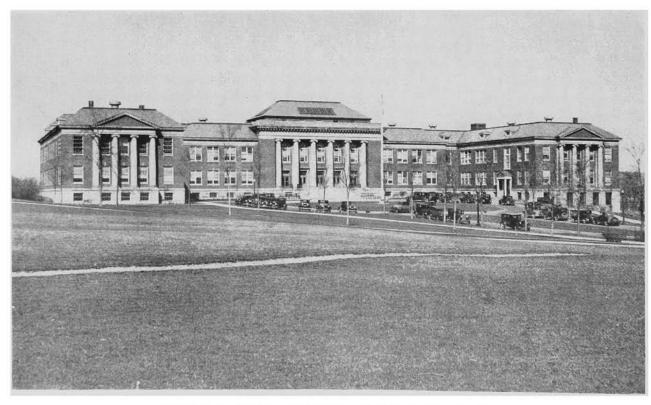


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CHAPTER I

RESOURCES, GEOLOGY, HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.

ADVANTAGES OF LOCATION—GEOLOGICAL FORMATION—TOPOGRAPHY—ARCH-AEOLOGY AREA—INDUSTRIES—CITIES AND VILLAGES—PARKS—EARLY EX-PLORERS—SULLIVAN'S CAMPAIGN—SETTLEMENT AND PROGRESS.

Fertility and diversity, the twin builders, have made the land of promise of the red man the land of fulfillment for his white brother in Central New York. Coupled with the wide variety of products, the transportation facilities and nearness to markets, is the fact that New York State itself is located in the midst of a comparatively small area that contains forty-nine per cent of the country's population and fifty-five per cent of the country's wealth. This gives a concentrated market to both farmer and manufacturer.

Nature endowed Central New York with a perfect foundation for industry. Within its boundaries flow a marvelous chain of waterways. It is the heart of a state which leads the nation in manufacturing, in population, in wealth and in railroads. Diversity of industries give assurance of skilled labor of every type. Large population makes labor plentiful, able and willing. Competition of rail, truck and waterways provide low freight rates. Raw materials cost less because Central New York produces most of them. Power is abundant and cheap. Climate provides favorable working conditions. And most of all, Central New York is a good place in which to make a living and live while making it.

The region is a natural playground, with lakes, rivers, mountains, gorges, and a variety of scenery found in few spots of equal area on the globe. Its altitude rises to an elevation of 2,300 feet and its communities enjoy the advantages of both city and country.

The area of eleven counties is bounded on the north by Lake Ontario, on the east by Oswego, Onondaga, Madison, Chenango and Broome counties, on the south by Pennsylvania, and on the west by Monroe, Livingston and Allegany counties.

The northern half of the region drains through the six major Finger Lakes into the Seneca River which flows to the Oswego and thence to Lake Ontario, where the water finds its way to the Atlantic through the St. Lawrence. The southern part of the region drains southward through the Susquehanna River and its tributaries, finally reaching the Atlantic through Chesapeake Bay.

The outstanding geologic feature of the entire region, however, is the Finger Lakes. If you look upon the map of the state, these great blue Fingers extend southward across the terraine, something in the shape of an outstretched hand. No group in the world provides a like arrangement and perusal of a map of the entire United States reveals these inland seas as an outstanding group on the continent.

Central New York provides a romance of geology, according to Dr. Herman L. Fairchild, professor emeritus of geology of the University of Rochester, who explains the origin of the Finger Lakes. "This series of parallel valleys is probably the most notable in the world," Professor Fairchild says, who challenges the old theory that the lakes are formations left by the glaciers.

"A misleading theory in former years," says the Rochester authority, "claimed the basins were scooped out during the glacial period. But the Quebec glacier, which overspread New York and New England, and which admittedly had some abraiding effect, was not guilty of the valley deepening, although it had some part in producing the basins."

Professor Fairchild explains that the history of geology in Central New York covers many millions of years since the area was permanently lifted out of the sea. The clear record of the long maritime submergence is seen in the rock strata, several thousand feet in thickness, filled with remains of the varied life of the ancient seas. Remnants of the nearly horizontal strata constitute the broad arching ridges between the valleys, with

elevations up to over 2,000 feet above seaboard. The valleys are the positive effect, having been carved by atmospheric and stream erosion out of the uplifted land, Professor Fairchild holds. He analyzes the complex geological history of Central New York as follows:

- (1) The original drainage on the uplifted sea-bottom, of coastal plain, was southward across New York from Canada. Only a few remnants of that primitive flow now exist in western New York, with the upper Susquehanna and its tributaries in the eastern district.
- (2) Evolution of the great east and west Ontario Valley, in a wide belt of weak rocks, shales and limestones, by the Ontarian River, beheaded the Canadian rivers.
- (3) Northward tributaries of the Ontarian River, on the south side of the expanding valley, ate back (southward), by headwaters erosion into the Allegany Plateau, even to Pennsylvania. In this way was developed the remarkable series of parallel valleys; the reverse, in direction, of the original drainage.
- (4) High elevation of eastern America, in later Tertiary time, enlivened the rivers by increasing their fall to the sea, and hence their velocity. This caused rapid down-cutting of the valleys, so producing the steeper lower walls of the central lakes, and the convexity of the slopes.
- (5) The high elevation of Eastern America, possibly accompanied by a slight lowering of world climate, produced vast and deep ice sheets. The latest one, the Quebec glacier, overspread New York, and subdued the state to the same condition that Greenland now suffers.
- (6) In the waning of the Quebec glacier and the recession (northward) of its south front, it served as a barrier in all of the north-sloping valleys. Glacial lakes were thus held in all the valleys, and the present lakes are lineal descendants of the ice-bound lakes.
- (7) During pauses in the recessions of the ice front the heavy load of rock rubbish was piled in the valleys. One great series of these frontal moraines is the heavy filling south of the lakes.

Another forms the wide plain that buries the north end of the valleys, and produces the lake basins.

(8) Northward uptilting of the land since the weight of the ice-cap has been removed has lifted the north ends of the lakes, thus producing some increase in their depth.

Human progress is not a smooth procession down through the ages. Rather it is a series of sudden starts, rapid gaits, failures and achievements. So it has been in Central New York. For nearly three centuries after Columbus discovered America, this territory, whose opening to civilization was destined to shape the course of new world history, lay fallow. Mystery cloaked it. Myths shrouded it. A strange red nation whose origin was unknown guarded it.

Relics of a prehistoric age have rewarded archaeologists who have trekked the ravines and winding streams of Central New York. From the silent woods and whispering shores of the region have come mute tidings, centuries buried, that here the Eskimo, then the Mound Builders and the Algonkin lived before the Iroquois stalked his game. But up through the period that George III ruled America, the district was beyond the frontiers of human knowledge—the great enigma of America's founders.

The French were the first white men to gaze upon Central Early Jesuit priests, more than a century before New York. the Revolution, penetrated this forest realm and set up the Cross. Champlain, the Frenchman, in 1615 clashed in arms with the Iroquois not far from what is now Syracuse. In 1669 Robert Cavalier de Salle visited the region and at intervals later French explorers led expeditions into it. In 1664 De La Barr conducted a futile invasion that gave the Senecas a contempt for the French but in 1687 De Noville, with a force of 1,600 Frenchmen and 400 Canadian Indians entered the Long House of the Iroquois from Lake Ontario and in a pitched battle on the site of Victor, Ontario County, defeated the Senecas, although the French lost about a hundred men. In the savage contest between France and Britain, culminating in the final struggle of 1754, the Iroquois became the shield of the English on this continent.

The first white explorer into Central New York is believed to have been Stephen Brule, Frenchman, who on September 8, 1615, set out from Upper Canada with twelve Huron Indians, for the Susquehanna on a scouting expedition for Champlain. He did not rejoin Champlain for three years, in which time he reached Carantonan, an Indian town boasting 800 warriors and located in the environs of Waverly in Tioga County, on the east side of the Chemung River. On the return Brule's party was attacked by Iroquois, scattered and their leader put to torture by fire. His nails and beard were pulled out, but a threat of heaven's vengeance just as a thunder storm broke so frightened the Indians that they escorted him toward his goal with every atten-Years later, according to Sagard writing in 1638, this first white man to see Central New York was put to death by Huron Indians near Thunder Bay, Canada. This seventeenth century historian says that Brule was eaten by the savages.

The first Englishman known to have visited the region was Wentworth Greenhalgh, a trader from Albany in 1677.

When Henry Hudson in 1609, a navigator in the employ of the Dutch East India Company, sailed into the great river that bears his name, he founded the Dutch claim to what is now New York State. This, however, was disputed by both France and England because of explorations of their adventurers. Permanent Dutch settlement of the state came in 1623, but they were conquered by the English in 1664. Conquest was made permanent in 1670, and the name of New Amsterdam changed to New York. Spurred by the fur trade, a spirited rivalry then continued between English and French, with border conflicts many and the Indians lending a hand. But until after the Revolution the Iroquois remained the allies of the English.

At last came 1779—the crossroads of the centuries for Central New York—and Sullivan's hosts of Colonials. A century and a half ago they came with torch, gun and high courage. In the uncharted wilderness of Central New York they left desolation—the greatest destruction ever wrought before in America. But in the silence of the forest had been achieved a turning point in the Revolutionary war with Britain. The expedition

of Gen. John Sullivan against the Six Nations in Central New York gave the war new vigor in its dark hour. Washington himself had planned it and a third of the entire Continental army prosecuted it.

Sullivan's campaign swung wide the gate of empire. It determined at a single blow whether the white man or the red was to rule the continent that has become America. It blasted out of the forest the foundations of Central New York towns, built with the power of gun and torch, ax and shovel, vision and courage.

When Sullivan's men passed across Central New York, soldiers from six states marveled at the immense cleared fields of a semi-civilized race. They saw fertile soil with growing corn so tall that a man riding through it on horseback would be hidden from sight. Maize, wheat, grains, pumpkins, beans, squash, orchards of luscious fruit, with horses, cattle and swine were here in this hidden land of the Indian. With victory, tales of a land of plenty were carried back by the soldiers; stories of a land of wild grandeur, of rushing streams, bulging with latent power and surging to the sea unharnessed through a country where grist mills and cabin homes should rightfully spring up.

And in those forward looking days of faith alone, pioneers came back to answer the call of this wild new land, setting up in the region the first land office in America and establishing the civilization that is ours.

The birth of progress in Central New York very nearly corresponds in time with the birth of the United States. The Declaration of Independence had been signed but four short years before Sullivan's army carried the light of civilization into the fastnesses of the forest. Since that emancipation, Central New York has ever held high the beacon of progress, always in step with the times, ever leading as America marched forward toward her destiny.

Like the nation, Central New York may consider herself about 150 years old. During three momentous half centuries, history was here in the making. Each half century has had its distinguishing character. It required practically all the first

fifty years to settle the region. The second may be classified as that of development and the third that of prosperity.

In each of these three periods the nation engaged in one major war-1812, the Civil war and the World war-in each of which Central New York gave and served to the capacity of its resources. The first fifty years saw the forest give place to cabin homes and open its green vastness to corduroy roads threading paths charted by the Indian. It witnessed the advent of the stage coach, the tavern and the Erie Canal, with its packets Fifty years more brought the first railroads, riband barges. bons of wood over which horses drew rattling coaches. In this development period came the telegraph, the telephone, the electric light, while the nation itself flung far its borders, extending its Canadian boundary from the Great Lakes to the Pacific, gaining Texas, New Mexico and California and negotiating the Gadsden purchase on the Rio Grande and the purchase of Alaska by a statesman from Central New York.

Then came the period of prosperity, when communication and transportation were improved and the street car and the auto replaced the horse car and the omnibus. It was the time of great inventions, answering the call of humanity's needs. Radio and aviation carried communication into another realm. Comforts and conveniences were made available through the creation of great public utilities. The pioneers in enterprise who settled and developed the area gave place to business pioneers who have set the stage for the day of opportunity to come.

CHAPTER II

INDIAN OCCUPATION.

ALGONKINS—IROQUOIS—THE SIX NATIONS—THEIR FORM OF GOVERNMENT—CUSTOMS—TREATIES—LAND GRANTS AND PURCHASES—LAST PAYMENT TO INDIANS BY STATE—NOTABLE INDIANS: CATHERINE MONTOUR, "OLD SMOKE," HIAWATHA, CORNPLANTER, LOGAN, RED JACKET, JOSEPH BRANDT—INDIAN CAPTIVES.

Before the dawn of recorded history, the eleven counties of Central New York were occupied by a group of Indians known as Algonkins. The name Algonkin has been erroneously interpreted in many writings, but it is probably from the word algoomeaking or algoomaking, meaning "at the place of spearing fish and eels from the bow of a canoe."

Where these simple people came from or where they vanished is one of the mysteries that still lies locked in the soil of the region, hidden from all save the archaeologist. According to Donald A. Cadzow, representing the Museum of the American Indian in New York, field director of the Pennsylvania Indian Archaeological Survey and field director of the American Anthropology, of Cambridge University, England, these people were primitive. They made crude arrowpoints and other utilitarian objects out of bone, almost Eskimo-like in appearance. As material culture advanced, they became experts in chipping and rubbing stone into tools.

The art of pottery making slowly developed until, in the sixth or last known period of their occupancy of the district, they made large, crudely decorated vessels of baked clay. This art appears to have advanced farthest upon an Algonkin site at the foot of Owasco Lake, now Enna Jettick Park. Here the largest and finest pottery was excavated and is now in the Museum of the American Indian.

Mr. Cadzow himself from the whispering shores of little Frontenac Island in Cayuga Lake unearthed crushed and crumbling Algonkin skeletons telling of an ancient race. The Algonkin were mainly sedentary and agricultural, he says. A little crop of corn and other food stuff, together with the meat and fish brought in by the hunters, satisfied their simple needs. Occasional war parties probably ventured into surrounding territory, returned and were satisfied with their own.

The Algonkin men were tall, averaging about five feet, seven inches to five feet ten inches in height. They had the typical Indian nose and heavy cheekbones. While these people lived contentedly and serenely in their garden spot among the lakes, invaders came. The Algonkins sought to defend their own. They made stockaded forts on hilltops. But the invaders, coming probably from the north, pressed on.

Though numerous rich Indian finds have been made throughout the entire Central New York area, none has more significance than relics unearthed on the Fred H. Sherman farm, a mile and a quarter east of Levanna, Cayuga County. First indications of the secrets hidden beneath the unplowed soil of the farm came in 1929, when Harrison Follett and George B. Selden, representing the Rochester Municipal Museum, dug up a portion of what appeared to be a giant effigy of some animal, made of fire stones from the fire pits of the Indians. That year it appeared little more than a sort of pavement of the stones.

Then in the summer of 1932, the two archaeologists returned under sponsorship of the Cayuga County Historical Society and completely uncovered the stone creation. It proved to be a giant effigy of a bear, fifteen feet long and six feet across. Near it, within a radius of seventy-five feet, were found other stone effigies, including those of a bird and a panther. All were grouped about and faced a stone altar about which twined the roots of an ancient hickory tree.

The archaeologists proclaimed the relics indicative of the site of an ancient Algonkin village, which probably existed 1,000 years ago. Of 500 sites excavated by him in New York and Pennsylvania, Mr. Follett proclaims that in Levanna far the

most interesting. "It is unique throughout America," he declared. Underlying the entire site, covering an area 300 feet long and 100 feet wide, were found ashes, indicating the Algonkin village may have been burned by the invasion of Iroquois who destroyed the earlier Indian civilization.

Because of the rarity of relics found, plans are under way for completely restoring the Algonkin village, even to the bark huts, fire pits and other appurtenances of village life. Later the huts will be peopled with paper mache figures of Indians and the place converted into the only outdoor museum of its kind in America. The archaeologists have entered into a five-year lease, with privilege of indefinite extension, as a first step in the development of the plan, which will make the Levanna site one of the interesting objectives for sightseers throughout Central New York.

The location is a natural fortification, between the beds of two creeks and commanding a view of Cayuga Lake. About it once was a big stockade, according to the scientists, who have found many other evidences of the early life of the Algonkin there, including human bones in firepits, indicating the red man once practiced cannibalism, either as a ceremonial or for food. Already thousands have visited the spot, where permanent winter headquarters are being set up to preserve the relics whose size prevents their removal.

The Iroquois (Irinakhoiw, "real adders") had come to snatch the garden spot of Central New York and make it their own. The Algonkins probably equaled the Iroquois in bravery, but they lacked the constancy, solidity of character and capability of organization which belonged to their conquerors, who until the white man came were to have their seat of power in the heart of the Empire State.

A confederacy of nations, which for 300 years or almost twice the age of the United States, held sway without a single internal conflict was this new Iroquois people who expelled the Algonkins. At first they were called the Five Nations, embracing the Mohawks, Oneidas, Cayugas, Onondagas and Senecas. In 1722 the Tuscaroras were added, making them the Six Na-

tions. Annals of mankind do not provide on the same grade of civilization any parallel to the political system of the Iroquois.

Charlevoix saw them as early as 1706 and said "these Americans are perfectly convinced that man is born free and that no power on earth has any right to restrict his liberty, while nothing can make up for its loss."

Iroquois domination was not through brute force of numbers. Their strength in fighting men was placed at 2,150 by Courey, agent of Virginia in 1667; 2,000 by DeNoville, governor of Canada in 1687; 2,030 by the census of Sir William Johnson in 1763; 1,789 by Pouchot in 1789 and 1,900 by Rev. Samuel Kirkland in 1783.

As early as 1678 Father Hennepin, who visited the Confederacy, said: "The Iroquois, whom the Swedes, then the Dutch and the English and the French have furnished with firearms, are reckoned as the most savage of all savages yet known. They have slain the best warriors among the Hurons and forced the rest of the nation to join with them to make war together against all their enemies, situated five or six hundred leagues distant from their cantons. They have already destroyed about two million men."

The sachems of the Six Nations were elected in public assembly though some held hereditary office. They were in peace times the supreme civil authority while in war they were but counselors to the war chiefs who held dictatorial power. The women of the tribes were influential factors in tribal affairs, holding the right to nominate sachems, while they never spoke in council.

The tribes had various clans given animal names such as the bear, wolf, beaver, turtle, deer, plover, heron and hawk. All members of a clan were considered near relatives. One might not marry in his clan, and as children followed the mother's origin, father and child were never of the same clan. With such a simple but effective system of economics the Six Nations held sway over the main portion of this continent east of the Mississippi for two centuries. From the Everglades of Florida to the

northern sources of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes their power was felt.

The Iroquois received tribute in taxes from the Indians of Long Island; they were a source of power as far away as Maine; they ran in expeditions far to the south and west of the Alleghanies and received embassies from Nova Scotia to the Gulf. Truly they were the Romans of the West, going in conquest farther than Greek arms were ever carried and to distances which Rome surpassed only in the days of her culminating glory. For 150 years the Iroquois held the French in check, driving them seven times within the walls of Montreal. Courted by both French and English long before the Revolution, these red warriors threw their strength to the British, assuring for all time English rather than French dominance in the new world.

These Spartans of the lake country lived in houses, cultivated grain, fruits and vegetables, practiced skilful fortification, had horses, swine, cattle and fowl and were the arbiters for other tribes. They had learned oratory and diplomacy that later matched the skill of European statesmen in making treaties.

Commerce today runs in no paths over the eastern part of this continent, where the moccasined feet of the Iroquois had not previously marked out the courses of power and control. The Six Nations of Central New York were the tribes which held the mastery of the continent and worked out for themselves the initial problems of government before the Mayflower sailed and before the New Netherlands fought the fight of liberty.

Today from this brave race, there are approximately 5,500 in New York State. At the close of the Revolution the Mohawks removed to Canada and in 1779 sold all their claims for \$1,600. The lands of the others were gradually purchased and the remnants of the tribes located on reservations, seven of which are in this state.

The Onondaga reservation near Syracuse contains 7,300 acres; the Tonawanda-Seneca reservation, in Erie and Genesee counties, 7,548 acres; the Allegany-Seneca in Cattaraugus County, 30,469 acres; the Cattaraugus-Seneca, in Erie, Cattaraugus and Chautauqua counties, 21,680 acres; the St. Regis,

who entered the Confederacy after the Revolution to replace the Mohawks, in Franklin County, 14,030 acres; Tuscaroras in Niagara County, 6,249 acres. Of the Oneidas, a part live near Green Bay, Wisconsin, and there is an Oneida reservation of 400 acres four miles south of Oneida. The Cayugas are scattered among the different tribes, the larger part of them living with the Senecas at Cattaraugus.

When peace was proclaimed in 1783, England made no terms for her Indian allies, but Chief Cornplanter brought about a peace treaty with the United States at Fort Stanwix, near Rome, in 1784. Councils between the Iroquois and the United States were held at Tioga in 1790 and at Painted Post in 1791 and the last one at Canandaigua in 1794, where the reservations allotted to the Indians were confirmed. The treaty of Big Tree, at Geneseo in 1797 extinguished the title of the Six Nations to their ancient possessions, with the exception of the reservations. The treaty was made between the Seneca nation and capitalists, the precursors of white settlement.

The last sizable payment made by the state to the Indians for their lands was announced by Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt in November, 1931. It was the settlement for \$247,609 of a claim by the Cayuga nation. The governor said he acted under the 1920 recommendation of the land office and with authority given him by the laws of 1909. "It marks a milestone in the relations of the state with its Indian wards," he declared.

By 1789 the western boundaries of New York State were definitely settled by agreement with the states of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania and in that year the Cayugas settled on a reservation of 100 square miles bordering Cayuga Lake near its foot, and were granted an annuity. Because of the encroachments of white settlements on the reservation, subsequent treaties from time to time were entered into. In 1795 the chiefs of the tribe negotiated with Governor George Clinton for sale of their reserved 100 square miles, excepting two small parcels comprising 3,200 acres.

The land was purchased at fifty cents an acre and sold by the state to whites at \$1.50. Shortly before the War of 1812 the

Cayugas sold the remaining 3,200 acres and most of them left the area. Although the Cayugas in Canada fought against the United States in 1812, those in New York State stood loyal, but their annuity of \$2,300 remained the same. The claim settled in 1931 was presented first to the governor and Legislature in 1853 by Dr. Peter Wilson, grand sachem of the Six Nations, who claimed that the tribe had been cheated when they sold the land at fifty cents an acre in 1795, and that the Indians should have the extra dollar the state made on the deal when it resold. Two years later a claim was presented in the Senate, but it failed of passage. In 1890, 1891 and 1895, however, the Senate passed similar bills, but they never got through the Assembly.

The Legislature in 1906 authorized the Land Board to look into the tribe's claims and two years later a representative of the board held that the claim was not enforceable. He pointed out, however, that the homeless condition of the Cayugas set up a moral obligation upon the state and upon this Governor Roosevelt acted.

In any study of the Iroquois, chief interest centers in the great personalities—the warriors, the diplomats, the leaders—of the red men. No history has given sketches of all these Indian notables of Central New York, but scores of volumes make reference to them. From many books, isolated facts have been gathered, and from this compilation, brief outlines of the part great Iroquois played in early American history of this section are here given.

Catherine Montour: Catherine Montour, for whom Montour Falls was named, has been confounded by many writers with Madame Montour and by others with Queen Esther of Wyoming notoriety. She was the daughter of French Margaret and grand daughter of Madame Montour. Her husband was Thomas Hudson, alias Telenemut, one of the most noted of the Seneca chiefs. She had a son named Amochol and two daughters. Queen Esther was her sister, as also was Mary, wife of John Cook, another Seneca chief, who lived on the Alleghany and Ohio. Catherine was living after Sullivan's raid in 1891 "over the lake not far from Niagara."

Madame Montour was a noted personage in the Colonial history of Pennsylvania and about 1749 when old and nearly blind removed to the vicinity of Lake Erie.

Queen Esther, notorious as the "fiend of Wyoming," was a daughter of French Margaret and granddaughter of Madame Montour and a sister of Catherine. She lived six miles south of Tioga Point in 1772 when she moved six miles north, founding a new town which was destroyed in 1778, when she probably removed to Chemung. She had a son, who was killed a short time previous to the Wyoming massacre, which doubtless prompted her fury at that time.

After her husband's death in battle Catherine ruled the tribe, superintended the tilling of nearby fields, growing maize, beans and pumpkins, an orchard of apple trees and on the meadows the raising of horses, cattle and swine. She attended the war councils of the Six Nations and even accompanied the chiefs to Philadelphia to lay some grievance before the Continental Congress. Here her wondrous beauty and dignity of bearing made a great impression. She spoke French and English besides the Indian dialects. Upon the approach of Sullivan's expedition she fled to Canada and died there.

"Old Smoke": Old Smoke, known in the Indian tongue as Sayenquerghta and also as Guiyahgwahdoh, is said by many historians to have been the leader of the Indians in the Wyoming massacre. His home was at Kanadesaga, the Indian village on the site of Geneva, destroyed by Sullivan.

Hiawatha: Hiawatha, immortalized in the poem of Long-fellow, was an Indian reformer, statesman and founder of the great Confederacy of the Six Nations, but through a singular complication of mistakes has by many historians been classed as a mythological personage and a deity of the Indian. Dates of his work vary as much as a thousand years in various accounts. But probably the most authentic record is the Iroquois Book of Rites, handed down by the record keepers of the red men and translated and correlated in 1883 by Horatio Hale.

This authority shows that Hiawatha, then a middle aged chief of the Onondagas, conceived about 1450, or nearly a half

century before Columbus discovered America, the idea of uniting the warring tribes of Central New York into a league for universal peace. His plan was for a permanent league that ultimately should expand until it embraced every tribe of red men on the continent.

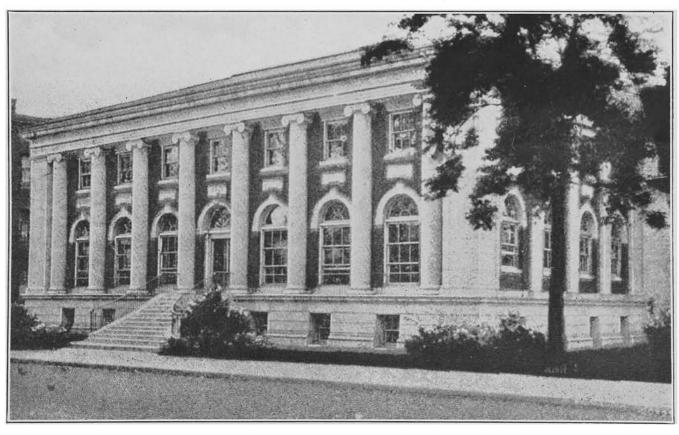
He presented the project to his own Onondaga tribe, but three times failed in his appeal, because of the opposition of Atotarho, tyrannical war lord of the Onondagas. Then he took his plan to the Mohawks, bearing with him a wampum held as the sign of peace. Hiawatha means "He Who Seeks the Wampum Belt." The great chief Dekanawidah warmly received the idea, dispatching ambassadors to the Oneidas, who promised their decision within a year. At the expiration of the time a treaty was ratified between the Mohawks and the Oneidas and the Onondagas were once more asked to join. Concessions of power to the formidable Atotarho at last won his support. The Cayugas and Senecas were next easily induced to band together, and on the shores of Onondaga Lake the great chiefs met in conference, with Hiawatha as adviser, to nominate the first council. Hiawatha was adopted by the Mohawks as one of their chiefs.

The strength of the league spread until an alliance was formed even with the distant Ojibways. The pact remained inviolate for 200 years until French influence undid this portion of Hiawatha's work. Hiawatha thought beyond his time and beyond ours. For more than three centuries the bond he welded held and the territory of the Iroquois spread. It was the "Great Asylum" for many tribes. The Tuscaroras, expelled from North Carolina, became the Sixth Nation. Eries, Hurons, Tuteloes, Nanticokes, Mohegans, Mississagas and others received the hospitable protection of the Iroquois League and many were adopted. Our own reverence for the Constitution pales before the great gratitude of the Six Nations for the "Great Peace" created by Hiawatha and his colleagues.

Cornplanter: Cornplanter, orator and leader of the Senecas, was born about 1742, the son of John Abeel, a young fur trader and the son of a former mayor of Albany. His mother was a Seneca Indian princess named Aliquipiso, whom Abeel, then



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under twenty, married in a red man's ceremony after a forest courtship in the wilds of the lake region. The name Cornplanter is a free translation of his native cognomen, Kailiontwakon, meaning The One Who Plants.

No more romantic tale of the frontier exists than that in which Cornplanter saved his white father's life. The father left his home with the Indians and married Mary Knouts, a German girl and was living with her when the Revolution broke out. In October, 1780, a year after Sullivan's invasion of the Finger Lakes, he was taken prisoner by the Indians. He looked for death, but a young warrior, Cornplanter, called him father. He was given liberty to return to his white family. Later Cornplanter visited his father, and there, with his stepmother and half brothers and sisters, was cordially received.

Cornplanter derived his authority not by succession but through recognition of his natural abilities as a leader. He was one of the most prominent Senecas of military rank. As late as 1792, Chief Cornplanter, referring to the destruction by the Sullivan Expedition, made this eloquent address to Washington in person:

"Father, the voice of the nation speaks to you, the great counselor, in whose heart the wise men of the thirteen fires have placed their wisdom. It may be very small in your ears and we therefore entreat you to hearken with attention, for we are about to speak to you of things which to us are very great. When your army entered the country of the Six Nations, we called you the Town Destroyer; and to this day, when that name is heard, our women look behind them and turn pale, and our children cling close to the sides of their mothers. Our counselors and warriors are men and cannot be afraid, but their hearts are grieved with fear for their women and children, and desire the past may be buried so deep as to be heard no more."

Logan: The mediator, the lover of peace, the orator—that was Logan, the Indian whose most famous speech has been translated into many languages and has become a model of eloquence for American schoolboys. Generally classed as a Cayuga, he was reputed to have been born where Auburn stands, and died

two years after the Sullivan expedition. But his memory remains enshrined in Central New York as the friend of the white man. In 1852, almost three quarters of a century after his death, there rose in the ancient Indian fortress, now Fort Hill Cemetery, Auburn, New York, a great stone shaft in his memory—a monument of esteem reared with the free will gifts of Auburnians to an Indian of whom Judge William Brown of Pennsylvania once said: He "was the best specimen of humanity I ever met with, either white or red."

It was in 1749, when he was but twenty-two years old, that Logan inherited from his father almost unlimited jurisdiction over the tribes of Pennsylvania, north of the Long House among the Finger Lakes and west as far as the crest of the Alleghanies. It was not long until the general council of the Onondagas raised him to a Sachem of the Shamokims and he was elected Sachem of the Cayugas as well.

In 1754 he represented the Six Nations at a meeting with the proprietaries at Albany on the sale of lands. Then opened the long list of broken treaties and while the French and English and the Indians were in strife, Logan kept to his cabin. In 1770 he moved to the Alleghany and Ohio river region. Still further down the Ohio he went, finally stopping at Yellow Creek.

There his troubles began. Cap. Michael Cresap, a land jobber, heading a body of ruffians, fired upon a canoe full of Indians paddling along the Ohio, massacring them all. The same evening in bloody debauch Cresap visited an Indian encampment and his gang ambuscaded the red men without provocation.

A few days later on April 13, 1774, while Logan was away on a hunting trip, a party of thirty-two whites invited five braves, several squaws and a two months old baby across Yellow Creek to a tavern, feigning hospitality and offering drink. Unarmed, all the Indians save the baby were killed and most of them scalped. These unprovoked massacres wiped out the whole family of Logan. In the last killing were his brother and sister, the mother of the baby.

When Logan returned, vengeance sent him on the warpath. Thirty white scalps adorned his belt. But humanity was still

in his heart. On July 12, 1774, with eight warriors he attacked a settlement on the Muskingum and captured two prisoners. His mates prepared the pair for torture. But Logan cut the cords of one. The man was saved from severe torture.

In his bitterness Logan debauched freely and is said to have been shot in 1791 by his own nephew in a drunken brawl. The name Logan is believed to have been taken from the benevolent James Logan, friend of the Indian chief's father and of William Penn.

It was in 1774 that Logan's career was at its zenith and he delivered his historic speech. Beneath an ancient elm, on the plains of Pickaway, six miles south of Circleville, Ohio, he met Col. John Dunmore of Virginia and agreed to end the last great war between the Indian and the white man in the Ohio Valley. Thomas Jefferson in speaking of his address there beside the Scioto River declares it to challenge the art of Cicero, Demosthenes and European and American statesmen. Logan said:

"I appeal to any white man if he ever entered Logan's cabin hungry and I gave him not bread; if ever he came cold and naked and I gave him not clothing. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained in his tent, an advocate of peace. Nay, such was my love for the whites that those of my own country pointed at me as they passed and said, 'Logan is the friend of white men.'

"I have even thought to live with you, but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap, last spring, in cold blood and unprovoked, cut off all the relatives of Logan; not sparing even my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of a human creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it. I have killed many. I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country I rejoice at the beams of peace. Yet, do not harbor the thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one."

That plaintive call of woe is wrought in bronze upon Auburn's monument to Logan's memory.

Red Jacket: Sagoyewatha, or Red Jacket as he was called by the British because of a red toac he always wore, was born about 1755 presumably at Canoga on the west side of Cayuga Lake. As a boy he resided on Lake Keuka and some claim he was born near Branchport. In civil life his name was Otetiana, meaning Always Ready. On his elevation as chief in the ranks of the Senecas, he received the name, Segoyewatha, meaning He Keeps Them Awake.

Little is known of his early career, but it is known he was never a warrior. When Sullivan's invasion came to the lake country, he advised retreat. But the fame of his eloquence was a by-word throughout Long House. The speech of Red Jacket at the great council of the confederated Indians, held at the mouth of the Detroit River in 1784, was supposed to have been his first public address. It is commonly believed that he was present at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1784, opposing the treaty.

Red Jacket was among the fifty Indian chiefs who accepted an invitation from Washington to attend a conference in Philadelphia in 1791. There he made one of the greatest addresses of his life and was presented with a great silver medal by Washington, a token which he wore until his death.

The great orator had a deep rooted antipathy for Christianity, because of his experience with violated treaties and white treachery. One of his most famous speeches was made in 1805 at a council of Indians at Buffalo, when a missionary from Massachusetts came to introduce faith.

"The Great Spirit will not punish us for what we do not know * * *," he said. "These Black Coats talk to the Great Spirit and ask light that we may see as they do, when they are blind themselves and quarrel about the light that guides them. These things we do not understand."

At one time he fell into discredit in his tribe, when enemies denounced him was a charge of witchcraft. At his trial, three hours of oration acquitted him.

In the War of 1812 the Senecas enlisted with the forces of the United States, with Red Jacket as a leader. He distinguished himself in action near Fort George on August 17, 1813, when the British were defeated. Prisoners, at his direction, were treated with humanity. As late as 1821 he protested against the intrusions of missionaries.

Until the day of his death he continued to enjoy distinction and always wore a great medal bestowed upon him by Washington. He lived in a log cabin in a lonely spot near Buffalo, and scarcely a traveler passed that way without calling upon the chief so celebrated for his wisdom and oratory. Red Jacket understood English well, but would never converse in it, nor reply to a speech in English until it had been translated to him. He died January 20, 1830, due to a broken heart over the losses of the hunting grounds of his people. He was buried on the Buffalo reservation and on October 9, 1884, the remains were removed and again laid to rest in Forest Lawn Cemetery, Buffalo, with imposing ceremonies. A handsome monument was unveiled there June 22, 1891, in memory of the Indian Chiefs buried on the spot. Another monument to this orator is at Canoga.

Joseph Brandt: A savage marauder of the frontier, Joseph Brant, or Thayendanegea, as the Indians called him, has left a name whose recollection envisions slaughter, massacre, pillage, plunder, burning and devastation. As a war chief of the Mohawks he was a terror of the Finger Lakes a century and a half ago and no Indian played a greater part in the stirring events of the Revolution.

Brant's natural gifts were enhanced through circumstance. Because his sister, Molly, was the mistress of Sir William Johnson, baronet and popular British Indian agent who died in 1774, he was provided with a fair English education at Lebanon, Connecticut. Johnson gave him a responsible position in the Indian agency, which he held until the Revolution, when he fled to Montreal, was taken to Britain, presented to the nobility and was persuaded that ancient treaties of his people bound him as an ally to English arms.

The Indian came back to America to lead his dusky warriors against the colonists—a man of dauntless courage, lofty bearing and inhuman ferocity. Historians claim he was the Indian com-

mander in the massacres of Wyoming and Cherry Valley. It was Brant who led the Indians at the battle of Newtown, with Col. John Butler, Indian land speculator, Tory and friend of Sir William Johnson, leading the Royalists. As the principal Iroquois leader he harried the settlers on the Schoharie, Susquehanna and Delaware rivers unmercifully.

In 1780 Brant surprised and burned Harpersfield and tormented the Mohawk Valley all summer with about 500 Indians. After the declaration of peace in 1782, this implacable chief tried to incite another war against the colonies and was a powerful figure as late as 1795. In 1792 he had an interview with Washington.

Capt. Jeremiah Snyder thus described Brant: "He was a likely fellow of fierce aspect—tall, rather spare—well spoken and about thirty years of age. He wore moccasins elegantly trimmed with beads, leggins and breech-cloth of superfine blue, short green coat with silver epaulets, and a small laced round hat. He carried a silver mounted cutlass and was draped in a blanket of blue cloth, gorgeously decorated with a red border."

As the result of his service in the Revolution the British gave Brant a grant of land in 1785 at the western extremity of Lake Ontario in Canada, where he lived until his death, November 24, 1807. Here he had forty negro slaves, cowed by the threat of the tomahawk should they attempt to escape. In the latter years of his life he received a captain's half pay from the British, together with presents which amounted to \$2,500 a year. In age he studied Greek and translated a portion of the New Testament into the Mohawk tongue.

INDIAN CAPTIVES.

Grim tales of captivity among the Indians form one of the engrossing chapters of the history of Central New York pioneers. Emblematic of experiences of numerous early settlers is the story of Indian capture that figures in the romance of Cayuga County's second white settler and his wife and his subsequent suicide in the forest. It is a tale of love and labor and disappointment in a wilderness where savagery and white

treachery combined to wear down the indomitable courage of the Revolutionary captain, Roswell Franklin.

When the soldier's first wife was murdered in Indian massacre of Wyoming and his family captured, he little thought that it was but the beginning of a life and death struggle with the Six Nations of Central New York.

One morning in November, 1778, the family of a Mr. Lester at Nanticoke on the Susquehanna was awakened by the dread war whoop. A band of Senecas had come on its mission of death. Mr. Lester was murdered and his wife and little child taken into captivity.

The next year Captain Franklin joined the forces of General Sullivan in his drive into Central New York. When the troops reached the heart of the wilderness, Mrs. Lester came rushing into their camp with a child in her arms. She returned with the expedition and became Franklin's second wife. She was the first woman to have a home in Cayuga County, coming with the captain in 1789 to settle between Cayuga and Owasco Lakes.

After he had built his cabin, surveyors came, their measurements showing that through a previous mistake, Franklin's home and half of the improvements on what he supposed was his woodland farm, lay inside the line of a Cayuga Indian reservation. Other settlers had by that time arrived and the Indians protested. Governor Clinton ordered the whites off the reserved land. When the order was ignored, a posse of fifty men turned fourteen families adrift in the forest and burned their homes.

Franklin was near the line and petitioned the sheriff to let him remain until spring. This was granted, provided he could satisfy the Indians. Before the time had expired, Franklin had agreed with a neighbor to procure a title to that part of the lot not within the forbidden limits, with the understanding that the man was to have half the land for his trouble. It turned out that the whole of the 640 acres, which Franklin supposed was to be negotiated for, was bought under him and measures taken to dispossess him. Tired of carrying the burden he had borne so long and bravely, one spring day in 1792, Franklin took his gun into the woods and put a bullet through his brain.

Though merely a voluntary exile among the Indians, Jacob Fredenburg, who fled in 1787 from Massachusetts to escape arrest for complicity in Shay's Rebellion, was one of the earliest whites to live among the Senecas. He came to hide himself among the Indians, stopping at what is now Penn Yan, Yates County, and built a log hut by Jacob's Brook. He was adopted into the tribe and remained with the red men for three years before returning East.

During the dark days of Indian warfare in the Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania, preceding the Sullivan expedition, Luke Swetland was captured by Indians August 24, 1778, and taken in captivity to the Indian village of Kendaia on Seneca Lake, Seneca County, in the town of Romulus. There he remained a prisoner for one year and two days until released by the Sullivan expedition troops on September 5, 1779. Late in the fall of 1778, when a prisoner, Swetland sowed one quart of wheat, probably the first sown in Seneca County. He returned with the army to Pennsylvania where he died at Wyoming January 30, 1823, at the age of ninety-three.

Several early settlers of Romulus suffered Indian captivity during or after the Revolution, among them being Joseph Wyckoff and Kezia Foree, who afterward became his wife; Andrew McKnight and Mrs. Mary Swartout, wife of John Swartout.

Two of the pioneer settlers of Fayette in the same county were captured by Indians when they resided in Pennsylvania. They were Michael Vreeland, who located on the Canoga reservation and William Chatham, who settled a little to the northward. But the hardships failed to shorten their lives. Vreeland reached the age of eighty-one and Chatham ninety-six.

No Indian captive in Central New York's history had a more thrilling experience than that of Jasper Parrish, famous Indian interpreter, who was a prisoner for seven years. Today descendants of Parrish still live in Canandaigua, where his picture hangs in the Ontario County courthouse. Jasper Parrish was born in Connecticut in 1767 but his parents soon migrated to the headwaters of the Delaware in New York. On July 5, 1778, Jasper, then a boy of eleven while helping his father in the fields,

was captured by Monsee Indians. For three months he was held in an Indian village when "Captain" Mounsh, his red captor, took him to Chemung, where he was often beaten by the tribe.

Parrish was sold to a Delaware Indian family for \$20 and taken to the Tioga River. Through the winter and spring of 1779 he lived with the Indians, being forced with other boys to jump through the ice into the river to "toughen him." When Sullivan's army fought the battle of Newtown in the fall of that year, Parrish was with the Indians who took him in their retreat to Fort Niagara. There British officers offered a guinea apiece for scalps of white Colonials. When the red men were drunk, Parrish barely saved his scalp by hiding through the night in the forest. At Niagara his master sold him for \$20 to a portly Mohawk, named Captain David Hill by the British. He was held by this master five years and adopted into the Indian's family as a son.

The Indian moved to Lewiston, where he lived when the treaty of September, 1884, was arranged between the United States and the Iroquois. Two months later, in accordance with an agreement of the treaty, Jasper was delivered over to the United States forces with ninety-two other white prisoners. He traced his long lost family to Goshen, New York, reaching them when eighteen years old and unable to read or write and hardly able to speak English. He then enjoyed nine months' schooling before he was appointed Indian interpreter to the United States, by General Israel Chapin of Harfield, Massachusetts, Indian superintendent. Parrish opened his office at Canandaigua in 1792. Two years later President Washington called a council of all chiefs and sachems of the Six Nations at Canandaigua, Parrish covering much of the state in mobolizing the red men.

The assemblage opened at Canandaigua October 18, 1794, continuing to November 12, with 1,600 Indians attending. The red men to feed themselves killed as many as 100 deer a day. On November 12, 1794, the famous Pickering Treaty was signed by Timothy Pickering, U. S. commissioner; Israel Chapin, Jasper Parrish, a few other white men and fifty-nine Indians. That pact established final peace between the white man and the red.

In 1803 Parrish was appointed U. S. sub-agent to the Six Nations, continuing in office down to the second term of President Andrew Jackson. He was also successively cornet, lieutenant and captain in the Fifth Division of the State Militia and a director of the Bank of Onondaga County. He died in Canandaigua in 1836 at the age of sixty-eight.

Another pioneer, who suffered the horrors of Indian captivity was Capt. Horatio Jones, the first white settler west of the Genesee River, who in 1786 opened a trading post near Waterloo, Seneca County. He was born in Chester County, Pennsylvania, in 1763. In June, 1781, he enlisted in the Bedford Ranger, a command of U. S. riflemen. After a scout of a few days, one morning about sunrise, thirty-two Rangers including Jones encountered about eighty Indians in a fog on the Ragstown branch of the Juniata River. The whites were ambushed, nine slain and eight taken captive, among the last being Jones. Only the fact that in fleeing the red men his moccasin string became untied and caught upon a log, throwing him, brought his capture.

Without food, the Indians marched their captives for two days. When a bear was finally killed, Jones was given the entrails. By night the captives were tied, marching by day until they reached what is now Nunda, Livingston County. Jones was forced to run the gauntlet, with clubs, tomahawks and stones hurled at him. Other captives were slaughtered. The man weathered the smallpox and was adopted into an Indian family, receiving the name Ta-e-da-o-qua, and was always claimed as a prisoner by his Indian cousin Ca-nun-quak or Blue Eyes.

Later the man eluded the Indians and after conducting the Waterloo trading post for a time removed to Geneva and located under a hill by Seneca Lake. He sold his first lot of furs to John Jacob Astor. In 1789, leaving Geneva, he settled near Beard's Creek in the town of Leicester, raised the first wheat west of the Genesee River and was the first white settler in the valley of that stream. In an Indian hut he found shelter the first year for his wife and three children. Appointed by President Washington, he held the office of interpreter with the Iroquois for forty years and died in 1836 at the age of seventy-five.

CHAPTER III

THE SULLIVAN CAMPAIGN.

OBJECT AND IMPORTANCE OF CAMPAIGN—THE THIRD CONTINENTAL ARMY—PLAN OF CAMPAIGN—RESULTS OF INVASION—OBSTACLES TO PROJECT—FIRST BATTLE AT NEWTOWN—DEVASTATION OF REGION—SESQUICENTENNIAL CELEBRATED IN 1929.

To understand the most distinctive feature of Central New York's earliest history, one must understand the significance and scope of the Sullivan campaign of 1779. Dozens of thriving communities of the present occupy sites of Indian villages destroyed in that great military movement. And today there are more Sullivan markers within Central New York than there are memorials for all other historical events combined. The summary of the campaign here given is compiled from more than two score journals, histories and other documents and presents in chronological order the troop movements over the sites of present-day towns.

A tale of reckless daring against a lurking foe in a forest wilderness; of the threat of starvation, of court-martials to check desertions; of the match of wits between the war chiefs of the greatest Indian confederacy in history and some of Washington's most famous generals—the story of how a third of the Continental Army in Central New York struck a blow for American Independence, with results matching those of the battles of Yorktown and Saratoga,—that, in brief, is the story of the Sullivan Expedition of 1779.

Tortuous miles across rivers and over mountains under the sinister eyes of Indian runners; dying cattle diminishing the army's food supply; pack horses that fell in the forest trails unable to stand the toil of the plodding soldiers, shirtless, ragged and hungry—these were but incidents of that great western

movement in the Revolution that historians are now describing as one of the most stirring achievements of Washington in the war for freedom.

Historians and casual readers have often questioned the seeming ruthlessness with which the colonists, blazing the path of the new republic, trampled down every vestige of the domination of the conquerors of two centuries. But the Sullivan campaign was more than a cruel, punitive expedition. The vigor and decisiveness of the methods employed merely reflect what Washington and his counsellors considered the necessities created by the conditions in the New York Colony.

In 1778 had occurred the famous massacre at Wyoming, Pennsylvania, and Cherry Valley, New York, in which men, women and children of the families of many of Sullivan's soldiers had fallen before the tomahawk. New York was a hot bed of Torryism. Of the state's population of 180,000, it is estimated that 80,000 were Tories or British Loyalists. These enemies of the new republic were constantly instigating the great Iroquois Confederacy to invade the frontier settlements like a cloud of death.

Washington knew that the war so far was a "stale-mate," and that peace was but a matter of time. He saw that victory would be a hollow one, if only a fringe of colonists along the Atlantic seaboard was to be the prize of war. The Sullivan campaign was to deal a death blow to Toryism and Indian menace on the western frontier and then to stake out a claim for the great inland empire in the rich hinterland clear to the Great Lakes and the Mississippi.

With sword and flame the land was cleared of its former owners. The determination of a despairing republic was behind the destruction. The soldiers themselves had undergone suffering that made them bitter. We are told that they had no meat, little flour or salt and that they lived on boiled or roasted corn, and every fourth man was obliged to sit up all night and grate corn for a sort of hominy.

But with this army, representing English, Irish, Scotch, German, Dutch and other nationalities, the most extensive, carefully

planned and important offensive American military movement in the whole of the Revolution was brought to a successful climax. And on the operation, the impoverished colonies spent a million dollars.

Before the ever advancing columns of Colonials' forty Indian villages fell in ashes and hundreds of acres of waving grain and ripening orchards were leveled. But the expedition brought greater results than that alone.

It crushed the Six Nations so that never again did the Iroquois make war as a confederacy.

It thwarted an impending British attack from the west.

It shook the confidence of the Indian in his British allies.

It laid more towns in ashes than had ever been destroyed on this continent before.

It snatched from Britain a food supply intended for an advancing western column and threw upon the English the burden of feeding their red allies, stripped of all means of sustenance.

It removed a menace from the rear—Indians, Tories, Hessians, Canadian Rangers here in the west that was far more annoying than the formidable forces of Clinton and Howe.

Finally, as a result of Washington's farsighted diplomacy, it won for the Colonists a great western territory that was to place them in a commanding position when later the war should end and peace terms and lands be decided about the conference table. It was this last consequence of the campaign that formed the opening wedge in gaining for the new republic the thousands of square miles westward to the Mississippi.

To understand the significance of this drive into the wilderness, it is necessary first to take a glance at the position of the Colonists at the time it opened. Four years of conflict had drawn heavily upon their resources. The darkness before the dawn was upon the land. So deep was the gloom that the December before the summer expedition of Sullivan, Washington had written: "Our affairs are in a more distressed, ruinous and deplorable condition than they have been since the commencement of the war."

Dissensions and party feuds had broken out in Congress and numerous of the great figures of 1776 had withdrawn from its halls. Mourning the self-seeking, the revelry, the idleness at the Capitol, Washington himself wrote to the National Congress: "An assembly, a concert, a dinner, a supper that will cost three or four hundred pounds will not only take off men from acting in their (the public) business, but even from thinking of it, while a great part of the officers of our army are quitting the service, and the more virtuous few, rather than do this, are sinking by slow degrees into beggary and want."

It was in the midst of such anxieties, that Washington framed the policy for the Sullivan campaign of 1779—defensive tactics along the Atlantic and the shifting of a third of the entire army then holding back the British, to push into the western forest and crush the Indians, Tories, refugees and Rangers which had harassed the frontier settlements and were aiding the British in planning a campaign eastward from Fort Niagara.

Washington himself explicitly outlined the plan of the campaign: "It is proposed to carry the war into the heart of the country of the Six Nations, to cut off their settlements, destroy their next year's crops and do them every other mischief which time and circumstances will permit." Washington's orders to Sullivan declare "the immediate objects are the total destruction of the hostile tribes of the Six Nations and the devastation of their settlements and the capture of as many prisoners of every age and sex as possible." Sullivan was directed to "lay waste all the settlements around, so that the country may not only be overrun but destroyed."

Evidence of the magnitude of the campaign as viewed by Washington, in his words to the president of Congress: "The council are fully sensible of the importance of success in the present expedition, and the fatal mischiefs which would attend a defeat. We should perhaps lose an army and our frontier would be deluged in blood."

For a year Congress had favored an invasion of Canada and Lafayette looked with favor upon such a move. But during the same period Washington had been formulating his plans for striking at the heart of the Long House of the Iroquois in Central New York and at one blow crushing the original lords of the western wilderness and winning the great country westward forever from the British. At his insistence, Congress on February 27, 1779, authorized him to take steps toward launching the campaign.

To carry war into the heart of enemy country, Washington knew he must have a leader of the highest type. More as a military formality than with intent that the appointment should be accepted, Washington offered the command of the expedition to General Gates, because of his seniority and rank. Gates was a man fond of display, applause and prominence, but not of hard work or danger. He declined. In his rejection of the appointment he said: "The man who undertakes the Indian service should enjoy youth and strength, requisites I do not possess. It therefore grieves me that your Excellency should offer me the only command to which I am entirely unequal."

The choice then fell to Maj. Gen. John Sullivan, 39 years of age. As a boy Sullivan had studied law, but when the Revolution broke out he early enlisted. Promotion came rapidly and he was in many engagements, including those of Brandywine, Germantown, Boston, Three Rivers, Trenton, Princeton, etc. Once he was captured. The bayonet charge by 6,000 men which he led at Butt's Hill was characterized by Lafayette as the best engagement of the war.

His expeditionary army was to number about 5,000 men, arrayed against a force totalling about 3,000 and made up of the Iroquois and Tories and Rangers under Johnson and Butler of the British. The invading army was to enter the Indian country in three divisions; one from the south up the Susquehanna; another from the east down the Susquehanna and the third from the west by way of the Alleghany. They were to form a junction at some convenient point and advance with irresistable might upon the Indian stronghold in Central New York. This was the plan outlined in Washington's instructions dated May 31, 1779.

Several states sent troops to make up the army and obstacles at once arose to delay the start of the expedition. On May 7, 1779,

Sullivan reached Easton, Pennsylvania, headquarters of the main army, and wrote to Washington: "I will do everything in my power to set the wheels in motion and make the necessary preparations for the army to move on." Some Jersey troops mutined because the authorities of that state had neglected to provide for the depreciation of the currency and had neglected to pay even the nominal sum in almost worthless Continental paper money, due them for services. Execution of ringleaders ended this trouble.

Through the influence of Quakers in Pennsylvania who opposed punishment of the Indians, that state failed to furnish its quota of men and supplies. Much of the salted meat for the soldiers was unfit to eat and many of the cattle to accompany the army for food were too poor to walk and some could not stand. By July 21, Sullivan wrote that a third of his army did not have a shirt to their backs. Authorities charged that Sullivan's requisitions were extravagant and threatened to prefer charges against him before Congress, though there was scarcely a coat or blanket for every seventh man. Weeks dragged into months before the army at last started its march to the lakes. In the meantime, Indian runners were informing the Iroquois chieftains and the Tories of preparations and the Indian country was getting ready to withstand assault. Delays had been so numerous that by this time, if ever, the Indian defenders of the lake country were as prepared as well as they could be to meet the invaders.

The problem of reaching the heart of the Indian long house was of first concern. The only way to the Indian lands lay through dense forests, across mountains, through swamps and over gorges and was by the natural thoroughfares of rivers. With that idea in view, the plan of campaign was mapped out.

The left wing started from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, under Colonel Daniel Brodhead. With nearly 700 men, the commander reached nearly as far as Corning, New York, the soldiers driving their cattle before them and carrying their stores on pack horses. They destroyed several Indian towns and kept off the war path from hostilities against Sullivan's main army probably 500 Se-

neca warriors, without losing a man. This force never became connected with the main army and so never actually invaded the lake country.

The right wing consisted of General Clinton's New York brigade, including the Third, Fourth and Fifth Regiments as well as an artillery detachment. After building 212 boats at Schenectady, it proceeded up the Mohawk to Canajoharie, where it arrived June 15. The loaded boats were carried twenty miles over mountains to Otsego Lake, arriving there the last of the month.

At Cooperstown, Clinton's forces built a dam, raising the waters of Otsego Lake two feet, in order to provide a copious flow into the Susquehanna for the flotilla of boats which was to go down the river and make junction with Poor's New Hampshire Brigade at the town of Union. On August 9, the dam was pierced and the onrush of water took the boats at full tide down the stream, capsizing several. Apparent flood conditions during a dry season terrorized the Indians downstream. The troops marched overland, generally near the river, crossing it several times, heading for Tioga Point, now Athens, Pennsylvania, and burning Indian settlements on the way.

In the meantime, Sullivan, with the main army from Easton, Pennsylvania, proceeded to Wyoming, where commissary and other troubles held him until the last day of July, when, with inadequate supplies, his force moved forward.

Sullivan had direct command in this main army of three brigades. The first consisted of the First, Second and Third New Jersey Regiments and Spencer's New Jersey Regiment. The second was composed of the First, Second and Third New Hampshire regiments and the Sixth Massachusetts. In the third were the Fourth and Eleventh Pennsylvania regiments, a German battalion, an artillery force, some of Morgan's riflemen, a few Wyoming militia and two independent companies.

On August 11 he reached Tioga Point, after several regiments had chopped a way through the forest over the Pocono plateau. Before the main army plunged into the forest, where there were no roads, no hospitals, and no food supplies, except the ripening

corn and grain of the Indians, they built Fort Sullivan at the point where the Chemung and Susquehanna come near each other before spreading out and making junction several miles below, at what is now the town of Athens, Pennsylvania.

The fort was a palisaded, diamond shaped structure, with a block house at each end. Several hundred boats from Sunbury, Pennsylvania, brought Proctor's cannon and regiment of artillery, besides 2,000 pack horses and nearly as many head of cattle. There were also in the organization 153 fifers and drummers, nearly 200 pioneers or axmen, nine geographers who measured every step of the way from Easton to the Genesee Valley, besides fifty troopers from Colonel Sheldon's Connecticut Calvary.

Fort Sullivan was used as a base of operations for the entire army and here Clinton's forces from the east, coming down the Susquehanna, arrived on August 22, with short rations of provisions left.

On August 26, 1779, from Fort Sullivan the actual expedition started into an unknown country through leagues of unbroken forests. Skirmishes and destruction of Indian settlements as the forces were mobilizing at Fort Sullivan were events only of the approach marches. Hence Sullivan's expedition may be considered to have begun only with the union of the divisions for a concerted drive from Fort Sullivan.

The expedition there started was one scarcely without a parallel in the world's history for the boldness of its design and the courage with which it was undertaken. To transport an army with its equipment through an uncharted country, without supplies and communication; to be shut up from the world for weeks where to fail of success was to die by torture, is a campaign that rivals Sherman's march to the sea. Sullivan's drive into the lake country truly is deserving of first rank among the great military movements in the Nation's history.

Here all extremes were to meet—the whir of the arrow, the crack of the rifle and the roar of cannon. There could be no compromise. It was to be a struggle that could only end with the complete overthrow of one of the parties concerned. It was a struggle for possession of a country that was destined to form

an important part of an infant nation, now the greatest in the world.

Vigilance never for a moment relaxed, as the long trek through the lake country began. Always the advancing columns were in defense formation, alert for an ambuscade.

The first encounter with the enemy in force was at Newtown, five miles below the present site of Elmira. Here, protected by a breastwork and shielded by a bend in the river, were waiting a few British regulars, two battalions of Royal Greens, Tories and Indians, with Colonel John Butler and the great Mohawk warrior, Joseph Brant, commanding.

Here, on Sunday, August 29, Sullivan's army directed its artillery fire upon the fortification, while the brigades of Clinton and Poor gained the left flank of the enemy. This rendered the work untenable and the Indians and British fled, hotly pursued for a distance of two miles.

Sullivan estimated the loss of the enemy at 1,500, but captured prisoners reported it as 800. The Americans lost four killed and forty to fifty wounded. Those who died on the field were buried separately and fires built upon their graves lest, later, their bodies be discovered and desecrated. The victory at Newtown opened the country to the invaders. The red men vanished before the roar of the cannon that had brought terror in that first combat. The torch of the white man was carried everywhere through the forest and the vengeance of years was consummated in weeks.

On August 31 the army headed westward, destroying eight houses in a village two miles away, and passing on to Kanawaholla, a town four and a half miles past the Newtown battlefield. Marching five miles further, the soldiers encamped on the present site of Horseheads. At this point some thirty or forty wornout horses were shot when the army passed through on its return trip and later Indians gathered the heads and arranged them at the sides of the trail. Hence, the name of the town today.

Striking camp at 8 the next morning, the Colonials marched northward, the advanced guard arriving at 7 o'clock that night and the last not until 10 p. m., exhausted and clinging to one

another in groping their way through an inky black night and swamplands. Two horses broke their necks in the journey and others died on the trail.

Here thirty or forty houses were burned, grain and fruit trees destroyed and cows, horses, pigs and calves seized for food. An aged squaw, left by the fleeing Indians, told of the consternation among the enemy. The soldiers built the squaw a hut and left provisions for her.

The march was renewed September 3, the army covering twelve miles to Peach Orchard on the east side of Seneca Lake, where corn was found still roasting over a campfire of the retreating Indians. Four miles, covered the next morning, brought the army to Con-daw-haw, now North Hector, with one large and eight smaller houses. Eight miles further the men encamped as the sun sank across Seneca.

September 5 the Americans moved three miles to Kendaia or Apple Town, where twenty log houses were leveled, along with the grain and orchards.

At this town on lot seventy-nine, Romulus, the Colonials were delighted to find Luke Swetland, who with Joseph Blanchard had been taken by the Indians, August 24 of the previous year from Nanticoke, below Wyoming. He had been held a prisoner throughout that time by the Indians, but managed to escape.

Showy, unusual tombs, gorgeously painted and placed over some of the chiefs, proved another interesting find at Kendaia.

The next day took the soldiers three miles further, the advance being slow, as every village and all grain, fruit and vegetables were carefully destroyed, sometimes as many as 2,000 men being engaged in this work.

September 7 took the army to the outlet at the north end of Seneca Lake and the following day soldiers rested at Kanadesaga, now Geneva, a large town of fifty houses, with thirty more adjacent. The Indian name of the settlement meant Grand Village, socalled because here was the residence of the chief sachem of the Senecas and the capitol of that tribe. The soldiers found the remains of a stockade fort, built in 1756 by Sir William Johnson.

Grahta or Old Smoke, the ruling sachem, had fled his home for Fort Niagara when the soldiers arrived.

A captured white boy, three years old, whose identity was never learned, was found here. Sullivan was now in a strange country with no guides to lead the way further. His own scouts were his sole reliance from Kanadesaga on. He sent Col. John Harper to destroy Skoi-yase, on the site of Waterloo, a town with eighteen log houses and the probable home of some sachems of the Cayugas. Major Parr, with a company of riflemen, was also sent seven miles up the west side of Seneca Lake to destroy Shenanwaga, with its twenty houses.

Both groups rejoined the army which, on September 9, headed toward the Genesee country, covering eight miles the first day. Next day Kanadaigua, the present Canandaigua, comprising twenty-three fine houses, was reached, the camp fires of the fugitive Indians again being found burning. September 11 the troops moved before daylight and a fourteen mile march brought them to the Indian town of Hanneyaye, near the present site of Honeoye at the foot of Honeoye Lake on the east side of its outlet. Here were twenty houses.

Sullivan decided it time to lighten the load carried by his army. All provisions except four days half rations, the baggage, cattle and horses, except a few of the strongest, were left at Honeoye in charge of Captain Cummings and fifty men. In addition were "the sick, lame and lazy," numbering about 300. The strongest blockhouse of the Indians was left standing, port holes were cut in its sides eight two three pounders placed in position inside, and the walls strengthened with kegs and bags of flour.

In leaving Honeoye, the lightened army forded the outlet near the lake headed west to a low ridge of hills, turned southwest, crossed the outlet of Hemlock Lake and continued to Kanaghsaws, also called Adjuton, on the Conesus Lake outlet about a mile northwest of the present Conesus Center. Near here was the home of Chief Big Tree, a friend of the Colonists whose influence was insufficient to turn the Senecas from their British alliance.

It was near here that the Indians, led by the British loyalist Butler, planned a last stand against the invaders. Reinforced by regulars from Niagara, Butler massed his Indians and Tories along a ravine for a deadly ambuscade when the Colonials should once more take the westward trail. Believing that the great Genesee Castle was not far distant, Sullivan at 11 o'clock at night, September 12, sent a detachment under Lieut. Thomas Boyd to reconnoitre. When daylight came the scouting party found themselves within the fatal embrace of the enemy.

In all, fifteen of Boyd's party were slain and eight escaped. Boyd and his sergeant, Michael Parker, were captured. Boyd approached the notorious Indian Brant under the sign of a Free Mason, to which fraternity both belonged. The chief recognized the bond of brotherhood and promised safety. But he was called away and the Tory, Butler, gave the captives over to torture.

Boyd's body was opened, his nails torn out, his ears and tongue slit and he was scalped, partially skinned and beheaded. A less severe torture was imposed upon Parker. Sixty-two years later, in 1841, the remains of the two heroes who had been buried in the wilderness with military honors, were removed to Mount Hope Cemetery, Rochester.

Sullivan's army on September 13 pushed on seven miles to Gathtsegwarohare, where Indians and Tories were lined up in battle formation. A flanking movement by Sullivan routed the enemy without a shot fired and camp was pitched. The next morning 2,000 men occupied six hours in destroying crops and houses. At noon the march was resumed and at sunset the advancing forces had reached Little Beard's town or the great Genesee Castle, western door of the Long House, just between Cuyler-ville and the west bank of the Genesee. The castle comprises 128 houses. Nearby were found the mutilated bodies of Boyd and Parker.

On September 15 at 6 a. m. the whole army turned out for the work of destruction. Twenty thousand bushels of corn were piled in the houses and in heaps and all burned. It was 2 p. m. before the last heaps were fired and the last fruit tree hewn down.

One of the striking incidents of the campaign occurred here. A Mrs. Lester, with a child in her arms, came into the camp.

November 7 of the previous year she had been captured by the Indians near Nanticoke, after her husband had been tomahawked. Her child died a few days later. In the army she met Capt. Roswell Franklin, whose wife was slain in another Indian massacre, and later became his wife.

Sullivan met no further resistance. On September 16 he recrossed the Genesee, when his provisions became perilously low, and returned to Kanadesaga on September 19.

Fire and destruction among the Cayugas and Onondagas followed, now that the Senecas had been wiped out. On September 20 a small detachment went up the west side of Seneca Lake to complete the destruction of Kershong, partly effected September 9.

Meanwhile, Sullivan detached Col. Peter Gansevoort, with a hundred men, to go to Albany, by way of Fort Schuyler and to bring forward the heavy luggage stored there previous to the start of the expedition. Hearing that a few of the Mohawks in the Mohawk Valley were acting as spies for the British, Sullivan also ordered Gansevoort to capture them and burn their town. Proof of the friendliness of the Mohawks, however, saved their homes from the torch, and the captives, whom the army took to Albany were released. Gansevoort passed through Cayuga, on the trail near the site of Auburn, to Owasco Lake and eastward through what is now Skaneateles.

The same day a division of 600 men under Lieut.-Col. William Butler, headed east to lay waste the towns on the east side of Cayuga Lake. Part of the detachment included three companies of Morgan's crack riflemen. By evening the troops reached Skoiyase, destroyed previously in the outward march. Early next morning, Butler continued to the Cayuga outlet, which the soldiers forded breast deep.

Here they struck Choharo, known to the Jesuit priests a century before as Tichero or St. Stephens. Eighteen miles were covered that day and at night camp was pitched at Gewawga on the site of Union Springs. In the morning the army reached the capital of the Cayuga. It consisted of fifteen large houses of squared logs, superior in construction to any yet seen. Two

outlying villages included twenty-seven more houses. White scalps here found in Indian lodges proved the enmity of the Cayugas.

The castle was located at Big Gully, half way between Aurora and Union Springs. Some United States muskets and regimental coats were found in the town.

The next afternoon Butler's army marched to Chonodote, four and a half miles distant, where 1,500 peach trees, some apple trees and much corn were destroyed with the fourteen houses. The town was on the site of Aurora. Camp was made here for the night and the next day brought the Colonials to an encampment just north of where Ludlowville now stands. September 25 the head of Cayuga Lake was reached and on the 26th and 27th the route mainly lay through a pathless wilderness where the sun and the surveyor's compass were the only guides. On the 27th the detachment rejoined the main army at Fort Reed, erected at Kanawaholla, and well provisioned for a celebration when all detachments should arrive there.

Meantime, while Butler's soldiers were covering the eastern shore of Cayuga Lake, Sullivan's main army on September 20, crossed the outlet from Kanadesaga and encamped. On September 21, Colonel Dearborn, with 200 men was dispatched to lay waste the western side of the lake and to intercept the Cayugas if they should escape Butler.

Enroute to the lake a hamlet of three houses in what is Fayette, four miles from the shore, was destroyed, together with a small town of ten houses on the west shore of the lake one mile north of Canoga Creek. Two more villages fell in ashes that same day—Skannayutenate of ten houses on the south bank of Cayuga Creek half a mile northeast of Canoga village, and Newtown of nine houses a mile further south. At this latter place, after a day's march of seventeen miles, Dearborn encamped. Canoga was the birthplace of the famous Indian Chief Red Jacket.

Five miles covered the next day brought the soldiers to Swahya-wanah, near what is now East Varick. Five miles further, three squaws and a crippled Indian lad were found. Two of the women were taken captive and the rest left. Seventeen miles were covered that day. The next, over some of the roughest country passed in the entire expedition, the soldiers marched a like distance and reached the head of Cayuga Lake.

On the 24th Co-re-or-go-nel, opposite Buttermilk Falls, a settlement of twenty-five houses, was reached. Early the next morning, Dearborn set out to join the main army, passing through Catherine's Town and encamping six miles further on. The next day Fort Reed was reached.

While the detachments of Butler and Dearborn were applying the torch to towns along Cayuga the main army left its camp at Rose Hill on the south side of the Seneca River and in a march of four days reached Fort Reed. Full rations were there resumed for all the soldiers and on September 25 a celebration of victory was staged, with five oxen barbecued and with plenty of rum flowing. In the evening a salute of thirteen cannon and a feu-dejoie were fired.

Parties of soldiers in sallies from the fort destroyed other hamlets and orchards and fields in a brief stay there and on September 29 the entire army left the fort, which they demolished. Next day they were again at Fort Sullivan for feasting and jubilation to commemorate an expedition that left a once proud nation wandering pillagers, stripped of their homes, their food supply gone and the tombs of their fathers overthrown.

The Indians fled to Fort Niagara and under the protection of the British, were housed in huts around the fort. But the winter was the coldest in years, the Indians could not go on their annual hunt, salted provisions only did they have and scurvy broke out, killing hundreds. All that was left of those who had been "the Romans of the West" were the names they gave the lakes they loved so well and the memory of valor undimmed by the passing of a vanishing race.

In order properly to appreciate the magnitude of Sullivan's achievement, it should be remembered that the foe he vanquished controlled a territory about 1,200 miles long and 600 wide; that is, more than ten times as large as the whole of New York, with

its citadel of power among the Finger Lakes. This was the red man's stake in the Revolution and this he lost.

Central New York commemorated the sequi-centennial of the Sullivan campaign in a series of events in 1929 which were the most elaborate of their kind ever witnessed in the area. That year New York State by special appropriation, spent \$70,000 to celebrate the anniversary and throughout the summer various towns held celebrations. These were climaxed in September by three gigantic pageants, in each of which some 2,000 actors, recruited from many towns, took part. The pageants depicted the story of the campaign, from the time Congress voted money for it until the final return of the soldiers.

These major pageants, which attracted an average of 50,000 to each, were at Leicester, near Geneseo on September 14; at Geneva, September 21 and at Elmira Septembr 28. The United States dirigible Los Angeles flew from Lakehurt, New Jersey, as a feature of the Geneva pageant. In all these spectacles United States troops took part with the civilians. Parking area for 10,000 cars and seats for 10,000 persons were provided in each case.

Of the smaller observances, the one at Auburn, September 24, was the most pretentious, thousands of school children and many organizations taking part in a gigantic parade. Exercises were also held throughout the region in connection with the dedicaton of state markers at historic spots along the Sullivan line of march.

CHAPTER IV

EARLY SETTLEMENT.

AVENUES OF IMMIGRATION—SOME EARLIEST PIONEERS—TWO METHODS OF ACQUIRING LAND: PURCHASE AND BOUNTY—SUB-DIVISIONS OF DISTRICT—TURNPIKES AND TOLLS—WILD ANIMALS—CAYUGA BRIDGE—RESOURCEFULNESS OF PIONEERS—CUSTOMS AND HARDSHIPS.

When the guns of the Revolution were silenced, deer browsed unmolested on the sites of Rochester, Syracuse, Binghamton and Elmira. All the intervening territory was a vast wilderness of forest, where rivers of relentless power ran unharnessed to the sea. Only at Buffalo a single log store for trade with the Indians nestled in a forest clearing. But scarcely had the war ended before immigration began to trickle into Central New York from three directions.

Pennsylvanians pushed up the Susquehanna to Tioga Point, where Sullivan's men had rendezvoused. Diverging there, some made settlements along the Chemung and others established forest homes along the east branch of the Susquehanna and its tributaries.

Other adventurers from the East, crossing from New England or the Hudson River counties to Unandilla, dropped down the Susquehanna in canoes and settled on its banks or those of the Chemung. Some left the stream and traveled northward between the Finger Lakes. Others, who settled in Cortland County, came by way of the Chenango and the Tioughnioga Rivers.

Still a third band took the ancient Genesee Indian trail through the Mohawk and penetrated the region from the northeast, settling the communities in the northern half of Central New York.

All were driven westward by land hunger, the ancient instinct to possess a home they could call their own. In the eastern

provinces twin spectres loomed forever before these men who braved the forest wilds—one that they might die and leave children where there were no asylums; the other, that accident might come to incapacitate the breadwinner and that on his recovery he might be thrown into prison for debt. To such as these the story of a land of abounding harvests and mighty streams and tranquil lakes, clothed Central New York with an irresistible lure. Whether by horseback, afoot or by cumbersome batteaux or lithe canoe, their driving passion was to reach the new land and stake out a home. Many of them reached their goal over poorly marked Indian trails.

As early as 1756 Gen. William Johnson built a stockade fort and block houses at Geneva, Ontario County, to be occupied by Seneca Indians and British should they be forced to defend themselves against the French.

Early in the Revolution Col. John Butler, in charge of Tories at Fort Niagara, erected near the present canal bridge, Geneva, a barracks and storehouse, from which Indians marched to the Battle of Oriskany and the Wyoming Massacre.

In 1785 Amos Draper, an Indian trader, and James McMaster, an agent, settled at Owego, Tioga County. Two years later Jacob Fredenburg, who fled from Massachusetts after Shay's Rebellion, came to Penn Yan, Yates County, where as a voluntary exile he was adopted by the Indians. Penn Yan, however, was not settled until 1791 when Robert Chison and James Schofield built their cabins there. In this same year, 1787, disciples of that strange woman, Jemima Wilkinson, made their first settlement at the outlet of Lake Keuka, a mile south of Dresden, and Job Smith pitched his tent where Seneca Falls now stands.

A big settlement year was 1788, when eleven men from Kingston prospected in the Ithaca Valley, where in 1791 Jacob Yaple, Isaac Dumond and Peter Kinepaw returned and planted corn, for the nineteen settlers who arrived that fall. The year 1788 saw the settlement of Montour Falls begun by Silas Walcott and a Mr. Wilson. Messrs. Culver and Smith came as the first settlers at what is now Watkins Glen, calling the spot Salubria. Col. John Hendy, who had visited the site of Elmira back in

1782, came with a small boy to settle and plant the first white man's corn in the Chemung Valley. John Harris arrived as Cayuga County's first settler, stopping on the Cayuga Indian reservation near Cayuga village. Peter Smith located on lot seven in Ovid. A "solitary log house, inhabited by one Jennings," stood early in 1788 at Geneva a little south of what is now the junction of Washington and Exchange streets. But within a year a line of straggling huts dotted the trail, the largest being a trading post. Here, September 30, 1787, the Lessee Company agents had held a conference with the Indians, leasing the land for 999 years, a lease declared void by the Legislature the following year.

Judge Oliver Phelps opened a land sale office in Canandaigua in 1789, before which time were early white settlers who had sought to name the frontier hamlet Walkersburgh in honor of William Walker, a land business agent of Lenox, Massachusetts. Naples, originally called Watkinstown, was founded in this year by New England pioneers. John King, with three relatives, settled at Union Springs, Cayuga County, and Edward Richardson started a grist mill there. Capt. Roswell Franklin, a soldier of the Revolution, located near Aurora in the same county and David Wisner came as the first settler in Romulus, Seneca County. Pioneers came to the Moravia Valley, Cayuga County, for hay and there in 1791 the first permanent settler was John Stoyel.

The following year, 1790, a white man and his wife built a cabin at Hector on Seneca Lake and the year after Joseph Beebe, his wife and her brother, Amos Todd, from Connecticut, reared a rude home on the banks of the Tioughnioga in the town of Homer at a point on the main road immediately north of the present village of Homer. They were Cortland County's first settlers.

The year 1792 saw the opening of a tavern at Rushville, Ontario County, by Elias Gilbert. Abner Treman, a veteran only thirty-one years old, built a hut at Trumansburg, Tompkins County. Samuel Baker, a Mr. Aulle and Capt. Amos Stone settled at Hammondsport, Steuben County, and Capt. Charles Williamson, sent out by the Pulteney Company of England, arrived on the site of Bath in the same county to found a model English city. John Miller and family settled in Cortland County near the

present County Home, and Joseph Chaplin, pioneer road builder, made the first permanent settlement at Virgil, in the same county.

Auburn was settled in 1793 by John Hardenbergh, a Revolutionary War veteran, and the same year Darius Kinney came to Homer, Cortland County.

The following year brought Dr. and Mrs. Japhet Hunt, two sons and three daughters, up the Tioughnioga in canoes to settle a mile south of what is now Marathon, Cortland County. Nathaniel Potter, Jonah Stiles, Christopher Whitney, David Morse and Benjamin Brown located at Truxton in the same county.

There were sprinklings of other settlers throughout Central New York in those early days and by the first decade of the Nineteenth Century the entire district had scattered cabins. Space permits enumeration of the first pioneers of all the communities. But enough are mentioned to give a glimpse of the chronological order in which various sections of the area were settled.

Settlement of the region now embraced in the eleven Central New York Counties was made by men who had secured their land through two means—purchase and grant or bounty by the state and federal governments. Under an Indian treaty, the Onondagas ceded to the state all their lands except the Onondaga reservation and fishing and hunting rights. These lands, and another lying to the west were under an act of Congress, September 16, 1776, and under other legislation, set apart as bounty lands to Revolutionary War soldiers, and became known as the Military Tract. This tract lay within what are now the counties of Onondaga, Cayuga, Cortland and Seneca, and parts of the counties of Oswego, Tompkins and Wayne.

In 1780, the first general sub-division of this tract into townships was made by Simeon DeWitt, surveyor-general, who himself later acquired the land where Ithaca now stands. There were 1,800,000 acres set apart for soldiers on the Indian lands of the Military Tract and by 1790 twenty-six townships had been surveyed, each intended to contain as nearly as possible 60,000 acres. Each township was divided into 100 lots. Three more townships were added to the tract, making twenty-eight in all. Six lots in each township were devoted to gospel and school purposes. Lots

were drawn for claimants. Many soldiers settled on their land, others sold their apportionments, some several times, and land titles became confused.

The second method of procuring land—by purchase—applied chiefly to the territory of Central New York west of a line running across the state from Lake Ontario to the Pennsylvania line at a point almost due south of Seneca Lake. This land, comprising 2,600,000 acres, was known as the Phelps and Gorham Purchase. It had been sold to Judge Oliver Phelps and Nathan Gorham in 1787 by Massachusetts, which claimed title through settlements made at the close of the Revolution. Two years later Phelps opened at Canandaigua the first regular land sale office in America. Before the middle of November, 1790, about fifty townships in this newly surveyed purchase had been sold to individuals or to companies of farmers.

At the southeastern end of the district were other smaller tracts acquired by purchase instead of grant, although they lay east of the Phelps and Gorham pre-emption line. A tract between the Owego and Chenango Rivers, comprising 230,400 acres and known as the Boston Ten Townships, was ceded by Massachusetts to a group of sixty individuals and settled or sold by them.

Then there was another tract of 29,812 acres in the southerly half of the town of Owego, patented to another group and known as Coxe's Manor and sold to settlers.

Still another tract of 363,000 acres east and south of the head of Seneca Lake was purchased of New York State in 1794 by John W. Watkins and Royal R. Flint and then sold to settlers. By 1793 there were 7,000 inhabitants on the lands west of the Pre-emption line and 6,640 on the Military Tract and contiguous tracts to the south of it.

The earliest civic division in this section of the state was Tyron County, formed in 1772 and changed to Montgomery in 1784. It included the entire state west of a north and south line drawn through the center of Schoharie County. Ontario County was next formed January 27, 1789, and included all that part of Montgomery County lying west of a north and south line drawn

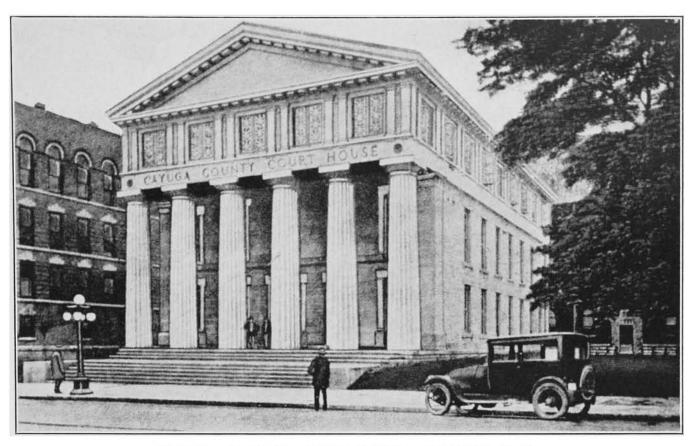
through Seneca Lake, two miles east of Geneva. Herkimer County was formed in 1791, extending from Ontario County to Montgomery. Onondaga was formed from Herkimer March 5, 1794, and included the original Military Tract.

As Central New York—America's first "Great West"—opened its doors to the East, roads could not be hewed out of the forest fast enough to accommodate the settlers. Men from the New England colonies had seen this wonderland when Sullivan's army devastated the region, and strong arms and strong hearts, inured to hardship and to toil, poured into the Indians' garden spot. With them they took the church and school, the twin children of free institutions.

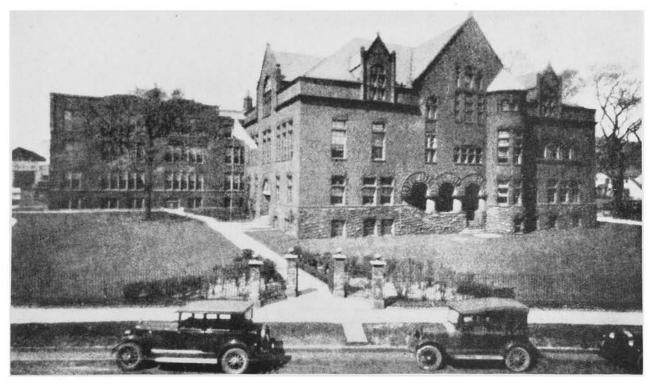
From the interior of the district, cargoes of wheat began to arrive in Albany and instead of gewgaws for the Indians, utensils for the homes and farms of settlers went out in return. Settlers came in tented wagons and brought with them as much as they could carry of provisions and household stuff. As they advanced, when the trails were new, trees were cut down and logs pushed away. Now and then a corduroy bridge was thrown over swampy places so the wagons could pass. Progress of these pioneers was slow. Sometimes they would come to the end of the road or upon a gang of wood choppers. Then they would stop and help the workmen through.

Every family who had managed to build its log cabin in a clearing would take in all the travelers the little home could hold. When the immigrants came to one of these forest abodes as night fell, they would take bedding enough out of the wagons to cover the floor and the women and children would sleep there in the house. Men remained in the wagons all night. When dusk fell, with no house in sight, the women and children would occupy the covered wagons and the men roll up on the ground beneath them. Wild beasts roved the forest where Indians still lurked, so constant vigilance was needed, when night shadows choked the trail.

For the most part the early roads followed the trails of the Indian. Engineers today have found that these ancient paths through the forest were not without system. Where a trail followed a stream or lake, it always ran as close to the shore as



CAYUGA COUNTY COURT HOUSE, AUBURN, N. Y.



HIGH SCHOOL, AUBURN, N. Y.

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possible, lying outside the close timber growth or banks and ravines.

From the time the ancient Roman roads of England were laid out as imperishable reminders of another day, highways have been inextricably intertwined in the history of progress. Like the advance guard of an army, road preceded empire building. So it was in Central New York. The first task of the newcomers was the cutting out of roads, many of them following the paths chartered by the moccasined feet of the Indian through the wilderness. Today it costs as much per mile to build many of Central New York's roads as was expended in a whole year's building program on all the roads which the state boasted in 1797.

The expansion westward to Central New York was so tremendous that state revenues were insufficient to build roads fast enough, so turnpikes were constructed by private enterprise, and were immensely profitable, some paying as high as 80 per cent dividend a year. In 1790 and '91 a party of pioneers under direction of a General Wadsworth improved the trail between Whitestown in the eastern part of the state to Canandaigua. In 1797 a law was passed authorizing the raising of \$45,000 by lottery to improve the state's roads and of this \$2,200 was allotted for the improvement of the Genesee trail, the first public road opened west of Utica.

This great turnpike ran substantially along the route of the road from Skaneateles by Franklin Street to Auburn and westward through Seneca Falls, Waterloo, Geneva and Canandaigua. Cayuga Lake was the only water obstacle to almost a straight line of road, so agitation was early started for a bridge to avoid a detour northward. In 1796 the Cayuga Bridge Company was formed and the biggest engineering undertaking yet attempted in Central New York was launched. The longest bridge on the western hemisphere up to that time was constructed entirely of wood, at a cost of \$25,000. It was destroyed by ice in 1808, rebuilt in 1812-13 and finally abandoned in 1857, all at a cost of \$150,000. The span was more than a mile long and wide enough for three carts to pass. The toll was $56\frac{1}{2}$ cents. In both 1929 and 1930 a bill to permit the building of a modern highway

bridge over the line of the ancient one was passed by the Legislature, as a result of a movement by the Finger Lakes Association, but was vetoed each time by Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The western terminus of the old bridge was at Bridgeport, where abutments of the historic span are still visible. The eastern terminus was marked by a tavern kept by Hugh Buckley, who settled there about 1796. Next to the tavern and the bridge was the first jail in Cayuga County, a log structure built against the bank along the lake shore, the top being on a level with the embankment. Prisoners were let down through a trap door in the top.

In 1800 the Legislature passed an act incorporating the Seneca Road and Turnpike Company, to run between the home of John House in the village of Utica and the court house in Canandaigua, substantially covering the old route of the Genesee Road. The act required the land to be six rods wide and twenty feet of it in the center to be covered with broken stone or gravel to a depth of fifteen inches. Toll gates were to be ten miles apart and the toll for a two-horse vehicle twelve and one-half cents; for four horses, twenty-five cents. No persons passing to or from their farm with their cattle or teams carrying firewood, going to or returning from mill for the grinding of grain for family use, going to or returning from any funeral, were obliged to pay toll in the town where they resided.

The Cherry Valley Turnpike, now known as Federal Route 20 or the Grant Highway, was also laid out in 1800. It ran from Cherry Valley, scene of the famous Indian massacre in Otsego County, to the present site of Skaneateles, there to connect with the Seneca Turnpike to the west.

A public road built from Oxford, on the Chenango River directly through to Ithaca in 1791-'93 became the great highway for immigration in the southern part of the state. It was constructed by Joseph Chaplin and extended through Willet, Virgil, Dryden, and Groton. In 1806 a road was opened from Virgil to Cortland.

In 1804 the Susquehanna-Bath Turnpike, an extension of the great Catskill Turnpike from the Hudson, was chartered. It ran

from Jericho, now Bainbridge, through Richford, Caroline, Slaterville and Ithaca to Bath. What is now State Street, Ithaca, formed a part of this road.

Then in 1807 a charter was granted for a road from Ithaca to Owego and not long afterward construction of a road from Ithaca to Geneva by another turnpike company was under way. Both roads opened in 1811. As many as 800 teams a day passed over the Ithaca-Owego Turnpike.

Toll was paid on some of the turnpikes according to the width of tires, wagons with twelve-inch tires being allowed to pass free. A ton of freight cost eighty-eight dollars from Albany to Buffalo, which fell to twenty-two dollars and finally to six dollars, with the advent of the Erie Canal. The condition of these earliest roads required the use of three, four and often seven or eight horses to draw a load.

The turnpikes created the new industry of teaming. With sturdy pioneers at the reins, loads of merchandise in transit from Albany to Buffalo and intermediate points throughout Central New York, and returning loads of grain were constantly passing over the early roads. At Reed's Tavern, a short distance west of Auburn, as many as a hundred of these draught horses were often stabled in a single night.

History, fashion and frivolity with a grim battle against the elements and against want, were concentrated along these old roads. Then there was little night travel. Stumps and ruts were too hazardous even to the cumbersome, heavy wagons. And across the travel lanes through the forests wild animals frisked and the howl of the wolf started echoes in the woodland glades.

The problem of wolves was one of the earliest encountered by settlers. Livestock fell prey to the forest mauraders. Real danger lurked by the pioneer cabin. Depredations of the animals were so numerous that bounties for wolf pelts were offered in many counties. A wolf was always shot on sight. Big wolf hunts were sometimes organized.

Indicative of the wolf nuisance even a quarter of a century after the first settlements of Central New York had been established is an ancient account of the last great wolf drive in Tioga County in 1828. In January of that year the towns of Richford, Berkshire, Candor and Lisle held a conference to discuss the wolf problem. They decided on the drive to oust the animal. On a given day the settlers mobilized, each man with a gun, a dog and a cow bell. They formed in a great line. At night sentinels stood guard, ringing bells and shooting occasionally, so that the wolves would not run back past them.

Then a forward march began just north of Richford and the line ran east to Hunt's Corners and west to near Slaterville. Every man on the line stepped forward, firing his gun and ringing the bells. At night trees were set on fire to frighten the wolves. Every man had his knapsack full of food and he got a fresh supply at cabins as he went on. The line was kept in a semi-circle, forcing the wolves toward the center. Every day new volunteers joined the rout.

The drive opened on the second Tuesday in February and continued to its climax on Friday, when the wolves were driven beyond the Susquehanna. Residents south of the river and into Pennsylvania long had a bitter grudge against the Trogans for deluging them with the pests.

The absence of roads, mills and markets formed the great perplexity of early settlers, next to the daily battle for life and to the troublesome wolves. During the earliest period grist mills were few, although they formed the first industries of the new land. Settlers were often forty or fifty miles distant from these mills.

The customary substitute for millstones was an enormous mortar made by digging and burning a hollow in the top of a hickory or other hard wood stump. Into this the corn was put and pounded into coarse meal by action of a heavy pestle attached to a sweep or spring pole.

Central New York pioneers were, as a rule, poor in the world's goods. If a family owned a yoke of oxen, a few primitive household articles and a small stock of provisions, they were considered in comfortable circumstances. Homes of the settlers were hardly worthy of the name house. Often the abode was merely a cabin of logs, of a size such as could be handled by one man. It was

covered with bark and did not always have a floor. Those homes which boasted floors had usually one made of split logs or "puncheons" which were seldom on a level. The man who lived in a house of as large as sixteen feet square, with shingle roof, a board floor and a glass window was held as affluent.

Furniture of the early dwellings was simple. A feather bed was a luxury. Most bedsteads were made of poles and strips of bark. Chairs were usually a slab split from a log with holes bored in the corners and rough legs inserted.

But newcomers to the district were always welcomed. Their arrival meant more acres cleared, more buildings, more mingling with humankind. Settlers for miles around would assemble to help the new arrival build his frontier domicile. A nimble whiskey jug usually spurred construction. "Logging bees," to help a neighbor clear his land for an early crop, were also examples of the pioneers' cordial cooperation in a united front to master the crowding forests.

Tea and coffee were rare. Money was even scarcer. But early the great maples in the "sugar bush" provided maple syrup which would today be prized on any table. Grains, maple sugar, pottery and at last potash formed the principal marketable articles for settlers. Numerous asheries were put into operation for making potash, a product from the ashes of the great trees whose destruction was the first aim of the pioneer.

In this settlement period, Central New York was almost self-supporting. Articles obtained from the outer world were few. Families subsisted largely on the things they grew and their own ingenuity produced. Necessity made both men and women "jacks of all trades." And it nurtured motive forces in those early settlers that made communities strong and ready for the new and broader life.

CHAPTER V

TAVERN AND STAGE COACH DAYS.

FIRST STAGE LINES—COMPETITION—U. S. MAIL—WAR FOR SABBATH OBSERV-ANCE—ROMANCE OF ANCIENT INNS—HOSTELRIES ALWAYS HUB OF COMMUNITY LIFE—LIQUOR CHEAP AND PLENTIFUL.

Advent of the turnpikes brought two distinct institutions to Central New York—the old-time tavern and the stage coach, as it first appeared in America. These cumbersome vehicles followed paths where the questing pioneer had left the deep ruts of his wagon wheels and often his scalp and skeleton as well. The stage coach with the weekly mail, the stage coach with happy honeymooners or with prospectors, homeseekers, woodsmen, government agents—adventurers all; the stage coach with its romance and hardship was one of the factors which hastened the upbuilding of Central New York.

Stages loaded within and without tore through the country at the rate of three or four miles an hour in "good going." Despite the bitter cold of midwinter, they found it better traveling then than when summer brought a quiet green tunnel through the forest, for the wheels did not go down to the hubs in the mire. Weekly these lumbering vehicles came through at the start; then twice weekly and finally daily on some of the principal routes. Always they brought a breath from the world outside. To Central New York the stage brought new life, new blood, new contacts; and with it came new cheer, new hope, new ambitions to settlers tired from the strife against the elements in an untamed country they had come to conquer.

The first line of stages across Central New York was provided in 1804 when the Legislature gave Jason Parker and Levi Stevens the exclusive right to run stages for seven years on the

great turnpike from Utica to Canandaigua. Passengers in each wagon were limited by law to seven adults and the stages made two trips a week.

In 1809 Isaac Sherwood of Skaneateles became the partner of Jason Parker in the stage lines carrying the U. S. mail westward. In 1816 a line of stages left Canandaigua and Utica every week day to run through in thirty-six hours. The proprietors were Thomas Powell, Jason Parker, I. Whitmore, Aaron Thorpe and Isaac Sherwood & Co. They operated the Old Line Mail and held control of the stage business along the Genesee Turnpike until 1828, when the Pioneer Line began competition. The ensuing fight for patronage was bitter.

In this connection a stricter observance of the Sabbath was one of the questions brought to the fore. On February 13, 1828, a convention was held in Auburn, Cayuga County, which resulted in appointment of commissioners to establish a line of stages between Albany and Buffalo, which should travel only six days a week. Delegates pledged themselves to patronize only six-day-a-week stages. Large sums were subscribed through the state for the new six-day Pioneer Line, when proprietors of the old line of that name offered to sell out. Their offer was declined and the transportation battle was on.

The Pioneer Line, choosing Auburn as the seat of the fray, obtained control of the Western Exchange Hotel there, turned from its stables the horses of the older competing line and refused accommodation to the rival line's passengers. But only a few days before this ejection of horses and passengers, a brick block was opened in Auburn by John H. Bacon and Thompson Maxwell under the name, Bank Coffee House, and here head-quarters were provided for the old line's patrons. Auburnians, including William H. Seward, later President Lincoln's secretary of state, came to the aid of the older company and protested any curb upon individual conscience as it concerned Sabbath observance.

Splendid new light stage coaches carrying only six passengers and built expressly to compete with the new Pioneer Line, were provided by Isaac Sherwood & Co., and the line took the name of Telegraph Line. It procured the most careful drivers and the best teams and ran day and night. The Pioneer Line, failing to get the federal mail contract and in the face of this opposition, died. The Telegraph Line for seven years held full sway.

It was the stage which made the tavern, where brooded romance, adventure, life—and where the door of hospitality was thrown wide in a new country. From time immemorial some sort of tavern has been the scene where epics of literature and drama have been enacted. Taverns have reflected the customs, the aspirations and the courage of many peoples. From the days of the old English inns, immortalized by Shakespeare, to the day when the railroad blighted forever the future prospects of the taverns of the new world, these public houses have been memorable. They became institutions in a community then. They got closer to the people and the people got closer to them and they were the forum where every topic was discussed.

When the creaking stage wheels began their march over corduroy roads taverns sprang up by hundreds in Central New York. Auburn, then known as Hardenbergh's Corners, boasted more inns and taverns than any place between Utica and Canandaigua. When the Erie Canal went through, followed by the hurrying railroads, the halcyon days of the tavern passed forever. But throughout Central New York, there are still these sleepy old monuments of a bygone age, some hastening to decay, weatherbeaten, neglected, solitary—others transformed into pleasant rural homes, but only a very few resembling in their cordial hospitality their forebears of crinoline days.

With the decline of patronage from teaming and staging, the taverns which continued in operation were forced to resort to various devices for keeping up their income. Dancing parties became more frequent and at these and other gatherings, moderate drinking was rather encouraged, especially at taverns of waning fortunes.

In the villages, taverns at one time were used as play-houses. In 1820 at the old Bank Coffee House in Auburn the celebrated Edmund Keen played Othello. The first theatrical performances given in the village of Elmira took place on the upper floor of

the tavern kept by Hawks & Dunn on the north side of Water Street next the canal. The "orchestra" consisted of a single violin. In all the taverns the notables who visited the communities were royally entertained.

Usually the Central New York tavern was a long, two story building set flush with the road, with a "stoop" or platform extending the entire length, for convenience in getting into and out of the stage coach. Could we envision one of these rustic, rural taverns today, we might picture it something as follows: At the left as you enter a door leads to a plainly furnished ladies' sitting room. Just beyond this door, the stairs lead to the long room, which usually comprised the entire second floor of the main part. Opposite the door to the ladies' sitting room a door from the hall leads to the bar room, but an outside door, usually at the end of the house, is the more common entrance to this popular resort. On one side of this room a large open fireplace affords ample room for big blazing logs. The bar in one corner exhibits decanters labeled "whiskey," "brandy," "gin," "rum," etc., in gilt letters. To add to the effect, between the deep decanters of liquors are ranged glass cans of stripped peppermint or red tinted wintergreen candies and lemons. The assortment is completed by a few clay pipes, dull black paper packages of fine cut smoking tobacco and perhaps on the top shelf one or two boxes of cigars. These latter came only in later times.

Adjacent to the tavern in the rear, or across the way in front, stood the commodious barns and ample sheds, under which anyone might shelter his team and feed without cost, if he brought his own fodder. Prominently in front of the tavern was the well with its wooden pump and pail for watering the horses of any who chose to avail themselves of the privilege. If the lay of the land permitted, as was not infrequently the case, the waters of a spring on a neighboring hill were enticed through pump logs to the end of the long stoop, where a "penstock" poured the limpid waters into a log trough set at a convenient height for watering the horses. Frequently three or four speckled trout would be imprisoned in this trough.

The host of the tavern of early days is an extinct species. He was a man of character and respected in his community. He neither desired nor sought promotion outside the line of his work. His aim in life was to make his guests comfortable and to "keep tavern well." He silently disappeared when the old fashioned tavern gave way to the hotel.

Who were the frequenters of Central New York taverns aside from the transient guests? Everybody more or less who lived in the vicinity. Daytime and evening during the dull season of winter the oracle of the village occupied the best seat in front of the fire and others would range around in the order of importance. The Ishmaelite usually stood leaning against the bar or hanging onto the mantel over the fireplace, but rarely said anything unless spoken to. Politics were discussed and crop prospects and local matters talked over.

A game of checkers was usually in progress in some part of the room. When the spirit moved, one would approach the bar and take his "bitters," drawing from the depths of his pocket the required three coppers to pay the expense. Then he resumed his seat or went home. He rarely asked anybody to drink with him. It was a free show and anyone was at liberty to buy his own whiskey.

Opinions differ as to whether there was much drunkenness in those early days. The weight of evidence seems to be that there was not. The tavern had not become a resort for drinking. Saloons were unknown. Still every house had a supply of liquors. A barrel of whiskey was regarded as essential to the campaign of haying and harvesting, as much so as a mower and reaper are today.

CHAPTER VI

FRENCH NOTABLES' EARLY VISITS

LAFAYETTE GIVEN TRIUMPHAL RECEPTION IN 1825—CANNON SALUTE AT WATERLOO FATAL—LOUIS PHILIPPE, LATER KING OF FRANCE, AN EXILE AFOOT AND ON BOAT IN REGION—FRENCH REFUGEES.

There was the hustle of anticipation down the full length of the old Genesee Turnpike in early June, 1825. Settlers along that historic trail in Central New York brought out their oxen to grade the old road a bit where it was too rutty. They cut away here and there an obstreperous tree stump, which the weekly stage had pummeled and marred in vain. From Canandaigua on the west to Skaneateles on the east, Central New York settlers felt a new patriotism stirring hearts which had bled during the Revolution.

For General Lafayette, and his son George Washington Lafayette, were to make their triumphal journey down that ancient thoroughfare, while in America as guest of the United States Congress. It was a journey affording Americans their opportunity to pay homage to the great Frenchman who nearly fifty years ago had fought shoulder to shoulder with Washington to make the Colonists free. And the end of that journey along the old turnpike was to be Bunker Hill, where the general laid the cornerstone of the historic monument there today.

On this trip from Buffalo to Albany, the entire state paid her tribute but nowhere was the ovation greater than in Central New York. Canandaigua, historic Indian village, later English trading post and then a thriving pioneer settlement, gave the General its welcome. On the morning of June 8, 1825, the famous Lafayette coach, behind six spanking horses set out eastward from Canandaigua.

Geneva's welcoming committee met the calvacade eight miles west of the town, accompanying it on eastward. The party stopped under the historic "Lafayette Tree," a large Balsam poplar just west of Geneva's outskirts near the junction of the old Pre-emption and the present Buffalo-Albany Route 5 and 20. Here the General caught the first glimpse of sparkling Seneca Lake 200 feet below and two miles distant. A signal gun told the people of Geneva their distinguished guest had arrived and nearly a dozen military companies marched to the Lafayette Tree, the light infantry and artillery troops all being in full uniform. A large concourse of Genevans awaited the General and his suite there by the tree.

Commemorating this event the Seneca Chapter, D. A. R., on June 8, 1922, placed beneath the old tree a large boulder with bronze tablet to record the visit of Lafayette. After his reception at the tree, the General visited a house now known as Lafayette Inn, built in 1820, less than 200 feet from the tree. Today the same ancient coach in which he rode is stored there as a cherished heirloom.

Lafayette was escorted into Geneva to what is now Pulteney Park, gaily decorated for the occasion. Maidens dressed in white sang and strewed flowers in the path of his carriage. Lafayette spoke at exercises on an improvised rostrum. Two hundred distinguished citizens dined at breakfast at the New Franklin House with the General.

The cavalcade left Geneva at 1 p. m., accompanied by the military, picking up a troop of cavalry from Waterloo on the way to that village, where the party arrived shortly before 2 o'clock. A number of Waterloo folk also went ahead on horse-back to greet the guest. The party drew up in front of Earl's Tavern, then known as the Waterloo House, which stood on the northeast corner of Main Street and the public square—now the Court House Square. The main entrance was in the center of the west side of the building opening into the square.

On a balcony on the second story, south of the entrance, was stationed a band, the players uniformed in white. Music filled the air from the time the procession came in sight on the west

end of Main Street, until General Lafayette had left his carriage and entered the hotel. In the second floor parlors for several minutes he received the citizens, many of whom were veterans of the Revolution. After the short reception, the party was off in a cloud of dust for Seneca Falls.

But the General was then unaware that tragedy, small but poignant, had marked his visit to Waterloo. Just before his arrival an old swivel gun, which had been taken from a brig operated in the African slave trade, was set up to fire a salute. To do justice to the occasion, a double charge of powder was put in and a mass of flax jammed in upon it. The loaders were then afraid to touch it off and Capt. J. P. Parsons, chancing along and not knowing of the heavy charge, touched off the gun with a match. The gun burst and a fragment killed the Captain.

When Lafayette later learned the soldier had left a mother, three sisters and a brother without support, he sent the family \$1,000. The Geneva Gazette of August 24, 1825, a copy of which is now in the possession of Herman F. Brehm, historian of Waterloo, quotes Lafayette's letter to the mother as follows:

"Dear Madam: The dreadful event which took place on the morning of my introduction to the citizens of your town, when it became known to me, filled my heart with the most painful and sympathetic emotions. Every subsequent information relative to the melancholy loss of your son, could not but enhance those feelings.

"Permit me to avail myself of our community of regrets, to obtain from you an assent to an offer which may not afford to you, but will to me, some consoling relief. Learning the situation of the family, the acceptance of the enclosed bill of one thousand dollars will confer on me the great obligation. Be pleased, dear madam, to receive my affectionate and consoling respects. "Lafavette."

June 8, 1922, the ninety-seventh anniversary of Lafayette's visit to Waterloo was celebrated in that village by placing a monument to the noted Frenchman in Lafayette Park, the scene of the great celebration nearly a century before. The services were in charge of Seneca Lodge of Masons. Coming from Wash-