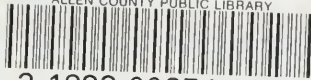


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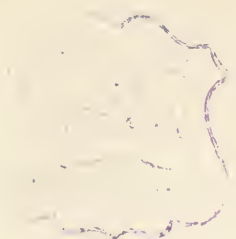
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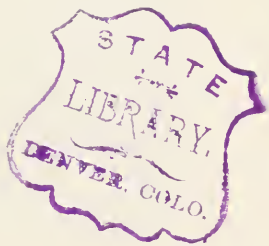
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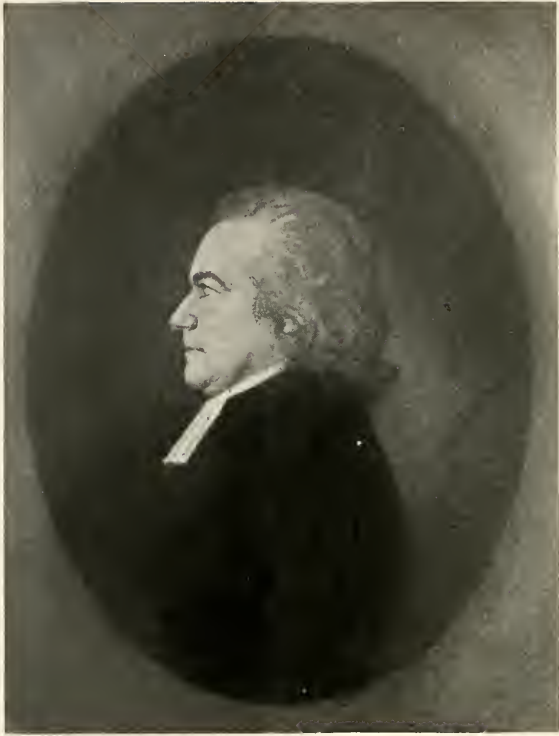
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David M. Glure

DIARY

OF

DAVID McCLURE

DOCTOR OF DIVINITY

1748-1820

WITH NOTES BY

FRANKLIN B. DEXTER, M.A.

PRIVATELY PRINTED

The Knickerbocker Press
New York
1899

1142959

PREFACE

David McClure 1766-1819

TWO years ago I received from the Rev. Chalmers D. Chapman, of Brevard, N. C., a manuscript diary of the Rev. David McClure, D.D., which had been left with his grandfather thirty-six years earlier by a kinsman of Dr. McClure, and never reclaimed. Mr. Chapman sent it to me as the great-grandson of Thomas McClure, a younger brother of David, and therefore the great-grand-nephew of the writer of the diary, and the nearest relative of the same with whom he was acquainted. This diary was contained in a book, at the end of which were added various notes, a couple of letters, and a brief genealogy of the writer, as published in the present volume. There were, in all, two hundred and sixty written pages in this little volume, of which the first nineteen, with the corresponding cover, had been torn off. Fortunately there fell into the hands of my cousin, Mrs. W. D. Peters, of Chicago, another diary of Dr. McClure, which had been begun, but never finished. This covered the pages missing in my copy, and as much more besides.

Apparently Dr. McClure kept some sort of a diary from June 7, 1766, onwards. The entries in this diary must have been very fitful. In 1805 Dr. McClure seems to have undertaken to write up these fitful entries in another book, adding in doing so later material under the earlier dates. After that he continued the diary in the same fitful manner until May 13, 1819. After this, the last entry in point of date, there is added an entry dated Sep. 25, 1816, with the word "omitted" before it, showing that these latter entries or the whole book must have been written up by him after May 13, 1819. Everything is written in the same hand, which seems clearly to be

that of Dr. McClure himself. He also numbered all the pages of the book. The diary proper ends on page 246 of the original blank book. The following pages were left blank, it being the evident intention of the writer to continue the diary in this new book which he had thus written up to date. On page 269, enough pages having been left blank for future diary use, he adds, with a reference to page 23, an account of a visit to the Narragansett Indians in 1768; then on page 282 an account of his reading; on page 287 extracts from various letters, etc., and finally, on the last two pages of the book, 291 and 292, a genealogical table. Having thus written up everything interesting in his life to date, it was evidently his intention to use this little volume for future diary entries, if anything of interest should occur. He died very shortly after, on June 25, 1820, and no more entries were made. The copy in the hands of my cousin, Mrs. W. D. Peters, Dr. McClure seems to have begun shortly before his death, apparently with the intention of bequeathing the diary to one daughter, and copies of it to others; but he did not live to finish the work.

Dr. McClure's grandfather, Samuel, and his brother David, with others, came from the neighborhood of Londonderry to Boston about 1728, and established a Presbyterian church in that city, later known as the Federal Street Church. Samuel McClure was the first Deacon of this church, and was succeeded in that office by his son John and his grandson Thomas. The latter resigned his office and left the church when it turned Unitarian under Dr. Channing.

David, the writer of this diary, was the son of John, the son of Samuel McClure, and of Rachel, daughter of William McClintock, one of the original immigrants. He was born in Newport, R. I., Nov. 18, 1748, but most of his early life was spent in Boston, where his father kept a retail grocery. His early training was obtained in Lovell's Latin

School. At the age of fifteen, after a brief experience in a shop, he was sent to Dr. Wheelock's school at Lebanon, Conn., to prepare to become a missionary to the Indians. In 1765 he entered Yale College, and graduated in 1769, in the same class with the elder President Dwight. The late Rev. E. H. Gillett, D.D., in an article in *Hours at Home*, Feb., 1870, entitled "Yale College One Hundred Years Ago," gives a few extracts from letters of McClure and his schoolmate, David Avery. The former, under date of Oct. 30, 1765, writes to Dr. Wheelock of the dreadful way in which Freshmen are handled by the upper-class men. "Freshmen," says he, "have attained almost the happiness of slaves." Oct. 30, 1767, he writes: "Jonne [John Wheelock, later President of Dartmouth College, then a Freshman at Yale] has been ordered up once or twice into the long garret with the rest of his class, and I think twice alone. . . . It gives me great grief to see such practices held up in this seat of learning, and so little religious manners prevalent." In another letter, written after his experience among the Oneida Indians, he says: "Mr. Johnson and I rarely converse in any other language [than Indian]. I hope not to lose what little I have already attained." As his diary also shows, his intention to be a missionary to the Indians was always before his mind. Later in his college course he writes about Dr. Daggett as follows: "The Rev. President and tutors are universally loved in College, and have a tender concern for our future as well as present welfare and happiness."

After graduation, McClure took charge of Moor's Charity School at Lebanon, Conn. In 1770 he moved with the school to Hanover, N. H., where he was head of the school and tutor in Dartmouth College. In May, 1772, he and Frisbie were ordained to go as missionaries to the Delaware Indians on the Muskingum River, in Ohio, the expenses of the mission being supplied by a

society in Scotland. Owing to the unsettled conditions in that region preceding the outbreak of the Revolution, the mission proved a failure, and in 1773 McClure returned to New Hampshire, where he was installed pastor of the church at North Hampton in 1776. Dec. 10, 1780, he married Hannah Pomeroy, daughter of Rev. Dr. Benjamin Pomeroy, of Hebron, Conn., and niece of President Wheelock. She died in 1814, and in 1816 he married Mrs. Betsy Martin, of Providence, R. I., who survived him. In 1786 he was installed as pastor at East Windsor, Conn., where he also established a school. In 1798 his voice failed. After this he preached only occasionally, and finally, in 1807, resigned his salary, and in 1809 his pastorate, but continued to teach school almost if not quite to the time of his death. He was always deeply interested in Dartmouth College, and personally in its first President, his old teacher, Rev. Eleazer Wheelock, D.D. In 1777 he became a trustee of the college, and in 1800 it conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity. In 1795 he published a volume of *Sermons on the Decalogue* (Beach & Jones, Hartford). In 1811, in conjunction with Dr. Parish, he wrote *Memoirs of Rev. Eleazer Wheelock*. In 1818 appeared a second volume of his sermons, entitled *Sermons on the Moral Law* (printed and published by Wm. S. Marsh, Hartford). He also wrote a *History of East Windsor*.

In Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, Dr. McClure is described as a small man, well formed, and with very attractive manners, a man of culture and scholarship. He was a good preacher, and his sermons, contrary to the tendencies of his day, were moral and practical, not theological.

He died at East Windsor, Conn., June 25, 1820.

JOHN P. PETERS.

BETH SHALOM,
July 10, 1899.

DIARY OF DAVID McCLURE

DIARY OF DAVID M^CCLURE

MY remote Ancestors, I have been informed, were originally Scottish Highlanders, who passed over to the North of Ireland & settled there about the time of King James 1st in the beginning of the 17th Century.

My Grandfather Samuel McClure came with a young family to Boston, from the North of Ireland, about Anno 1729 with a number of families of Christians, who emigrated from oppression in their native country to this land of civil & religious liberty.¹ The Rev. John Moorhead² was their minister.

Religion was the first object of this little company. They purchased a lot of land for a meeting House, in what is now called *Federal Street*,³ & formed themselves into a Church, according to the plan of the presbyterian Church of Scotland. My Grandfather was the first Deacon of said Church,⁴ in which Office my Father succeeded. He lived & died in the house in which the celebrated

¹ About 120 Scotch-Irish Presbyterian families emigrated from the north of Ireland to Boston in August, 1718; the supplementary emigration here described probably took place in 1727 or 1728. [The oppression referred to was excessive tithes. In 1729 government instituted an inquiry into the cause of the alarming emigration to America. J. P. P.]

² See Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, iii, 44-46.

³ A permanent house was built in 1744, a cut of which is given in the *Memorial Hist. of Boston*, ii, 513; Long Lane, on which it stood, was named Federal Street after the building was used for the meetings of the State Convention which accepted the Federal Constitution in 1788.

⁴ Elected on July 14, 1730.

Dr. Franklin was born, in Milk Street, opposite the Old South meeting house.¹ My Father John McClure was young at the time of their arrival. My Mother was Rachel McClintock, daughter of William McClintock, who came from the North of Ireland, & county of London Derry, with the company before mentioned. He purchased a farm in the North part of Medford about 6 miles from Boston, where he lived until 1769, & died aged 90. He was shut up in Londonderry at the age of 7 years, with his parents, at the time when it was besieged² by an army of papists commanded by King James 2nd & suffered all the horrors of famine. He was a laborious & pious man & brought up a large family. His son Samuel settled in the ministry in Greenland, New Hampshire, & died 1802, universally respected, as a faithful minister of the Gospel & an eminent divine.³ The College of New Haven conferred on him the degree of a Doctorate of Divinity. From him I received much instruction in the early part of my ministry. A Brother of my Grandfather McClure came over with him, & settled in Brookfield, Mass. His name was David. My father had a numerous family of nine sons & four daughters. Twelve lived to the age of manhood. My Mother died in Boston in 1764,⁴ & the youngest child Ruth, about 3 months old, soon followed her. My Father died Aug. 30, 1768.⁵ A numerous family of orphans were now left. The two youngest were twins, aged about 8 years. In a remarkable manner did we experience the fulfilment of the gracious promise, Ps. 27. 10, "When my father & mother forsake me, then the Lord

¹ This house was occupied by Dr. Franklin's father from 1685 to 1712, and was destroyed by fire in 1810. A view of it is given in the *Memorial Hist. of Boston*, ii, 272, and a description in the same volume, pp. 269, 270.

² April-August, 1690.

³ Born 1732, B.A., Princeton, 1751, died 1804. See Sprague's *Annals of the Amer. Pulpit*, i, 525-28, and Brewster's *Rambles about Portsmouth*, ii, 160-66.

⁴ Read 1765.

⁵ Read 1769.

will take me up." We had the special advantage of a religious education & government in early life. Our parents gave us the best school education that their circumstances would allow. The children who could walk were obliged regularly to attend public worship on the Sabbath, & spend the interval in learning the Shorter & the Larger Westminster Catechisms, & committing to memory some portion of the Scriptures. My mother commonly heard us repeat the catechisms on Sunday evenings. My parents departed with the supporting hope of salvation through the glorious Redeemer. In her expiring moments my mother gave her blessing & her prayers to each of her children, in order. She had many friends who mourned her death. She was favored with a good degree of health & was very cheerful, active & laborious, in the arduous task of raising, with slender means, a large family. To the labours of our worthy minister the Rev. Mr. Moorhead, we were much indebted for early impression of religious sentiments. His practice was frequently to catechize the Children & youth at the meeting House & at their homes & converse & pray with them. He also visited & catechized the heads of all the families of his congregation, statedly. While New Port in Rhode Island was in a flourishing state, My Father concluded to move there, with the expectation of bettering his worldly circumstances. He continued there a few years disappointed in his expectation & displeased with the loose and irreligious state of the place, although they found many pious christians there, he returned to Boston with his family when I was a child.¹ In Boston my Father carried on a small trade & kept a retailing shop of groceries. I read the Bible through, when very young, &

¹ The baptism of two children of John and Rachel McClure is on record in the First Congregational Church in Bristol (which is upwards of twelve miles north of Newport, on the mainland), viz., Rachel, Febr. 1, 1746-47, and David (the author of this Diary), Dec. 18, 1748. There were then two Congregational churches in Newport, but probably the Bristol church was more acceptable in doctrine or practice to Mr. McClure.

was fond of books. Perceiving my inclination my father put me to the latin grammar school then under the care of the famous Master Lovell.¹ Here I continued about two years² when my father meeting with losses found he could not give me an education & put me into a store of Mr. Henry Dearing, near the market,³ who traded both wholesale & retail in english goods. There was an elder apprentice in the store. Mr. Dearing was a single gentleman & was dissipated, gay & profane, he paid but little attention to his business, & after some years failed. In the spring of 1764 the small pox went through the town. I left Mr. Dearing & went to my father—to receive the disorder, where I was inoculated with ten of my brothers & sisters, & by the goodness of God we all had it favourably.

After my recovery Mr. Dearing wished me to return, but as it was disagreeable to me, particularly on account of Mr. D.'s conduct, my father did not insist. I wished to pursue learning but for some time found no way to succeed. Just at this time the worthy Mr. Moorhead came to my father's & showed him a letter which he had received from the Rev. Mr. Wheelock of Lebanon in Connecticut,⁴ who had set up a school there for the education of Indian Youths & also for the reception of English young men to educate them for missionaries, requesting him to propose one or two youths to go. Mr. Moorhead proposed to me to go. The incident seemed providential. My parents manifested a willing-

¹ John Lovell, born 1708, graduated at Harvard 1728, Master of the Boston Latin School from 1738 to 1775. For his portrait see the *Memorial History of Boston*, ii, 401. The school building stood at this time on School Street, on the site now covered by the east end of the Parker House.

² 1759-61.

³ Faneuil Hall (rebuilt 1762-63).

⁴ Eleazar Wheelock, born in Windham, Conn., 1711; graduated at Yale, 1733; ordained pastor of the Second Parish in Lebanon, now Columbia, Conn., 1735. After having had private pupils for many years, he began a school for Indians in 1754.

ness: I considered the proposal, & while I desired an education to qualify me for usefulness, I felt also an oppression that I should not incline to go among the Indians. The Idea of wild Indians was an impression on youthful minds at that time of some degree of terror, as they had spread desolation among the English settlements. I got the life of Mr. Sargeant, who laboured for the instruction & salvation of the Housitonic Indians, & was much pleased with the history.¹ I concluded it to be my duty to accept the invitation; & accordingly at the age of 15 years June 1764 I embarked on a coaster amidst the tears & affectionate embraces of my Mother & the blessing of my Father. After about 5 days sail we arrived at New London, without any remarkable occurrence except the eminent danger of running upon a sunken rock, in a high gale, near Long Island, which the mate discovered just seasonably enough to pass it. He was leaning against the boom & singing Watts Saphic Ode, "*When the fierce north Wind with its airy forces,*"² &c., when he discovered the danger ahead by the smoothness of the water over the rock, & crying out a *Rock*, a *Rock*, he instantly altered the vessel's course. In the course of my life how many instances of danger I have experienced! The good hand of God is our safeguard against dangers which are seen & innumerable that are unseen by us! After paying my passage I had no more than about half a dollar³ & was now more than thirty miles from Mr. Wheelock's. In the

¹ The book referred to was *Historical Memoirs, relating to the Housatunnuck Indians*, compiled by the Rev. Samuel Hopkins from the papers of the Rev. John Sargeant, and published in Boston in 1753, pp. iv, 182. Mr. Sargeant was a graduate of Yale in 1729, who had labored as a missionary among the Indians in Great Barrington and Stockbridge, Mass., from 1735 until his death in 1749. Jonathan Edwards was his successor.

² The opening line of "The Day of Judgment, An Ode," in Book I of Isaac Watts's *Horæ Lyricæ*, first published in 1706.

³ At the presumed date of composition of this passage (1805) the dollar was a current term; in 1764 the writer reckoned in shillings.

morning I went into a house in the border of the town & asked for a pint of milk to which the good woman of the house bade me welcome, & with a biscuit, which I had bought, I made a comfortable breakfast. Finding a boat going up the river Thames to Norwich landing 14 miles, I put my small chest on board, & arrived at Mr. Whitaker's the minister of the place,¹ to whom I had a letter of introduction from Mr. Moorhead. The next morning Mr. Whitaker kindly gave me directions to find the road, & taking a small bundle of clothes & a staff, I set out to walk alone to Lebanon Crank,² distant more than 20 miles. The verdant fields & well cultivated farms on every side afforded a delightful prospect to cheer the gloom of solitude. I arrived at Lebanon Crank, late in the afternoon, & the objects which presented were a number of Indian & English youth playing on the spacious green before Mr. Wheelock's house & the School House. I was kindly & affectionately received by the worthy family. Mr. Wheelock was then on a journey to Boston. Mr. Samuel Kirkland,³ then a member of New Jersey College, was very kind & attentive to me, & the young gentlemen, members of the school, took so much notice of me as expelled the unpleasant feelings of a stranger, & I seemed to be at home & surrounded with respectful & cordial friends. The second day I entered upon my studies in the school, in the class composed of John McClarren Breed, David Avery, Josiah Dunham & John Hall. Josiah Pomeroy afterwards joined us.⁴ Mr. Lothrop⁵

¹ The Rev. Nathaniel Whitaker (Princeton Coll., 1752) was a special friend of Mr. Wheelock's.

² The northern parish in the town of Lebanon, now the town of Columbia; the local name, Lebanon *Crank*, was probably descriptive of the bent or crooked outline of the parish boundaries.

³ Born in 1741, B.A., Princeton, 1765.

⁴ Breed was graduated at Yale in 1768 (President Dwight of Yale is his grandson); Avery and Hall in 1769; and Pomeroy in 1770. Dunham died while an undergraduate in Yale, class of 1769.

⁵ Now the Rev. John Lothrop, D.D., in Boston. [Note by the author.]

had the care of Moor's School.¹ The school consisted of about 30, one half Indian youths & boys from different tribes & the other half were English, some fitting for missionaries, & others independent preparing for College. Mr. Ralph Wheelock, member of New Jersey College,² whom I had seen at my father's in Boston, arrived & showed me much kindness. The Rev. Mr. Wheelock returned from Boston, & to the end of the period of my living under his care, was to me a Father, patron & benefactor. The remembrance of him, & his disinterested & benevolent works & piety will be always pleasing & most grateful. May I be permitted though in some humble station, far below him, to adore & serve the blessed Redeemer in heaven! My advantages for improvement in learning in the School were good. Mr. Wheelock thought it necessary that his pupils, designed for missionaries, should be initiated in the practical knowledge of husbandry, accordingly we sometimes went into the field & worked a little while. But neither the theory or practice of husbandry were familiar to me. Brought up in Boston I scarcely knew the difference of a plow from a harrow, & it was long before the names of the different implements became known to me, & my blunders & mistakes sometimes caused some diversion. As my constitution was not calculated for labour, I did not do much. I had acquired the skill of good writing under the instruction of Master Abiah Holbrook in Boston who was the most celebrated writer of his day, & whose school³ I attended seven years; my leisure hours from study were generally spent in copy-

¹ In 1755 Colonel Joshua More, or Moor, a wealthy farmer of the neighboring town of Mansfield, at Mr. Wheelock's solicitation gave to him and other trustees a foundation for a Charity School in Lebanon for the instruction of Indians, which was conducted by Wheelock from that date, and was finally merged in his larger enterprise, Dartmouth College.

² He entered Yale the next fall, and was graduated there in 1765.

³ Kept on the Common. He died in 1769, aged 51 years. See Bridgman's *Pilgrims of Boston*, 116.

ing letters for Mr. Wheelock. Other qualifications of a missionary were thought necessary, such as to *lodge hard*, & live on plain & wholesome fare. We reposed on Straw Beds in Bunks & generally dined on a boiled dish & an Indian pudding. Mr. Wheelock was laborious in his instructions of his pupils, in the principles of religion. Early in the morning at the blowing of a shell we assembled in the hall of his house a chapter was read by the students, after Mr. Wheelock had presented a short petition to the throne of grace he then expounded some passages or conversed on some doctrines & practical subjects of religion & made a prayer. The same religious service was also performed in the evening, with singing a psalm or hymns in the evening. His discourses were generally awakening, drawn from the justice, holiness & terrors of the law, of repentance, faith & holy love & obedience to God on the plan of the Gospel. There were several seasons of serious awakenings among the students, & the people of the society, & of hopeful conversions & a number of both were admitted into the Church. Of the latter, myself was one. From a child my conscience was tender and fearful of doing wrong, & I had been in the habit of prayer & attention to the word, & thought I had great pleasure in religious duty. My hope & confidence in former knowledge & experience was however much shaken by Mr. Wheelock. He perceived my anxiety & conversed at times alone with me in his study, & I now humbly hope his instructions were divinely blest. I read the books of pious instruction, the lives of the pious Mr. Halliburton, President Edwards, D. Brainard & others to edification. Mr. Wheelock advised me to join the Church in communion which I did with several of my fellow students, between the ages of 16 & 17 years. In the autumn of 1765 I went to New Haven with three of my fellow students & was examined & admitted into the Freshman Class at Yale College then under the presidency of the

Rev. Mr. Clapp. My class recited to the president during the first winter. He was eminent in mathematics & philosophical science & esteemed a good scholar in universal learning. He was plain & simple in his manners & in his dress & address. His government partook rather of austerity than mildness, & age¹ probably had made him less indulgent to the foibles of his pupils. He was severe against those who had once offended & easily imposed on by those who were disposed to conciliate his good will or flatter him. In the Spring of the Year the prejudices of the scholars ran to such a height that a petition to the Corporation for his dismissal was signed by all the classes. The Corporation met & the president resigned his Office.² He died the next year. His death was supposed by many to have been hastened by the mortification of a resignation & by relinquishing the regular and uniform habits which he had pursued through the long period of his presidency. Many of us of the Freshman Class were hastily, & by the overpowering authority & influence of the Senior Class persuaded to the remonstrance. For myself, I was afterwards sorry, for he had been *particularly* attentive to my Class & to me & one other, in particular, as he condescended to attend to us to hear an *extra* recitation about 3 evenings in the week at his own house. In consequence of the revolution at College the students were dispersed through part of the following summer, and Mr. Kirkland being about to go on a mission to the Indians at Onoida, I embraced his invitation to accompany him with a view to teach a school of Indian

¹ President Clap was born in June, 1703, and was therefore at this time in his 63d year.

² The petition for Clap's removal was drawn up in February, 1766, and was signed by all but two or three of the students. In March the tutors resigned, and when the Corporation met in April, College was largely deserted. Such as remained were provided with instruction, and when the Corporation next met, on July 1, the President handed in his resignation. He died six months later, on January 7, 1767.

Children, to obtain some knowledge of their language, & if opportunity favored to attend the course of collegiate study at Onoida with him.

July 7, 1766.—Set out from Lebanon Crank for Onoida in company with Messrs. Kirkland, Aaron Kenne,¹ Ticonda a Seneca chief who came with Mr. Kirkland to Lebanon not long before,² & three Indian lads. We tarried several days at Col. Butler's³ near the seat of Sir William Johnson,⁴ rode once or twice to his house. Sir William lived in elegance. There saw a number of Indians to whom his steward liberally gave provisions & rum. Dined with Sir William who was very hospitable & social. He walked lame in consequence of a musket ball which lodged in his thigh at the famous battle of Niagara in 1759 when he obtained the victory over an army of French & Indians commanded by Baron Dieskaw.⁵ The ball had worked down & lodged in the muscular parts of the knee. He had a very handsome Indian Concubine, said to be the sister of Joseph Brant. By her he had several likely looking children.⁶ About this time

¹ Aaron Kinne had graduated the previous summer at Yale, and had since been studying under Mr. Wheelock. He died in 1824, after a long life of useful ministerial labor.

² Samuel Kirkland had spent upwards of a year (from January, 1765) as a missionary among the Senecas, in Western New York, returning to Lebanon seven weeks before this. He was ordained in this interval.

³ For an engraving of the residence of Colonel John Butler, in what is now Fonda, see Lossing's *Field-Book of the Revolution*, i, 285.

⁴ Johnson was born in Ireland in 1715, and came to America in 1738 to superintend an estate purchased by his uncle in the Mohawk valley, some thirty miles northwest of Albany. A few years later he built a handsome residence in the same vicinity, in what is now Johnstown, Fulton County, where he lived in intimacy with the Indians, speaking their language and acquiring a greater influence among them than was ever acquired by any other white man.

⁵ This happened at the battle of Lake George on Sept. 8, 1755, when Johnson was in command as Major-General. In recognition of this service he was made a baronet in November, 1755.

⁶ Two sons and six daughters by her are remembered in his will. Cf. Stone's *Life of Johnson*, ii, 496-97.

he sent a son that he had by another squaw named Wm. Johnson to Doctor Wheelock's School. Col. Butler had a son (Walter) at Mr. Wheelock's School. He was a sprightly boy. In the revolutionary war, he, & the Indian son of Sir William, before mentioned, were active partisans against the Americans, & both died or were killed.¹ The Inhabitants of this country were Dutch, & great part of them tenants & very ignorant. Near Col. Butler's, was a stone church, in which however the people rarely assembled for worship. They had no settled minister in that part of the country. The Dutch minister at Albany occasionally visited them, to baptize their children. The low state of religion may be inferred from the following circumstance. Near Col. Butler's lived a worthy dutch farmer who was a Justice of peace & Deacon of the church. I was treated with great hospitality at his house. The Rev. Mr. K. & myself one day spent the afternoon with him & took tea. Deacon Canine intermixed profanity with his conversation which was imperfect english. The next day I was at his house, he asked me who it was I had with me there, the preceding day. When I informed him that it was a clergyman from New England he said, "I am devilish sorry *I did swear*, for I think it is wrong to swear before the Domine." On my return to Col. Butler's some months after, Mr. Chamberlain,² missionary to the Indians, happened to be there & 5 or 6 Dutch heads of families came to have their children baptized; they brought a company of God-fathers & God-mothers, & Mr. C. declining to baptize them, unless the parents, instead of God-fathers, would take upon them

¹ For the discreditable career of Walter Butler and his father, see Sabine's *American Loyalists*, 2d ed., i, 278-80. The father was responsible for the Wyoming massacre in 1778, and the son for the Cherry Valley massacre later in the same year.

² Theophilus Chamberlain, B.A., Yale, 1765, who was ordained for missionary work at Lebanon before his graduation, and remained among the Six Nations in Central New York for two years.

the solemn vows of bringing up their children in the knowledge of God & the practice of religion, they took offence & after much altercation in their own language, among themselves, they all departed, without the ordinance. Having received much kindness from Col. Butler & family we set out for Onoida. We passed through the fine country of the german flatts,¹ & the upper settlements of the Castle of the Mohawks called Cagnawaga. From the German flatts we had a wilderness of about 40 miles to the place of our destination. This then uninhabited country is now (1805) popular & opulent, & commonly called the White'stown Country. Night overtook us before we could get through. We groped in the darkness, among the trees to find the path. Mr. Kirkland, who had lived a considerable time among the Indians, late in the evening said he believed, we were not far from an Indian encampment, as he smelled smoke. He hallowed or yelled, in the indian manner, several times, & was answered by a corresponding yell forward. We proceeded & soon discovered a light. We came to it, & found an Indian & his squaw & one or two children; the woman & children lay on boughs of trees around the fire, covered with blankets. The man was sitting before the fire, roasting, upon sticks stuck in the ground, a small animal that appeared like a Racoon. Weary & sleepy I was about to wrap myself in my great coat & lie down to rest. But Kirkland observed that it was contrary to rules of Indian politeness for strangers to encamp where females slept at the same fire. Taking a burning brand we went some rods distant & kindled a small fire, principally as a defence against swarms of mosquitoes & a very small fly, called gnat. I passed the night without much sleep. A wide branching tree protected us from the dew. After returning thanks

¹ A township, still having the same name, and including the town of Ilion, in Herkimer County, 15 miles southeast of Utica; the first settlers were Germans from the Palatinâte, about 1723.

to God for his protecting care of us, we looked up our horses & set forward early in the morning & reached an Indian town¹ about 6 miles from the place where we had lodged. This town was called the Old Onoida Castle & contained fifteen or 20 log houses & bark houses. The Indians there had always shewn an aversion from attempts to Christianize them. We entered a house in which we were entertained with hospitality, perhaps from the expectation of receiving presents, which we bestowed at our departure. We carried some small articles of provisions with us, with which we refreshed ourselves. I was agreeably surprised to see the squaw of the house pour from a tea pot some tolerable tea for our breakfast. We let our horses loose & stung & tormented by the large fly, they ran furiously in all directions. My horse seeing the door of an Indian house open, to get clear of his bloodthirsty enemies rushed into it. I immediately followed & caught him & found the women & children within in a great fright. I apologized for the intrusion & they answered in their language, which was as unintelligible to me, as mine to them. The aversion of the human heart to the holy religion of the Saviour, has been strikingly evidenced by the Indians of this town, in their rejection of repeated offers of missionaries & School masters. They chose to remain in pagan darkness. The Onoida resided principally in two towns about 10 miles apart. That to which we were going, cordially accepted Mr. Kirkland's offer to instruct them. They had been before taught by protestant missionaries, particularly the worthy Messrs. Barclay & Ogilvie,² & before them by romish priests from Canada.

July 23.—We arrived at the upper castle or village of

¹ In the present township of Kirtland.

² The Rev. Henry Barclay (B.A., Yale, 1734) served as Missionary from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Mohawks from 1736 to 1746. The Rev. John Ogilvie (B.A., Yale, 1748) succeeded him from 1750 to 1759.

the Onoidas called Canawahrookhahre.¹ It contained about 40 dwelling houses of bark or logs. The Indians received us with kindness. Mr. K. conversed with them in their language. There was a small church made of hewed logs, in which they met on the Sabbath, & Mr. Kirkland after preaching a few Sabbaths by an interpreter, preached in their own language. I began to learn their language, & by Mr. K.'s assistance, we formed a kind of grammar of it. The conjugation of verbs through moods and tenses is somewhat in the manner of the Hebrew. The persons of the verbs are distinguished commonly by the change of a Syllable at or near the beginning of the word. Ex.

Wah-wah-tu-vat-hah: I am going a hunting.

Wah-jah-tu-vat-hah: You are going a hunting.

Wah-hat-tu-vat-hah: He is going, etc.

Plural.

Wit-tu-wah-tu-vat-hah, We are going a hunting.

Wit-tu-jah-tu-vat-hah, Ye are going, &c.

Wit-tu-hat-tu-vat-hah, They are going a hunting.

Like the Greeks, their verbs have the dual number. The 5 nations speak different dialects of the same radical language. The Tuskarora language is different. Soon after my arrival I opened a school & kept it in the Church. It consisted of about 20 children & youths of both sexes from 6 to 20 years old. They appeared fond of learning & made as good proficiency, as the same number of white children would, who were equally ignorant of the first elements of language. They soon learned the letters, especially the elder ones, & to write & combine syllables in spelling. The Rev. Mr. Barclay, formerly missionary, had translated into Mohawk several chapters of the Old & New Testament, a catechism & devotional hymns,

¹ In the present township of Vernon, Oneida County, 15 miles west of Utica.

printed in a bound volume.¹ Good Peter,² who was afterwards one of Mr. Kirkland's Deacons, had learned to read it. He was a good singer & on the Sabbath at worship read the lines, & the Indians united in the psalmody. The advantage of learning the Indians the English was principally that they might be able to read that book in their own language. I was treated with respect & kindness by the Indians, & was not a little pleased with the orderly behaviour & good proficiency of my little pagan pupils. While teaching them English I acquired from them a knowledge of the Indian names of things. I was once a little alarmed by the rush of an Indian mad with rage & run into the Church, while I was engaged in teaching. He came up to me & seemed, by threatenings & his wild gestures about to offer me violence. My Indian Children were terrified & began to run out. I ordered them back to their seats. I was apprehensive that the Indian had a knife under his blanket. While considering how I should defend myself from the rage of the wretch who I had never seen before, nor ever knew the cause of his wrath, if any cause, but the instigation of the Devil, . . . providentially, a stout young Indian came hastily to my relief, & coming behind him clasped him in his arms, & after some struggling forced him out. At another time, at midnight, in the absence of Mr. K. an Indian lad being with me in the house, a drunken Indian burst open the door & came in, but offered no violence. The miserable condition of the savage state appears in the

¹ This description does not correspond to any known existing volume. A translation (by L. Claesse, Interpreter) of the English Liturgy, Catechism, and several chapters of the Old and New Testament was printed in New York in 1715; and reprinted, without the chapters from the Bible, at Boston in 1763. The only similar volume in which Dr. Barclay is known to have been concerned was not published until 1769, and this, like those just named, contained no hymns.

² His miniature is in the Yale Art School, painted by John Trumbull in 1792, when he visited Philadelphia with other sachems for a conference with the government.

dreadful disorders which their uncontrolled passions produce without the necessary restraints of law & government.

Aug.—Rode with Mr. Kirkland to Fort Stanwix about 13 miles. There were a few soldiers there under the command of a british Lieut^t. The Fort was in a decayed condition.¹ On our return the darkness of the night stopped our journey. There was no path. A new path had been marked by the Indians, by cutting the bark of the trees. We groped after the marked trees until about 11 o'clock, when we came to a fire, around which lay five Indian men. They were the unfriendly Indians of the Old Onoida Castle. Mr. Kirkland conversed with one of them who was awake & had answered the calls or the yells which Mr. Kirkland had made some time before we reached this encampment. Mr. Kirkland did not seem well pleased with the company. The sleeping Indians were sheltered by a bark covering from the dews. Observing a vacancy between two of them, I wrapped myself in my great coat & lay down with my feet to the fire. As there were no females in the encampment, the ceremony of kindling a fire by ourselves, was dispensed with. I awoke & found an Indian up & supplying the fire with bark. They offered us no insult, although they appeared not pleased with our company. A little after the day dawned, we mounted our horses & arrived home in safety. Not long after we had a similar adventure in returning from the same place, when we slept on the ground without shelter, near a dry tree that was burning on the ground.

After passing some time very agreeably at Onoida, with Mr. Kirkland & having experienced much respect & kindness from the Indians & particularly from the aged Widow of the late Sachem of the Onoida, who adopted me for

¹ Built in 1758, under the direction of General John Stanwix, on the site of the present city of Rome, on the Mohawk River.

her son & desired me to call her Mother, I set out the last of November, 1766, to return to my studies at Lebanon. An Indian young man Joseph Johnson of Mohegan & member of the school came with me to the German Flatts. We were not able to reach the settlements before the darkness came upon us. We stopped at a place where there had been an Indian encampment & striking up a fire, we rested for the night, the next morning we rode about six miles & came to a house where we got refreshment & Joseph returned to Onoida, to take the care of the School, which I had began there.

The night following, I lodged at the house of a Dutch farmer in the lower part of the German Flatts. His house was small & his barn was large & full of Wheat & Hay. At supper the family which was numerous, were seated around a large table, in the center of which was a wooden bowl full of boiled milk & bread & a spoon for each of us. The head of the family, Wife & children made a pause before they began, the Man took his cap from his head & appeared to be asking a blessing, & each one was engaged in the same devotion. We all dipped our spoons into the same great bowl, & I made a comfortable supper. The manners of the family & mode of living seemed to bare a resemblance to the simplicity & hospitality of the patriarchal Age. In the morning I presented the Landlady with a pair of scissors which I had in my pocket book, for the trouble of entertaining me, with which they were pleased.

I overtook an Irishman on foot, to whom I offered a led horse which I had taken to accommodate an Indian boy that I expected to go with me from the Mohawk Country to Mr. Wheelock's School. We travelled together & his conversation was pleasing. He appeared to understand the scriptures & repeated several devotional hymns. Towards evening we parted. He had 15 miles to go to reach his home, which was on the waters of the Susque-

hanna. Confiding in his honesty, although a stranger, I lent him the horse, on his promise to send him the next morning to the place forward on my road, which I proposed. The next morning I found the horse returned agreeable to his promise, & felt thankful to find an honest man, whom I had obliged, among strangers.

Dec. 8th.—After a long & uncomfortable journey, I arrived with a Mohawk boy at Lebanon & was kindly bid welcome, by my honored patron.

As advantages for the pursuit of classical & mathematical studies were good at Lebanon, it was thought best for myself & classmates Avery & Johnson¹ to spend the winter at the School. Mr. Woodward, afterwards professor at Dartm^o College² was our Tutor.

1767. June.—I returned to join my class at Yale College. Mr. Dagget, Professor of Divinity, was appointed President, pro tempore.³ At our examination, the President was disposed to be a little humourous, and said, “McC. as you have been among the Indians & studied their language, I will examine you a little into your progress in that branch of science. What is name of *River*, in the Mohawk?” I could not instantly recollect it, but thought the name for *water* would answer, which I well remembered, & accordingly gave it, which I should not have done, had I not known that he knew nothing of the language. He replied, “that is right.” To one or two more questions I gave answers, some right & some no doubt wrong, & neither President or Tutors could correct it.

Sept. 23.—After commencement returned to Lebanon. Went to Boston with Elijah Peck. *Oct. 21.*—Returned to Yale College with classmate D. Avery. *1768. Feby. 14.*—Came to Lebanon, pursued my studies there under Mr.

¹ David Avery (see above, p. 6) had a long and influential career in the ministry, dying in 1818. Samuel Johnson became a minister, but early joined the Shakers, and died in New Lebanon, N. Y., in 1835.

² Bezaleel Woodward, B.A., Yale, 1764.

³ He held this office from October, 1766, to March, 1777.

Woodward.¹ *Sept.* 9.—Levi Frisbie² & myself returned to College. Resided at College the Senior year. My room mates were Nathan Strong, now D.D., Phineas Fanning, Levi Hubbell.³ 1769. *Sept.* 13.—Took my first Degree at Yale College. By the appointment of my Class, I delivered the Valedictory Oration previous to our departure to prepare for the Commencement.⁴ Defended a Latin Syllogistic Thesis, at the Commencement. About this time, the Colonies came into a non-importation agreement of *goods* from Great Britain in consequence of the Stamp Act & other arbitrary acts of the British parliament. The Class agreed with 3 or 4 dissensients, to appear in home made clothes at the Commencement.⁵ We were put to some difficulty to obtain all the articles of american manufacture. Inspired with a patriotic spirit, we took pride in our plain coarse republican dress, & were applauded by the friends of Liberty.

On my return to Lebanon, Dr. Wheelock was pleased to commit to my care Moore's School, in which I continued until the School removed to Hanover. Part of my time was taken up with the School accounts.

Sept. 21, 1769.—Set out for Boston with J. Wheelock & Ripley.⁶

¹ See page 163. [Author's note.]

² Frisbie spent his senior year at Dartmouth College, graduating with the first class there in 1771.

³ Dr. Strong was pastor of the First Church, Hartford, Conn., from 1774 to his death in 1816; Fanning, of Riverhead, L. I., died in 1796; Hubbell, of Sherman, Conn., died in 1773.

⁴ At this time, and for a hundred years later at Yale College, the senior class finished its work some weeks before the public commencement. An oration delivered before the class at this time, by one of their own number selected by his classmates, was long known as the Valedictory Oration; but for the past century has been called the Class Oration.

⁵ A result of the policy of non-importation agreements which came in vogue in 1767 in response to the Townshend Revenue Acts.

⁶ John Wheelock, Dr. Wheelock's second son, and Sylvanus Ripley, who married his youngest daughter, were both members of the first graduating class at Dartmouth College in 1771.

28.—Messrs. John Wheelock, Elijah Peck & myself, hired a pleasure boat to sail to the Castle.¹ The weather was pleasant & we sailed on 9 miles to the Light House. Soon after we came round Light House Island, the sun set. We came near running on a Rock on which the sea violently dashed its waves. The night overtook us & we wandered about among the Islands, guiding ourselves by the stars, as the Lights were hidden from us by the Islands. About midnight we ran the boat ashore at High Water, on Thompson's Island. We found a house where we lodged on a blanket on the floor. We waited for our boat to float until 11 O'Clock. Walking over the Island, we saw the bones of Indians jutting from the banks which the sea had washed away. The Islands of this harbour were once inhabited by numerous Indians. We set sail & soon after we had turned the point of the Island, we were overtaken with a N. E. gale. The sea ran high, & finding we could not get up by the ship channel, we steered for the back channel, between the Castle & Dorchester, but the sea beating in upon us & the wind rising, we stood before it, & run the boat up amidst the roaring surges on the wild beach of Dorchester point. As soon as the boat struck, we jumped into the water & were carried along by the surf to the shore. By the force of the waves, our two mast boat was soon partly bedded in the sand. After drying ourselves at the first house, we walked 6 miles round to Boston.

The next day I went with the owner to get the boat up to Boston; but a storm of wind arose like that on the preceding day, & he was obliged to leave his boat; with much difficulty & danger he got her round the point, into a cove, & I walked again through Roxbury to Boston. The next day he went again in another boat, & they all arrived in safety. We had great experience of the goodness of God, in our preservation in this adventure, & es-

¹ A fortification, on Castle Island, where Fort Independence now stands.

pecially as neither of us were skilled in the management of a boat, indeed myself was the only one of the three, that had any knowledge of it, & mine was very imperfect. Our friends in Boston were exceeding anxious for us.

Our pleasing prospects in the amusements of youth are oftentimes clouded with disappointments & sorrows.

Oct. 2.—Went from Boston to my Uncle McClintock's in Greenland N. H. rode to Portsmouth & Exeter. In this latter place lived my two Brothers Samuel & James McClure & Sister Jane. Visited my aged Grandfather McClintock in Medford & with Mr. Ripley returned by the way of Providence to Lebanon.

16th.—Began the School, the vacation being ended *1770 April 15.*—Doctor Wheelock preached his farewell sermon to his people, on the dissolution of his pastoral relation to them, by an ecclesiastical Council, in consequence of his appointment of President of Dartmouth College. His text, 2 Corinthians 13, 11, Finally, Brethren, farewell: &c.

April 20.—Began to hear the recitations of the Freshmen & Sophomore classes.

May 7.—Vacation in the School. Mr. Avery & I went to Norwich to his father's¹ & made a visit to Mr. Ocom of Mohegan,² where we tarried one Night, treated with great hospitality by Mr. Ocom, who preaches to the small settlements of Indians round about, to acceptance, & is very useful to them.

28.—Began School. It consisted principally of three Classes, viz. 1st. Waters, Bradford, Kendell & Porter, in the Ænead & Greek Testament. 2nd. Hutchinson, Curtis, Crosby, Wright, Judson, Fowler, Conant & Mosely in

¹ John Avery, Jr., of Norwich West Farms, now Franklin, Conn.

² Rev. Sampson Ocom, a Mohegan Indian, who was ordained as a Presbyterian minister in 1759, and visited England in 1766-67 on behalf of Wheelock's school. He lived in the Indian village of Mohegan, in the present township of Montville. See Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, iii, 192-95.

Erasmus & other preparatory authors. 3rd. Eleazar & James Wheelock, Collins & Averit¹ in Latin Grammar, Corderius &c & several Indian boys in reading, arithmetic, writing & grammar.

In consequence of the Royal Charter given to Dr. Wheelock for a College,² to be established in New Hampshire, the students in the School & some who had been admitted members of Yale College, were examined, Sept. 4th, 5th & 6th and admitted into Dartmouth College in classes, according to their respective qualifications. Admitted, 5 seniors, 2 Juniors, 5 Sophomores & 4 Freshmen, besides these there were 16 students in the School. *From this small beginning arose Dartmouth College.*

Sept. 10th.—I went to New Haven to collect some subscriptions which had been made to the School, & which were still unpaid. Preparations made for the removal of the School to Hanover.

18.—Dr. Crane³ arrived express to delay the setting out, on account of the unprepared condition of the place. He arrived too late, Dr. Wheelock had set out.

I continued at Lebanon a few days to settle some School Account. Mr. Kirkland & Thomas, an Indian & Deacon of his Church arrived from Onoida. Disappointed in finding Dr. Wheelock gone, he went on to Boston, & put himself under the patronage & pay of the Boston Board. Dr. Wheelock was not a little grieved at this movement. There was some misunderstanding between them.⁴ Mr.

¹ Waters, Kendall, Porter, and Wright were graduated at Dartmouth in 1774; Judson, Hutchinson, and Collins in 1775; Curtis and the Wheelocks in 1776. Fowler, Mosely, and Everett were graduated at Yale in 1775, and Conant in 1776.

² By Governor Wentworth, of New Hampshire, on Dec. 13, 1769.

³ Dr. John Crane, a friend of Wheelock's, who became the physician of the new settlement.

⁴ In the *Life of Kirkland*, by his grandson, in Sparks's *American Biography*, xv, 218, this is supposed to have been due, in part at least, to the indiscreet behavior of Wheelock's son Ralph, who had been associated with the mission, and subsequently became insane.

K. thought himself neglected ; but perhaps he did not make sufficient allowance for the multiplied business & cares, in which Dr. W. was engaged at that time.

Mr. Kirkland afterwards visited Dr. W. at Dartm^o College, & they signed articles of friendship & agreement,¹ & after praying together mutually forgave. But Dr. W. could never be reconciled to his continuing under that Board.

Oct. 9th.—Set out in company with Dr. Crane for Hanover. Lodged at Rev. Mr. Bliss', Ellington,² & breakfasted with Class Mate Hale, Long Meadow,³ & 14. Reached Hanover.⁴ The appearance of all things was new & wild. A few log houses had been erected for the accommodation of Dr. Wheelock & family. Several Nights we slept on the ground by a fire, sheltered by a few boards, from the nightly dews.

Major R. Wheelock & Mr. Woodward appointed Tutors, by the board of Trustees, who had met at Keen,⁵ & I still continued in Moore's School. It consisted of 3 Classes in the languages, & several in english. I kept it in a large log house, near the center of the present green.

1771. Aug. 28.—Was held the first Commencement in the boarded frame of a building intended for the students.⁶

¹ October 30, 1771.

² Then a parish in East Windsor, Conn., and about eighteen miles north-west of Dr. Wheelock's. The minister was the Rev. John Bliss, B.A., Yale, 1761.

³ Nathan Hale (Yale, 1769) lived just north of the Connecticut line, perhaps eleven miles from the Ellington parsonage. He died in Goshen, Conn., in 1813.

⁴ About 120 miles north of Longmeadow, along the banks of the Connecticut. This site had been chosen for the new college in July,—being convenient to the river, as near the Indians as any other site, and favored by generous subscriptions from neighboring settlers.

⁵ Oct. 22, 1770. Ralph Wheelock, eldest son of Dr. Wheelock, was graduated at Yale in 1765, but did little in the tutorship on account of failing health ; his commission as major in the New Hampshire militia was not secured until 1774.

⁶ For a full account, see Chase's *History of Dartmouth College*, i, 230-33.

The occasion was honored with the presence of his Excellency John Wentworth, the Governor's father, Mr. Moody of Dummer's School¹ & a number of gentlemen from Portsmouth, Exeter &c. It was pleasing to see the solitary gloom of the wilderness give place to the light of science, social order & religion.

Sept. 3.—Set out to journey to Boston &c. with Messrs. George Wheaten & John Wheelock. Spent 1st Sabbath at Lebanon Crank—Avery joined our company. 2d Sabbath at Norwich Landing. Monday at Rev. Mr. Eells'² at Stonington. Tuesday I went to Newport. Attended at the Jewish Synagogue in the evening, & the next day to see & hear their worship & ceremonies. It was a high day, the celebration, as I was informed, of the Delivery of the Law at Sinai. Their worship was solemn, consisting in reading, chanting & a variety of ceremonies of which I could not understand the meaning.

Attended a sacramental Lecture at Dr. Styles' Church.³ Dined by invitation with Capt. Trevet, an acquaintance of my father, & took tea with Mrs. Toppan a friend of my mother's. Removed from this my native town, in Childhood, I was happy to find any friends of my parents, & by them was treated with much respect & kindness.

Having appointed to meet my company at Providence, whom I had parted with, to make a short excursion to my native town, left Newport, & arrived at Boston; my brother Wm. sailed for Quebec about two hours after my arrival.

Kept Sabbath in Boston & preached for my very worthy friend & father Mr. Moorehead. Mr. J. Wheelock

¹ Samuel Moody (Harvard Coll., 1746), first Master of Dummer Academy, Byfield, Mass., from 1763 to 1790.

² Nathaniel Eells (Harvard Coll., 1728).

³ Ezra Stiles (Yale, 1746) was then pastor of the Second Congregational Church in Newport, afterwards President of Yale College. In his MS. Diary, Wednesday, September 18th, he mentions Mr. McClure's visit.

& myself went to Salem. Lodged at Dr. Whitaker's,¹ from thence to Exeter, Portsmouth & Greenland. Kept Sabbath at the latter place, & preached for my Uncle McClintock.²

Set out to return to Dartmouth College; at Rochester N. H. found Esq. Pierce³ of Portsmouth going to Wolfsborough; we accompanied him to Wentworth House, a new & elegant seat of the Governor's.⁴ Found him & his Lady there & some of their friends from Boston. There we tarried till the next day. We sent our horses round through Tufftenborough & sailed over Smith's pond & Winnepesogah Lake, which is about 15 miles in length, & enjoyed the wild prospect which the lofty banks & thick woods around its borders, presented. The prospect was sometimes a little diversified with the appearance of here & there a log hut & some small improvements. We arrived at Center harbour at the W. end of the Lake, just at the time of the arrival of our horses. We then made the best of our way, which was rough & solitary, to the eastern part of the township of Orford, & from thence directed our course, by a path which had been lately marked out to the College⁵: but the darkness of the night shut down upon us, among the lofty pines, & we were necessitated to take up our lodging under a tree, without fire or

¹ Nathaniel Whitaker (see above, p. 6) removed in 1769 from Norwich to the Third Church in Salem.

² In the summer preceeding, Dr. Wheelock alone authorized me to preach, & my first appearance as a preacher was before him & the College in the Hall of the Old College. No association or Presbytery at that time existed, in those parts. [Note by the author.]

³ Daniel Piece, one of the original Trustees of Dartmouth College.

⁴ John Wentworth (Harvard Coll., 1755). The Governor's house was on the east side of Smith's Pond, which communicates with Lake Winnepesaukee; it is commonly said (*e. g.*, in *Wentworth Genealogy*, i, 537) to have been built in 1773.

⁵ Centre Harbor is about forty miles due east from Hanover; but the road led them northwest to Orford, the next town but one (about eleven miles) above Hanover on the Connecticut River.

refreshment. The night was cool & rainy, & to us a dismal night. The dawn of morning discovered to us the path, & following it, arrived at the College, at early breakfast. We found no other inconvenience in our lodging on the ground in a cold rain, than a slight cold. Youth & health can endure fatigues, that would destroy the feeble & aged.

The winter of '71-2 I passed at College, part of the time attended the School, or heard the Freshman Class & kept the School & College accounts. Theological authors & expositors of the Scriptures also engrossed my time. I preached in sundry towns & settlements near the College, particularly Plainfield, Lime &c.

Doctor Wheelock having received a communication from the Synod of New York & Philad^a informing that there appeared a prospect of introducing Christianity among the Delawares & other Indians on the River Muskingum, & requesting that two missionaries would go to be under the pay & direction of the Board of Correspondents¹ in New Jersey, Mr. Levi Frisbie² & myself offered to go. We accordingly accompanied Dr. Wheelock to Hartford, Conn. at which place a Committee of the Synod had appointed to meet April 25, to confer on the plan of the intended mission & to concert measures for the more extensive spread of the Gospel among the Indians. The Committee were the Rev. Dr. Charles Beatty—Rev. Messrs. John Brainard & Elihu Spencer.³ Mr. Spencer came, the other gentlemen were providentially detained. The prospects, by Mr. Spencer's representation were inviting. Though the hostile aspect of Indian affairs a few years after disappointed the hopes of the worthy Dr. Spencer & the friends of religion in general.

¹ Of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge.

² See above, p. 19.

³ Mr. Beatty, of Neshaminy, Pa., died in Barbadoes on Aug. 13, 1772. Mr. Brainerd, a brother of David Brainerd, was graduated at Yale in 1746, and Mr. Spencer was a classmate; both were zealous in missionary labor.

1772, *May 20th.*—Myself & Mr. Frisbie were ordained at Dartmouth College to the work of the Gospel Ministry. It was a solemn day. Rev. Dr. Wheelock preached on the occasion from Luke 12, 42. “And the Lord said, Who then is that faithful and wise steward, whom his Lord shall make ruler over all his household, to give them their portion of meat in due season?” The following ministers composed the Ordaining Council: Rev. Messrs. E. Wheelock D.D., Edon Burroughs, Bulkley Olcott, Rev. Mr. Powers.¹ To those distant & savage tribes beyond the Ohio, no missionary from New England had ever gone! Messrs. Beatty & Duffield a few years before had visited them by appointment of the Synod of Philad^a to find if there was a prospect of Christianizing them, & the report which they made was favorable to the attempt.

The Sabbath preceding our departure I preached in the College hall & at the close delivered a short valedictory address, which was answered immediately after sermon, by an affectionate reply by professor Woodward, in the name of the Congregation, replete with benevolent wishes for our success & prosperity. Our patron Dr. Wheelock was present. The scene was solemn & impressive. Dr. Wheelock proposed that “besides a daily remembrance of one another at the throne of divine grace, we should spend a special season, viz. on Saturday & Sabbath evenings between the hours of 6 & 7 O’Clock in prayer to God, for his protection, gracious presence & blessing upon our mission, & on all the labors of Missionaries to spread the knowledge of the true God & Saviour among the heathen.” The students & all concerned in the College & School, cheerfully came into the solemn agreement.

¹ Mr. Burroughs (Yale, 1757) had lately been dismissed from a church in Killingly, Conn., and had come to Hanover in March as a candidate for settlement as pastor; Mr. Olcott (Yale, 1758) was pastor of the church in Charlestown, N. H., some forty miles to the southward; and Mr. Powers (Harvard, 1754), of Haverhill, an equal distance to the northward.

June 19th.—We departed from the College,¹ and as there was some reason to expect, that we might have the company of Mr. Occom of Mohegan, who was acquainted with the language & manners of the Indians to whom we were going, we passed through Connecticut & called upon him & lodged at his house. He was desirous to go with us, but his domestic & other concerns prevented. He was very friendly & serious in conversation. At our departure he walked a little way with us, & at parting gave us the benediction of the pious patriarch Deuteronomy 33, 16. *May the blessing of him who dwelt in the bush, be with you !*²

Leaving Mohegan, we set out for New Jersey, to see the Rev. Mr. Brainard, whom we expected to accompany us, to introduce the Mission to the Indians. We passed through New London & Lime, & crossed the ferry at the Mouth of Connecticut River, & tarried a day or two at New Haven in the agreeable society of some of my college friends, who resided there.

Kept Sabbath at New York, visited Rev. Dr. Rogers heard him & his Colleague Mr. Treat,³ preach. Spent a few days there & was at Elizabeth town the Sabbath following. We preached for Mr. Caldwell. Here we tarried two or three days, & received our Commission from Mr. Caldwell, the Secretary of the Board of Correspondents of the Society in Scotland for propogating Christian Knowledge. Lodged at the house of Judge Livingston (afterwards Governor of the State during the revolutionary war).⁴ A literary & very respectable character. He was, at that time, building an elegant seat, in the border

¹ An abstract of the Journal of this mission, written by Mr. McClure, was printed in Wheelock's *Continuation of the Narrative of the Indian Charity-School*, 1773.

² See page 165. [Author's note.]

³ Rev. John Rodgers was pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in New York from 1765 to 1811 ; Rev. Joseph Treat was co-pastor to 1784.

⁴ William Livingston (Yale Coll., 1741).

of the town. His study was ornamented with tables of astronomical & philosophical calculations & maps attached to the walls around. Very sensible in conversation, he united gravity with a pleasant vein of humour. His writings in defence of the civil & religious liberties of America, & his able administration, give him an exalted rank among the most eminent of her early & decided statesmen & patriots.

The Rev. James Caldwell was an eloquent & popular preacher, active & enterprising in business. He had a numerous young family of children, & a most worthy & amiable Wife. The melancholy & tragical death of these respectable heads of a promising family, will long be remembered. He was wantonly shot by an American Centinel in the revolutionary war, while he was performing an act of kindness & humanity; & she suffered the same fate, from the hands of a British soldier, in her own house, with a babe in her arms & her children around her.¹

July 16.—We arrived at the Rev. John Brainerd's at Brotherton² & tarried with him about a Week. He lived in a small house, himself & Lady & one daughter, in the border of an Indian Village. We preached to the Indians, in a small church at Mr. Brainerd's request; & in a week day to a settlement at Little Egg Harbour. Near to which we lodged at the house of Esq. Clark, both himself & Wife were pious people. She was a native of Ireland.³ They treated us with great hospitality. The country here is a poor pine barren, with here & there some good land. The soil abounds in iron sand Ore. The

¹ Mr. Caldwell was pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Elizabeth from 1761 to his death in 1781; the drunken soldier who killed him was hung for wilful murder.

² The present Indian Mills, in Burlington County, about thirty miles southeast of Philadelphia.

³ For Elijah and Jane (Lardner) Clark, see Brainerd's *Life of John Brainerd*, 480-81.

principle dependence of the people is on the iron works, which are carried on largely in the country around.

We found that there was no prospect of our having the company of the worthy Mr. Brainard, to Muskingum. The reports which he had from Indians, from that quarter, were very unfavorable. Some murders of Indians by the whites, & of whites by the Indians, had, it was said, taken place, at or near Pittsburgh, & that the Delawares at Muskingum, appeared hostile. In consequence of these reports, previous to our arrival, Mr. Brainard went to Princetown, to advise with as many of the Board of Correspondents as reside about there, & it was the opinion of some, that it would not be advisable for us to proceed to *Muskingum*; others were of opinion, that it would be best for us to make the attempt, & get as near the Indians as we could with safety, & wait on the frontiers, until the prospect should be inviting, & in the interim, preach to the new & destitute settlements.

We were at a loss what were the pointings of providence, relative to our duty. As several gentlemen of the Board of Correspondents lived in Philadelphia, Mr. Brainard was so obliging as to go with us there, to consult with them. Mr. Samuel Smith, an aged respectable Mercht. & formerly of Boston, kindly invited us to his house. Rev. Dr. Sproat, Dr. Rush, Dr. Morgan, members of the Board met there, & on the whole advised us to go to the Susquahanna, to that branch of the Delaware Indians who resided on the western waters, & to tarry with them, & from them, the probability was that we should soon obtain such information, as should enable us to determine whether to pursue the first object of our mission. The body of the Delawares lived on the Muskingum, to which they removed many years ago, from the Susquahanna, by leave of the Six Nations or Iroquois, who claimed that country, by the conquest of its former inhabitants, the Catawbias.

Kept Sabbath at Philad^a, preached half the day for

Dr. Sproat.¹ Some friend of our mission, was pleased respectfully to notice in the public papers, our arrival in Philad^a on our way to the Indians, on the Ohio. Having received Letters of introduction to sundry gentlemen on the way, from Dr. Allison, Dr. Sproat, & others, & a passport & recommendation from his Honor Governor Richard Penn, we left Philadelphia with an expectation of proceeding up the Susquehanna. We arrived at the Rev. Dr. Smith's at Paqua, who had an academy of pupils, preparing for College & for preachers. Was much pleased with his amiable piety, zeal & hospitality. He had a son at that time a Tutor in New Jersey College, now (1805) the celebrated President of that respectable institution,² from whom we had letters. We proceeded on to Lacock & lodged at the Rev. Mr. Woodhull's.³ His situation was pleasant; he was much respected, & a useful Minister. He occasionally preached to a small congregation of Presbyterians in Lancaster, to which place (9 miles) he accompanied us, & introduced us to his friends. We spent the Sabbath at Lancaster & preached. An occurrence happened which shews the strict observance which the Jews pay to their Sabbath.

We had an order for a sum of money from a gentleman in Philad^a, on Mr. Abraham Simons, a jew merchant in Lancaster. We arrived on Friday, & intending to leave the town on Monday, we waited on him saturday Morning & presented the order. He said, "Gentlemen, to day is my Sabbath & I do not do business in it, if you will please to call tomorrow, I will wait on you." We observed that the same reason which prevented his payment

¹ The Rev. James Sproat (Yale Coll., 1741) was pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia from 1768 to 1793.

² Dr. Samuel Stanhope Smith, President of Princeton College from 1794 to 1812. His father, the Rev. Robert Smith, lived in Pequea, Lancaster County, Pa., sixty miles west of Philadelphia.

³ John Woodhull (B.A., Princeton, 1766) was pastor at Leacock from 1770 to 1779.

of the order on that day would prevent our troubling him the day following. We apologized for our intruding on his Sabbath, & told him we would wait until Monday. He replied, you are on a journey, & it may be inconvenient to you, to wait. He went to call in his Neighbour, Dr. Boyd, & took from his Desk a bag, laid it on the table, & presented the order to the Dr. The Doctor counted out the money & we gave a receipt. The Jew set looking on, to see that all was rightly transacted, but said nothing, & thus quieted his conscience against the rebuke of a violation of his Sabbath; but I thought he might as well have done the business himself, as by an agent.

The Jews in general are said to be very strict & punctual in the observance of some of the traditionary ceremonies of their law, but hesitate not to defraud, when opportunity presents. Like their predecessors, the Pharisees they tythe the mint, annis & cummin & neglect the weightier matters of the Law, as Judgment, mercy & faith. They strain at a gnat, & swallow a Camel. Lancaster is the largest inland town on the Continent.¹ It is situated in the center of an extensive valley, & is an excellent soil for wheat. Limestone abounds in this State, & some farmers begin to manure the ground that has long produced that golden grain, with this invigorating stone. They have kilns in their fields, in which they burn it.

The people of Lancaster are principally emigrants from Germany & talk their native language. There are houses of public worship for the Lutherans the German Calvinites—the Presbyterians—the Episcopalians—the Roman Catholics, each one. The Lutheran's the largest. Some Moravians & Jews.

In this place we became acquainted with the minister of the Lutheran Church, Mr. Henry Helmutz. He spake

¹ It contained about 5000 people at the first United States census, in 1790.

english very intelligibly & sustains the character of a pious, laborious & zealous preacher.¹

He was a young man, had a wife & one Child. Was educated in the famous Orphan House of Halle in Saxony, as I was informed, on the charitable funds of that Institution, founded by the great & good Augustus Franke. He informed me that the motives of his coming to America were the following. The Rev. Mr. Whitefield, famous for his wonderful zeal & labours both in Europe & America, wrote to Mr. Francke informing him that there were numerous settlements of Germans in Pennsylvania, who were destitute of learned & pious teachers, & requesting that he would send to him, in England, two pious persons, & he would introduce them into a field of useful labour, in that part of the Vineyard. He, (Mr. Helmut) & another offered to go. They arrived in England & waited on Mr. Whitefield. His first address a little alarmed them. He said, "Young men are you going to America, to preach the Gospel? Ah! you will find that the Devil has got there before you;—but he immediately added, *Jesus Christ is there too.*" "We found it so," said Mr. Helmut. Soon after his arrival at Lancaster, it pleased God to pour out a spirit of awakening among the people, particularly the large congregation of the Lutherans, of whom he was minister. It was a new & strange thing, among a people seemingly altogether absorbed in worldly pursuits & pleasures. They daily resorted to him, inquiring what they should do to be saved. The work spread, & was deep & genuine. The principal men of his Congregation came to him, & told him that it was the work of the Devil, & he must suppress it. He told them that it was the work of God, & he must encourage & promote it. Their rage was incensed against

¹ Dr. Helmut (born 1745, died 1833) remained in Lancaster from 1769 to 1779, and went thence to Philadelphia. See Sprague's *Annals of the Amer. Pulpit*, ix, pt. 1, 51-54.

him, & they threatened to dismiss him. He was constant in his attention to souls under conviction, in preaching, prayer & conversation. The opposition grew more violent, as the work of God increased in the town. In the freedom of conversation, he mentioned that in the troubles which he met with from enraged opposers, he used to go to God in prayer for light & fortitude, & found it at times hard, to say "*Thy will be done.*"

Mr. Helmut's proposed to the gentlemen in opposition, that they should meet & confer on the important subject. They accordingly met at the School House. The leaders were filled with rage against him. With Christian meekness, he said, that they needed divine light & direction from heaven, in the momentous business on which they had met, & that if it was agreeable, he would address the throne of grace; & wonderful was the effect! The spirit of God came down upon them, & they who had nashed upon him with their teeth, when prayer was ended, with tears cried out, *Sir, what must we do to be saved? Then*, he observed that the work of God in the town, went on gloriously. Some effects of it, were very visible while we were there. I heard him preach on Sunday, a third Sermon (in German) to a very numerous audience, in his large Brick Church. They were solemn & attentive. From the affinity of languages, I found his text was in Jeremiah 23. 29. "Is not my word like as a fire? saith the Lord; & like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces?" His manner was pathetic, affectionate & impressive. The music was solemn. With the Organ¹ & other instruments of music, the voices of the whole congregation seemed to unite.—The minister's salaries in this place are collected by contribution. The mode of collecting was new to me.

At the close of public worship, about 6 men, each with a small black velvet bag fastened to the end of a

¹ At this date organs were of extreme rarity in American churches.

long staff presented the bag which had a small bell suspended at the bottom to each person in the long pews or slips. The tinkling of the bell gave warn'g of the approach of the little purse. The contribution was speedily finished.

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In this town we saw two Indian traders, who had lately returned from the Scioto & Muskingum; who informed, that the Indians in that quarter were now peaceable & friendly, & that the body of the Delawares, who lived on the Western Branch of the Susquehanna,¹ to whom we had thought of going, were removing into the Muskingum country, by invitation of their indian brethren, & were conducted by the Rev. Mr. Etwine,² Chief of the Moravians in Bethlehem. This intelligence determined us to relinquish our journey up the Susquehanna, & to pursue our route to the Ohio.

At Lancaster we put up at the house of Mr. Hall, Goldsmith, his wife was a Switser, a pious & sensible woman.

August 3.—Monday morning we left Lancaster & arrived at the house of the Rev. Mr. Roan³ of Donnegall, to whom we had letters. A worthy sensible man. Some years ago, itinerant preachers were prohibited from preaching in Virginia. There was in some parts of it, a serious concern among the people, & Mr. Roan, who has the character of a zealous Boanerges, ventured to go & preach in the fields, to numerous audiences. Officers were sent to apprehend him, in the midst of his preaching; they were struck with his undaunted countenance & the majesty of his subject, & returned without executing their commission.

We left Donnegall, & coming to the Susquehanna could

¹ In Bradford County, Northeastern Pennsylvania.

² John Ettwein, afterwards bishop, born 1721, died 1802.

³ John Roan. See Sprague's *Annals of the Amer. Pulpit*, iii, 129-30. He ministered to three churches of this neighborhood from 1745 to 1775, his residence being in the present town of Mount Joy, Lancaster County.

find no boat to cross it, nor house nigh. The River was low, & about half a mile wide. A man passing by, told us that we might ford it. I set out & Mr. Frisbie followed. It was a long & dangerous ride. The River rapid & the bottom stony & uneven. My horse often tripped, & the water came up to the Saddle. I fixed my eyes on the opposite bank, & kept a strait course, when I ventured to look on the water, could see the fish swimming around me; through a good providence we got through, wet & weary. In the evening we arrived at the Rev. Mr. Duffield's,¹ 6 miles from Carlisle. He received us with great kindness. Mr. Duffield rode with us to Carlisle to Col^o Armstrongs, to obtain further information on Indian affairs. The Col^o is a sensible & pious man, having great & deserved influence in the town & country. Mr. Duffield & he married Sisters.²

In the french war, after Braddock's defeat, & the numerous disasters which happened to our forces on the frontiers, a bold & hazardous expedition conducted by Col^o Armstrong against the Indians, providentially turned the tide of success in favor of the Colonies. He headed a party of about 300 men & came by surprise upon a considerable town of Indians called the Ketanning on the Allegany river, & killed a considerable number, & burned the town. This bold stroke mightily alarmed the enemy, & kept them at a distance from the new settlements.

The town of Carlisle is a considerable place of trade, principally with the western country & the Indians. It contains two presbyterian Houses for public worship.

A species of the Bohea tea grows spontaneously in the woods. The people manufacture & use it. It resembles the imported Bohea in taste & flavor.

¹ The Rev. George Duffield (Princeton Coll., 1752), then settled over the united Presbyterian churches of Carlisle, Big Spring, and Monahan (now Dillsburg).

² Mrs. Duffield was a sister (not sister-in-law) of Gen. John Armstrong, of Carlisle, the hero of the French War (born 1725, died 1795).

We returned to Mr. Duffield's. Mr. Frisbie being unwell, tarried with him, & Saturday Mr. Duffield accompanied me a few miles on the road to a vacant settlement, called the Big Spring, where I proposed to spend the sabbath & wait for Mr. Frisbie's arrival. Notice of my intention had been forwarded to the people. I put up at the house of Allen Leper elder of the Church.

9.—Sabbath went to the place of worship. It was a large log house. The congregation being great, I preached on a stage erected in a large shady grove. The people sat on the ground which was covered with verdant grass. The Assembly was solemn & attentive. They seemed all to unite their voices in psalmody. They sang the old Scotch version & all on the tenor. The Clerk read the lines. There was much solemnity in the sound of the high praises of Jehovah, in their united & elevated voices. When a boy, my mother informed me that she had a brother (John McClintock) who was settled in Pennsylvania. But I knew not the place of his residence. After sermon, I was agreeably surprised, to see my aunt & her Children come to me & ask my mother's name, they cordially shook hands, & after the evening service I went home with them, & found my aged uncle alive & well. With them I tarried several days, not a little thankful at finding in that distant country, such near & kind friends. At our departure, they loaded us with refreshments on our journey over the Appelachians mountains, whose majestic summits we had seen many miles back, & were now not far from the foot of the first of that vast chain of lofty hills.

Aug. 11.—My aged Uncle, who treated me with the affection of a father, rode with us about 13 miles, to the Rev. Mr. Robert Cooper's¹ at Shippensburgh. A sensible, good man.

¹ Pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Middle Spring, in Shippensburg, Cumberland County, 1765 to 1797. See Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, iii, 270-73.

Aug. 12.—We set out from Mr. Cooper's, & in two hours arrived at the foot of the North mountain¹ which is the first of the Appalachian. We passed through McCallister's gap. The road was dismal. It was a hollow through the mountain about six miles, rough, rocky & narrow. It was a bed of stones & rocks which probably the waters falling from each side had washed bare.

In about 2 hours we passed through the gap, having walked almost the whole way. On the western side, the descent into Path Valley was steep & stony, & so continued more than a mile. Leading our horses down, they came near falling upon us several times. The dismal gap was made a little pleasanter, by some company going the same way, which we parted with after coming into the Valley.

The inhabitants of this country, many miles around, are Scotch Irish. They are presbyterians, & generally well indoctrinated in the principles of the christian religion, civil, hospitable & curteous to strangers. This description of people are removing almost daily into this country. Great numbers, within a few years, have come from Ireland.

The road which we came through McCallister's gap, is 20 miles nearer than the waggon road south by the way of Fort Loudon.²

The land in Path Valley is good & well watered; we lodged at the house of Mr. Elliot, & in the morning set out for the Tuscarora mountain, the foot of which was about 3 miles from Elliot's. The ascent was steep & rocky: descending the western side, we had a fine prospect of an extended valley running N. & S. & some cultivated farms. At 8 o'clock in the evening we arrived at a

¹ Now called Kittatinny, or Blue Mountain.

² Built by order of the Earl of Loudoun, Commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, in 1756, one mile from the present town of Loudoun, and thirteen miles west of Chambersburg.

Mr. Bird's, at Fort Littleton.¹ Here was a small guard of british soldiers, principally for the purposes of carrying dispatches from Fort Pitt to Philadelphia &c., the village contained only 3 or 4 log houses.

The next morning we left the valley & passed over another mountain called Sidling Hill, & about noon came to Juniatta River.² In 1755, here was a small garrison commanded by Lieu: Wood, which was taken by the Delaware Indians. The sufferings of Esq. Wood in captivity, he related to us not long after, at his house in Bedford.

13.—Arrived at Bedford,³ & received with hospitality by Esq. Wood, to whom we had a letter from Mr. Duffield. (If leisure permits, some particulars of the remarkable captivity of Esq. Wood will be mentioned at the conclusion.)—Bedford lies in an extensive & fertile valley.

The next day we rode across the Valley, & had before us the sublime prospect of the Allegany mountain, which we soon began to climb. It is the largest of the Appalachian, & usually gives name to the whole range.

Before we encountered this largest Mountain, we purchased, at the house of a hunter, a quantity of excellent dried Venison, at the cheap price of 3d. per cwt. This mountain is 11 Miles over. In some parts so steep, that we were necessitated to hold by the tails of our horses & let them haul us up: this mode, however, though less laborious, was not so safe as climbing without this expedient, as we were exposed to be wounded by the stones, which their feet threw back upon us. Arriving at the summit, we were agreeably surprised to come upon a verdant plain, about half a mile in width, & what was more wonderful, a fine stream of water running from North to South, through the middle of the plain. We bathed in the refreshing

¹ Built in 1756. The name is perpetuated in the town on that site, now in Fulton County.

² The Raystown branch of the Juniata.

³ Bedford is about fifty miles due west from Shippensburg, which they left the morning of the day before.

stream ; & so tame were the little fishes, that they came fearless to my feet & nibbled at my toes. Happy little creatures ! In your secluded brook, your jaws never felt the torturing pain of the fisherman's hook, nor were you ever pursued by any fish of prey.

We regaled ourselves with our dried venison & other refreshments, which the kindness of friends had afforded us. Our horses also enjoyed the place by ranging & feeding at large. To the Northward of us the Allegany rose higher, & from that elevation, we concluded, the brook received its source. From this elevated plain we had an extensive prospect of mountains rising behind each other, from the West, North about to the East, the most distant appearing like blue clouds in the Horizon. Here,

“ Hills peep o'er hills & Alps on Alps arise.”

From the course of the waters which issue from this majestic range of mountains, it seems that the Tuskarora which we have passed is the most elevated ground, between the Atlantic, & the waters of the Ohio ; for from the eastern side of that mountain, the streams run to the waters of the Chesapeake, & from the west pay their tribute to the waters which form the Ohio, enlarging as they advance, & finding their way through the gaps of the Mountains. The eastern side of the Allegany is steep, but the western descends with a gentle slope.

Ascending it, we encountered & slew two Rattlesnakes. One had 11 & the other 8 rattles. They were not disposed to be hostile, until we attacked them. We descended, & at the setting of the sun came to the house of a Mr. Millar, 25 miles from Bedford, where we lodged, The growth of the mountain are different kinds of oak, Chestnut, Walnut or Hickory, Wild Cherry, Sassafras, Honey Locusts & some maple. Before our arrival at Millar's, met 15 horses carrying cannon balls from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia.

Aug. 15.—Saturday morn'g ascended a steep hill, & descending a valley, came to Stoney Creek. Met 2 soldiers express from Fort Pitt, to Gen. Gage, to know the destination of 5 companies of british soldiers, which have lately arrived from Fort Chartres. Rode to McMullen's 9 miles, & to McClee's 1 mile further, where resting awhile, we began to ascend the Laurel Hill, which is as deserving of the more exalted name of mountain, as several of its fellows, it is about 9 miles over, although not so steep or high as the Allegany. At our ascending it, there came on a tremendous storm of thunder & a deluge of rain. Wet & weary at sunset, we arrived at Ligonier,¹ and put up at the house of the widow Cambel's. From Wednesday morning to Saturday evening we have been clambering mountains, the most of the way, was through a zigzag or serpentine horse path; & rejoiced in the divine protection which had brought us hitherto. The country before us was plain & fertile, about 50 miles to Pittsburgh, & about 130 miles from thence to Muskingum.

16.—Sabbath, We preached in the house of Mrs. Cambel to the people of the settlement, who live in 20 or 30 log houses. Capt. Arthur St. Clair² resided there, who treated us with polite attention. Dined with him on Monday. His wife was a Miss Bethun of Boston. They had a number of pretty children. He said that the settlement in the valley of Ligonier consisted of about 100 families, principally Scotch & Irish: that they had purchased a parsonage for a minister & subscribed £100, Currency, Salary, & wished to obtain a settled Clergyman. Baptized a child of Thos. Gray's, by the name of Jonah. Capt. St.

¹ The present town of this name, in Westmoreland County, is on the site of Fort Ligonier, built by General Forbes in 1758.

² St. Clair, afterwards Major-General U. S. Army, and Governor of the Northwestern Territory, had acquired a large tract of land at Ligonier, partly by a grant from the King for his services in the French War. He married, about 1760, Phoebe, daughter of Balthazar and Mary (Bowdoin) Bayard, of Boston.

Clair has 4 or 5 soldiers under him, principally for the purposes of expresses.

Here saw a Benjamin Sutton, a great hunter & traveller among the Indians. He informs us of 17 tribes of Indians, on the waters of the Ohio, one of them, he says, are Mohegans. He also said that he had been in a town of white Indians, descendants of the Welch; that they shewed him a Welch bible carefully covered with skins, which they venerated as a precious relict of their fathers; but none of them could read it; & that they lived far west of the Mississippi. But Sutton's character for veracity I found was not well established.

Aug. 18.—Crossed the Laurel hanning,¹ a pleasant stream which runs through Ligonier, & rode to Col. Proctors. Here we found Kiahshutah, Chief of the Senecas, on his way to Philad^a & from thence Sr. Wm. Johnson's, who, as his interpreter Simon Girty² informed us, had sent for him, relative to a treaty held some time ago at the Shawaness towns. He was dressed in a scarlet cloth turned up with lace, & a high gold laced hat, & made a martial appearance. He had a very sensible countenance & dignity of manners. His interpreter informed him of the business on which we were going. I asked him his opinion of it. He paused a few moments, & replied that he was afraid it would not succeed; for said he, "the Indians are a roving people, & they will not attend to your instructions; but take courage & make trial. The King of the Delawares & the warriors are now at home, & you will see them." He also mentioned that there was a minister at Kuskuskoong, on Bever Creek, & that one half of the Indians were offended with the other for hearkening to him.

¹ Now written Loyalhanna, a corruption of the Indian name.

² Born in Pennsylvania in 1741; afterwards a noted Indian interpreter, and infamous as instigator of the savages during the Revolution; died 1818. See Butterfield's *History of the Girtys*, 1890.

From Col. Proctor's we travelled with an intention of lodging at Mr. Irwine's. We arrived a little before the setting of the Sun, at his house, but found he had removed, & the house empty. The next house was 11 Miles distant, & the road was through a wilderness. We proceeded on and were overtaken by darkness & rain, our horses frequently wandered from the path, about 11 O'Clock we passed through a cleared field, near to which Col^o Bouquet fought the Indians, in a bloody battle 1764.¹ Wandering on we came to the house of one Byerly a Dutchman. We intreated admittance, but he refused to let us in. We proceeded on & crossed Bushy Run, the banks were mud & mire, the stream up to the horses bellies, & such was the darkness that we could scarcely see the water. By good providence we got safely through & soon arrived at another Dutchman's, one Tegart. We knocked at the door & awoke one, who held a conversation with us, while the rain was pouring down. At first he declined letting us in, alleging that the house was full of indian traders from Pittsburgh &c. At last we wrought a little upon his humanity, & he unbarred the door.

It is strange that there should be so wide a difference in point of hospitality, between the Germans & the Scotch and Irish of this country. The former will put themselves to no trouble to oblige you, & expect a reward for every service, the latter, we found cheerfully shewing us any kindness which we needed, without any other reward, except the satisfaction of obliging a stranger. Around the dirty room of the Log house lay asleep and snoring, a number of men. No bed or bedding was to be had. We persuaded the fellow who let us in, to make up a fire, we were obliged however, to bring in the wood, & we partly dried our clothes. He also brought us two dirty blankets, & spreading them on the muddy

¹ The Indian attack on Col. Henry Bouquet's expedition, near Bushy Run, took place on Aug. 5, 1763.

floor, before the fire, we lay down supperless to try to sleep. But such swarms of fleas from the blankets attacked us on all quarters, that sleep refused us its oblivious soothing comforts. The Dutchman, with a beard an inch in length, sat on a block in the corner of the chimney place smoaking his pipe, & to while away the tedious hours, I asked him to relate over the battle of Col^o Boquet with the Indians, not far from that place: & he told a long & blundering story, & retired leaving us to our own reflections & tormentors. We quitted our uneasy couch at dawn & got our horses. The Landlady arose & looking at us, made an apology for our coarse accommodations, & charged nothing for our lodging. We rode about 2 Miles to Mr. Lion's, & got refreshments. From thence passing near the field where Braddock was defeated, reached Elliot's. Mr. Frisbie's horse tiring, we walked most of the way from Elliots to Pittsburgh, 7 miles.

ARRIVAL AT PITTSBURGH

Aug. 19.—Arrived at this place about sun set. The first object of our attention was a number of poor drunken Indians, staggering & yelling through the Village. It is the headquarters of Indian traders, & the resort of Indians of different & distant tribes, who come to exchange their peltry & furs for rum, blankets & ammunition etc.

Aug. 20.—Waited on Major Hamilton, who at present commands at the Fort, he being unwell desired us to call the next day. We put up at a Mr. Sample's.

21.—Waited on the Commandant, shewed him our Credentials & passport from the Governor.

He & the officers treated us politely. The officers here are Maj. Hamilton, Major Edminston, Capt. Fowler, Capt. Shea, Lieuts. Richardson, Douglas, Pridieu, Piety, Ensigns Blackwood & Hand of the 18 Regiment.

The Fort is a handsome & strong fortification. In it are barracks & comfortable houses, one large brick house, called the Governor's house. It stands at the point of land formed by the junction of the Allegany & Monongehala rivers, on an extensive plain. Adjoining are a good Orchard & gardens.

The Village is about $\frac{1}{4}$ Mile distant, & consists of about 40 dwelling houses made of hewed logs & stands on the bank of the Monongehala; opposite on the south side of the river is a hill of several miles in length, running parallel & extending to the bank, which appears to be a body of stone coal. A smoak issued, in one place, from the top. It took fire accidentally a year past, & has

formed a small bason by the caving of the earth. The coal is used by the inhabitants.¹

21.—Rode to Col^o George Croghan's, about 3 miles & dined. He is a Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs. He politely offered to send a Belt of Wampum & a speech to the King of the Delawares by our Interpreter; we thanked him for the friendly offer. Saw many of the honey Locust trees. The fruit is a flat pod which contains a sweet sap or juice. The body & limbs are defended by long & sharp thorns. The fruit when ripened by the frost, falls off.

22.—Our Interpreter waited on Col^o Croghern & received the Belt & speech. Dined by invitation with the Officers in the Fort.

23.—Preached at the request of Major Hamilton, in the Fort, to the Garrison about 200, who were paraded under arms, during divine service, & to the inhabitants of the Village. The greater part of the soldiers had lately arrived from Fort Chartres on the Mississippi,² & had not heard a sermon for 4 years. In the afternoon Mr. Frisbie preached in the Village. A great part of the people here make the Sabbath a day of recreation, drinking & profanity. Providentially, near Pittsburgh, we found a christian Indian, who engaged to be our Interpreter. His name was Joseph Pepee,³ of the Delaware nation. He had just arrived in the vicinity, with about 50 families who were removing from the Susquehanna to Muskingum, as already mentioned. Pepee was an aged man, & one of the christians of the late pious & laborious David Brainard's Congregation. He proved to be a sincere & faithful &

¹ One of the earliest known references to the use of anthracite coal in America. Cf. *Magazine of American History*, v, 452-53, and *Magazine of Western History*, xiii, 271-73.

² In Randolph County, Southwestern Illinois. Surrendered to the English by the French in 1765, and abandoned in 1772, being undermined by the river.

³ See a notice of him in Rev. David Jones's *Journals*, 1865.

zealous Interpreter. He had officiated in that capacity for Messrs. Beatty & Duffield on their visit a few years past, to the Indians at Muskingum. Mr. John Brainard had recommended him to us, & we esteemed the circumstance which placed him in our way, as a signal smile of providence. He was obliged to go forward with the colony of his countrymen to Kuskuskoong, about 55 miles, to consult upon the place where to settle. Mr. Frisbie has been unwell for several days, & I fear will not be able to encounter the fatigues of the indian Mission. His disorder is the fever & ague.

25.—Rode to Major Ward's & dined.

26.—Rode with Messrs. McCallaster & Coulter, to the house of the latter, 18 miles from Pittsburgh, with the expectation of preaching there on the ensuing Sabbath.

28.—Rode with McCallaster to Joseph Hunter's, near the Yohio Geni¹ River. In the evening arrived Dr. John Connolly,² voluntier in the british service. He had lately come from Fort Chartres. Says the climate there is unhealthy, the people subject to fevers, supposed occasioned by stagnated waters on the flat & low lands of that country. There is a french settlement at the Fort, subject to the english governm.

29.—Saturday, rode over the Yohio Geni to Mr. Mitchel's

30.—Sunday returned to Mr. Hunter's, 3 miles, where I preached, two sermons to a serious & attentive audience. Some of the settlers here had not heard a sermon for 14 years. There was no settled minister or church organized in all the country westward of the Appalachian Mountains. The people are generally presbyterians. A few illiterate preachers of the baptist persuasion, have preached about, zealous to make proselytes.

Baptized 2 child^o John & Jane Mitchel. A number

¹ Now written Yohogany.

² Subsequently an active loyalist in the Revolution.

of families here talk of removing to the Natchez on the Missisipi.

Monday rode to Braddock's¹ field. This memorable spot is about 11 miles above Pittsburgh on the bank of the Monongehala. It is a gradual ascent from the bank to the top of a hill, extending about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile. Up & down this Ascent the army consisting of about 1400 chosen troops were paraded, rank & file, three deep in platoons, with intervals for field pieces. They were a fatal mark for the Indians, who lay on the ground, concealed by the trees. About 1000 of the army fell; & it was not known that a single Indian was hurt. The trees in front of the army were wounded with grape shot about five feet from the ground. I got a handful of the shot from one of the trees. It was a melancholy spectacle to see the bones of men strewed over the ground, left to this day, without the solemn rite of sepulture. The fact is a disgrace to the british commanders at Fort Pitt. The bones had been gnawed by wolves, the vestiges of their teeth appearing on them. Many hundreds of skulls lay on the ground. I examined several, & found the mark of the scalping knife on all. I put one, & a jaw bone, in my portmantau, which I afterwards presented to Mr. Stewart's Museum² in Hartford. The harness of the horses remained unconsumed on the ground. A man who lives near the field of battle, & whose corn field takes in a part of it, had humanely collected a great number of the bones & laid them in small heaps. I departed from the place with serious & solemn reflections on the vanity of life, & the deep depravity of our fallen nature, the dreadful source of fighting & war, & all the miseries that man delights to inflict on man.

¹ For the best account of Braddock's defeat, on July 9, 1755, see Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*, i.

² The Rev. Joseph Stewart (Dartmouth Coll., 1780) had a famous Museum of curiosities in Hartford, where he was also Deacon of the First Church.

“Oh! why will men forget that they are brethren!”

Rode to Mr. Eliot's 7 miles from Pittsburgh, & baptized his children.

Sept. 1.—Wrote sundry Letters to friends in New England. Mr. Frisbie remains unwell. Dr. Hand,¹ surgeon in the british army (Afterwards a General in the American Army in the Revolutionary war), very attentively & gratuitously attended Mr. Frisbie, during his sickness. It was the opinion of the Dr. that it was not advisable for Mr. Frisbie to attempt going into the Indian Country. It was indeed to me very disagreeable to go without him, & to encounter the hardships of the wilderness alone, & without a companion with whom I could hold friendly & christian conversation.

Sept. 3 & 4.—Preparing for my journey to Muskingum. Engaged Robert McClellan to go with me as a waiter.

5.—Saturday, left Mr. Frisbie, who purposed, God willing, to come forward as soon as his health would permit; & set out with Robert, expecting to meet my Interpreter Joseph returning from Kuskuskoong. Mr. Gibson rode in company to his house in Logstown,² which was the only house there, 18 miles below Pittsburgh.

Tarried at Mr. Gibson's over Sabbath. Spent the day principally in the solitary woods, in meditation & reading. Monday, my interpreter not arriving, I set out with Robert to find him. Mr. Gibson was kind enough to ride with me to a small town of Mingo Indians,³ on the N. bank of the Ohio, & to send his servant a few miles further to show us the path. The roads through this Indian country are no more than a single horse path, among the trees. For a wilderness the travelling was pleasant, as there was no underbrush & the trees do not grow very closely to-

¹ Edward Hand, born in Ireland in 1744.

² On the right bank of the Ohio, near the site of the present village of Economy, Beaver County, Pa.

³ A name for the Senecas in Ohio; also used as an equivalent for the more general name, Iroquois.

gether. We travelled diligently all day. I was apprehensive that we had missed the path. Robert was a great smoker of tobacco, & frequently lighted his pipe, by striking fire, as he sat on his horse, & often in the course of the day, exclaimed in his jargon, "Ding me, but this path will take us somewhere." At sun setting we arrived at Kuskuskoong,¹ & found my Interpreter Joseph there. He had been detained by the sickness & death of a Grandchild. It was a neat Moravian village, consisting of one street & houses pretty compact, on each side, with gardens, back. There was a convenient Log church, with a small bell, in which the Indians assembled for morning & evening prayer. The village was full, as their brethren the Susquehanna Indians had arrived with Mr. Etwine. The name of the German Moravian Missionary stationed here is Roth.² David Leizburgher³ is the minister of the Indians going to Muskingum. The Missionaries have their wives & families with them. They received me with great hospitality. At the sound of the bell, the Indians assembled in the church for evening prayer. It was lighted with candles around the walls, on which hung some common paintings of Jesus in the manger of Bethlehem with Joseph & Mary; Jesus on the Cross, & the Resurrection &c. On one side set the elderly men & the boys by themselves, & on the other the women & girls. The evening exercise consisted of devout hymns in the Indian language, & in singing they all, young & old bore a part, & the devotion was solemn & impressive. After singing a number of hymns, the missionary addressed them, in a short exhortation in the Indian language, & they retired with great order & stillness to their houses. Their hymns are prayers addressed to Jesus Christ, the lamb of God, who died for the sins of

¹ Otherwise Kaskaskunk, or Coscosky, a noted Indian town, on the site of the present Newcastle, on Beaver River, in Lawrence County, Pa.

² John Roth, born in Russia in 1726, died 1791.

³ Read Zeisberger.

men, & exhortations & resolutions to abstain from sin, because sin is most displeasing to him, & to live in love & the practice of good works, as he has given us example.

The same exercise was observed also early in the morning, of the following day. I was agreeably surprised to find so devout & orderly a congregation of christian Indians in the wilderness, & pleased with the meek & friendly deportment of the Missionaries.

The moravians appear to have adopted the best mode of christianizing the Indians. They go among them without noise or parade, & by their friendly behaviour conciliate their good will. They join them in the chase, & freely distribute to the helpless & gradually instil into the minds of individuals, the principles of religion. They then invite those who are disposed to hearken to them, to retire to some convenient place, at a distance from the wild Indians, & assist them to build a village, & teach them to plant & sow, & to carry on some coarse manufactures.

Those Indians, thus separated, reverence & love their instructors, as their fathers, & withdraw a connection with the wild or drinking Indians. Among other instances of the attachment & respect which the Indians shew them, I noticed the following circumstance, which my Interpreter explained.

In the morning an Indian with his gun & small pack, & his wife, came into the house of the missionary. After conversing in a very friendly manner, the missionary affectionately saluted the Indian man on the cheek, shook the hand of his wife; & the Wife of the missionary saluted the cheek of the squaw, & they departed well pleased. The substance of the conversation was as follows—

Indian.—Father, I am going a hunting.

Missionary.—How long, my friend, do you expect to be gone? And where will you go?

Indian.—About six weeks. mentioning the place or point of compass, he was going.

Missionary.—Well, dear friends, be always mindful of your blessed Saviour, & do nothing to displease him, who loved you & died for you. Go not in the way of the wild Indians; but if you meet them shew them much love & kindness. Be careful to pray your hymns to Jesus, every night & every morning. May God bless & prosper you, & bring you back in peace & safety.”

Each family has a small, well cultivated garden, & a part in a large corn field adjoining the town. The missionaries are remarkably attentive to the cleanliness of the Indians, & have caused necessary houses to be built for the conveniency of the town.

Two soft feather beds were carried to the church, where Rev. Mr. Etwine & I lodged. His conversation was pleasant. He observed that the principal object of the Brethren was to carry the knowledge of J. X. among pagans, & not to build on other's foundations, or enter on other men's labours. That they had established churches on the river Wolga among the Tarters—among the Greenlanders, & on the coast of Africa &c. He observed that they were a sect everywhere spoken against; but that he believed the great object of their society was to bring the heathen, as well as others, to the knowledge & love of Jesus. Mr. Etwine approved of our design, but said he thought it would scarcely be safe for a missionary to venture among the Indians, to whom I was going, for he had been there & found many of them much opposed to the Gospel.¹

Took leave of the friendly Moravians & set out for Mr. Gibbson's, where I had left some baggage.

We came to the mouth of Beaver Creek about sun set-

¹ *The Life and Times of David Zeisberger*, by E. de Schweinitz (Philadelphia, 1870), states that McClure and Frisbie relinquished their project when they found the Delawares provided with Moravian teachers, and adds (p. 380): “Ettwein, with that blunt honesty so characteristic of him, suggested that if the Scotch Society desired to aid in converting the Delawares, the Moravian Mission would accept any gifts it might choose to make.”

ting, where was a village of Mingo Indians. Great part of the Indians were drunk : one of the chiefs had sold his horse for 6 cags of rum, & gave a frolic to the people ; we avoided the village, & Joseph encamped on the bank of the Ohio, & Robert & I rode on to Mr. Gibson's about 6 Miles.

Sept. 9.—I sent Robert in the morning to Pittsburgh, for a horse for Joseph. The same day Mr. Gibson arrived & informed me that Mr. Frisbie was much better, & no doubt would be able to go with me to Muskingum.

10.—Robert was to have been back to Mr. Gibson's, the last evening ; but had not arrived, & Joseph weary of waiting at his encampment, had come to Mr. Gibson's.

12.—Saturday, Robert not coming, I went to Pittsburgh, partly with a view to preach there on the morrow, & principally with the expectation of finding my companion Mr. Frisbie, so far recovered as to accompany me.—Arriving found that Robert, in violation of his engagement, had gone home, up the Monongahala, & I never saw him after. I was also disappointed of seeing Mr. Frisbie, as he had gone to a settlement 24 miles distant.

13.—Lord's Day, preached by invitation of Major Edminston in the Fort, & in the afternoon, in the village. The inhabitants of this place are very dissipated. They seem to feel themselves beyond the arm of government, & freed from the restraining influence of religion. It is the resort of Indian traders, & many here have escaped from Justice & from Creditors, in the old settlements. The greater part of the Indian traders keep a squaw, & some of them a white woman, as a temporary wife. Was sorry to find friend Gibson in the habit of the first. They allege the good policy of it, as necessary to a successful trade. We found, however, a happy few who live in the fear of God, & maintain their integrity, particularly a Mr. Jonathan Plumer¹ & his family. He was originally

¹ He emigrated to Pennsylvania about 1750. See Albert's *History of Westmoreland County*, 659.

from Newbury port. In his family, which is numerous & laborious, the life of religion is duly maintained. The dissipated respect him for his goodness & benevolence; but by way of reproach, give him the name of *Solomon*. He was the first man who found us on our arrival, & treated us with every possible mark of attention & kindness, in his power.

Lieu: Fowler presented me with a Vertebra of the Mammoth weighing 9 lbs & 3 ounces taken from the Big-bone Lick, near the river Kentucky; & also a grinder weighing 4 lbs & 4 ounces, two other grinders also of that species of animals, I obtained. I afterwards sent them, in a british waggon, to Philadelphia, from whence they were conveyed to Boston.

Dr. John Connally who had visited the Lick, & brought up some bones, informed, that the place where they are found is a soft clayey or glutenous earth, which forms the head of a small stream running into the Ohio. He killed a Buffalo that had mired there, not long since. He said he had seen a traveler who had found the intire skeleton of one of those animals, about a 1000 Miles to the N. W. of the Lick, & in a direction to that part of N. America, which is most contiguous to the coast of Asia.

May we not conjecture that they came across the narrow streight of Bhering, from Siberia, where, it is said, the same kind of bones are found? That they herded together, & venturing into the Lick, for the brackish or salt water which oozes out of the ground, sunk into the bitumen & perished? The great body of american Indians probably found their way into this country, from Tartary, by the same streight.

Having passed the Sabbath evening with Major Edminston & the officers of the garrison, the Major politely waited on me to the gate, & at parting said, "You are engaged, sir, in a benevolent work, & you have my best wishes for your success. I am a Christian, & therefore

please to command me in anything, in which I may serve you." I returned many thanks for his kindness.

Monday. I was much at a loss where to find an englishman to go with me, & my Indian interpreter, as an assistant & companion: but providentially, a young man, Joseph Nickels, who was the interpreter for the garrison, & had a salary from the crown, & who had been a captive among the Indians when young, & well acquainted with all their customs, mentioned to me that it would be agreeable to him to go with me, if I could obtain leave of absence. I accordingly waited on the Commandant, & he politely gave him leave of absence, for a month. By the kindness of friends, I was furnished with a horse for him, & one for my interpreter, & another to carry our baggage, which consisted of a markee tent, (lent me by Capt. Gibson;) blankets, some cooking utensils & sundry articles of provisions.

DEPARTURE FROM PITTSBURGH

SEPT^R 15. 1772

SET out with Nickels, & crossing the Allegany River, came on Indian ground. Arrived at Mr. Gibson's, at Logs town about 18 Miles, & found my Interpreter there.

16th.—Came to the Mingo village on Bever Creek. On the green lay an old Indian, who, they said, had been a hard drinker; his limbs were contracted by fits. He told me his disorder was brought on him by witchcraft, that he employed several conjurors to cure him, but in vain. I called his attention to his dependence on God, on death & Judgment. He however gave little heed; but in answer told my Interpreter, if he would bring a pint of rum every time he came, he should be glad to see him every day. Awful stupidity! This village is commonly called Logan's town. About half an hour before our arrival, we saw Captⁿ Logan in the woods, & I was not a little surprised at his appearance. As we were obliged to ride, as it is commonly called in Indian file, the path not admitting two to ride a breast, I had passed beyond Logan without seeing him. He spoke to my interpreter, who was a little distance behind, to desire me to stop. I looked back & saw him a few rods from the path, stand under a tree, leaning on the muzzle of his gun. A young Indian, with his gun, stood by him.

I turned back & riding up to Logan, asked him how he did, & whether he wished to speak with me? (I had seen him at Pittsburgh). Pointing to his breast, he said, "I

feel very bad *here*. Wherever I go the evil monethoes¹ (Devils) are after me. My house, the trees & the air, are full of Devils, they continually haunt me, & they will kill me. All things tell me how wicked I have been." He stood pale & trembling, apparently in great distress. His eyes were fixed on the ground, & the sweat run down his face like one in agony. It was a strange sight. I had several times seen him at Pittsburgh & thought him the most martial figure of an Indian that I had ever seen. At the conclusion of his awful description of himself, he asked me what he should do? Recollecting to have heard at Pittsburgh, that he had been a bloody enemy against the poor defenseless settlers on the Susquehanna, & the frontiers, in the last french war in 1758, & 9, & it was also reported of him, (though positive proof could not be had) that he had murdered a white man (one Chandler) on the Allegany mountains. I observed to him, perhaps Capt.^a Logan, you have been a wicked man, & greatly offended God, & he now allows these Devils, or evil thoughts which arise in your heart to trouble you, that you may now see yourself to be a great sinner & repent & pray to God to forgive you. If you will repent & ask forgiveness of God from the bottom of your heart, & live a better life, the Great Spirit above will not suffer the Devils to torment you, & he will give you peace.

He attended to what I said, & after conversing a little longer, in the same strain, We left him, in the same distress, as I found him. After parting from him, various thoughts, but none satisfactory, occurred to me, relative to the cause of the distress & agitation of so renowned a warrior. I sometimes thought (such was his ferocious character) that knowing of my journey, he had placed himself in a convenient spot for robbery or murder, but was disappointed, finding us armed. For my interpreter & Nickels had each a loaded piece, the Indian a common

¹ Usually written *manitou*.

musket, & the english man a rifle always loaded, for the purpose of killing game. Perhaps it was some sudden compunction, arising from reflections on his past guilt.

This same Logan is represented as making a very eloquent speech at the close of the revolutionary war, on the murder of his family by Col^o Cressup.¹

We left Logan's town, & proceeded on about one mile & came to a pleasant stream of water, where we encamped. My Interpreter kindled a fire & prepared a trammel supported by stakes drove in the ground, on which our kettle was suspended to boil, & assisted me to pitch the Tent. Nickels performed the office of cook, with which he was well acquainted. I spread a Bear skin & blanket for a bed, & my portmantau was the pillow. We supped very comfortably on chocolate & roast venison, & committing ourselves in prayer, to the protecting care of heaven, we lay down to rest.

The Indian chose to sleep in the open air, the englishman in the tent. I slept but little this night, being kept awake by the howling of Wolves. It was the first time I had ever heard their nightly dolorous yells. They came near our encampment; but the sight of the fire kept them off, had they been disposed to attack us. Our horses we let go, each hav.g a bell suspended to his neck. The feed in the woods was good & in plenty.

17.—*Thursday*. We breakfasted, got up our horses, & about 9 O'Clock set out from our encampment. We travelled leisurely, on account of the baggage horse, who was heavily loaded, & moved slowly.

The woods were clear from underbrush, & the oaks & black walnut & other timber do not grow very compact, & there is scarcely anything to incommode a traveler in riding, almost in any direction, in the woods of the Ohio.

¹ See Mr. Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia*. It was said that Logan & his party killed & captivated 13 Americans in the revolutionary war. [Note by the author.]

The Indians have been in the practice of burning over the ground, that they may have the advantage of seeing game at a distance among the trees. We saw this day several deer & flocks of Turkeys. About an hour before sun setting we arrived at Little Beaver Creek.

On the bank of this stream, which was fordable, we had a wonderful prospect of game. In the middle of the Creek, a small flock of wild geese were swimming, on the bank sat a large flock of Turkeys, & the wild pigeons covered one or two trees; & all being within musket shot, we had our choice for a supper. My Interpreter chose the Turkeys, & killed three at one shot.

We went about 3 miles further & pitched our tent, like the patriarchs, by a small stream, & our evening & night was passed like the preceeding.

Friday morning we were ready to leave our encampment about 8 O'Clock, & travelled through an excellent country of land, about 18 miles & coming to a small & pleasant river, we pitched our tent about an hour before sun setting.

Saturday 19.—Our path had led us along the North bank of the pleasant river Ohio, almost the whole way from Pittsburgh, & frequently within sight of the river. The soil is luxurient, the growth principally white & black oak, Chesnut, Black Walnut, Hickory &c. The sweetest red plums grow in great abundance in this country, & were then in great perfection. Grapes grow spontaneous here & wind around the trees. We have been favored with delightful weather. It would add unspeakably to the pleasantness of this solitary wilderness had I the company & christian conversation of my friend Frisbie. My Indian Interpreter Joseph Pepee, appears to be a sincere christian, but the poor man is ignorant, his ideas contracted & his english broken. Nickels is very good natured & obliging, & his knowledge of men & things no more than we can reasonably expect of one, whose condition in life has been like his.

Lord's Day 20. — We attended to the exercises of prayer & reading the scriptures this morning, & about 11 O'Clock proceeded on our journey. As the season was approaching when the Indians go out on their fall hunting, I thought it most advisable to go on, & we were in hopes of reaching the town before night. We journeyed about 13 miles to a small run of water where we encamped, & the next day reached the town.

ARRIVAL AT KEKALEMAHPEHOONG ON THE MUSKINGUM

1772. SEPT. 21

THIS town is called New Comers town by the english, & stands on the West bank of the Muskingum,¹ containing about 60 houses, some of logs, & others the bark of trees, fastened by elm bark to poles stuck in the ground & bent over at the top. There are nearly 100 families. It is the principal town of the Delaware nation, & the residence of the king & the greater part of the Councillors. There are several small villages up & down the river. This place is about 60 Miles above the mouth of the Muskingum. Eight or ten acres around the town, are cleared. On the opposite side of the River is a large corn field, in rich low ground; it is inclosed within one common fence, & each family has its division to plant. Some of the houses are well built, with hewed logs, with stone chimnies, chambers & sellers. These I was told were built by the english captives, in the time of the french wars.

On my arrival in the town, we had the unpleasant sight of several drunken Indians & to hear their savage yells. We halted within the skirts of the town & I sent my Interpreter to the king (to whom I had written from Pittsburgh) to inform him of my arrival. He sent a messenger

¹ Still known as New Comerstown, in Tuscarawas County, on the Tuscarawas River, a branch of the Muskingum. The writer left the Ohio River (which here flows nearly south) on the 20th, and struck westward to his destination, which is about eighty-five miles west of Pittsburgh.

to invite me to his house. On our way, several Indians asked my interpreter whether we had brought rum.

The king, whose name is *Nettautwaleman*, received me with hospitality. He is an old man, tall & active. His house is the largest, & built of small square logs. Around the walls, for beds & seats, were planks raised from the ground & covered with the hides of Buffaloes & Bears.

He sent a messenger to call his Councillors & 7 or 8 aged men came in. They sat down to smook their pipes & converse with my interpreter Joseph, & asked him a variety of questions. The king asked me, Whether his brother king George, or Sir William Johnson had sent me? I told him, that some Great men, whom the King had appointed for the business on which I came, had sent me.

He said, "as some of my people are drunk, & not fit to attend to business, I will hear your business tomorrow."

One of the Councillors, Captⁿ Killbuck,¹ well known for his depredations on the frontiers the last war, came in, & taking me by the hand, very politely requested me not to give myself any concern for accommodations, for he should provide a house for me & my company: he accordingly conducted me to a log house, which was convenient. He mentioned that they were about to be much engaged in consultations, on public concerns, but that they should attend on the morrow to my business. He ordered one of his sons to wait on me: & we attended to putting our things in order in the house, in the best manner we could. I was pleased with the hospitable reception, & was ready to promise myself a successful issue to my errand.

22.—Tuesday, afternoon, a messenger informed me that the King was ready to hear what I had to say, & conducted me to the Council House. It was a long building covered with hemlock bark, with a swinging door at each

¹ Born 1737, converted by the Moravians in 1788, died 1811.

end. Within the door & fronting the entrance, was the face of an aged man, carved in wood, signifying that wisdom should preside there. There was something impressive in the wild & novel appearances before me.

The King & his Council, in number about 12, sat on Buffalo skins, on one side at the entrance, the warriors on the opposite, & young men & women & children occupied the rest of the house. The men were smoking their pipes & conversing. The warriors were painted, & their heads & necks ornamented with feathers & strings of wampum; & several of the men & women with silver & ivory or bone bracelets over their arms.

Two council fires were burning, & a bench placed between them, on which the King's Speaker desired us to sit.

After a few minutes, the Speaker spoke a word or two, & there was instantly an universal silence.

The Speaker then said to me, "Brother, the King is ready to hear what you will say."

I then expressed the satisfaction which I felt to see the King & his people, & that the Great Spirit above had kept me on a long & dangerous journey, & given us opportunity to meet them in peace & health. I informed them in a summary manner the nature & design of my errand—from whence I came, & by whom sent—read our commission, passport, & letters recommendatory from sundry respectable characters. Gave some account of pains taken to instruct the Indians our brethren, in the wilderness, in useful science & the knowledge of the true God & Saviour of men. I proposed to continue with them a considerable time, without expence to them, if agreeable to them, to teach them the way to happiness & to heaven. I conversed with them about 40 minutes, during which time, there was great attention. At the conclusion of each sentence they gave a shout of applause, crying *ka-ha-lah*, or *Ah-nan*.

The Speaker said, "The King will consider what you have spoken, & will give you an answer."

The exemplary decorum, (particularly their patient & uninterrupted attention to the speaker) of an Indian Council, has been often mentioned, by those who have been spectators. One circumstance however I do not recollect to have seen noticed by writers of the history of indian manners, which is, that they give shouts of applause to what they dislike, as uttered by the speaker, as freely as they do to what they approve. They say that it signifies no more than that they *attend*, & mean to treat the speaker with civility. Their approbation or dislike, is shown by their answer, which is not obtained from an indian council, until after long & tiresome waiting. They have no pressing business to engage attention, & can afford to throw away time on trifles; & small matters are important in their apprehension, as their knowledge is very limited. In the evening some of them came to see me & I conversed with them on the things of religion. They seemed to be more inquisitive for news, & appeared to have no relish for serious information.

My family consisted of Pepee, Nickels & two sons of my host Captⁿ Killbuck. I had sundry of the smaller articles of provisions, & the Indians supplied us with wild meat.

I expected an answer from the Council, the next day, but was obliged to wait several days for it.

Some of the Council mentioned that they were forming a Speech to send to Sir William Johnson, to inform him that they had complied with his advice, & received the Susquehanna Indians to live in their neighbourhood.

Sept. 23.—Wednesday the Council met. They sent for me to read a letter, which they had some time previously received from some Quakers in Philadelphia, dated 18th of the 5th Month 1771, respecting teachers of religion coming among them. It promises that when such shall come they will send a Certificate with them,

that they may know that they are true men. It was remarkable that the Letter had no signature. If it was genuine, it looked as if the Quakers of Philadelphia, were ashamed to appear openly in opposition to christians of other denominations engaged in the benevolent work of spreading the gospel among the heathen. It also mentions, that if they are inclined to receive School Masters, they will assist to support them. This Letter was written soon after the Synod concluded to send missionaries to those Indians.

The Quakers, I was credibly assured, sent a present of 100 Dollars to the Susquehanna Indians, removing to Muskingum. This was charitable, but to exclude, as far as their influence extends, from access to the Savages, all who do not carry with them, a testimonial of *their* approbation, is worse than uncharitable.

In said Letter, the Quakers call themselves the children of the Great *Onas* (a Quill or pen) the indian name of Wm. Penn, for whose memory the Indians have a great veneration; & "hope that the same friendship which existed between their fathers & him, will allways exist between the children."

If this letter was genuine, as the Indians asserted, the policy of it, had its effect, for the Indians appeared to offer it as an objection to the reception of our proposal. No people on the continent have such unbounded influence over the Indians as this denomination, especially as their pacific principles, while they had the ascendancy in the government, prevented the raising even a necessary defensive force to stop the progress of their savage & murderous depredations on the frontiers, in the french wars.

The King sent to me again to attend at the Council House. The speaker presented me a long letter which he had received not long since, from one David Jones,¹ a

¹ Of Freehold, N. J. He had already visited this region and returned the following winter. See *Journal of his Two Visits*, N. Y., 1865.

baptist preacher of New Jersey, acquainting him that he was coming among them to instruct them, to learn their language & translate the Bible. He directs them to choose some of their great men to go with him to England next spring, & proposes a plan of government &c. &c.

The big words of this Letter writer were resented by the Council, altho' as I was afterwards informed some of them wished to go to England. The indian Chiefs who have visited there, have commonly returned loaded with presents.

In the evening the King's Chief Councillor came, & spent an hour or two with me. He said I must have patience; that they were engaged in other important business, & would, as soon as possible, give an answer to my proposal.

One of the aged Indians, who appeared well disposed, told me the following story. "Last spring, as we have heard, an Island belonging to the English, was sunk by an earthquake. The night before the dreadful catastrophe, a person appeared to a young man, who was a minister, informing him, that destruction was coming on the Island; & as he had been faithful to warn the wicked, he should be preserved, because the Great Spirit above had more work for him to do; & therefore he must immediately get on board of a vessell, which he did, & saw the Island sink. And when we received your letter from Pittsburgh, informing that you were coming, we believed that you was that young man, & that God has sent you to teach us the way to heaven."

25.—*Friday*. The Council still setting, & no answer. I seem to be loosing precious time; but shall patiently wait their delitory forms of business. In the afternoon, got up my horse to ride to a neighbouring village, but was prevented by one of the Council, who seemed with a degree of earnestness to expostulate against my riding anywhere, as they were, he said, consulting on my business.

He said, they should send for me tomorrow, for they did not fully understand my speech. I rode only to the old *conjuring* place, where they were wont to hold their Powwows over the sick. It was about half a mile from town, & by the side of a branch of the Muskingum. There were half a dozen cage-like things, formed by sticking poles in the earth & bending & fastening the tops, in the conical form of a Sugar loaf. When a sick person is to be operated upon, he is put into one of them, together with large stones heated hot; the cage is then covered with blankets or skins, & the conjuror pours water upon the red hot stones, & raises such a suffocating steam or vapour as brings on a profuse sweat upon the patient. In the meantime, the conjuror, is in & out, as he can bear it, yelling & capering & making a thousand odd gesticulations, & calling upon the Evil Monetho (the Devil) to help. From the hot house, he is plunged into the water, & from the water again to the hot house, as his strength can bear the operation. It is said that this summary method is efficacious to heal those disorders which arise from obstructed perspiration, & to diseases of this kind, Indians are most subject, owing to frequent exposure to cold & heat, lodging on the ground & the like. To pulmonary disorders it is fatal, as also in the small pox. This latter scourge of the human race, has swept off multitudes of Indians from this continent.

A little before my arrival, the grand Conjuror of this town was banished on pain of death. His crime was a failure of success in healing several who were sick. Their opinion of him was, that he had so much influence with the Devil, that he could obtain of him skill to heal those whom he wished to heal. The Evil Spirit, according to the Manechean doctrine, they believe to be the author of all natural evil. They also believe that their conjurors have the power of inflicting diseases, as well as healing. It was this opinion respecting the conjuror of this place,

that excited the town to punish him with perpetual banishment.

I was in the Conjuror's house, it was the best built in town except the king's. A celler with stone wall—a stare case, a convenient stone chimney & fire place & closets & apartments, gave it the appearance of an english dwelling. Between the house & the bank of the River was a regular & thrifty peach orchard. The house was for sale, but no one would purchase it. The price was fixed as low as one dollar. Such dread have they of the secret & invisible power of the Conjurors.

26.—*Saturday Morn.g.* There was a white frost on the ground. The Indians here do but little labour on the soil. One large corn field supplies the town, & in that, the women do all the labour. The savage state has always been unfavorable to the female. The superior strength of the man is used, not in protecting & lightening the burdens of the weaker sex, but in depressing them. The men are ashamed of all kinds of labour, except war & hunting, to these we may add, the building of their miserable houses.

If an Indian sails in his Canoe, his wife and daughter, if he has one, paddle him, where he chooses to go. When he inclines to take a wife, it is said, the female makes the advances towards courtship. Such is the pride of these lazy lords of the wilderness! There is an air of dignity, however, and a politeness of manners among them, which is surprising to one who has seen no more of Indian manners than what is found among those who live among or bordering on the english settlement. They appear conscious of their uncontroled independence & almost unbounded liberty.

Their government is simple & democratic. The King and Council administer just so much of it, as the people, especially the warriors, approve. They pay great deference to the aged & to their opinion. The penalties of crimes

are few, & such as have received the sanction of custom. Murder is almost the only crime that is punishable, and that the government have nothing to do with. It is avenged by one of the near kindred of the dead, who puts to death the murderer, and sometimes it goes round, and a friend of the murderer takes up the hatchet. O deplorable state of nature, where men are left without the restraints of government or religion & guided, only by their passions & lusts !

I saw the unhappy effects in some instances of this insecure state of nature. A principle of fear and distrust of each other universally prevails, for every man is the avenger of his own real or imaginary wrongs.

A little before we arrived at Pittsburgh, Eneas McKay Esq., at whose house I afterwards lodged, related the following revenge of Indian murder having taken place there. In a drunken frolic, on an Island a few miles below Pittsburgh, one murdered another. The son of the person murdered became the avenger ; and happened, accidentally, to find the murderer of his father at Pittsburgh. He applied to the commander of the Fort for justice to be executed on the murderer ; as he was, within the jurisdiction of the english. The commander declined any interference. The Indian then said that if he would not execute justice, *he* would. With an Indian companion he returned to the murderer and told him to prepare for death. He retired into the house yard of a Mr. Hart, and after smoaking his pipe, began to sing his own death song, in a strain of dolorous and mournful melody. The avenger and his companion walked to the Piazza of Esq. McKay's house where they sat in silence, smoaking their pipes, about 20 minutes, when suddenly rising, they entered the yard, the murderer was still singing the death song, resting his head upon his hands and his arms upon his knees, when the avenger, without speaking, dispatched him with his tomahawk, and threw his body into the

Monongehala. Although a murderer endeavors to keep out of the way of the avenger of blood, yet when he is found by him, he makes no efforts to resist, or even to escape, but peaceably submits to execution.

The frequency of murders, the sad effects of strong drink, and the sanguinary pursuits of the avengers of blood, and in some instances avengers of the death, of the murderers, is one great cause, among many, of the rapid decrease of Indians, especially those nations to whom our English traders convey rum. So sensible are they of this being to them the besom of destruction, that they have passed a law or decree that no trader shall bring rum into their towns; but the cunning policy of the traders has evaded the law, by committing it to the squaws that resort to Pittsburgh to carry & barter, and such is the ardent thirst which they have for this destructive liquid, that they connive at this practice.

It is not easy for a white man, used to the warm comforts of civilized life to conceive how delicious & exhilarating rum is, to the taste & stomach of an Indian. Living principally in the shade and damps of forests and sleeping on the moist ground, exposed to rain and cold, with slight covering to their bodies at all seasons, their constitutions are remarkedly phlegmatic, their blood cold & slow, and their animal spirits, of consequence, in an habitual state of depression, bordering on melancholy. The powerful stimulus of ardent spirits to this indolent & miserable race of men, is, therefore, most acceptable and wonderfully exhilarating. An aged physician of my acquaintance, who lived in Connecticut, and died many years ago, in younger life, went with a party of Indian hunters, far northward on a hunting expedition, and fared in all respects, in the excursion, as the Indians; on his return home he felt an insatiable thirst for rum, and drank such a quantity as would at another time have laid him by, yet without any unfavorable effects. The old

gentleman used to relate the adventure, and add that he could never blame an Indian for loving rum. He condemned them, however for the excessive use of it, as the poor creatures do themselves after they have recovered from what they call a drunken frolic. For the consequence of such frolics, not unfrequently, are wounds & death.

FIRST SABBATH AT KEKALEMAHPEHOONG.

These savages are ignorant of the institution of this sacred day of Rest.

I sent my Interpreter to the King, to inform him, that this day is the Sabbath of the white people, which they spent in the worship of the Great God and the instruction of religion; and that if it was agreeable to him, I would speak to the people on religion. He sent me word, that it was agreeable. A messenger went through the town & summoned the people to the Council House.

There was much the same assembly as I found there, and the same formality as the day after my arrival. I discoursed to them on the nature and duty of prayer, recapitulated in a summary manner the things which I was about to pray for, and then prayed. In this exercise they all stood and attended with decency. I then discoursed to them, on the advent of Jesus Christ into the world, & the atonement which he made for the sins of men, by his obedience, sufferings and death. It was a brief history of the life of our Saviour & of the necessity of repentance and faith. Some were attentive and appeared affected at the representation of the passion of J. X. As the Apostles preached Jesus Christ, at their first access to the Gentiles, I thought the divinely directed example was a warrant for me to attempt the same. The greater part of the audience appeared stupid and insensible of the importance of what was spoken. They smoked their pipes in time

of sermon, and at the conclusion of each sentence uttered a shout of applause, according to their custom.

They gave me opportunity again in the afternoon to preach to them. My subject was the parable of the prodigal, Luke 15, chapter. After sermon & prayer some of them asked questions, relative to what had been said. I sat down and conversed with them. My Interpreter, who appeared deeply impressed at the melancholy condition of his countrymen, conversed with great freedom, fluency & feeling on their spiritual state. With tears flowing from his eyes, he told them many solemn truths, and made an affectionate and serious application of the discourse to them. He enlarged upon what I had endeavoured to impress on them, that they were that prodigal son, and had wandered from God, and earnestly called upon them to consider their danger and their duty. I was pleased with his pious zeal & thought myself favored by having so faithful an Interpreter. After meeting he explained to me the substance of what he had said.

The Indians here appear to be sunk deep in wickedness. Every night they have held a dance. It begins about 9 O'Clock & continues almost through the night; and after the dance, it is said, there is a promiscuous cohabitation among the young people. They are called to the dance by loud yells. The leader of the dance rattles a goad, in which are dried beans, and chants wild notes, beginning low & rising to a kind of scream or yell, in which all join, and keep exact time, with jumping back & forward, to the sound. The ground on which I slept trembled with their frantic mirth.

28. *Monday.* Mr. Freeman, a trader, arrived from Pittsburgh, by him I received a Letter from Mr. Frisbie, and have the satisfaction to find that he has recovered his health. Wrote to him, a few days past, informing him of the uncertainty of my continuing here, on account of the hostile appearance of the Indians.

29. *Tuesday.* I informed Capt. Killbuck, that if any difficulties existed in the Council, respecting my proposal, which it was in my power to remove, I should be glad of an interview. He replied that they understood my speech to them well enough, and that when they could agree among themselves, they would give me an answer.

This day some females brought about 18 Gallons of rum from Pittsburgh, employed by the traders there, to sell for them. The head men endeavoured to restrain the sale of it, but in vain. Pepee informed me that some of the head men, wished I would preach on sin, and tell them what it is. They observed that I had said, they must repent and forsake their sins. They should be glad to know what they must forsake. I informed them that I would speak on *sin*, on the morrow, as it was then the close of the day.

But in the evening the fatal liquid, *rum*, began to circulate through the town; not all the authority of the King & Council, nor their former positive law to restrain it, could stop the raging thirst of appetite. It was a dark and dreadful night. May that Almighty Guardian God, who has mercifully guided me hitherto, protect me through this night!

AN INDIAN DRUNKEN FROLIC.

If to exhibit the vice of drunkenness in its odious deformities, that their children might see & detest it, the Grecians made their slaves drink to excess and then exposed them to the sight of their children; much more detestable and dreadful does that ruinous vice appear, in the intoxication of a town of savages, who have no dread of a master, or any government or law to restrain the most unbounded indulgence of this beastly vice.

By midnight the body of the inhabitants, of both sexes, were drunk. Myself and my two companions committed ourselves to God in prayer, & I lay down upon my couch,

which was composed of a Buffalo and Bear skin. We left the door upon the latch, concluding, that if any of the drunken rout should attempt to enter, to bar the door would make them more violent. The ground trembled with the trampling of feet; hooping, yells, singing, laughter, and the voice of rage & madness, were blended in dreadful discord, adding horror to the darkness of midnight.

Some companies of them came successively to the door, and I expected them in every moment; they were at times very boisterous. My Interpreter, who lay near the door, could hear their conversation. There providentially happened, in every instance, to be some one among them, who dissuaded the rest from entering. This horrid scene gave some idea of the infernal regions, where sin & misery hold a universal sway.

I rose with the appearance of light, & with an Indian trader, whom I met at the door, walked through the village. The noise and uproar continued. In one place sat several on the ground drinking rum, from wooden bowls—others lay stretched out in profound sleep—some were reeling and tumbling over the green, & one or two companies were fighting, and yelling in the most frightful manner. They fought like dogs, biting, scratching and the like. I stood a few minutes near one of these fighting companies, consisting of 5 or 6.

It was a horrid spectacle. They seemed to use the most insulting language, but it is remarkable that their language is destitute of profane oaths. In the paroxisms of their rage, they broke out and swore in english, some horrid oaths & curses, using most profanely the name of God. This infernal language they, no doubt had learned from the unprincipled traders. It is said that the worst word that they can call each other in their own language, is dog or wolf, or the name of some ferocious animal.

In our walk, a fierce Indian, mad with rage came up, and shaking his fist at me, used high & threatening words, as

the trader informed me, although he did not well understand him. I was a little alarmed at his threatening gestures & wrathful voice and looks, as well as the angry looks of some others of their warriors.

The men and women this morning were naked, except a piece of blue cloth, about their loins, to cover their shame. It is the nature of this shameless vice, to obliterate all sense of modesty. It is an invariable custom in their drunken frolics, for some to keep sober to prevent mischief, if possible. The duty of these wakeful guardians, is to disarm, and take the clothes of those who are beginning to drink. The arms, such as tomahawks knives &c., they secrete. They make no resistance. These watchmen however do not lose their share. They awaken some of the first drinkers who have slept away their drink, & these take their place, and then they go to drinking.

I returned to my house, & hearing that the king and Captⁿ Killbuck were sober, I sent a request that they would take breakfast with me. I wished for their company for personal security. They accordingly came. We sat around our table, which was a piece of plank resting on two kegs. My royal guest and his Councillor, regaled themselves with Chocolate and biscuit; but I could not prevail with them to stay after they had finished their repast. The king expressed his sorrow at the state of the town. Kilbuck went and joined the rout.

Finding my situation in these scenes of drunkenness and madness, unsafe, I concluded to ride with my interpreter to a village 5 miles down the river. We went to look up our horses. In my absence, the warrior who threatened me, in the morning, had procured a club, and rushing into the house, in which was only the son of Kilbuck, asked for the white man, and flourishing the club said, *he came to kill him*. The young Indian, to divert him from the way I had gone, directed him to pursue me in an opposite direction. Turning from the

door, eager to find me, he was stopped by another Indian, a stout young man, called young Beaver, who wrested the club from him, which was soon also taken from him & secreted.

They were engaged in a bloody fight, at the time that I returned with my horse. The fight was in the house next to mine. By the noise and confusion within, one would imagine that a number were engaged in bloody conflict. I was ignorant of the cause until, in about 15 minutes, my interpreter arrived, and explained it.

Before he arrived, I stood attending to the noise of the affray, and young Kilbuck, just mentioned, ran out of the house to me with a long bloody lock of hair, and smiling and talking presented it to me. Not knowing what it meant, I declined receiving it, he then stuck it on the outside of my house. This, I found by my interpreter was a trophy of victory, for my friend young Beaver had just torn it from the middle of the scalp of my enemy. I then thought it advisable to stay no longer; but with Pepee rode expeditiously out of town.

We were in hopes of finding peace & security at the village below, but in this we were disappointed. When we came in sight of it, we heard

“The sound
Of riot and ill manage’d merriment.”

Part of the rum had been sent to this village, and they were in the height of their frolic. We debated some time whether to go in, reluctant &

“Loath
To meet their rudeness and swill’d insolence.”

—MILTON’S *Comus*.

My interpreter Pepee, had a cousin living there, whom he had not seen many years, it happened while we lingered at the entrance of the village, he came up to us.

He was sober, very glad to see Pepee, and we followed him to his house. He shewed me great hospitality. Stakes of excellent venison roasted, and some sweet squashes which he baked in the embers, wrapped in large leaves were given us. After this repast, I slept soundly on his bear skin couch. When I awoke my interpreter only was present. He said his Cousin had been absent some time. I walked about the village. About one half of the inhabitants were intoxicated. They did not offer me any injury. Pepee who was respected universally by his countrymen, was a protection. Such is the fondness of Indians for dissipation, that they are building a dancing house in this small village, which will cost them more labour, than one half of the houses in it.

It was now an unfavorable time to say any thing on religion to the poor creatures of this place. A few days past, I was about to make them a visit, but was detained by the Councillors. They had manifested from my first coming an unwillingness that I should visit any of their villages, or see the country.

The Muskingum is a beautiful country. The soil is rich and deep. The land gradually rises from the river & forms extensive meadows and plains. Some places are covered with luxuriant grass, & neither tree or bush growing upon them for some miles in length and breadth, & in a state of immediate preparation for the plow. I sometimes paused to enjoy the prospect, and was ready to anticipate the speedy approach of the time, when, there would be another race of people there, who would properly estimate the advantages which that country will give to its future inhabitants. When populous town & cultivated fields shall arise; and Schools and Colleges & Churches, erected for the advancement of Science and the honor of the Saviour be seen through that extensive & now howling wilderness.

On our departure from the village, a little distance from the path, sat a number of Indians, drinking. One of them was the host who invited us to his house. Seeing me, he came hastily with a bowl of rum, of which he had drank so much as to make him feel sprightly, and said, "here, englishman, drink rum." I said my friend, I do not drink rum, and I hope you won't drink any more. It will get into your head & make you behave bad. He replied, in broken english, "little's good, too much, bad. Come, drink, drink." My interpreter told me it would give offence if I did not. I tasted it, he bowed, & joined his company.

We arrived at Kekalemehpehoong, a little before sun setting. The Indians had nearly exhausted the quantity of rum. I found the king sober. He had ordered the remainder of the rum to be carried out of town, to a house about 2 miles up the river. A number were fast bound in sleep. Those who were able to walk, went along the bank of the river, following the keg of rum, which was carried in front. They made a long file, staggering and singing as they went. I was glad to see them depart. Among these poor savages, the Devil seems to hold an uncontroled power. They appear to be given over to all manner of vice. To venture back among them, before they had finished the rum, especially considering what had taken place in the morning, was somewhat hazardous, and I should have tarried at the village, had I not apprehended that the night there might be similar to that which I had already passed. Seeing the drunkards go out of town, on our entrance, I persuaded myself that we should find rest.

Accordingly the night following, the town was still, and I slept in peace. My companions were alarmed for my safety in the evening, for I had retired into the woods, partly to avoid being seen by the Indians, and for contemplation. It was to me a consoling consideration, that God rules in the

moral as well as the natural world ; and that he will permit the wrath of the heathen to rage no further than shall be for his glory, and the best good of those who humbly confide in his almighty & fatherly protection. Under the omnipotent protection of his providence, who moves the planetary worlds, and all the stars in their regular order, beauty & harmony, I felt a humble confidence, that in the way of my duty, and feeble attempts to spread the knowledge of Christ among the heathen, I was most safe ; & to God endeavoured to commit myself.

Thursday. The Indians, about 50 met in the Council House, and I preached to them with freedom, on *Sin*. My subject was drawn from the first chapter of the epistle to the Romans, in which the Apostle gives a dreadful catalogue of the vices, to which the Gentiles were addicted. I dwelt particularly on the vices of drunkenness & fornication, which were shockingly common among those pagans. Some seemed affected with conscious guilt. One observed to my Interpreter, after Sermon, "that if all the things which I had mentioned were *sins*, he believed that all were sinners, and no one was free from sin." Another asked him, how the white man knew what he had done, and who told him? for said he, he mentioned all the bad things I have ever done, and he talked to none but me? Thus the Divine Spirit is pleased in some instances, to make application of the word even to a heathen, who only occasionally hears it. But this Indian shunned me ; and his temporary conviction served to make him my enemy.

They gave me liberty to preach again to them the next day. I preached to them to-day (Friday) on the depravity of our nature, and sins of the heart. The audience was small and attentive. At the close, I mentioned that I would preach again the next day, *Saturday, Sept. 3.* Having shown them, in preceding discourses the Apostacy and pollution of our nature by sin, and the condemnation

of sin on all men, to-day I gave them an historical account of the coming of Jesus Christ into the world, his Obedience & satisfaction for sin, and the terms of pardon & life through him.

SECOND SABBATH.

Oct. 4. This day they seemed more disposed to noise & merriment, and to ramble about, than usual. With taking pains, I got about 40 to assemble in the afternoon, and spake with freedom and great plainness on some of the most important truths of the gospel, particularly on a new heart, repentance, faith and a life of religion, as necessary to happiness after death.

Some were affected and wept. In my discourse yesterday, I mentioned the necessity of their receiving the word of God, to their present and future happiness. After I had done preaching today, the Speaker, who appears to be a very sensible and thoughtful person, said to me, "you have told us that we must receive what is in the book (meaning the bible). We believe there is one Almighty *Monetho*, who made all things; he is the father of the Indians and of the White people. He loves one as well as the other. You say, he sent you that book a great while ago. He has not sent it to us. If he intended it for us, he would have let us know it, at the same time that he let you know it. We don't deny that the book is good and intended for you, and no doubt, when you want to know what you should do, you must look into that book; but the Great *Monetho* has given us knowledge here, (pointing to his forehead) & when we are at a loss what to do, we must *think*." The king was present and all seemed waiting for an answer. It was a deistical objection, founded in the pride of erring reason, and more than I expected from an uncultivated heathen. I spoke to him of the sovereignty of God in his gifts to nations, and to individuals. That he was under no obligations to shew

favor to any of his offending creatures. That the will of God revealed in the bible, teaching men their duty and the way to endless happiness, was a favor that none could claim: but in his great mercy to lost sinners, he had been pleased to communicate it to one nation in former ages, and commanded them to make it known to others. That the English were one of the last of the nations, to whom it was communicated; and that we now knowing and rejoicing in the light which that holy book, let into our minds, in all our duty, and guiding us to heaven, were desirous that our brethren in the wilderness, should know the good news which it reveals. And God had commanded us, to convey to them the knowledge of it. To this he made no reply, but immediately started another objection, as follows,

“If we take your religion, we must leave off war, and become as women, and then we shall be easily subdued by our enemies.” Having answered him, that we who embraced this religion were not subdued by our enemies, but were free and powerful; and that by embracing & practicing the duties which the bible commands, they would be the same &c.

He again objected, “The white people, with whom we are acquainted, are worse, or more wicked than we are, and we think it better to be such as we are than such as they are.”

I gave Pepee some directions in answer, knowing him capable of it. He enlarged with great zeal and ability. Among other observations, he said, “the white people, whom you are acquainted with, (meaning the traders) are no Christians; they do not know or do the things which God has told them in the Bible. No, Christians will not receive them into their society. If you want to see christians you must go to Philadelphia. There you will see good people, who love the word of the Great God, and mind it.”

He then spake very solemnly & affectionately, on their deplorable state, and told them, unless they reformed, their ruin would speedily come.

“We remember, said he, that our fathers told us, how numerous the Indians were in their days, & in the days of their fathers. Great towns of Indians were all along the sea shore, and on the Rivers, and now, if you travel through that country, you will scarcely see an Indian; but you will see great and flourishing towns of white people, who possess the land of our fathers. And we are cut off, and fall back upon these distant rivers, and are reduced to a small number. The white people increase, and we Indians decrease. I can tell you, my countrymen, the reason of this. The white people worship the true God, and please him, and God blesses and prospers them. We and our fathers worshiped Devils, or them that are no Gods, and therefore God frowns upon us. And if you continue ignorant of him, when you have opportunity to know God and worship him, he will cut you off, & give this good country to a people that shall serve him. And if it shall be asked what has become of the Indians that lived here? none will be able to tell. You will be cut off, and your children as a great many powerful Indian nations have been, and none of them are left.” The above is the substance of a lengthy prophetic kind of speech of good Joseph. I observed that it took hold of them. King, Councillors & warriors, who were present, hung down their heads and made no reply. A similar conversation he held yesterday after sermon. Yesterday one of the Chiefs returned from the neighboring towns, where he had gone to collect their minds, relative to my continuing among them, & this evening a Council was held on the subject.

Oct. 6. Monday. After breakfast, was about to ride a few miles, to an Indian family, the friends of my Interpreter, but was desired by one of the Chiefs not to go. I

perceived that my movements were watched, and that it was their intention, that I should not visit other Indians.

Today the King sent for me to his house. I found him with 6 or 7 of his Council. The Speaker, in the name of the King, delivered the following Laconic answer.

“My brother, I am glad you have come among us, from such a great distance, & that we see each other, and rejoice that we have had an opportunity to hear you preach. Brother, you will now return home & when you get there give my love to them that sent you. I have done speaking.”

The prospect of being instrumental of much good to these poor & perishing heathen, was no more. I asked him, if this short answer was the result of their long consideration on the disinterested and benevolent errand on which I had come? And that I was very sorry that they had rejected an offer intended for their greatest good.

I conversed with them some time, & asked them what reasons, in particular, I should give to the great & good men who had sent me, for their rejection of the offer now made to them. One of them, with expressions of anger, said they did not like that the white people should settle upon the Ohio. They destroyed their hunting. That it was necessary that the friendship between King George and them, should be made more firm and strong, before they could receive the english so much into favor, as to take their religion. That when they were ready they would let us know it. I mentioned that it was our intention to have procured a school master to instruct their children, and also to furnish them some utensils for husbandry, and a grist mill, (as our worthy patron Dr. Wheelock had authorized us so to do, and for that purpose had given us blanks, for bills of Exchange, on the School's funds in Scotland,) for the pious and benevolent, among the english, were greatly desirous to promote their comfort in this world, as well as their happiness after death ;

and that they expected and desired no reward from them ; that the labour and expence would all be ours, and the benefits all their own. But that I was sorry that they had now excluded themselves from these kind offers of their brethren, the white people. An aged Councillor & warrior, who had never come to hear me preach, but was violently opposed to my continuance with them, was present, and appeared to scoff at these proposals. I thanked them for their civilities, and mentioned my satisfaction that I had had opportunity to speak to them, on the great things of religion, and prayed that God would make what they had heard, of lasting good to some souls. I rose and bid them farewell. Captⁿ Killbuck came out with me, & said he would accompany me to Fort Pitt. He, and others, appeared a little surprised at the offer of implements of husbandry. “ He said, perhaps, the Council will change their minds ; and that they had prepared a lengthy speech to deliver to me, but that one who was violently opposed, spoiled it all.”

From the hostile appearance of things, I had, for several days, entertained apprehensions of my personal safety, and that I should not, after a while, be indulged the liberty of leaving them. The following circumstances were the ground of my apprehensions.

1. My interpreter, one of their countrymen, was admitted to their confidence, & from them he received information, that a *War Belt* had been sent to them and the Indians of neighboring tribes, informing them, that the english Colonists refused to obey the Great King of England ; and if he should send an army to chastize them, his allies and friends, the Indians, were invited to join them. The information of this early hostile intention of the agents of the british government, I received also from others. The rumor had also spread among the people of the new settlements, as I found on my return to Pittsburgh, and some inquired of me concerning it. The per-

son suspected of sending it, was Col^o George Croghern, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

Thus early commenced the plan of subjugating the Colonies, and of calling in the infernal aid of the savages, to accomplish the work.

2. While at Muskingum, news arrived that the british troops were dismantling Fort Pitt, and were about to leave the country. The warriors could not conceal their joy at this event. The Fort had been a bridle upon them hitherto, to restrain their murders & depredations on the frontiers.

3. Some of the warriors had expressed to me their extreme resentment at the encroachments of the white people, on their hunting ground, and extending their settlements to the Ohio. I asked one of them, "Have not the white people bought the land and paid you"? "Yes."—"Well, then they have a right to use it." "No; not so," he replied "for when you white men buy a farm, you buy only the land. You don't buy the horses and cows & sheep. The Elks are our horses, the Buffaloes are our cows, the deer are our sheep, & the whites shan't have them."

This is a short specimen of indian reasoning on property.

4. Thirteen days, King and Council met, and as they pretended, on the business on which, I had come, but I found their consultations were on the subject of hostility against the frontiers. At the King's house I saw an uncommonly large Belt of Wampum, about 5 feet in length. The ground work was grey wampum. 9 diamond figures of white wampum, and a line of the same colour, running through them, from one end to the other.

I asked the King, the meaning & use of it. "He said, Sir William Johnson, has advised the nations to unite and live in peace, and this is a Belt of Union. Eight nations have taken hold of it, & I am going to send it to the Chipewas, who live near Lake Huron."

Several circumstances at that time persuaded me that the proposed Union was for a bad purpose as afterwards appeared.

Such being my apprehensions, I wrote to Captⁿ Arthur St. Clair, with whom I had the honor of some acquaintance, and mentioned the circumstances that appeared to indicate the hostile disposition of the Indians. He afterwards informed me that he communicated the information to Gen. Gage, then at New York.

Tuesday 7. About to visit Waukataumaka, an Indian town about 24 miles distant ; but finding that it was disapproved of by one of the Chiefs, I gave it up, and prepared for my return to Pittsburgh. Joseph Pepee set out with his Wife, who had come for him, to go to the new moravian town,¹ and I bid him, who had been my faithful Interpreter a long farewell. He was an Indian of good principles, temperate, and of unblemished morals. Nickels had been absent part of the time, visiting his indian acquaintance, for whom he had a friendship, from his early days of captivity among them.

CAPTIVES AMONG THE INDIANS.

In the town were two captives, one a female, captivated in infancy, from Path Valley, of the name of Eliot. She appeared perfectly naturalized, and conformed to the Indian customs and dress. I saw her frequently at work with the squaws, pounding corn. She appeared to be a stout & healthy young woman. I believe she could not speak the english language, and knowing no condition other than savage life, probably was as contented as her indian companions. It is not unlikely that the family were slain when she was taken, and no friends have appeared to reclaim her.

¹ At Schönbrunn, in the present township of Goshen, about fifteen miles to the northeast. Founded in the preceding August by the migration of the converted Susquehanna Indians, under Messrs. Ettwein and Roth.

The other was a well built young man, of the name of Hamilton, who was captivated from some part of Maryland, on the river Potomac, at the age of 9 years. He was conformed to indian manners. His head shaved & painted and his dress ornamented with beads, broaches &c. His countenance was manly and ingenious. I had frequent opportunities of conversation with him, and although he could talk common english, yet such was his pride of indian dignity and independence, that he would not converse, except by my interpreter. I advised him to leave the Indians and return to his kindred & friends, for he said, he believed he had a brother and an Uncle in Maryland. I conversed usually with him, in the absence of the Indians, for fear of offence. He told me, he should be glad to see his brother, & desired me to write to him, to come & see him.

I set before him the advantages of his returning to the english; and the deplorable condition in which he would live & die, should he continue there, as to the knowledge of God, and the way to happiness. He told me he was very happy, and innumeraed the little articles of his property, such as 4 or 5 horse loads of peltry, blankets &c. "And here, says he, I go and come as I please, and the King is my Uncle; (he was adopted into the Royal family) but if I go among the white people they will make me a Slave." I assured him to the contrary, and engaged, that if he should not like to continue with his kindred, he might return. I felt unwilling that so promising a youth should be lost; but I had despaired of success, until the morning of my departure, when he came to me, looking thoughtful, and said, "my friend, you have often advised me to return to my english friends, and now I have concluded to go." I encouraged him in the good resolution; but we both thought it not advisable for him to set out until a day or two after my departure, lest the Indians, who were very fond of him, should be alarmed. He said,

“ I will see you at Fort Pitt,” and bade me farewell for a little while. To finish the story here. A few days after my arrival there, I had the pleasure to see him. He followed me after two days. Providentially, his brother, happened to be in the frontiers of Pennsylvania, and heard of his arrival and hastened to Pittsburgh. He took him to a store, and clothed him in english dress ; but he still retained so much of the Indian as to paint his face & head with vermilion and black. I told him, I hoped he would now go and live with his friends, who loved him, & would always be kind to him. He said he should not go to live with the Indians, but thought it was likely he should go & trade with them.

There is an unknown charm in the Indian life, which surprizingly attaches white people ; those especially who have been captivated in early life. Whether it is, that uncontroled liberty, which is found among savages,—or that freedom from all anxiety and care for futurity, which they appear to enjoy, or that love of ease, which is so agreeable to the indolence of human nature, or all these combined, the fact is established by numerous instances of english & french captives, who have resisted the most affectionate and inviting allurements to draw them, and chose to spend their days among their adopted Indian friends.

RELIGION OF THE INDIANS.

The most savage nations of the world, have some idea of a being or existances superior to man ; and generally believe in the existance of the soul after death.

The Indian tribes, bordering on European settlements, have probably fewer impressions of a religious nature, than those who have little or no intercourse with us, because the former have their minds habitually stupified by intemperence. Of the religious principles & practices of the Delawares, and other indian tribes on our borders, little can be said.

They have no special season, or day consecrated to religious worship. No temples, priests or religious rites. The religious notions and practices of individuals are such as are the effect of imperfect reasoning—of their fears & hopes, or the traditions handed down from their fathers.

They absurdly believe in two principles who made & govern the world between them. One they call the Good Monetho, the other the Evil Monetho. In this respect they adopt the ancient opinion of the disciples of Manes, or Plato's principle of Light and Darkness. They believe that all good in the natural and moral world is from the Good, & all evil and misery, from the Evil Monetho. To the Evil principle they pray when sick, or in trouble; and it is by pretended power from him alone, that their Conjurors or Powwows, derive all their skill to heal the sick, or to inflict evil on their enemies.

On my return from Muskingum, I visited an aged sick Indian, at a Village on the Ohio. His limbs were contracted by paralytic or convulsive fits. He told me he had been hurt by witches, meaning I conclude Conjurors, 30 years ago; but he had been cured by a friendly Conjuror. "And the Conjuror, said he, of this place, is trying his skill upon me, & I believe will cure me; for the Devil (Evil Monetho), keeps him alive to cure such as he chuses should be healed; and he is a little Devil himself. For they can't kill him. They have tomahawked him, and thrown him into the river, but the great Devil keeps him alive." I told him that he must pray to the Good Monetho. That there was but one God, and the Devil was subject to his government, and could do nothing without his permission. He replied I have always believed otherwise, & *shall pray to the Evil Monetho.*

I was informed that the Delawares, as well as other tribes, have annually, what is called, a *Fall Hunt*, when they all turn out in pursuit of game, & hold a grand feast, of which all partake. That at this feast, the Chief

of the Nation publickly offers up a short solemn prayer to the Good Spirit, thanking him for life and health, and success in hunting, and praying for the continuence of those favors through the ensuing Year. They present the skins of the animals, and a considerable part of the meat to the widows and the aged. Some of the flesh they burn, as an offering to their gods.

FUNERALS.

They enrap the corpse in bark, & bury it about three feet. They then raise a covering of bark over it, leaving a little space between the body and the upper covering, to prevent the earth pressing upon it, and lay earth upon the covering. This they do, from the idea that the soul, after death, remains hovering about the corpse, & holds some connection with it, until it putrifies. On the same principle, they carry, for some time, every evening, some provisions, and lay it by the side of the grave. The hungry dogs which abound in all their towns, devour it ; but they profess to believe that the departed friend eats it. They sometimes bury bows and arrows, wampum, spoons &c. with the dead. They explain this by believing that everything animate and inanimate has a spirit : that the Spirit of the deceased, in the other world, makes use of the spirit of the bow & arrow, to kill the spirit of game.¹ A great number of high posts stand at the graves of the chiefs & warriors, & poles at the graves of others. The posts are painted with rough hyroglifics, descriptive of their war expeditions &c.

MARRIAGES.

The Indians, formerly, were more chaste & continent than they have been since their connection with the english, & their free use of rum.

¹ For a more particular description of the State of the good & of the wicked, after death, see the Rev. David Brainard's Journal among the Delawares. (Note by author.)

The first marriage is attended with some formality. The connection is, sometimes, brought about by the agreement of the parents of the parties. The young man presents to the object of his choice, some cakes of indian bread; if she accepts them, they cohabit; but if she rejects them, he must look somewhere else for a partner. They separate for trivial causes, and marry or cohabit, without much ceremony with others. If they have children, it is said; they are left with the mother.

Several of the aged Councillors had lived with one wife from their youth; but a great part of husbands & wives at Kekalemahpehoong, had separated and taken others. I was astonished at the profligate description which young Killbuck (whose father had directed him to lodge in my house, and to wait on me), gave me of himself. He slept in a loft which was ascended by a ladder, at the further end of the house. He conducted a squaw up the ladder every night. I asked him, one day, if it was his Wife? He said, No. I admonished him for his conduct. He said, he was 19 years old, and had had several wives, and that he wanted one more, and he should be happy. It is natural to expect that but few children, can be the fruit of such unbounded licentiousness. On an average they are about 2 or 3 to a family.

INDIAN FORTS.

Much has been said and written, on the subject of appearances like fortifications, which are found all over the country of the Ohio. I saw 3 or 4, but they were not large. The walls enclosed perhaps a rood of ground. One on the south bank of the river Connemoh, was an oblong circle, the walls nearly meeting at the bank. It appeared that the space, was intended for a sally port, or passage to the water. The walls appear to be of solid earth, about 3 feet high, & a small cavity, like a ditch, on the outside. Large trees are growing out of the walls as

well as within them. One near Kekalemahpehoong was about the same dimensions. They are very ancient artificial works, for the present inhabitants can give no account of the builders, or the design of them. Some suppose them to have been intended for places of Public Worship ; but the more probable conjecture is, that they were built for defence. There is nothing in them that discovers much knowledge of architecture or civilization. Mr. John Irwine of Pittsburgh gave me the plan of a very large one, which he saw on the Scioto. The Ditches were deep & wide, the walls high, with openings or gateways, and the appearance of Bastions. No iron tool has ever been found in them, or in all the Indian country ; and without this most necessary of all metals, they must have made very slow progress in fortification. Probably the walls of those conjectural forts were higher, & have been worn down by the waste of time. Perhaps a town or village adjoined each fort, and when invaded, they abandoned the town & retired with the women and children into the forts, from the walls of which they could better annoy the enemy, & defend themselves. The works that I saw were all on or near the bank of a stream or river, and had a passage way to the water.

At this town is a small hillock or Tumulus : on which, a trader told me, he wished to build a small trading house ; but the Indians forbid him. They told him it was a grave where many were buried ; but they would not inform him, whether they were friends or enemies. Perhaps a number died of the small pox, & were buried together. This disorder in time past made dreadful destruction. The hot houses and cold baths were fatal applications. Another Tumulus about 12 feet high, in the form of a Pyramid, I saw at Logs town, which was once the seat of Indians. Mouldered human bones are found by digging into them. I was informed at Pittsburgh, that when the Delawares, Shawanese & others,

laid siege suddenly and most traitorously to Fort Pitt, in 1764, in a time of peace, the people within, found means of conveying the small pox to them, which was far more destructive than the guns from the walls, or all the artillery of Col^o Boquet's army, which obliged them to abandon the enterprise.

The Delawares live in 10 or 12 Villages, principally on the Muskingum, and can raise about 250 fighting men. One branch of the nation are in New Jersey: are christianized, and were under the care of the Rev. Mr. John Brainard.

The Shawanese are about 200 miles south of Muskingum, on the Scioto, & can raise nearly the same number. These have always shown great opposition to christianity, and have great hatred of the *Long Knife*, which is the name given by them to the *Virginians*. The whites on the extensive frontiers of Virginia, are generally white Savages, and subsist by hunting, and live like the Indians. Murders between them and Indians, when they meet in hunting, are said sometimes to happen.

The Wiandots, who are a smaller tribe, live on the River Sandusky, near Lake Erie. These three Nations, are tributary to the Six Nations, or the Iroquois.¹ The latter claim the country south of Ontario & Erie, by conquest of the former inhabitants, the *Catawbas*; the remnant of which nation, now live on the Catawba river, in the bounds of N. Carolina.

The *Delaware* & *Shawanese* nations removed from

¹ The original seat of the Iroquois, was on & about the River Sorel, and North of the St. Lawrence, and in the neighborhood of Montreal. The *Algonquins*, from the north, made war upon them, & drove them south; and these in their turn drove out and destroyed the nations who lived in the *Genesee* & *Mohawk* countries, and extended their conquests south to the *Wabash*. They afterwards turned their arms against the *Algonquins* & *Hurons*, their ancient enemies; but the *French* joining the latter, put a stop to their career. Hence the hatred of the 6 Nations to the *French*. (Note by the author.)

the Atlantic Rivers, into this country, and possess it by sufference. It is said that they are obliged to furnish the warriors of the *Six Nations* with accommodations and provisions, if demanded, in their march through the country, in their wars with the *Cherokees* & other southern tribes.

INDIAN WARS.

The frequency of war among Savages, is to be accounted for, principally, from the depravity of human nature, which is more prompt to revenge an injury, than to reward a good action. The Indians seem to look upon others, who are not of their tribe, or in alliance with them, as enemies.

There appears to be two powerful motives particularly, which prompt them to frequent wars.

I. It is the only road to honour & authority. He who discovers most bravery in war, who has obtained the scalps of their enemies, or taken the greatest number of prisoners, received wounds, or brought off the field their own killed and wounded, is honored by his countrymen. He is likely to rise to the rank of a Captain, Chief or Sachem. Distinguished respect is paid at his death, and his name & exploits are long celebrated in their war songs. On the other hand, he who has never hazarded his life in the field, is dishonored by being called a woman, and esteemed of little worth.

Their young men, who thirst for fame & immortality to their names, if they can find no enemy nigh, will seek one, perhaps, a 1000 miles distant. Thus the Six Nations, having conquered the nations around them, or formed alliances with them, carried their arms into the distant country of the *Cherokees*, and yearly sent out their parties to kill, scalp & captivate a people, who had not injured them. This hostile practice they have been in, perhaps, nearly a century.

While I was at Oneida, in 1766, a party of Oneidas &

Mohawks, set out on an expedition into that country, (about 30 in number.) I asked one of them, why they went to war with the Cherokees, as they never came into their country to injure them? He replied, "A great while ago some of them spilt the blood of some of our fathers, and we go there to revenge." Their manner of marching, & subsistence & time spent in those remote crusades, their stratagems & mode of attack, the dreadful carnage among the unsuspecting poor Cherokees, the conflagration of their villages, the captives & manner of retreat &c. have been related to me by some of the warriors, but the account would be too lengthy and distressing to the feelings of humanity, to be inserted here.

2. Another powerful motive prompting Indians to frequent wars, is the increase of the game of the wilderness, and to make their subsistence less laborious. As they derive but a small part of their subsistence from the soil, their dependence is on the wild game of the forest. At a moderate computation, it requires not less than one thousand acres to support a single family of Indians. The game lessens as the Indians increase; and on the reverse, the fewer the number of Indians, the greater is the plenty of game. Nations have bounds affixed by custom or agreement, to their walks in hunting; but they are not commonly very scrupelous to trespass on the hunting grounds of a bordering nation, and this conduct of individuals, sometimes is the commencement of a war, that ceases not, except with the extirpation of the weaker party. To destroy the game of the territory of another nation, is in their view, as much a violation of property, as it would be deemed among us, should one farmer take possession of the land of his neighbour & cultivate it, or carry off part of his harvest.

The same principle has operated to excite the several risings of the Indians against the English colonies, from the beginning of their settlements. Hence the long &

distressing indian wars of New England by the Narragansetts, Pequots, & the extensive plan of their total extirpation under the famous *King Philip* of *Mount Hope* in 1676, & several subsequent attempts since that time, in different parts of the country. I find this principle now in powerful operation among the Delawares. Several of them expressed to me their resentment at the english, in settling on their hunting ground; and I found that they waited only a favorable opportunity, forcibly to drive them off. One of their warriors, once asked me: "What were the number of the English?" To whom I gave a description of some of our large towns, & number of inhabitants, from N^w Hampshire to Georgia. Chagrin and anger appear'd on his countenance at the statement. He replied, "You white men, think that we Indians, are no more than a handful; but you are much mistaken. If we were all collected, all the country between this and Fort Pitt, would not be sufficient to contain us. There is a town of *Chippewas*, beyond Lake Huron, that is 40 Bowshots long, & 40 Bowshots wide, and it is full of Indians." To impress me with an idea of their numbers & power, he launched out into hyperbole far beyond the truth.

SALT LICKS.

The Ohio country abounds in springs of brackish or saltish water. Several of these we saw, going & returning from the Muskingum. One particularly was large, forming a wet spongy space of ground, into which paths were made by Buffaloes, Deer & Elk, and the ground in the paths leading to the water, was trodden down, in some places, 10 or 12 inches below the surface, as though worn by the feet of men & horses. All graminivorous animals are fond of salt, and the country affords them an abundant repast. Near these licks the Indian hunters lie, patiently waiting for the unsuspecting game, who eagerly press down to the water. In such an oozy, saltish swamp,

as I was informed by Dr. Connelly, are found the big bones of the animal called the Mammoth, in the Kentucky country. The soil of that famous Lick consists of a glutenous clay or kind of bitumen, in which, probably, the whole heard of Mammoths, mired & perished. In a visit made to that Lick by the Doctor in 1771, he found a company of Buffaloes feeding around it, and one of them mired in the clay, which he shot, & venturing to him, to cut off a slice for a repast, his feet stuck so fast in the glutinous soil, that he was obliged to call for the assistance of his servant to help him out. In a N. Western direction from said Lick, on the River Missouri, a french traveller informed him, that he had seen the intire skeleton of one of these enormous animals. The probability is, that they came from Siberia or Tartary, where it is said these animals once existed, to this continent, across the narrow straits which seperates America from Asia, in some remote period.

It has been conjectured that the Mammoth was carnivorous. I should imagine, however, that it found a more easy and abundant subsistence in the luxurient produce of the earth, in wild fruits, grass, bushes and the succulent limbs of trees ; not to notice the difficulty which so bulkey an animal would find to catch the small & agile game of the woods, and the ease with which they could keep out of the way.

This greatest of the works of the Creator, among the beasts that ever roamed over the earth, must have been, to judge from the bones already found, not less than 16 or 18 feet in heighth. Col^o Croghern of Pittsburgh, sent part of a Tusk of the Mammoth to the Royal Society, and it was pronounced by them to be genuine ivory.

ORIGINAL POPULATION OF NORTH AMERICA.

There are no data from which we can calculate any very remote antiquity, to the first settlement of this continent,

by the Indians. Probably the first inhabitants came into it, since the commencement of the *Christian Era*: and that they came principally, across *Bhering's Straits* from Kamkatska & Tartary. This conjecture is confirmed by the general tradition of all the *Indians*, (except a few tribes on the N. Eastern coast,) that their ancestors came from the *North West*, to this *Island*, as it was supposed to be, at the time of their immigration, and as it is called by them, to this day.

The fathers who settled New England, took possession of the land, under the notion that they found it, according to the phrase then in use, *Domicilium vacuum*, (a *vacant territory*). But they afterwards, finding the Indians claiming it as their territory, as hunting or fishing ground, made payment to their satisfaction. Some they also possessed by right of conquest. The greater part of the continent was a vacant territory. Had the Indians settled here in a very remote period, it would, no doubt, have been more populous. There are no monuments of great antiquity to be found, except the supposed earth forts, and the probability is, that they are not very ancient.

A profound scholar, and the father of the writers on the prophecies (Joseph Mede. See his Works in Folio.) has a curious conjecture respecting the first peopling of America. It is in substance the following, viz. That the Devil, who was worshipped by the Gentiles, and to whom magnificent temples were everywhere erected, finding his oracles struck dumb, and his votaries embracing the doctrines of the cross, proclaimed by the inspired apostles; determined to remove some colonies of his subjects beyond the bounds of the christian doctrine, and as that Prince of the power of the air, has often attempted to imitate the works of God, by some visible signs, or voices from his infernal oracles, he called them out to follow him to a good land, which he should shew them; and that they followed him by some appearances in the air, like the pillar of fire and

cloud that conducted Israel from Egypt to the land of Canaan; that he finally led them down to the *Mexican Lake*, where rude & bloody rites and services were consecrated to him, and temples erected, in which multitudes of human sacrifices were offered. May the light of the gospel still pursue him, & drive him from those dark abodes, and every where destroy his dreadful dominion among the children of pagan darkness!

Had the contiguity of America to the eastern shores of Asia, been known in the days of Mr. Mede, no doubt he would have been more confirmed in his conjectures. A circumstance, corroborating the conjecture, may be that the Indians universally pay, what little worship they render, to invisible powers, to the *Devil*, or the *Evil Monetho*.

INDIAN LANGUAGES.

The languages of the different nations, whose seats were within the bounds of New England, appear to have been different dialects of one radical language. Among the Delawares at Muskingum, I found several words of the Stockbridge Indian dialect; and Mr. Occom who was acquainted with several languages, besides his native mohegan, informed me that the language of the Indian nations along the seacoast from New England to Georgia, was radically the same, of which he conjectured that the Mohegan was the mother tongue; and in confirmation of this, said that the name of the River Mississippi, was a mohegan word, signifying a *River of many streams*. He pronounced it, *Mis-sis-seep*.

RETURN FROM MUSKINGUM.

1772. *Friday, Octbr 9.* Set out in company with a Mr. Freeman, an Indian trader, & his servant, and friend Nickels, to return to Pittsburgh. We had fine weather, and killed plenty of wild game, particularly Turkeys, with which the woods abounded.

At the Mingo town, about 70 miles below Pittsburgh, I found a sick Indian, with whom I had a conversation. The Conjuror who was to hold a powwow over him at night, came into the Indian house, where I entered. His face and body were frightfully painted with different colours. He looked upon me with severe attention, without speaking a word. Disliking his appearance, as well as that of some others in the village, I concluded it would be most advisable to cross the River Ohio, although it was dark; and encamp on the opposite side. Accordingly we crossed in a Canoe, swimming our horses, kindled a fire and pitched our tent on english ground. About 10 O'Clock, the noise of the powwow sounded across the river, & the doleful echoes resounded through the woods. I thought it prudent to leave the town, partly because it was probable that the conjuror, in case of the failure of success in his infernal incantations to heal the sick man, might be disposed to attribute it, to my presence, & because the village consisted of a banditti of plundering drinking wretches. They permitted us to rest undisturbed.

On my arrival at Pittsburgh, found Mr. Frisbie in comfortable health. In my absence he had frequently preached to the people there, and in neighboring settlements.

Driven from the present prospect of usefulness among the Indians, by hostile appearances of affairs, we concluded to spend some months among the vacant & new settlements in those parts, where the numbers are daily increasing; as they had expressed an earnest desire that we would preach to them. I engaged to preach in rotation to five settlements,¹ between Ligonier and the Yohiogeny river. Another motive for continuing there, was the hope, though a distant hope, that the hearts of the Indians might be inclined to our return to them.

Octbr 14. We crossed the Monongehala, and ascended

¹ Jacob's Swamp, Ligonier, Proctor's Tent, Squirrel Island, and Stewart's Crossing.

the top of the hill, opposite Pittsburgh, to take a view of the effects of the fire on its top, which has been burning more than 12 months. The fire among the coal has formed a basin or crater, 60 or 70 yards in circumference, and killed the trees and herbage some distance around. As I sat near the edge, I perceived the ground warm, and forcing a staff through the surface, there appeared to be a cavity, and the staff came out black and smoking. Should the fire continue a Volcano may be formed of the sulphurous coal. Some ineffectual efforts had been made to extinguish it.¹

18. Preached in the Fort, on the blindness of man by nature, in spiritual things. The soldiers were attentive & some of them seemed to be impressed with the truth.

19. In consequence of orders from General Gage, the garrison are preparing to depart. They have begun to destroy the fortress. This is matter of surprise & grief to the people around, who have requested that the fortress may stand, as a place of security to them, in case in indian invasion. I asked one of the officers, the reason of their destroying a Fort, so necessary to the safety of the frontiers? He replied, "The Americans will not submit to the british Parliament, and they may now defend themselves."

Last Week, Mr. Frisbie & Mr. Plummer & myself rode to Col^o Croghern's to dine. Afternoon called on Major Ward. Mentioned to the Col^o the affair of the war belt. He has, I find, the ill will of the people in this quarter, principally on account of his claims to great tracts of land, which others claim.

Reports have arrived of several whites being murdered by the Indians, down the Ohio.

25. Yesterday rode to the Long Run, 18 miles from Pittsburgh, and preached to-day in a small house, which the people have erected, for public worship.

¹ The fire was afterwards extinguished by the earth caving in. (Author's note.)

26. Returned to Eneas McKay Esq. at Pittsburgh, at whose house, I make my home, at this place. Esq. McKay is Commissary to the army. Is a friendly social and high spirited Scotchman. Is the friend of order and religion, or the form of it. His wife is good natured & hospitable. It is one of the most orderly and respectable families in the place.

27. Sent word by Mr. Carnahan, of Jacob's Swamp, that I would preach there the next Sabbath. Received a letter from Mr. Cooper, Scribe of the Presbytery of Donnegall, informing, that they could send no supplies to the settlements west of the mountains, and that they had authorized us to preach there. Sent a message by Mr. Proctor to the people at Proctor's Tent, that I would preach there, the Sabbath after next; and by Mr. Laughlin, that I would, with the permission of providence, preach at Ligonier, the Sabbath after that.

28. 29. Wrote to friends in New England.

Saw an Indian submit to the barbarous operation of having his hair pulled out of his head, excepting the scalp on the crown, and likewise his ears cut. An Indian dipped his fingers in ashes, and violently jerked out by the roots, one lock after another, until his head around the scalp was bald. He then laid his patient on his back, and placing a piece of wood under his ear, he cut, with his jack nife, which was rather dull, the rim of each ear, from top to bottom, leaving the ends adhering to the souce. On the bow made of the rim, he fixed pieces of thin lead, to prevent adhesion and to stretch it. He bore the operation with wonderful fortitude. Now and then he shouted *Hocki*, that is, I am a great man. This part of their head dress is said to be a preparation, necessary for a warrior. The cold and phlegmatic constitution of the Indians, perhaps, makes them less susceptible of bodily pain, than the europeans.

Wrote to Mr. Brainard, Mr. Caldwell & to Dr. Wheelock,

giving account of the present issue of the Mission. Forwarded to the care of our worthy friend, John Bayard Esq., of Philad^a, a Box to be forwarded to Boston, to the care of my friend Henry Knox,¹ there; containing some Mammoth's bones, some skins (Buffaloes, &c) seeds, human bones picked up on Braddock's field &c.

Nov. 4. Wednesday. Preached in a Tent, near Mr. Carnahan's, Jacob's Swamp.

11. Last Sabbath preached at Proctor's Tent & to-day Wednesday at the house of Esq. Hanna, about 30 miles from Pittsburgh. Baptized at Proctor's Tent 2 children of Mr. McKee, and one of Mr. Joseph Erwine. Some rigid presbyterians, in this settlement, objected to me, because I did not belong to a presbytery, but was a N. England Congregational minister. To remove this objection in the minds of some zealous and worthy people of the presbyterian persuasion, I soon after, stated the objection in a letter to the presbytery of Donnegal, & requested to be admitted, myself & Mr. F., which they accordingly did.²

Heard that my Interpreter Joseph Pepee, had gone on to Philad^a, to request the Governor and the Quakers, to provide a ship for King Nettetwaleman, and some of his Chiefs, to go to England. Joseph mentioned on the road, that the Indians would have Mr. F. and myself return next spring. That they were not yet ready; but wished to consult other tribes. Good Joseph was deceived by the subtlety of his countrymen.

12. Esq. Hanna accompanied me to Ligonier. Put up at the house of Mr. Jameson.

16. Preached in the house of Mrs. Campbell, on the free invitation of sinners to salvation, from Rev. 22. 17. And the Spirit and the Bride say, Come &c. Felt some

¹ Afterwards the distinguished general and secretary of war. His family belonged, like Dr. McClure's, to Mr. Moorhead's Presbyterian Church in Boston, and he was now keeping a bookstore there.

² On April 14, 1773.

comfortable freedom, in proclaiming the free & gracious invitations of the Saviour of sinners.

The settlements to which I have preached have invited me to tarry with them, which I have engaged to do, until May or June next. To encourage the business they have drawn up subscriptions, forming themselves into something like ecclesiastical order. I engaged to preach in five of the new settlements. It is about 6 years since the people began them. They are from almost all parts and generally presbyterians. It was pleasing to find in each of them, some zealous and pious persons, who came forward, & willingly devoted their time & labours to form the people into society, for the purpose of the public worship of God. Perhaps in this situation, I may have been honored as an humble instrument, in collecting the materials, and giving a form to social combinations among the disconnected settlers, from whence Churches of Christ afterwards arose, & ministers & ordinances settled and maintained.

In consequence of my engagements, I found the field of labour extensive, & on account of the unfavorable approaching winter, my work laborious & uncomfortable in prospect.

17. Set out from Ligonier for Proctor's tent. Met Soldiers and waggons loaded with ammunition &c., going to Philad^a Mr. Austin Piety, Conductor of the Artillery, had been kind enough to take the charge of my box. Rode to Pittsburgh.

19. Waited on Major Edminston, who still remained in the dismantled Fort, expecting to leave it in a few days. His Lady presented me with a Wild Cat, which she had petted from a kitten. It was large and confined to a cage or box, by a chain. The Major appears displeased with the manners of the people of this country. In conversation, on the parade, he told me, he had travelled through England, Ireland, France, Germany & Holland,

but never knew what mankind were, till he came to that station.

21. Lodged at Mr. Mires's on the road to Mr. Carnahan's. Sabbath preached to a numerous audience, on the nature and free offers of the gospel.

Wednesday, preached at the house of John McClellen. The audience attentive & solemn.

29. Preached at Mr. Proctor's from Amos 4 . 12. Pre-
pair to meet thy God, O Israel.

Dec. 3. At Mr. Jameson's Ligonier, read & studied the Bible in course. Such frequent itinerations, in these new and poor settlements, I find a great hindrence to study. I have, for some time, preached almost wholly without notes. Desire to be thankful for that freedom & enlargedness, with which I am sometimes favored, and to be humble for my barrenness.

10. *Thursday*, preached at Mr. McQuestin's, near the head of Sewickly Creek.

11. Rode with David White 7 miles to his house.

12. Rode to the place of worship 3 miles, preached. Rode to Sam! Newell's 2 miles.

15. Rode to a settlement of Virginians, near Yohiogeni. Preached on the last Judgment. Lodged at Mr. Stevensons. In the evening arrived Capt. St. Clair, Sheriff Proctor, Esq. Laughree, & Mr. McLane, Surveyor. They are out to run the line of the Province.

17. Attended a marriage, where the guests were all Virginians. It was a scene of wild and confused merriment. The log house which was large, was filled. They were dancing to the music of a fiddle. They took little or no notice of me, on my entrance. After setting a while at the fire, I arose and desired the music and dancing to cease, & requested the Bride and Bridegroom to come forward. They came snickering and very merry. I desired the company who still appeared to be mirthful & noisy, to attend with becoming seriousness, the solemnity.

As soon as the ceremony was over, the music struck up, and the dancing was renewed. While I sat wondering at their wild merriment. The Lady of a Mr. Stevenson, sent her husband to me, with her compliments requesting me to dance a minuit with her. My declining the honor, on the principle that I was unacquainted with it, was scarcely accepted. He still politely urged, until I totally refused. After supper I rode about 3 miles to the house of a friend. The manners of the people of Virginia, who have removed into these parts, are different from those of the presbyterians and germans. They are much addicted to drinking parties, gambling, horse race & fighting. They are hospitable & prodigal. Several of them, have run through their property in the old settlements, & have sought an asylum in this wilderness.

Dec. 18. Saturday rode 12 miles, to Joseph Erwine's, on the pennsylvania road

19th Preached in the open air, by the side of a fallen tree, to a considerable numerous congregation, on evangelical humility, & was favored with a comfortable degree of freedom. rode a few miles to the house of a Mr. Thompson, an honest and pious Scotchman, who had been prejudiced against me, on account of my not being, as he supposed, a true presbyterian. Of the denomination of Congregationalists, the people here, seem to have no knowledge. In their esteem, all sects of Christians are erroneous who do not bear the name of presbyterian.

Monday. Set out with Mr. Erwine for Pittsburgh. Stopped to take a view of the hill where Col. Boquet had an engagement with the Indians in 1764. By the stratagem of sending a party round the hill, to fall upon the rear of the Savages, he was extricated from danger, & marched on to the relief of the people, who were beseiged in Fort Pitt.

Found Mr. F. well, & spent two days with him at Pittsburgh. Rode to Ligonier, & preached on the Sabbath.

29. Rode in company with Mr. Wm. McCune 13 miles to Squirrel Hill

30. *Wednesday* preached to the small new settlement there. It lies on the River Connemoh,¹ which is formed by the junction of Stoney Creek & Quamahone, and empties into the Allegany River. There are about 12 families here. Experienced much kindness, particularly from Mrs. McCune & family.

This place was formerly a settlement of Indians. Here are vestiges of their corn fields, & on the bank an ancient fortification, similar to many that are found through all this country.

Wednesday, preached the first sermon ever preached in this place, on the rich provision of Gospel salvation.

1773.

Jan'y 1. Rode to Mr. David White's. Found the people convened expecting a sermon, preached from Psalm 106. 1.

3. *Sunday*. Preached at Mr. Nickels's in Jacob Swamp, to an attentive audience. Afterwards found that some were deeply impressed with the important truths of the gospel. In his own time & manner God is pleased to make his word powerful to the consciences of sinners.

The weather is uncommonly mild & pleasant for mid-winter.

Tuesday rode to Mr. White's. Appointed to preach to-morrow at Stewart's crossings.

Wednesday, rode 7 miles to Mr. Stevenson's & preached. The hearers mostly Virginians. Preached in the open air. Several present, appeared almost intoxicated. Christmas & New Year holly days, are seasons of wild mirth & disorder here.

Rode to Mr. Vance's—to Hugh Bay's—to Sam'l New-els—to Joseph Erwine's.

¹ Now written Conemaugh.

Sabbath—preached. Spent the evening in religious conversation with some persons who came to the house.

Monday, rode to Mr. Moorhead's—*Wednesday* with Mr. Ross, rode to Ligonier.

Jan. 17. Preached at Ligonier. Visited the settlement.

24. Preached at Stewart's Crossings. After meeting rode home with Captain Crawford.¹ (N. B. He was killed by the Indians in the revolutionary war.) The Captain was very hospitable. He is from Virginia. Sacra, non multum in domo ejus, observantur. Uxorem virtuosam habet, sed, vae, ille hoc tempore, in fornicatione vivet; & mulierem scandelosam, ut aiunt, non longe a domo ejus, custodiet.

31. Preached at Laury Irwine's—the week past Mr. F. came to see me.

Saw a large Indian fortification at Stewart's Crossings. Saw an Indian, Joseph Wapee, who informed me, that the forts in the Ohio country were places of retreat and defence, made by the ancient inhabitants, against the Catawbas. This probably he received by tradition from his ancestors. Visited the settlement until

Feby. 4. Reached Mr. Jameson's in Ligonier, unwell.

5. *Sabbath.* People convened, but I was not well enough to preach. Constant riding from one settlement to another and preaching, Badness of the weather & roads, & very poor accommodations, have affected my health, & brought on a slight fever.—After a few days' confinement, was better; & Mr. F. and I agreed to exchange. I accordingly went to Pittsburgh, and put up at my friend, Esq. McKay's. My service here is not, so laborious, as it is confined only to two places, this, & the Long Run; whereas my rides comprehended five different settlements, in 3 of which I preached on Sabbaths, and the other two on week days.

¹ Col. William Crawford, who lived near the present New Haven, in Fayette County, on the left bank of the Yohogany.

Drinking, debauchery & all kinds of vice reign, in this frontier of depravity. In Pittsburgh, however, are to be found a few fearers of God & friends of religion, but alas, too applicable to some moral characters, are the words of the poet, They

“ Hear with sickly smiles, the venal mouth,
“ With foulest licence, mock religion’s name.”

Feb. 21. Sabbath, extreme cold, preached at Mr. Cavet’s, Long Run. May the divine goodness apply the word, with power to the Consciences of the hearers !

Preached at Pittsburg, on the final state of the righteous & the wicked.

Saturday March 6. Set out for the Long Run, & lodged at Charles McGennis’s, 9 miles. He was a soldier in the Highland Regiment, commanded by Major Grant, which was defeated near Fort Pitt, in the french war and was wounded. A ball passed through his body at the pit of the stomach.

7. Rode to Mr. Marshals. Received a letter from the Rev. Mr. Hog¹ of Ceder Creek, in Virginia.

9. Rode to the mouth of the Yohio Geni River, lodged at a Mr. St. Clair’s—married 2 couple at different settlements. Found my friend Esq. McKay, at old Mr. McKee’s, at whose house we lodged. Returned with him to Pittsburgh.

16. Esq. McKay, Dr. Conally, Mr. Semple, Mr. Bowman & Monsieur Murrain, rode with me to attend the marriage of two couple, up the Monongehala. They were soldiers, who for want of some one to marry them, had lived with their women, several years, & now were desirous to wipe away reproach by lawful marriage. They made a decent appearance.

Saw a Mr. Douglas, a trader, from the Shawanese country, who informs that Mr. Jones, a baptist preacher

¹ Probably John Hogg, or Hoge, B.A., Princeton, 1749.

before mentioned, had been among them, and attempted to preach to them, but the Indians were enraged, and would have killed him, had he not been protected by a Moses Henry, a trader, who secreted him, until he found means to escape. Jones's object was the settlement, it is said, of a township, by people from New Jersey, opposite the mouth of the *Sciota*.

March 19. Find my health much better. Mr. F. having arrived, I set out today to preach the next Sabbath at Ligonier. Reached Robert Hanna's Esq.—and the next day, Ligonier.

21. *Sabbath*, preached.—& *Wednesday* at Squirril Hill.

25. Having appointed to preach at Jacob's Swamps, 33 miles from Squirril Hill, on the next Sabbath, set out with Mr. McCurdy, rode in a storm of wind rain & snow, to his house 5 miles. Lodged comfortably.

26. Passed through Ligonier & reached Hugh Bay's.

27. Preached on the glories of the Redeemer in his exaltation, as the Judge of the world at the last day.

31. Preached at Stewert's Crossings.

April 1. *Thursday* rode to John McClellan's & preached.

2. Rode to Joseph Erwine's & lodged.

3. *Sabbath*. Preached at Laury Erwine's—rode home with Mr. Greer.

Mr. F. & I had concluded on a journey over the Appalachian mountains to attend the Presbytery of Donnegal, at the Middle Springs.

Monday 5. We reached Ligonier.

Tuesday. The people having been notified, Mr. Frisbie preached there. Received a present of a location of land on Connemoh (about 300 acres) of my good friend Mr. McCune. (This right was however lost to me by the war, & my absence.) Young & in health we had no unpleasant apprehensions of again measuring back our road over the great & formidable mountains. On leaving

Ligonier we began to ascend them. In descending the eastern side of the Laurel Hill, we came suddenly on a gang of Wolves. They were near the path (leading down the Mountain). They were of different sizes and 7 in number. Two of the largest, were, each about the bigness of a large Mastiff. They came & stood by the path, a few rods before us, and we had a fair view of them longer than we wished, for they seemed fearless of danger, & we had neither pistol, nor any weapon of defence. They espied a handsome Spannel dog which followed us, & who, through an instinctive fear, had endeavoured to secrete himself behind a fallen tree. They boldly stood, & filled the path before us, & we found no way to get by them. We began to entertain some apprehension of an attack upon our horses. The sun shone bright on their winking eyes, which was to us a favorable circumstance, as they do not see well in a clear day. As those ferocious animals are unused to a human voice, I proposed to Mr. F. that we should hallow, & make the most frightful noises we could. This had the desired effect. We, at the same time, riding slowly forward, they gradually withdrew from the path, the largest bringing up the rear. It is said that when pinched with hunger, they will sometimes attack the horse & rider. Their bodies tapered off, from a deep chest to the hinder parts. Their eyes were small, & their ears short & erect. Their noses sharp. They had long bushy tails, and the hair of their bodies a light gray. They appeared strong and firmly built. These animals will scent and tire down the deer, in dark & cloudy days. They are destructive to the sheep & swine, in the new settlements.

We reached Stoney Creek, and lodged at a Dutch Doctor's, who treated us with great hospitality.

7. Crossed the Allegany mountain. Saw a herd of Deer, who more timid than the Wolves, ran from us & with surprising agility bounded over the side hill.

8. *April. Thursday*, preached in Bedford, a settlement of about 20 families. After sermon rode to Thomas Eurie's, 6 miles. He is a religious and worthy man, surrounded with an amiable family.

The inhabitants west of the Appalachian mountains are chiefly Scotch Irish presbyterians. They are either natives of the North of Ireland, or the descendents of such & removed here from the middle Colonies. There are some Germans, English & Scotch. The presbyterians are generally well indoctrinated in the principles of the christian religion. The young people are taught by their parents & school masters, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, & almost every family has the Westminster Confession of Faith, which they carefully study. Mr. Eurie, lives in a small neighbourhood of german quakers, with whom he can have little or no religious society, as the most of them are very ignorant & bigoted.

The following anecdote of him was mentioned to me. Attending family devotion, as his custom was, he read a chapter in the bible, & briefly expounded it to his family, one morning, reading Genesis 23.7 of Abraham's rising up & bowing himself to the children of Heth, on their consenting to his having a burying ground for his beloved Wife Sarah: "*here,*" said Mr. Eurie, "*we may observe, that Abraham was no Quaker.*"

Friday. Crossed Sideling Hill, Junietta River, & Tuscarora mountain, & reached Path Valley, (Elliot's) late in the evening. We passed a few log huts to-day. When in the valley in the evening, we had a sublime and awful prospect of the mountains on each side of the valley, on fire. Either by accident or design, fire was communicated to the dry leaves & combustable matter that covered the sides of the mountains & the valley, and running up the sides of the lofty mountains to their summits, to an elevation of about 40 degrees, it had the appearance of the heavens in flames. The fire ran through the valley

to the north of us, & in some places came within a few rods of the path. As we rode along the margin of the fiery element, & saw ourselves as it were hemmed in between the flaming mountains, the scene impressed our minds with the majesty of God who formed the lofty mountains & rules the elements. We repeated together that beautiful Ode,

“Fond Atheist ! could a giddy dance,
Of atoms lawless hurl'd,” &c.

Saturday, passed through Sissney's gap in the North or Blue mountain, halted a while at the Rev. Rob. Cooper's Shippensburgh, & reached my Uncle McClintock's at the Big Spring, in the evening. Notice was sent through the place of preaching on the morrow.

Sabb. Mr. F. & I preached to a large Congregation.

Tuesday, rode to Shippensburgh, to attend the Donnegall Presbytery. Three Candidates offered for examination, & licence to preach, viz. Black, McFerrin & Cunningham. Each of them delivered a discourse, the subject of which had been given them, at the last presbytery. My Uncle, Mr. F. & myself lodged at Mr Blyth's. The Presbytery invited Mr. F. & myself to sit with them, as *correspondent* members.

Wednesday,—The Presbytery having examined our Credentials & recommendations & commission from the Hon. Board of Correspondents in New Jersey, admitted us members in full.¹—Previous to our admission, they held a conversation with us on the principal doctrines of divine revelation. *Thursday* & *Friday* attended Presbytery. The *Evening* a Mr. Thompson preached; on the 3 fold offices of J. X. He preached without notes, a serious practical sermon.

¹ This action was reversed by the Synod of New York and Philadelphia in May next, because the candidates had not been dismissed from the body which ordained them; they were allowed, however, to be taken under the care of the Presbytery temporarily.

At the settlement called at Jacob's Creek, near the Youghiogeni river, I had formed the model of a church, & a Session. An unhappy dispute arose between two persons there, in consequence of one of them applying to me for baptism for his Child. The parties agreed to refer it to the decision of Presbytery, and I accordingly laid it before them. They had not time, nor sufficient evidences present to act upon it, & referred to the next Presbytery, if the parties chose to bring it forward.

They appointed me to preach at Carlisle the next Sabb. The Presbytery of Donnegall consists of about 17 ministers, each church sends a Delegate, who has an equal voice with the minister in all votes &c. They are methodical in business, & strict in adherence to rule and order.

The following are the rules of procedure.

1. They chuse a Moderator & Scribe, & the election is determined by a majority of votes. The Moderator opens the Presbytery with prayer.

2. The Roll is called over, and the absent members required to give reasons for non-attendance, at the next meeting.

3. The Minutes of the last Session, & business referred to the present Session, examined.

4. The members address the Moderator, & none allowed to dispute or converse, except by the medium of the Moderator.

5. None allowed to go out of the room without the permission of the Moderator.

6. Members appointed to supply vacant places till the next Session, & returns of their supplying since the last meeting, according to appointment.

7. Committee of Congregational Affairs appointed, to whom each member reports how their account with their respective congregations stands, relative to Salary. If a congregation is deficient in payment, the Presbytery write

to the Session of such Congregation, & admonish them. (N. B. The ministers are supported by subscription.)

8. Each minister makes report how he has visited and catechized the people of his charge.

9. They are critical in the examination of Candidates. They give the Candidate a text to write on, & deliver at the next session; likewise a chapter in the bible to expound, & also a theme in latin to write upon. They examine into their experimental knowledge in religion, & their motives,—into systematical divinity, & the Arts & Sciences.

10. They begin and close business each day with prayer.

11. They receive supplications for supplies from vacant places.

12. They meet twice in the year.

13. Matters not determined by the presbytery, or where parties are not agreed in its decision are referred to the Synod.

Saturday rode to Carlisle. Put up at Col. Armstrong's. Preached in the morning to the Congregation of Mr. Duffield, who has lately removed to Philadelphia. In the afternoon Rev. Mr. Roan preached. He baptized a child. Qualifications for this ordinance, required of the parents are a good moral character, knowledge of the plain and fundamental truths of revelation, & the belief of them. The minister addresses a short dissertation on the nature & design of the ordinance, & binds the parents to instruct the child in the knowledge of the Christian religion,—to learn it to read the bible, and teach it the Westminster Confession of Faith & the shorter & larger Catechisms, to set before it an example of piety, & to worship God evening and morning in their family. This profession is required & these duties enjoined at the baptism of every child.

Col. Armstrong,¹ is a gentleman of much intelligence

¹ See above, page 36.

and piety. He has been conversant in public business, and is a most useful man in maintaining civil and religious order in the town.

In the train of misfortunes which attended the English arms after the loss of Braddock and his army, the Col. succeeded in the destruction of an Indian town, called the Kataneen, on the river Allegany; and from that time a series of success attended the english, and the Colonists, against their old enemies the French & Indians.

Col. Armstrong marched with 300 chosen men over the mountains, and came upon the town at the dawn of day; and the first notice the Indians had of an enemy, was from the barking of a dog. A famous Indian captain, called Capt. Jacob, commanded them. They fought, after recovering from their first panic, like lions. They retreated into a kind of log redoubt, which they had made very strong, from whence they gauled the Colonel's little band, and which they refused to surrender or to leave, (though the Col. offered them their lives) until the flames forced them to quit it. Their captain received fourteen balls, and yet fought like a tyger after he had fallen. The greater part of the warriors were killed. The women & children mostly fled into the woods, in the beginning of the action.

This bold adventure of the americans into the heart of their savage settlements, was a dreadful blow to their courage, from which they did not recover. As, after this, they were in continual fear, where, before, they had felt themselves perfectly secure.

Col. Armstrong received a slight wound in the heat of battle, by a ball grazing his shoulder, and adressing his men, who loved and revered him, said, "*Boys I am wounded, avenge my blood,*" and immediately they set the town in flames, and the enemy were driven as before a tempest. A nephew of Capt. Jacob's, who was also one of the greatest warriors of the Delaware nation, said, he

wished to see Colonel Armstrong, because he was a greater warrior than his Uncle.

When marching to this secret expedition, the Col. like a Christian soldier, attended prayer, night and morning, at the head of his little band, and God was pleased to answer his request, by giving him compleat success, & making him an instrument in turning the tide of prosperity to our arms.

The Colonel diverted himself, while I was at his house, with the simplicity and plainness of the manners of the people of Connecticut, by relating the following anecdote.

He was commissioned by Governor Penn, who lived in state in Philadelphia, on public business to Governor Law,¹ of Connecticut. He put up at the public house in Milford, and dressed himself in his best attire to wait on the Governor. He knocked at the door, and was let in by a man in the plain dress and appearance of a common farmer. He concluded he was a labourer or a servant of the Governor, and asked him if Gov. Law was at home. He was a little surprised to find that he had made a mistake, and that it was the Governor whom he was addressing. He was received with great hospitality by him, and informing him that he had a commission from Gov. Penn, on public business, requested to know when it would be convenient to him, that he should have the honor to lay it before him. The Govr. replied, that the present time was convenient. His daughter came in, and he spake to her to draw a cup of cider, which he drank with the Governor. He was invited and urged to stay and dine. A large boiled dish was placed on the table, around which the family and labourers were seated, and each one helped himself. A lad came into the room and

¹ Jonathan Law (B. A., Harvard 1695), Governor 1741-50. The contemporary governors of Pennsylvania were George Thomas (1737-46), and James Hamilton (1749-54). No member of the Penn family was resident in Pennsylvania between August, 1741, and 1750.

told the Governor that his father wanted to borrow his spade. He directed his son to go and get it. In transacting business with the Governor, the Colonel observed, that he was a man of profound knowledge and wisdom, and was agreeably surprised to find so much good sense, ease & propriety, with such plain & simple manners.

Monday, returned to my Uncle's at the Big Spring. Baptized some children.

Return from the Presbytery at Shippenburgh to the settlements West of the Mountains.

The time of our engagement to preach to the people over the mountains, not having expired, May 20, Tuesday, Mr. Frisbie and I set out from the Big Spring. Intending to shun McAllister's gap through the North Mountain, which we had found to be bad, we shaped our course for Sisney's gap, which we were informed was better. We got into the path valley, & arrived at Eliot's in the evening. Some places in the mountain were so steep, that I took hold on the tail of my horse, & made him haul me up, though exposed to the pelting of stones from his feet. The descent was so steep that I was apprehensive that he would fall upon me, as I led him down. We crossed the mountains in pleasant weather; our accommodations were very ordinary. We refreshed ourselves with neat's tongue, biscuit & spirit, which our friends at the Big Spring had furnished us with, at several fine springs, which we found on the Mountains. We had also plenty of dried venison which we bought of the hunters. In our return we took Fort Littleton—Bedford—Anderson—the Dutch Doctor's on Stoney Creek, in our way.

Saturday 24. Reached Ligonier.

In this journey we overtook several families removing from the old settlements in the State, and from Maryland and New Jersey, to the western country. Their patience and perseverance in poverty and fatigue were wonderful. They were not only patient, but cheerful and pleased

themselves with the expectation of seeing happy days, beyond the mountains.

I noticed, particularly, one family of about 12 in number. The man carried an ax and gun on his shoulders—the Wife, the rim of a spinning wheel in one hand, and a loaf of bread in the other. Several little boys and girls, each with a bundle, according to their size. Two poor horses, each heavily loaded with some poor necessaries, on the top of the baggage of one, was an infant rocked to sleep in a kind of wicker cage, lashed securely to the horse. A Cow formed one of the company, and she was destined to bear her proportion of service, a bed cord was wound around her horns, and a bag of meal on her back. The above is a specimen of the greater part of the poor and enterprising people, who leave their old habitations and connections, and go in quest of lands for themselves and children, & with the hope of the enjoyment of independence, in their worldly circumstances, where land is good & cheap.

And in the course of 6 years, many families, west of the Mountains, now begin to realize their hopes. Before that time, the country was a desolate wilderness; but now there are many well cultivated farms in the pleasant valleys which run among the Mountains, & to the Westward, on to Pittsburgh, about 50 miles.

April 25. I preached in the forenoon at the house of Mrs. Cambel, to the people at Ligonier, & Mr. Frisbie preached in the afternoon. Dined with Capt. Arthur St. Clair (afterwards General in the American army.) He owns a good farm and Grist mill, at Ligonier, & large tracts of wild lands. He was hospitable and disposed to encourage our mission. He appears to love his ease, & good cheer, & is, at times, afflicted with the gout.

April 26. Monday Mr. Frisbie set out for Pittsburgh. I tarried several days at Mr. Jameson's in Ligonier. Read the bible, and made some sermons.

May 21. Rode to James McQuestin's, with Mr. Moorhead, & preached to the people of Sewickly Creek, who had convened in the woods. The number was considerable. They sat on the side of a hill, on the grass, under the shade of trees. The assembly was solemn and attentive; & I felt a freedom in speaking on the most important concerns of eternity. The psalmody, in which all united, had a solemn and pleasing effect echoing along the hills, & sounding the high praises of the Creator, where little else had ever before been heard, than the yells of Savages & the roarings of wild beasts. After sermon, rode 7 miles to Hugh Bays.

Yesterday, descend^g the Chestnut ridge, which is a long range of hills West of Ligonier, I caught a young Cub. The adventure was perhaps imprudent, & not without hazard, as I was alone and unarmed. After riding about, to make a discovery of the dam, who, I concluded could not be far off, I pursued the little black animal, into a thicket of young trees. He run up one of them, and find^g no way to get him down, I climbed the saplin, but not before looking about for the She Bear. He ascended the highest part of the tree; the weight of both, brought it down within a few feet of the ground. He fell, & I slipt down, & seizing my whip, pursued him up the bank of a river, that run through the valley. After repeated blows, with the but of the whip, he was stunned and fell. With haste, and some degree of fear of the dam, I draged him to my horse, & here I was fearful I should loose him, as the horse appeared very reluctant to receive him on his back. With much difficulty, having lodged him on a low limb of a tree, I got the horse so nigh as to haul him on, & place him before me. He fastened the nails of his fore paws in the horse's mane, & with one hand I held him up, & with the other guided my horse. I forded the river with my little savage companion, & rode about half a mile to the first house, in which a Dutchman lived, who was

standing at his door. Before I arrived, he had recovered from the effects of the blows, and was very cross and furious, & made several attempts to bite. I called to the man to take him as a present, & letting him drop, the Dutchman received him thankfully, & said he would make good pork of him. About 6 weeks after this adventure, passing that road, I called at his house. The Cub had grown to a young bear, & was confined in a little pen, built at the end of the house. The resolution to catch the cub, as I was unarmed, was no doubt, rash & thoughtless. On reflection, I disapproved of it, & should not again have undertaken an adventure of the kind, in the same circumstances. To

June 1. Spent my time in preaching to the people in the settlements on the Pennsylvania road—Stewart's crossings—Procter's Tent—Ligonier—Jacob's Creek—& Squirrel Hill.

Yesterday, arrived at my friend Eneas McKay Esq., at Pittsburgh. Very pleasant weather. Today 11th dined on green peas. There have here been eatable 10 to 12 days. Esq. McKay and his lady are well disposed people and friendly, at least to the form of religion. He keeps 4 or 5 Negroes, some of them give him much trouble. One of them, who was a stout fellow, came into the house to evening and morning prayer, with a large iron chain fastened to his leg and wound round his body, and riveted to a collar around his Neck. His Master had whipped him, and fixed the chain on him on account of his stealing, and attempting to run away with a negro woman of the place. The poor wretch expressed to me his sorrow, and promised to do better. I interceded for him, and went with him and his Master to the Blacksmith, who filed the iron collar asunder and took off the chain. In this family, I have lived agreeably several weeks, since my first coming; for which they refused any compensation.

Being about to return to New England, the two last

weeks, I visited the settlements in which I had spent about 7 months, & preached to them for the last time. I found many more friends than I expected, & the parting scene was solemn and affecting. They invited me to return, & gave me the promise of a decent salary & lands.

We found no prospect of putting into execution the principal object of our mission, to carry the Gospel among the heathen; and now thought it our duty to return, to give account to our honorable employers. While we continued at Pittsburgh, and the adjacent country, we found that indian affairs assumed a more hostile appearance, and that we could have no access to them, with any prospect of success, or *even personal safety*.

RETURN FROM THE OHIO COUNTRY.

May. 31. 1773. Rode to Pittsburgh to settle some accounts, & to join company with Mr. Frisbie, & take leave of friends.

June 1. At Esq. Mackay's. Walked with Dr. John Connelly along the bank of the Allegany. In conversation he asserted some deistical tenets: said, he did not believe the whole of the Bible—that religion was all a piece of policy—that Joshua was a grand villain—that men were from the creation, the same, as to moral powers & propensities, that they are at present—and many other great errors and falsities of a similar import. I endeavored to set before him the perfection & purity of the divine character, and the deep depravity of the human heart, & thence to infer the necessity of a moral change, called in scripture, *being born again*, a new heart, & the like, in order to the enjoyment of the love of a holy God, & a preperation for the holy employments of heaven &c. He replied, that no change would take place, until the soul should be disingaged from the body; then he supposed it would be refined, & fitted for the spiritual world &c. I

urged the necessity of faith in the word of God, & reliance on the righteousness and mediation of Jesus Christ. He replied that he wished to believe; but could not. The doctor is a man of bright parts, and an amiable disposition; but has lived a dissipated life. I was informed by my christian friend (Mr. Plumer) that the Doctor was, at times, exercised with very serious awakenings.¹ A sovereign God is pleased to reveal unto babes that divine light & grace, which he hides from the wise & prudent men of the world.

June. 4. Took leave of my friendly host, Mr. McKay & family, & set out from Pittsburgh, about sun rise, having appointed to preach in the afternoon at the house of Robert Hanna. Esq., 30 miles distant. Arrived about 2 O'Clock. Found the people convened, preached & took my leave of them, wishing them the blessing of heaven. The people were much affected.

Saturday 5. Rode to the Lawyalthanning, & crossed over to a Mr. Craig's, & baptized his Child, & from thence to Capt. Proctor's, & baptized 2 of his children, then rode to Mr. Moorhead's, and to Ligonier.

Sabbath 6. Preached in an orchard in the forenoon, & afternoon in Capt. Arthur St. Clair's house.

Monday. Mr. McCune of Squirril Hill, sent a horse for me to ride to that settlement, 13 miles, to preach there in the afternoon. Preached to them my last sermon. This settlement is the most easterly of those to whom I have preached, & is not far distant from the western foot of the Appalachian mountains.

Truly the people here, in this new country, are as sheep scattered upon the Mountains, without a Shepherd. At this time, not a single church has been formed, or Minister of the Gospel settled, west of the Appalachian Mountains, from Pennsylvania to Georgia, through an extent of many

¹ Dr. Connolly's father was a Roman Catholic, and his mother probably a Presbyterian. See *Historical Register of Interior Pennsylvania*, ii, 210-13.

hundred miles, of new & sparse settlements. A great proportion of the people manifest a desire for the Gospel, and would gladly make provision, for the support of ministers, according to their ability. We had the satisfaction, if I may so express it, of planting the seeds of some future churches, by forming several settlements into something like ecclesiastical order, during 7 or 8 months of our preaching among them. May the good Lord, raise up & send forth faithful labourers into this part of his vineyard.

8. *June. Tuesday.* Mr. Wm. McCune, Benj^a Sutton & myself, sailed in a boat up the River Connemoh, in one place, saw a solid body of stone coal, jutting from the bank. Same day went to see an Indian Fort, near the River.

9. *Wednesday.* Some friends accompanied me to Ligonier, where I found Mr. Frisbie. We lodged that night at Capt. St. Clair's. Saw there a dutch preacher from Holland, a Mr. Kalls, who had visited, and preached to the people of his nation, in various places. I asked him how he was supported in his itenerations. He replied; *Qui Deo confisus, nunquam confusus.* (He who confides in God, will never be confounded.)

Friday morn.g. left Ligonier, & reached Stoney Creek. Saturday, descending a mountain, we started a Cata-mount, or a species of the Panther. I passed him without seeing him. They are about the bigness of a sheep. They are built like a Cat; have a long bushy tail, & will leap a great distance from the ground up a tree.

Saturday, Reached Esq. Wood's in Bedford.

13. *Sabbath.* Mr. Frisbie & I preached in a small Court House. Baptized 6 children.

Monday, reached our worthy friend's Thos. Eurie.

To day, I came suddenly upon a large Rattlesnake. The first notice that I had of him, was the noise of his rattles, just by the side of my horse. I encountered him

with a stick, but in the act of striking him it broke, & falling on him, provoked him, & he pursued me. I found another stick, & turning upon him, stopped his course. It was a favorable providence that he was so full and heavy that he could not run very fast. I ripped him open, and out fell a large grey squirrel, which I conclude he had charmed, as he was swallowed headforemost. When I stopped my horse and heard the rattles of the snake, I wondered to see a snipe rise a little away from the ground, a few yards before me, & faintly flew away, & as though his strength was exhausted, dropped among the bushes. The vile serpent, I imagine was in the act of charming him, (as he no doubt had the squirrel,) into his voracious jaws; but luckily for the poor bird, my coming, broke the fascination. In my journey, from the relations of people, I have no doubt, (as well as from my own observation,) of the inexplicable power of snakes to charm small animals. Perhaps the power of charming is in the dazzling brightness of their eyes. Capt. Gibson of Logstown, once informed me, that he saw a little bird in great agitation, hopping, & making a plaintive noise upon the edge of a rock on the Ohio; he went up to him, and saw a large black snake at the foot of the rock looking stedfastly up to the bird. He killed the snake, & took the bird, faint and trembling in his hands; after walking some rods the poor bird recruited and flew.

From the snake which I killed, I took his rattles, which were 14. I examined his mouth, and saw two long, sharp & curved teeth, & pressing them into the jaw, observed the green poison issue from small holes near the points of the teeth. In this journey I also killed two more of this hateful species of serpents; and also a large Adder, and ripping open the latter, with a penknife, to my surprise & amusement, a live toad fell out, & hopped off.

From Bedford we took the road to Fort Littleton, on account of its being less mountainous, although several

miles further. Called on the Rev. Mr. King,¹ and also on Rev. Mr. Craighead² at Rocky Springs, & reached Shippensburg on the

16. *Wednesday*. The Rev. Robert Cooper, minister of this place, is, a plain, sensible & worthy man. The amelioration of the morals and religious character of the people, is said, to be greatly owing to his good example and labours. Mrs. Cooper is a worthy pious woman. Went to my Uncle McClintock's, 13 miles, to the Big Spring. Tarried there until June 19, 1773. This day compleats a year from our departure from our worthy patron Dr. Wheelock, & friends at Dartmouth College. Innumerable mercies, I have experienced, in the long, & fatiguing journies and services to which I have been called, in that period of time. May my grateful heart forever record the divine goodness in preservations in dangers, in health, in friends unexpectedly raised up, and in opportunities to do some little service in the promotion of the cause of Christ, among pagans & white people.

The ministers of this Provence now State, are supported by subscription, and appear to live as well as their brethren in New England. Although their Salaries are small, they have opportunities to purchase lands, and have comfortable farms.

June 20. Sabb. Rode 4 miles from my Uncle's, & preached to the people of this settlement. The congregation consists of about 300 families. They have a large log house in which they meet for worship. When the weather is pleasant, they meet in a grove adjoining the house, where a stage or tent is raised, in which the preacher stands.

June. 22. Mr. Duffield who was formerly the minister here, and at Carlisle, and lately removed to Philadelphia,

¹ John King (B.A., College of Philadelphia, 1766), pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Conocheague, now Mercersburg.

² John Craighead (B.A., Princeton, 1763).

preached a Lecture. A pathetic, eloquent & evangelical preacher.

26. People are now busily engaged in their harvest, which is principally wheat. Cherries are now ripe.

27. Not able this day to preach, (being Sabbath) having been badly poisoned in the face, by some poisonous weeds. The people of this settlement are almost all of scotch irish descent. Immigrants from the North of Ireland, or descendents of such. They are presbyterians, well instructed in the principles of religion, & a number of them very exemplary and pious. The line between religious & irreligious characters is more discriminating here, as well as over the mountains, than it is in New England, where the forms of religion are established by law, and where the irreligious are not much respected or promoted to Office in society.

July 4. Sabbath, rode to Meeting from my Uncle McClintock, & preached.

Monday, rode with Elder Ralston to Carlisle 14 miles. Found Mr. Frisbie there, & also Mr. Duffield & his Lady, at Col. Armstrong's where we lodged. Mr. F. & I set out for Shippenburgh. Lodged at the worthy Mr. Cooper's. At this place we purchased of John & Wm. Barr two rights of located land, lying on the River Connemoh. Gave my cousin Daniel McClintock a power of Attorney, to take care of it &c.

8. Returned to the Big Spring &

10th. Saturday, having appointed to preach on the morrow in Sherman's valley, 12 miles, my aged Uncle accompanied me; we ascended, by a steep & winding path, the North mountain, & on the top had a refreshing breeze, the day being sultry, and a fine prospect of the valley, which is a narrow strip of good land, between 2 mountains. We descended and came to a Mr. Joseph McClintock's, brother in law to my Uncle. The old gentleman appeared like a venerable patriarch, with a numerous

family of stout sons & daughters around him, and in the enjoyment of the serene comforts of rural life, in this pleasant & secluded vale.

Sabb., rode to the place of worship and preached forenoon & afternoon, to the people of the valley. An attentive little congregation, some were affected with the truths of God's word. It is rarely that they have opportunity to hear the gospel. They are presbyterians, & attentive to the education of their children, in the principles & duties of religion. Happy people, to whom the providence of God has given this pleasant fertile and retired abode.

Almost all new settlements are purchased with great toil and sufferings, & many with blood. This little valley, in its first settlement was doomed to feel its share. The aged Mr. McClintock related to me the following remarkable adventures of dangers and escapes, which he & others here experienced.

In the time of the french & Indian war, & soon after Braddock's defeat, the Indians emboldened by their success, spread over the mountains & vallies, killing, capturing, & plundering the scattered inhabitants of these fertile vales. Unwilling to quit his new habitation, and loose the fruits of his hard labours, he surrounded his house with a pallsade, & the few families that were in the valley, resorted there, on the first appearance of the savage enemy.

Ignorant of the state of the little garrison, the Indians hovered on the sides of the hills, which overlooked it, for several days; supposed with a view to discover the strength of the place, and to fall upon it, at some unguarded moment. He had only 13 men, (his neighbours) with him; and to impress the savages with an idea of their numbers & courage, he caused the women and girls to be dressed in men's clothes, to be paraded with the men, & with a drum which he had made, he made the valley

resound with its martial music, & exercised the little company, every day, in sight of the enemy. By this stratagem he kept them at bay, many days. But fearing that the enemy would by some means discover their defenceless condition, and expecting no mercy should they fall into their hands, they determined to endeavour to fly to the nearest english settlement. They took the advantage of a dark night, & with silence & haste, ascended the mountain, undiscovered by the Indians, who lay upon it; & by the good providence of God, they arrived with their wives and their little ones, at Carlisle, in safety. The Indians finding the place forsaken, plundered & burned it, as they had all the houses & places around.

I returned to the Big Spring. This place is denominated from a large fountain of pure water, which rises amidst a body of limestone, at the foot of a hill, and is probably fed by some great Reservoir of Water, in the bowels of the North Mountain, from which it is not very distant. The spring appears to discharge about 50 or 60 hogsheads of water in a minute.

July 14. Bid my aged Uncle & kind friends, at this settlement, farewell.

CARLISLE.

Passed through this place, in which are two presbyterian churches, & one small episcopal Society. The people principally scotch-irish. Arrived at Yorktown.¹

YORKTOWN.

This place is about the size of Carlisle. Here are 1 Lutheran—1 Calvinist & 1 Episcopal church. The inhabitants are Germans, & speak their own language. Crossed the Susquehanna, at Anderson ferry, & arrived at Lancaster. Lodged at Mr. Hall's, and spent a little time, with good Mr. Helmutz. Heard him preach, in the german language, to a large attentive & solemn congregation.

¹ Now York.

Called on Rev. Mr. Woodhull at Lacoeks, and the venerable Mr. Smith of Paqua. The services of the ministers in this country are laborious, as their parishes are extensive, & the vacancies in which they officiate in rotation, numerous.

Lodged at Dr. Kennedy's, near the White horse. The Doctor is from Ireland: a gentleman of information and hospitality. He mentioned, that he carried on a correspondence with gentlemen in his native country; & that some thousands of people were expected from thence this season, who were coming with an intention of settling in the back parts of this province.

July 21. Reached Philadelphia, & put up at our former place, the aged and respectable Mr. Samuel Smith's. Spent a few days in this beautiful & opulent city. Went with Dr. Harris, an obliging and respectable physician, to the Hospital and the Bettering house, two large and noble edifices consecrated to the works of charity and Justice, & monuments of the public spirit & humanity of the people.

Heard Mr. Edmonds & Mr. Tennant of Carolina, preach. After meeting went to hear the Methodist preacher. It was a Mr. Ashby¹ from England, who was afterwards Bishop of the Methodist Church. He appeared to be a plain, dull & illiterate preacher. It was a farewell sermon. He had been preaching in the new Methodist house, I conclude, as a probationer. His text was, 2 Cor. 13.2. If I come again I will not spare. He shewed—*Who* the faithful minister of Christ will not spare—*Why*, he will not spare, and *wherein* he will not spare. In his concluding prayer, he had these singular expressions. "Lord, thou knowest what has passed between I and this people; and now I am about to leave them; Lord, send them another, that may be more kindly received & more successful than I have been." The singing was good.

The Rev. Mr. Duffield being about to attend an ordina-

¹ Francis Asbury, born 1745, came to America 1771.

tion in Cohanzy, New Jersey, invited us to accompany him. Accordingly,

28th July, we crossed the Delaware, about 5 miles below Philada, over to Gloucester, and in the evening arrived at Cohanzy, having rode 48 miles.

29. *Wednesday*, rode six miles to New England town, so called from its being originally settled by people from those parts. A Mr. Hollingshead was ordained by the Presbytery. He appeared to be an agreeable and promising young man, and the people well united in him. (N. B. He removed, after some years to Charlestown, S. C.) A Mr. Ramsey was the last minister here, and before him was a Mr. Elmer of Windsor in Connecticut,¹ The ordination day was a pleasing and solemn season. Two sermons were preached, by the aged Mr. Hunter² and Mr. Duffield. We were urged to preach, but declined.

We journeyed through the barren sands, & waste places of the eastern shore, where we found few inhabitants and poor accommodations, & arrived at the hospitable house of Esq. Clark in the bounds of the settlement called Little Eggharbour.³ We rode about 44 miles the last day, and several times missed our road, & came near miring in the marshy plains. At Mr. Clark's we had the pleasure of finding Mr. Brainard, and spending a day with him. We were with him, a few days, in riding and preaching to the poor & small settlements here. Their meeting houses are small and built of logs. We visited a large iron furnace in the neighbourhood. The country abounds with sand or bog oar. One of the drivers of a waggon beat his horses unmercifully, using high & profane

¹ Jonathan Elmer (B. A., Yale 1713), ordained 1728, died 1755; William Ramsay (B. A., Princeton 1754), ordained 1756, died 1771. The church is in the present township of Fairfield, Cumberland County, on Delaware Bay.

² Andrew Hunter, pastor at Greenwich, N. J., 1746-1775.

³ In Burlington County, Southeastern New Jersey.

language. Good Mr. Brainard reproved him, & the fellow looked guilty & self condemned.

We accompanied Mr. Brainard to his Indian village, at Brotherton, and spent several days. Preached to his Indians, the greater part of whom understood english. They are part of the tribe of Delawares, who were converted to Christianity by his pious and labourious brother Mr. David Brainard; and this gentleman is a worthy successor to him, and animated with the like ardent zeal and compassion to the perishing Indians. He mourns the little success of his labours among them, and notwithstanding all his labours, they decrease yearly. His church is much reduced, and he informed us that such was the unconquerable propensity of his Indians to ardent spirits, that there was not one of the Church but would get intoxicated, when they could find opportunity. Of this we had an unhappy instance, while we were there. Returning from the iron works of a Col. Reed, in Mr. Brainard's waggon, we came through the border of the Indian village, where a number of them were repairing the road. One, named Isaac, a stout Indian, seeing Mr. Brainard, came up and presented a bottle of rum to him saying "Come, Mr. Brainard, drink." It appeared that the poor fellow had made too free use of it. Mr. Brainard, groaned over him, and said "poor Isaac, I am sorry to see you in this condition;" and reminded him of his former promises to abstain from strong drink. Isaac appeared to feel well and replied, "I tell you, Mr. Brainard, you all one Governor and you up in the sky there, and look down upon us poor Indians; but you are a good sort of man, and we have made a good road for you, and you may go along." Mr. Brainard groaned and we rode on. Isaac was at meeting the Sabbath following, and looked very sorrowful. At the close of public worship, he was called up, and Mr. Brainard addressed him in an affecting and solemn manner. Reminded him of the times, and

places, in which he had been drunk, since his last confession and promise of reformation &c. Isaac appeared very penitent, and with an appearance of great sincerity replied, "It is very true, sir, what you have said, and I am very sorry; I hope, sir, you will forgive me; and this church will forgive me; and I hope God will forgive me. If I drink one dram, I think I must drink another, and so drink too much. But if you will forgive me this once more, I will try again, and try hard, not to drink too much." After further solemn admonition, Isaac was forgiven and restored. This poor race of beings appear to relish and long for ardent spirits, to a degree inconceivable to the white people. Perhaps it may be owing to the coldness of their blood, chilled by exposures to cold, to storms, hunger and nakedness, in their fatiguing rambles through the woods, by which they feel the want of the warm and invigorating liquid.

Mr. Brainard spends the summers with his Indians, & resides in the winter at Mount Holly.

Aug. 12. Accompanied Mr. Brainard, & preached at the Mills, at the house of a Mr. Olivern, a hospitable & pious man.

14. Sabbath, preached at an Indian Village, called Weepink, to a small audience of Indians & English.

Rode with Mr. B. to Burlington, preached on the road, at the Black horse tavern, (Mr. Emerly). Lodged at Mr. Sterling's (Merch't). In the morning we walked around the town. Passed the ruins of the house of the late Governor Belcher. It was burned down, a few years ago. As we passed it, "there," said Mr. Brainard, "has the worthy Govn. offered up on his knees, many a devout prayer to heaven." He used at times to visit Mr. Brainard's Indians, & spend the Sabbath, devoutly attending public worship, & taking his seat, without any parade among the poor Indians. He was a great & good man; & said to be the most accomplished gentleman of his day.

Religion was the crown of glory to all his honors and virtues.

Here we found a popular universal preacher, John Murray, lately arrived from Ireland, had been preaching, as well as in other places hereabout. Some people appeared to be pleased with, & to vindicate the licentious doctrines of Universalism, as preached by him. *Licentious*, they may with propriety be called, since he wholly rejects the doctrine of future punishment of the wicked, and thereby annihilates the restraints of wickedness, as well as contradicts that principle, which is the common sense of mankind, universally, a dread of future punishment, for evil conduct.

Returned to Brotherton, with Mr. Brainard, & again visited the poor settlements about Little Egg Harbour, & preached to them several times.

Aug. 21. We set out from Brotherton, Mr. Brainard accompanied us to Mount Holly, from thence to Birdington & to Trenton, about 33 miles. Here we parted with that worthy man. The labours of his life of self denial, in preaching the gospel to the poor, will no doubt, receive a glorious recompence, in the heavenly world.

Trenton is a pleasant Village, on the bank of the Delaware, & contains about 200 houses. Mr. Spencer,¹ the minister, has gone to attend the annual Convention of the Clergy in Connecticut, with whom the presbyterian Church keep up a connection. They are apprehensive that the Episcopal Church in this country are planning to introduce Diocesan Bishops, into the Colonies. The Episcopalians in Britain & America, have for a number of years been engaged, as appears by various pamphlets & publications, to bring it about. The New England Colonies, & the Presbyterians universally are opposed to the design, & reprobate it as a branch of the antichristian Church, and a violation of their civil & religious rights.

¹ Elihu Spencer ; see above, p. 26.

The Churches of Connecticut, which are settled upon the Saybrook platform, bear a resemblance in several features to the presbyterians.

At Princeton, went into the College, & passed a little time with the Tutors. They are Mr. Smith, of Paqua, Mr. Houston, of the Southward, and Mr. Devins, of Charlestown, Massachusetts.¹ Here are about 100 students. Excellent order and neatness are observed in and about the College. President Witherspoon, resides a part of the time on his farm about a mile from the College. The College being well supplied with excellent Tutors, there is less necessity, perhaps, of his paying such close attention to the affairs and duties of the College, as did his predecessors; whose lives, it is thought, were shortened by their unwearied exertions to build up that flourishing and very useful institution.

Last year, when we passed here, we waited on the President, who with his Lady, (a sensible and broad speaking woman,) were at his farm house. He was in the field, with a number of the students, some of them reaping, and gathering in the harvest. His name is great among the first scholars and divines of the age. He is very plain in his dress, & mode of living.

At Woodbridge, we called on the Rev. Mr. Roe.² A sensible & hospitable man; but somewhat censorious towards those of his brethren who differ from him in points. Here Mr. Frisbie tarried to spend the Sabbath. Proceeded to Elizabethtown & Newark. Dined with the Rev. Mr. McWhorter,³ one of the greatest divines & preachers, in this part of the country.

¹ Samuel Stanhope Smith, see above, p. 31; William C. Houston, B.A., 1768, Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy; Richard Devens, B.A., 1767.

² Azel Roe (B.A., Princeton, 1756), pastor at Woodbridge from 1763 to 1815.

³ Alexander McWhorter (B.A., Princeton, 1757), pastor at Newark from 1758 to 1807.

Saturday evening, arrived at New York. Put up at Stout's tavern. Waited on Dr. Rogers,¹ who invited me to preach the next day; but being fatigued with my journey, & wishing to hear him, I declined.

Sabbath. Heard the Doctor in the forenoon. He preached an excellent sermon, memoriter. He writes his sermons, & carries his Notes into the pulpit, but does not use them. The memory may be greatly strengthened by habit and exercise. Dined at Dr. Rogers, with a Scotch minister, who has lately arrived, with a company from the Isle of Sky, with the intention of making a settlement up the North River. His name, I think, is McClellan. Heard Mr. Treat preach in the afternoon, & in the evening, Mr. McClellan. He preached in the Erse language, to his companions, who appeared in the Scotch plaid dress, & attended with great decency.

Mr. F. & myself spent Monday Evening at Dr. Rogers's where we found Dr. Witherspoon, & had the pleasure of considerable conversation with the grave and venerable president, who asked a number of questions concerning the western country, & the Indians.

We concluded to take the tour of Long Island, and visit the Montauk Indians.

Aug. 29. We crossed the ferry over East River, to the Island, and called at Mr. Miller's, the minister. Was informed that he was supposed to be in a consumption, and was gone a journey, with the hope that a change of air, and exercise, might remove the threatening complaint.

Arrived at Nickel's, on Hempstead plains, where we lodged—called at Mr. Prime's,² in Huntington, lodged at Smithstown. Hempstead plains is a waste of barren sands, about 25 Miles. On some parts of it, we have a pleasant prospect of the sound & of the ocean.

This journey and mission would have been gloomy in-

¹ John Rodgers, see above, p. 28.

² Rev. Ebenezer Prime (B.A., Yale, 1718).

deed, had I been without a companion. I was favored with a sensible, pleasant & pious one, in Mr. Frisbie. Though fatiguing & laborious, the time from our first setting out, has passed away agreeably. To keep in memory the knowledge we had of the Latin Language, we agreed, while on horse back, to converse in Latin, on the forenoons; and have accordingly, made out to convey to each other our thoughts, in some tolerable degree, on the great variety of subjects, which were started in our long journey. Virgil or Horace, would however have been diffculted, no doubt, to understand us, so well as we understood each other.

We arrived at Southold, crossed at Shelter Island, & arrived at the Rev. Mr. Buell's,¹ in East Hampton; where we received a kind and cordial welcome from that zealous & laborious servant of Christ.

Sept. 2. Saturday, rode 7 Miles, to Sagg harbour, & preached on the Sabbath to a small settlement there, in a new house, preparing for public worship. Dined at Mr. Foredom's, & in the evening returned to East Hampton.

Mr. Buell is studying & writing on the prophecies. For the conveniency of turning to authors, he has in his study, a moveable round desk or table, of 7 or 8 sides, turning on a shaft, on which books are laid, which he wishes to consult. They come and go before him, at the movement of his fingers.

Sept. 4. Monday, rode 16 Miles, through a pleasant country, and good soil, and arrived at the Indian Village at Montauk. It consists of about 100 souls. A number of the young men are now out, on fishing voyages. The cornfields are overgrown with weeds, owing to the constitutional indolence of the people. Their houses made a curious appearance. They were principally of a conical form, and made of flags and rushes, without windows, except an opening on the peek or top, to let out the smoak & admit light.

¹ Samuel Buel (B. A., Yale, 1741).

We put up at the largest wigwam, in which lived an aged Indian, of the name of Fowler. Two of his sons were educated at Dr. Wheelock's school, but neither of them were at home. The Indians were very glad to see us, and treated us with great kindness. They came together in the Afternoon, and Mr. Frisbie preached to them, and the next morning, they again met and I preached. They understood the english; and all except the very aged, converse intelligibly. They had to appearance a love for the gospel. The aged ones, would, frequently, while we were preaching, break out in exclamation, say.g Amen—or that 's true—that 's right.

They have an Indian teacher, named Cyrus. He is a sensible, sober and religious man. He said, that the Rev. Mr. Davenport,¹ (who was a very zealous preacher, through the country in the times of the Great Revival of Religion, about the year 1741,) came, and preached Jesus Christ to them. He did not understand the Indian language, and not many of the Indians understood english; but said Cyrus, "the Holy Ghost interpreted it to our hearts."

Visited a sick indian woman, who was thought to be near to death. She appeared to rejoice in the hope of heaven. I asked her, what now gave her the most trouble; she replied, with weeping, "*because I don't love Jesus Christ enough.*" She desired me to pray with her. O the sovereignty of omnipotent grace! that visits the obscure wigwam, and exalts the humble soul of the poor and despised indian, to glory, but passes by the palaces of pride!

Many of these poor indians appear to be serious and devout, and spend considerable part of their time in religious exercises. Mr. Buell, and other ministers, occasionally visit them. Their religious experiences are, chiefly, remarkable impulses and mental visions. Perhaps God is pleased to bring them to the knowledge of the Saviour,

¹ James Davenport (B.A., Yale, 1732), pastor in Southold, L. I., 1738-1743, died 1757.

in a way and manner different from that which we experience who have the advantages of knowledge, & the instituted means of light and grace.

In Fowler's wigwam, we wrapped ourselves in our cloaks, the last night, and lay down on a mattress, or spreading of dry flags, and slept comfortably. Some young men went out early, on the water, and brought a fine bass, which we had for breakfast, with a tolerable dish of tea. The Indians expressed great thankfulness for our visit.

Returning to East Hampton, we found Mr. Buell had convened the people of the village, a few miles from town, to hear a sermon, & Mr. Frisbie preached. After sermon, he informed me, that he had notified the people, that a sermon would be preached at the meeting house, by candle lighting, & that I must preach. The following circumstances may give an idea of the activity & cheerful zeal of the good man. In going to town, I had fallen a little back, to think of a subject, on which to preach, while he and Mr. F. were conversing and riding on. He halted & thus addressed me, "*Come, Mr. McC., the people will wait for us: our horses are riding for us, & we for the Lord; let us drive on.*"

On our arrival, we found the meeting house filled, & lighted. After sermon, Mr. Buell delivered a solemn & affecting exhortation.

We passed several days, very agreeably here, & concluded to travel on the sea coast road to Portsmouth, & from thence to return to Dartmouth College.

Wednesday, rode to Sagg harbour, & getting on board a passage boat, we had a pleasant sail to the main, across the Sound, & landed at Groton.

Thursday, called on the Rev. Mr. Eells,¹ of Stonington, & dined with the respectable and hospitable old gentleman. He had a large family, at a plentiful table of good

¹ Nathaniel Eells, see above, p. 24.

and nourishing provisions. He asked how we liked the country around, & cheerfully cited the adage, "Where there is stoney riding, there 's good abiding." His table, I observed, confirmed it.

Spent a few hours very pleasantly with the family, who appeared innocently gay & cheerful; the daughters well educated, and engaging in their manners. The whole family appeared to be a pleasing sample of the happiness of rural and domestic life.

The soil is better here for grazing, than grain, stoney & hard to till. We passed through Westerly, to South Kingston, & lodged at Hull's.

Friday, dined at Narragansett ferry, & crossed over to Conanicut Island, & arrived at New Port. Visited the learned & amiable Dr. Styles.¹

Sabbath, preached for him part of the day, & in the Evening at Mr. Hopkin's² meeting. This is a pleasant town, and the people very hospitable & attentive to strangers.

Monday, rode on the Island, and crossed Howland's ferry, passed through Tiverton to Dartmouth, 20 miles, & lodged at Mr. West's³; a very sensible man.

Tuesday, kept the sea coast road, rode over extensive plains of poor soil, dined at a Quaker's, and arrived in the evening at the ancient town of Plymouth. Felt a veneration for this place, as the residence of the first christian fathers of N. Engl'd. We lodged at the house of the Rev. Mr. Robbins.⁴ Mr. F. preached a Lecture in the Evening, to a respectable and attentive audience.

Wednesday, walked up the hill, which lies on the back

¹ Ezra Stiles, see above, p. 24.

² Samuel Hopkins (B.A., Yale, 1741), the distinguished theologian, pastor in Newport from 1770 to 1803.

³ Rev. Samuel West (B.A., Harvard, 1754) pastor of the Congregational church in the present town of Acushnet (then part of Dartmouth and subsequently of New Bedford), from 1761 to 1803.

⁴ Chandler Robbins (B.A., Yale, 1756).

of the town, to view the remains of the small fort, which the fathers built to defend them from the Indians, and paid our respects to the spot on which they first landed. The town is pleasantly situated, gradually rising from the water; & commands a fine prospect of the harbour. The principal employment of the people is the fishery. They have 70 sail of schooners engaged in that business.

Preached in the Evening, at the Meeting house. A degree of primeval simplicity of manners, & plainness of buildings, are here maintained. The people are friendly and hospitable. How wonderful the increase of people in New England, & throughout the continent, since the fathers first landed here in 1620. How wonderfully has heaven smiled upon the descendants of those pious ancestors, who fled from oppression and persecution in their native Britain, to this then desolate wilderness, that here they might worship God, according to his holy word! Here with the bible in their hands and hearts, they established the foundation of the Church of Christ, agreeably to the divine pattern; and God has remarkably owned and blessed the Congregational Churches, founded by them. Sectarians of various names have risen up, from the beginning, and attacked it on all sides, yet have they not been able to mar its order, or stop its growth! It continues, through the blessing of God, still to spread from the sea, to the Rivers, and myriads of the redeemed have sat under its shadow with delight.

Thursday, left the house of the worthy & pious Mr. Robbins, and passed through several pleasant towns, & a good road, affording many pleasing prospects, & in the evening arrived at Boston.

Put up at my brother William McC' & tarried in Boston 8 days. Rejoiced with friends in the goodness of God in his preserving & protecting providence.

Sept. 24. Left Boston, & 25th arrived at my Uncle Mc Clintock's in Greenland.

26. *Sabb.* preached there in the forenoon, & for Mr. Hastings at N. Hampton,¹ in the afternoon.

28. Left Greenland to go to Dartm. College, with an intention, by the leave of providence, to return and spend the winter at my Uncle's in the study of Divinity & composition of sermons. Arrived at Deerfield, 33 miles, put up at a new tavern, where, being unable to sleep, on account of myriads of fleas, we retired, about midnight, to the barn, and slept unmolested in a bin of clean straw. It is an undoubted fact, that these animals are bred in the chips & decayed stumps of trees, especially around the habitations of men, where the ground is laid open to the prolific warmth of the sun.

28th *Wednesday*, passed through Suncook, Concord & Boscowen, having rode 28 miles.

29th. *Thursday*, Through Cheshire and Grafton, a very rough country. 30th. Through Cardagan,² Canaan, & lodged at a log house in Lebanon.

1773. *Octbr.* 1. Arrived at Dartmouth College. Had the pleasure to find our worthy patron Dr. Wheelock, & all friends, well.

. . . We have rode 120 miles from Greenland, & most of the way, had the company of several students, returning to College.

It is almost 16 months since we took our departure from this young, rural & pleasant seat of science and religion: in which time I have travelled 4,268 Miles, as I find by the minutes of my journal. I have returned with the 3d horse. Through the mercies of God, myself & companion have been preserved through a long, fatiguing, & dangerous mission. May my life, which has been the object of the divine care, be henceforth consecrated, with-

¹ Rev. Joseph S. Hastings (B.A., Harvard, 1762), was pastor in North Hampton (the town next south of Greenland, on the sea coast), from February, 1767, to July, 1774.

² Now Orange.

out reserve, to God, & to the service of the blessed Redeemer.

Oct. 2^d Sabbath. Preached part of the day in the College hall. Spent some time very agreeably among my former fellow students here. Considerable improvements have been made in clearing land around the green, & in buildings, since our departure from this place.

The Small College, built last year, is not likely to prove durable, placed upon a spongy soil, the stacks of chimnies begin to settle, & to crowd the foundation into the earth. It was intended for a temporary affair, & run up in a hurry,¹ Dr. Wheelock is desirous of seeing a new and convenient College, for the accommodation of his students, before he leaves the world. He is daily consulting on this business. The Legislature of the State have granted him £500. The sum is very small, for so expensive a work. It will be difficult to persuade the gentlemen in England & Scotland to a willingness to forward much of the money, (collected for the purpose of christianizing the Indians, and committed to their care) for the purpose of erecting a large & costly building. Dr. Wheelock thinks that something may be obtained by a subscription, and proposes that Mr. Silvanus Ripley and myself, should try what may be gotten, in that way, in New Hampshire, & Massachusetts and Connecticut.²

Oct. 26. Mr. Ripley & myself, having received a commission from the Doctor, authorizing us to solicit donations for a College, set out on that business; of the success of which, I had not very sanguine expectations, especially as the public mind is now agitated with political contentions, between the claims of the British government on the

¹ For a further account of this building (finished 1771, taken down 1791), see Chase's *History of Dartmouth College*, i, 222-23, 584.

² Cf. Chase's *History of Dartmouth College*, i, 277-78. For Professor Ripley, see above, p. 19. These efforts were not sufficiently productive, and the new building was not begun until 1786.

Colonies, & the spirit of disaffection & resistance which reigns in the country.

We passed through Charlestown, (No. 4¹) & from thence to Keen, in both which places we found a few gentlemen who subscribed a little money & land. We proceeded to Londonderry, where we arrived on Saturday. Found that the Landlady was a distant relation, & of the same name as myself. Treated with good old fashioned hospitality, by the worthy family, where we tarried over the Sabbath.

Rode to meeting, & heard the Rev. Mr. McGregore,² in the forenoon. He officiates in 2 meeting houses alternately. He is one of the best of preachers. He does not use notes. His personal appearance is commanding, & his manner solemn, earnest & pathetic; his sentiments evangelical, expressed in plain & familiar language, yet sufficiently elegant for the pulpit, & the comprehension of the generality of an auditory. His text was the message sent to the Church in Philadelphia, Revel 3.7 & 8. He observed, among many pertinent & striking remarks, that Philadelphia signified *brotherly love*,—that actuated by a laudable & pious principle of benevolence, the famous Wm. Penn, had given this brotherly name to the flourishing city founded by him. He then exclaimed, "*O that Londonderry was a Philadelphia!*" In this he had a meaning particularly applicable to the people there, as they had been unhappily contending about the place of the new meeting house.

We retired, with the worthy man, to a school house, during a short intermission, & I preached in the afternoon. We went home with him, & passed the evening very agreeably in conversation.

¹ Charlestown, thirty miles below Hanover, on the Connecticut, was originally called Township Number 4.

² David McGregore, born 1710, pastor of the 2d Presbyterian Church in Londonderry from 1736 to 1777.

The people of this town are the children of a worthy company, who came with their minister from the North of Ireland, & were after many trials, allowed to purchase this tract of land, which was then a frontier, & exposed to the depredations of Indians. It is now one of the most industrious, populous & well regulated towns in New Hampshire. Waited on Col^o Thornton, & Col^o Holland, principal men here. They did not incline to subscribe. They did not like the situation of the College, instead of being placed on the western border, the people in the middle & lower parts of the province, would have chosen to have had it more central. But all impartial judges give the preference to the place where it is. There it will be much more extensively useful.

Waited on Mr. Davidson, minister of a presbyterian Church in this town.¹ He is said to be on the arminian side of Divinity; but Mr. McGregore & his congregations, are firm calvinists. Mr. D. we found in his study. He is sensible, & social, and very slovenly in his dress & appearance.

We left Londonderry, & proceeded to Hawk;² on our way we called on several gentlemen, particularly Mr. Webster of Cheshire,³ but found none disposed to put their names to the Subscription. We put up at Mrs. Tole's, a kind, & motherly old Lady, but very inquisitive.⁴ Called on some gentlemen in Kingston, (lodged at

¹ William Davidson, born in Ireland, 1714, pastor of the church in what is now Derry, from 1740 to 1791.

² Hawke, the local name of that part of the town of Kingston which is now Danville

³ The earlier name of the town of Chester. Col. John Webster was a leading citizen.

⁴ I was told of a humorous anecdote of Governor Wentworth and the old Lady, at whose house he used to call in his journies to the College. Once upon his return, he was disposed for a little diversion, & entering the house addressed her, "How do you do, Mrs. Tole? I *am* glad to see you—I *have* been glad to see you, I *shall* be glad to see you, through all the numbers, cases, moods & tenses of all the nouns, pronouns, verbs,

Mr. Calif's there,) & in Exeter, & came to Portsmouth. Put up at Mr. John Sherburne's. Made some attempts at subscription for the College there, but found no success. The objection, was that it was too far distant to benefit this part of the Province.

Waited on Governor Wentworth, who is a warm friend of the College, & of Dr. Wheelock, & has greatly exerted himself to promote the settlement & prosperity of that Institution.

Men are generally unwilling to part with their money, except, interest or honor prompt them. From these, however, must be excepted the generous few, who give to works of charity, from the exalted principle of love to God & benevolence to men.

Nov. 7. Sabbath, preached part of the day, for Mr. Rogers¹ in Exeter.

Gov. Wentworth thought it advisable for us, to make an attempt to obtain assistance from the Assemblies of Massachusetts, & Connecticut; & accordingly favored us with Letters to the Governors of those Colonies, by whose advice we might regulate ourselves.—We accordingly set out from Portsmouth, with an intention of waiting on Gov^r Hutchinson. At Newberry Port dined with Mr. Murray the Universal Preacher, at the Rev. Mr. Parsons.² In the evening, went with Mr. Parsons to hear him preach. He had preached several times here, but had

participles, adverbs, conjunctions, prepositions, & interjections." To this learned salutation, she replied, in her usual familiar language. "Dear, dear, Mr. Governor, every time you go up to that Darkmouth College, seems to me you grow *leetler & leetler*. Law, law, Mr. Governor, they say, Mr. Levius has gone to England to get your government from you."—This interview was highly diverting to the gentlemen of the Governor's retinue. N. B. The Governor is low in stature. (Author's note.)

¹ Daniel Rogers (B.A., Harvard, 1725), pastor of the Second Congregational church from 1742 to 1785.

² Jonathan Parsons (B.A., Yale, 1729), pastor of the Presbyterian church in Newburyport, Mass., from 1746 to 1776. John Murray, the father of universalism in America, emigrated to this country in 1770.

not preached his principles. His text was, "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness &c." The religious people here appear much pleased with Mr. Murray's preaching; but when he came out and declared his erroneous sentiments, they universally fell off, & did not invite him to their houses. There was a strange mixture of seriousness & drollery, & a theatrical air, in his preaching.

We called on the Rev. Mr. Dana¹ of Ipswich, an ingenious & amiable man. At Cambridge, Mr. James Winthrop,² Librarian, went with us to spend part of an evening with Mr. Lock³, president of the College. We arrived at Boston, & finding that Gov! Hutchinson resided at his seat in Milton, we waited on him there. He received us with politeness; and after some conversation, said he wished well to the College; but as times were, he did not think an application to the Assembly for a grant, would meet with success.

Conversing on the political state of the province of Massachusetts, he said, "he had the satisfaction to believe, that the opposition to government was pretty much confined to a faction, in the town of Boston." At this time he thought it not prudent or safe, as I was informed to go into Boston, so great was the jealousy & rage of the people against him. He inquired of us, the disposition of the people in the country, towards the government. We did not think it necessary to inform him, all we knew of the disaffection of the people in general, towards British measures & to him personally.⁴ Concluding there was not much prospect of better success in Connecticut, to

¹ Joseph Dana (B.A., Yale, 1760) pastor of the South Congregational church from 1765 to 1827.

² B.A., 1769; Librarian, 1772-1787.

³ Rev. Samuel Locke, (B.A., 1755), President from March, 1770. He resigned the presidency about three weeks later.

⁴ At this date Boston was aflame with resistance to the proposed consignment of cargoes of tea on which a tax was levied. The destruction of the tea in Boston harbor occurred five weeks later.

the Gov^t of which, Mr. Trumbull, we had a Letter from Gov^t Wentworth, we gave up the intention of going there. From Boston, I went with my good friend & companion Mr. Ripley, to visit his friends in Halifax, not far from Plymouth. Returned to Boston, & preached for my worthy minister, Rev. Mr. Moorehead, now one of the oldest ministers in the town.

When last at Portsmouth, the Selectmen invited me to take the care of a public School of Misses. I concluded, as the business of our mission did not meet with the wished for success, to return and take the School, for a few months.

Nov. 23^d Reached Salem. There left Mr. Ripley, & proceeded to Portsmouth.

27th. Kept Sabbath with Mr. Hastings at North Hampton. Engaged to keep the School 5 months. Salary £60 per annum. Lodged at the Rev. Dr. Langdon's,¹ where I hope for much profit from his conversation, and the advantages which the recess from School hours, may give me for study.

Dec. 1. Opened the School, consisting the first day of about 30 Misses. Afterwards they increased to 70 and 80; so that I was obliged to divide the day between them, & one half came in the forenoon, and the other in the Afternoon. They were from 7 to 20 years of age. Mr. Samuel Parker,² afterwards settled in the ministry in Boston, was my predecessor in the school. I attended to them in reading, writing, arithmetic & geography principally. This is, I believe, the only female School, (supported by the town) in New England, it is a wise and useful institution.

The government of the School, I find easy. They do not require so much severity as boys, & are more fearful of offending. If their patience in persevering studies is

¹ Samuel Langdon (B.A., Harvard, 1740), afterwards President of Harvard.

² B.A., Harvard, 1764; consecrated Bishop of Massachusetts in 1804.

less than boys, they appear to possess a more quick apprehension. By means of my pupils, I became acquainted with their parents, and passed many agreeable hours with several respectable people in the town. I had a chamber at Dr. Langdon's, where I pursued my studies.

Received an invitation to preach at Dover, in consequence of the sickness of their minister, Mr. Belknap.¹ I used to ride there 12 miles, on Saturday & returned on Monday Mornings, at the School hour. Rec'd an invitation from the town of Colerain, Massachusetts, to preach there, but my engagements forbade my going.

1774 *March* 5. My health has not been good the winter past. My complaint is of the bilious kind, & attended with its natural effects, loss of appetite & debility, yet through the goodness of God, I have been able to attend to business. My indisposition is, no doubt, the effect of great fatigue in my itinerations, the last year, on the frontiers of Pennsylvania.

The people of this town are polite & gay. The Governor, who resides in town, is a gentleman of great affability & amiable in his manners, & lives in high style; & too many endeavor to imitate his mode of living, whose circumstances would forbid it.

Rec'd an invitation to preach to a Congregation in Newbury Port (late Mr. Marsh's).²

March 6. Preached there, & 8th returned to Portsmouth, via Exeter. My principle exercise is riding once or twice in the week to Greenland, & passing an evening with my Uncle McClintock, whose conversation is always instructive. His Lady was a daughter of Capt. Montgomery of Portsmouth. They had a numerous family of children, sensible & agreeable.

April 9. Having engaged to preach a few Sabbaths at

¹ Jeremy Belknap (B.A., Harvard, 1762), pastor there from 1767 to 1798.

² Rev. Christopher B. Marsh (B.A., Harvard, 1761), pastor of the North Congregational Church, died December, 1773.

Newberryport, & finding my health insufficient for this service and the confinement & labour of a large school, I accordingly resigned the latter, and went to Newberryport. The society in this place, appears to be divided in sentiment, in some of the principles of religion; a few being much pleased with what is called the Hopkinsian divinity (as held forth by Mr. Nath'l Niles, who has been lately preaching here, on probation,) and others, of the school of moderate calvinism.

16th. Confined several days with the Jaundice, at the house of my host and hostess Hoyt's.

19th. My sister Rachel came to town from Exeter, & I went with her to Boston.

23rd. Returned to Ipswich, & preached on the Sabbath for Mr. Dana, who went to preach for me at Newberry port.

28th. Preached a Sacramental evening Lecture at Portsmouth for my respected friend Dr. Langdon.

Received an invitation to supply the pulpit of the late venerable Mr. Moorhead in Boston.

May 4. Put up at the Widow Moorhead's. Found the place convenient for study. The family small. The Widow is unhappily deranged. The distraction is of the melancholy cast, silent & averse to company or society. She was once an accomplished wit & beauty, tenderly beloved by her husband. Her distraction was thought to be the effect of an uncommon flow of spirits, and lively imagination, too intensely applied to reading and study. One son and two daughters survive. The son, (Alexander) is now a surgeon in the british navy in Boston harbour. Her daughter Mary takes care of her poor mother, a negro young man does the housework. Scipio is an ingenious and serious African. He possesses a natural genius for painting, and has taken several tolerable likenesses.

July 7th. Rode to Cambridge, lodged with Mr. J.

Winthrop, the Librarian, & next day viewed the Library, Museum, & returned to Boston.

18th. Set out with Mr. John Wheelock for Portsmouth.

19th. Reached Haverhill, Major Bartlet's. An agreeable family. The next day to Exeter & Greenland.

21st. At Portsmouth, preached for Dr. Langdon.

31st. Preached at Charlestown. Their minister is the aged Mr. Prentice.¹ Lodg'd at Mr. Codman's. Engaged to preach to the Congregation of Doctor Pemberton, (who has lately resigned,) a few Sabbaths. The Dr. was formerly a minister in New York, & a very eloquent and popular preacher of evangelical principles. By inter-marriages, having had 4 wealthy wives, he is independent in his circumstances, & rides in his coach. Governor Hutchinson is a member of his Church, & between them there is a great intimacy & friendship, in consequence of which, the Dr. is unpopular, & his people began to forsake his ministry, before his resignation. He is much of the gentleman, & though advanced in life, is active, lively & social.²—Rode to Eastown with my sister Rachel, to Mr. Ferguson's to see my young brother Joseph. Found him comfortably situated in the family of one of the pious friends of my father. Went from Boston to the meeting of Presbytery in Salem, being invited to accompany Mr. Murray of Booth Bay—Mr. McNeil & Lady—Mr. McLane & Lady & their daughter Polly, & Mrs. Maxwell. Application was made for the admission of Mr. Murray, as a member of the Presbytery. A written confession was exhibited by him, but it was not satisfactory. Messrs. McGregore & Whitaker & a small majority were opposed to the request. Mr. Murray had been accused in Ireland,

¹ Rev. Thomas Prentice (Harvard, 1726), minister of First Church, Charlestown, Mass., 1739-1782.

² Ebenezer Pemberton, Jr. (Harvard, 1721), was minister of the First Presbyterian Church in New York from 1727 to 1753, and of the New Brick Church in Boston from 1754. For his marriages, see *N. E. Hist. and General Register*, xlv., 396.

of forging a Certificate of his membership with the Presbytery in Northumberland, in order to introduce him into that of Ballymeny in Ireland, near his native place.

In the paper presented to the Presbytery, he confessed, *that he had made use of a forged Certificate, but denied that it was written by him, & refused to mention the names of the authors, who he said, were two young men, who meant it as an act of friendship to him.* He professed his repentance, that he had used it, knowing it to be a forgery. Mr. Parsons of Newberry port, was earnest for his admission, but could not prevail. Mr. Murray was one of the most eloquent & pleasing preachers that I ever heard; & I had opportunity when a lad to hear him often, in Mr. Moorhead's pulpit. Soon after his arrival from Ireland, which was when he was very young, he was settled in Philadelphia, in the church of the late Rev. Gilbert Tenant; He was there almost worshipped by the people of that Society: but in consequence of reports from Ireland, relative to the said Certificate &c. He removed into the province of Maine. There he has supported a respectable character, many years. He bore the same Christian & sir names, as the Universalist J. Murray, but his sentiments were very different, for he was a calvinist.¹

Returned to Boston, having spent a few days very agreeably in this excursion.

Sept. 19th. Spent the past summer pleasantly in Boston, & preached principally to the Society of the late Mr. Moorhead, & Dr. Pemberton's. My health has been comfortable, my exercise has been principally on horse back, in rides to Dorchester Neck & the towns around Boston. The tranquility of the town has been, however, dreadfully interrupted by the arrival, of Gov. Gage & 4 british regiments, & some ships of force, the past summer.

The troops are encamped on the commons, and are ex-

¹ He was finally settled, in 1781, as Mr. Parsons's successor. See Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, iii., 50.

exercised every day, & make a martial appearance. The good people of Boston are in great perplexity, fearful of the consequences of the expected arrival of more of those sons of violence.

The inhabitants of Boston received their new Governor Gage, at his landing¹ on the Long Wharf, & his procession to the town house, with a kind of mournful silence, & without those expressions of respect which they had been wont to pay to a new chief magistrate. They considered him as a General who had come to subdue them, rather than as a Governor to rule them.

What added to the melancholy scene, was the arrival of the Port Bill, a little before,² by which the harbour was shut up, & trade interdicted. By this most oppressive act of the British parliament, several thousands of the industrious inhabitants were left destitute of employment & the means of living.

I was present in Fanuel Hall, when, on the arrival, of this distressing news, the people had assembled, to consult what to do. There was a constellation of patriots, determined to resist oppression.

The Adamses, Hancock, Coopers, Warren & Quincey & others, spoke their minds on the trying occasion. Mr. John Adams opened the meeting in a firm, patriotic, & animated speech, of about half an hour. At the pathetic representation of approaching sufferings, tears dropt from many a manly face. Several expedients were proposed for the support of the labouring poor, & some adopted. A committee of correspondence was appointed to communicate to all the great towns in the Colonies, & the authorities, the distresses of Boston, & to ask advice &c. The people met the next day in the Old South meeting house. Tories appeared there, & by their principal leader Harrison Gray, opposed the doings of the people.

¹ As successor to Gov. Hutchinson, on May 17, 1774.

² May 10th.

But their opposition was unavailing. I pass over the public doings of that day, as they are particularly related in the various histories of the American revolutionary war.

Frequently walked into the commons, & saw the military exercises of the British. One day, while there two of the soldiers were shot at the bottom of the commons, for desertion, a Chaplain attended them, & affectionately exhorted, & prayed with them.

A solemn & sorrowful silence reigned among the officers & soldiers, who were all paraded under arms for several minutes, at the execution. I boarded about 10 days at the Widow Halls, in the main street. My brother Wm. sailed this summer for Quebec, & from thence for the W. Indies.

Received a request from Dr. Langdon (to whose kindness I am under grateful obligations) to supply his pulpit 2 or 3 Sabbath. Bid adieu to an agreeable circle of friends in Boston &

Sept. 21. Reached Portsmouth.

Dr. Langdon having accepted the invitation to the presidency of Cambridge College, the Wardens of his church desired me to supply the pulpit, which I engaged to do, after one Sabbath.

Octber 3. Set out on a journey to Dartm^o College, to spend a few days in company with Adams, March, Trail & Boyd Students.¹ Lodged at Conner's in Pembroke, 42 miles.

4th. Reached Sleepers in New Cheshire,² 34 m.

5th. To Bingham's in Rellan,³ 23 m.

6th. To Dartm^o College, 8m.—107 Miles.

Found our worthy patron Dr. Wheelock & friends, well.

¹ Nathaniel Adams, from Portsmouth, N. H., was now a Senior; Stephen March, from Greenland, N. H., was a Junior; William Traill, of Portsmouth, removed to Harvard College in March, 1776, and was graduated at Harvard in 1777.

² The present town of Hill, in Grafton County, then named New Chester.

³ Relhan, now named Enfield.

On the day of our arrival, had the pleasure of saluting our friends Frisbie & Dean,¹ just returned from a mission into Canada. The kind hand of a protecting providence, has sustained us among friends & in heathen lands, & gives abundant cause to rejoice together in the divine bounty!

Octbr. 9. Preached, forenoon & afternoon in the College Hall. Having passed a few days very pleasantly there, with my dear friends, Frisbie, Ripley, Wheelock, Crane, Dean, &c.—Set out on the 12th to return to Portsmouth.

13th. Crossed Merrimack river, & lodged at Mr. Whittemore's in Pembroke. Could not get lodging at the tavern, on account of the great number of people there, who are engaged in the business of taking up Tories. In the morning, they compelled one Dicks to make a long Confession, from the head of a large Cask, to about 300 sons of Liberty.

16th. Octbr. Preached at Portsmouth.

7. Novr. Set out for Boston, & 19th returned to Portsmouth, where I expect to pass the ensuing winter.

Rev. Dr. Langdon & his family being about to remove to Cambridge, I took up my residence in the worthy family of Deacon Samuel Penhallow Esq:² I have here the privilege of the town Library, which contains some valuable authors in Theology, & in the very orderly & quiet family, in which I am happily accommodated, I hope to spend the time profitably to myself, & to the large & respectable Society, in which I am invited to officiate.

1775. March. This spring being invited to preach some time to the Society of the late Mr. Moorhead in Boston, I went there & continued to the time of the

Lexington battle, the ever memorable

April 19th 1775.

Previous to this beginning of a long & distressing war,

¹ James Dean (B.A., Dartmouth, 1773).

² See Brewster's *Rambles about Portsmouth*, i., 315, 316; ii., 153, 154.

with our parent country Britain, the officers & soldiers, appeared to live in harmony with the people of Boston, & the people with them. By the British marching out of Boston, in the night, to destroy some American stores at Concord, it appeared that they were disposed to provoke the provincials to hostility. The 15th. I went to a guard house of the British, to see Mr. Piety, the Conductor of the Artillery, with whom I had been acquainted at Fort Pitt. I found them engaged in filling cartages for Cannon, from a tub of powder. Mr. Piety arose & walked with me into the Street. He informed me that they had orders to march into the country in 4 days, & were much engaged in preparing. I mentioned, that I dreaded the consequences; because I was satisfied the people in the country would not suffer them to march far into it: that they were prepared to attack them, should the British offer violence to persons or property; & that their march would be the commencement of hostility. He replied, "God knows I did not come here, with a hostile disposition against the people; but am ordered here & must obey." He appeared uncomfortably affected with what was likely to happen. We parted, & I never afterwards heard what was his fate. I mentioned to sundry people in Boston, my information, without exposing the officer's name. But people were unwilling to realize that war was at the door. One and another said, it was one of Gage's blustering manoeuvres, & that he durst not send his soldiers out &c.—They went out, however, at the time.

Wednesday, April 19th. While at breakfast, at my brother William's at the South End, a neighbour came in, & said the Regulars had marched into the Country, & killed several men at Lexington. I went into the street & found the inhabitants in great perplexity and fear. They were unwilling to believe the report: but about 10 O'Clock, it was confirmed by a Mr. Pope, just returned from Lexington, who saw the men dead there, said to be 7 or 8.

About 11 O'Clock, Lord Peircy's brigade marched out of town, with 2 field pieces, to reinforce Col. Smith, who, it was said, was driven by the militia, & was hastily retreating. I stood in the street as they passed. They all appeared, except a few officers, to be young men, & had never been in action. Not a smiling face was among them. Some of them appeared to have been weeping. Their countenances were sad. Some of those poor fellows never returned. Apprehensive that the town was soon to be shut, in the afternoon, with melancholy forbodings of the issue of this day's awful tragedy, I got my horse & rode to Charlestown ferry, hoping to get out that way. There were some hundreds of the inhabitants there, and among them some of the ministers of Boston, wishfully looking over to the other side, & longing to get out of their once beloved town, where order, peace & righteousness once dwelt, but now murderers. A British Man of War¹ lay in the river, & a barge from her met the ferry boat, crowded with passengers, & ordered it back. The fears of the people there waiting, were greatly excited by this unwelcome circumstance.

I turned about, with a resolution to try to get out at the neck leading to Roxbury, which the british had strongly fortified. Rode by several barracks; saw the soldiers paraded, under arms, and officers pale & running or riding from one barrack to another. It was thought, that they were under apprehension of the inhabitants rising on the remains of the troops now left in Boston; & no doubt, had the inhabitants been prepared, they could have made Gage & all his men in Boston, prisoners & shut up the town, and those who were without, with Peircy and Smith must have submitted to the militia, who were rapidly collecting from all the towns around; and thus, perhaps, an end would have been put to the war as soon as it was began. But providence was pleased to order it other-

¹ The Somerset.

wise ; & this small movement of the day, was necessary to begin that train of events, which extended through a long & distressing war, & which finally seperated the Colonies of America, from the Mother country. Thus, in his sovereign power & goodness, the Most High divides to the nations their inheritance, & seperates the sons of Adam.

I passed some Tories in the street, who seemed to enjoy the confusion, & were calling to each other, "What think ye of the Congress now?"¹

At the neck, I passed the guards & centinels of the British, bowing to them, as I rode, although with no very pleasant feelings towards them, expecting every moment to be stopped, but they suffered me to pass, and I rejoiced to find myself in Roxbury, & beyond the reach of their arms. The sun was about half an hour above the western horizon. Saw several men on horseback, on a rising ground, looking over to Cambridge, I rode up to them & immediately heard the noise of battle from Cambridge across the bay. There was a constant firing of small arms. The sound was dreadful. It was the first time, I had ever heard a gun fired in anger. I found it difficult to persuade myself that people who had lived so long peaceably together, were now killing each other. But such was the dreadful reality. *O War, "thou shame to man!" O why will "men forget that they are brethren!"* Were there no other proofs of the deep, and universal depravity of our moral nature, the existence of war, is a sufficiently dreadful proof.

I was informed by one of the gentlemen, Major Mayo,² that I could not get to Cambridge, as was my intention, for the bridge was taken up, to prevent the British returning that way. He invited me to go to his house, about 3

¹ The title of an anonymous pamphlet (written by the Rev. Dr. Thomas B. Chandler), published at New York early in 1775.

² Joseph Mayo. See Drake's *Roxbury*, 441-442.

miles. I willingly accompanied him. The house was a place of anxiety & sorrow. It was evening. 7 or 8 Ladies from Boston were there, & their husbands & families were in town. The night was spent by them in wakefulness & weeping. About 10 O'Clock in the evening, the Major's son returned from the battle, to the great joy of his parents, & gave us the first information of particulars. It was wonderful that a collection of militia men, should be inspired with such courage, & drive the disciplined troops of Britain before them. Several circumstances in providence, appeared to be ordered in favor of our righteous cause. These circumstances, struck the minds of all; and men of no religious principle at *other times, now seemed to be affected with them.*

Among other things, it is proper to mention, that the element of air helped our cause. He who caused the stars in their courses to fight against Sisera, who wared against Israel, caused on this day, the wind to rise, & follow the retreating enemy, covering them with such a cloud of dust, that blinded them, yet not so but that they were, in their crowded ranks in the road, a plain mark for the militia.

All night, the people were silently marching by the house, from neighbouring towns. I did not take off my clothes; but lay down a little while on the bed. At the dawn of day, the Major & I mounted our horses, & rode to Roxbury street, anxious to know what had been done. The town was still as a grave yard, the people from the thick settled part, having moved out. A few militia men only, I saw there. Determining to see what had been done on the rout of the enemy, I rode to Watertown, & from thence came on the road leading to Lexington. I went almost to the meeting house, where the first american blood was wantonly spilt, but the rain necessitated me to return. Dreadful were the vestages of war on the road. I saw several dead bodies, principally british, on & near

the road. They were all naked, having been stripped, principally, by their own soldiers. They lay on their faces. Several were killed who stopped to plunder, & were suddenly surprised by our people pressing upon their rear. I went into a house in Menotomy,¹ where was a stout farmer, walking the room, from whose side a surgeon had just cut out a musket ball, which had entered his breast, & glancing between the ribs, had lodged about half way to his back. He held the ball in his hand, & it was remarkable, that ² it was flattened on one side by the ribs, as if it had been beaten with a hammer. He was a plain honest man to appearance, who had voluntarily turned out with his musket, at the alarm of danger, as did also some thousands besides on that memorable day. In the same room, lay mortally wounded, a british Officer, Lieu: Hull,³ a youthful, fair & delicate countenance. He was of a respectable family of fortune, in Scotland. Sitting on one feather bed, he leaned on another, & was attempting to suck the juice of an Orange, which some neighbour had brought. The physician of the place had been to dress his wounds, & a woman was appointed to attend him. His breaches were bloody, lying on the bed. I observed that he had no shirt on, & was wrapped in a coating great coat, with a fur cap on his head. I inquired of the woman, why he was thus destitute of cloathing? He answered, "when I fell, our people (the british) stripped off my coat, vest & shirt, & your people my shoes & buckles." How inhuman his own men!

I asked him, if he was dangerously wounded? he replied, "*yes, mortally.*" That he had received three balls in his body. His countenance expressed great bodily anguish. I conversed with him a short time, on the pros-

¹ Now Arlington, Mass.

² An extract from this Diary, beginning here and extending to the end of the account of the Tory Davis, was printed in the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society for April, 1878 (pp. 157, 158).

³ Edward Hull, of the 43d Regiment.

pect of death & a preperation for that solemn scene, to which he appeared to pay serious attention. He lived about a week, & the people conveyed his body in a Coffin to Charlestown ferry, where I happened to be present, & a barge from the Somerset, took it to Boston.

Not far from this house, lay 4 fine british horses. The people were taking off their shoes. One informed me, that a waggon loaded with provisions was sent from Boston, for the refreshment of the retreating army, under an escort of 6 Granidiers. They had got as far as this place, when a number of men, 10 or 12, collected, and ordered them to surrender. They marched on, & our men fired, killed the driver & the horses, when the rest fled a little way, & surrendered. Another waggon sent on the same business, was also taken that day. It was strange that General Gage should send them through a country, in which he had just kindled the flames of war, in so defenceless a condition. Saw 3 regulars, in beds in a house in Cambridge, one of them mortally wounded. Conversed with them on their melancholy situation. One of them refused to answer, and cast upon me a revengeful look. Perhaps he was a papist, & his priest had pardoned his sins. The houses on the road of the march of the british, were all perforated with balls, & the windows broken. Horses, cattle & swine lay dead around. Such were the dreadful trophies of war, for about 20 miles! I hovered around Boston several days. Very few of the inhabitants were permitted to come out. Hav^g some things in Boston, which I wished to have sent round to Marblehead, I wrote to my brother in law Captⁿ Henry Hunter, who with my sister Hunter were there, to send them. And having obtained a permit from the Col^l command^g our Militia at Roxbury, to go to the british guard on the Neck, I went within call, & waved my hat for permission to advance, when Davis, a Boston tory, & inspector of those who came out, came towards me: but

refused to take the letter which I reached towards him. He said Gen. Gage had given orders that there should be no communication between town & Country.¹ I got my letter in, however, the same day.

I received a letter from my Uncle McClintock, in behalf of the people of North Hampton N. H. requesting that I would come & preach there, a few Sabbaths. His letter was dated a few days before the commencement of hostilities. The following is extracted from it. "I am anxious for the issue of our troubles.—It is a comfortable consideration at all times, especially such a day as this, that the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth. He can & he will order & overrule all the designs & actions of men, & all the events of time, to promote the best & noblest ends. The government of events belongs to him: let us endeavour to know & faithfully to pursue the duty he is calling us to in providence; & if we are his faithful servants he will protect & defend us, amidst all the dangers that may surround us in this evil world.

am yours affectionately,

SAMUEL MCCLINTOCK.

Wise observers of the times felt unwelcome forebodings of approaching troubles.

Went to North Hampton, & preached there a few Sabbaths.

July 1775. Received an invitation from the first Church & Congregation in Portsmouth, to settle with them in the work of the Gospel ministry. My honored friend, presi-

¹Davis had greatly provoked many of the inhabitants who were permitted to leave the town, by his meanness, in searching the pockets, it was said, of women & men, to see that they carried out no more money than Gage allowed. To show the lenity of the American character, Davis was permitted to return & live in peace in Boston, where I saw him in 1805, hobbling on his staff; when he told me, he was allowed but a Guinea p^r day, for his and his son's services, in that unworthy Office. (Author's note.)

dent Langdon, I was informed, was pleased to recommend me to his beloved people, at his removal to Cambridge. The invitation, to me was unexpected. But such was the confusion of the times, & the exposed situation of the place, as well as all other seaports on the continent, to the depredations of the enemy, that I concluded it would not be expedient to determine on an answer speedily, & being pleased with my former situation there as favorable to study, I returned to the family of the worthy Deacon Penhallow, & preached there through the summer, & until the May following. The town, in that space of time, was frequently alarmed with threatened visits from the british navy; particularly,

Octbr: 19th.—Rec^d news by post, that Capt^r Mowett, with an armed force, had arrived at Falmouth, now Portland, to plunder & destroy it. And that Portsmouth was threatened to be visited next. General consternation among the people.

20th.—They begin to move out their effects. The town full of teams, and horse carts.

22, Sabbath.—Preached part of the day.

In the evening, General Sullivan arrived, & this, & many following days, the men were busily employed in fortifying the harbour; preparing a boom, fire rafts, &c. Gov^r Wentworth had fled, & taken refuge on board a man of War in the River,¹ and with him went several friends of governm^t.

Nov. 5.—Preached. The town still in Confusion. The Sons of Liberty for several days busy in taking up Tories & suspected persons, confining some, &c.

Major McClary of Epsom, had been down with a party, & seized the powder, & cannon at the Fort.

July 1776.—The Society in Portsmouth renewed the call which they gave me about a year past. The terms

¹ He never returned to New England, but was Governor of Nova Scotia from 1792 to 1808, and died there in 1820.

were £100 and the free contribution. After much anxiety & serious consideration to know the path of duty, I sent a negative answer from Boston to the Committee, July 13th, directed to the care of Deacon Penhallow. The good man understanding the purport of it, sent it back, unopened, & desired me to come to Portsmouth. I accordingly went. The motives inducing my non-acceptance, were principally, the troubles of the times, the want of a more perfect union in the Society to ensure the prospect of peace and usefulness, & the insufficiency of the Salary, in such a town as Portsmouth. In this negative, I did a degree of violence to my own feelings, on account of a great number of worthy pious people who were urgent for my settlement, and of whose friendship & kindness, I had received abundant proofs, in my long residence among them. It has been always pleasing to me to recollect the friendship of many there, particularly Deacon Penhallow & Lady—Dr. Cutter & family—Mr. John Sherburne—Captⁿ & Mrs. Knight—Mess^{rs} Nathl. Treadwell, Richard Hart &c &c.

Supplied the pulpit of the new South in Boston, two Sabbaths, at the time of my answer. Received an invitation by a letter from Col^o Nightingale of Providence, to preach there, but engagements at Portsmouth at that time prevented my going.

1776. *July*.—Preached two Sabbaths at Ipswich for Mr. Dana, who preached for me in Boston.

Received an invitation to preach at North Hampton, & went there. Unexpectedly to me, the people gave me a unanimous invitation to settle with them. I was much at loss what was my duty. The Union of the people, although a small society, after being much divided in their choice of candidates, and the advice of friends, prevailed with me to accept.

Nov. 13th.—I was installed at North Hampton.—Rev. Mr. Stearns of Epping preached. Present Rev. Mess^{rs}

Stevens of Kittery, McClintock—Thayer—Thatcher of Malden & Frisbie of Ipswich.¹

Resided some time at Dr. Dearborn's, Some people from Portsmouth living in the parsonage, which is a large old house, & about 30 acres of land, which they give me to use, & a Salary of £90. May I have grace to be faithful and the happiness to find my labors, in some good degree successful, in this part of the vineyard of our Lord, while God in his providence shall continue me here.

The vicinity to my good Uncle Mr. McClintock, (about 5 miles,) I hope will be profitable to me, on whose friendship & counsel I may depend. This is a circumstance, inducive of my acceptance. This parish is the north division of the ancient town of Hampton, & extends about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile on the Sea Coast, lying between Newberry Port & Portsmouth. There are about 90 families. Some of them depend on the fishery principally.

Took possession of the parsonage house, & brought my youngest sister Nancy from Boston, to keep house for me; & invited my brother Thomas, who then lived in Cambridge, to come & live with me, to improve his time in the study of some useful branches of learning: he accordingly came, and afterwards I took my brother Benjamin one of the twins, who had lived with Mr. Ferguson at Newtown, to live with me. My brother Thomas kept a school in my neighbourhood to good satisfaction, & after a few years went into trade in Bristol, on Damiscotta River.

My brother Benjamin, after about a year, went into the army, & from thence to sea, & was the master of a ship belonging to Carolina. My sister Nancy lived with me nearly 5 years, & died of a consumption, at my sister Hunter's in Boston.

During the confusion of the times in Boston, Capt:

¹ His old associate, Levi Frisbie, installed pastor of the First Church in Ipswich, Mass., in February, 1776.

Hunter & sister came, & lived with me about a year. *June 1778.* Exchanged with Mr. Moody of Arundal.¹

Received a letter from my honored patron Dr. Wheelock notifying my appointment as a Trustee of Dartmouth College, and requesting my attendance at the next commencement.—Attended in 1778 & returned with Mr. Phillips of Andover—79.

During my residence at North Hampton, kept a few lads from Portsmouth & elsewhere, to instruct in english & latin. My salary greatly depreciated. The continental bills were made a legal tendry throughout the Colonies. Rec^d some years, less than half my Salary, in value. The last year of the existance of the old continental bills, I received of my salary, but about 20 Dollars in real value. Many individuals were kind in donations according to their ability, and the Society annually made additions, but they fell far short, especially before I rec^d it, by rapid depreciation.

Sept. 20. 1780.—Attended the commencement at Dartmouth College, in company with Geo. Jeffrey Esq^r of Portsmouth, one of the Trustees. After the session of the board, accompanied the Rev. Dr. Pomeroy to Hebron in Connecticut, and spent a few days there. Visited Lebanon Crank, where I had in former years been a pupil & afterwards an instructor in Moore's School. Saw several of my acquaintance.

Dec. 10. 1780.—Was married at Hebron, to Miss Hannah Pomeroy, youngest daughter of Rev. Dr. Benjamin Pomeroy.² Her mother was Abigail Wheelock, sister to President Wheelock.

21st.—We set out for North Hampton, where we arrived in safety, and were welcomed by neighbours & friends. May the guidance & blessing of God attend us

¹ Rev. Silas Moody (B.A., Harvard, 1761), pastor at Arundel, now Kennebunkport, Maine, from 1771 to 1816.

² A classmate of Dr. Wheelock at Yale (1733).

through the various duties & employments of this changeable world!

1781. *Nov. 14th.*—We were blessed with a daughter, whom we dedicated to God in baptism, & named her Abigail Wheelock.

1783. *Octb. 29th.*—Our second child Rachel was born. My time was employed during about 8 years residence in Hampton, in study, in parochial duties & the instruction of a few boys, & domestic concerns. I visited my friends in Boston, about twice in the year—attended the Commencements at the College, & frequently rode to Greenland & Portsmouth & to Exeter, at which latter lived my brother James & sister Randlet. I sometimes went off on the water with the fishermen, & visited the Isle of Shoals, two or three times.

1784.—I contemplated a removal from this place, & the reasons inducing me were the following.—It seemed to me that I was not spending my life here so usefully as I might in some other department of the Vineyard of Christ, as the parish was small, & nearly surrounded with neighbouring churches of the same congregational persuasion, and at convenient distances for the people who were settled much on the borders of the parish, and none of the ministers could so conveniently remove as myself.—My predecessor Mr. Hastings had embraced the Sandemanian principles, & went off with the British troops to Nova Scotia, being attached to the British government. His political sentiments were embraced by several of the people, and they left the society, & joined themselves to the baptists in Stratham, whose minister was a Tory.¹ By their defection they weakened the Society.—My support was small, & I found it difficult to procure fuel, the wood having been greatly destroyed, during the war.—In case of my inability to perform the work of the ministry, there

¹ Dr. Samuel Shepard was ordained by the Baptists at Stratham, the town adjoining North Hampton on the northwest, in 1771.

was no provision or prospect of any, for my family, as I lived in a parsonage house. These reasons I mentioned to the people, and with a tender concern for their welfare, as well as my own, asked a dismissal. Some were grieved & others offended. Finding the people averse to agree with me to call a council to determine my duty & dissolve the relation, I invited several of the neighbouring ministers to the parsonage house, to witness our transactions. The Society were in arrears to me, by the depreciation of Salary, towards £200, which I gave them, satisfied that it would be difficult for them, after the losses of war, to pay it.

The following Council of ministers met—The Rev. Doctor Langdon, Dr. Haven, Rev. Mess^{rs} McClintock, Thayer & Buckminster, and after a statement of matters, were pleased to present to me the following certificate.—
viz.

Whereas the Rev. David McClure, who was settled about nine years ago, as a minister of the Gospel in the parish of North Hampton & State of New Hampshire, & pastor of the church in that place, hath, for special reasons relating to his worldly circumstances, requested a dismissal from his ministerial charge; and both the Church & parish have granted his request: and whereas they have not consented to make any use of an ecclesiastical Council, in the important affair as was proposed by Mr. McClure, but have finished the whole by themselves, & without adding any proper testimony of his good ministerial conduct, during his labors among them. Therefore we, a number of ministers in the vicinity, convened at his desire in the parish aforesaid, cannot but think it our duty in justice to his character, to declare to all the Churches, to which these presents shall come, that according to our best acquaintance with his ministerial gifts and conduct among his people, he has approved himself faithful, and a workman who need not be ashamed, & that he has con-

tinued high in the esteem & affections of the people of his charge until this time when the proposal of removing from them has prevented any recommendation from them, in order to his labouring in any other part of the Lord's Vineyard.

We therefore are unanimous in recommending him to the service of the Churches wherever he may go, and wish him much of the divine presence & blessing, in whatever place it may please the glorious Head of the Church to fix his future residence & sacred ministrations.

SAMUEL LANGDON D.D.
 SAMUEL HAVEN D.D.
 SAMUEL MCCLINTOCK &c.
 EBENEZER THAYER &c.
 JOSEPH BUCKMINSTER.

Aug^t. 30. 1785.

REMOVAL FROM NORTH HAMPTON.

Last year I had some expectation of removing into the interior parts of Pennsylvania; where I had some lands & many friends. And I went the last fall to my Uncle's at the Big Spring about 150 miles West of Philadelphia, my family went with me as far as Hebron, and we returned to Hampton in the Spring.¹ In my absence I gave up my salary. But I now concluded to remove & settle somewhere in Connecticut, should a door be opened for my usefulness there.

Sent some articles of furniture to Portsmouth to go to Connecticut by water; and with sentiments of tenderness & friendship for a people among whom I had pleasantly spent several years, I set out, Sept^r. 15. 1785, with Mrs.

¹ Our honored father Pomeroy died Dec. 22nd, 1784, aged 80 years. He had made us one visit to Hampton, soon after the birth of our eldest child. He lived a long, laborious & useful life. A most zealous, solemn & affectionate preacher. Dr. Huntington of Coventry preached at his Funeral. Text Daniel 12. 13. "But go thou thy way till the end be: for thou shalt rest and stand in thy lot at the end of the days." (Author's note.)

McClure and our two children & Ralph Pomeroy Jun.¹ for Connecticut.

From Boston I sent my resignation as a Trustee of the Phillips Exeter Academy, to which I had been appointed by the Founder, The Hon. John Phillips in 1782.—As follows,

HONORABLE & RESPECTABLE GENTLEMEN,

Having removed from the vicinity of the Phillips Exeter Academy, the convenience and interests of that Institution, render it my duty to ask you to accept my resignation. While I make the surrendry of that station to which I had the honor to be appointed by the kind partiality of the benevolent founder, permit me to say, that I esteem it one of the happiest circumstances of my life, that I have been (however unworthy) thus connected with you, in the advancement of a cause, the most important, *the virtuous education of the rising generation*; and that I have been witness to so noble a generosity, which, under the divine providence, your hands now support.

Permit me to express my most sincere & cordial wishes for the prosperity of the Academy. May it shine as a star of superior magnitude among her sister seminaries, and spread the light of sacred science on the minds of multitudes!

Having through the goodness of God, ourselves experienced the happy consequences which arise from an early dedication to the sacred cause of literature & religion; what returns can we make to heaven more grateful, than by a laudable zeal to transmit the same blessings to those of the human race, who are coming after us.

May God honor you, gentlemen, in making you yet more abundantly, successful instruments of this blessing.

However distant divine providence may please to cast my lot, my heart shall ever dilate with warmest wishes for

¹ Son of Mrs. McClure's brother Ralph (B.A., Princeton, 1758).

the prosperity of the Academy, & permit me, gentlemen to add, for your personal happiness in all respects, that being faithful even unto death in the cause of our adorable Redeemer, we may have a happy meeting in his kingdom, & receive the inconceivably blessed reward of his approbation.

I am, with the highest esteem,
 Hon^{ble} & respectable gentlemen,
 Your very obedient & Most
 humble servant
 DAVID MCCLURE.

BOSTON, Sept^r 19. 1785.

To the Hon^{ble} Board of Trustees
 of Phillips Exeter Academy.

24th.—Left Boston & reached Medfield, Col^o Wheelock's—Kept Sabbath there. Monday, came to Rev. Mr. Hitchcock's in Providence. Tuesday at Esq^r Dorrance's; Volentown—Wednesday to Mr. White's in Scotland—Thursday to Hebron. Found our daughter Abby, whom we left last year with her Aunt Gillet,¹ well.

Rec^d an invitation to supply the pulpit of my late honored father in law. Preached there until Jan^y 1786. The Church & Society in Hebron invited me to settle with them; but as they were not so well united as was desirable, I declined acceptance. Received an invitation, by the Committee Deacon Loomis, to preach in the first Society in East Windsor.²

Accordingly I went there & preached.

Jan'y 15. 1786.—Put up at Deacon Olcott's.

Preached there until the beginning of April, except 2 Sabbaths at North Lime.

First Monday of April, the Church & Society gave me an invitation to settle. The salary voted was £120.

¹ Abigail, sister of Mrs. McClure, married John Gillet (Yale, 1758), of Hebron.

² Now the town of South Windsor.

They had been destitute about 3 years & divided in the choice of Candidates. They were unexpectedly united in their call to me.

The last minister here was Mr. Joseph Perry,¹ who was settled Colleague with the aged Mr. Timothy Edwards, who was the first settled minister of the Society, and the father of that eminent Divine, President Jonathan Edwards, whose writings display a masterly genius, piety, and profound theology.

At an adjourned meeting of the Church & Society to receive my answer, I wrote to each my acceptance of their call.

The Church met & consulted with me on the time for the instalment, which was fixed to 1786 June 14th. The Churches invited were the North Church in East Windsor—the two Churches in Windsor—the North & South Church in Hartford & first Church in E. Hartford & the Church in Bolton.

The Council convened on that day—The Hon. Erastus Wolcott, Wm. Wolcott Esq^r., Deacon Benoni Olcott & Deacon Amasa Loomis, were the Church Committee to wait on the Council.

Mr. Hinsdale made the introductory prayer. Doctor Williams preached from Luke 2. 14. Glory be to God in the highest &c.—Mr. Boardman gave the right hand of fellowship, & Mr. Strong made the concluding prayer. There was no charge or imposition of hands, as I had already received ordination. May heaven succeed this new relation in which I am placed with this people, & make me instrumental of good to their best & eternal interests, & faithful to the cause of the great Redeemer!

The day of instalment was a solemn, peaceful & pleasant season.

July 5.—I removed my family from Hebron into the house of Mr. Elizur Wolcott, which I afterwards pur-

¹ B.A., Harvard, 1752, died April, 1783.

chased, together with about 11 acres of land belonging to it, for eleven hundred dollars.

The people subscribed timber & materials, nearly sufficient to build a barn & the frame of an house.

Sept. 5.—Our daughter Mary Ann was born, whom God was pleased to take to himself July 11. 1789, aged 2 years & 10 months. She died of the Measles. A pleasant dear child.

Agreed with Mr. Benjamin Wolcott for a house lot near the Meeting House. Had the timber hauled, & a considerable part of it hued; at which time Mr. Wolcott offered me his place, which I purchased, and afterwards sold the timber to Mr. Daniel Jones of Hartford.

The Society contains about 143 families, (exclusive of Wapping,) three of which are Sectarians (professedly baptists). They live principally on one street $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length. The farms are laid out from the River, running $3\frac{1}{2}$ Miles easterly. Part of the members of the Church live in the bounds of Wapping. The district of Wapping is exempted from paying rates here, on account of their having preaching there, part or the whole of the year, if they chuse. At the time of Mr. Edwards settlement here 1695, the North parish & Ellington were part of the Society.

Borrowed £190 of the Society towards payment of the place purchased. Which I paid with the interest; but which I was not able to do under 15 years, on account of the depreciation of my salary. In that space of time, I builded a School House, and Mrs. Gillet of Hebron taught in it a school of Misses, the greater part of whom boarded in my family. I also taught a number of youths, principally from fall to spring, and received, in the course of several years, from my boarding pupils upwards of three thousand dollars. With this assistance, I was enabled to pay my debt to the Society, and with part of it to support my family, as my salary was insufficient. Two years,

1795 & 6, the Society voted 80 dollars addition yearly, on account of the high prices of articles of living. Those years wheat was 10^s/. to 12^s/. Rye 6/. Indian corn 5^s/. per Bushel. Afterwards they rose higher. This was occasioned by the great increase of Banks and bank bills, and the wars in Europe.

My family was visited with sickness several years. We have been called to sing of mercies and afflictions.

1796. *Aug^t*.—Attended the commencement at Dartmouth College. In preaching there on the Sabbath, I began to perceive a considerable failure of my voice, which was brought on by straining it when oppressed with a cold & hoarseness, some time before.

In July last Mrs. McC. & myself, Dr. Tudor & several of our neighbours went to New London, & sailed over to Long Island, where we lodged 2 nights.

1798.—This winter my voice failed, so that I was able to preach but little. Mess^{rs} Phelps, Olcott, & Wright, supplied the pulpit. Some contributions were made for them. When destitute of assistance Deacon Reed, read my sermons, & I made the prayers. Was advised by physicians to try the Sea air. Accordingly concluded to go to Boston & from thence to the District of Maine. The association were kind enough to offer to supply the pulpit in my absence.

1799.—Went with our daughter Rachel to Boston, & from thence sailed with Captⁿ Hunter of Bristol, and arrived at Damariscotta at my brother Thomas, the next day. Found him & family well; pleasantly situated and prosperous in business, tarried there about 5 weeks, & 1 week at Captⁿ Nickels at Pemaquid. Bathed frequently in the ocean, & went a fishing. Lodged one night at Mr. Thompson's on Rutherford's Island, and one Night on board the fishing boat (Captⁿ Fly) on the Ocean. 12 fishing boats were in company. They caught about 3 Quintals each, of Cod, Haddock & Hake, in 24 hours. I was sea

sick all the time, I was on the water. This coast abounds in fish. It is a bold shore, and the navigation dangerous on account of ledges of rocks which project into the sea, and islands which line the shore.

After waiting a few days for a favorable wind to return, we set out with Captⁿ McFarland, in a northeast storm of rain, & a thick fog all day. At Night lay to off Cape Ann. Dismal dark & stormy night! The water frequently rushed down the steps of the cabin. The vessel swam heavily, being deeply laden with wood. Sunday morning, it cleared off pleasant, & the Cape appeared 6 or 8 miles distant. The good providence of God preserved us. The Capt. was skilful and steady, & all hands were up on deck all night.

Arrived at Boston, and returned home the beginning of Aug^t. And through the goodness of God, found all well.

My voice still remains feeble, & I find it difficult for me to preach. Mr. S. Wolcott invited me to go with him to Ballstown, to which he was going to try the waters for his health. With the hope that they might be beneficial to me, I went with him in Sept^t of the same year, where we tarried about 10 days. I found the waters of Ballstown & Saratoga too cold for my complaint. On my return, it issued in a Quinsy, and a hard and large tumor on the outside of the throat; which after a long time, came to a small suppuration. On its healing, my voice grew stronger, & I was able to preach.

The people voted 50 dollars to hire assistance, but before it was raised, I was able again, through the goodness of God, to preach, although with some difficulty.

From Jan'y 1800, to Feb'y 1805, I was able to preach. Some sabbaths only one sermon. At the last period, I found it so exceeding laborious to proceed, after speaking 8 or 10 minutes, that I was obliged to give it up. Attended worship, prayed, & had a sermon read. The peo-

ple voted 100 dollars to hire a preacher. I agreed to board him one half the time.

In 1800 I resigned my office of Trustee of Dartmouth College, (on account of indisposition & distance,) which I had served 23 years, and had the pleasure of seeing the great & extensive usefulness of that respectable university, sprung from small beginnings, by the persevering labours of its pious & benevolent founder, the Rev. Dr. Eleaz' Wheelock, my ever honoured patron & friend. The Senatus Academicus were pleased to honour me with the Degree of Doctorate in Divinity.

1806. *Aug!* 9.—It is now about 18 months, that I have been called off, from the pleasant though laborious, and useful duty of preaching the Gospel. It is a trying and afflictive dispensation of the righteous providence of God. To his holy will I desire to submit, who orders all things well. God is a sovereign, and is not confined to instruments, especially so worthless an one, to carry on the glorious designs of his grace in the salvation of men.

A degree of serious attention has appeared a few years past, among several young people of the congregation. Four or five have become hopeful subjects of renewing grace, and have joined the Church.

A number meet at my house, weekly for religious conference & prayer.—I have great cause of thankfulness to God, that my general health is pretty good, although my voice is feeble.

The pulpit has been supplied for some time occasionally; and contributions have been made, in some instances, particularly for Mr. O. Wetmore, who preached about 17 Sabbaths, For Mr. Cleveland, & for Mr. D. Austin.—When there is no preacher, I get some one to read. The probability is that I shall soon relinquish my salary, as the people have had several meetings on the subject, & made proposals of a compensation.—The worthy Mr. Howard,

of Springfield,¹ in consequence of a complaint, somewhat similar to mine, has resigned the ministry there. They have generously given him \$2000, compensation, and the use of the parsonage. The Rev. Mr. Taylor, of Deerfield,² I hear, also, resigned his ministry there, a few days past in consequence of debility of voice. So uncertain is the blessing of health, and our continuance in the labours of the Vineyard of our divine Lord! May more faithful and successful labourers be raised up to supply our vacant places, in the great work.

For myself, I desire to acknowledge, with humble gratitude and praise to God, that I have been able for twenty six years to preach without pain or much fatigue; (before my late indisposition) but I have reason to be humbled before God that I have performed the sacred duties of the ministry, with such a mixture of pride and selfishness, as I am conscious of, and so little zeal for the glory of God and the salvation of souls. My hope is in the mercy of God, in the blessed Saviour, to pardon all my deficiencies in duty, and to accept through Jesus Christ, my poor and feeble attempts to serve and glorify his name on earth.

In the fall of 1806, I attempted to preach to my people two or three times, but found it painful & laborious. I informed the Society, that as my complaint had been of long standing, my hope of the recovery of voice to perform the labours of the pulpit, was very slender, and that I could not desire them to wait longer.

1807. *Jan'y* 12.—The Society met & voted to give me One thousand Dollars as a Compensation of the relinquishment of the civil contract of the Society with me, for the payment of Salary for time to come, and also voted to pay me, within sixty days, arrearages of Salary due, to

¹ Rev. Bezaleel Howard (Harvard, 1781) resigned his charge of the First Church in 1803.

² Rev. John Taylor (Yale, 1784) was dismissed on Aug. 6, 1806.

this day, six hundred & thirty dollars. The meeting were unexpectedly united in this offer. Their union was the more unexpected, on account of the unhappy political parties in the Society; the majority being what are denominated Republicans or Democrats, in opposition to the Federilists.

About two thirds of the town are of the latter sect, as president Jefferson calls them, and the body of the other denomination, happen to be in this Society. The greater part of these appear to be unfriendly to the regular Clergy, because, the Clergy as a body are the friends of the present rulers & government of the State, & do not manifest an attachment to their favorites, whom, in general, the Clergy do not look upon as the friends of the Christian Religion, or men of good principles & morals;—Democracy in Connecticut, is more of an immoral & disorganizing character than in the other States.

Fan'y.—The Society again met to receive my answer to their proposal, which I accepted, and sent them the following communication.

TO THE FIRST SOCIETY IN EAST WINDSOR,

Respected & beloved people of my pastoral charge, By the hand of the Gentlemen of the Committee, appointed for that purpose, I received your voluntary offer of a compensation of sixteen hundred & thirty dollars, including the arrearages of Salary, on condition of my relinquishment of the Civil Contract of the Society with me for the payment of Salary, during my continuence in the Gospel ministry in this place.

I do hereby signify & declare my acceptance of the same, & on the terms and conditions specified in the vote of the Society; and I shall be ready, at such time as may be convenient to you, to make a final settlement & relinquishment of all pecuniary obligations of the Society to me. To this I feel a special inducement from the friendly

& united concurrence of sentiment in the Society, & as it is an expression of their respect & good will. I was happy in the Union & friendship of the Church & Society, at the time of my settlement in the ministry here, and in the peace & harmony which have so long subsisted between us, & am now happy in the union of the same sentiment towards me, however unworthy, at this time, when I am about to give up my Civil Contract for a support.

This move, however, was not contemplated by me, at the time of my settlement, the usage of ecclesiastical Societies, then, being different; but I consider myself living with a just, able & generous people, in whose service, I have, by the providence of God, in a great measure, lost my voice, and thereby become disabled from deriving a support from the labours of the Gospel ministry. I do not, however, distrust that good providence of God, which showers down blessings on the pious & liberal, who honour his sacred institutions & support his ministers.

My best labours & prayers shall be for your highest edification & welfare, & for the honour of that religion which we profess.

And may you, dear brethren, continue united, and by the grace of God, be built up, & forever remain a harmonious, honourable, peaceable & exemplary community of Christians, walking in the faith & order of the Gospel.

Your obliged friend & pastor,

DAVID MCCLURE.

E. WINDSOR, Jan^y 17. 1807.

May 3. 1809.—The Rev. Thomas Robbins was installed.¹ The following is the record in the Church book of Records of that interesting transaction;

“*May*. 3. 1809, The Rev. Thomas Robbins was In-

¹ Mr. Robbins was a graduate of Yale (1796) and had been preaching in East Windsor for nearly eleven months before this. His *Diary* was printed in 1886, and throws an interesting light on Dr. McClure's position.

stalled "the acting presiding Pastor" of this Church. The Council thought it expedient that the Rev^d Doct. McClure should not be formally dismissed."

Attest THOMAS ROBBINS.

To the Council convened on this occasion I sent the following address. (N. B. I was absent at the time.¹)

TO THE REV. COUNCIL CONVENEED AT EAST WINDSOR,

Reverend & respected gentlemen,

Permit me to mention that between two & three years ago, being unable to perform the public duties of the Sabbath, by the failure of my voice, I resigned my salary & Civil Contract with the Society, and all pecuniary claim for time to come, on receiving a compensation from the Society; and at the request of the church freely consented to continue the pastoral relation, and so far as I was able, in the destitute circumstances of the Society, kept up public worship and administered special ordinances.

For some time past, a number appearing to be anxious to have the pastoral relation dissolved, conceiving, as I was informed, that its continuance might, some how, impede the settlement of a successor, I promised, that I would, the first opportunity, seek for a dissolution of it.

This business, permit me now to submit to this venerable Council.

In the existing circumstances of the Society, which will necessarily be the subject of the consideration of the Council, I shall very cheerfully acquiesce in whatever may be the decision of this Council, relative to the pastoral relation. The same motive which induced me to serve, as far as I was able, without any expectation of

¹ Mr. Robbins's *Diary* (i, 395) says: "April 30. Visited Mr. McClure. He tries to be polite, but evidently feels very disagreeably.

"May 1. Mr. McClure went out of town. I suppose he has gone on purpose to be absent at the installation."

reward, further than the satisfaction of doing a little good, now influences me to submit the proposal to the Council.

In this, perhaps, last official act of my pastoral relation, indulge me with the mention, of the satisfaction which I have had, for about 20 years in this interesting connexion, with the beloved people of my pastoral charge ; in the union, peace & friendship which has subsisted among us, & in which it has been my sincere aim, to promote their spiritual edification. And although, on a retrospect, I find many deficiencies, yet would humbly hope that my feeble endeavours, have not been altogether, unattended with the special blessing of God, to some souls.

Permit me, gentlemen, to offer my sincere prayers that your health & usefulness may be prolonged & that you may never experience, by the loss of health or voice, the severe affliction of an exile from the pleasing though laborious services of the sanctuary ; but that to the latest period of life, you may be able, faithfully & successfully to proclaim the unsearchable riches of Christ.

With sentiments of respect,

I am &c.

DAVID MCCLURE.

May 1. 1809.

This Church was gathered in 1696, when the Rev. Timothy Edwards was ordained its pastor. He was the father of that eminent divine Rev. Jonathan Edwards, Presid^t of Princetown College. It is a remarkable instance of so few ministers of one church for such a length of time. I am but the third in succession through the period of 100 years.

The Church was settled on the Cambridge platform, & from its beginning had admitted professors to renew their baptismal covenant to which they were admitted in

infancy & to receive baptism for their children. Of late years the churches around us, in general, have declined admitting persons to renew their baptismal covenant with a view to baptism for their children, & demanded that the parent should come to the Lord's supper, to their having *that* privilege for their infant offspring.

Being myself satisfied, upon the plan of the Gospel, that infant baptism is an introduction into Christ's visible kingdom, in opposition to the kingdom of darkness, and that baptized persons, professing & living agreeably to the laws of Christ's kingdom could not in christian charity be debarred from the ordinance of baptism, because they could not, see their way clear, through scruples or tenderness of conscience, to come to the Lord's Table.

To alter this our mode of proceeding, had been attempted at several meetings of the Church; to which I was always opposed, fearing that our children & youth would grow up unbaptized, as is the case with some societies around us.

From this quarter, there appeared on the settlement of the pastor elect, no small anxiety, in some leading brethren of the church, that my pastoral relation might be dissolved, lest my influence should still obstruct the wished for innovation. Others from more mercenary motives perhaps, wished it, that I might bear my portion of society & other taxes. Some had expressed themselves to this effect. The Rev. Council did prudently & wisely to leave it as they did.

In the resettlement of a Colleague or successor, in the present instance, I thought most prudent & a duty to maintain neutral ground, & leave the Church & Society to act unbiassed by my influence, & because I was not forward in the business, some who were earnest for the settlement, took offence. I foresaw the unhappy breaking of the Society, but it was not in my power to prevent it.—About 30 remonstrated—and soon certificated some

to the episcopal Ch., some to the baptist & some to the Methodists. I felt an anxiety for the people to whom I had laboured, though with many failings to build them up in the faith and order of the Gospel, and thought the business was driven with too much precipitency to afford a rational ground of hope for the peace, union & edification of the people.

The Great Head of the Church will take the care of his own cause, and can bring good from evil & cause light to spring out of darkness. To his faithful & merciful care I desire to commit this beloved people, his interest here, & my unworthy self. I have here some worthy friends who were opposed to my resignation of Salary, & were for having me hold it, as I could by law; but I preferred peace to contention.

My health rather slender & voice feeble through the summer of 1809.—*Octbr*. 23. Set out a journey to Boston with daughter Susanna, reached Mr. Phelps's at Stafford. 24th. Worcester, Mr. Salisbury's. 25. Brighton. Nov. 3 returned home, having been detained one day, by a snow storm, at Milford (Mass).

The winter of 1809 & 10 I attended to the instruction of a number of young people at my School House, as I have done the greater part of the winters for more than 20 years. It is to me especially in my present inability to preach a business that is most congenial to my profession, & in which there is a prospect of doing some good.

In the fall Mrs. McClure & I journeyed to Boston. Mrs. McC's health was slender. We had purposed to have gone to Hampton & Portsmouth, but the weather and her indisposition prevented going further than Boston.

Mrs. McC. continued infirm & gradually declining under the distressing disease of the Salt Rheum attended also with a cough & slight fever. In 1813, there was a consultation of physicians, Drs. Tudor, Bruce, & Coggs-

well, & Smith of Hanover with whom I was acquainted & who happened to be in these parts. Their prescriptions were followed, but without producing the hoped for effect. With christian fortitude & patience she endured extreme pains and on the morning of April 9th, 1814, departed this life; exchanging I trust a state of suffering here for the blessed rest of the people of God. When unable to speak, she raised her hand in token of her resignation to the will of God & willingness to die.

Through the grace and mercy of God, we had lived together about thirty-four years. Though we had passed through a variety of scenes pleasant & painful, joyful & sorrowful, yet a pleasant & cheerful temper, an industrious, discreet & benevolent life render her dear to me as also to all her acquaintance & friends. My house is now indeed solitary. May it please a righteous & holy God to sanctify this great bereavement to me and to my children who mourn the death of an affectionate mother. By this and all the afflictions of life may we see & feel the vanity of earthly comforts & realize that God is the only happyfying portion of our souls. May I live as expecting soon to follow her to the invisible World.¹

At the invitation of my friends in Boston, Oct. 18, 1814, left home with daughter Susan—reached Mr. Duick's in Pomfret; formerly a merchant in Boston. By trade acquired much wealth & retired to a valuable farm in this place. He was a foundling, left when an infant at the door of a person of humanity, & by his own exertions rose to affluence. Poor man! a few years after this committed Suicide, in a fit of insanity

Went from Boston to Andover & spent a Sabbath with my friend Mr. John Kneeland. We were schoolmates at Master Holbrook's when boys. A friendly pious man.

Rode with Mr. Pomeroy of Brighton to Byfield, lodged

¹ Dr. McClure next married, on Oct. 1, 1819, Mrs. Betsey Martin, of Providence, R. I., who survived him.

at Dr. Parish's¹—dined at Mr. Ebⁿ Parsons a great farmer, son of the former minister there, with whom I was acquainted.

Decr. 1st.—Thanksgiving day spent at Mr. G. Murdock's, who had married my Neice Nancy McClure. Mr. J. Thayer, had married another, her sister. They and other friends were desirous that I should remove to Boston or its vicinity; but although I experienced all kindness, I felt it my duty to return home, to take care of my concerns. Having lost my horse by accident

Decr. 7.—I returned in the stage to my solitary mansion. On the road at Worcester called to see Eliza Wier, the only sister of the late Robert Wier, the children of my late Aunt Wier² of Boston. She lives with her Aunt Salisbury³ in Worcester. Left my daughter Susan in Boston, & put up a few weeks at my son-in-law's Oliver Tudor.

My house is solitary & reminds me of that more solitary mansion where my dear companion lies & which must be my last & long home. Through the grace & mercy of my Saviour may I find beyond the grave a house not made with hands, a mansion of peace & rest from all the labours of this painful & fleeting life.

Daughter Susan returned from Boston in the spring of 1815.—In the summer attended to the instruction of a few pupils—and in the following winter to about 12 young men in various branches of learning, principally in english. 2 or 3 boarders. In the summer of 1818—Five young women & 2 boarding lads (Quinn & Harper).—1816.

¹ Rev. Elijah Parish (B.A., Dartmouth, 1785), minister in Byfield, formerly a part of Newbury, Mass., from 1787 to 1825. He was associated with Dr. McClure in the preparation of the *Life of Dr. Wheelock*, published in 1811. His predecessor at Byfield was the Rev. Moses Parsons (Harvard, 1736).

² Sister of Dr. McClure's mother, and wife of Robert Wier.

³ Elizabeth, daughter of Edward and Elizabeth Harris Tuckerman of Boston, and wife of Stephen Salisbury.

Early Frosts destroyed the corn through New England & N^w York—Rye & Wheat good.—

1817. *Nov.* 22.—My friend and Class Mate, Rev. David Avery of Mansfield, lodged with me bound on a preaching tour to the frontier of Virginia. Where he died in about a month after his arrival. A pious & zealous preacher of the Gospel. His death was peaceful and triumphant.

Received a pamphlet from Presid^t John Wheelock of Dartm^o College—Sketches of the History of the College and the troubles there, which terminated in the removal of the President from his office. He was, no doubt, injuriously treated by a majority of The Trustees. A Mr. N. Niles, a zealous Hopkinsian & Democrat had long been hostile to the President, & by his influence as a member of the Board, he succeeded to displace him. But the Legislature of New Hampshire restored the President to his Office, & new modelled the College, adding Trustees & a large board of Overseers. The old College prosecuted the new, or University, before the Supreme Court at Washington. And Judge gave sentence in their favor. So that the old College is restored and the Doings of the Legislature, set aside; it is said on the principle that their doings was a violation of the charter of the College.

President Wheelock did not long survive his restoration. At his death the new board, appointed his son in law, the Rev. Wm. Allen, President.—On the removal of Presid^t W. the old College appointed Rev. Francis Brown Presid^t

The unhappy contention, arose principally from Ecclesiastical concerns. The founder of the College, had in 1771 founded a Presbyterian Church in the College. I was present at the forming it. It consisted of 30 who entered into Covenant to unite in a Presbyterian Church. Dr. E. Wheelock presided on the Solemnity & we signed the Church Covenant. We were then in the midst of a wilderness, with a few log houses, with one small framed

House in which Dr. Wheelock & family lived. There was that winter a serious attention to religion, and several instances of hopeful conversion among the students & others. After 40 years the Village around the College, became populous, and the numerous towns in the vicinity were established in Church order with ministers on the New England Congregational plan. The Village members of the College Church fell off & countenanced by the Congregational ministers around, formed a Church according to that order. They had previously built a convenient & handsome Meeting House. In consequence of this revolution, the College Presbyterian Church was nearly annihilated. The late Presid^t John Wheelock, adhered to the Church founded by his father, and would not consent to the change. Hence, I conceive arose the greater part of the difficulty, that has rent the Institution, and greatly injured its reputation & prosperity.

I received a well written pamphlet from President Allen, by Josiah Dunham Esq. in Vindication of President Wheelock. It is an answer to a pamphlet by the Trustees of the old College, stating their reasons for removing President Wheelock.

1818. *Sept.*—At the earnest request of the family of my deceased friend the Rev. Mr. Avery, I went to Mansfield, Chaplin society, to preach a Funeral Sermon on his death. I had not attempted to preach, for a long time, by reason of my weakness of voice ; but through that all sustaining power, from whom is all our sufficiency to any duty, I was enabled to speak better than my fears. The family requested a copy of the sermon for publication.

1819. Attended this winter about 14 pupils in my School House, in my garden. And passed the season agreeably in that useful employment.

1819. *Nov.*—Preached at Wapping, a Thanksgiving Sermon. Ps. I will sing of mercy and judgment.—Went to Daniel Elmer's and tarried till the next morning.

1819. My friends in Boston requested me to make them a visit, and as my horse was lame, kindly offered to bear the expence of the journey in the Stage.

May 21.—Mr. Stebbins conveyed me to Rev. Mr. Ely's (House of Esq^r: Talcott) in Vernon. Saw there a Mr. Demock, a Candidate.—next Mr. Ely, succeeds an old acquaintance the Rev. Mr. Kellog, and is a worthy man & very useful & popular in the place.

Next morning got into the Stage.—dined at Starbridge —& reached Boston about midnight. Sabbath Afternoon & Even^g attended worship at Park Street. Professor Shirliff of Dartmouth College, & a Mr. Jenks preached. The latter a popular, evangelical preacher. This is Election Week in Boston.—A Mr. Eaton, preached a good sermon—here is no public dinner for the Clergy—but they were invited to Lieu^t: Gov^r: Phillips.

Thursday heard Judge Haven deliver an address at Chauncey Place, to the Society for the suppression of Intemperence & Immorality.

Sabbath, heard a young man, going on a mission to India, and in the Evening, Professor Woods of Andover.

Last Friday, went with Mr. Jarvis in his pleasure boat to Squantum & caught some fish in the Harbour.—Drank next morning a pint of sea water. A good cleanser of the stomach. It removed a quantity of bile with which I had been troubled for several weeks.

Dined at Mr. Peters's with Gen. G. McClure, of Bath, N.Y.

May 13.—Set out in the Providence Stage. Dined at Providence—called on Mr. B. Hopping—in the even^g at Mr. Smith's. Next morning set out in the Stage & reached Capt^t: Buckland's—who the next morning was so kind as to give me a conveyance home, having experienced the goodness of Divine Providence & the kindness of friends in the whole journey.

[(Omitted) 1816. *Sept.* 25.—Went a journey to Boston,

reached Mrs. Duick's Pomfret.—Next day Mr. Long in New Milford.—Next day Brighton.—Next day Boston.—Rode to Dorchester to Miss Blanchard's, with Mrs. McClure.—with Mrs. Thayer to Roxbury to Mrs. Summers—to Dr. Moore's & Mrs. Adams, Charlestown. Kept Sabb. with Mr. Homer of Newton, preached for him in the afternoon. Monday rode to Rev. Mr. Sewell's, Burlington—Tuesday to Brighton, where was a Cattle Show—Same day to Newton, to an Association—Dr. Stearns, Mr. Holmes, Mr. Eliot of Watertown, Mr. Ripley—

Wednesday to Mr. Hyde, in Medway, where was an Association—Dr. Emmons—Mr. Long—Mess^{rs} Wilder & Coleman of Attleborough—Mr. Fisk of Wrentham—Mr. Williams late of Providence—Mr. Thompson of Rehoboth &c.]

See page 23 [page 19 of printed book].

In the Summer of 1768, being my third year at College, I took a ride to the Sea Shore & in company with Mr. Chester Bingham tarried a few days at Narraganset.¹ My health at this time was slender.

Sabbath, attended the Indian meeting, at their meeting house, which was small & about the size of a common school house. About 50 Indians were present. They were mostly elderly people. They sung, prayed & exhorted. There were 4 or 5 who exhorted. The principal speaker was called Sam! Ashpo. They were all very earnest in voice & gesture, so much so that some of them foamed at the mouth & seemed transported with a kind of enthusiasm. When they prayed, all spake audibly, some in english & some in Indian. It was indeed a confused noise. In exhorting they attempted generally to describe the christian life, & did it, by giving a relation of their own religious experiences, which were mostly visions, dreams, impulses &

¹ The seat of the Narragansett tribe of Indians, in what is now Charlestown, on the coast of Rhode Island.

similitudes. Agreeably to their imperfect knowledge, their ideas & language were simple and vulgar. I stood near to Ashpo, and noticed the following expressions in his prayer in confession of sins. We must allow for grossness of the style, from his imperfect knowledge. "Lord, thou knowest what a poor vile sinner I have been; how I have been a vile drunkard, and like a beast have lain drunk in my own spue, all night at taverns and on the road; but O Lord, thou has forgiven me my sins, for the sake of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, who can save the vilest sinner" &c—

One of the exhorters said, "I have been up the North ward in the french war, and when cold weather come on orders come—Go into winter quarters. This was dreadful news, to stay there all winter in cold & hunger; but soon word come again, strike your tents & home boys home. Then was all glad, and so it is with a christian going to Heaven."

Another said, "I have been to New Port & down the wharf, & seen a ship just going to sea. There friends shake hands, and cry farewell, soon the sails are up & the wind comes & she goes, & all hands huzza, (hurraw) so it is with a christian going to Heaven."

As a sample of their ready wit even in serious things, among other instances, after meeting passing the house of one of the speakers, standing in his door, He said to me, "How do you like our way of worship? I replied some things are very good; but would it not be more edifying, in prayer for one to pray & the congregation to join?—He replied "*that will never do. Must make 'em all pray. Plaguy apt to cheat.*"

When in the Meeting, one of the Exhorters addressed me & my companion, & said "this is the way that we Indians have to get to Heaven. You white people have another way. I don't know but your way will bring *you* there, but I know that our way will bring *us* there."

There are perhaps 50 or 60 families of these poor people, the remnant of once a numerous & warlike nation. They live miserably, in general. Are very slovenly farmers, and commonly spend the earnings of their labour of fishing & hunting, in strong drink.

It is a pity they have not better advantages for religious instruction. A pious school master lives with them, with his family, who is supported, in part, by a Society in Massachusetts, for propogating Christian Knowledge among the Indians.

The next day I called to see one of the chief exhorters. He had a comfortable house, a small orchard & kept a team of one yoke of Oxen and appeared the best liver among them.

He gave me the following account of his religious experience. He was very particular; but the substance was—That he knew nothing about Jesus Christ, or the bible when he was young; but that his grandmother frequently talked to him about dying, & told him of what he now knows from the Bible, of Heaven & Hell. When he grew up he called to mind what she had said; and was a long time in great distress, fearing he should go to Hell. He lived as well as he knew how & prayed to an unknown God. Such was his distress, he could not hunt or attend any business. One day in the woods, whether he was asleep or awake, or whether his soul had gone out of his body he could not tell; he was taken by an Angel into Heaven, expecting there to be condemned to Hell; but one sitting on a glorious throne, opened a golden book & shewed him the place, at the sight, all his sins came fresh to his remembrance; then with a pen dipped in blood he blotted out the account & sprinkled blood upon him, and all his sins & sorrows were done away. He felt most joyful & wished to continue there to praise & glorify God.

See page 34 [26 of printed book].

June—1772. Mr. Frisbie & I tarried a Night with Rev. Sampson Occom, at Mohegan. His house was a decent two story building. We lodged in a good feather bed in a chamber papered & painted; adjoining was his Library of a handsome collection, brought by him, principally from Great Britain.

He appeared to preside in his family with dignity & to have his children in subjection. In these, however, & in his Wife, he was not happy. He wished to live in english style; but his Wife who was of the Montauk Tribe retained a fondness for her indian customs. She declined, evening & morning setting at table. Her dress was mostly indian, & when he spake to her in english, she answered in her native language, although she could speak good english. His children when they left him, adopted the wild & roving life of Savages. We passed the evening & morning with him in pleasant conversation; principally in hearing his adventures in England & Scotland. He appeared to possess a grateful sense of the distinguished notice shewn him there & the success of his mission & to be much concerned for the salvation of his countrymen. At our departure he walked with us to the road, took down the bars & took an affectionate leave.

He was a pious man, with all his failings, & a gentleman in his manners. Such was his reputation in Scotland, that some Gentlemen there offered to obtain for him a Doctorate in Divinity, from the University of Edenburgh, but he modestly declined the honour.

He informed us, (we had heard the report before,) that while in England, he was invited to receive episcopal orders, as a missionary of the established church, with flattering prospects of support. A Gentleman informed him that he & several others had agreed to make up a handsome purse in case of his acceptance, but his refusal

would prevent the donation. He replied, "*Well, sir, Do you keep your money & I'll keep my religion.*"

After the loss of my voice & recovery from sickness, my time was devoted to the instruction of pupils,—to the cultivation of my garden & small farm, (about 20 Acres) and to reading a variety of Authors—some of them the following :

Haweis Church History, 3 Vol^s A melancholy description of the declension of the Churches in Christianity, from the purity of the Gospel. Entertaining, lively, benevolent writer.

Memoirs of Mrs. Robinson—

Falconer's Shipwreck, a poem, distressing yet pleasing.

Burke on the Sublime & Beautiful. Words & poetry
'give more sublime Ideas than painting. The latter,
confined to a few objects, but words to many.
Smallness necessary to Beauty.

Curves more beautiful than strait lines or Angles.

Christian Observer—Monthly Numbers—24 in 2 years.
An evangelical publication.

Essay on Genius—The inventive powers of Poets &c.

Gray on the Parables of Christ. Good—

Minute Philosopher. Argumentative, forcible.

Horæ Soletariæ. On the Divinity of our Saviour.
Critical, learned, convincing. By a Civilian, said to be a
Mr. Searl. A second Vol. on the Divinity of the
Holy Spirit.

Took's History of Catharine 2^d of Russia.
A masculine woman and great politician.

Secret History of St. Cloud, an unprincipled & abandoned Court, under Bonaparte.

Will not some vengeful scourge of Heaven yet fall on this ambitious & bloody nation?

Cicero's Letters.—His Life, by Middleton, 3 Vol. interesting on an important era of History.

Carr's Stranger in Ireland. Well written——

Robt Burns's works. A natural & pleasing work.

Life of Cumberland, author of Calvary. Good.

Cowley, — Purnell — Pomfret — Washburn — Smalley—
Dana's Sermons.——

Controversy on Socinianism, 6 pamphlets—between, Dr. Worcester, Salem & Channing, Boston.

Letters to Govt C. Strong, on the Inconsistency of Christians, engaging in War. Exceeding ingenious, learned, elegant & pious.——

Extract of a letter from my father

BOSTON July 30. 1764.

DEAR AND LOVING SON,

I rec^d yours by Mr. Kirkland, & am glad to hear of your welfare. You have greatly rejoiced all our hearts in expressing your zeal & resolution for the glory of God, in the service of his son Jesus Christ, to carry his gospel among the aboriginal natives. It is the most honourable employment in the world. O my son, I have given you up to God, soul & body. Many prayers I have put up to Heaven for you. I hope God is answering them now. O my son, go on in the strength of the Lord, & in the power of his might. You may expect onsets from Satan, the world & the flesh, but the more you find yourself assaulted by them, be still more earnest at the throne of Grace.

The Lord's promise stands sure, "they that seek me early shall find me.—Give not way to discouragements—I shall write you often. My kind compliments to the Rev. Mr. Wheelock.

Your loving Father and Mother,
JOHN & RACHEL MC CLURE

Extract of a letter from my brother Samuel Mc Clure, to me in Connecticut.—

DEAR BROTHER,

BOSTON Oct^{br} 13. 1765.

With grief of heart, I sympathize & condole with you in the death of our dear mother. She departed this life the 24th Ult^m in perfect possession of her senses. She was not quite a fortnight confined to the house. Father was absent at the southward. Dr. Kast¹ administered some means for a severe colic, which did not remove the cause. Her pains were great. We were not apprehensive she was so near to death until two days before that mournful event. A few hours before her death, she called us all & took an affectionate leave, & giving us her blessing. It seemed almost like tearing our souls from our bodies, thus suddenly to loose one of the best of parents.

To the eldest she said, "Billy, my dear Billy, you have been a good child to me. May God reward you. May God bless you with the best of Heaven's blessings. She then called me & John & Rachel, and said much the same to us all; then said, my David, my little dear lamb, my good child; may God perfect his begun work. He is, I trust an arrow from God. She left us many charges, solemn charges too many to recite. Before her death, we received a letter from you. She said she was glad to hear you were well, and said she was ready to die. Rev. Mr. Murray, came frequently to see her.² She left the world rejoicing in the Saviour, Æ. 45 years.

¹ Philip Godfrey Kast, a popular physician of Boston.

² N.B. The minister, Rev. Mr. Moorhead, now aged, I conclude was unable to go abroad. (Author's note.)

The children present were William, Samuel, John, Rachel,—James, Daniel, Thomas, Jane, Nancy, Joseph & Benjamin twins, Ruth. The last died, soon after my mother.

Extract of a letter from my father.¹

BOSTON Aug^t 10. 1767

MY LOVING & DUTIFUL SON,

Your letter gave me a great deal of comfort. The Lord has kept me long under his holy afflicting hand; but glory to his name, I shall forever, I hope, praise him. What he has taken from me in creature enjoyments, he has fully made up to me, in himself. God has made me sensible of many of my short comings, & I trust has given me grace to double my diligence & watchfulness. I have experienced more of the love of Christ, his sovereignty, his holiness & adorable excellencies, than I have done for many years. O I find by experience that afflictions are great mercies, Glory to God for them. The Rev. Mr. Wheelock preached for us yesterday, being sacrament day. His text in John 5. Ye will not come unto me that ye may have life. An excellent sermon—&c.

I remain your loving father

JOHN MC CLURE

¹ He died in Boston, at my Uncle Samuel Mc Clure's Aug. 30. 1769 aged about 51. (Author's note.)

John McClure's two sons, David & Samuel, from near Londonderry in Ireland, came to Boston 1729. David removed to Brookfield—Left a numerous posterity. Some of them removed to the States of N. York and Vermont. His grandson David, a physician, lived in Stafford.

Samuel's children were,

Jane, married to Robert Fullerton, of Boston.

David, drowned at sea.

Anna, married to Matthew Stewert of Boston.

Samuel, married to Martha McClure of Boston.

Margaret, married to Thomas Stinson Esq. of Deer Island, Maine.

John, married to Rachel McClintock of Medford, by the Rev. John Moorhead, Aug^t 5. 1740.

Their children were,

William, born Sept^t 3. 1741, married Martha Wier.

His second wife Tammy Burns, both of Boston.

He Died at sea, return^d from Captivity in England in the war 1783. (Lieut. of a Privateer, from Boston.)

Samuel, born July 6, 1743. married Abigail Dean of Exeter.—2^d Wife Miriam Dalton of Haverhill, died 1815, July, at Concord, N. H. Aged 72. Commanded a company of militia at Ticonderoga, in 1777.

John, born March 3. 1745. twice married. 1st Wife a Davis of Savanna—2^d a Sally Davis of Newbern, N. Car. died in Boston, May 18. 1785. (Major in the Georgia Army.)

Rachel, born Dec. 10. 1746. married Capt. H. Hunter (merch^t in Boston.) died Dec. 1813.

David, born Nov. 18th 1748, O. S. married Hannah Pomeroy of Hebron, she died at E. Windsor April 9. 1814. aged 62.

James, born Feb^y 25. 1750, married Eliz. Randlet of Exeter N. H. died at Dublin in Ireland March 1791. (Cap^t & owner of a Ship there.)

Daniel, born March 13. 1753, died in Savanna, Sept. 15. 1775.—Aged 22.

Thomas, born Nov. 21, 1754, married Nancy Hunter of Bristol, Maine, 2^d Wife Mary Wilson of Boston.

Jane, born July 27th 1757, married James Randlet of Exeter, died [1804 or 1805.]

Nancy, born Aug^t 5. 1759. died in Boston.

Joseph	}	born Sept. 3 ^d 1761. Benj ^s a sea Capt.
&		died at Exeter Feb ^y 18, 1787—aged 25.
Benjamin		Joseph married; lives in Belfast, Maine, a Farmer.

Ruth, born Dec. 26. 1763. died Octob^r 1765.

My children by my wife Hannah Pomeroy, were

Abigail Wheelock, born at Northampton N. H.,
Married Oliver Tudor of East Windsor.

Rachel McClintock, b. at N. H. married to Elihu Wolcott of E. Windsor.¹

Mary Ann, born

Susannah Wyllys. born Nov^r

Hannah Pomeroy, born Aug^t.²

¹ Parents of the Rev. Dr. Samuel Wolcott (Vale, 1833).

² The last three died unmarried.

APPENDIX I

DESCENDANTS OF THE REV. DAVID McCCLURE OF SOUTH WINDSOR, CT.

1. Rev. David McClure, son of Dea. John McClure of Boston, Mass., was born Nov. 18, 1748, O. S., at Newport, R. I., and died June 25, 1820, at So. Windsor, Ct. He married (1) in 1780, Hannah Pomeroy, youngest daughter of the Rev. Benjamin Pomeroy, D.D., of Hebron, Ct. She died at So. Windsor, Ct., April 9, 1814, aged sixty-two. He married (2) in 1816, Mrs. Betsy Martin of Providence, R. I., who after his death, in 1820, returned to Providence.

Children of Rev. David McClure and Hannah Pomeroy:

2. i. Abigail Wheelock McClure, bap. Sept. 10, 1786; m. Dec. 22, 1801, Oliver Tudor.
3. ii. Rachel McClintock McClure, b. Oct. 29, 1783; bap. Nov. 16, 1788; m. Nov. 27, 1806, Elihu Wolcott.
- iii. Mary Ann McClure, b. —; d. July 12, 1789.
- iv. Susanna Willys McClure, bap. Nov. 16, 1788; d. unmarried, aged about 35.
- v. Hannah Pomeroy McClure, bap. Aug. 28, 1791; d. Aug. 25, 1804.

2. Abigail Wheelock² McClure (David¹), b. 1781, in North Hampton, N. H.; baptized Sept. 10, 1786; married Dec. 22, 1801, at South Windsor, Ct., Oliver Tudor, born Sept. 4, 1772, in South Windsor, Ct., son of Samuel and Naomi (Diggens) Tudor. She died Sept. 15, 1853, aged 72. Oliver Tudor died Feb. 6, 1845. Children:

4. i. Mary Ann Tudor, b. Sept. 25, 1802; m. (1) Parmenio P. Whelpley; m. (2) Abner Brush.

5. ii. David McClure Tudor, b. Jan. 17, 1805; m. Dec. 12, 1839, Sarah Elizabeth Green.
- iii. Abigail Tudor, b. March 22, 1807; m. Abner Loren Reed, b. April 21, 1800, son of Dea. Abner Reed of So. Windsor, Ct. They removed about 1834 to Conneaut, Ashtabula Co., Ohio, where she died Sept. 14, 1853. Abner L. Reed died Dec. 30, 1889. Children:
1. Charlotte Sophia Reed; not married.
 2. Oliver Tudor Reed; not married.
6. iv. Sophia Haskell Tudor, b. Nov. 1, 1817; m. Dec. 16, 1840, Charles Green.
- v. Pauline Tudor, b. July 8, 1820; d. Nov. 30, 1891, at Providence, R. I. Not married.

4. Mary Ann^s Tudor (Abigail W. McClure,^s David¹), born Sept. 25, 1802; baptized May 15, 1803; married (1) Parmenio P. Whelpley of New York City; married (2) June 16, 1834, Abner Brush of Ridgefield, Ct. She died June 23, 1864, leaving an only child by her second husband:

- i. Mary Sophia Brush, b. March 2, 1837, m. March 2, 1857, John Thomas Clemens of Washington, D. C. Children:
1. Abner Brush Clemens, b. Dec. 6, 1857; grad. the third in his class from the U. S. Naval Academy at Annapolis; has made important improvements in binocular glasses which have been adopted by Government; m. May 4, 1881, Julia Hunt of Macon, Ga.
 2. Mary Eliza Clemens, b. June 12, 1859; m. Jan. 9, 1888, George McClelland Smith.
 3. Edward Bates Clemens, M.D., b. May 10, 1861; m. Dec. 20, 1882, Lizzie Barclay of Macon, Ga.
 4. Cora Tudor Clemens, b. Jan. 2, 1863.
 5. Louisa Henderson Clemens, b. July 29, 1866.

6. Emma Eunice Clemens, b. Sept. 26, 1868; d. Dec. 28, 1869.
7. Jennie Clemens, b. Sept. 6, 1873; d. about 1892.

5. David McClure³ Tudor (Abigail W. McClure,² David¹), born Jan. 17, 1805, in So. Windsor, Ct.; died April 20, 1880; married Dec. 12, 1839, Sarah Elizabeth Green, b. Dec. 10, 1806, in New London, Ct.; died Nov. 8, 1881, daughter of Col. Samuel Green of New London and So. Windsor, Ct. Children:

- i. Mary Starr Tudor, M.D., b. Sept. 19, 1840; is a grad. of the Woman's Medical Coll. at Philadelphia.
- ii. Sarah Elizabeth Tudor, b. Dec. 30, 1842; m. Oct. 13, 1894, Edwin Dwight Farnham of So. Windsor, Ct.
- iii. Louisa Green Tudor, b. July 5, 1844; m. May 28, 1868, Pierre Sythoff Starr, M.D., grad. from Yale, 1860; assistant surgeon for three years during the Civil War; practised medicine in Chicago until 1871, when he removed to Hartford, Ct. Children:
 1. Mary Seabury Starr, b. June 14, 1870.
 2. Louis Tudor Starr, b. July 17, 1872; d. Sept. 5, 1872.
 3. Robert Sythoff Starr, b. Dec. 5, 1874; grad. from Trinity Coll. 1897; is now a medical student of Columbia Coll., N. Y. City.
 4. Tudor McClure Starr, b. April 5, 1880; d. July 27, 1880.

6. Sophia Haskell³ Tudor (Abigail W. McClure,² David¹), born Nov. 1, 1817; married Dec. 16, 1840, Charles Green, b. Oct. 17, 1812, son of Col. Samuel Green of New London and So. Windsor, Ct.; entered U. S. Navy May 1, 1826; became Lieutenant, March 8, 1837; Commander, Sept. 14, 1855; Captain, July 16, 1862, and Commodore, April 4, 1867. He resided several years in Erie, Pa., and afterwards in So. Windsor, Ct., on the Dr. Charles Tudor

place; died April 7, 1887, in Providence, R. I. Sophia Haskell Green died May 17, 1888. Children:

- i. Charles Lanman Green, M.D.; b. Sept. 24, 1841; surgeon, U. S. Navy, during the Civil War; afterwards practised his profession at Hartford, Ct., and Providence, R. I.; residence, Providence, R. I.; m. (1) Sept. 28, 1882, Maria Stuber Spooner of Hempstead, L. I. She d. May 22, 1885, and he m. (2) Jan. 5, 1888, Ida Trimble of Philadelphia. Children:
 1. Maria Spooner Green, b. Jan. 5, 1885.
 2. Tudor Trimble Green, b. Dec. 9, 1892.
- ii. Eleanor Alden Green, b. March 23, 1844; m. Dec. 27, 1883, Henry Butterfield, a lawyer of Erie, Pa. She d. Oct. 13, 1885.
- iii. Samuel Tudor Green, b. Oct. 26, 1845; m. Nov. 1, 1871, Nellie Maria Field of Ottumwa, Ia.; was a merchant in Chicago, Ill., and Ottumwa, Ia.; is now residing on the old homestead at So. Windsor, Ct. Children:
 1. Eleanor Tudor Green, b. Oct. 10, 1872.
 2. Charles Joseph Green, b. Oct. 25, 1874.
 3. William Percival Green, b. Dec. 17, 1876.
 4. Pauline Field Green, b. Feb. 7, 1882.
 5. Samuel Seabury Green, b. July 22, 1884.
 6. Constance McClure Green, b. March 20, 1892.

3. Rachel McClintock² McClure (David¹) born Oct. 29, 1783; married Nov. 27, 1806, Elihu Wolcott, born Feb. 12, 1784, son of Samuel Wolcott of So. Windsor, Ct. She died April 2, 1822, in So. Windsor, Ct. Elihu Wolcott married (2) May 13, 1823, Juliana Wolcott, dau. of Erastus Wolcott, Esq., of So. Windsor, Ct.; she died Nov. 30, 1832, and he married (3) Sept. 17, 1835, Sarah Crocker, dau. of Dea. John Crocker of Derry, N. H. He represented East Windsor in the State Legislature; removed in 1830 to Jacksonville, Ill., where he died, Dec. 2, 1858.

Children of Elihu Wolcott and Rachel M. McClure:

- i. Elizabeth Ann Wolcott, b. Dec. 26, 1807; m. Nov. 28, 1832, in Jacksonville, Ill., Col. Carlton H. Perry of Keokuk, Ia. Children:
 1. Kate Perry.
 2. Howard Perry.
- ii. Elihu Wolcott, bapt. June 5, 1808; d. early.
7. iii. Hannah McClure Wolcott, b. June 7, 1811; m. Nov. 28, 1832, Rev. William Kirby.
8. iv. Samuel Wolcott, b. July 2, 1813; m. (1) Sept. 5, 1839, Catherine E. Wood; m. (2) Nov. 1, 1843, Harriet A. Pope.
- v. Arthur Wolcott, b. April 10, 1815; m. (1) July 12, 1849, Sarah A. Morrison, dau. of Gen. William Morrison of Lock Haven, Pa. She d. Jan. 27, 1851, and he m. (2) Clara Belknap, dau. of Gen. William G. Belknap, U. S. A. A daughter by his first marriage, Sarah Morrison, became by adoption of her aunt, Sarah M. Perry. By his second marriage he left a daughter Bertha, b. April 10, 1865. He died Nov. 28, 1873.
9. vi. Elizur Wolcott, b. Aug. 7, 1817; m. July 15, 1846, Martha Lyman Dwight.
- vii. Frances Jane Wolcott, b. March 30, 1819; m. 1849, Barber Lewis of Jacksonville, Ill. He was a Major, U. S. V., during the Civil War; afterwards removed to Memphis, Tenn., where he was Judge and Member U. S. Congress. No children.

7. Hannah McClure³ Wolcott (Rachel M. McClure,² David¹) born June 7, 1811; married Nov. 28, 1832, in Jacksonville, Ill., Rev. William Kirby, born July 2, 1805, in Middletown, Ct.; grad. from Yale, 1827, and from Yale Divinity School, 1831; was ordained March 22, 1831, as a Congregational minister and removed the same year to Illinois where he was pastor at Blackstone's Grove and

Mendon; was afterwards Superintendent of the American Home Missionary Society for that State. He died Dec. 20, 1851. Hannah M. Kirby died Aug. 31, 1858, in Jacksonville, Ill. Children:

- i. Edward Payson Kirby, b. Oct. 28, 1833, at Blackstone's Grove, Will Co., Ill.; grad. from Illinois Coll., 1854; received the degree of LL.D., 1880; was Judge of Morgan Co., 1873-82, and member of the Illinois Legislature; is now practising law in Jacksonville, Ill. He m. (1) Oct. 28, 1862, Julia Smith Duncan, dau. of the Hon. Joseph Duncan, fifth Governor of Illinois. She d. July 5, 1896, and he m. (2) Oct. 20, 1898, Lucinda Gallaher, dau. of the Rev. William Green Gallaher of Jacksonville, Ill. No children.
- ii. William Arthur Kirby, b. Aug. 6, 1837, in Mendon, Ill.; student at Illinois Coll.; Captain U. S. V. during the Civil War; residence, Jacksonville, Ill.; m. Sept. 10, 1867, Arabella Clement, b. March 23, 1842, dau. of the Rev. Joshua Clement of New Hampshire. Children:
 1. Clement Rufus Kirby, b. July 1, 1868; grad. from Illinois Coll., 1892; enlisted April, 1898, in the 5th Ill. Vols., and was in Porto Rico under Gen. Miles.
 2. Henry Wolcott Kirby, b. Oct. 8, 1872.
 3. Marian Kirby, b. Oct. 8, 1876.
 4. William Joshua Kirby, b. July 27, 1883.
- iii. Frances Caroline Kirby, b. Jan. 25, 1840, in Mendon, Ill.; m. Aug. 1, 1861, Rev. James McLaughlin, b. Oct. 25, 1829, son of Hugh McLaughlin of Hudson, N. Y.; grad. from Illinois Coll., 1857, and from Union Theo. Sem. in 1861; was ordained, 1861, by the Presbyterian Church a missionary to California; preached at Red Bluff and Gilroy, Cal.; died Aug. 17, 1870, at Gilroy, Cal. Children:

1. William Kirby McLaughlin, b. June 10, 1862, in Red Bluff, Cal.; grad. from Illinois Coll., 1884, and from the Chicago Med. Coll.; is a physician practising in Jacksonville, Ill. He m. Jan. 3, 1891, Kate Sturtevant, dau. of Zebinah Sturtevant of Delavan, Wis. Children born in Jacksonville, Ill.; (1) Ruth Kirby, b. Nov. 3, 1891; (2) Edward Kirby, b. July 28, 1893; (3) Frances Jane, b. Dec. 23, 1896; d. May 13, 1897.
2. Bessie McLaughlin, b. Jan. 13, 1864, in Red Bluff, Cal.; m. June 8, 1889, in Jacksonville, Ill., Dr. Carl Ellsworth Black, son of Dr. Green V. Black; grad. from Illinois Coll. and Chicago Med. Coll.; is a physician and surgeon practising in Jacksonville, Ill. Children: (1) Kirby Vaughn, b. June 3, 1890; (2) Carl Ellsworth, b. May 8, 1893; (3) Helen Margaret, b. Dec. 18, 1894; (4) Dorothy Lawrence, b. Aug. 25, 1896.
3. Harry James McLaughlin, b. June 15, 1865, in Red Bluff, Cal.; m. May 7, 1890, Caroline Eliza Brown, dau. of Robert Brown of Hastings, Neb.; is now living in Doniphan, Neb. Children: (1) Robert Brown, b. March 23, 1893, in Hastings, Neb.; (2) Rollin Kirby, b. Dec. 22, 1895, in Doniphan, Neb.; (3) Gertrude, b. Jan. 26, 1898, in Doniphan, Neb.
4. Frank Wolcott McLaughlin, b. Jan. 17, 1867, in Red Bluff, Cal.; m. April 30, 1892, at Bladen, Neb., Bessie Wright, dau. of Thomas Wright. She d. March 12, 1893, leaving one child: (1) Harry Wright, b. Feb. 25, 1893.
5. Helen Margaret McLaughlin, b. Oct. 21, 1869,

in Gilroy, Cal.; d. March 1, 1872, in Jacksonville, Ill.

- iv. Catherine Wolcott Kirby, b. July 8, 1842, in Mendon, Ill.; m. Sept. 9, 1862, in Jacksonville, Ill., Charles E. Ross, son of William G. Ross, of Jacksonville, Ill. She died March 30, 1880, in Jacksonville, Ill.

Children :

1. Helen Ross, b. Sept. 11, 1863, in Jacksonville, Ill.; m. Jan. 5, 1889, in Pasadena, Cal., Arthur Jordan, son of William Jordan of Fairfield, Ia. He died April, 1890, in Pasadena, Cal. One child: (1) Edith, b. Nov. 7, 1890, in Pasadena, Cal.
 2. Edward Kirby Ross, b. Jan. 23, 1865, in Jacksonville, Ill.; m. Feb. 27, 1898, in Pendleton, Ore., Mabel Cory Dougherty.
 3. Carlton Perry Ross, b. Nov. 10, 1868, in Jacksonville, Ill.; m. Rosa Jennette Thompson, dau. of William Thompson; is now living on a ranch at Hood River, Ore. Children: (1) Clifford Coleman, b. Oct. 29, 1891; (2) Grey Kirby, b. Sept. 30, 1893.
 4. Edith Wolcott Ross, b. July 14, 1872, in Jacksonville, Ill.; m. Nov. 24, 1898, William Tulloch Wilson, a lawyer of Jacksonville, Ill.
- v. Helen McClure Kirby, b. Jan. 12, 1845, in Mendon, Ill.; m. June 23, 1870, Rev. Melatiah Everett Dwight, M.D., son of John Dwight of New York City; grad. from C. C., N. Y., 1860, Bellevue Hospital Med. Coll., 1864, and from Andover Theo. Seminary, 1866; ordained, 1869, as a Congregational minister; preached at Onarga, Ill., 1869-79, and at Fairfield, Ia., 1879-88; is now residing in Plainfield, N. J. Children :
1. Ellsworth Everett Dwight, b. March 20, 1871,

- in Onarga, Ill.; grad. from Princeton Univ., 1893.
2. Richard Everett Dwight, b. June 21, 1875, in Onarga, Ill.; grad. from Princeton Univ., 1897; enlisted June, 1898, in Light Artillery, Battery A, Penn. Vols., and was in Porto Rico under Gen. Miles.
 3. William Kirby Dwight, b. Aug. 8, 1879, in Onarga, Ill.; is a student at Princeton Univ., class of 1901.
 4. Katharine Wolcott Dwight, b. Aug. 13, 1881, in Fairfield, Ia.
 5. Marion Edith Dwight, b. Feb. 27, 1886, in Fairfield, Ia.
- vi. Henry Burgis Kirby, b. March 20, 1848; d. Aug. 4, 1849.
- vii. Elizabeth Pomeroy Kirby, b. April 1, 1850, in Jacksonville, Ill.; grad. from Vassar Coll. in 1872; not married.

8. Samuel³ Wolcott (Rachel M. McClure,² David¹), born July 2, 1813, in So. Windsor, Ct.; grad. from Yale Coll. in 1833, and from Andover Theo. Seminary in 1837; was ordained Nov. 13, 1839, as a missionary to Syria, and remained there until 1843, when the state of the mission compelled him to return to Boston; was Congregational pastor at Longmeadow, Mass., 1843-49; Belchertown, Mass., 1849-53; High St. Church, Providence, R. I., 1853-59; New England Ch., Chicago, Ill., 1859-62; Plymouth Ch., Cleveland, O., 1862-74. In 1874 he accepted the position of Superintendent of the newly organized Ohio Home Missionary Society, and served in this office until 1882, when he retired to Longmeadow, Mass., where he died Feb. 24, 1886. He received the degree of S.T.D. in 1863.

Dr. Wolcott married (1) Sept. 5, 1839, Catherine Eliza-

beth Wood, dau. of Ezra Wood of Westminster, Mass. She died Oct. 26, 1841, in Beirut, Syria, and he married (2) Nov. 1, 1843, Harriet Amanda Pope, dau. of Jonathan A. Pope of Millbury, Mass. Children by his second wife:

i. Samuel Adams Wolcott, b. Sept. 3, 1844, in Longmeadow, Mass., studied at Yale; resides in Texas, engaged in stock raising; m. July 25, 1883, Julia E. Neal, dau. of Peter L. Neal of Brooklyn, N. Y. One child:

i. Roger Henry Wolcott, b. Jan. 12, 1885, in Texas.

ii. Henry Roger Wolcott, b. March 15, 1846, in Longmeadow, Mass.; enlisted, 1864, in the 143d Ohio, U. S. V., and served until the regiment was disbanded; removed in 1869 to Colorado; in 1878 was elected to the State Senate, and in 1881 was made President of that body; is President of the Merchants National Bank of Denver, and resides in Denver, Col. Not married.

iii. Edward Oliver Wolcott, b. March 26, 1848, in Longmeadow, Mass.; was educated at Yale and the Harvard Law School; removed to Colorado in 1871; was elected prosecuting attorney for the First Judicial District in 1876, and in 1878 became a member of the State Senate; in 1884 he was chosen general counsel for the Denver and Rio Grande Railway, a position which he still retains. In 1889 he was elected to represent the State of Colorado in the United States Senate, and in 1895 was re-elected to the same position. He m. May 14, 1890, at Buffalo, N. Y., Frances Metcalf, widow of Lyman K. Bass. No children.

iv. Harriet Agnes Wolcott, b. March 15, 1850, in Belchertown, Mass.; m. April 29, 1879, Fred. O. Vaille; grad. Harvard Coll., 1874; resides in Denver, Col. Children:

1. Harriet Wolcott Vaille, b. March 24, 1880, in Denver, Col.; is a student at Bryn Mawr Coll., class of 1902.
2. Edith Alice Vaille, b. Aug. 13, 1882, in Denver, Col.
3. Agnes Wolcott Vaille, b. April 16, 1890, in Lexington, Mass.
- v. William Edgar Wolcott, b. April 26, 1852, in Belcher-town, Mass.; grad. from Oberlin Coll., 1874, and from Andover Theo. Seminary, 1881; was on the editorial staff of the Springfield Republican, 1874-78; pastor of Riverside Cong. Ch., Lawrence, Mass., 1881-85, and of the Lawrence St. Ch., Lawrence, Mass., since 1885. He m. March 21, 1894, Cora M. Wadsworth of Lawrence, Mass., who d. Sept. 26, 1895. One child:
 1. Samuel Wadsworth Wolcott, b. March 2, 1895.
- vi. Katharine Ellen Wolcott, b. Aug. 25, 1854, in Providence, R. I.; m. Nov. 25, 1880, Charles H. Toll of Denver, Col.; grad. from Hamilton Coll., 1872; was Attorney-General for the State of Colorado. Children born in Denver, Col.:
 1. Charles Hanson Toll, Jr., b. May 21, 1882.
 2. Roger Wolcott Toll, b. Oct. 17, 1883.
 3. Henry Wolcott Toll, b. Nov. 5, 1887.
 4. Oliver Wolcott Toll, b. Aug. 3, 1891.
- vii. Mary Alice Wolcott, b. July 24, 1856; d. Feb. 3, 1858.
- viii. Anna Louisa Wolcott, b. May 25, 1858, in Providence, R. I.; is now Principal of the Miss Wolcott School of Denver, Col.
- ix. Clara Gertrude Wolcott, b. Dec. 17, 1859, in Chicago, Ill.; grad. Smith Coll., 1883; resides at Longmeadow, Mass.
- x. Herbert Walter Wolcott, b. Nov. 25, 1861, in Chicago, Ill.; grad. Yale Coll., 1884, and Columbia Law

School, 1886; m. Oct. 5, 1898, Nettie May Gabriel, dau. of William H. Gabriel of Cleveland, O.; resides in Cleveland, O.

- xi. Charlotte Augusta Wolcott, b. Oct. 20, 1863, in Cleveland, O.; grad. Smith Coll., 1886; resides at Longmeadow, Mass.

9. Elizur³ Wolcott (Rachel M. McClure,² David¹), born Aug. 7, 1817, in So. Windsor, Ct.; grad. from Yale Coll., 1839; was long in railroad service; has been residing for many years in Jacksonville, Ill., engaged in literary pursuits. He married, July 15, 1846, Martha Lyman Dwight, dau. of Daniel Dwight of Westmoreland, N. H. Children:

- i. Leofwyn Wolcott, b. Nov. 20, 1847; d. Aug. 7, 1858.
- ii. Edith Dwight Wolcott, b. Dec. 19, 1850; m. Dec. 22, 1897, in Jacksonville, Ill., John Herbert Davis, b. June 21, 1860, in Lexington, Mass., son of John and Mary Elizabeth Davis of Lexington, Mass.
- iii. Elihu Wolcott, b. Dec. 30, 1859; d. Aug. 29, 1860.
- iv. May Mattoon Wolcott, b. May 14, 1863; m. Dec. 22, 1886, in Jacksonville, Ill., Prof. Edward Bull Clapp, b. April 14, 1856, in Cheshire, Ct., son of the Rev. Charles Welles Clapp; A.B., Illinois Coll., 1875; Ph.D., Yale Univ., 1886; since 1894 Prof. of the Greek Language and Literature in Univ. of California; residence, Berkeley, Cal. Children:
 1. Edith Dwight Clapp, b. Jan. 3, 1889, in Jacksonville, Ill.
 2. Miriam Wolcott Clapp, b. Nov. 10, 1890, in Jacksonville, Ill.

APPENDIX II

THE McCLURE FAMILY

THE occasion of the emigration of Samuel and David McClure to Boston, in 1728-9, is given in the preceding Diary as religious oppression. The passage of the Toleration Act in 1719 had relieved Presbyterians in Ulster of some of their disabilities, but they still continued to emigrate to America. The emigration became so alarming that, in 1729, the Archbishop of Dublin asked the Presbyterian ministers of that city what were the causes. In their answer they specified as the cause of the dissatisfaction of the Presbyterians which led to this emigration the extraordinary rise in the tithes and the oppression by the ecclesiastical courts in the recovery of those tithes.

Dr. McClure states that his ancestor who came to this country was the son of John McClure, who lived near Londonderry. I have endeavored, without avail, to ascertain the precise locality where this John McClure lived and to trace the family through Ireland into Scotland. In the course of my investigations I have found that there are in this country a score or more of McClure families descended from Scotch-Irish progenitors, but who are unable to trace relationship on the other side of the water. The earliest McClure of whom I have seen a record in this country is Robert McClure, of Dauphin County, Pa., whose name appears in records as early as 1722.¹ The McClures were especially numerous

¹ In the same year a David McClewer, or McCluer, appears on the muster-roll of Fort George, at Brunswick (Me.), as servant of the commandant, Capt. John Giles.

in Pennsylvania. We find a McClure's Gap, and a Fort McClure on the Susquehanna at Bloomsburg. At this latter place a large tract of land was taken up, about 1769, by James McClure, whose name appears somewhat earlier in Lancaster County. Other McClures, apparently unconnected one with another, occur in various parts of the State. Between 1740 and 1765 a large number of Pennsylvania families went to South Carolina, among others a John McClure, who had come, originally, from Ireland to Pennsylvania. In the Revolutionary War several McClures appear on the South Carolina records—notably a Dr. William McClure, of Newbern, and a Colonel John McClure. The latter seems to have come, originally, from North Carolina. Among the signers of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence in North Carolina, in 1775, was a Matthew McClure. In July, 1774, Lord Dunmore granted to Nathaniel McClure a patent for 140 acres of land in Virginia. In Boston, and even in the records of the Federal Street Church in the first half of the 18th century, there are several occurrences of the name McClure which cannot be connected with the family of David and Samuel, while in New Hampshire McClures figure among the founders or early settlers of several, towns,—Hillsboro, Candia, Acworth, Amherst, Antrim, Raymond, Deerfield. In other words, at and shortly after the time when David McClure's ancestor came to New England other McClures from the North of Ireland were settling in New England, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas.

As this North of Ireland immigration to the United States has continued to the present day, so McClures have continued to come from Ireland to America up to the present time, and settled in all parts of the country. I have communicated with many of these, with the result, as above stated, of finding a number of different McClure families which came from the North of Ireland

some time between 1722 and the present date, none of these families being aware of any connection with the others, although supposing from the similarity of name and tradition that such kinship exists.

One of the traditions which occurs among all of the Scotch-Irish McClures in this country, I believe, is that the ancestors of the McClures emigrated from Scotland to Ireland, and most add, to avoid religious persecution in the former country. The Rev. A. J. P. McClure, of Wyncote, Pa., a descendant of the James McClure of Bloomsburg mentioned above, tells me that his family traces descent back to a William McClure who came from Dumfries, in Scotland to the North of Ireland "in time of persecution." President James G. K. McClure, of Lake Forest University, Ill., whose grandfather, Archibald McClure, came to America in 1801 and established himself at Guilderland, near Albany, writes that, according to the tradition in his family, his ancestors left Scotland to avoid persecution. "The story runs that my ancestors were hidden under a load of hay which the soldiers thrust their weapons into, but not far enough to pierce those who were hidden within. The time is named, as you indicate, in the 17th century."

Emigration from Scotland to the North of Ireland began in the time of James I. The plantations formed at that time and until the time of Charles II. were commercial or industrial in character. Under the last two Stuarts, from 1661 until 1688, the cause of emigration from Scotland to Ireland was religious persecution in the former country. The tradition among most of the McClure families of this country of emigration from Scotland to Ireland to avoid religious persecution would point to the period between 1661 and 1688 as the time of their settlement in Ireland; but according to the Diary of David McClure, his ancestors passed over to the North of Ireland and settled there about the time of

King James I., in the beginning of the 17th century. If this is correct, they must have belonged to one of the earliest emigrations from Scotland to Ireland. I think it extremely probable that the Irish McClures are not themselves one family, but are descended from a number of ancestors who emigrated from Scotland to Ireland at different periods from 1608 onward.

Searching for the home of the McClures in Ireland, I find them dotted here and there through the greater part of Ulster, and those in one village or town unconscious of descent from or relationship with those in another. The *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. iv., p. 160, says that the centre of the McClure families is in Upper Marsareene, the most southern barony in Antrim, but in what sense this is the centre I do not know. Several of the Irish McClure families claim a coat of arms, the same, or practically the same, as that borne by the late Sir Thomas McClure, M.P., of Belfast—namely, a tower and pennant, but while his motto was *Spectemur agendo*, theirs is *Paratus sum*, which is used with a totally different crest and coat of arms by the McClures of Lancashire. I do not know the origin or date of the coat of arms claimed by the Irish McClures, nor to which of them it properly belongs.

Boswell, in his *Tour to the Hebrides*, under date of October 16, 1773, mentions meeting at the house of McQuarrie of Ulva a Captain McClure, master of the *Bonnetta* of Londonderry, and makes this curious statement with regard to the origin of Captain McClure's family:

“Captain McClure, whom we found here, was of Scottish extraction and properly a Macleod, being descended of some of the Macleods who went with Sir Norman of Bernera to the battle of Worcester; and after the defeat of the Royalists fled to Ireland, and, to conceal themselves, took a different name. He told me there

was a great number of them about Londonderry; some of good property."

The Irish McClures¹ do not, as a rule, seem to have preserved their genealogies, hence the difficulty in tracing connection between them, and determining the place and date of their origin in Scotland; for I suppose that there is no doubt that they all did come, not earlier than the 17th century, from Scotland.

Besides the McClures in this country who are of Scotch-Irish descent, there are not a few families who are directly of Scottish descent. Some of these came over to this country in the last century, but the greater number immigrated more recently. There are in Scotland, as in Ireland, a considerable number of unconnected McClure families. I have found some two or three different coats of arms used in different places. One of these contains the falconer's lure, a late play on the name McLure, after the meaning of that name had been forgotten. The name itself is variously spelt as follows: Maclure, McLure, McClure, McClewer, McCluer, and McLuir, and not infrequently the same man's name will appear spelled in two or more ways.

The original home of the McClures in Scotland was in the Southwest, probably in Galloway. Galloway, it will be remembered, is the land of Gallo-Gaedhal, that is, the Foreign Gael, the blend of Norse and Highlander. McClures are also numerous in Ayrshire, and there is a goodly number of them buried in the Alloway kirkyard, made famous in Burns' *Tam O'Shanter*.

I find a diversity of tradition among the Scottish McClures as to their ancestry and origin. The Rev. I. Campbell McClure of Marykirk, Kincardineshire, Scotland, writes that he has always understood that "McClure

¹ The most distinguished of the Irish McClure's was the Arctic explorer, Sir Robert John LeMesurier McClure, son of Captain Robert McClure, born at Wexford in 1807, died, 1873.

is the same as Mcleod. That one sept left the Isle of Skye for the North of Ireland, and that the Irish pronounced the letter *d* as *r*, and so the sound passed from McLuide to McClure. I have been told, too, that later on many of the name passed over from the Northeast of Ireland to Galloway, thus to Wigtonshire, and so on to Ayrshire. These districts to-day contain many McClures." The Rev. I. Campbell McClure himself comes from Ayrshire, and his ancestors lie buried in Alloway kirkyard. The traditions of his family tell of a persecution of his ancestors under Charles II. One of his ancestors at that time "had his furniture torn out of his home in Dalwellington (same county) and burned by way of military punishment for some act of his as an ecclesiastical reformer."

The McClure's of Manchester, England, to which family belong the late Sir John W. McClure, M. P., and the Very Rev. Edward C. McClure, D.D., the present Dean of Manchester, has inherited a different tradition. A member of that family writes as follows:

"The McClures were originally a Manx family, the first legendary king of the Island being a Manannan McClure. Some of the family migrated to the Southwest of Scotland, and some to Ireland. Sometime in the 17th century three brothers went over to Ireland. One settled at Saintfield, and his descendants now live in County Down. Another settled in County Antrim and fought under William III. at the Battle of the Boyne. One of his descendants, Thomas McClure, married a Miss Swan of Summerhill, Antrim, and had issue a son William, who was an East Indian or South Sea merchant, and married Elizabeth, daughter of Rev. I. Thomson, Presbyterian minister at Carmory, and had with other issue a second son, Thomas, who was born about 1806. This Thomas McClure was made a baronet. . . . Sir Thomas died in 1893 without issue.

“The third brother and his descendants I know nothing about. . . .

“Our branch of the family is Scotch, the earliest ancestor we actually know of being a Martin McClure who lived at Balmaghil in Kirkcudbrightshire about 1750, where I believe he is buried. He had five sons: William, John, David, Robert, and Andrew, all of whom came South, we being descended from the eldest, and I know more or less of the descendants of the others.

“Perhaps the crest of the family may assist you. Some McClures have as a crest a hand in armour holding a falconer’s lure. This the books on heraldry, however, state to be the crest of McLures or McLuirs. Sir Thomas’s crest was a domed tower proper with a flagstaff and flag flying therefrom, with mullet thereon, his arms a chevron engrailed, azure between two roses gules; at the base a sword pointing downward. His motto “Spectemur agendo.” The crest and arms of our branch are on this paper¹; the crest, formerly, was without the roses on either side, and had a rose at the base of the shield instead of the quatrefoil, and there were two escallops, but was altered as printed when my father was created a baronet.”

The most careful investigation of the name of McClure and the origin of the family or sept seems to have been made by the Rev. Edmond McClure, M.A., Secretary of the S. P. C. K., London, who writes as follows :

“1. I do not know whether you are interested in the origin of the name. I think there is no doubt about its elements. *Odhar* is a Gaelic adjective meaning pale. Its early form was *Otar*, but it came to have its first conso-

¹ Arms : Argent, on a chevron engrailed azure between in chief two roses, and in base a quatrefoil gules, a martlet between two escallops of the first. Crest : An eagle’s head erased between four roses gules, stalked and leaved proper. Another family, the Maclures, has as its crest a mailed arm with a hand grasping a dagger.

nant strongly aspirated, and finally to lose the sound altogether. It was the custom of the Gaels to use, with *Giolla*, boy, youth, various colour adjectives, or to prefix the term to the name of our Lord or of a Saint. Hence, we have as instances of the former such forms as *Giolla-dubh* (black or dark youth); *Giolla-riabhach* (grey youth); *Giolla-odhar* (pale youth). As instances of the latter, *Giolla-iosa* (servant of Jesus), now Gillies; *Giolla-Christ* (servant of Christ), now Gilchrist; *Giolla-escop* (servant of the Bishop); *Giolla-Patrick* (servant of Patrick); *Giolla-eoin* (servant of John); *Giolla-odharan* (servant of Saint Oran, = *odhar-an*, diminutive of *Odhar*). Where these forms had *Mac* (son) prefixed, they suffered, as a rule, certain changes. The *G* of *Giolla* got absorbed by the *C* of the *Mac* and we have hence such forms as *Mcilreavy* (*MacGiolla Riabhach*). Sometimes the *Il* after the *C* became simply *l* and hence *MacGiolla-eoin* became first *McIlean* and then simply *MacLean*. *MacGiolla-iosa* became *McIleish* and then *McLeish*, and thus *MacGiolla-odhar* (which in the genitive is *uidhar*, pronounced *ure*) became *MacIlure* and hence *McLure* or *McClure* (cf. *McLean* and *McClean*). *MacGiolla-odharan* became in this way *McClaurin*; *MacGiolla-Fillan* became *McLellan*(d).

" 2 (a). The first mention of the name *McClure* (*Maklure*) that I can lay my hands on at present (I have some notes, mislaid, of earlier) occurs in a contract between Thomas Kennedy of Blarequhan and Margt. Kessok of Little Dunrod, Kirkcudbright. Ewin Maklure and Gilbert Maklure are witnesses and the date is 1485.¹ These Maklures were probably friends (or relatives) of the Kennedy (seneschal) of Carrick. Gilbert was a common Christian name in the Kennedy family. These Maklures probably belonged to (were cadets of) the Car-

¹ One correspondent says that the name occurs as early as the 12th century, but cannot give a reference.

rick family of Maclures of Bennan. These are all Galloway folk.

“(b). In the *Acta Dominorum Auditorum*, published by the Government in 1839, I find under the date Oct. 6, 1488, a decree ‘that Johne Lord Kenydy, John of Montgumry and Michiell McLure shall devoid, etc., the lands of Barbeth—to Janete Hamiltown, Lady of Gaitgirth’ (now Gadgirth in Ayrshire). Barbeth is close to Kirkintulloch northeast of Glasgow. On the 24th Jany. of the same year, old style, = Jany. 24, 1489, new style, there is a decree ‘that Johne Lord Kenydy (with a stroke through it) Johne of Montgumry and Michell McClure shall content and pay to Janet Hamiltown Lady of Gartgirth the soume of XX marks for the dampnage’ etc.

“(c). There are records in Galloway of the McClure family shown to the present day. . . .

“3. McClures seem to have gone from Galloway into the County Down, Ireland, at the time of the Plantation of Ulster, 1608. They came, probably, with the family of Kennedy,¹ who have, I believe, still representatives in the County Down. The earliest place of settlement was, I think, Knockbreda (Newton-Breda) a few miles from Belfast. There are tombstones in the old burying-ground going back, I believe, to the early years of the 18th century. Some of the family settled in Belfast, some in Lisburn, Ballymena, and other places in County Antrim. Some went further afield into Derry.

“I find in Carmany Churchyard (Co. Antrim) one ‘Isabella McClure, daughter of Archibald McClure of Belfast who departed this life. Feby. 1788, age seven years.’ Derry has several monuments of them.”

J. P. P.

¹ Kennedys and McClures appear among the Boston immigrants of 1728-9, and there was a connection by marriage between the two families.

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