serious attack on the part of the Senecas. In April, 1764, representatives of the nation signed a treaty of peace at the home of Sir William Johnson at Johnstown.

From that time to the Revolution comparative peace reigned throughout Genesee county. The trade with the Indians increased at a satisfactory rate, and the Niagara frontier was a scene of great activity. Sir William Johnson devoted much of his attention toward securing a continuance and enlargement of the policy of peace and honesty toward the Indians on the part of the British government. Janu-

[1] This account is taken from Jeptha R. Simms's Border Wars of New York (1845). The author obtained the story from the lips of one of the survivors, as appears in the narrative.

ary 16, 1765, Rev. Samuel Kirkland, accompanied by two Seneca Indians, left Johnstown on a mission through the Iroquois country. He remained some time at Kanadesaga, the chief village of the Senecas, spreading the principles of the Christian religion among them. For six years he labored assiduously among the Six Nations, and his services were most valuable in breaking down the feelings of animosity which these nations entertained toward the English.

During this period of peace, Tryon county, afterward Montgomery, was erected from Albany county in 1772. The new county comprised all New York State west of the present western boundaries of Saratoga and Schenectady counties, and of course included all the territory which subsequently was set apart to form Genesee county. Few other events of importance occurred before the Revolution. Little attempt was made to effect settlements at a distance from the trading posts, for the whites still felt insecure from the attacks of the Indians, whom all had learned to distrust. The condition of Western New York, then, was to all intents and purposes the same at the opening of the Revolutionary war as at the close of the long series of conflicts which gave to England the supremacy over France on the American continent.

CHAPTER V.

The War of the Revolution—Expedition of General Sullivan into the Genesee Country—The Seneca Indians Routed—Lieutenant Boyd's Awful Fate—First White Settlement at Buffalo Creek.

The details of that tremendous struggle of the American colonies for independence from the tyrannical, but short-sighted, British government, need no recounting in connection with the brief story of Genesee county's participation or immediate local interest in the war. The causes of this remarkable contest existed even before the echoes of the French and Indian war had died away, and are too familiar to require even a mention in this connection. During all that long period of hostilities, beginning in 1775 and terminating in 1783, no part of the actual contest occurred in the county of Genesee, excepting sporadic Indian attacks. At one time, however, the victorious American army came