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Truly yours
I. S. Dooty
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HISTORY

INGSTON COUNTY.

NEW YORK:

Published by the Historical Society of the State of New York,
at the City Hall, New York.

Order of the Historical Society of the State of New York,
in relation to the publication of the History of the County of

INGSTON, AND THE HISTORY OF THE COUNTY OF

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INGSTON, AND THE HISTORY OF THE COUNTY OF

1880.

EDWARD E. DENT

PRINTED



A
HISTORY
 OF
LIVINGSTON COUNTY,
 NEW YORK:

FROM ITS
 EARLIEST TRADITIONS, TO ITS PART IN THE
 WAR FOR OUR UNION:
 WITH AN
Account of the Seneca Nation of Indians,
 AND BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF
 EARLIEST SETTLERS AND PROMINENT PUBLIC MEN:

BY
 LOCKWOOD L. DOTY.

Illustrated by Portraits on Steel, and Engravings on Wood.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

A BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION, BY A. J. H. DUGANNE.

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 GENESEO:
 EDWARD E. DOTY.
 1876.

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1889, Sept. 20.
Peabody Museum.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1876, by
EDWARD E. DOTY,
in the office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington.

J. W. CLEMENT, - - - - - PRINTER,
GENESEEO, N. Y.

BIOGRAPHIC INTRODUCTION.

BY A. J. H. DUGANNE.

When Elias Harrison, great-grandfather of LOCKWOOD LYON DOTY, had served through an apprenticeship to his "Uncle Corsen," he bought a Bible and "Westminister confession of faith." This record was made, in a manuscript book, by John Harrison, son of Elias, who closes an account of trials and hardships passed, by the following words: "I ought to thank, before mortal man, my Heavenly Father and His Beloved Son, my dear Redeemer, for their loving kindness and tender mercies through sickness, and in preserving me from death."

Words are impressions for the future; and the children, who have read that old manuscript, reproduce those impressions in life after life. When Lockwood L. Doty read those words in his grandfather, John Harrison's book, they became more than passing impressions on his brain. They made lines of thought in his mind; guide-lines on the way he walked as a man and a Christian.

We need not, in the manner of biographers, dwell upon the early years or childhood of this good citizen,

this earnest laborer in all worthy work which his hand and heart shared earnestly, through manhood and maturity. But, from many kindly tributes of memory, which friends and kindred brought, like flowers, to decorate his quiet grave, I take the following note of a juvenile episode :

"In the family life, where little things are counted great, where the records of thoughts and sayings and doings of children, precocious in their wisdom, or profoundly suggestive in their simple innocence, are treasured by their elders, the story is still told, illustrative of Lockwood's persistent endeavor to accomplish his own wishes. He had been allowed the free use of an axe, which he had named his "dull axe." The implement having been sharpened, and so rendered dangerous as a plaything, he was denied the further use of it. Coming to his mother, one day, he said: "Mother, will you let me take my axe? She answered, "No, my child, I cannot." "But, why?" "You know, Lockwood, the axe has been sharpened, and it is not safe or proper for you to use it." Again he urged, "But I *want* my 'dull axe.'" Again the denial; again and still again the same demand; and again the same firm answer, "My boy, you cannot have it;" until, at length, after repeated efforts, he gave up the battle, and retired from the field."

This persistency of purpose in what he believed to be a legitimate pursuit, became moulded into the character of Lockwood L. Doty, and sustained his life of effort until all effort succumbed to that final "cannot" which ends the pleadings and purposes of all, under the sheltering bosom of our mother—NATURE. For those who knew the man, that earnest longing of the child possesses interest; as the rays of a bright dawn, in promise of a brilliant day. For, if the feet of this obedient son, this good husband, this provident father, were not led out, as they might have been, to brilliant fields of courage and patriotism—as a defender of his country in her momentous struggle for assured liberty—we know that his example of devoted sympathy with our soldiers "at the front;" not less than his active labors in semi-military positions, faithfully held under successive Governors of our State; and his later arduous work under the Pen-

sion Bureau in New York ; shows such a bright and busy life, of patriotic effort, that it is no marvel he should win the praise of statesmen divided by politics and the esteem of soldiers transiently separated by sectional strife. Col. Doty's military commission was no less a brevet of honor because it certified his merits and fidelity as a staff officer, on duty at the capital of our State, than it would have been if Gen'l Grant had signed it, as commander-in-chief of our army and navy. Because the work of Col. Doty, as Private Secretary of Maj. Gen'l Morgan, in the most difficult years of our war for the Union ; and his subsequent work as Chief of the Bureau of Military Record, and his "aid and comfort" of our New York soldiers ; here, there and everywhere, as duty called him under three Governors of the State ; were so marked and effective, in their earnestness and discreet persistency, as to make his name a synonym of official integrity.

Do I praise him too much ? Not, I think, in the candid appreciation of citizens, who knew him, as I knew him, or, who, not having my near occasions for learning his inner nature, were yet cognizant of his untiring method in duty and his help of others in their duty, whenever possible. My relations with him were more than business relations, and he was accustomed to open his confidence to me in many ways ; so that I learned to value him because his nature was warm and zealous ; to rely upon him, because he loved the truth ; and to sympathize with him, because he viewed with charity the faults of other men. I speak in terms of praise consistent with my knowledge of a co-laborer in some ways of work ; of a dear friend during the life of days our ties of thought and action were measured by ; and of an ardent patriot, as all who knew his motives and his aims must unite in bearing witness.

That Col. Doty was the depository of official trust

under successive Governors, and won the esteem of a Democratic State administration, as he gained the respect of Republican officials, shows clearly, in connection with his known firmness of personal and political character, that he possessed rare qualities as a MAN, not less than as a WORKING man. He might honestly differ with a superior in office, as to political right; but as to his own duty, in the office he held, his path was never obscured by passing exhalations from the dust of party success, so long as he could labor for the cause of his country and the good of her defenders. And, above all transient shadows of error or enmity cast about the course of differing State administrations, we may now do manly justice to the clear-minded discrimination—not only of Governor Morgan, who called the subject of this notice to positions of usefulness during our civil strife—but of his Democratic successor, Governor Seymour, who continued the faithful Secretary in place; and, finally, to Governor Fenton, who, from his nature, placed firm reliance upon one who ever served him, as he served the State, with a single eye to official duty.

Governors pass away; but their record, like all imprints of life, whether high or low, remain, to direct or to repel the feet of those who must walk, in turn, the quicksands of official tenure. And the archives of our commonwealth contain no fairer pages, of trust reposed and borne, than those which certify the high-toned official connection between Governors Morgan, Seymour and Fenton, and their honored subordinate, LOCKWOOD L. DOTY.

But yet, Colonel Doty did not attain honorable positions, without an old-fashioned "apprenticeship" to his trade, as a WORKER; like that which his great grandfather ELIAS HARRISON "finished," by that purchase of "a Bible and Westminster Confession of Faith."

Work underlies all worthy success. While Mr. Doty laboriously performed the duties which, being well done, exalted him, from year to year, we have seen many place-holders rise to high office, and leave it both with riches and notoriety. But, if we weigh the "hollow brass" of such "successful" men, with that solid gold of good repute, which Colonel Doty left, as a legacy to his children, we shall realize the intrinsic worth of a virtuous man's life, in comparison with the surface-gilding of station without merit, and wealth that no honest labor earned, and which rewarded no good citizenship.

When the child, Lockwood, was "booked" for his first "school," there was a conflict between his boyish will, and obedience to his mother; with a lingering hope that his kind father might interpose, to permit a longer indulgence of "home," without the dreaded discipline of learning.

That intelligent memory which preserved a note of his "dull axe," recalls the little fellow —

"With shining, morning face, creeping, like snail,
Unwillingly to school,"—

in the same way, probably, that Shakspeare imagined of his "school-boy" in the "Seven Ages."

Being duly equipped, and with his mother's kiss still warm upon his cheek, he started reluctantly for school. This was his first step in the pursuit of knowledge, as laid down by rule. Going but a little way, he came back again, begging most earnestly for an interview with his father. The mother, knowing the soft heart of the father, and how readily he would yield to the boy's entreaties to remain at home, and realizing how pernicious such a course would be, denied the request, though urged with tears; and the lad was again started for school. Again he returned with the same burden, "One minute let me see my father, only one minute." The same resolute "No! my child." Another departure, another return; until, at last, the mother, her heart full of sympathy for the child, took his hand within her own, and, leading him for a mile, nearly to the door of that temple of knowledge, again left him, and turned her steps homeward. Not far, however, before little footsteps followed fast, and the same pleading voice: "Just one minute with my father. Then the mother, with her heart almost overflow-

ing, must present "school" and implicit obedience, or an alternative of personal chastisement. The little fellow yielded; the struggle was ended. And however reluctantly he entered upon the life of a scholar, he afterwards took up the work and walked in the way of a student, with earnestness and patience that were not without their reward.

Education is culture; and school lessons are seeds for future fruitage; yet it is true, not seldom, that cultured minds do not always bespeak genial dispositions; and that the tutelage of an academy may be like that of a dancing-school, productive of exterior graces, with no depth of intellect, and no refinement of heart, beneath their superficial gloss. Happily for himself and for others, in after life, the nature of Lockwood L. Doty was that of a gentleman; and he became distinguished in business, as well as socially, for urbanity of manner, and courtesy of action, such as we seldom meet with; gracefully blended, in all walks of life, with firm decision on points of morality or where principles were at stake. No man in official relations was more remarkable for strict business regularity, and prompt activity where duty called; and no official ever bore himself with more uniform politeness, toward all who approached him properly, whatever their station or exterior. Colonel Doty's example might be followed by many men in places of transient authority, who assume to be masters instead of servants, in public business. But a gentleman, no less than a "poet," must be "born," not "made." No tailor's padding or laundress's starch can make a figure of buckram answer for a MAN. NATURE makes MEN; and real gentility comes from the heart.

Young Lockwood's application in school years, as one of his near friends writes, "fitted him for all the ordinary duties and relations of life, and made attainments of no mean order in the higher walks of literature. By his own effort, he mastered Greek, sufficient to read the New Testament in that language."

In the discipline of school, he attained, however, that government of himself which was necessary to restrain the persistency of purpose that sometimes leads to obstinacy of will. He always cherished a love of truth ; and that love kept him from the sinuous courses of mere political expediency. Well would it be for our commonwealth and for the republic, if officials generally followed those straight lines along which this meritorious public servant wisely walked ; wisely, not only for his personal well-being in life, and for the example he gave to others ; but wisely for the memory he leaves to his children, as an assurance to them that if they do their duty as private citizens toward their fellow men, or as public men towards their fellow citizens, the approval of future years will come ; as surely as future censure must condemn all looseness in moral principle, all mere self seeking in political practice.

After leaving school, the young man entered as a law-student, the office of MR. JOHN YOUNG in Genesee, and in 1847, when Mr. Young was made Governor of the State of New York, his law-student followed him to Albany, and was appointed to a position in the office of Canal Appraiser ; whence he was promoted, in the first year of Governor Young's administration, to the responsible post of Deputy State Treasurer, under ALVAH HUNT. By this time, his character became so marked for adherence to principle and application to duty, in all positions he held, that private, as well as public, business men, were mindful of his value ; and when a consolidation of several railroad lines, to form the "New York Central Railroad Company," was determined upon, MR. ERASTUS CORNING, President of the Company, invited Mr. Doty to conduct the clerical work rendered necessary. After satisfactorily performing this ser-

vice, he returned to Albany, and was re-appointed Deputy Treasurer under Mr. SPAULDING of Buffalo. He continued in that State office, under Mr. STEPHEN CLARK, until that noted business man became President of the "La Crosse and Milwaukee Railroad Company;" when his deputy received the appointment of Secretary and Treasurer of the road.

Here, in the face of responsibilities and complications of a great enterprise—nearly destroyed under corrupt official management, and a venal State Legislature—LOCKWOOD L. DOTY found himself obliged to choose between negligence of duty, in easy compliance with shifts and subterfuges such as had demoralized the Company, or, on the other hand, a refusal to become involved in such dishonest practices. Out of respect to President Clark, and to second the endeavors of that gentleman to restore financial soundness to the enterprise, he devoted his customary energy and intelligence to its affairs; until, to seduce him from strict duty, a large sum of money was proffered to him, after the fashion which had already tempted and ruined many public men and officials intrusted with public affairs in Wisconsin. Their insulting, though covert, attempt, to make him an instrument of fraud, in the issue of illegal bonds, decided Mr. Doty's course at once. He resigned connection with the "La Crosse and Milwaukee Railroad Company," and returned to his native State.

Governor E. D. MORGAN then appointed Mr. Doty Chief Clerk in the Executive Department. No choice could have been more pleasing to friends of an honest administration, as was indicated by numerous expressions of approval in journals of the day.

About this period Mr. Doty employed all the hours he could spare from business, in his task of collecting material, from all accessible sources, for the "HISTORY

OF LIVINGSTON COUNTY," which is now printed, 'years after the faithful hand that prepared its details, ceased to labor, and the eyes that sought clear light for its pages, were closed upon earthly scenes.

And here it is proper to remark—what is strictly true—that no historic basis was ever built with more care, upon FACTS, than the foundation of this modest chronicle of a New York county, from its early pioneer life, to its place among the most prosperous shires of our State. Whatever LIVINGSTON COUNTY has become, in peaceful and worthy rivalry with her sister counties, of those lovely regions watered by Genesee river, is the product of that pioneer life which, though in conflict, at times, with wildness in aboriginal man and animal, was ever in harmony with Nature's thrift and quiet. Like her noble river, which out of rocks and fastnesses, descends through green meadows, brown glens, purple orchards, and silvery wheat fields, blessing and blest, the rural life of LIVINGSTON County flows on now, as it flowed in colonial days, only leaping at intervals, to agitation, in the spirit of MANHOOD springing toward righteous liberty ; as those "Falls of the Genesee," always true to Nature, flash out their waters in the spirit of freedom.

Whatever could throw intelligent light upon the primitive social condition of this portion of our commonwealth—second to no other in the worth of its inhabitants, whether weighted by money or mind,—Col. Doty, in his thorough research, collected together, as materials for his book. To say that he was painstaking, is to say little ; he was indefatigable. He ransacked libraries, and corresponded with men and women of Livingston County antecedents ; tracing their whereabouts, out of the county, as well as in, and often to remote towns in our Republic. If he heard of an old resident, possessed of records or remi-

niscences, he hastened to obtain data from such sources. If a centennial relic of some Indian tribe was to be "interviewed," he journeyed to make that aboriginal acquaintance. Seeking "light," as I have said, he was eager to find breath anywhere, to enliven whatever old brands of tradition might be buried under ashes of council fires on the site of perished wigwams, or of watch-fires, once blazing on fields of fight in revolutionary days. Such a delver after "facts" was fitted to write a history; and, although his term of mortal years could not witness the publication of these annals, his busy life yet gave him opportunities of personal supervision; so that nearly half the work was printed under his eye; while other completed chapters, and numberless notes—ample for a volume thrice the bulk of this in ordinary hands—left comparatively a light task for that discriminating literary citizen of Lima who has wrought all detached leaves into concluding chapters of this comprehensive "HISTORY OF LIVINGSTON COUNTY."

When Governor Morgan entered his second term of office, Mr. Doty became his Private Secretary. It was the most trying period of that vital struggle in which our people were engaged, with the resolution to make "all free" in the bonds of Union and "all united" in the freedom of manhood. If his appointment to an arduous clerical situation, as Chief Executive Clerk, had been hailed by the press as eminently "fit to be made," our journals no less cordially approved Gov. Morgan's judgment in calling Mr. Doty to confidential relations with himself in a time of momentous interest to all citizens. The *Albany Argus*, of opposing politics, testified to the Secretary's merits as "a modest and unassuming gentleman, of undoubted qualifications for the position;" and, in a concurrence of editorial opinion respecting the appointment, political differences seemed to be forgotten.

In his new relation, Mr. Doty continued to deserve appreciation. Entering upon his trust in November, 1860, he familiarized himself with its executive business before President Lincoln's call to arms, following the capture of Fort Sumter in April, 1861. The news of that capture reached Albany on Sunday morning, April 14th, and a meeting was convened that Sabbath afternoon, in the Governor's room ; at which were present Gov. Morgan and other State officers, the Speaker of the Assembly, and members of military and finance committees of the legislature. That evening a bill was drafted, providing for an enrollment of thirty thousand State volunteers, and an appropriation of three million dollars for their equipment. Twenty-four hours afterwards, the bill was passed, with an amendment establishing the "State Military Board ;" New York State legislation actually anticipating President Lincoln's call for twenty-five thousand militia in loyal States. Then began, and continued without cessation, an unexampled press of official labor for Governor Morgan and his Private Secretary. From all points came telegrams, letters, suggestions, good or worthless, applications for authority to recruit, tenders of "material aid," timid whispers of apprehension, manly voices of "aid and comfort." It was the Private Secretary's duty to take note of all, to be mindful of all, to answer here, to consult there ; in a word to be the Governor's ear, and oftentimes his tongue ; and to do all with tact, forbearance, modesty, and timely reticence. That Mr. Doty accomplished his work, not only in accord with Governor Morgan and the "State Military Board," but to the satisfaction of persons brought in contact with him from all parts of the State, is a matter of official history during that term of anxiety and toil.

Thirteen thousand two hundred and eighty militia

were asked for, as the quota of New York State under that first requisition for troops. Twenty thousand men responded in regimental organization. Ten days after the fall of Sumter, thirty thousand New York volunteers were authorized, and in thirty days from that cannonading call out of Charleston harbor, thirty-eight (38) regiments of our State troops were under orders.

It is easy to write the figures, not difficult to imagine the importance, of such swift results, following loyal effort throughout our commonwealth. But the work at headquarters, necessary to accomplish the bare official impulsion toward those results, from day to day, is not to be pictured, and hardly to be fancied. I allude to it, because Col. Doty's position as Private Secretary of Governor Morgan, who was commissioned by the National Government as a Major General of Volunteers, placed him in the very vortex of converging demands and interests, centering in the Executive Chamber at a crisis when—to quote from a Report of his, years afterwards—"multitudinous messages of alarm and counsel kept the electric wires in constant action, throbbings of the great heart of the people, spontaneous, irrepressible."

During Governor Morgan's eventful second term, Colonel Doty remained the active amanuensis, in voluminous correspondence, and the "ready reference," in matters of immediate moment. His unflinching zeal, as a "worker," and affability as a medium of intercourse between citizens and their Chief Magistrate, and between State volunteers and their Commander-in-Chief, on duty at Albany, made his name familiar; and, at the Governor's home, as in his "military family," he enjoyed the pleasant relations which his due respect for authority, and his own self-respect, conjointly deserved. He has spoken to me,

with emotion, of the matronly kindness extended to him, through years, by Governor Morgan's estimable wife; within whose elegant domestic circle at Washington, during her husband's service as U. S. Senator from our State, he continued to be welcomed, as the Senator's Private Secretary.

But his Governorship, which brought Gov. Morgan into vital connection with our imperilled National Government, was calculated to try, as by fire, the metal of public servants and distinguish pure ore from dross. If EDWIN D. MORGAN passed the crucible without a stain upon his record, as Governor or Senator, not less did his Private Secretary, LOCKWOOD L. DOTY, come out of the furnace without "the smell of fire upon his garments." Governor Morgan survives; and he may be called to more exalted dignities than have yet been conferred upon him by his countrymen; his faithful coadjutor has passed to the hope of higher and eternal recompense for deeds done. May the clear name for official honor enjoyed by him, who still dwells with us, and the bright memory left by him who has passed to another life, be influences of good in all our places of official trust and distinction.

The close of Governor Morgan's four years saw a revulsion in the political affairs of our State, through the election of HORATIO SEYMOUR, but the change did not affect Colonel Doty's valued service, nor the estimate of it by statesmen of varying politics. Colonel Doty's hard work, however, began to affect his constitution; and symptoms of the disease which ultimately became fatal, began to alarm his family and friends. He was not a man to yield, in flesh or spirit, while life subsisted; but successive attacks of hemorrhage, prostrating him for weeks, made rest necessary. Under his physician's advice, a change of climate, was advisable; and he was tendered the position of Amer-

ican Consul at Nassau, N. P.—then a most important point, because of its use as a rendezvous for Confederate cruisers and blockade runners. Increased pecuniary compensation was thus assured to him, in a climate where healthful air, and needed quiet, might recuperate his jaded system. But he declined the consulate, and remained, a while, Private Secretary under Governor Seymour's administration. Certainly, as Col. Doty gratefully acknowledged, no higher compliment could be paid to his worth than Gov. Seymour's wish to retain him in the position he had held with Governor Morgan. For a time, to facilitate public business, Col. Doty continued to act as Private Secretary under Governor Seymour; and, meanwhile, a special and congenial position had been made for him by legislative act, in the providing for a "Bureau of Military Record." "The best man to be at the head of such a Bureau," Governor Morgan had said to Governor Seymour, before the latter entered upon office, "is Col. Doty; but you can't appoint him." To which pleasant reminder of party demands, Gov. Seymour answered—"That is so, but *you* can appoint him before your term expires, and I will keep him." So the "Bureau of Military Record" became, with new and manifold duties, the only "change" for health Col. Doty was to enjoy: while the salary set apart for "Chief of Bureau" did not reach the pay of a volunteer officer holding rank as Colonel.

But, though prudent and careful as a business man, for his family wants, Col. Doty was not covetous of high rank or of undue emoluments; so often the quest of undeserving public men. More than once, in youth and in mature years, he sought to leave the exacting toils of office for pursuits of business life more in accord with his love of home and children. But he was to "die in harness;" to be remembered for

undeviating integrity in public service, more than for success in amassing private gains; and to leave to those dependent upon him a modest competence and the rich bequest of a good name; inheritance far more to be prized, after a father's death, than the millions left with no record upon them but the career of a "successful" business man.

Throughout Governor Seymour's term, Col. Doty occupied his busy mind and hands in what was to him a "labor of love;" gathering data concerning our State Volunteers, and statistics regarding the patriotic co-operation of New York civilians in cities, towns and villages of our commonwealth. To his quick discernment, wide correspondence, and characteristic "persistency" of work and research, our military archives are largely indebted; and, although that office of value and necessity created by the foresight of Governor Morgan, and sustained by Governor Seymour, was not retained by Col. Doty to the day of his death—as it ought to have been—the fault lay not in his own decrease of interest in its objects or means, but in the unwise action of a subsequent legislature, and in the mistaken views of other officials who surmised a conflict between the powers and duties of a simple Statistical Bureau and the authority pertaining to members of the Governor's Military Staff. I make passing mention of this matter, because no one knew better than myself, his successor as Chief of Bureau the motive which impelled Col. Doty to tender his resignation of an office originally designed for his tenure and made important, from its beginning, through his zeal and application.

The assumption of a conflict, between that Bureau and the Adjutant General's department—an assumption without foundation—led to a change in its relations, by constituting the Chief a Staff officer and a

clause in the bill ranked the Chief of Bureau as Brigadier General ; but that provision was subsequently erased. When the bill passed, Col. Doty tendered his resignation. Yet he had, during his incumbency, matured comprehensive plans of search, of collection, of preservation, and of record, in the aggregation of data for our State Military History ; data easily accessible in those years ; valuable as adjuncts to general history, and priceless as memorials of patriotic service for numberless households within our State borders. Two years after Col. Doty left it, the Bureau ceased to be an office of independent work, and was attached to the Adjutant General's department.

Lockwood L. Doty should have been permitted to continue, as he so earnestly began, his "labor of love" in that Military Bureau. Under his administration of it, more than one hundred and twenty connected regimental narratives, reciting the part taken by New York State troops in the War for our Union, were put in manuscript order, together with, at least, one hundred thousand military notices of private soldiers ; full histories of the first thirty-eight regiments organized in our State ; and a mass of data concerning regiments, batteries, companies, ships and gunboats ; wherever New York soldiers and sailors represented their State in defense of the Republic ; while fragmentary statistics, letters and notes, contributed by volunteers "at the front," on land or wave, and by volunteers returned, after peace, to their homes were filed ; and facts regarding the work of TOWNS throughout the State, in mustering and organizing their quotas, furnished verifications of that vast pouring forth of private liberality, in those years of patriotic WILL and EFFORT, which saw successive volunteer levies in the State of New York swell to a quarter of a million of men, and the flow of her treasure for sol-

dier's needs, aggregate to the enormous sum of one hundred and twenty million dollars—contributed by towns and counties, and from private means of civilians, men, women and children.

That an official, of the high reputation won in all stations by LOCKWOOD L. DOTY, should have been environed by circumstance, which impelled him to resign his office, while its work was uppermost in his devoted mind, presents one of those illustrations of false views which originated the remark, not always true, that "Republics are ungrateful."

Republics are not ungrateful. The PEOPLE, in a commonwealth, left to themselves, will be true to themselves. If no untoward dictation had been brought to bear upon the Bureau of Military Record, it would now be a valued depository of statistics regarding State action in the war, completing its work in a noble "Hall of Record;" the gift of patriotism; wherein our children and children's children, might pause reverently amidst our thousand regimental flags. And under Providence, I may add, the gentle face, the graceful head of LOCKWOOD L. DOTY might be, at this day, still bending over his "labor of love;" as Chief of a Bureau founded to be his field of work, so long as God might spare him in the service of our State.

Returning to Geneseo, Col. Doty hoped to remain in his native county as a private citizen, but more promising health afterwards induced him to accept the position of Deputy Collector of Customs in New York City; which he held, however, but a short time; resigning it, to become again the Private Secretary of his friend Ex-Governor Morgan, then representing New York State in the U. S. Senate. He remained at Washington until the Senator finished his official term.

In 1869, Col. Doty was appointed, by President Grant, Assessor of Internal Revenue, for the Sixth District in New York City; but once more, the warnings of overwork and failing health counselled a return to his home, and he resigned office to seek the quiet of Geneseo. Purchasing the "Livingston Republican," he entered upon the editorial field in a spirit which promised, with business success, an encouraging avocation for the future. He likewise began to print the first pages of his HISTORY; dividing busy days, between proof reading and writing on this work, and his journalistic duties. I recall, in memory, that sanguine entry of the honest public servant on his task of making an honest political newspaper. Had he seen the way clear, Livingston County Republicans would have had an able and candid exponent of their views, while Democrats might have found nothing in his editorial course but fair and open dealing. In 1869, he was elected a member of the Republican State Committee, and chosen Secretary of that body; which again involved him in State affairs. At this juncture, Ex-Senator Morgan, having become interested as a banker in the "New Orleans, Mobile and Chatanooga Rail Road," invited him to become its Treasurer; and he disposed of his publishing establishment, in order to accept the post of a financial officer; but left the company after a few months of connection with it. Senator Morgan and other friends, were, at that time, desirous of placing so experienced and reliable a man at the head of a special banking house, to be organized under his knowledge of financial operations. But his apprehensions of enterprises in which large investments might be staked, in view of reliable management, dissuaded him from accepting monetary responsibilities, even at an assured and liberal salary as the President of a

bank. He turned again to the work in which he had formerly been so zealous—the service of Soldiers—and entered on the double duty involved by consolidation of two Pension offices in New York City, under his direction, in April, 1871, as “Pension Agent,” by appointment of President Grant.

There can be no more exacting post, if its duty be performed, than the Pension Agency of New York City, under existing laws. Col. Doty sacrificed himself, to accomplish its labors, through personal and untiring effort. No one, who remembers his presence in that dark, damp basement of the Custom House, used for audit and payment of Pension claims; no one, who saw his slight form bowed daily, over the books he kept in all cases himself, could help the mental conviction that those protracted labors in an unhealthy atmosphere, were accelerating causes of the disease, which struck him down at his last post of service. Col. Doty became disabled in that service, and died from his disability, with no less title to the name of “Veteran” than those soldiers and sailors whose certificates he audited with kindly smiles, and whose complaints he ever sought to answer by whatsoever help his own authority could assure them.

LOCKWOOD L. DOTY was born in Groveland, Livingston county, May 15th, 1827. He married, in his 25th year, on the 19th of March, 1852; and his death took place at Jersey City, January 18th, 1873. The pulmonary disease, to which his active life succumbed, prostrated him about three months before the final hour; and his spirit departed, at that hour, so softly that its passing away, amid watching friends, was scarcely perceived. Though sadly anticipated by those who knew of his declining health, and the sufferings he had long borne, at intervals, the report of his decease fell suddenly upon that wide circle of acquaint-

ances who knew him only as a public man, in the prime, as it seemed, of his natural life. A general feeling of earnest regret was manifested in many notices of his demise which appeared in the public press. We might fill pages with those expressions of respect for the dead, and sympathy for the living, who deplored the loss of husband, father and brother. But where all united in deep commiseration, no single tribute of memory need be recalled, beyond the quotations with which I conclude these notes of a good man's life, and which are added because they relate to fruits more grateful than the returns of public office and to influences more endearing than popular plaudits, merited though they be.

The "Methodist Sunday School Union," of Albany, of which Mr. Doty had been a former member, adopted minutes from which we extract the following :

"Especially do we remember him as a most earnest worker in the labor of the Sunday School. He took an active part in the organization of West Mission Sunday School, and was an indefatigable laborer both in Hudson Avenue and Washington Avenue church schools. His cheerful presence carried with it everywhere the heartiest encouragement. No one could fall out by the way, while he was assisting; for he made toil a pleasure, and the severest work, in the way of duty, a delight."

Colonel Doty's remains were conveyed by special car from Jersey City to Geneseo, where the last offices of affection and respect found place, at their burial from the Methodist Episcopal church, where "a large concourse of people assembled, and deep gloom overhung the community."

From the eloquent funeral discourse of Rev. G. W. PADDOCK we make our concluding extract :

"We now go to pay our last tribute of love and esteem to Lockwood Lyon Doty, our friend and brother beloved, who is now with the "blessed dead." We know he wrought well. Perhaps no higher eulogium can be spoken than that 'He was a christian gentleman.' In all the relations of life a true man and worthy of imitation. A faithful, affectionate husband, a tender, indulgent father, a filial, warm-hearted brother, an incorruptible pol-

itician, an honest man, a true, humble christian. In his death the government has lost a most valuable, trustworthy servant, society one of its brightest ornaments, the poor and unfortunate a sympathizer and helper, this church a worthy and honored member, his wife a true husband, his children a noble father, his family at large a worthy representative, who has never brought dishonor on the family name, and who has left a legacy of priceless value in his inspiring example, blameless life and christian death. All may learn that a man may maintain a character unsullied, through all the temptations and corruptions of political and public life; may keep the flame of piety glowing, and die the death of the righteous."

LOCKWOOD L. DOTY is at rest—after his life-long work ; but his EXAMPLE, abiding with us, as a

"Memory of the just,
Smells sweet, and blossoms in the dust."

Peace be his, forever, in Heaven ! as he loved "peace on Earth," with his fellow-men, and sought fraternity in all good deeds. May his devotion to right—cherished by his children—and may his unselfish MANHOOD—imitated by his fellow-men—remain his worthy

IN MEMORIAM.

No head more gentle ever bowed o'er toil ;
 No neck more yielding bent to duty's yoke.
 No lure could tempt him, no seduction soil ;
 Because his heart went with the word he spoke :
 And God still guided him on MANHOOD'S way !
 Well said wise Shakspeare—"To thysel't be true :
 And it shall follow, as the night to day,
 Thou can'st not then be false to any man !"
 And thus, in oneness with his Nature's plan,
 He wrought whate'er his hand might find to do—
 With all his strength, his heart, his mind, his will !
 God rest him ! May his sweet EXAMPLE still
 Stir, like the air of Liberty, which waves
 Our starry flags, and wooes our soldiers' graves !

EDITORIAL CARD.

Sixteen years ago the History which is now offered to the public was first projected by its lamented author, and the expectation was that the work of preparation would occupy only a short time—but a few years at the most. As it progressed, however, it grew in interest and importance. New facts came to light, and the field of inquiry and research was extended, until at last what was designed for publication in a few months, became the author's life-work. Those who knew Mr. Doty are aware of the devotion with which he pursued his favorite and self-imposed task. They remember how enthusiastic he grew in searching out new facts; how patiently he pored over musty and voluminous documents, or gathered from the lips of the few surviving pioneers their stories of early times and attendant hardships, and how, in time, this work came to be a labor of love. None will ever know how great was the care bestowed upon this work by its author, but it should remain a lasting memorial of tireless patience and devotion.

At the time of Mr. Doty's death, two hundred pages of the history had been printed, and materials gathered and partially arranged for much of the remaining portion. These materials were put into my hands with the request that I prepare them for the press. How well this work has been done, the reader must judge for himself. It has been my endeavor, however, to carry out the author's original plan, so far as was possible, and, wherever practicable, to use his own language. So rigidly has this determination been adhered to, that, with the exception of a portion of the chapter on the War of 1812, and other portions here-

inafter mentioned, the entire History is substantially and in fact, the work of Mr. Doty.

It is proper to state, however, that that part of the work comprised in pages 337 to 469, inclusive, embracing a history of the county from 1821 to 1860, together with a brief reference to Livingston's part in the War of the Rebellion, I have written myself, Mr. Doty having done nothing on this portion of the History. This explanation is due to him as well as to myself, as it would be manifestly unjust to hold him responsible for any faults that may exist in these chapters. The same remarks will apply to the biographical sketches of James Wadsworth, General James S. Wadsworth and John Young, which have been carefully prepared, but under some disadvantages.

The Town Sketches are, what the title implies, simply historical sketches, not complete histories. They are intended to give a general view of the commencement and growth of settlements in the several towns, together with brief biographical sketches of some of the more prominent of the early settlers. In this connection it may be well to state that the difficulty has been to decide, not what to put in, but what to leave out of the History, as, with the materials in hand, these personal sketches might have been multiplied indefinitely, had not the limits of the work forbid.

In conclusion I may state, without any impropriety, that the public are indebted to the deceased author's brother, Edward E. Doty, for the publication of the History. He has expended his time and money liberally in this work, and his energy and perseverance have overcome the numerous serious obstacles which blocked the way to success. Through these efforts the History of Livingston County is now in the hands of the people, by whom, it is sincerely hoped, it may be kindly received.

A. TIFFANY NORTON.

Liua, N. Y., May, 1876.

PREFACE.

“A dozen years more and a faithful history of Livingston County cannot be written.” “And wherefore?” “Simply because the end of another decade will find most of our pioneers gathered to their fathers, and no effort is making to preserve their recollections, which will have passed into oblivion.”

To this conversation, occurring just before the Rebellion, between two citizens of the County long well known but now no more, the writer was a listener, and is constrained to own that since then, as day by day the roll of those from whom the annalist could best draw his materials has been abridged, the assertion has returned in augmenting force. A history was at the time suggested, and he who ventures this volume was asked to undertake its preparation. The request was more than once repeated, but accident rather than design finally determined him to attempt it.

A word of apology may be indulged. The writer's portfolio has been enriched with many a local tradition and interesting relation, which will be found but dull as rendered in these pages. “But you must remember,” as Frank Osbaldistone is made to say, “that the tale told by one friend and listened to by another, loses half its charm when committed to paper.”

To gather and digest the materials of a county history, which must in great degree be drawn from original sources, and to harmonize the all but endless discordances of fact, is no ordinary task. To go further and attempt anything so ambitious as a picture of early days, is doubly hazardous, for in the public's eye a truth left out, or a part over-colored on such a page, is an offence little short of the unpardonable one. In surrendering to the fascination that attaches to the story of pioneer life, the writer is liable to lose sight of those examples of fortitude and self-denial which are the most profitable lessons afforded by the record of early times. Another danger besets the writer: Pioneer days are now just far enough removed from the passing hour, and just sufficiently tinged with romance, to tempt him to draw upon fancy in making up his relation. But the veracious annalist may give way to no such allurements. He must allow the early indwellers of the region to appear in their own garb, to speak and act for themselves, and to use their own phraseology; they must be permitted "to show us over their houses, to seat us at their tables, to rummage their old-fashioned wardrobes, and to explain the uses of their primitive furniture." For the reader wants the homely truth.

A county history in our State, considering the relations which its territorial divisions bear to each other and to the subject in hand, seems better designed for grouping the series of facts presented in these pages, than either a larger or smaller territory would afford. The division now known as the county was originally that portion of the English island governed by an Earl or Count; hence the name. Its origin is popularly ascribed to the great and good King Alfred, who introduced so many useful reforms. The designation of Shire, as Perthshire, or the County of Perth, was

also used, and its principal bailiff, known as shire-reeve, is now shortened into sheriff. In Louisiana, counties go by the name of Parishes. In New England, the town is the political unit, and the county has an importance little more than nominal; while in the Southern States the county is practically the unit, and towns have scarcely a recognized existence. In the State of New York, however, the town and county have each their importance; we may therefore present herein an account of both.

The relation that follows is brought down to the opening of the Rebellion. To embrace the subsequent period would be to encroach upon a domain belonging rightfully to officers and soldiers who took part in the war, and who may be presumed to prefer one of their own number as the annalist of events so intimately associated with themselves and their fallen companions.

The volume which now goes before the public is a simple record, woven from such materials as could be gathered after no little labor, though in a manner somewhat too desultory. Fidelity to truth, and justice to the character of individuals, particularly to the generation that planted the germ and that which nurtured its early growth, have been conscientiously sought. The spirit in which nearly all have aided in supplying material is gratefully acknowledged. An enumeration alone would fill a space too great for the limits of a preface. The names of the following must, however, be given: Hon. William Scott, of Sparta, Samuel Magee, Hiram Boyd, Colonel Lyman, Colonel George Smith, Wm. H. C. Hosmer. Newspapers published in localities favoring the settlements in this region, such as those of Albany and Philadelphia, have afforded no little aid, as also have local journals, of which nearly continuous series have been examined;

while much of interest has been gleaned from old letters, yet fresh and vivacious, though the writers have long since passed away.

From the State Library at Albany and the State Department at Washington have been obtained invaluable facts. To Colonel Ely S. Parker, late of General Grant's military staff, and Mr. N. T. Strong, themselves conspicuous among the red men; and to the Hon. Lewis H. Morgan, O. H. Marshall, Esquire, and the Rev. Asher Wright, is the writer indebted for facts relating to the Indians, obtained mainly in a visit to the Cattaraugus Reservation in 1866. There was also found the venerable Philip Kenjockety, whose recollections of Sullivan's expedition in 1779, have proved of great service.

The drawings were mainly the work of Fred. T. Vance, and are faithful representations of points of local and historic interest.

Duties of an exacting nature have, from time to time, delayed the completion of the work which now, with no little of misgiving, is committed to the favor of a community that will value it for the local annals herein recorded and preserved, with this single remark, the writer would gladly have afforded a more entertaining work had it been in his power to do so.

LOCKWOOD L. DOTY.

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Engr. by J. A. Newell

Gen. Wadsworth

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

THESE VOLUMES OF ORIGINALS OF THE PAPERS OF JOHN DEWEY, AS PREPARED BY HIS WIFE, MISS MARY DEWEY, AND EDITED BY HER, ARE THE FIRST OF A SERIES OF VOLUMES WHICH WILL BE PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS, NEW YORK, AND THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS, CHICAGO, ILL., ARE THE PUBLISHERS OF THIS SERIES. THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS, CHICAGO, ILL., IS THE PUBLISHER OF THE ORIGINALS OF THE PAPERS OF JOHN DEWEY, AS PREPARED BY HIS WIFE, MISS MARY DEWEY, AND EDITED BY HER. THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS, CHICAGO, ILL., IS THE PUBLISHER OF THE ORIGINALS OF THE PAPERS OF JOHN DEWEY, AS PREPARED BY HIS WIFE, MISS MARY DEWEY, AND EDITED BY HER.

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W. W. W. W.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

Midway between lake Ontario and the Pennsylvania border, and centrally between Seneca lake and the Niagara river, in the heart of the fertile region known as the Genesee country, lies the beautiful agricultural COUNTY OF LIVINGSTON.

Watered by the chief river of Western New York, whose broad deep basin forms the widely-famed valley that bears the river's name; and furrowed by a tributary whose extent is mainly within the county, its surface—also indented by two picturesque lakes—presents a topography of diversified outline; the bold acclivities of the river highlands rising with grand effect in the south-western border, and offering fine contrast to the less striking rural scenery.

The boundaries of the county, defined by statute more than by natural limits, are, nevertheless, marked in their general contour, except at the north, by an elliptical rim, consisting of continuous ridges of hills, which, converging at the south, form a noble amphitheatre, in whose bosom nestles the most populous though in geographical extent the smallest township of the shire; while from fruitful valleys, watered by a hundred rivulets that seam its sides, the central township rises like a vast mound to the height of full three hundred feet.* While the configurations are

* The town of Groveland. Dansville lies within the amphitheatre of hills.

quite varied, every part of the territory is, with rare exceptions, adapted to tillage ; and not only are the leading physical features attractive to the eye, but the organic remains, and peculiar geological formation of the section, open to the student of nature's works a field of no ordinary interest.

The Genesee river, which cuts the county into unequal parts, breaks through the mountain-like barrier at the south-west, and, flowing, with its deep channel, for ten miles or more along the western border, at length enters Livingston county, foaming over a succession of cataracts. Sweeping northward between high and precipitous banks, for a dozen miles, amid scenery of great variety, its waters abruptly leave the narrow chasm worn by centuries of attrition, to glide through this "Pleasant Valley," as, long ago, the red man named it. Embowered in groves, or studded with stately elms and oaks, that grow upon its grassy margins, the river loiters for mile on mile, drifting from side to side of the rich and smiling landscape whose broad expanse of grain-field and meadow, dotted with country homes, spreads like a vast park over the wide alluvial flat or plain known as the GENESEE VALLEY, until reaching the north-westerly border, its channel crosses into Monroe county. In pioneer days, this was the market highway for products of the lumber forest and the farm ; but now that the woods which lined its terraced slopes for leagues on either side are cut down, a thousand little streams that fed it from the wilderness have disappeared ; and to-day the "river runs with narrowed bounds," and with few or precarious facilities for internal commerce, even if the canal and railway did not afford more speedy and certain modes of transit.

Canaseraga creek, the river's principal branch, and in former times, doubtless, its continuation from the

point of confluence, is a sluggish, sinuous stream, having its source in Steuben county. Flowing in at the south-westerly quarter, it trends northwardly through a flat several hundred yards in width, its turbid waters entering the river near the center of the county. The summits of the {two ranges of hills, nearly uniform in height, that mark its course, stretch miles away from each other, and, with the river valley, form a "Y"-shaped indentation; the creek giving the right arm, and the river the stem and left arm.

Conesus lake is situated in the interior of the county; and Hemlock lake lies partly within and along its eastern border. The dark waters and precipitous shores of the latter, in whose solitary nooks more than one hermit is said to have found a retreat in early days, give it much of the character of the lakes of Scotland; while the less marked elevations that hem in the waters of the Conesus, fringed as they are and diversified with cultivated farms, constitute it one of the most agreeable of rural pictures. Romance, too, has lent her charms to the shores and waters of this lake;* and near its head, in Revolutionary times, encamped the colonial army under Sullivan; while within rifle-shot of its banks was enacted the bloody episode of that enterprise, the fatal ambushade laid by the Senecas for Boyd's scouting party.

The noted mineral springs of Avon, (venerated Ganowagas of the Indian medicine-man,) the springs of Caledonia, remarkable for the volume of their waters, and the interesting streams which mark the general landscape, claim notice in these pages.

Of works of enterprise, the county has its share.

* Its story of love and war has been woven into poetic numbers by Homer, who has fixed the scene of a portion of his *Yonnondio* on the western shore of the Conesus, in verse as applicable to its native theme as that of Sir Walter Scott, in "Marmion," or the "Lady of the Lake."

The Genesee Valley canal passes through its territory, following the general course of the river from Rochester, and crossing to the easterly side of that stream at Mt. Morris, whence it runs south-easterly four or five miles to the Cushaqua creek, where it branches, the one line continuing in the same line of direction to Dansville, while the other, or canal proper, diverges toward the south-west quarter of the county, and again crosses the river, entering Wyoming county, and reaches the upper waters of the Genesee several miles above. Our grand system of magnetic telegraphs connects the principal villages of this county with all parts of the business world; while a net-work of railways already embraces the Genesee valley line, which links Mt. Morris with Rochester, following the general course of the river on the easterly side. The Buffalo and New York road enters at the north-westerly corner, and connects at Avon with the northern branch of the Erie railway, which latter passes, by a winding course, first eastward and then southward, through the easterly range of towns; and the Canandaigua and Niagara Falls line runs across the northernmost town, west and east.

In extent of territory the county does not rank among the larger ones of the state, but stands scarcely second to any in productive wealth; its wheat crop, —unsurpassed in quality,—alone constituting a fifth part of all that is grown in the commonwealth. And if its annals do not cover so broad a page as older counties may boast, they yet embrace no little belonging to history, while its Indian traditions, especially, add value to our country's aboriginal lore.

To certain localities, though by far too few, we shall find yet clinging the Indian names, often disguised, but not wholly lost, thus fixing the sites of ancient aboriginal villages. For it must be recollected that

during many ages this region, in the expressive language of the natives, formed the Upper or Western door of the typical Long-house or federation of the Five nations of Indians, and, for generations unnumbered, comprised the favorite hunting-grounds of the principal villages of the Senecas, the most powerful and warlike of the tribes forming the great Iroquois League. At just what period the solitude of the noble forest which had covered this territory from the beginning of time, was invaded by these children of nature, cannot now be determined; but, the region once known, its rare natural advantages were fitted to attract and retain a people whose strength could preserve to them its permanent occupancy. Indeed, their traditions, often more extravagant than an oriental tale, declare that the Senecas established their homes here at a date more remote than our own Christian era. What people preceded them is a question left wholly to conjecture, since all authentic history of this region must begin with the arrival of the Dutch in New York, early in the seventeenth century. Prior to the settlement of Manhattan island, nothing was definitely known by Europeans of the Senecas as a separate nation; and not until the period of the Jesuit missions among this aboriginal family, a little more than two hundred years ago, was there any precise information gathered relative to their position in the League.

Though reliable annals extend over two centuries, it is with a period embraced within living memory that this work will mainly deal. Step by step, after the Revolution, as settlements increased, will the fortunes of the pioneers and their descendants be followed. Nor can the history be complete without a brief portrayal of their customs and merry-makings, as well as the hardships and enterprise of that early

day, with some account of their journeyings hitherward, along unbeaten roads, over extemporized bridges, and through shifting fords, while yet a great wilderness lay between their new homes and the eastern settlements. The habits of every day life will be introduced, and something of political reminiscences, of militia musters and general trainings, not omitting reference to educational, and to moral and religious movements of early days. It is not the province of the simple chronicler to enter the domain of sentiment, or invoke the imagery with which fancy vivifies the Past; and yet a glimpse of matters of ordinary life, even but a score and ten years ago, reveals something of the golden haze of perspective, investing them with more than every-day interest. It is the lapse of time and change, measured by the march of steam, and electricity, that already softens the generation that preceded us into comparative remoteness, awakening tender associations in our minds at the mention of the old-fashioned fire-place, heaped with glowing logs, that cheered long winter evenings with its warmth and its welcome. Deep-rooted were the friendships formed about its ample hearth-stone, and they grow dearer with each passing year, to the county's wandering children. The log-house has disappeared, but how often come back the happy memories of its homely comfort, and what household traditions cluster around it that must be quite unknown to more modern and far richer mansions. Every season of the old time counted its joys. How we cherish the recollection of rainy days spent in the pine-scented family garret, among smoke-brown letters and forgotten newspapers, and manifold odds and ends, in broken chest and home-spun tow-bag. The great masters of harmony never arranged music so grateful as the sound of autumn rain pattering upon the low-browed cottage roof,

and lulling the sense to sleep with its monotonous melody. And the glory of the already ancient stage-coach, so imposing in its entry, as driver and four-in-hand, in full career, dashed up to the tavern door, is gone with the last echo of the shrill post-horn. The spinning-wheel forgets its hum, and the flail has disappeared with the log-barn and straw-thatched shed. Many are the changes of a single life time; but if we miss the picturesque, we find the loss replaced by gain, in broader privileges and wider opportunities.

A step beyond the actual, and we enter the domain of popular credulity. Half a century ago, the notions of our forefathers, in common with their generation, were tinged with that superstition which credits the existence of a race of supernatural beings peopling the recesses of forests; of witches who haunted those persons whom their capricious natures led them to annoy; or who, gipsy-like, told fortunes, made and dissolved matches, interfered with household affairs, and discovered stolen property. Omens, too, were observed, dreams were not unheeded, and many a farmer plowed, planted and gathered, according to the aspects of the moon, while few domestic animals were held as free from direct planetary influences.

A view of the GENESEE COUNTRY, prior to its occupancy by the whites, will be found interesting. Little enough is, indeed, known, and even that little, derived mainly from tradition, is obscured by the uncertainties that characterize Indian legends, especially in dates; but wholly to reject the account would be to drive an inquirer to mere speculation, whose conclusions must, at least, be equally wide of truth. Sketches of the more noted warriors, sachems and wise men who have resided here, and an outline of their relentless feuds, with some reference to the state-craft and sagacity of the Indians, will be presented. The aboriginal na-

tives, in their myths, peopled many parts of the vast wilderness stretching westward far beyond the Mississippi, and eastward to the ocean, with strange monsters, and their stories of this region are replete with accounts of winged heads, the feats of prodigious serpents, and the calamitous visits of giants, unearthly in size and formidable in power, who came eastward from the regions of the setting-sun.

Our account will not be wanting in the interest that attaches to aboriginal antiquities; for the remains of several ancient mounds of undoubted military origin, links in that chain of ancient defensive works which, according to recent researches, extended from the shores of lake Erie to the lakes of central New York, have been found here. Natural history, too, has been illustrated by the discovery, in two or three places within the county, of the remains of that huge fossil animal known as the mastodon.

We shall note how the French, in Canada, obtaining their earliest knowledge of this section from the Jesuit missionaries, endeavored to get possession of it; and how a formidable expedition, under the Marquis De Nonville, dispatched hither with the design of conquest, miscarried, as did all similar efforts of the French. The Jesuit missionaries, first among Europeans to seek these wilds, established missions in the neighborhood of the Genesee river, nurturing them in that spirit of self-sacrifice peculiar to their order, with the hope of planting here the standard of their faith, and enlarging the jurisdiction of the Romish See. But these efforts proved abortive, for here, as elsewhere in the New World, their creed found no permanent lodgment. From the letters of these religionists to the general of their order in Rome, we catch definite views, during the period embraced between the years 1636 and 1687, of the homes of the Senecas.

Thenceforward, nearly a hundred years, this region affords little to arrest the historian; but afterwards something like a connected account will be possible.

The expedition of General Sullivan to the country of the Senecas, in the fifth year of the Revolutionary war, was charged by Washington with the destruction of the Indian villages on the Genesee, as a penalty for a long series of bloody wrongs perpetrated by the savages upon the whites. As a measure of future security to the settlements, it fully accomplished its object; this attained, red men and white alike briefly quit the region; the former, save as a broken remnant, never to return.

Reference will be made to the part taken by our citizens in the war of 1812; and to the reasons which, a few years later, controlled them in asking for the erection of the county: an event that occurred at a period of great derangement in the public finances, when communities were suffering from the effects of the unwise monetary policy of our second war with Great Britain.

Several of Sullivan's officers and soldiers, allured by the natural advantages of this region, led hither, soon after the Revolution, a tide of emigration to occupy the district then so recently wrested from the conquered tribes. The settlement grew with unexampled rapidity. The forests disappeared as though devoured, giving place to cultivated fields and incipient villages, and before the present century opened, the smoke of the pioneers' cabins might be seen drifting over widely-separated valleys and hill-sides. In order to show whence the early settlers mainly came, the origin of families will be traced, where practicable, and the fact will everywhere appear that our pioneers were, to a marked extent, actors in the war for Independence, mingled with families of refinement and

culture from the south and east, who early stereotyped the features of society here, and lent elevation to the aims of enterprise. Wholesome influences, thus early imparted, still operate with augmenting force. The people of this county have always been zealous patrons of education, foremost among the friends of political and intellectual advancement, and staunch supporters of the moral and religious movements of the century. Of their patriotism, that rich fruit of all virtues, the record of the great Rebellion affords a thousand evidences, though its sacrifices are as yet too recent, and its wounds too fresh, to be dwelt upon now, even if the theme demanded no worthier pen than that which indites these pages.

Biographical sketches claim their place in this work; since actors in historic events, and men who have enjoyed the highest honors of the state and nation, as well as those of less note who impressed their individuality upon the times, have lived here, or, dying, have left their mortal frames to rest in our green and quiet church-yard.

CHAPTER II.

INDIAN OCCUPANCY.

The **SENECA** nation of Indians were found occupying the region between the Genesee river and Cayuga lake, when it first became known to the whites.* At what period their abode became fixed here is a question not easily solved, since it is to incidental facts and traditions we are to look for light upon this subject, and these afford but uncertain data.

The country between the Genesee and the Niagara rivers, when first visited by Europeans, was nominally held by the **KAH-KWAS**, or Neutral Nation of Indians, though their villages were situated mainly along the latter river and extended nearly to the eastern shore of lake Huron, their hunting-grounds, however, included, as they claimed, the broad belt of debatable land that lay along the Genesee. In this doubtful frontier, inroads were frequently made by the Senecas, and conflicts between these two hostile tribes often took place. Soon after our knowledge of them begins, the **Kah-kwas**, as we shall see, were conquered by the Senecas, and were either driven southward or exterminated.

* The Dutch arrived at New York (by them called New Amsterdam) in 1609, and soon acquired some knowledge of the Western Indians, among others of the *Nun'-do-wah'-o-no'*, to whom they gave the name of **SENECAS**; but so unsettled was the orthography of the latter word, that the Colonial documents of our state give it in no less than 63 different ways.

At the opening of the Revolutionary war, a small band of ONEIDAS, and also a band of TUSCARORAS, adhering to the British cause, (though these two tribes mainly espoused the Colonial side,) left their eastern villages and removed to the Genesee, where each established a town; and a few of the Kah-kwas, descendants of those who had been adopted into the Seneca nation when their tribal organization was broken up, were found residing with the latter by the pioneers.

Of the races that preceded the Senecas and Kah-kwas we have little information, and even that little is derived mainly from local antiquities. This evidence, fragmentary at best, shows that, in the far off past, nations unlike the red aborigines have arisen, flourished here, and disappeared. The story is one of missing links and replete with mystery. Morgan says that the remains of Indian art here met with are of two kinds, and ascribable to widely-different periods. The former belong to the ante-Columbian, or era of Mound-Builders, whose defensive works, mounds, or sacred enclosures are scattered so profusely throughout the west; the latter include the remains of fugitive races who, after the extermination of the Mound-Builders, displaced each other in quick succession, until the period of the Iroquois commenced.*

The Senecas, first known to the whites as a part of the Five nations, have a history of their own, independent of their connection with their associate na-

* It was the opinion of Governor DeWitt Clinton, that previous to the occupation of this region by the progenitors of the Iroquois, it was inhabited by a race of men much more populous and much further advanced in civilization than they. Marshall, however, whose judgment is entitled to great weight, is not satisfied with the evidence so far produced of the existence in this vicinity of a race preceding the Indian. He thinks the ancient fortifications, tumuli, and artificial structures that abound in western New York, can all be referred to a more modern race than the Mound-Builders.

tions, and, consequently, earlier than the League of the Iroquois. This fact is found in certain special features of their system of consanguinity and affinity, wherein they differ from the Mohawks, Onondagas, Oneidas and Cayugas, and in which they agree with the Tuscaroras and Wyandots or ancient Hurons, tending to show that they and the two latter formed one people later in time than the separation of the nations from the common stem.* It is most likely, however, that the Senecas were then north of the chain of lakes.

The Iroquois call themselves Ho-de'-no-sau-nee, or People of the Long House. Their league, formed about the year 1450,† embraced at first the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas. Afterwards the Tuscaroras were admitted into the federation, constituting the sixth nation.‡ Their territory then extended from the Hudson to the Genesee river.

Their legends say that the league was advised by Hiawatha, the tutelar patron of the Iroquois, on the occasion of a threatened invasion of their country by a ferocious band of warriors from north of the great lakes. Ruin seemed inevitable, and in their extremity they appealed to Hiawatha. He urged the people to waste their efforts no longer in a desultory war, but to call a general council of the tribes. The meeting accordingly took place on the northern bank

* The Seneca child belongs to the mother's tribe, not to the father's. If the mother is of the clan of the Heron, her children also are Herons; and they call, not only their female parent, mother, but likewise call her sisters, mother, either "great" or "little" mother, as the sisters chance to be older or younger than the real mother.

† The Five nations were called *Maquas* by the Dutch; *Iroquois* by the French; *Minges* and *Confederates* by the English. They were sometimes called *Aganuschioni*, or People of the Long Cabin.

‡ Of these, the Mohawks, Onondagas and Senecas are called *Fathers*; the Cayugas and Oneidas are called *Sons*, and in their great councils are always thus respectively addressed.

of Onondaga lake. Here, referring to the pressing danger, Hiawatha said: "To oppose these northern hordes singly by tribes, often at variance with each other, is idle; but by uniting in a band of brotherhood, we may hope to succeed." Appealing to the tribes in turn, he said to the Senecas: "You, who live in the open country and possess much wisdom, shall be the fifth nation, because you best understand the art of raising corn and beans and making cabins." Then addressing all, he concluded: "Unite the Five nations in a common interest, and no foe shall disturb or subdue us; the Great Spirit will then smile upon us, and we shall be free, prosperous and happy. But if we remain as now, we shall be subject to his frown; we shall be enslaved, perhaps annihilated, our warriors will perish in the war-storm, and our names be forgotten in the dance and song." His advice prevailed, and the plan of union was adopted. His great mission on earth accomplished, Hiawatha went down to the water, seated himself in his mystic canoe, and, to the cadence of music from an unseen source, was wafted to the skies.*

The Iroquois owe their origin as a separate people, if not indeed their martial glory, to the encroachments of a neighboring nation more powerful than they. Originally inclined to tillage more than to arms, they resided upon the northern bank of the St. Lawrence, in the vicinity of Montreal. Here, as one nation, they lived in subjection to the Adirondacks. But provoked

* Longfellow lays the scene of his beautiful Indian Edda, *The Song of Hiawatha*, among the Ojibways, on the southern shore of lake Superior, in the region between the Pictured Rocks and the Grand Sable. In this poem the great bard has preserved the traditions prevalent among the North American Indians respecting this "child of wonder."

Street, in his noble epic of *Frontenac*, has preserved, especially in the notes, no little of interest connected with Hiawatha, whom he makes a mute, communicating with the tribes by signs, through a fellow-spirit.

by some infringement of rights, their latent spirit was aroused, and they struck for independent possession of the country. Failing in this, they were forced to quit Canada, and finally found their way into central and western New York, where, on the banks of its fair lakes and rivers, they at length laid the foundations of a power compared with which that of every other Indian nation falls far short.

It is said that the Iroquois had planned a mighty confederacy, and it is argued with reason, that had the arrival of the Europeans been delayed a century, the League would have absorbed all the tribes between the St. Lawrence and the Gulf of Mexico ; indeed the whole continent would have been at their mercy.

In principal the league was not unlike the plan of our own federal government. It guaranteed the independence of each tribe, while recognizing the due powers of the confederation ; at the same time personal rights were held in especial esteem.

The aboriginal congress consisted of fifty sachems, of whom the Senecas had eight. This body usually met at the council-house of the Onondagas, the central nation, where all questions affecting the confederacy were deliberated upon and decided. The business of this rude parliament was conducted with becoming dignity. The reason and judgment of these grave sachems, rather than their passions, were appealed to ; and it is said to have been a breach of decorum for a sachem in the great council to reply to a speech on the day of its delivery. Unanimity was a requisite, indeed no question could be decided without the concurrence of every member. The authority of these wise men consisted in the nation's good opinion of their courage, wisdom and integrity. They served without badge of office, and without pay, finding their reward alone in the veneration of their peo-

ple, whose interests they unceasingly watched. Indeed, public opinion nowhere exercised a more powerful influence than among the Iroquois, whose ablest men shared with the humblest in the common dread of the people's frown.

Subordinate to the sachems was an order of chiefs famous for courage and eloquence, among whom may be named Red Jacket, Cornplanter and Big Kettle, whose reasoning moved the councils, or whose burning words hurried the braves on to the war-path. No trait of the Iroquois is more to be commended than the regard they paid to woman. The sex were often represented in councils by orators known as Squaws' men. Red Jacket himself won no little reputation in that capacity. The Indian woman could thus oppose a war, or aid in bringing about peace. In the sale of the soil they claimed a special right to interfere, for, they urged, "the land belongs to the warriors who defend, and to the women who till it." The Iroquois squaw labored in the field, but so did females, even the daughters of princes, in the primitive ages. Rebekah, the mother of Israel, first appears in biblical history as a drawer of water; and the sweet and pious Ruth won the love of the rich and powerful Boaz, as a gleaner of the harvest.

Though broken in power in our Revolutionary war, the Iroquois confederacy remained a distinct people long after the eastern and southern tribes had lost their standing; yet the excellence of their system has served only to delay their complete subversion to the whites, and their gradual extinction as a separate people. From fifteen thousand souls, they are now reduced to a fourth of that number, and yet, with a persistency that must gain them at least poetic honors, they still preserve their ancient congress, and their

several national divisions, and keep intact their tribal clans or organizations.*

At a general council of sachems and wise men, held at the Cattaraugus reservation in the fall of 1862, the elder portion wanted to return to ancient usages, urging that the league had fallen from its high estate by too readily admitting the customs of the pale face and the religion of the Bible. The younger men, on the other hand, advanced their ground, and showed a desire for even greater innovations. The end is sure, and, sooner or later, that marvel of pagan wisdom, the Confederacy of the Five Nations, must, even in name, disappear from living institutions.

Our scanty information about the early occupants of this region, forces us to complete the page of aboriginal story from traditions. We turn therefore to the narrative of the Indian Cusick, and to similar sources.† In an account thus derived, dates must be wholly wanting in accuracy. As an instance, Cusick says the final troubles between the Senecas and the Eries took place about the time of the arrival of Columbus, when in truth they did not occur until a hundred and sixty years later.

We pass over Cusick's account of the origin of the Great Island which we call North America, the fabulous rise of the Indian Confederacy, six centuries before the Christian era, as he says, and other portions of the curious recital, and come down to the period

* These clans are, the *Wolf*, *Bear*, *Beaver*, *Turtle*, *Deer*, *Snipe*, *Heron*, and *Hawk*—eight in all. An Indian and squaw of the same clan might not marry—as in theory they were brother and sister—but must seek mates from another clan (though not necessarily of another tribe) than their own.

Each clan possesses its *totem* or symbol, which is a rude picture of a hawk, turtle, or other appropriate emblem.

† The narrative, to which we are indebted for data here, is by David Cusick, a Tuscarora Indian whose ancestors came from North Carolina and settled near Lewiston, N. Y. See Schooler, Arch. of Abor. Knowl., Vol. V.

of the allotment of homes to the tribes. The Senecas were directed to settle on a knoll south of Canandaigua lake, near the present village of Naples. Indeed, some traditions hold that they sprang from this knoll, hence their name, Nun'-do-wah'-o, which, in their tongue, signifies the Great Hill People.

An agent of the Superior Power was sent to instruct them in the duties of life; seeds were given, with directions for their use, and dogs, to aid in taking game. Villages sprang up, and prosperity abounded, but the Divine agent having returned to the heavens, monsters of singular forms invaded the country from time to time, and devoured many persons.

The monsters of the Indian were no borrowed prodigies, but the creation of his own untutored imagination, or natural beings invested by his fancy with supernatural attributes. The Flying-Head, a strange creature which, their legends say, invaded the homes of the Iroquois after night-fall to devour the inmates, until the villagers were compelled to build huts so fashioned as to exclude it, has no prototype. This bodiless hobgoblin, whose features were those of a man, with head, mane, and two hairy legs like the lion's, appears to have had a dread of fire, for its disappearance is ascribed to that cause. An old woman, parching acorns in her lodge one night, was visited by a Flying-Head. But on observing the burning fruit which the squaw appeared to be eating, the Head sunk into the earth, and with it vanished a legion of its fellows, to the great relief of the Indians, who held them in deadly fear.*



* The engraving presents Cusick's notion of the monster. The drawing is from a copy of the rare pamphlet edition of Cusick's narrative, for which I am indebted to Mr. Marshall. The Indian name of the Flying-Head was *Ko-ne-a-rau-neh-neh*.

A great lake serpent traversed the trails from Genesee river to Canandaigua lake, stopping intercourse, and compelling the villages to fortify against it. Later came "Stonish Giants," a cannibal race from beyond the Mississippi, who derived their name from the practice of rolling in the earth until their bodies became encrusted with sand and gravel, which rendered them impenetrable to arrows. Warriors gathered to drive them away, but they overran the country of the Senecas and others, and destroyed the people of several towns. The Holder of the Heavens now returned. By a stratagem he induced the giants to enter a deep hollow, and as they there lay sleeping, he hurled down upon them a mass of rocks which crushed to death all save one, who sought asylum in the regions of the north. A snake of great size, having a human head, soon after appeared in the principal pathway leading eastward from the sulphur springs at Avon. This too was destroyed by a band of braves, selected for their prowess, after a conflict, in which was exhibited, if we credit tradition, something more than mortal valor.

A thousand years before the arrival of Columbus, the Senecas were at war with the Kah-kwas. Battle succeeded battle, and the Senecas were at length repulsed with severe loss. Tidings of their disaster soon reached the great Atotarho,* a war chief highly venerated by the league, whose seat was at Onondaga, and he sent an army to their relief. Thus strengthened, they assumed the offensive and drove the enemy into their forts, which, at the end of a long siege, were surrendered, the principal chief put to death. The remnant of the tribe became incorporated with that of the conquerors. The latter now established their

* Or, more correctly, perhaps, *To-do-da-ho*.

dominion in the country of the Kah-kwas, and for a time, in that remote age, the Senecas held the southern shores of lake Ontario westward to Oak Orchard creek.

Grave discords appear to have occurred in the league about this period, incited by Atotarho, whose power is symbolized by a body covered with black snakes, and whose dishes and spoons were of the skulls of enemies. His claim to a first rank among native dignitaries, was in the end admitted by the several nations, and the title borne by him still remains hereditary in the Onondagas.

Two centuries later, a certain youth living near the original seat of the Seneca council-fire, while in the bushes one day, caught a two-headed snake, which he carried to his mother's hut. It was quite small, very beautiful, and appeared to be harmless. He fed it on bird's flesh, but its growth was so rapid that the hunters had soon to unite in supplying its ever-increasing appetite. Their supplies however were unequal to satisfy its voracious cravings, and it took to roaming through the forest and down into the lake, in quest of food. At length it went to the hill-top and there became inspired with ill-will toward its early friend, now a warrior. In dismay the young man removed to a distant village, and thus escaped the fate that was soon to befall his tribesmen. Game grew scarce before the serpent, and not only dreading evil from its wicked disposition but fearing lest its enormous appetite would reduce the tribe to starvation, the wise men resolved, in council, to put the monster to death. The hour of daylight one morning, was fixed upon for the work. But just as day was breaking, so runs the legend, the serpent descended with great noise to the fort wherein the villagers took refuge at night, in security from a race of giants with whom

they were at war.* So great had become the monster's size that, after encircling the fortification, its head and tail are said to have met at the gate-way, and its huge jaws lay distended at the very entrance, thus cutting off all exit. The inmates were paralyzed with fear, and did nothing for several days. Finally, driven by hunger, and sickened by the fetid odor exhaled from the serpent's body, they made efforts to climb over it, but all, save a young warrior and his sister, were devoured in the attempt. The young warrior, following the directions given in a dream, succeeded in piercing the serpent's vitals at a particular spot in the huge body, with a golden arrow delivered to him in a cloud. In its death-throes the monster plunged down the acclivity, uprooting trees by its weight, and disappeared beneath the waters of the lake, its course thitherward being marked by a trail of human heads disgorged at each bound, and, for generations afterwards, Indians say, the beach about the spot was whitened with skeletons of its victims.† The Seneca council-fire was

* The giants were called *Jo-gah-uh*. I am, to some extent, indebted to Mr. Jno. M. Bradford's version of this tradition.

† Hosmer, following Horatio Jones's version of the legend, says the pair whose lives were saved, were lovers:

——“remained at last

“Two lovers only of that mighty throng
To chant with feeble voice a nation's funeral song.

* * * * *

——“Ou-wee-ne-you cried,

Dropping a golden shaft——“and pierce the foe
Under the rounded scales that wall his side!”

* * * * *

“Flame-hued and hissing played its nimble tongue
Between thick, ghastly rows of pointed bone:—

* * * * *

“A twanging sound! and on its errand sped
The messenger of vengeance.

* * * * *

“Down the steep hill, outstretched and dead, he rolled,
Disgorging human heads in his descent;
And far the beach with spots of foam besprent,

now removed to a spot near Geneva, and afterwards to a mountain ridge west of the Genesee, not unlikely to Squakie Hill, as thought by some.

Four centuries before the advent of Columbus, the Hurons began hostilities against the Five Nations. From these, as from all other contests with western tribes, the Senecas mainly suffered. In one most sanguinary conflict the enemy were repulsed, but at a great sacrifice of lives to the Senecas, and runners were hurried out along the Genesee for re-inforcements. A brief delay followed, when the fighting was resumed, the enemy being now routed and driven from the field. Though successful in the end, this war forms a bloody epoch in the traditions of the Senecas.

Notwithstanding their ill fortune, the Kah-kwas appear to have regained power; for, fifty years later, they once more held the country between the Genesee and the Niagara rivers, and were governed by a female chief named Ya'-go-wa'-ne-a, whose seat of power was at Kienuka, a town situated on a slope of the mountain ridge near the present site of Lewiston. In her keeping was the symbolic house of peace. She received chiefs of other tribes, formed treaties, and made alliances. The fiercest strife was hushed in her presence, and warriors, whose nations were at feud, were bound to stay their quarrel while under her roof. Tradition concedes to her much wisdom, and relates how she long enjoyed peculiar influence, which, however, in a moment of passion, she forfeited. Two Senecas had been received at her castle, and while there smoking the pipe of peace, were, in flagrant contempt of comity permitted to be murdered for an alleged outrage upon a subject of hers in a distant village.

When the huge carcass disappeared for aye
In depths from whence it rose to curse the beams of day."

GENUNDEWAH, P. 175.

The rash act was followed by instant orders to her warriors to cross the Genesee and fall at once upon the Seneca villages, overpowering, if possible, the new-made enemy before they became fully aware of her perfidy.

While these measures were being hastened, a woman of the Kah-kwas, friendly to the Senecas, secretly made her way with the information to the war-chief of the latter nation at Canandaigua, who received it in great surprise. As no time was left him for procuring aid from the outlying bands of his own tribe, much less from allies, he drew fifteen hundred warriors from the nearest towns, placed them in two divisions under different chiefs, and set out to meet the Kah-kwas. Halting near the fort at Gah-nyuh-sas,* (Conesus,) the women, children and old men who had followed with supplies, were allowed to come up, and left here for safety.

The enemy had already crossed the river in large numbers, as runners, momentarily arriving, reported. The two divisions of the Senecas were accordingly moved forward and placed in ambush on either side of the pathway, while one of their number, disguised as a bear, was sent along the trail as a decoy. This the Kah-kwas soon met, but, suspecting nothing, chased the false bear into the midst of the hidden braves. Like a whirlwind the Senecas now fell upon them, their terrific yells, the din of war clubs and clash of spears adding to the confusion. A wild scene ensued. The disorder of the Kah-kwas was temporary however, and the conflict quickly became one of varying fortunes, but the enemy's weight of numbers pushed the first division back upon the second, when

* Cusick gives the orthography, *Kaw-nes-als*. The Indian fort was near Bosley's mill; the more modern Indian village was located half a mile south of Conesus lake, on the flat between the inlet and Henderson's creek.

the Senecas, inspired by the impending danger, were seized with a war frenzy, and at length drove the enemy from the field. The latter fled across the Genesee, leaving six hundred of their dead behind. The Seneca chief, declining to pursue, returned with his forces to Canandaigua, where he celebrated the victory with savage parade. Tradition fixes the place of this battle in the vicinity of Geneseo, and Schoolcraft, satisfied of the correctness of the location, calls it the Great Battle of Geneseo.*

Before setting out to beat off the invaders, the Seneca chieftain had despatched runners to the central fire at Onondaga, with an account of the situation, and the great battle-chief of the league, Shorihowane, was soon on the war-path with a large force for support of the Senecas. Though learning the issue of the conflict, he yet resolved farther to punish the Kahkwah by capturing their principal fort and extinguishing their council-fire.† It is said that his united force numbered five thousand warriors. Flushed with recent victory, they marched rapidly toward the Genesee, crossed over and made for the fort, which they attacked with great energy. The enemy, fully prepared, delivered a cloud of arrows in return, one of which early in the siege struck the war-chief, whose death soon followed. The body enfolded in panther skins was carried across the Genesee, and there buried with befitting honors.‡ The siege, meanwhile,

* Cusick, General Ely Parker, Schoolcraft and other authorities, agree in locating the battle-ground at Geneseo. Colonel Hosmer thinks the battle occurred further to the east.

† The fort was called *Kau-quat-kay*, and was on Eighteen-mile creek, in Erie County.

‡ Some years ago the remains of a giant Indian were found not far from Long Point on the Groveland side of Conesus lake. The head lay in a turtle-shell, and by the side were found implements of war and other evidences of a noted burial. For some reason that has now escaped me, I have associated

was zealously pressed, and the queen at length yielded and sued for peace, when hostilities ceased, and the Kah-kwas were left in possession of their country.

Just prior to the arrival of Columbus, the shock of an earthquake was felt, and comets and other omens of the heavens were observed. The meaning of these occurrences was not then divined, but a prophet soon appeared, who foretold the coming of a strange race from beyond the great waters. He announced that the expected strangers designed driving the Indians from their hunting-grounds and wresting away their homes, and he threatened the Great Spirit's wrath upon any who should listen to the pale-faces. To add to these perturbations, another war broke out between the tribes west of the Genesee and the Five Nations, the weight of which, as usual, fell heavily upon the Senecas. Long and bloody conflicts ensued, and, while hostilities were yet in progress, the great event foretold by the prophet—that most pregnant fact of all Indian history, the arrival of Columbus—was heralded by the fleetest of foot along the myriad pathways of the continent. The imagination alone can picture the bewildering effect of the tidings. Wonder, awe, doubt and fear, each in turn, must have moved them, but though hushed for a moment by this event, the decisive struggle between the warring tribes went forward. The cause of this contest was so slight that tradition says it originated in a breach of faith on the part of the Kah-kwas at a game of ball to which they had challenged the Senecas. Careful writers, however, deriving their data from other sources than tradition, place this war at a much later period, and allege that it grew out of matters connected with the settlement of Canada by the French, which produced

this grave with the great war-chieftain referred to in the text, though most likely without much reason.

quarrels in the great Indian family. In these the Wyandots adhered to the French side, and the Five Nations to that of the Dutch and English. The Algonquins made common cause with the French and their allies the Wyandots. The Kah-kwas had already formed an alliance with the Mississaugas, an Algonquin tribe residing west and north of lake Ontario. The Kah-kwas were related both to the Wyandots and Five Nations. Their country lay between that of the Canadian and western tribes and that of the Iroquois; hence, from choice not only, but from motives of prudence as well, they desired now to observe that policy of neutrality from practicing which, as a rule, they derived their designation of the Neutral Nation. The situation was one of extreme delicacy, and their state craft proved unequal to the occasion; for, in attempting to please both belligerents, both became offended. The Iroquois, or, more properly, the Senecas, turned upon them in fury, but were met by a nation worthy their best courage. If we may credit tradition, the conflict lasted through twenty bloody moons, ending about the year 1651 in the decisive overthrow of the Kah-kwas, or, to give their Indian designation, the Attiouandaronk, whose name, as a separate people, now disappears from the roll of tribes.

According to the early Jesuits, the Kah-kwas excelled the Hurons in stature, strength, and symmetry, and wore their dress with a superior grace. "They regarded their dead with peculiar veneration. Once in every ten years the survivors of each family gathered the remains of their deceased ancestors from the platforms on which they had been deposited, and buried them in heaps with many superstitious ceremonies. This was called the feast 'of the dead.' Many of the mounds thus raised may still be seen."* This prac-

* Marshall's *Niagara Frontier*.

tice, it may be remarked, was anciently observed by other tribes also. The skeletons of a family were often preserved from generation to generation in bark huts built beside the former cabin of the deceased. In seasons of public insecurity, the bones from many family depositories would be consigned to a common resting-place.

In 1655, the Eries, who had often opposed the Senecas upon the hostile field, were also overthrown by the latter. The country west of the Genesee was now conquered. But "for more than a century this beautiful region was abandoned to the undisturbed dominion of nature, save when traversed by the warrior on his predatory errand, or the hunter in pursuit of game. A dense and unexplored wilderness extended from the Genesee to the Niagara, with but here and there an interval, where the oak openings let in the sunlight, or the prairie lured the deer and the elk to crop its luxuriant herbage."*

We have thus briefly traced some of the leading features of Indian tradition bearing upon this locality. Our knowledge of the aborigines is still in part dependent upon tradition or subject of conjecture only. But, from stray threads of fact and story, consistent theories have been framed, while research among tumuli and other traces of Indian occupancy, and the ever-busy study of still living representatives of this strange people, serve to make their character better known, besides casting light upon their origin. Quitting the domain of tradition, we shall find that the veritable history of this region extends only two hundred and fifty years into the abyss of the past. In 1614 the Dutch planted a trading post on the island immediately below the site of Albany. Here they

* Marshall's *Niagara Frontier*.

acquired a knowledge of the Five Nations, and, for a period of nearly fifty years, the friendliest relations existed between the two races. The English at length succeeded both to the territory and to this good understanding, and, with singular fidelity, the covenant-chain was mutually preserved down to the opening of the Revolution, upwards of a century and a half, a fact that went far toward predisposing the Iroquois to take the British side in that struggle, as we well know they did, with most bloody effect.

CHAPTER III.

THE SENECA.

The Indians residing along the river were known to the Jesuits as the Senecas of the Je-nis'-hi-yuh,* and were noted for their thrift and good husbandry, 'using the word for squaw-labor,' as well as for their warlike deeds. The corn grown by them was of a superior quality. In destroying their crops General Sullivan's soldiers found ears of this grain full twenty-two inches in length; and the first sweet corn ever seen in New England was carried thither, it is said, in a soldier's knapsack from Beardstown in 1779. Squashes, beans and melons were also raised in great abundance. Orchards of apple and peach trees, produced from seeds or sprouts, grew near every village, their location being still marked, here and there, by an apple tree; and sometimes a small group remains, which escaped destruction from Sullivan's soldiers. Pears, too, had been introduced, and there was no lack of wild fruits, such as plums, grapes, and cranberries. Tobacco was successfully raised by the Indians here. Indeed, the natives considered the quality of this article produced by our rich warm valley soil so fine that they gave it

* Or Jo-nis-hi-yuh, or *Chenussio*, as written by the Jesuits. The word is also given *Cenosio*, *Chinossia*, and *Jenesio*, in Col. Docs. of N. Y. The Senecas were sometimes called *Chenessios*, *Tsinusios*, *Tsinontouans*, or *Sinnodowane*. See Appendix for pronunciation of Indian names.

a name signifying "the only tobacco."* Indian cultivation, however, embraced but a very limited share of the territory, for beyond an occasional spot on the river flats, tilled by squaws, this region remained essentially a wilderness until the advent of the whites.

The Senecas were not only the most populous nation of the league, but were foremost on the war-path and first in warlike deeds. They gloried in their national title of Ho-nan-ne-ho'-ont, or "the door-keepers," for, as guardians of the upper entrance, they stood interposed as a living barrier between the hostile nations of the west and the eastern tribes of the confederacy. And in later times they proved a safeguard to the whites from incursions of the French and allies of the latter. The Senecas not only defended the Western door, but often, on their own account, carried their arms into the country of the southern and western nations, while "other tribes sat smoking in quiet on their mats." The league held that any warrior was at liberty to form a party, place himself at its head, and make war on his own account against foreign tribes, west or south.

A band of braves on the war-path presented nothing of display. Moving silently, in single file, they threaded the all but limitless forests. Each carried a little sack of parched corn, and usually a pouch of smoked venison. In expeditions of danger, at a distance from home, if this supply gave out, a tightening of the waist belt would often serve instead of the scanty supper. In later times the flint and steel, with a handful of dried leaves, would produce a fire in some

* Morgan mentions a similar fact. Three several experiments in tobacco-raising have been made in this county: *First*, by the Indians, as mentioned above; *next*, by the pioneers, about the year 1795; and *third*, the present experiment, for it is now being raised to considerable extent here. The soil of our fertile bottoms and sandy uplands seems well adapted to the production of this great narcotic.

well-hidden spot, where, for a night, with feet to the smouldering embers, unwatched by sentinel, the party would commit themselves to brief slumber. In 1680, the Senecas with six hundred warriors, invaded the country of the Illinois on the Mississippi.* Schoolcraft says of the Senecas and other members of the league, that they roved at will from Lake Champlain to the Illinois, and extended their conquests along the Ohio into the region of Kentucky. At different periods they made inroads into the Carolinas and elsewhere at the south, their courage and skill securing success in all quarters. The chronicles of no age afford examples excelling the fortitude with which those Iroquois braves suffered the tortures inflicted by their captors. "When taken in battle they asked nothing and expected nothing. The whole history of martyrdom may be challenged for a parallel to the almost superhuman courage and constancy exhibited by the Iroquois captain put to the torture at Fort Frontenac."† The captive warrior would often sing his song of defiance on being led with blackened face from the "cabin of death,"‡—as the dark hut was called where the doomed were kept while preparations for torture were proceeding—and boast, in the very teeth of his remorseless captors, while the fatal flames were crisping his flesh, of how many of their numbers he had slain, and how many scalps had been scored to him on the war-post.

* Street thus refers to this expedition (the *Tortoise*, the *Wolf*, and the *Bear* being used figurately for *clans* of the Iroquois.)

"By the far Mississippi the Illini shrank,
When the trail of the *tortoise* was seen at the bank,
On the hills of New England the Pequot turned pale,
When the howl of the *wolf* swelled at night on the gale,
And the Cherokee shook in his green smiling bowers,
When the foot of the *bear* stamped his carpet of flowers."

† He was a Seneca. The account is given by Charlevoix.

‡ By some tribes called the "lodge of judgment."

Mary Jemison said that to commemorate great events and to preserve the chronology of them, the war chief in each tribe kept a war-post, a peeled stick of timber ten or twelve feet high erected in the town. For a campaign the chief made a perpendicular red mark about three inches long and half an inch wide; on the opposite side of this, for a scalp, they made a red cross, thus \times , on another side, for a prisoner taken alive, they make a red cross in this manner \times , with a head or dot.* These hieroglyphics enabled them to represent with no little certainty the facts they wished to record.

The Senecas shared fully in the superstitions common to their race. Belief in witchcraft prevailed, and omens had no little influence in shaping their action both in peace and war. On the gravest occasion a dream would secure listeners and its teachings seldom went unheeded. At a New Year's festival in Squakie Hill, after the sacrificial dog was killed, an old Indian who lived on the flats below told the following dream at the council-house, the whole village giving their undivided attention: "I had got ready with my two sons the previous evening," said he, "to attend the festival, but before starting I fell asleep and dreamed that we had set out. Everything appeared strange along the path. Squakie Hill seemed thrice its usual height and looked as if covered with a deep snow, although there was very little. I stopped a moment when two winged men flew by us, one of whom alighted on a tree near by. I was frightened and asked 'what means this?' 'We are devils,' said they, 'and are come because Indians are bad men and get drunk.' They told me that unless I stopped whiskey and became good, they would have me. The figure in the

* See Mary Jemison's life. Her husband, Hiakatoo, had a war post on which were recorded his military and other exploits.

changed to a great negro, and taking his seat upon a limb, turned toward me with a horrible grin, thrusting at me a pole six feet long, on which was hung a dead Indian by the feet. The face of the corpse was very ghastly and its mouth widely stretched. The devil remarked that all who quarreled or got drunk would be treated in the like horrid manner. The body of the dead Indian was then whirled at me. The shock awoke me." Instead of a lecture on intemperance, a vice to which the tribe were greatly addicted, the old Indian wisely chose to enforce the moral by availing himself of the regard held by his race for the supernatural. The dream seemed strongly to impress his audience.

To form a correct notion of the every-day life of the Seneca, we must penetrate into his domestic condition. We shall find him hospitable at his home, however relentless he proved on the war-path. His hut was always open, and if a family or company of several strangers came from a distance, it was not unusual to give up to them the best lodge in the village during their stay. In times of scarcity—and, owing to their improvidence, such times often came—they shared with each other even to the last morsel. Indeed, individual starvation was unknown, and, save where a whole tribe was brought to famine, none suffered for want of food.

Their lodges in ancient days were of poles covered with bark or skins in form of the cone-shaped wigwam, but when the axe came into use they built of poles or small logs in the style of a square or oblong hut. In general the size was ten feet by twelve within the walls, and about seven feet high at the sides. The door was invariably at the end. The roof was steep and covered with chestnut tree, hemlock or cucumber-wood bark, in broad folds, tied to the roof-poles with

strands of the inner bark of the hickory. Two courses thus laid on would cover the one side of the roof, and a broad piece placed lengthwise at the ridge made all tight there. The fire was built on the ground, in the centre, for there were no floors, the smoke finding vent through an opening in the roof. Neither tables nor chairs were provided within, but along each side, and across the end opposite the door, a rude wooden bunk, raised a foot or more, and about three feet in width, covered with bark and skins, served instead of stools and beds. Four or five feet higher was a shelf, on which were thrown provisions and domestic utensils. A village comprised from five to fifty huts, seldom more than the latter number, and, as the Indian dug no wells, were located near copious springs, or in later times on the banks of considerable streams.

The simple culinary art required a kettle for meats and vegetables, one or more wooden platters, and three or four hunting-knives to a household. Wild game was often spitted on a stick before the fire, and the loaf of pounded corn and beans was roasted in the ashes under the embers. The Indian woman's cookery offered few temptations to the white man's palate. Her loaf was kneaded with unwashed hands, in a bark-tray none too tidy, and her meats were prepared without attention to the care which civilization demands. The Indian trail over Groveland hill ran near the foot of a long meadow of John Harrison's, where a fine spring of water often beguiled the natives to stop and cook their game. On one occasion they made a feast there of corn and venison boiled together. The deer was skinned, cut up and cast into the brass kettle, flesh, bones, entrails and all. Mr. Harrison, who was at work near by, was urged by the Indians to partake of their pottage, but as he had seen it prepared, his appetite rebelled, and he declined, with thanks. A pioneer, on

another occasion, was invited to eat hominy with a strolling band of Senecas, who had already been some time at their meal. There was but one spoon to the party, and that had been used by each in turn. The chief took the spoon and, after wiping it upon the sole of his moccasin, passed it to the guest, who, though welcome, feasted with long teeth.

To us the Indian's home would not have been a place of comfort. Its single room, noxious with smoke, and the members of the household lounging here and there upon the ground, admitted neither of neatness or privacy, nor of delicacy. On poles, well varnished with soot, in the upper portion of the hut, (if indeed the dusky atmosphere had permitted that part to be seen) might be noticed a motley collection of clothing, corn, skins of animals, and dried pumpkins and squashes, intermingled with weapons and ornaments. The huts were without windows, for the Indian knew little of the thousand nameless comforts which make our homes so grateful, but, being unknown, were unmissed by him. The Seneca here passed his winters in contentment. His wants were few, his food was ample in quantity and, to him, palatable in kind; and, if his hut was uncleanly, it may yet have been preferable to the abodes of squalor in which many of the vicious and wretched of our great cities pass their lives. The squaw, who had planted, hoed and harvested the corn, prepared it for the winter's meal and cheerfully served it to her not exacting husband. And he was a happy man. Though taciturn in public, he was not unsocial within his own domicil, where his neighbors often met to smoke his tobacco, laugh at his jest, not the most refined, and listen to his stories of war and the chase.

The Senecas were willing to have schools established for the education of their children. Accordingly, in

December, 1815, the Presbyterian Synod of Geneva located one at Squakie Hill, in a building provided through the efforts of the Reverend Daniel Butrick, and placed Jerediah Horsford in charge. The class averaged about twenty pupils, who proved attentive to rules and learned readily. The parents took kindly to the Ga-ya'-dos-hah sha-go'-yas-da-ni—meaning "he teaches them books"—as they called the school-master, and passed many hours in the class-room, curious spectators of proceedings so novel to them.

Indian sports consisted of foot-races, ball-playing, pitching of quoits, and shooting with the bow and arrow. Dancing, too, was greatly enjoyed by both sexes. Foot-racing was also a favorite pastime, and some of the Indian runners boasted that they could out-travel the horse in a long journey. Horatio Jones was heard to say that he had known an Indian to strike a deer's trail in the morning and run the animal down before night. Morgan says that "in preparing to carry messages they denuded themselves entirely, with the exception of the breech-cloth and belt. They were usually sent out in pairs, and took their way through the forest, one behind the other, in perfect silence." "A trained runner would traverse a hundred miles a day. But three days were necessary, it is said, to convey intelligence from Buffalo to Albany. During the war of 1812, a runner left Tonawanda at daylight in the summer season, for Avon, a distance of forty miles upon the trail, delivered his message, and returned to Tonawanda again about noon the same day."

Ball was usually played by a dozen or more quick-footed Indians. The ball once tossed up was to be kept up with bats, the longer the period the more successful the game. In the fall of 1799 a number of gentlemen of the city of New York, while spending a

few days in Geneseo, subscribed a small fund, and invited the Indians of one of the neighboring villages to come over and play a game of ball. About three hundred responded, from whom a party of the more skillful was selected. The sport proved exciting both to players and spectators, and became so spirited that the most athletic batsmen were obliged to lie down now and then for short respites.

In autumn, after the crops were secured, the Indian's season of hunting begun. Men, women and children prepared for these occasions with alacrity. A stick leaned against the door from the outside was sufficient to secure their homes from intrusion during their absence. Camping from place to place in chosen spots, for a week or more at a time, the hunters would follow the game during the day, and the evening would be spent in dancing and eating, and in drinking too, when spirits were procurable. A grassy plot near William Magee's distillery, in Sparta, was a station to which they were partial. Here, after a day's chase, the Indians would despatch a brass-kettle of whiskey, and then form a ring for dancing. Both sexes and all ages joined in singing, as, hand in hand, they moved around in a circle, one of their number keeping time with a stick upon the emptied brass-kettle. A dry bladder, containing a few kernels of corn or beans, or a gourd rattle, would also be shaken by one of the dancers as an accompaniment. Whites persons were always welcome spectators of these merry-makings.

The inlet of Hemlock lake on the Springwater side, about the season of the falling leaves, was a favorite haunt of the natives, for trout fishing ; and hither with her tribe, from year to year, came a female known as the handsome squaw, whose grace of person and freedom of motion are recollected by men now living. Indeed, we still hear old persons speak of the sprightly

ways and gentle wildness of Indian girls; and, were we seeking incidents of a romantic nature in this connection, enough might be gathered for an entertaining chapter. Near Scottsburg, also, under a clump of wild plum trees growing near the present grist mill, the Indians were in the habit of encamping, to hunt and fish in the neighborhood; while at Caledonia spring the whole tribe annually gathered, to renew their friendships and to enjoy the fine fishing afforded by its noted waters. A spot near the head of Conesus lake and many other hunting-seats were also used.

But the day of the hunter in this region is well-nigh passed away. Half a century ago his efforts were richly rewarded. The woods abounded with deer and rabbits, the openings with wood-cock, and the air with pigeons in their season; while wild-geese, ducks, and other water-fowl, swarmed the shores of the lakes and rivers. Bears, panthers and wolves, as well as foxes and wild cats, were so common that pioneer merchants drove a thrifty trade in exchanging goods for scalps of these destructive animals, to be redeemed, in turn, by the authorities, at fixed bounties.

Intercourse between the natives and the white settlers was marked by good nature. The Indians were generally truthful and honest; though, after taverns and stores begun to multiply, the younger class, tempted by the novelty, fell into the habit of lounging and were now and then caught in petty thefts. Colonel Lyman, an early merchant of Moscow, says that while out of his store for a moment one day, Cayuga Tom, an overgrown young Indian, took down a pair of stockings from a cross-pole and stuck them under his belt. The articles being at once missed, Colonel Lyman said, "Tom, you stole those stockings, now you can take a round flogging, or go to jail."—"Well," grunted the native; and drawing his blanket

closely about him, he bent forward his shoulders, inviting the blows. A rawhide was applied with so much vigor as to bring the blood at every stroke. When the punishment ended, Tom straightened up and remarked, with the utmost good nature, "all settled now," and handed back the stockings. In unloading some potash one afternoon, Colonel Lyman dropped his hat, nearly a new one. His brother, who noticed him going bareheaded, said, "If you can't find your own hat, there lies a first-rate one on the counter inside, which I have just taken of an Indian in pawn." The hat proved to be the Colonel's own, which the cunning native had managed to pick up unseen and to dispose of. The whites often bartered with the Indians for splint baskets, which were ornamented with high colored paints, splint brooms, willow-ware, moccasins, venison, berries and fish. The native was never wanting in shrewdness when conducting a trade. An Indian fisherman, in offering Deacon Stanley a string of fine brook trout, was asked, "What's your price?" "One shilling, one fish," was the answer. "But there is a little one! a shilling for that?" "Oh yes, just as hard to catch him as big one," was quickly rejoined.

The squaw usually had charge of the luggage, which she carried upon her back, fastened by the burden strap or tump-line, a broad band of finely-braided bark, suspended from the forehead, crossed at the shoulders, and fastened to a little belt behind. The usual small trading parties consisted of an Indian and his family, but sometimes two or three families united and drove a shaggy pony before a wagon on which was piled their wares, the traffickers trudging along on foot. The men commonly wore the native costume, especially the inevitable blanket with its smoky smell. The squaws, always bareheaded, wore cloth petticoats,

often of fine texture, leggings of the same, and deer-skin moccasins, neatly worked with colored beads and shells. The little pappoose, bound to its light frame, was borne upon the mother's back, its arms pinioned, and its little copper visage often exposed to the sun. This baby-frame of strong, light wood, was a couple of feet in length and about fifteen inches wide at the shoulders, the whole surmounted by a hoop, placed just above the head, upon which a curtain or veil was then placed, to screen the child's face, and from which also hung some jingling ornament to attract the little one. The frame served the infant abroad and at home. While the mother looked after her domestic affairs in the cabin, it hung from a peg so arranged that, on passing, a touch from her hand would set it swinging. In the field, suspended from a limb, it was secure from snakes and other forest dangers, and the wind, by giving it motion, would lull the little occupant to sleep. Schoolcraft says that moss was placed between the heels of female infants, to make them in-toed; in males the adjustment of the moss was designed to produce a perfectly straight position of the foot.

It was not an uncommon thing for the first settlers to awake far in the night and find their floors covered with Indians who had thus snatched a few hours rest, quitting before morning as quietly as they came. A piece of venison or other article would often be left by these uninvited lodgers in requital. The early settlers profited by the native's knowledge of the forest. The pioneer who had lost his way in the woods, as not unfrequently happened, was fortunate if he chanced to meet an Indian, for the latter's sense of location seemed unerring. It mattered not how far astray the bewildered traveler might be, the native would never leave him with verbal directions merely, but, acting the part of guide, would pilot the traveler safely back into the

proper path. Colonel George Smith says the Indians would go to any new and strange location, pitch their wigwams and chase deer in all directions, the weather being ever so stormy or cloudy, and, at the proper time, would steer as direct for their camp as could a surveyor with his compass.

The Indians did not at once learn to curb their propensity to use weapons for settling disputes or for obtaining what they desired, and the pioneers saw many examples of their impatient tempers. When in liquor they were easily exasperated, when the whites sometimes came in for a share of blows, though seldom with fatal results. But a knife or axe would be drawn on small provocation. An Indian, named Yankee John, came to the house of William Fullerton, in Sparta, one winter evening, with a deer upon his shoulder.* He was cold and demanded liquor, though he had evidently been drinking. This denied, he became saucy, and at length drew his knife, in a threatening way, upon Fullerton. The latter's Scotch blood was stirred. Stepping to the stairway he took down from its wooden hook, a heavy black horse-whip and gave the Indian a fearful welting. Mrs. Fullerton begged for mercy to the native, who by this time, was quite satisfied to give up the whiskey, and to spend the remainder of the night in quiet, sleeping from choice as he did upon the pioneer's hearth-stone, after partaking of a generous meal, before a well-kept fire of smouldering logs. Colonel Stanley saw much of the Indians while clerk for Allen Ayrault. He relates that a young Indian, who had been drinking, came

* "*Yankee John*" was a large Indian, who had a halt in his gait. While hunting one day he was pursued by a bear. Attempting escape, he started up a tree but Bruin, too quick for him, pulled the Indian back, crushed his leg, and would have made short work with him had not the redman's long knife speedily settled the bear's accounts.

into the store one night, picked up a silk handkerchief and placed it under his belt. The act was observed, and the clerk, though alone, demanded the property, which was refused. A scuffle followed, the handkerchief was recovered, and the young thief ordered to quit the store, but he declined to go. Stanley stepped toward him, when the Indian drew a knife with serious intent. Stanley picked up an axe-helve, knocked the knife from the Indian's hand, and the two clinched. The Indian, though the larger, was slightly intoxicated, and Stanley managed to hustle him to the doorway, elevated fully three feet from the ground, when, exerting all his strength, he thrust out his antagonist, who fell upon the frozen earth, with a groan, and lay for sometime quite stunned by the fall. Stanley lost no time in closing the store that night.

Surviving pioneers recollect many odd customs of the Indians. Colonel George Smith witnessed the following ceremony over a young native: He was first made dead drunk. A "shavety-knife" or razor, was sought for among the neighboring whites, but none being at hand, a hunting knife was sharpened.— Placing a chip under the subject's right ear, a slit parallel with the outer edge of that member, was cut all the way around, leaving a rim somewhat thicker than a pipe-stem still attached at each end. The other ear was treated in the same manner, and both were bound up in sheet lead. When the Indian became sobered he sat up, felt of his ears, and finding that all was right, raised his hands in great delight and cried out, "ga-ya'-dos-hah; sha-go-yas-da-ni Geh-sa'-no-wa-nah nuh,"* meaning, "now I am a great name; no longer boy;" "Big Injun me!"

* The latter Indian word was often pronounced, *Shinne-wanna*. But I have followed the orthography of Rev. Asher Wright, missionary at Cattaraugus Reservation, who has reduced the Seneca language to a written system.

The curative means of the Indians consisted of roots and herbs. Dancing and singing were often resorted to; and, in extreme cases, witchcraft was employed; for the older natives still held to the belief that disease was the result of sorcery. Indian medicine men might often be seen in the woods gathering their stores of simples. Tall Chief and John Jemison were noted for their skill in medicines, especially in applying remedies for the rattle-snake's bite, the ingredients of which they steadily refused to name, though they would go far and near to relieve a white patient. Mr. Horsford witnessed a dance designed to restore an Indian seriously indisposed. Three natives, with false faces, each wearing a deer-skin wrapped around the shoulders and another about the waist, entered the hut. They at once began a slow dance, passing, at each round, between the fire and the patient, who, quite naked, was seated upon the hearth. On stepping by the fire, two of the dancers would gather up ashes and scatter over the sick man, while the third shook a turtle-shell rattle at him, and then darted to the sides of the room and shook it about the walls and over the bed. The ceremonies continued several minutes, when the dancers took off their masks and, without a word, left the house. The squaw of the household then brought in food, which had been prepared for the occasion, and distributed it to the guests.

The Senecas believed in a Great Spirit, whom they feared, and in an evil spirit whom they hated, but whose power they held as scarcely inferior to that of the other. After death, the good were to go directly to pleasant hunting-grounds, where game would be always abundant; the bad, to a place of temporary punishment, whence, in due time, they also were to be permitted to enter the happy home. The journey after death was one of considerable length. Hence, a dish of food

and a wooden spoon were buried with the corpse, and the gun, tomahawk, and scalping-knife of the warrior were placed by his side in the grave. The Indian's heaven was designed for his race alone, though an exception was made in favor of Washington in reward for his acts of kindness toward the red man.

Aboriginal belief that the soul survives the body rested on traditions like this :* In ancient times a war broke out between two tribes. On one side the forces were jointly led by a great warrior and a noted hunter. The latter had killed much game for the skins, the remains being left for beasts and birds of prey.—The battle was going against his side, and he saw that to save his own life he must quit the field. As he turned, the body of a great tree lay across his path. He came up to it when a heavy blow felled him. On recovering, he found, strangely enough, that he could as easily pass through as over the obstruction. Reaching home, his friends would not talk with him ; indeed, they seemed quite unaware of his presence. It now occurred to him that he too had been killed and was present in spirit only, human eyes not seeing him. He returned to the place of conflict, and there, sure enough, lay his mortal part quite dead and its scalp gone. A pigeon-hawk, flying by, recognized the disembodied hunter and gratefully offered to recover his scalp, so, stretching away in its flight to the retiring victors, he plucked it from the bloody pole. The other birds had meantime prepared a medicine which soon united the scalp to the head, when bears and wolves gathered around and joined in the dance. The hunter got well and lived many years, his experience strengthening their religious faith and teaching them how to use the remedies so strangely acquired,

* Mr. Horsford had this tradition from the lips of an aged Seneca.

which, to this day are among the most efficacious known to the Indians.

The Senecas recognized a variety of subordinate spirits. Medicine, water, trees, their three favorite vegetables—corn, beans and squash—and other material objects, had each its tutelar deity. They observed six periodical festivals: the maple, the planting, the green-corn, the berry, the harvest, and, crowning all, the New Year's jubilee, at which the white dog was sacrificed. The Great Spirit was thus thanked for blessing their labors and thus invoked for future favors. Their thanksgiving did not assume the character of prayer. Indeed, they did not appear to comprehend the nature and design of prayer, since sins of the heart were not contemplated by their system, which considered only the outward act.

The New Year's festival at Squakie Hill, in 1816, opened on the morning of the 7th of February.* A white dog was brought to the council-house and strangled, care being taken not to break its bones or shed its blood, and hanged to a post. Its body was then striped with red paint, and five strings of purple beads were fastened about the neck. A stem of hedge-hog quills was attached to the body, from which hung a clump of feathers, a rag filled with something like fine tobacco being placed under them. To each leg was tied a bunch of feathers with red and yellow ribbons. The day was spent in short speeches and dream-telling. Near night, two Indians, with blackened faces, appeared in bear skins, with long braids of corn husks about their ankles and heads. Keeping time to a dolorous song, they begun a tour of the vil-

* Hon. Jerediah Horsford was present at this festival and noted the ceremonies from day to day in his diary. To this I am indebted for data. Governor Geo. W. Patterson attended the festival three years later, at the same place, in company with several young men of Groveland, and has given me valuable facts.

lage. Entering a house, they would pound the benches and sides and then proceed to the next, and so on throughout the village.

The discharge of three guns opened the second day's proceedings, when five Indians appeared with long wooden shovels, and began to scatter fire and ashes until the council-house became filled with dust and smoke. This ceremony was repeated at each house several times during the day, but to a different tune at each round.

Speeches, exciting levity, and dreams, occupied the third morning. About noon the fire-shovelling was repeated with increased vigor. This over, the clothing of the actors and others was changed, their heads were adorned with feathers and their faces with paint. A number of squaws in calico short gowns and blue broadcloth petticoats, ornamented with bead-work and a profusion of silver brooches, joined in the dance, which, beginning at the council-house, was repeated at every hut several times during the day. A species of gambling with a wooden dish and six wooden balls and a like number of white beans, was practiced from house to house. In the evening a party of dancers would enter a dwelling, and soon a person dressed in bear-skin and false face, would come in, when the dancers, as if afraid, beat a retreat to the next house.

The fourth day was devoted to ceremonies in which false faces and dancing held the principal place.

The maskers re-appeared on the fifth day. They approached every person for a trifling gift. An apple, a plug of tobacco, or a few pennies, was enough, in default of which the party refusing was often roughly handled. Two Indians, disguised as bears, came next. On their entering a house the inmates would at once quit it, when the mock bears pretended a disposition to tear everything in pieces

or to overturn whatever fell in their way. A number of Indians followed them, flashing guns, as though forcibly to drive out the simulated bears. Next in order was a game of ball upon the ice, played with great life by a party of seven on each side. Many a hard fall occurred, which always drew forth shouts of laughter. Three Indians then appeared in deer-skins and rags, one of whom, personating the evil one, had his clothing literally torn from his body by his companions, who quickly covered him with skins, and then led him from hut to hut. In each hut he would lie down and roll along the ground, tumble into the fire, paw out the ashes and scatter it about the room, all the while groaning and making great ado. A dancing group next entered the council-house, with painted faces, attired in skins, with feathers around their heads and with deer's hoofs or pieces of tin fastened about their legs. A large Indian, with bow and arrows, soon came in, bringing three lads. The four enacted a rude drama of hunter and dogs. The boys got down on hands and knees, barking, growling and snapping at whatever came in their way, as they passed from door to door, demanding bread for the final feast, which two girls gathered into baskets.

On the morning of the sixth day, seven lads, one of whom was covered with wolf-skins and used two short sticks for fore-legs, went from house to house. The dwellers brought out corn and placed it in a basket carried by an aged female. Next followed a dance at the council-house. "The female dancers," says an eye witness, "were the most graceful, and, I may add, the most modest. I ever saw tripping the fantastic toe upon the bare ground." An old squaw stepped into the ring with a live pig under her arm. She would strike it upon the head, when the dancers

would spat their hands and sing.* About noon preparations were made for burning the white dog, which was taken down and laid upon a small pile of dry wood, ornaments and all. An Indian gave three yells. The wood was then placed around and over the dog. When old and young had gathered quite near Jim Washington, a favorite speaker, he applied the fire, and, as it began to burn, he walked around inside the circle, occasionally throwing pulverized mint into the flames, all the while talking as if to some invisible being. The spectators appeared quite solemn, and at length joined in singing. When the pile was partly consumed Jim stopped. After a moment's pause, he put a question which met with loud response from the circle, and then all dispersed.

A general feast was now prepared at the council-house. Two brass kettles, filled with squash, corn, beans, pumpkins and venison, which had been boiling for hours over fires in the centre of the room, were placed on the ground, and the contents dipped away in calabashes and eaten with spoons, or from wooden sticks, with the bread gathered the day before. The evening was devoted to dancing, in which all joined. At length, one after another withdrew, and by ten o'clock the council-house was empty and silent. The ceremonial part of the festival was over, and though the seventh and last day was to follow, it was mainly spent in petty gambling and feats of strength.

The burning of the dog was designed to appease the Great Spirit's wrath. So were the burnt sacrifices of ancient Hebrews. The ceremonies at the huts were intended to scare away bad spirits, which, as was imagined, had become secreted in the crevices. The Jews had professional exorcisers, who also professed to

* "Quis-quis" meaning pigs, swine, was a word constantly repeated.

drive away evil spirits ; while with the smoke of the burning mint these heathen red men believed their thanksgivings and petitions would ascend to the Source of all good. None but a white dog, the emblem of purity, could be used. The same caution was observed in selecting the sacrificial heifer by the Chosen People. Other parallels might be noted, and the inquirer is tempted to ask why the days of their celebration should correspond with the sacred seven of the Jews. Is it a coincidence simply ? or does it aid, with other facts of a similar nature, in solving the origin of the aborigines ?

Late in the last century a new religion was announced by a native of Canawaugus, the Indian village located near Avon. The prophet of this new faith was a half brother of Cornplanter, named Ga-ne-o-di-yo, or "Handsome Lake." Its effect was greatly to mitigate intemperance, a vice then fatally prevalent among the natives. The early life of the prophet had been one of idleness ; but, in lighting his pipe one day after a debauch, he fell back upon his mat, where, for many hours, he lay as dead. Four beautiful young men from heaven, angels, he called them, appeared, he said, who told him the Great Spirit was angry with the Indians because of their habits of drunkenness, falsehood and theft. They conducted him to the open gates of Paradise, where, for several hours, he witnessed scenes glorious beyond conception. A command was there given him to proclaim what he had seen and heard. On recovering, he entered upon his mission with the zeal of a crusader.* Ungifted as a speaker, he called four young men possessed of superior parts for missionary work, to whom he committed the heavenly

* I am indebted to Morgan and to Nathaniel T. Strong, Esq., himself a Seneca, for data here. The father of Mr. Strong was one of the four chosen missionaries, and, like the son, was a man of superior abilities.

precepts. Through them, and by his own personal intercourse, he incited young and old to better courses. His labors were crowned with abundant success.

It has been urged that Handsome Lake was inspired to the work by Cornplanter, rather than from a higher source, that crafty chieftain designing thereby to preserve for his kinsman the high position in councils so long held by himself. But this is quite improbable, for Cornplanter was at no pains to conceal his doubts as to the truth of the revelation, especially after the following incident. He had a beloved daughter who fell very sick. His anxiety on her account induced him to appeal to the prophet. The latter, in turn, inquired of the four angels, if the girl would get well. They answered, she would, and continued to give like assurances until she died. Cornplanter then said that the revelation was but a pretense, and Handsome Lake became so incensed that he left the reservation of his half brother and went to Tonawanda. It is certain that Handsome Lake chose a course which quickly checked the sad inroads made by rum among the Iroquois. He was aware from experience of the strength of appetite for fire-water, and knew that, single-handed, he could accomplish little against the formidable evil ; hence he sought the powerful agency of superstition. His name is justly venerated among his people, who call him the Peace Prophet, in distinction to the noted brother of Tecumseh, who is known as the War Prophet. At his death, in 1815, his grandson, So-se-ha-wa, or Johnson, who was also born near Avon, succeeded him as a teacher and expounder, and, like the uncle, exerted a great and salutary influence among the Indians.

Trails, or foot-paths, connected the Indian villages and distant places. Portions of these forest highways

can yet be traced at certain points in the county, though the latter were generally cross-trails intersecting the great central pathway, which, starting at Albany and following a well-chosen route, terminated on Main street in the modern city of Buffalo. Morgan says, "This trail ran through the overhanging forest for almost its entire length. It was usually from twelve to eighteen inches wide, and deeply worn in the ground, varying in this respect from three to six and even twelve inches, depending upon the firmness of the soil. The large trees on each side were frequently marked with the hatchet. This well-beaten foot path, which no runner or band of warriors could mistake, had doubtless been trodden by successive generations from century to century." "It proved, on the survey of the country, so judiciously selected, that the great turnpike was laid out mainly on the line of this trail, from one extremity of the State to the other."

From Canandaigua were two trails. The one, after crossing the outlet of Honeoye lake and going over the hill in sight of Hemlock lake, came out upon the Conesus, near its southern end, when, following its shore to the foot and fording the outlet, the path proceeded west, and, passing over the site of Geneseo, led into Beardstown. The other, or main trail, leaving Canandaigua, passed over the site of West Bloomfield, through the Honeoye outlet, to the site of Lima, thence, westward, passing the site of Avon, crossing the river a few rods above the bridge, and entering the village of Canawaugus, about a mile above the ford. Pursuing then a north-west direction, it led to the Caldonia cold spring.

"From Rochester there were two trails up the Genesee, one upon each side. That upon the west side, following the bank of the river," "passed into the

Indian village of Ca-na-wau-gus. From thence the trail pursued the winding of the river to O-ha-gi, a Tuscarora village on the flat, between two and three miles below Cuylerville. It next led to the Seneca village of Big Tree." Turning the bend, the trail entered Beardstown, and thence led to Squakie Hill. Leaving the latter village, it continued up the river, crossing the outlet of Silver lake, and, entering Gardow, followed on over the site of Portage, and thence to Caneadea, last Seneca village on the Genesee.

The east side trail started from the ford near the aqueduct, at Rochester, and turning a little back from the river, crossed Mount Hope. "It followed the windings of the river up to Mount Morris. From this place ran two trails up the Canaseraga creek, one upon each side. They led into the small Indian village of Ga-nos'-ga-go, upon the site of Dansville at the head of the valley."

Branches, intersecting these main pathways at fording places, connected the smaller villages. Of this class was the trail leading from the Indian town on Conesus inlet, westward over the hill, passing the battle-ground of Boyd's scouting party, thence through Groveland, by way of Williamsburgh to Beardstown. Over this, Sullivan's army marched on its way to the Seneca settlements.

In numbers the Senecas exceeded any other nation of the league. In 1650, the period of their highest prosperity, they numbered as reckoned ten thousand. Thence forward their strength gradually diminished. A few years later the Jesuits reported the fighting men at one thousand. In our Revolution they were able to furnish four hundred warriors to the British. Their own estimates are much larger. According to a tradition, they once took a census of their nation. A

kernel of white flint corn, dropped by each into a husk basket, assumed to hold a dozen quarts, was thereby filled. This would indicate a population of nearly eighteen thousand.

The Indian title to Squakie Hill, and to other reservations on the river, was extinguished by the treaty of 1825. In the ensuing year most of the Senecas left the county. A few families lingered another twelve-month, but their homes had passed into strangers' hands, and they, too, followed to the Buffalo and other new reservations. Indeed, coincident with the advent of the whites, began the exodus, for, by 1816 there were not more than four hundred Indians within the limits of the present county, all of whom lived on the westerly side of the river. Canawaugus, at the latter date, contained about ninety souls, of whom several were descendants of Cornplanter. The Big Tree village numbered less than a score, consisting in most part of John Monture's family; a little knot still remained at Beardstown; Squakie Hill had a population of eighty; and at Gardow lived Mary Jemison, some of her descendants, and a few others, about four score in all. These constituted the remnant of that aboriginal host which long had peopled this region and throughout the Genesee valley held undisputed sway.*

“ Realm of the Senecas ! no more
 In shadow lies the ‘ Pleasant Vale ;’
 Gone are the Chiefs who ruled of yore,
 Like chaff before the rushing gale.
 Their rivers run with narrowed bounds,
 Cleared are their broad, old hunting grounds,
 And on their ancient battle fields
 The greensward to the plowman yields:
 Like mocking echoes of the hill
 Their fame resounded and grew still,
 And on green ridge and level plain
 Their hearths will never smoke again.”

[FROM POEM TO HOMER'S YONKONDIO.]

The Senecas now number about thirty-five hundred souls, of whom nearly one-half reside on the Cattaraugus reservation.* They receive a liberal annuity from the General Government and a small one from the State ;† and share in the common school moneys, six hundred of their children being regular attendants at schools.‡

The Cattaraugus reservation embraces near twenty-two thousand acres of excellent farming land. § Many of the farms are well cultivated, and attention to the demands of agriculture is quite general. The Iroquois agricultural society, formed in 1860, was at first opposed by the elder portion of the natives, but it has grown into favor with all classes, its exhibitions now comparing favorably with those of average county fairs. We attended the meeting of 1865, and saw many proofs of the growing thrift and industry of the Indians.¶ Competition was open to all of "Iroquois lineage and their descendants." Of the three vegeta-

* In 1867 the Senecas were distributed as follows:

At the Cattaraugus reservation.	1,434
Alleghany "	913
Tonawanda "	641
South of Kansas,	160

There are a small number intermixed with the Shawnees in Kansas, and a few live on the Grand River in Canada.

† The General Government pays the Senecas annually about \$14,700, and the State of New York \$500, the latter being interest reserved by them on the sale of Grand Island in the Niagara river.

‡ In 1865 the Senecas reported over 1,100 children between the ages of 5 and 21. The sum of \$3,000 is annually distributed to them from the common school moneys of the State.

§ There are 21,680 acres in the reservation, mostly under improvement, situated on both sides of Cattaraugus creek, in the towns of Perrysburgh, Cattaraugus Co., Collins, Erie Co., and Hanover, Chautauqua Co.

¶ Its meetings are held at Versailles, 25 miles from Buffalo. I visited the Fair in company with O. H. Marshall, Esq. We spent the night with the missionary, Rev. Asher Wright, whose zealous labors have been crowned with fruits and whose thorough knowledge of the Seneca tongue has served me essentially.

bles long reckoned by them as of most value—corn, beans and squash—and also potatoes—there were many samples, some of which were superior to any we had ever seen. Wheat and other grains, hogs, a few sheep, horses and horned cattle, were likewise embraced in the display, as also were specimens of bead and needlework, and other articles of female handicraft. Foot-races, a war-dance, and occasional exhibitions of horsemanship, took place during the day. A band of instrumental music, composed of native players, enlivened the proceedings. But the people themselves afforded us the most interesting study. Some, whose names were quite familiar to early settlers in the Genesee country, were there, and many other well-known Indians were represented in their descendants. Thomas Jemison, tall, dignified and just beginning to show in his athletic frame the evidences of his three-score years and ten, a man of no ordinary character, was busy with his entries of stock and grains. Grand-children of Tall Chief, relatives of Big Kettle, of Red Jacket and others of note, were among the exhibitors, and a grandson of Governor Blacksnake, who led the Senecas at Wyoming, was chief police officer of the ground. Physically, no deterioration could be observed. The men were generally fine, stalwart fellows, and the females were not wanting in comeliness. Few of the older Indians talked English with freedom, some of them not understanding it at all. The styles of apparel were various, often picturesque; the bare-headed squaw of patriarchal years, appearing in ornamented kilt and leggings; women wearing men's hats, otherwise in native costume; young maidens, decked out, if not in the latest, yet in the gayest fashions of their white sisters, and not a few dressed with excellent taste, while all conducted with propriety. Native family names, such as

Two Guns, Blinkey, Jacket, Silver-heels, and Ghastly-Darkness, appeared among the officers, judges or exhibitors.

The reservation is governed by a president and a congress elected annually by native voters under authority of an act of the Legislature of the State. Society there is orderly and the laws are enforced without difficulty. The late James Wadsworth, who had unusual opportunity to judge of the Seneca's aptitude for improvement, "entertained a confident opinion that the red man is as susceptible of civilization as the white man." His plan was to deal with the natives individually and not by tribes. "Set apart a tract of country, say fifty miles square, at Green Bay. Grant this in fee simple to the Indians who still linger with the white population in the eastern and middle States. Divide this territory into townships, and the townships into lots—give them a territorial government and a code of laws adapted to the first stages of civilization ; give them the power of making their own laws after a certain period ; give them the right of sending immediately a delegate to Congress—I beg you not to be startled," continued Mr. Wadsworth, "there are many Indian chiefs who would not disgrace the floor of Congress."* The observation and experience of forty subsequent years demonstrates this to be the best, perhaps the only mode of meeting the Indian question.

Whatever may betide the experiments of the age for civilizing these interesting people, the duty which history owes them remains unfulfilled. In common with the other aboriginal nations, the Senecas have been belied. Neither they nor other tribes were the natural enemies of the whites. In this the early nav-

* See Mr. Wadsworth's letter of Dec. 1827, to Daniel Webster "*On Colonisation of the Indians*," in appendix.

igators and writers all concur. Before the era of systematic wrongs, they were hospitable and kind, and disposed to preserve the friendliest relations with the pale faces. Indeed, history records how, during a hundred and fifty years, the Iroquois scrupulously observed their engagements with the Dutch and English. But the American people have permitted the Indian to be grossly defrauded. Not content to divide with him his ancient patrimony of a continent, pioneer traders have been allowed to wrest away his hunting-grounds and invade his burial-places; and, to crown injustice, a horde of subtle knaves, in the official guise of commissioners, superintendents and agents, have pursued the Indian into his far-western retreats, to cajole from him his paltry annuities and to wheedle away his newer reservations. No skilled advocate has appeared for him, no medium has offered through which he could present in array to mankind the merciless impositions practiced upon him; and for many a dark year, no friendly voice, save that of the orators of his own race, whose heathen speech fell upon deaf ears, was raised in his defence.

It was a dictate of policy, during the Revolution, to paint the Indian as black as possible in crimes and cruelty, and to hold him often responsible for deeds of which it might easily be shown the British were alone guilty. Since then, the prejudice has been adroitly fostered by those whose selfish ends it subserved. That the Indian committed excesses and barbarities, it would be vain either to deny or to palliate. But how far he was justified in waging the only system of warfare known to his race, as a measure of retaliation, it is for the moralist to say. If the whole story were told, if the Indian could tell his side, how then would stand the record? The lion in the fable disputes with the man as to which was the braver and stronger of

the two. The latter exultingly points to a marble statue of a man strangling a lion, in proof of the superiority of his kind. "That," answered the lion, "is your version of the story ; let us be the sculptors, and we will reverse the positions ; the lion will then stand over the man." Is not the moral applicable here ?

two score years had passed away after the advent of Columbus, when James Cartier, while exploring the gulf of St. Lawrence, in 1535, was informed by the savages living on its borders, "that, after ascending many leagues among rapids and waterfalls, he would reach a lake (Ontario) one hundred and fifty leagues long and forty or fifty broad, at the western extremity of which the waters were wholesome and the winters mild, and that a river (the Genesee) emptied into it from the south, which had its source in the country of the Iroquois.* This, it may be safe to assume, is the first mention in print of the region of the Genesee. Next, Lescarbot, using the information gained by Cartier from the lips of the Indians of Canada, in 1535, says: "a little further west (of the Oswego river) at the southern bend of the said lake (Ontario) there is another river (the Genesee) which comes from the country of the Iroquois."† Though scanty enough, these two references form the sum of direct historical mention of the Genesee river and of the Indians in its neighborhood, prior to the seventeenth century, so far as we have been able to learn.

The original village of the Senecas, according to all tradition, was situated on a knoll, Genundewah, near the village of Naples, as has been noted. After the extinguishment of the council-fire at that ancient hill-home by a great serpent, in a manner so strange as that given in their traditions, villages sprung up elsewhere. Much obscurity rests about this particular era. The remains of a series of earthworks or rude fortified towns have been found extending from the county of St. Lawrence, by way of Jefferson, Wayne, Ontario and Livingston, to Lake Erie, through Cattaraugus and Chautauqua counties upon a general

* Marshall's *Niagara Frontier*.

† Lescarbot, Paris Ed., 1609, p. 381.

line parallel to lake Ontario. It is estimated that more than two hundred of them must have originally existed. They were especially numerous in this region.

Squier,* whose extensive researches among aboriginal remains in Central America and elsewhere, fitted him for the task of careful inquiry, visited this county and other portions of the State a score of years ago. His object was to determine if these enclosures had a common origin with the vast system of earth-works of the Mississippi valley, whose construction in a remote age, is assigned to the mysterious Mound-Builders. But they proved to be wanting in the regularity of outline of those unique western structures. The builders, he says, instead of planning them upon geometrical principles, like those of the west, regulated their forms entirely by the nature of the ground upon which they were built. The pottery and other relics found scattered among their ruins are "absolutely identical with those which mark the sites of towns and forts known to have been occupied by the Indians within the historical period;" and, instead of placing their construction back in the ages of the misty past, it may be referred to the period succeeding the discovery of America or not long anterior to that event.

The Senecas, quite likely, on being driven from Genundewah, took the precaution to provide their new habitations with defenses against unfriendly tribes of the west and north; for they were then in their weakest condition, and had most need of such security as their simple art of defense might afford. Earth walls would, without doubt, be first suggested as the means of local protection against assaults by hostile neighbors. These earth-works generally "occupy high and

* Hon. E. G. Squier. *See Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, Vol. II.

commanding sites near the bluff edges of those broad terraces by which the country rises from the level of the lakes. When met with upon lower grounds, it is usually upon some dry knoll or little hill, or where banks of streams serve to lend strength to the position. A few have been found upon slight elevations in the midst of swamps, where dense forests and almost impassable marshes protected them from discovery and attack. In nearly all cases they are placed in close proximity to some unfailing supply of water, near copious springs or running streams. Gateways opening toward these are always to be observed, and in some cases guarded passages are visible.”*

In preparing to construct these defenses (Cusick says) “they set fire against several trees required to make a fort; the stone axes were then used to rub off the coals so as to burn quicker. When the tree burned down they put fire to it in places about three paces apart and burnt it off in half a day. The logs were then collected at a place where they set them up around according to the bigness of the fort, and the earth heaped on both sides.” Embankments were dispensed with after the introduction of the spade and other European implements enabled the Indians to plant their pickets more firmly in the ground.

Traces of long occupancy are found in all these works. Relics of art, such as clay pipes, metal ornaments, earthen jars of clay tempered with pounded quartz and glass, or with fine sand, and covered with rude ornaments, stone hammers, and even parched corn which, by lapse of time had become carbonized, were discovered by Squier and others in *caches* or “wells.” The latter, designed for the deposit of corn and other stores, “have been found six or eight feet in

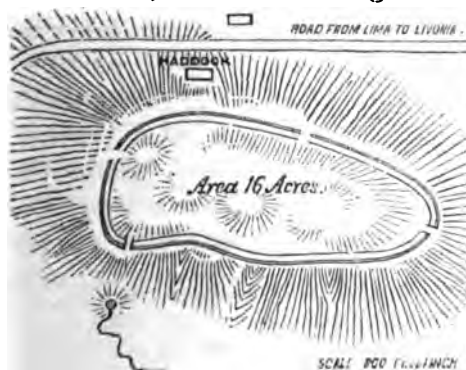
* Squier in *Smithsonian Contributions*, Vol. II., p. 12.

depth, usually located on the most elevated spot within the inclosure." Fragments of bones, charcoal and ashes and other evidences of occupancy, are always to be met with.

Many of these works, traced by the pioneers, were covered with heavy forests, and, in several instances, trees from one to three feet in thickness were observed by Squier growing upon the embankments, and in the trenches. This would carry back the date of their construction several hundred years.

The inclosures, though usually varying from one to four acres in area, ruins of much greater extent have been found. The larger ones were designed for permanent occupancy, the smaller, for temporary protection—"the citadels in which the builders sought safety for their old men, women and children in case of alarm or attack," or when the braves were absent on the war-path. The embankments were seldom more than four feet in height. The spot selected was generally convenient to fishing-places and hunting-grounds, and contiguous to fertile bottoms. Indeed, all indications render it probable that the occupants were fixed and agricultural in their habits

The remains of nearly a score of these earth-works have been traced within this county, the largest of which, and, in truth the largest of any thus far met



with in the State, is located in the town of Livonia on the farm of James Haydock. It is three miles north-east of the centre on the Lima road, and covers an area of sixteen

acres. It occupied the "summit of a commanding hill a position well chosen for defence. Twenty years ago, where the lines of entrenchments were crossed by fences and thus preserved from the encroachments of the plow, the embankment and ditch were distinctly visible. General Adams, who had often been over the ground before the removal of the forest, states that the ditch was then breast high."* *Caches* were laid open and many fragments of pottery picked up within the inclosure. The gateway opened toward the spring as shown in the engraving, and some indications existed of parallel embankments extending in that direction. Colonel George Smith, who was familiar with the works seventy years ago, is of opinion that the eastern ditch was straight rather than elliptical as in the preceding engraving, and ran due north and south, or nearly so. Within the fort, the ground was then smooth and was covered by a growth of small timber. A steep bank bounded the fort on the west, while on the north and south the ground sloped gradually away. From the western boundary of the fort to the present highway and beyond, the whole surface was a gentle descent. From the bottom of the ditch, in which stood several oaks, to the top of the bank was about five feet.

Another work of similar character was situated on the farm of General Robert Adams, two miles north-east of Livonia centre occupying "a beautiful broad swell of land not commanded by any adjacent heights, upon the west side of a fine copious spring for which the Indians constructed a large basin of loose stones. Upon a little elevation to the left, as also in the forest to the northward, are extensive cemeteries." The

* The diagram on preceding page is from actual measurements, after one made by Mr. Squier, who was aided in tracing the outline by Mr. Haydock who himself had been familiar with the ruins before they became greatly impaired.

area of the work was nearly ten acres, and the earth walls were quite distinct in 1847.

Two and a half miles south-east of the head of Hemlock lake, in the town of Springwater, a mound of similar character, though much smaller in size, was known to the pioneers in early days. Its precise location I have been unable to ascertain.

The names of the various places already described have passed into oblivion. We are a little more fortunate as respects another work of the same class at no great distance from those mentioned. It was



SITE OF FORTIFIED TOWN NEAR BOSLEY'S MILLS.

located about thirty rods north-east of Bosley's mills near the outlet of Conesus lake, and in the field now bounded by the Avon road and the highway leading due north from the latter.* The aboriginal name, Gah'-nyuh-sas† clings to the ruins of this inclosure, though it is generally called "Fort-hill." A tradition

*The farm on which it is located is owned by General Wadsworth and is occupied by Mr. Austin Miller.

†The more modern village, near the head of the lake, bears the same name. But, singularly enough, an entire different meaning is attached to the word.

still extant, already given in connection with the Battle of Geneseo, peoples it with the women and old men of the Senecas. Upon a knoll of two or three acres, along the westerly side of which ran a small stream, there existed, within the memory of men yet living, a line of embankments, two or three feet in height, the whole being covered, at the advent of the whites, with a low under-growth of wild plum, hazel and other bushes, but no large trees. A fine spring which supplied the occupants, continued to be used by the early settlers for many years. John Bosley came into the country in 1792.* The same year he planted this lot with corn and potatoes. A grist mill was soon erected on the site of the present mills. The excavations therefor revealed tomahawks and axes, and other iron relics were found within the ruins in sufficient quantities to iron the mill. Jarvis Raymond, who occupied the farm, picked up a rust-eaten gun barrel here. Thirty-five years ago, during the construction of Olmsted's mill, a thigh-bone, two inches longer than that of the tallest man of the day, was exhumed within the inclosure, and a shin-bone of unusual size was also found. Large beads of green glass, coal ashes and burnt bones, a brass kettle, an iron pot, and flint arrow-heads in great numbers, have also been discovered. Skulls, to the number of two score or more, were found at one time, and under a stump well-nigh two feet through, which stood near the crest of the hill, a skeleton was revealed some years ago. Grotesque ornaments, ivory or bone and metallic crosses and an urn of graceful form have likewise been gathered from the ruins of this work.

Near the westerly bank of the Genesee, on the open

* Mr. Daniel Bosley is confident that John Bosley came into the country in 1792 or 1793.

flat of the Canawaugus reservation, might be seen as late as 1798, the embankment of an old fort which included very nearly two acres. "It corresponded in situation and appearance with many others which I have seen in this part of the country," said Judge Porter, who surveyed the Indian reservations, "and which seemed to bear a high antiquity." This inclosure was located not far from the old Indian orchard, across the river in a south-west direction from the village of Avon.

When Horatio Jones came into the country there was a "Fort" of this description located on the flats near the river and distant about thirty rods north of the residence of the late Colonel William Jones. The highway running eastward to the river and which it strikes opposite Williamsburg, passes a few steps to the south of the inclosure. Before the land was placed under cultivation the embankments were two or three feet high and had every appearance common to this class of earthworks. The lot in which it was situated has been frequently plowed, yet the outline can still be traced and relics of the stronghold may now be gathered thereabouts. The tract of land on which it is situated is still called Fort Farm.

On the farm of Andrew McCurdy, half a mile west of the village of Dansville, across the Canaseraga creek and a few rods south of the Ossian road, is another work of this character. Its site, a bluff at the foot of which runs the Canaseraga, overlooks the fertile valley to the eastward and is commanded by no neighboring height. To the north of the inclosure a rapid stream takes its way through a gorge about fifty feet in depth, which, after running parallel to the creek for a short distance, bends abruptly to the right, as in the engraving, and enters the Canaseraga. Near the confluence of these streams the enclosure was sit-



uated. The sharp acclivities which form the banks, protected it on the north, east and west, while on the south side it was guarded by an earth wall and ditch (from two and a half to three feet deep), that were still quite distinct as late as the year 1859, when the field was plowed for the first time. Under a large oak stump, presenting 214 annual growths, as counted by Professor Brown, which stood in the bottom of the ditch near the north-east corner, were found parts of three or four dark earthen jars, which, on analysis, yielded animal oil, indicating their original use to have been that of cooking vessels. Ashes and burnt bones of men and animals indiscriminately mixed, and, in one place, human skeletons entire or nearly so, an earthen pipe, a stone pestle and a deer's horn curiously carved, were found within the inclosure.

Sixty years ago, a circular mound, composed in part of black earth and cinders, about thirty feet in diameter and from four to five feet in height, stood a few rods east of the Havenstavern house, in the highway leading to Groveland. The mound was quite entire in 1806, when the family of James Scott came into the country, and excited considerable attention. Its origin was ascribed to the aborigines, and early settlers classed it among the fortified towns. The northerly side of the mound extended to the fence, the trackway making a detour around its southerly side. A score of years later the road was widened and the mound was thus brought near to the centre of the highway. Thirty or forty feet to the eastward was a deep hole into which, from year to year, portions of the mound was thrown, as it would be plowed and scraped away, until finally leveled with the surrounding surface.

A mound similar to the last, though not so large, was to be seen half a century ago near the highway leading from Scottsburg to Dansville. Its location was on the hill-side about mid way between the two places, and lay partly on the farm of James McWhorter. Upon a side-hill field of the farm of the late Henry Driesbach, two miles north of Dansville, was to be seen, in an early day, a succession of holes in two rows parallel to each other and regularly arranged. Their excavation is also naturally referred to the red man, and, with plausibility, to the era of fortified places.

In the wood lot, on Mr. Brimmer's "Sweet Briar" farm, twenty rods to the west of the highway leading from Geneseo to Mt. Morris, and a score of rods south of the road running to the Jones bridge, is a small aboriginal inclosure embracing 2 acres. Its outlines are still quite distinct. It was, most likely, used as a temporary abode by the ancient builders while they were cultivating, from year to year, a favorable spot on the productive flats just below.

Seneca towns separate themselves into five eras. First, was the original home of the tribe, Genundewah; next came the intrenched habitations to which we have just referred. Following these were the four villages destroyed by DeNonville in 1687; succeeding the latter, were the numerous towns established between that date and 1779, all of which, with possibly one or two exceptions, were burned by General Sullivan; and, lastly, the five or six new villages which grew up on the return of the remnants of the Indians to the Genesee from Niagara, near the close of the Revolution. The older towns were confined to the easterly side of the river, while the later ones were located on the westerly side of that stream, usually at or near a bend in its channel. It must be borne in mind that

Indian towns had not the definiteness of limit known to modern incorporated villages. They were nowhere marked by metes and bounds. A head man would select a spot which united beauty of location, convenience to good water and other advantages, and would there erect his hut. Any member of his tribe who liked the site was at liberty to build there a cabin, and call the place home. If the chief was popular a town would be the result. Sometimes a solitary hut only would be found, as was the case between Beardstown and Big Tree, where a log-house was standing when the pioneers arrived. It was called O-noh'-sa-de-gah, or "burnt house." To this rude domicil General John A. Granger took his bride, and there resided while his frame house was building.* Some confusion has arisen respecting certain villages, from the custom of the Indians to change from time to time both location and designation. The more ancient towns were located at a distance from the river or other body of water navigable by canoes, for, until the nation became strong, it would have been unwise thus to expose their families to chance parties of enemies, drifting noiselessly down upon their settlements.

The four villages destroyed by DeNonville were Gan-na-ga-ro, † or St. James, as called by the Jesuit missioneries, located on Boughton hill; Chi'-nos-hah'-geh, or St. Michael, situated on Mud Creek in East Bloomfield, near the old stage road crossing; To-ti-ak-to, or Conception, in the north-eastern bend of the Honeoye outlet; and Gan-nou-na-ta, at the source of the Little Conesus or Gore Brook, in the town of Avon. The latter town is better known by its Seneca name, Dyu-do-o-sot, signifying, "at the spring," and is the only

*The frame house is now owned by Anthony M. Wooster, Esq.

†The names are given in the Mohawk dialect.

one with which these pages have to do. The three others lay in Ontario county.

Dyu-do'o-sot',* was situated on the Douglass farm in Avon, a few rods from the line between the latter town and Lima, and two miles north of Livonia Station.† John Blacksmith, the venerable Seneca sachem, whose recollections have usefully served the cause of aboriginal history, hunted in his youth over this section of country, and thus acquired an intimate knowledge of old Indian localities. He described the location of the town so accurately, that Marshall, while on a visit to Avon Springs a year or two afterwards, drove without difficulty directly to the site, and there found indubitable evidences of former Indian occupancy. The spring which had supplied the village, and originated its name, still poured forth a copious stream, and though the plough had nearly leveled the surface, the soil was yet loaded with beads, fragments of pottery, charcoal, and other signs of an extensive settlement of Indians. Hard by was their ancient burial place, still preserved from desecration by its use for the white man's cemetery; thus mingling in death the dust of two antagonist races that destiny seems to have forbidden to live and flourish together.‡

*Pronounced as though written *De-o-dou-sote*, literally "at the spring." O. H. Marshall, Esq., in a letter to me respecting this village, refers to the puzzling orthography of Indian proper names when conveyed through different languages. The name of Dyu-do o-sot, for instance, is given by DeNonville, as Gannounnata; in the *proces verbal* of taking possession of the village by the French, it is written Gannoudata; Belmont, in his history, calls it Ounenaba; Greenhalgh, in his journal, (1677,) gives it Keint-he; La Hontan calls it Danoucaritaoni; and Ackes Cornelius Viele writes it Kaunonada.

†John Caton and John Clary now own the farm.

‡I visited the spot in August, 1869. One of the owners of the farm, Mr. Caton, was at the moment, engaged in harvesting barley in the field, containing about 20 acres, where the grave-yard was located. He said that stone-hammers, axes and beads, are from time to time found in ploughing. The grave-yard, a small one, is no longer much used, and is grown up with

DeNonville, after destroying the three other ancient towns, lay at Dyu-do o-sot with his army, on the 21st of July, 1687, through the day. He calls it a small village, distant two leagues from To-ti-ak-to, and remarks, that one would hardly credit the quantity of old and new corn found by him in store there, all of which perished by fire,* as likewise did a "vast quantity of hogs." As he entered this village, he found the symbol of British sovereignty, the coat of arms of England, placed there three years before by Governor Dongan, though the arms were ante-dated as of 1683. While DeNonville lay here, a Huron, belonging to his force, brought in the scalps of a Seneca man and woman, whom he had found in an excursion to the eastward. The Huron, in reporting, speaks of the "multitude of paths by which the enemy had fled." In 1677, Greenhalgh counted the houses in the four Seneca towns. Dyu-do o-sot was found to contain twenty-four. † Influenced by a superstition, never a solitary hut was rebuilt, but the Senecas sought now the banks of the Genesee, along which they reared their villages, and for ninety years remained undisputed masters of the region.

On the western shore of the Genesee nearly opposite

shrubby. Members of the Chappel and Whaley families, and a few others, repose there over the dust of the long-forgotten Seneca warrior and councilor.

* On the basis afforded by DeNonville, the corn destroyed at Dyu-do o-sot was not less than a quarter of a million bushels. He says, "we had the curiosity to estimate the whole quantity, green as well as ripe corn, which we have destroyed in the four villages," "and we found that it would amount to 350,000 minots of green, and 50,000 minots of old corn." He adds "there was no less corn in (Dyu-do o-sot or) Gannonata than at any of the other villagos." A minot is a French measure of three bushels, making the total of corn destroyed by the Expedition, 1,200,000 bushels! [See note to Marshall's trans. p. 37.

† Greenhalgh says "Keint-he * * * contains about 24 houses, well furnished with corn." [See Col. Docs. N. Y., Vol. III.

the sulphur springs at Avon, lay Can-a-wau-gus, * the northernmost of the river towns. Its site was a few rods south of the old toll-bridge, on land now owned by heirs of Simon McKenzie. Both the great central trail between the Hudson and the Niagara rivers, and the principal pathway leading from the falls at Rochester to the homes of tribesmen on the upper Genesee, passed through it. The population of Canawaugus at the period of its greatest importance, has been estimated at one thousand souls. † It was the birth-place of Cornplanter, and of his scarcely less noted half-brother, Handsome Lake, the Peace Prophet. Here, the latter received his revelation, and here often came the wise men of the Senecas to counsel with these and other noted residents. The Indian medicine-man often resorted to the healing-waters of the neighboring spring, making his temporary home at this village, which thus acquired consequence in the minds of the natives. Their burial-place, situated a score of rods to the north of the town, has often yielded up its bones to the plowman, and relics such as stone-hammers, flint arrow heads, iron axes and other aboriginal weapons, have, from time to time been found in the vicinity. "Often," says Colonel Hosmer, "I pay visits to the old Indian orchard, lying two miles away, as the crow flies, in a south-west direction from the old bridge. Two apple-trees have been spared by the axe, and I regret to say that their wind-bowed and mossy trunks will soon share the fate of the race who planted them. The early settlers of Avon discovered peach-trees growing

* Ca-no-wa-gas, also Ga-no-wa-gas, literally—"stinking water;" or, "it has the smell of the scum." I have followed Col. Hosmer's orthography of the name in the text.

† So says Col. Hosmer. Previous thereto, according to tradition, the population was much greater. He adds, "My cousin James Hosmer, now (1869) over 70, thinks in his boyhood the Canawaugus Indians numbered only 5 or 600." These estimates appear quite too large to me.

in the forest, on the site of an ancient corn-field of the Indians, the fruit of which was of good flavor. Many years since the council house at Canawaugus was standing. When last visited by me, a quarter of a century ago, it was in a state of decay—the roof, overlaid with bark, was falling in, and the storms had partly beaten down the walls. The building was low and about sixty feet in length. In the centre of the roof, which was bark bent to a rounded form over the ridge pole, was an open place for the escape of smoke, when the elders of the tribe convened.”

Mrs. Berry* was heard to say that in old times there was an Indian village on the east side of the river, not far from the red bridge (built in 1817); and that many huts were burned on that side of the river by a scouting party from Sullivan's army.

Dyu'-ne-ga-nooh', † was situated near the north-western margin of the great spring at Caledonia. To the east and south of the Indian town lay oak-openings, where the Senecas pastured their rough-coated ponies. To the south-west, a grove of wild plum-trees and grape-vines, on forest-grown trellises, opened before the natives, supplying them with fruit, while the waters of the spring afforded trout and other fine fish in abundance. Standing near the westerly border of the spring, was the fatal post to which the condemned prisoner was fastened for torture; and hither, from other Seneca towns, were brought captives of consequence, the prisoners of state. Horatio Jones pointed out to John McKay, the precise spot where the post stood, as the two strolled one evening along the Spring creek. “John,” said the former, “do you

* Wife of the Indian trader, Gilbert R. Berry.

† It is often written De-oo-ne-gau-no, and means, “clear cold water.” *Gan-e-o-de-ya*, was the name given by the Senecas to the Caledonia spring, and signifies, “clear small lake.”

ever see ghosts after night-fall wandering through these woods? If Indian hunters are to be credited, sights are often seen here that would make your hair rise." The Indian burial-place was located about twenty rods north-east of the spring, where, in digging wells and cellars, bones in abundance have been disinterred. A venerable lady, yet living,* while in pursuit of her cows in an early day, passing near the burial-place observed a grass-grown hillock by the foot-path Thrusting in her walking-stick, she disturbed a quantity of bones from their slight covering, doubtless those of poor captives who had suffered torture at the stake. Articles of pottery, bearing curious devices, copper kettles similar in style to those in use among Spanish colonists, and rudely-formed hatchets and arrow-heads, have been met with here. Long after the permanent occupancy of the village ceased, it continued to be a noted stopping-place for bands of natives and parties of pioneers, or travelers passing to and fro along the central trail leading from Albany to Niagara river. Turner cites the remark of an old Canadian emigrant, who, after the Revolution, often passed over this route. He said that camping here was so frequent that the fires of one party would be burning when another arrived. At this village rested for a few hours the fugitive families from Beardstown as they fled before Sullivan; and here too halted, next day, the force under Butler as it retreated toward Niagara. In 1796, a detachment of regulars on their way up lake Ontario to take possession of Fort Niagara in batteaux, were driven by stress of weather from the lake to the mouth of the Genesee. They came thence to the mouth of Allen's Creek and quartered on the farm of Peter Shaeffer. When they broke up

* Mrs. John McKay.

their quarters there, Mr. Shaeffer piloted them to Caledonia springs where they bivouacked for the night.*

The village of the Tuscarora Indians, O-ha-gi, † lay a mile north of the Big Tree town on the same side of the river. Its site was a gentle swell of land rising westward from a marshy flat, some thirty rods south of Spencer's warehouse. The canal passes through the old Indian town, on the easterly border of which are yet standing two apple-trees planted by the natives. A spring of slightly brackish water which supplied the village, and around which the houses clustered, is still in use. Generals Poor and Maxwell, under orders from Sullivan, destroyed the town in 1779, and



SITE OF TUSCARORA BURIAL PLACE NEAR MAJOR SPENCER'S.

it was never rebuilt. Richard Osbon, whose farm lies just south of the site, came to this country in 1806. He says that plain traces of several huts were

*Turner's, *Phelps & Gorham's Pur.*—p. 409.

† A few steps south of the canal culvert. Mr. Wright thinks the true orthography may be Dyuhah-gail, meaning "the current bites the bank," or, "eats it away."

yet to be seen, but the land is now under cultivation and all external evidences of aboriginal occupancy have disappeared. The Indian burial-place which lay to the north-east of the village, from which it was divided by a little stream, is well represented in the engraving. Two or three great oaks stood, until recently, among the graves. In the season of fall-shooting, pigeons, in great numbers, flocked to these trees, attracted by the peculiar water of the spring, a fact well known to hunters, who seldom went away from the spot with empty game bags. Within thirty years the Indian graves, scattered here and there, indicated by slight grassy knolls, could be distinctly traced. Major Spencer protected the spot with much care, the plow not being suffered to invade the red-man's resting-place. Some years ago it became necessary to cut a ditch along the northern edge of the old burial ground. Major Spencer visited the spot while the work was going on, and seeing one of the workmen opening his tools over the graves, he said with emphasis to the ditcher, "Hi, hi, you are standing on the bones of Indians! have a care, sir, have a care!"

Ga'-on-do-wa-nuh, located on the westerly side of the river near the great bend, was long known as the village of the wise and influential Seneca chieftain, Big Tree.* A mile above, on the opposite side of the river, stood the great oak, and directly to the east, distant two miles, is the present village of Geneseo.—The reservation embraced two square miles, uniting with that of Beardstown on the south. The village occupied an area of about thirty acres, divided by a small brook, now dry, the present highway leading

* *Ga-on-do-wa-nuh*. was located on the farm of Eason P. Slocum, in Leicester. The name signifies "Big Tree's" village, but the tree is supposed to be lying prostrate.

to Cuylerville, crossing the bed of the stream at right angles. Two apple-trees, planted by the Indians are still in bearing. They stand across the gully at the north-east, and point the spot where the orchard was located. Before the canal was dug, Colonel Lyman occupied a store-house on the river just east of Big Tree village. The river for some distance is very crooked here. In an air line North's mill is but a mile and a half below, but measured by the river's channel, it is quite seven miles. The graves of John Monture, and four other Indians occupy a spot never yet plowed, represented by the turfy hillock in the engraving,



SITE OF BIG TREE VILLAGE, MONTURE'S GRAVE IN FOREGROUND.

a couple of rods east of the highway. Sugar maple trees were plentiful about Big Tree village while the Indians occupied it, and in the sugar season the Senecas from other towns were in the habit of visiting their tribesmen here. In 1820 the village had become reduced to eight or nine bark-roofed huts, and was among the last of the towns west of the river to be vacated. Descendants of its former occupants still venerate its site. Two or three years ago a band of

Senecas visited the spot, and spent some hours in mourning over the graves. Their lamentations were plainly heard by Mr. Slocum's family, who resided a half a mile distant.

Dyu-non-dah-ga'-eeh * or Beardstown, long held the principal rank among the Seneca villages. When Mary Jemison reached there in 1761, she found the Beardstown warriors preparing to assist the French in retaking Fort Niagara, whence they soon returned in triumph, bringing white prisoners and driving a number of oxen, the first neat cattle, by the way, ever brought to the Genesee flats. Against this town Washington especially directed the expedition under Sullivan in 1779. The tribal council-fire lay elsewhere, but here lived the noted chieftain Little Beard, and about him had gathered the wise and brave of his tribesmen. Here were planned their forays and here they met for consultation, and, whenever the Senecas were summoned to the war-path, the Beardstown braves were always among the foremost. Quartered for security, at this village for months, perhaps for years, after the Revolution begun, were families from Nunda and other outlying towns, while their natural protectors were absent harassing the eastern settlements; and from this spot went out Brant and the Butlers to the massacre of Wyoming, and to engage in other bloody work. From this spot, too, in the rain of an autumn day, fled the panic-stricken women, children and old men of the Senecas, and others who had sought its asylum, to escape the "Yankee army" when it broke camp at Conesus Lake. Sullivan calls Beardstown the capital of the western Indians, and adds, "we reached the castle or village, which con-

* Or "steep hill creek," or "where the hill is (or lies) upon it." The Indian, Wm. Jones, said that Beardstown was called *Ga-nah-da-ont-hwa h*. The place is often called *Little Beardstown*.

sisted of one hundred and twenty-eight houses, mostly very large and elegant. The town was beautifully situated, almost encircled with a clear flat which extends for a number of miles where the most extensive fields of corn were, and every kind of vegetable that can be conceived." The diaries of other expeditionary officers dilate upon the beauty and relative importance of the village. It occupied the eastern part of the site of Cuylerville, extending eastward toward the river for several rods beyond the canal. Russel Beebe, while in the employ of Oliver Phelps, cleared the land on which Beardstown was situated. He found the ruins of many huts, and here and there a straggling house near the river, showing that at one time the village extended well in that direction. The Indian orchard stood near John Perkins's barn, on the road from Cuylerville to the bridge, and a single apple-tree, which survived the destruction by Sullivan's soldiers may still be seen there. When planted, this tree was close to the ferry, as the river then ran. In excavating for the canal a few Indian bones were discovered, and several years ago Jacob Clute, on preparing to build a brick blacksmith shop near the distillery, dug up the skeletons of half a dozen natives. Tomahawks and knives, stone arrow-heads and other relics, are still found about the old village. The Indian burial-ground was situated a mile south of Cuylerville, on the farm of Hiram Jones, where a partial examination of the mounds, near forty years ago, discovered a large quantity of human bones. Soon after the death of Little Beard, the families began to leave the village for Tonawanda, the number of occupants gradually lessening until Beardstown was depopulated, although the Indian title to the reservation was still unextinguished.

De-yu'-it-ga'-oh,* known to the whites as Squakie Hill, was situated on the westerly side of the river, opposite Mount Morris, and not far from the brow of the northern bluff terminating with the narrows of the Genesee. It had ready access to the river, between which and the hill, lay a broad flat, whose exhaustless soil, even under the scanty tillage of the Indians, yielded them corn and other vegetables in profusion. The reservation embraced two square miles. By 1816 its population had become reduced to about eighty souls occupying a dozen bark-roofed houses of small logs, scattered here and there as best suited the owner's notion, though all clustered about the council house. The latter, located on a level spot of two or three acres west of the present highway and a few rods north of Mr. Raymond's house, was a log building about 25 feet by 40. Inside, a row of rough seats extended around the walls for spectators, the center being reserved for the council-fire. The burial-place lay to the north-west of the village, a few rods beyond the marsh or flat. Bones and weapons are yet found, and a few years since a silver ear-ring was picked up on the old burial-ground site. There were two houses half way between the village and the corn grounds, and at the latter place each family had a smaller hut in which they often lodged while planting and harvesting their crops. Few traces remain of Indian occupancy at Squakie Hill. A part of Thomas Jemison's log house, located east of the highway, is yet standing and is still occupied as a dwelling. The orchard to the south of the Jemison house, contains several apple trees planted by the Senecas, as likewise

* Meaning, "where the valley begins to expand or widen out." John Shanks and other Indians say that Squakie Hill was also called *Ga-nah-dae ont-hwah*, which means, "the hemlock was poured out," meaning the fine leaves.

were a number of the venerable trees still standing on the flats to the east of Squakie Hill, and on the hill to the south, overlooking the guard-lock.

A knoll just across the stream, south of the cheese-factory and east of the highway, near Mr. Willard's house, was the spot where John Jemison was killed. The Senecas believed that this medicine man's ghost haunted the place. "Friends," said the Tall Chief, "you have killed an Indian in time of peace and made the wind hear his groans and the earth drink his blood. If you go into the woods to live alone, the ghost of Jemison will follow you, crying, Blood ! blood ! and will give you no peace."*

Samuel Magee was at the village in 1802. Before entering, he met a score of bareheaded squaws, each shouldering a hoc, on their way to the corn-patch, under the lead of one of their number, who, according to the habit, usually laid out the day's work. On reaching the village Magee found a number of young Indians playing ball, an older set were pitching quoits, and a group of venerable natives were gravely watching the games. The shouting and boisterous laughing of the players obliged Magee to dismount, to the great mirth of the Indians, and to lead his scared horse through the town. Squakie Hill kept its population longer than any of the other river villages, and was the scene of their farewell dance, when the natives were about to quit the Genesee country.

O'-non-da'-oh† was located near the modern village of Nunda, though Thomas Jemison thinks a couple of miles nearer the river than the latter town. In this other Indians agree, but the precise spot is not de-

* Hosmer's notes.

† Meaning "where many hills come together." It will be observed that the Gilbert Narrative gives the orthography *Nundow*, It is also given in early documents *Nunday*.

terminated. Philip Kenjockety told me, at Versailles, that a large spring of very cold water supplied the village, and as he recollected O'-non-da'-oh in early youth, quite a hundred years ago, it was larger than Beardstown then was. Previous to the battle of Fort Stanwix the warriors of O'-non-da'-oh and other Seneca villages had been invited by the British to come and see them whip the Yankees. The Indians were not asked to take part in the fight but to sit down and smoke their pipes and and look on. "Our Indians," said Mary Jemison, "went to a man, but instead of taking the part of spectators were forced to fight for their lives, and, in the end, were completely beaten, and that with great loss in killed and wounded."* O'-non-da'-oh shared in the disaster, losing among others its chieftain, Hoh-sque-sah-oh.† His death was much deplored. The distress following their losses begot a feeling of insecurity and when the warriors again took the war-path the families composing the town removed to Beardstown. Kenjockety, who dimly recollected the exodus, followed with his parents. We find the village again occupied in 1780. In the spring of that year Joseph Gilbert, a Quaker, with his parents and family, had been taken captives by a band of Senecas and Mohawks in Northumberland county, Pennsylvania, and carried, with another pioneer, named Thomas Peart, to Caracadera where they were treated somewhat roughly. Gilbert was soon separated from Peart "and removed to Nundow, almost seven miles distant, where, soon after his arrival the chief himself brought Joseph some hominy and otherwise treated him with much civility and kindness.

*The Beardstown Indians had 36 killed and a number wounded. It is not known just how many were lost by the O-non-da-oh village.

† Signifying "a man who carries a tomahawk."

intending to adopt him into his family.”* For several weeks he resided with the chief, whose wigwam was superior to the huts of the other Indians. He was then taken back to Caracadera, his weakness of body, from scanty nourishment being so great that he was two days in accomplishing the journey of seven miles.

Peart was also taken to Nundow where he spent the fall and winter. Gilbert occasionally visited him there. Gilbert finally escaped to Niagara, and Peart was carried to the same place by his Indian mother, where the two captives rejoined their friends.

Ga-da'-oh† was situated on the Genesee river, near the great land slide. The reservation originally embraced 28 square miles, lying on both sides of the river, the village being on the westerly shore. On the return of the Senecas to the Genesee, after Sullivan's invasion. Mary Jemison went with others to Beardstown. Food was scarce there, and the weather by this time had become cold and stormy. As the houses had all been burned, she resolved to look out for herself elsewhere. Taking two of her children upon her back and the three others following, she travelled on foot to Gardow flats. “At that time, two negroes,

*“Having passed through many difficulties and hardships, they were brought to a place or town called Caracadera, where they received the insults of the Indian women and children, whose husbands or parents had fallen in their hostile excursions, Here Joseph Gilbert was separated from Thomas Peart, and removed to an Indian town called Nundow, about seven miles distant. Soon after his arrival here the King himself brought Joseph some hommony, and otherwise treated him with much civility and kindness; with intention to adopt him into the family, in the place of one of his sons who was slain when General Sullivan drove them from their habitations along the Susquehanna. For several weeks he resided in the family of the King, or Indian Chief, whose wigwam was superior to the huts of the other Indians.” (Vide narrative of the Captivity and Sufferings of Benjamin Gilbert and his family—Phil. 1848, p. 92, 98.)

† The Senecas name was *Kau-tam*, meaning “down and up,” or a valley and hillside, in a word a “bluff.” The word is now usually spelled Gardow.

who had run away from their masters, were the only inhabitants of those flats. They lived in a small cabin and had planted and raised a large field of corn, as yet unharvested. They were in want of help to secure their crop, and I hired to them. I have laughed a thousand times to myself when I have thought of the good old negro who, fearing that I should be injured by the Indians, stood by me constantly with a loaded gun, and thereby lost as much labor of his own as he received from me."* She thus secured a supply of samp and cakes for the fearfully cold winter that followed. Deciding to take up her residence here, she occupied a part of the negroes' cabin and the next season built a hut for herself. The lands at Gardow subsequently became hers by formal grant at the Big Tree treaty of 1797.† She remained here until 1831, when she removed to the Buffalo reservation.

Ga-nos'-ga-go occupied the site of the village of Dansville. It was a small Seneca town, of comparatively modern date, and for some cause had ceased to be occupied as a winter village at the advent of the early pioneers, though "fifteen or twenty huts were standing when white settlements commenced, and several Indian families lingered for some years in the neighborhood."‡ Main street cuts through the Indian burial ground, which covered two or three acres including the site of the Lutheran church. In sinking wells in the vicinity, a number of Indian relics and skeletons were exhumed, and about sixteen years ago workmen engaged in digging a cellar, near the south-

* Life of Mary Jemison.

† It was granted to her by the Indians in consideration of their regard for her. She gradually sold off portions, and finally parted with the remainder, consisting of 2 sq. m., to Micah Brooks.

‡ Conrad Welch's recollections. See Turner's *Phelps & Gorham*, p. 359.

The meaning of the Indian word *Ga-nos-ga-go* is, "among the milk-weeds."

erly part of this burial ground, came upon two skeletons of giant-sized Indians, which lay side by side. They had evidently long reposed there, some favoring element in the soil having preserved them beyond the ordinary limit.

In a battle that took place between the Canisteo Indians and the Senecas, on a hill three miles to the north-east, a noted chief of the Senecas was killed. To mark the spot where he fell, an excavation, several rods in extent, shaped like a man with arms extended, was made by his tribesmen.* An Indian trail led by this novel memorial and the natives in passing were in the habit of clearing therefrom, with tender regard, the leaves and brush which the winds had drifted into it. The chief's remains were brought to Ga-nos'-ga-go for burial and, singularly enough, now lie underneath the altar of the Lutheran church, a christian memorial to a pagan warrior. A rude monument, consisting of a pile of small stones brought hither, one by one, by the Indians, from a hill a mile distant, was worked by the white man's hands into the church foundation walls. The Indian trail, which led from the Genesee to the Canisteo river and thence to eastern Pennsylvania, may yet in places be traced, especially at a point half way up Big Hill, where the path intersects the highway leading from Dansville to Hornellsville; and for many miles below the latter place its deeply worn course is yet plainly visible. Ga-nos'-ga-go was established after De Nonville's invasion of 1689. In Pouchot's map, as will be seen, it appears under the name of Ka-nons-ke-gon, a Frenchman's mode of indicating in writing the Indian spoken name. The two trails, passing up either side of the Cana-

* The spot cannot be found, though some of the early settlers were heard to speak of the excavation which they had seen.

seraga connected the village with the towns along the river.

Sho-no'-jo-waah-geh,* occupied both sides of Damon's creek, which runs on the northerly edge of the village of Mount Morris. The residence of the late Judge Hastings occupies a portion of the site. The name signifies Big Kettle's town* and is derived from the circumstance of General Mills bringing a copper still or kettle into the place to put into a distillery. In opening Grove street, hatchets, knives, and beads were discovered in considerable quantities. Samuel Magee, who visited the Indian village in 1795, found the town quite compact, and the natives, who were enjoying themselves upon the green, very civil. Magee, then a pioneer youth, and until then holding the red-man in no little fear, lost his dread and grew fond of their company. When Jesse Stanley came to Mount Morris in 1811, an Indian mound, nearly a hundred feet in diameter and from 8 to 10 feet high, covered the site of the late General Mills' residence. The mound had long been crowned by a great tree, which had recently fallen under the axe, the stump remaining, though much weather-beaten. Deacon Stanley was told that when freshly cut it disclosed a hundred and thirty concentric circles or yearly growths. About the year 1820, the mound was removed, and, in its removal, arrow-heads, a brass kettle and knives were thrown out. A number of skeletons were also disinterred. Among the bones was a human skeleton of enormous size, the jaw-bone of which was so large that Adam Holtslander placed it, mask-like, over his own chin and jaw, although he was the largest man in the settlement, and his face was in proportion to

* Literally, *Sho-noh-jo-waah*, Big Kettle, and *geh*, the location or town of, hence "the town of Big Kettle." Morgan says that the famous Seneca orator, Big Kettle, once resided here, but this, I am satisfied, is an error.

the rest of his body. Metal, in the form of rude medals, a pipe, and other articles, were picked out of the earth thrown from the excavation. Sho-noh-jo-waah-geh was generally called Allen's Hill by the whites; and the flats directly to the east, cultivated by the Indians, they called Allen's flats deriving the name from Ebenezer Allan, or Indian Allan, as he was generally called, the Blue Beard of pioneer history. This notorious character had acquired ownership of a large tract of land where Mount Morris now stands, occupying for residence, and also for business purposes, a long log house that stood within the bounds of Judge Hastings' grounds.

Gah'-nyuh-sas, or Conesus, was a small Seneca town, situated half a mile south of the head of Conesus lake, on the flat between Henderson's creek and the inlet, though nearer the former than the latter stream. Sullivan's invading army breakfasted at this village on the morning of the 13th of September, 1779, and there spent the earlier half of that day. They found it to consist of twenty-five houses, and the surrounding bottom lands covered with patches of corn, ripening melons, and squash and beans. Close at hand was an orchard of apple and peach trees. The army, with the exception of the light corps, which encamped a mile in advance, had bivouacked on Richardson's farm at a late hour the previous evening. After marching all the afternoon through drizzling rain and over muddy paths, a scanty supper and short supply of water, added to damp garments, had not rendered the night one of comfort, and the men were glad enough to move forward at early dawn to a spot which, like this, promised bountiful rations of seasonable vegetables, good water and an opportunity to dry their clothing by the heat of the burning cabins of the little town. Arms were also to be examined and pre-

pared for use against the enemy who were expected to be found gathered in force near their villages, which lay at no great distance beyond the brow of the wooded hills that were in full sight to the westward of Gah-nyuh-sas. Sullivan says in his report, "Here we found some large cornfields, which part of the army destroyed while the other part were employed in building the bridge" across the inlet. The town "had lately been under the command of a bold and enterprising negro named Captain Sunfish," (as Sergeant-Major Grant, who accompanied the expedition states in his diary,) and showed traces of recent occupancy. When the army broke camp to move over the temporary bridge, cabins, crops and orchards had disappeared. The destruction of every species of property had been effected under the eye of Sullivan himself and was complete. The Indian village was never rebuilt. The Senecas have a tradition that a fort belonging to their tribe, once occupied the site of this town, but I am satisfied that this has reference to the fortified place near Bosley's Mills. Its name is derived from the abundance of sheep-berries which formerly grew on the western border of the lake. * Pouchot gives the name Oniotade.

Dyu-hah-gai† was the village of the Oneida Indians. It will be recollected that the Oneidas, as a tribe, took sides with the colonists in the Revolutionary struggle. A few families, however, clung to the

* See appendix to Marshall's *Expedition of DeNonville*. Sullivan gives the orthography of Conesus thus—*Kaneghsaws*; Col. Hubley spells it *Kanaghsas* and Major Norris, of the New Hampshire regiment, gives it *Kaneyas* or *Yucksea*. The name is also said to be derived from the old scoop-net-fishing-ground at the outlet of the lake, but this would apply to the old fortified place near Bosley's or Olmsted's Mills.

† Meaning "the stream or current devours it," that is, the bank. There is some uncertainty as to the correctness of this name when applied to this village, though I am assured it was so called.

British cause. Of the latter, a portion removed to the Genesee, retreating thence to Niagara at the approach of Sullivan. When the Senecas returned, a remnant of the Oneidas, consisting of 15 or 20 families, also came back and established their homes on the easterly side of the river, a mile below North's mill. Near the site of their village, the river banks are quite bold. The Oneida youth were expert swimmers and often astonished the pioneers by their daring leaps into the water. Charles Shackleton said they could dive as deep and stay as long beneath the surface as a fish. The spot became quite noted as a bathing-place, and, on a warm afternoon, the river was frequently alive with their black heads. The whites were on good terms with them, and often visited the ground to play ball with the natives. The Senecas of the upper villages imagined that the Oneida town harbored two or three witches, and about the year 1800, one of the suspected squaws was secured and taken to Beardstown, where, it is said, she was burned. This village was the occasional residence of two or three of the more noted Seneca wise men. It was among the first to be abandoned after the treaties.

Jo-nis-hi-yuh * must have been located near the modern village of Geneseo. Our information respecting it is quite too vague to satisfy the geographer, but varying traditions unite in fixing its site in proximity to the Mammoth Spring, as it is sometimes called, east of Temple Hill street. General Ely Parker, whose intimate acquaintance with Seneca legends has, in

* The Jesuits call it *Chenussio*. The full name in Seneca is *De-gah-chi-nos-hi-yooh*, meaning Beautiful Valley, and was named, according to some, from an exclamation made after the first Big Tree treaty was concluded, as they rose to depart. John Shanks says that this particular name belonged to a place six miles from the village of Geneseo. Geneseo was known to the Indians in later times as *Oh-ha-daii*, or "burnt trees," that is, girdled trees.

many ways, served the historian, refers to a tradition which confers upon this town the distinction of holding, for a brief period, the council-fire of the Senecas. Pouchot's map locates the town and gives the name as *Sonnechio*.* The Seneca name signifies "the beautiful valley," and had reference to the immediate country looking westward, rather than to the particular spot. In this sense I conceive that no designation could be more appropriate. Sullivan makes no reference to this village in his report, although Pouchot makes special mention of it a score of years earlier. It should be remarked, however, that Sullivan crossed the river four miles higher up, near Hampton, the residence of the late Colonel Fitzhugh; hence he might easily have been ignorant of its existence even if it were then occupied. It is quite likely, however, that it had ceased to be used as a winter abode and was held, if at all, as a hunting lodge or temporary autumn home for roving bands. It was near this village that both Schoolcraft and Cusick fix the place of the bloody battle between the Kah-kwas, who had been sent into the Seneca country by their female chief, and the latter tribe.

Gaw-she-gweh-oh † was located at the confluence of the creek and river, near Allen's tavern or Williamsburg, on the farm of Colonel Abell. A small grove, standing between the site of the old tavern and the Fitzhugh mansion, marked, as is believed, the location

* Pronounced as if written *Son-ne-she-o*, or *Shon-ne-she-o*. The name appears in the Colonial Documents of the State in a great variety of ways.

† Samuel Magee gave the name as *Utahutan*. An old Seneca, Samuel Wilson, who was raised on the Genesee and is yet (1869) living, says *Gaw-she-gweh* means a spear, and that *O-she-gweh-ont* means rattlesnake. When the place was first occupied by the Indians, the point, at the confluence of the Genesee and the Canaseraga creek, abounded with rattlesnakes. They would lay curled up on the point, basking on sun-shiny days, from which fact the town took its name.

of this village. Colonel William Jones recollected visiting the spot when about ten years of age, and could then trace the remains of eight or ten Indian huts. It was here that Boyd and Murphy, with a little scouting-party, spent the latter part of the Sunday night previous to the ambuscade next day near the head of Conesus lake ; and it was at this village, that Murphy shot and scalped the young Seneca brave, whose companion, taking the alarm, was enabled to escape to Beardstown, carrying the intelligence that the Yankees were reconnoitering so close at hand ; a fact which induced Boyd to attempt the fatal experiment of returning to the army by daylight though forests swarming with the enemy. It was here, too, that Sullivan, with his staff-officers and the larger part of his army, spent the night of the 13th of September, 1779, whence they departed next day to destroy Beardstown and other native villages along the line of the river. Samuel Magee said that from the town square, as originally laid out, to the river, was about eighty rods, and that, about half way between the square and river, was quite a large Indian burial ground. In 1806 a number of the Indian graves were opened and rifled of brass-kettles, tomahawks, and other property usually buried with the dead. The perpetrators escaped, though some effort was made to detect them. Agriculture has long claimed the spot, and the surface now presents no evidence of aboriginal occupancy, though occasionally articles of Indian handiwork are found in breaking up the soil.

Sga-his-ga-aah was a modern Seneca town occupying the site of the present village of Lima. The name signifies, "it was a long creek," and had reference to the stream which flows at the foot of the ridge whereon the Indian town was located and which leads to

one of the tributaries of Honeoye creek.* The importance of Sga-his-ga-aah consisted mainly in its convenience as a halting-place between the Indian village at Caledonia spring and that which lay near Geneva, on the line of the great central trail connecting the Hudson and the Niagara rivers. The village had entirely disappeared in 1797, when Matthew Warner came to the Genesee country. A dozen years ago Franklin Carter found traces of five lodges, in plowing his orchard lot, situated on the easterly slope of the ridge. The lodges appeared to have stood a couple of rods apart, fronting on a straight line.† Evidences of a large aboriginal population here have, from time to time, appeared. The Indian burial ground, must have been quite extensive, as we may judge by the portions of it that have been disturbed by the plow and spade. Miles Bristol, in the first two years plowing of his orchard lot in early days, found Indian axes in such quantities that their sale more than covered the cost of tillage; and William A. Bristol has, on different occasions, found in the same lot, situated upon this ridge back of his residence, a number of Indian skulls and bones; full fifty brass kettles, the bottoms of which were generally rusted out; pipes, with the bowls ornamented by such devices as the human face and the heads of deer and other

* This ridge runs east and west, parallel with Main street. The central portion of the Indian town was a few rods south of the American Hotel,

† The precise spot, where the remains of these lodges was found, is about twenty-five rods to the rear of the American Hotel. Morgan, in his "League of the Iroquois," gives an engraving of an Indian pipe found at Lima. It was of black pottery, well finished, and nearly as hard as marble. Col. Geo. Smith was in Lima in 1798. There were then traces of an old fortification on the ridge where the Indian village had been located, the west end of the ditch crossing the present highway on the ridge, a short distance west of the centre of the modern village, and remained visible for some years after 1798.

animals ; beads and arrow-heads, and several quarts of parched corn and beans. Many years ago, when the yard in front of the Presbyterian church was graded, Indian skeletons were discovered by the hundred, as reported by those who then saw them. Ten or twelve years since an excavation was made at the corner of Main and Rochester streets, which exposed the bones of a number of aborigines and articles usually found buried with them. The spot originally belonged to the church lot, and it is a coincidence worthy of mention that the Indian burial grounds at Dansville and two or three other places in the county, are occupied by christian churches as cemeteries for white men. Another, though smaller Indian burial ground is known to exist about one mile north of the village of Lima, where hatchets, knives and other weapons are occasionally found side by side with skeletons. In 1822 citizens discovered remains of Indians here, in a sitting posture, with earthen pots in their laps filled with corn and bones of squirrels. About the same period large trees, which grew over Indian graves, were cut away. Sullivan makes no mention of Sga-his-ga-aah, and, most likely, he was unaware of such a town, which, if then a winter habitation, had already been deserted for safety, the families probably uniting with those of Beardstown or Canawaugus as was the case with many Seneca towns lying east of the river.

Ga-non'-da-seeh was a favorite place of resort for the Indians in the season of pigeon-shooting. The name signifies "New Town," and was located near the modern hamlet of Moscow, though never used for winter occupancy.

The site of Deo-wes-ta is known to the whites as Portageville. It lay upon the neck of land on the easterly side of the river between Portageville and the

lower falls.

At or near the site of the present village of East Avon, was located a modern Seneca town called Gahní-gah-dòt, which signifies "the pestle stands there."

It would be quite impossible to embrace, in a single chapter, every spot associated with Indian occupancy, for there is scarcely any portion of the county where traces of aboriginal villages or burial places of the red-men, have not been found. Oftentimes these consist of mounds of inconsiderable extent, or are the remains of temporary villages only. I have sought to preserve, with some particularity, a record of the places which belong to history. An instance of the many minor relics of Indian abode is found near the village of Geneseo. Within a narrow circuit a mile west of the village, three small mounds may yet be traced, one of which occurs about forty rods southwest of the Big-tree farm. This is three feet in height and near twenty-five feet across; underneath a great oak, close by the dairy-house on Mr. Wadsworth's dairy-farm, is a second, somewhat smaller in diameter, and about half as high as the former; and, near the Jones bridge, on the easterly side of the river, is a third. When the railroad was being constructed, the skeletons of four Indians were exhumed from the latter. These spots are venerated by the Senecas, who, up to a recent day, were in the habit of visiting them and spending hours in mourning over the ashes of their dead there buried. General James S. Wadsworth met every suggestion to have the mounds leveled, with a peremptory refusal. "Let the dead rest," he would say, and the same regard continues to be observed. Strangely, indeed, is the dust of the red man and the white being mingled in our midst.

CHAPTER V.

INDIAN NOTABLES.

Many leading names among the sachems, warriors and wise men of the Senecas are more or less intimately associated with this region, and other persons, well known to the pioneers, whose career was identified with the Indians here, claim mention in these pages.

Red Jacket, Sa-go-ye-wat-hah,* lived, for a time, on the Ewing place, just south of Fall Brook and half a mile east of the Genesee. His relations with tribesmen along the river were intimate and his visits here frequent and prolonged. His sagacity and wisdom are as well known as his great oratorical gifts. In these respects, this noted chieftain had no superior among the best of his race. He was not a warrior, though he led a company of Senecas against the British in the war of 1812; but he was a negotiator, the diplomat of his nation. Toward the close of life he became intemperate. On one occasion, the government having business with the Indians, sent an agent to Buffalo, who there met Red Jacket as the representative of the Senecas. The day fixed upon came, but the chief failed to put in an appearance. Horatio Jones, who

* Red Jacket's Indian name signifies, "He keeps them awake," in allusion to his stirring eloquence. His Yankee name was thus obtained: In his younger days he was very swift of foot, and was often suffered by British officers engaged in the trader service, to carry messages of importance. One of these, as a reward, gave him a richly embroidered scarlet jacket which he wore with great pride. When the first one was worn out another was given him, and, as he always appeared thus arrayed, the name followed quite naturally.

was to act as interpreter, after a long search, found him in a low tavern quite drunk. The porter, who was about shutting up the house for the night, was preparing to put him out of doors when Jones interposed. As soon as the effects of the liquor were slept off, the chief wanted more, but was denied. He was reminded of his neglect of the public business, and of the regret his course must cause the President. Red Jacket's under lip dropped for a moment, a peculiarity of his when annoyed; then, raising himself in his stately way, he said, with a motion of his hand as if to wave off the reproach, "all will blow over, I guess." In a quarrel at Canandaigua in early days, an Indian killed a white man. A rising young lawyer, whose subsequent business career was a distinguished one, conducted the prosecution, Red Jacket the defence. In his appeal to the jury, the orator of nature rose to high eloquence, and, though speaking through an interpreter, jury, court, and spectators were all won to his cause. Captain Jones said it was quite impossible for him to preserve the full force and beauty of this address. The opposing advocate never again appeared at the bar, for, said he, "if a heathen red-skin's voice can so bewitch men's reason, what call is there for either argument or law." Red Jacket obstinately refused to use the English language, and was a pagan in religion, manifesting, through life, an unyielding hostility to the efforts of missionaries to christianize his people. Thatcher says a young clergyman once made a zealous effort to enlighten the chief in spiritual matters. He listened attentively. When it came his turn, he said, "If you white people murdered the Saviour, make it up for yourselves. We had nothing to do with it. Had he come among us we should have treated him better." He retained his prejudice against the christian religion down to a short time before his death,

when, it is believed, his views underwent a radical change, and he died in the faith and was buried with christian rites. Dining one day at Horatio Jones's, Red Jacket emptied a cup of salt into his tea, mistaking it for sugar. The mistake passed without remark, though not unnoticed by the guests. The chief, however, coolly stirred the beverage until the salt was dissolved and then swallowed the whole in his own imperturable way, giving not the least sign that it was otherwise than palatable. Red Jacket was not sufficiently identified with this region to justify a formal sketch of him here, but it will not be out of place to refer to the fate that awaited his bones. At death, his remains were buried in the Indian grounds on Buffalo creek, a simple marble slab marking the spot. By degrees, relic hunters had clipped away the memorial stone until little or nothing remained to indicate the resting place of the famous chieftain. At length an unauthorized person of his own race* exhumed his bones and carried them to Buffalo. A Seneca, who chanced then to be in the city, took possession and carried them to the Cattaraugus reservation to a female relative of Red Jacket's, who placed them in a pine chest under her bed. Thus far the friends have declined to surrender them to the Buffalo Historical Society, who have secured a spot in the beautiful cemetery near that city for the interment of several noted Senecas, and design, when all are gathered, to erect an elegant memorial over their remains.†

* George Copway, an Indian, who lectured through the country a few years ago.

† The money has been raised and the Society only await the action of the friends of Red Jacket. The remains of Major Berry, Captain Pollard, Big Kettle and certain other Senecas, will be transferred to the spot for reinterment. In a visit to Cattaraugus reservation in August, 1869, I saw Daniel Two-Guns, a venerable Seneca, who is the step-son of Red Jacket. He said, through an interpreter, that just before Red Jacket's death, the latter requested Two-Guns to take charge of his remains, which he did as above stated. I asked where the bones then were. "That must remain a secret," said Two-Guns. Red Jacket died January 20, 1832.

Cornplanter, Ga-yănt-hwah-gĕh,* was a leading chieftain and one of the wisest and best of Seneca notables. As a councilor, indeed, none of his race was better esteemed. Canawaugus, near Avon, had the honor of being his birth-place; though, in after years, he usually resided on the Alleghany river, yet he remained closely identified through life, by consanguinity and otherwise, with the Indians of the Genesee. He was partly white. The Indian boys early took notice that his skin was more fair than theirs. He named the matter to his mother, who told him that his father was a white trader named Abell, or O'Bale, who lived near Albany. † After growing up, he sought out his father and made himself known. The father gave him victuals to eat at his house, but "no provisions on the way home." 'He gave me neither kettle nor gun, nor did he tell me that the United States were about to rebel against Great Britain," said the much offended half-blood. ‡ Cornplanter was among the first to adopt the white man's costume, and in latter years, might easily have been mistaken for a well-to-do farmer. He was of medium height, inclining to corpulency, though late in life he became quite thin in person; was easy in manners and correct in morals. His face was expressive and his eye dark and penetrating. He ranked above Red Jacket as a warrior and was little inferior to him as an orator. He was at Braddock's defeat, where Washington, then a colonial major, first distinguished himself. He took part against the colonies in the Revolution, and, after the close of the war down to

* Meaning "in, or at the planted field."

† Old John O'Ball, or O'Bale, in his younger days, frequently passed through the Indian settlements, and in one of his excursions had become enamoured with a squaw, by whom he had a son that was called Cornplanter.—*Life of Mary Jemison.*

‡ Cornplanter's letter to the Governor of Pennsylvania, in 1822.

Wayne's victory in 1794, his attitude was at times quite equivocal. He held the original papers and treaties of the Senecas, which he often carried about with him in a pair of saddle-bags, to silence disputes or to assert the rights of his people. On one occasion Red Jacket was boasting of what he had said at certain treaties, when Cornplanter quietly added, "Yes, but we told you what to say." He was a man singularly upright in all relations. Horatio Jones said, "he was one of the best of men to have on your side, and there you would be sure to find him if he thought yours the right side, but it was deucedly unlucky if he thought you wrong." He was much older than Red Jacket and looked, with pardonable jealousy, upon that rising young orator.

Henry O'Bale, Gas-so-wah-doh, * was a son of Cornplanter and was also born at Canawaugus. He was generally addressed as Major O'Bale. In person he was a portly and fine looking, and his manners were not without polish. He was placed at school in New Jersey by Benjamin Bouton, and graduated at Dartmouth college. He was somewhat boastful of his courage. In early times, while at the Mansion house in Avon, some question arose one day between him and Doctor Ensworth. O'Bale was told that nothing short of a duel would adjust the matter. The ground was paced off, and principals and seconds took their places. Word was given and O'Bale fired. The Doctor reserved his charge and walking close up to his opponent fired point blank at his heart. O'Bale, supposing himself shot, fell into the arms of his second, but recovered on learning that the pistols had been loaded with blank charges, a fact of which the Doctor had been duly apprised. While not wanting in honesty,

* Meaning "Wampum memorial belt." He was also called Gah-soh-yo-wa.

O'Bale's business transactions were not always marked by that scrupulous promptitude so agreeable to early merchants. Colonel Lyman had trusted O'Bale for goods and went down to Canawaugus to remind him that the debt was past due. "Oh, yes," said the Major, "I will pay you at once. Mr. Hosmer owes me. You know him of course, and I'll go to him and get the money." He went, but forgot to return, and, after two or three similar attempts, the debt was carried to loss account. Of his advantages of parentage and education the Major did not fully avail himself. He was fond of the Genesee country and was one of the last of the natives to quit this region.

Handsome Lake, Ga-nyú-da-i-yuh, the Peace Prophet, was a half-brother of Cornplanter, as already stated.* He stood high with his people both as a medicine-man and a spiritual guide. Mr. Horsford was told of a young Indian girl of Squakie Hill, who was cured by him of a dangerous illness. All remedies failing, the friends despatched a runner to the Prophet, with the clothes of the afflicted squaw. He took them, laid a handful of tobacco upon the fire, and, as it burned, offered an address to the Great Spirit. After a moment's silence he observed, looking at the clothes, "This affliction is a punishment to her for wickedly drowning a nest of young robins, and, a few hours later, for repeating the offence. Two young deer must be killed—a yearling buck and yearling doe—the whole of both must be boiled at once and the entire village be called to the feast, and then to dance." Some days were spent in finding the deer, when the directions of the Prophet were complied with, and the girl recovered at once. In person the Prophet was of medium size,

* The Indian name means "beautiful lake." The name of this Prophet of modern paganism is sometimes written *Ga-ne-o-di-yo*.

of goodly presence, and of modest and quiet demeanor.

Little Beard, Si-gwá-ah-doh-gwih,* resided at the town to which he gave his name. He was noted both as a warrior and councilor, and for great firmness and zeal, and, though not an orator, was a fluent talker. Physically, he was a favorable specimen of the Indian chieftain, rather below the medium size, yet straight and firm. In faith a pagan, he always awarded respectful attention to the views of christian teachers. Border annals show how fierce his nature was, yet, after the Revolution, he proved friendly to the pioneers and was esteemed by them for his good faith. No Indian was better informed, none more sociable than he, and with none could an hour be more profitably spent. He conversed with good sense on the events of the colonial wars, and the future of his race, and though it is a fact well established that he not only consented to the death of the scouts, Boyd and Parker, and quite likely suggested the exquisite tortures to which these devoted soldiers were subjected, yet, it must be recollected, he was chief of the village menaced by Sullivan's army. Moreover, he took these two men in the act of securing information that would enable the American General to march directly to the destruction of his peoples' homes, possibly to put to death any of them who chanced to fall into his hands, facts which serve to mitigate, perhaps, though by no means to excuse this act of almost unparalleled barbarity. In a drunken quarrel at the old Stimson tavern in Leicester, in 1806, Little Beard was thrown from the outer door, and, falling upon the steps, received an injury from which, as he was advanced in years, he shortly died. The great eclipse, which occurred soon after his death, filled the Indians with superstitious

* Meaning "Spear hanging down," compounded of *Gah-si-gwaah*, spear, and *Oh-saah-doh*, it hangs down.

fears. The manner of his taking off could not but give him offence, the natives thought, and they imagined he was about to darken the sun, so that their corn could not grow. The hunters assembled and shot arrows and bullets at the obscured luminary, while others screamed, shouted, and drummed, until the brightness was fully restored.

Tall Chief, A-wa-nis-há-dek-hah,* lived alternately at Squakie Hill and at a group of five huts known as Tall Chief's Village, located across the river, on Murray's hill, near Mt. Morris. The spring whence he got his supply of water, is in use and still bears his name, and a bed of tansey, planted by him, still flourishes near the site of his lodge. Tall Chief was favored by nature with more than ordinary grace of person. He is said to have resembled Henry Clay in demeanor. Straight as an arrow and quite senatorial in deportment, he was always cool and self-possessed. An Indian of his village had killed a companion. Believing that Tall Chief could aid in securing the guilty man, the authorities at once informed him of the deed, but he did nothing. They at length urged him to act. "Yes," said he, "may be, bime-by, somebody ketch um, kill um, may be, can't say." But he performed better than he promised, and the culprit was duly secured and handed over. Tall Chief's name appears to the Big Tree treaty, and is otherwise associated with the business affairs of his nation. The pioneers recollect him with peculiar interest. His habits, some of them at least, showed the freedom of forest birth. Colonel Lyman, having an errand with him one warm day, called at his hut. The squaws of his household were found sitting on the ground, enjoying the shade of a great tree. On asking for

* Meaning, "Burning day." Also spelled thus: *Ou-nea-shat-ai-kau.*

the chief they pointed to another tree, near at hand, where he was seen lying upon his back quite naked, barring a cloth about the loins. The visitor was graciously received, though the chief did not offer to rise. After the object of the call was effected, he politely invited the Colonel to remain for a visit. The females exhibited no surprise, though the visitor was inclined to regard the chief's attitude as somewhat odd for a personage of his consequence. Tall Chief dined with Washington on the occasion of a visit of a deputation of his nation, sent to smoke the peace pipe with the President. After a ceremonious dinner a big pipe was lighted and Washington tried unsuccessfully to draw the smoke through the long stem. He handed it to Horatio Jones, who succeeded better. The President then took a whiff, and passed the pipe to Tall Chief, to whom he paid marked attention, and then to each in turn. The dignified Seneca was always proud of referring to this occasion. He possessed the secret Indian remedy for the rattle-snake's bite, and was often sent for, far and near, to apply it, and usually with signal success. In 1828, Tall Chief removed to Tonawanda, where he died not long afterward.

Straight-back, so named because of his erect walk and stately manner, was a son of Tall Chief, and seems to have acquired no little of the respect held by the whites for his father. William Tall Chief,* was another son. Both were born at Squakie Hill. His personal appearance was quite striking, of "splendid physique," says one who knew him. He was a man of integrity, but more noted as a hunter than a councilor. In 1846, William went to Kansas with a party

* His Indian name was *Ho-is-da-geh-thet*, meaning, "he carries the medal," a name given him on account of the pride he took in wearing a medal. I saw his widow and her grown-up family in 1865, and readily own that the grace of their male progenitors had been transmitted.



Portrait of A. N. S. N. S.

Yours
P. C. Fuller



Handwritten signature or scribble, possibly reading "J. B. ..."

of Senecas, to settle upon the lands there set apart for the New York Indians. On their way thither, several of the band contracted ship-fever on board a Missouri river steam boat, and nearly fifty fell victims to the disease. Dissatisfied with the country, William set out to return, but died on the way, of consumption and was buried at Beaver, Ohio. No stone marks his resting-place. We saw his widow, who was a granddaughter of the White woman, and her grown-up children, in the fall of 1865. They were possessed of striking personal appearance and seemed greatly interested in hearing about the former home of their relatives on the Genesee, recollecting much that had been told them of early days hereabouts. The beauty of Conesus lake, and the fertility of the Mount Morris flats, were facts that seemed to dwell most freshly in their memories.

Big Tree, Ga-on-dah-go-waah' * was a useful friend of the American cause in the Revolution, and a leading adviser in all treaties and councils of the Senecas. He resided many years at Big Tree village, † which took his name. In person he was grave and dignified. In the summer of 1778, Washington sent Big Tree to the towns of his tribe along the Genesee, in the hope that his personal influence and eloquence might win the Senecas to the cause of the colonies. He found the villages of Kanadaseaga ‡ and Little Beardstown, "crowded with warriors from remote tribes. The Senecas at first seemed inclined to hearken to his wishes, but learning by a spy that the Americans were about to invade their country, all flew to arms, and Big Tree put himself at their head, 'determined,' as

* Sometimes called *Great Tree*. The name signifies "Large tree, lying down."

† On the farm of Eason P. Slocum, in Leicester.

‡ The Indian village situated near Geneva.

he said, 'to chastise an enemy that would presume to encroach upon his people's territory.' " His mission proving unsuccessful, he returned to the continental army. At a meeting of the commissioners of Indian affairs held in Albany in March, 1787, Big Tree and four other Indian chiefs represented that nation, and, in the same year, his name was affixed to the famous John Livingston lease, a document forming a part of a grand scheme to secure all the Indian lands in the state. The constitution of 1777 forbade the sale of Indian lands, but by securing a lease for nine hundred and ninety-nine years, as was the purpose of the contrivers, the inhibition was to be avoided. The lessees, known by their title of The New York Genesee Company of Adventurers, numbered eighty persons, among whom were several members of the legislature, county officers and leading citizens. Their plan, though long maturing, was doomed to total failure, and the project holds no enviable place in history.* Little Beard and Hot Bread were also signers of the lease, as indeed were many others of the Iroquois leaders. The legislature must needs pass upon the lease. But here its design was readily penetrated and its summary rejection followed. John Livingston himself, and two other partners in the company, held seats in the

*It is quite likely the movers in this scheme had something in view beyond the possession of the land. In November, 1793, James Wadsworth and Oliver Phelps each received a circular letter, signed by John Livingston and Dr. Caleb Benton, as officers of a convention purporting to have been held at Geneva, proposing a plan of organizing the counties of Otsego, Tioga, Herkimer and Ontario, then comprising the whole of central and western New York, into an independent State. But this daring attempt at revolution was met in the true spirit of patriotism. A meeting was held at Canandaigua to denounce it. As it found little or no favor it was abandoned. (See Turner's, *Phelps'*, & *Gorham's* and Hough's *Indian Treaties*, for a full account.

Assembly, and one had a seat in the Senate.* In 1788 Big Tree was invited by Governor Clinton to attend a council at Fort Stanwix, and in the following year, he, together with Brant, Little Beard and Hot Bread addressed a letter to the Governor, forcibly presenting their grievances. In December, 1790, a large deputation, consisting, among others, of Big Tree, Cornplanter and Half Town, visited Washington, at Philadelphia, and presented him with an address which has been preserved as a fine specimen of Indian eloquence.† In 1791 the legislature of Pennsylvania granted to Big Tree a patent to an island in the Alleghany river for a home, but his death occurred before he took formal possession of it. He lamented the disaster to St. Clair's army in the Miami expedition, and especially, the brutal treatment received by General Richard Butler, who was scalped and tomahawked while he lay wounded and bleeding. The Senecas hereabouts never forgave the deed, and Big Tree was heard to say that "he would have two Miami scalps in revenge for this cowardly act." While in Philadelphia, in 1792, with a large delegation of chiefs and warriors of the Six nations, he fell sick at his lodgings and died after a few hours illness, of surfeit, a victim, says Turner, to the excessive hospitality extended to the delegation, and was buried the following Sunday with something like public honors.‡

A son of Big Tree was quite noted as a runner and

* The Legislature afterwards granted the company a tract ten miles square in Clinton Co., in lieu of their great expectations. The lease bore date Nov. 30, 1787.

† It opens thus: "Father, the voice of the Seneca nation speaks to you, the great councilor in whose heart the wise men of all the thirteen fires (or states) have placed their wisdom. It may be very small in your eyes and we therefore entreat you to hearken with attention, for we are able to speak of things which to us are very great.

‡ Big Tree was buried April 22, 1792.

wrestler. Colonel William Jones often wrestled with him, and being somewhat younger and less muscular, generally found himself undermost at the end of the scuffle. At one of the early-day gatherings, the Indian, as usual, challenged him. This time Jones managed to throw the native, who was greatly offended, and jumping up, drew from his belt a little tomahawk which he usually carried. This he raised and aimed at his antagonist. The by-standers were excited, but Jones, who remained cool, taunted him with cowardice for threatening to strike an unarmed man who had always till now been unlucky in these bouts. The Indian saw that he was wrong, and, dropping his weapon, stepped forward to Jones and grasped him by the hand. The two continued attached friends, though neither ever renewed the challenge.

Black Chief, Tha-on-dah-diis,* resided at Squakie Hill where he died. His swarthy complexion procured him his English name. He signalized himself in war as well as in peace, and enjoyed, in a large degree, the confidence and respect of his people. He had four sons of giant size, one of whom was called Jim Washington. Black Chief is recollected by the younger portion of early settlers as sedate and taciturn. "All my ideas of savage barbarity," says one, "were expressed in a single look of his." He had an only daughter, whose generous nature and unusual grace of person made her a great favorite. After her father's death the tribe paid her peculiar honor. The Squakie Hill Indians held to a superstition that during her life-time, the Iroquois would regain their ancient place among the nations; hence, no kindness toward her was omitted. Her path was often literally strewn with flowers, and the finest venison and rarest

* Meaning, "Long tree, or log."

fruits found their way to her hut. A pestilence passed over the villages, and many died, but so long as she remained unharmed, the natives could bear their personal afflictions with resignation. The plague at length died away, and general health returned. But now, she sickened, and, although the wisest medicine men, even the Prophet himself, exerted their best powers, she died. The light that had been so beautiful in their eyes went out. Grief, for many days filled the villages, and all that affection could suggest was done to indicate their sorrow. Her remains were carried to a platform in a fine grove and placed in a sitting posture. The rose and myrtle were scattered about the funeral couch, and corn in the ear, mint and costly furs, were hung around the lifeless form or decorated her place of burial. Fires were lighted at night and watchers relieved each other at all hours. When it was no longer possible to keep her from interment, she was buried with every mark of regret. The quick fancy of the Indians seems to have invested this girl with more than mortal purity and sweetness.

Jack Berry, or Major Berry, as he was usually called, lived at Squakie Hill until he removed to the Buffalo reservation. His father was a white trader residing near Avon, and the Major was in the habit of referring to his white relatives as father, uncle, or cousin, as the case might be. He spoke the English language fluently, and often acted as interpreter for Red Jacket, on one occasion accompanying that chieftain to Washington in this capacity. He had a peculiar way of prefacing and clinching every sentence of the great orator's speeches, thus, "Jacket says," then, interpreting his words he would end with, "that's what Jacket says." He was somewhat consequential and proud of his importance among the Indians, but proved, on many occasions, a useful friend of the

whites. It is said he dropped a hint to Horatio Jones just before the latter ran the gauntlet as a prisoner at Portage Falls, a hint which saved him many a blow from the savages' clubs. In person he was rather short and thick set. His house at Squakie Hill had a chimney and floor, conveniences possessed by but one other, and the wife of Thomas Jemison, the senior, bought the house of Berry when he went to Buffalo. He was somewhat given to his cups but under all circumstances preserved his self-respect.*

Captain Pollard, Ga-on-do-wah-neh,† lived at Big Tree village. His mother was a Seneca squaw, and his father an English trader, whose name he took, and identified it with Indian affairs and their domestic matters of this region. He had great weight in councils. His judgment was sound and his oratorical powers scarcely inferior to the best of his race. He was pitted against Red Jacket in a memorable trial in Buffalo, in which Tommy Jimmey was charged with killing a squaw; and, judging from the effect upon the Indians assembled, was more successful than Red Jacket. "He was one of the most honest, pure-minded, worthy men I ever knew, white or red," says Hon. Orlando Allen.‡ Horatio Jones said, "morally speaking, Pollard was as good a man as any white minister that ever lived." Some thirty-five years ago Thomas Jemison was in Washington with a party of of natives. Pollard and Captain Jones were both there. The latter, one night at the hotel, said to Pollard, "I out ran you, I think, some years ago." "Oh, yes," responded the chief, good naturedly, "but I have often wanted to try it over again, and you were never quite ready." Captain Jones laughed

* He died in the winter of 1838-9, most probably.

† Meaning, "Big Tree."

‡ In a letter to the author.

and said no more. In person he was square built and above the medium size, dignified in manner and of agreeable countenance. He was, in faith, a Christian, and a most devoted and exemplary one, and was solicitous of being buried according to Christian rites.* In the summer of 1834, when Black Hawk and the War Prophet and other Sac and Fox Indians, were returning from their tour through the States and about to be released by the government, they stopped a day or two in Buffalo. Arrangements were made for their meeting the Indians on the reservation at the Seneca council house. Young and old gathered to witness the interview. Captain Pollard, who was familiar with the "Black Hawk war," made the speech, "one of the most appropriate and telling ones I ever heard," says Orlando Allen, "not a Senator in Congress would have done it better." † Both Black Hawk and the Prophet replied, and owned that they had had enough of fighting the United States.

Hot Bread, O-ah-gwa-dai'-ya, ‡ was one of the leading wise men at Canawaugus. He was quite gifted as a speaker and stood well with his brother chieftains and tribesmen. In person he was rather short, and his complexion more than usually dark. Hot Bread signed the letter of the 30th of July, 1789, to Governor Clinton, a document likely enough prompted by persons interested in the Livingston lease, and marked by more of spirit than courtesy. Brant, Big Tree, and Little Beard, besides several other leading Indians, also signed it. The letter claimed that the state had not observed treaty stipulations, and that the money

* He arranged with Hon. Orlando Allen for such articles as were necessary for decent Christian burial. A handsome coffin was provided. He died in the winter or spring of 1838.

† Hon. Orlando Allen in a letter to the author.

‡ Meaning, "Hot Bread." (See Niles' Reg. Vol. XXVIII, 18, 28.)

due the Indians, had not been fairly divided; and they objected to having the State surveyor mark out the lands, even threatening the State authorities, though somewhat obscurely. Hot Bread was indolent, and his appetite voracious. Red Jacket once said of him, "Hot Bread, waugh! big man here," pointing to the stomach, "but very small here," bringing the palm of his hand with emphasis across the forehead. He died at Canawaugus, as Angus McKenzie thinks, of small pox. Many others of the natives died the same year of that disease. The number included Corn-Tassel. Indeed, but few of the Indians recovered. About the year 1815 a disturbance took place between the Indians and whites at Caledonia Springs. Hot Bread figured prominently in this. Some offence was taken, and the Indians rallied in their war paint and made an attack upon the settlers. The fracas was quelled at last without serious results. Hot Bread was one of the leaders of the anti-Christian party among the Senecas, and his name appears in the memorial addressed to the Governor of New York, in respect to the "Black coats," as the Indians usually designated clergymen. This unique paper closes thus: "We ask our brothers not to force a strange religion upon us. We ask to be let alone, and, like the white people, to worship the Great Spirit as we think it best. We shall then be happy in filling the little space in life which is left us, and shall go down to our fathers in peace."

Half Town, Ga-ji-ot,* lived at Big Tree. His name appears to the Livingston lease, and to the noted address to President Washington.† He possessed a

* Meaning "Stopper in the hole," and applies equally to a cork in a bottle, and to a rock in the mouth of a bear's den, shutting him in. *Half Town* sometimes signed his name *Achiout*.

† Particularly referred to in the sketch of the Chief *Big Tree*.

strong mind and was a wise councilor. His demeanor was grave. In complexion he was quite dark. In person, he was rather below the medium height. Though the Senecas fought against the colonies in the Revolutionary war, the remnant of their warriors took the American side in 1812. Two years before hostilities opened, Red Jacket informed our government that Tecumseh and other native leaders in the territories, were trying to draw the Senecas into a great western combination then forming against the whites. The Senecas promptly volunteered their services, but their aid was declined by our authorities from motives of policy. The action of the British officers in taking possession of Grand Island in the Niagara river, a territory of peculiar interest to the Senecas, was too much for the pride of the race; and Red Jacket, Farmer's Brother, Half Town, and other chiefs, called a council, to which the American agent was invited. Red Jacket here presented the reasons why his nation insisted on taking up arms on the side of the States. These were so cogent that the President concluded to accept their offer, and General Porter volunteered to lead them. The Indians bore themselves with signal bravery and humanity throughout the war. A body of them took part in the action near Fort George, in August, 1812, in which the enemy were routed and a number of British Indians were taken prisoners. Captain Half Town, Red Jacket, Farmer's Brother, and other chiefs, all took active parts and were in a number of sharply contested engagements. As a manager of moneys belonging to his nation, Half Town was at one time advised to place certain funds in a bank, at interest. He did not readily comprehend how money could grow, as it was not placed in the earth like corn, but locked up in an iron chest. Once made aware of the operation, however, he became

keenly alive to its advantages. Certain of these moneys were invested in stock of the United States Bank when that institution failed, and, of course, dividends then ceased. The Seneca sachems and warriors addressed a letter to Mr. Eustis, Secretary of war, on the subject. The letter was laid before Congress, and was so just and forcible in terms, that eight thousand dollars was promptly voted in lieu of the dividend. Half Town was at Fort Harmer in 1789, where, with twenty-three other chiefs he executed a treaty with the commissioners, General St. Clair, Oliver Wolcott and Arthur Lee. Big Tree was also numbered among the signers. Pennsylvania, in 1791, granted eight hundred dollars to Cornplanter, Half Town, and Big Tree, in trust for the Senecas. An Indian war was then feared; settlers were intruding upon their lands, and otherwise exciting their enmity, and every movement of the natives was regarded with suspicion. Half Town was the "white man's friend," and kept the neighboring garrisons of Venango and vicinity informed of every movement of the hostile bands, which, for a long time, hovered about; and, but for the vigilance of himself and other friendly chiefs, much evil would have resulted to the whites. Cornplanter and Half Town kept a hundred warriors under arms, and their runners were out constantly, watching the movements of war parties until the danger was over. Colonel William Jones, who was personally acquainted with Half Town, thought he died at the Big Tree village.

Sharp Shins, Hääh-tha-o,* was a small Indian with diminutive legs, thin features and a squeaking voice, but possessed of a gentlemanly demeanor, and though sometimes violent in temper, was generally reckoned

* Meaning "he climbs," as e. g. a ladder or tree.

among the leading men of his people. In early life he was a noted runner for a long race. In 1815 Colonel Wadsworth, of Durham, made a visit to his relatives, the Wadsworth brothers, at Geneseo. Colonel Wadsworth was greatly respected by the Indians, with whom he had transacted much public business, and, in his honor, James Wadsworth invited several chiefs to dinner at his house. Captain Horatio Jones came as interpreter. The Indians were dressed with care and conducted themselves with great propriety. They smoked in a friendly way, and talked freely of their past history and of the future of their race. Sharp Shins took a leading part in the conversation, and Colonel Lyman, who was there, recollects that his views were notably sensible and made a decided impression upon all present. Turner says, on one occasion, Sharp Shins commenced the play of throwing tomahawks at Horatio Jones. It soon became earnest. Jones threw them back with such effect as to endanger the Indian's life and render his recovery quite doubtful. He however got well, and was afterwards careful how he provoked the Yankee warrior. Thomas Jemison describes, with much humor, the experience of Sharp Shins in breaking a pair of unruly steers, especially his earnest advice to them in a set Indian speech.

Tommy Infant lived at Canawaugus. In person he was above the ordinary size, though rather fine-looking, and appeared like an over-grown youth. Hence his name. He was good natured, and many anecdotes are related of his awkward size. Being in Avon, late one evening, he took the liberty to enter a vacant house through a door accidentally left open, and lay down for the night. The owner happened to come along and saw the prostrate Indian, and, in much surprise, asked: "Who's here?" "Oh, it's no Dutch-

man," said the six-footer native in his ludicrous way, "It's me, little baby, Tommy Infant." A merchant in York owed him for some peltry. Tommy called two or three times, but the trader was in no hurry to pay him. After sitting two or three hours one day, without making any demand or saying a word, Tommy, as he got up to go, turned around and said to the merchant, "I sue somebody, may be—don't know." He sued the merchant.

John Montour, Do-noh-do-ga,* was of mixed blood, a descendant of Queen Catherine, a half-blood of great beauty, whose father was said to have been a French governor of Canada, and whose mother was a squaw. Catherine became the wife of a noted chief, and allied herself with the Cayugas, establishing a village at the head of Seneca Lake.† Here John was living at the opening of the Revolution. He removed to the Genesee country, and after the peace of 1783, settled at Big Tree village. He appears in the Gilbert narrative as one of the leaders of a band of natives, who, in the spring of 1780, took several prisoners in eastern Pennsylvania, among them the Gilbert family; and it would seem that his zeal kept him on the war-path during the whole struggle with the Colonies. He was acting with the force under Butler, between the Genesee and Conesus Lake, when Sullivan lay at the inlet, and retreated to Fort Niagara when the American army advanced toward the river towns. While at Fort Niagara, it is said the British gave the Indians some flour that contained a poisonous element. Many

* Meaning "Between burs." It might also be translated "Between the combs." The English name is spelled also Monture.

†At Catherine's Town, or Gus-he-o-gwah-geh, named after Queen Catherine, as she is generally called. This noted aboriginal village was burned by Sullivan. The towns of Catherine and Montour, in Schuyler county, perpetuate the name of Queen Catherine.

died. Montour lived, but the poison resulted in an ulceration of his upper lip, which was quite eaten away, leaving both teeth and jaw exposed. This gave him a fierce look though he was quiet and good natured. "At first thought," a pioneer adds, "one would be led to expect him to take a scalp at a moment's notice." He was sometimes called "No-nose," and an impression prevails that a cancer ate away his lip. He knew something of medicine, and, with remedies self-applied, had stopped the progress of the ulcer. His imperfect lip made it difficult for him to drink. Once, Colonel Lyman met him at the river in mid-summer. Montour was thirsty and lay down on the bank to quench his thirst. He drank and drank, got up and lay down again, and drank as though he would never get his fill. As he rose, he said, "Lyman, the river is very low, very dry time." "Low," said the Colonel, "you have drunk all the water." The Indian laughed heartily. His probity was well known. Coming into Colonel Lyman's store one day, Montour saw a pair of shag mittens hanging overhead. "Ah, Lyman," said he, "those are mine." "But stop"—the merchant was about to take them down—"let me describe mine first. I was at a certain place, a little drunk, staggered and fell, the hand covered by this mitten struck a burning log, which scorched it in such a part. Pull them down and see." The Indian got the mittens. A quarrel had long existed between Quawwa and Montour. The latter was quite athletic and very active, and always came out best, but in 1830 the pair got into a brawl at Squakie Hill. Montour had been drinking and Quawwa proved too much for him. He was knocked down and carried insensible to Big Tree. Here Doctor Bissell attended him, but he died in a week's time. He was buried in a blue broadcloth coat, white collar

and silk cravat. His rifle, a noted piece, his tomahawk, belt and several other articles, lie beside him. His grave is a couple of rods east of the road, marked by a grassy hillock which the plow has never disturbed. * Four other natives—Stump-foot's wife, Westfall, and two others—sleep beside him. It is recollected that Montour's wife was an estimable woman, and that his two children, Judy and Bill, possessed more than ordinary comeliness of person.

Quawwa, whose Indian name was Deo-dyah-do-oh-hoh, and whose correct English name was James Brewer, disappeared as soon as he learned that Montour was fatally injured. Horatio Jones and Jellis Clute entered complaint, and an officer was sent to the Buffalo reservation in search of him. The officer was advised to call on Thomas Jemison and Kennedy, who would assist him. They took hold promptly, and found the fugitive at his sister's, aiding her in making maple sugar. He was brought to Moscow and examined before a justice of the peace, and committed to jail. As he was leaving for Geneseo his squaw, standing near Lyman's store, called out to him very piteously, "Quawwa!"—"Quawwa!" and kept it up long after he had disappeared from sight. He was indicted for murder and tried at the March term of 1831, Judge Addison Gardiner presiding; convicted of manslaughter in the second degree, and sentenced to four years in Auburn prison.† He was troubled with the King's evil or scrofula. The disease developed very rapidly after his incarceration. His death was regarded as imminent, and, on the

* See engraving on page 86.

† Geo. Hosmer and Orlando Hastings appeared for the people; Judge Mason and A. A. Bennett, for prisoner. Horatio Jones was the sworn interpreter. Widow Rough-head, widow Johnny Johns, and Tom Cayuga were among the Indian witnesses.

representation of friends, Governor Throop pardoned him out in February, 1832. He was taken to Buffalo reservation, where he died in two or three days. Quawwa had many friends among the whites, especially among the younger men, who regarded him as faithful to the last degree. Captain Jones and Jellis Clute, although they entered the formal complaint, became bail for Quawwa's appearance at the trial, the Captain adding "I have no fear but that Quawwa will be on hand just as he promises, even though his own neck's in danger," and he was not disappointed.

De-gi-wa-nahs,* or Mary Jemison, more commonly known as the White Woman, was born of Irish parents, about the year 1743, on the ocean voyage to this country. Her father, Thomas Jemison, a man of godly character, settled in a wilderness portion of Pennsylvania. The French and Indian wars compelled him to seek a less exposed spot, and he removed to Marsh creek. One fine day, in the spring of 1755, Mary was sent to a neighbor's for a horse. On her way thither she appears to have had a presentiment. A white sheet seemed to descend and catch her up and save her from a danger that impended over others. Returning early the next morning, she found her father shaving an axe-helve near the door. Her two elder brothers were at the barn, and her mother and three children and a soldier's wife, who was on a visit with her three children, were in the house preparing breakfast. On Mary's arrival, the soldier took the horse to bring a bag of grain, but in a short time the discharge of guns alarmed the household, and, the man and horse were presently seen lying dead near

* Meaning "Two females let words fall." Her Indian name is often given thus, *De-he-wa-mis*. Her mother's maiden name was Jane Irwin.

the door. A band of six Shawnee Indians and four Frenchmen soon entered the house, made captives of all,* and hastened the breakfastless group with blows, into the woods. The father lost heart at the outset, but the mother preserved a cheerful spirit and spoke words of hope to the forlorn family. Mary's shoes, and those of the soldier's son, were soon removed and replaced with moccasins. From this the mother concluded that the others would be put to death, and addressed words of advice, never to be forgotten, to her poor child. In an hour's time Mary was torn from her mother and carried into the bushes with the boy, who begged her to attempt escape with him, but she refused, as she knew the effort would be fruitless. Mary never more saw aught of them save the bloody scalps of her parents. The band went down the Ohio, where Mary was adopted by two sisters who had lost a brother in the war. The ceremony so frightened the little captive that, for a time, she was deprived of speech. Her clothing, torn to rags in the journey, was thrown into the river and replaced with Indian raiment. Light work was assigned her and she was treated with great kindness. She sought to repeat, in secret, the prayers taught by her mother, but, by degrees, these, with her English tongue, faded from her memory. Many years passed happily away, when a young Delaware, of goodly person and approved courage, named She-nin-jee, came to the village and her foster sisters told her she must marry him. A child was born to her "at the time that the kernels of corn first appear on the cob," but it lived only two days. Its loss occasioned the keenest grief to the youthful mother. Sickness, which

* The two boys, who were at the barn, escaped into Virginia, as Mary learned after the Revolutionary war.

proved well-nigh fatal to the young captive, followed, but "by the time the corn was ripe," she recovered. Two years later, she became the mother of a son, whom, in honor of her father, she named Thomas Jemison. Her Indian mother lived on the Genesee, and hither, with her foster sisters, she now repaired. Her husband was to pass the winter down the river in fur hunting, and join her in the spring. Various mishaps attended the journey hitherward, but, late in the fall, they arrived at Beardstown, where a friendly welcome awaited the white girl from her Indian mother, whose friendship never relaxed. But her husband did not return, and at length the news was brought that She-nin-jee had sickened and died. About this period the British authorities offered a bounty for the surrender of prisoners taken during the French war. A Dutchman, who often visited the Indian villages, proposed to Mary to carry her to Niagara, but she had now become attached to the Indians, and she knew nothing of the whereabouts of her relatives, if, indeed, any survived. So she determined not to go. The Dutchman, with the bounty in view, sought to take her by force. While in her corn-patch one day, she saw him running toward her. Dropping her hoe, she made for the village at full speed, and escaped him. Some months later, the principal Chief of the village, resolved to carry Mary to Niagara. Her Indian brother determined that she should not go against her will, and high words ensued. He told the Chief that she should die by his hand sooner than be surrendered. Mary's sisters, in great consternation, hid her and her child in some high weeds that grew near by, agreeing that if the decision should be unfavorable, the fact should be indicated by placing a small cake on the door-step of her hut. A few hours after, Mary crept to the place,

and, to her great distress, found the cake. Creeping back, she placed her three year old boy on her back and ran for a certain spring, as agreed, which she reached, greatly exhausted.* Here she remained, anxious and fearful, until the Chief started for Niagara, when her Indian brother sought her and brought her to the village where she was received with joy. Soon after this she married Hio-ka-too, who was a warrior of note. By him she had four daughters and two sons, all of whom she named after her relatives. The girls were called Jane, Nancy, Betsey and Polly, and the boys John and Jesse. Jane died just before the Big Tree treaty, aged 29 years. The other daughters married and had families. More than a dozen years of peace had come and gone after her second marriage, when quiet was rudely broken by the Indians taking up arms for the British in the war of the Revolution. Mary's hut became the stopping place of Butler and Brant whenever they chanced at Beardstown. She often pounded corn from sun-set to sun-rise for her warrior guests. When the Beardstown families retreated before Sullivan, Mary, with her children, accompanied them to Fort Niagara, and was among the first to return to the Genesee. But destitution prevailed at Beardstown. She, therefore, took her children, one afternoon, and, on foot, went to Gardow, where she engaged to two negroes, who alone occupied the place, to husk their corn on shares. After the war was over she was again offered her liberty. Thomas was anxious for her to accept it, but she had Indian children. Should she have the fortune to find her relatives, they might be received with coldness; hence she resolved to spend her days among the Senecas. At the Big Tree treaty

* The spring is located on the farm of Hon. John H. Jones, in Leicester.

the Indians set apart a large tract of land at Gardow, for Mary. Red Jacket opposed the grant with great earnestness, and, even after it was made, he delayed moneys due her. Family troubles gathered around her. Thomas and John had long disagreed. The former charged the latter with practicing witchcraft. He married two wives, and this greatly offended Thomas, who urged that bigamy was a violation of wholesome laws. Early in July, 1811, Thomas, who had been drinking, came to his mother's house in her absence, and there found John, whom he began to pound. The latter, in a moment of anger, seized Thomas, dragged him to the door and killed him by a blow of his tomahawk. Grief overwhelmed the mother. The chiefs met, heard the case, and acquitted the murderer. In November of the same year, Hio-ka-too died of consumption at the age of more than a hundred years, during fifty of which he had lived with Mary. He was a leading warrior, taking part in the expedition to Wyoming, and was noted for strength, and, in his younger days, for fleetness. In May following, John's hands were again imbrued in a brother's blood. This time Jesse, the youngest and favorite son, was the victim. The two, with a brother-in-law, had spent the day in sliding a quantity of boards into the river for a raft. Some difficulty arose between John and a workman. Both had been drinking. Jesse had started homeward. His brother's delay caused him to turn back, and he too became involved in the quarrel. John threw him, and, drawing his knife, plunged it several times into his heart. Either stab would have been fatal. The mother never recovered from the shock. A rude inquest was held, and John escaped punishment. He continued to reside at Gardow, devoting himself to the practice of medicine, in which he had skill. Five

years after Jesse's death, he was sent for to a distant Seneca village. During his absence, the great land slide occurred, near his house. On his return he became impressed with the belief that it was ominous of his end. He told his sisters he should live but a few days. A week or two later, in visiting Squakie Hill, he quarrelled with two Indians, who followed him a short distance, dragged him from his horse into the bushes, and dashed his brains out with a stone. He was essentially a man of violence. Turner mentions seeing him on his way to the Buffalo reservation, at the head of a small band of Senecas, to kill the blacksmith Reese, who had cut off Young King's arm with a scythe in an altercation. Jemison was armed with a war club and tomahawk, his face covered with red paint; and long bunches of horse hair dyed red, hung from his arms. Under the advice of friends, Mary procured the passage of an enabling act, and sold a portion of her great landed reserve; and, in 1823, she parted with all save a tract two miles long and one mile wide, lying on the river. This she continued to occupy until her removal to the Buffalo reservation, where, after a life of vicissitudes, her death occurred in September, 1833. She was held in high esteem by the Indians, for during a large portion of her life she formed the principal medium of communication between the whites and the Senecas. According to Indian ideas she always conducted herself virtuously, and was discreet in the observance of native customs. The late Elder John Wiley, of Springwater, spent a day with her shortly before she left Gardow. He found her lively and intelligent. "I have seldom seen an old lady so smart and active, or one whose eyes were so bright," said he. She was small in person, her eyes were blue, and her hair was then quite gray. She never spoke the Indian language with

entire fluency. The use of the English tongue was so far recovered by her, that she conversed, with much freedom with Yankees as she always styled the whites. She died on the Buffalo reservation near where Little Johnson then lived.* John A. Kennedy,† who visited the Seneca burial place on the Buffalo Reservation in 1840, and saw the grave of Mary Jemison, was there again in 1848, when every external vestige of it had disappeared. The grounds had been plowed over and the field was then planted to corn. "The grave-yard I saw in 1840," continues Mr. Kennedy, "suggested to my mind that the Mound Builders kept burying their dead on the same spot, one tier above another. It was about half an acre in size, quadrangular, on a level plain, and was four and a half to five feet high, the four sides sloping outward at the bottom. Except where graves were raised it was perfectly level on top; the grass grew on the sides as though they had been sodded. There were probably a dozen tomb-stones on it, one of which was the White Woman's. The theory I formed was that it began to be used while on a level with the surrounding ground and when the area was filled up, earth enough was brought to make another story of graves, and so on, one story above another, until the mound was completed, diminishing toward the top as the work of inhuming mortality proceeded.‡

* The Indian name of her eldest son, Thomas, was *Yah-do-an-gweh*; of John, *Gen-yah-neh-gweh*; and of Jesse, *Gash-ye-un-dwe-geh*.

† Late Superintendent of metropolitan police, New York.

‡ Mr. Kennedy gives this as the outline of the general burial place alluded to in the text:



The White Woman's tomb-stone bore the following inscription:

"In memory of Mary Jemison, daughter of Thomas Jemison and Jane

Thomas Jemison, So-sun-do-waah, or Buffalo Tom, as he is called on the reservation, was a native of Squakie Hill, where he resided until 1828, in a house yet standing. His step-father told him he was born between Christmas and New Year's, and was nearly two years old at the treaty of 1797. His father was Thomas, the eldest child of the White Woman by Sheninjee, her first husband, and his mother was Sally, the daughter of Indian Allan. He went to the Buffalo reservation in 1828 and to the Cattaraugus reservation in 1846, where he bought a farm of Hank Johnson, as he was generally called, a white man who was taken prisoner in the Revolution and married a Delaware woman. At Johnson's death the property reverted to the Seneca nation; hence Jemison lost his rights, and returned to Buffalo, where he opened a tavern on the reservation. After remaining away fourteen years, he went back to the Cattaraugus reservation, where he has a fine farm which he cultivates with exemplary industry and success. He has several houses and lots in the city of Buffalo. His eldest son graduated at the State Normal school in Albany, and married a white wife, and his eldest daughter has a white husband. Jemison himself has all a white man's notions of thrift and economy. He recollects, with great interest, the years he spent at Squakie Hill. His memory is remarkably clear and his form erect, although his age is now nearly seventy-five. In appearance he strongly resembles Thurlow Weed. "His word," says Governor Patter-

Irwin. Born on the ocean between Ireland and Philadelphia in 1742 or 3; taken captive at Marsh creek, Pa., in 1755, carried down the Ohio, adopted into an Indian family. In 1759 removed to Genesee river; was naturalized in 1817. Removed to this place (Buffalo reservation) in 1831, and having survived two husbands and five children, leaving three still alive, she died September 19, 1833, aged about 91 years, having a few weeks before expressed a hope of pardon through Jesus Christ."

son, "was as good as any white man's note in the valley. If he bought property on credit, it would be paid for the day it fell due, without grace." His English is as pure as any Yankee farmer's.

Philip Kenjockety, Ska-dyoh-gwa-dih,* was the last survivor of the Genesee river Indians, whose personal recollections extended back to the invasion of General Sullivan. His grandfather was a member of the almost mythological race, the Kah-kwas, and was adopted into the Senecas. His father acquired influence among the latter nation and became a chief, and it was through his representation that the Senecas were induced to settle upon the banks of the Niagara river, when driven from the Genesee. Philip's parents were residing at the Nunda village when the war of the Revolution broke out, and when the residents of that village removed to Beardstown, Philip's family went also. I saw him at the Cattaraugus reservation in the fall of 1865. He then claimed to be one hundred and twenty years old. He had come down to the mission-house at my request to give his recollections of the Genesee country. For a person of his age he possessed great vigor of body. His mind was clear and his memory proved to be marvelously correct. When the subject of Sullivan's expedition to this region in 1779, was mentioned, he seemed to forget his age and everything else in the interest revived by the associations of that period. "Yes, he recollected the Wah-ston-yans," (that is

* The changes in Kenjockety's name afford an instance of the difficulties attending Indian biography. O. H. Marshall, says, that when a youth, he was called *Ji-ya-go-waah*, meaning "large dog." After the war of 1812, another name was conferred upon him, as is customary among the Indians, to wit: *Gat-go-wah-dah*, that is "dressed deer skins," from the fact that Philip, being a good hunter, kept himself supplied with deer skin sometime after the rest of his tribe were unable to obtain it. *Ska-dyoh-gwa-dih* means "Beyond the multitude."

“Bostonians,” as the colonial or Yankee troops were called by the Senecas) “He was large boy then, large enough to shoot small birds with a gun. The Yankees got as far as Conesus lake, all was consternation at Beardstown; it rained; the warriors went out; the air grew heavy with rumors; even the birds brought tidings of the enemy’s doings.”* After our interview, as he was bidding good bye, he took the hand of my son, and pointing to the clasped fingers, said, through the interpreter, “this bridges between three generations, between that long past and the generation under the new order.” He described the face of the country in this region with great accuracy and added essential facts to its history. He died on the first of April, 1866, aged fully a hundred and ten years. The Academy of Art in Buffalo has preserved a fine portrait in oil of the venerable Kahkwa, the last of his generation.

There were a number of Indians of lesser note, who, forty years ago, were well known to the settlers. Among these were Blinkey, a red man of much shrewdness, who had lost an eye, and thus secured an expressive name; Canaday, the brother of Blinkey, a fine looking Seneca, whose hut stood near the highway leading to High-banks, on the north side of the river, at Squakie Hill; and Big Peg, who usually lived at Big Tree village. The latter possessed much good sense, was a speaker, and had no little force of character. Accident secured him his name, as it often secures the names of other personages of more consequence. Green Blanket lived at Little Beardstown, and acquired his title from always wearing a blanket of a particular color, to which he was very partial.

* I have incorporated his recollections in the chapter on Sullivan's Expedition.

Of the leading warriors of the Senecas of this region, whose fame rests mainly on tradition, a sketch will scarcely be expected here, especially as Colonel Hosmer has so felicitously preserved their deeds in verse. The renowned chieftain, Old Can-ne-hoot, led the Senecas against the Marquis De Nonville, and, for the purposes of fiction, the poet has allowed him to die on the field of battle after the conflict.* Conesus, whose romantic career has been so well given in Hosmer's *Legends of the Senecas*, is another. His name was a terror to the Chippewas, and often, with his band of braves, he chased the Adirondacks to their mountain lodges. A small island near Avon, formed by the sweeping bend of the Genesee, was the home of this warrior chief, who, often in the dim and shadowy past, "belted for the fight" with western tribes.† The list might easily be extended, but the limit I had assigned to Indian history is already more than reached.

* *Yon nondio.* "Old CAN-NE-HOOT arose at last,
And back his shaggy mantle cast—

"While proud as became a king,
Presiding in monarchal state,
His glance surveyed the tawny ring
Of counsellors that round him sate.

"His eloquence of look and word
Dark depths of every heart had stirred;
And 'twas no time in dull debate
For other tongues of war to prate."

† The poet thus speaks of the chieftain's wood-embowered island home, near Avon:

"Yon aged group of maples * * * *
Long, long ago CONESUS made
His dwelling in their graceful shade.

"His tribe could many a chieftain boast,
Far-famed for deeds, but loved him most:
Not by hereditary right
Rank did he win above them all,
But forced his way by skill in fight,
And wisdom in the council-hall."

CHAPTER VI.

JESUIT MISSIONS—DE NONVILLE'S EXPEDITION.

The Jesuits, true to their zealous spirit, were first among religious societies to establish missions in the Seneca villages. In 1616, Le Caron, a missionary of the order of Franciscans, passed through what is now known as the Genesee country, and other portions of the territory occupied by the Iroquois, but made no attempt to propagate his faith. A score of years later these inland tribes of aborigines became known, by personal intercourse, to the Jesuits, who, as early as 1635, make particular mention of the Senecas.

In August, 1656, Father Chaumonot left the Onondaga lodges to establish the mission of St. Michael, or Gan-na-go-rae, in the present town of East Bloomfield. When the Father arrived at the village the chiefs assembled a council to receive him and hear his message. He told them that his church intended to establish a mission in their country. He then gave them some presents. The way thus opened, he said, writes Marshall: "I offer myself as a guarantee of the truths which I utter, and if my life is deemed insufficient, I offer you, in addition, the lives of all the French I have left at Onondaga. Do you distrust these living presents? Will you be so simple as to

believe that we have left our native country, the finest in the world, to come so far, and to suffer so much, in order to bring to you a lie?" They were moved by this appeal, and the council, after solemn deliberation, resolved to receive the missionaries, and allow the Senecas to be instructed in their mysteries. The Jesuit visited the other villages with similar success, in one of which he found the principal sachem of the nation (Ga-no-ga-i-da-wi) bedridden with disease. Him he converted to the faith, and the distinguished chief, having subsequently recovered, became a powerful friend of the French and Jesuits. The name which he bore, and by which he is always mentioned by the French, is the title of a sachemship, still preserved among the Senecas, and which belongs to a chief now residing among the Tonawandas.

In 1668 came Father Fremin to St. Michael's, to minister regularly at this most prosperous of the Iroquois missions. The field of his labors, however, embraced at least three of the four Seneca villages of that day, one of which was Dyu-do o-sot, situated near East Avon. A contagious fever broke out among the natives soon after his advent among them, and much of the good missionary's time was spent in responding to the physical needs of the sick. His skill in the treatment of disease not only tended to mitigate the ravages of the fever—of which one hundred and fifty died in the four villages—but secured the favor of the natives as well. De Nonville mentions the fact that Fathers Fremin and Garnier had been stationary missionaries for twenty years at the four Seneca villages destroyed by him, prior to his invasion in 1687. The two other Seneca missions were called La Conception and St. James. Dablon, rector of the college of Quebec, and Superior of the Jesuit missions in New France or Canada, says, in 1672, that

the Fathers count two or three thousand souls at these three stations.

Father Fremin addressed letters to the general of the order of the Jesuits at Rome, giving an account of the progress of spiritual things among the rude converts here, thus opening communication between this land of forest and wigwam and that ecclesiastical centre which, for so many centuries, swayed the political, as it sought to sway the religious destinies of the civilized world. Garnier writes to Dablon in July, 1672, of the Senecas, who had threatened his life. He says their minds being ill-disposed, the devil uses every occasion to make them speak against the faith and those who preach it. An old man, he adds, who, some years before, came from the country of the Cayugas, a pragmatistical fellow of big words, does what he likes with the Senecas, and passes among them for a prodigy of talent, has persuaded some of them that our religion causes them to die, and cites instances. Breviaries, ink horns and manuscripts were considered as so many instruments of sorcery, and their prayers as magical incantations. A niece of one of the chiefs was sickly, and the chief was suspicious that the missionary, who spent much time in the rude chapel, was plotting with some demon for the death of the girl.

Bishop Kip says, "there is no page in our country's history more touching and romantic than that which records the labors and sufferings of the Jesuit missionaries. In these western wilds they were the earliest pioneers of civilization and faith. The wild hunter or the adventurous traveller, who, penetrating the forests, came to new and strange tribes, often found that, years before, the disciples of Loyola had preceded him in the wilderness. Traditions of the 'Black robes' still lingered among the Indians. On some moss-

grown trees they pointed out the traces of their work, and in wonder he deciphered, carved side by side on its trunk, the emblem of our salvation and the lilies of the Bourbons."

Without arms or other compulsory means, but simply by kindness, the Jesuits sought to secure the desired end. Music, knowledge of the healing art, assimilation to the peculiarities of the strange people among whom they labored, and curiosity, too, had its influence. Father Fremin says: "I neither see, nor hear, nor speak to any but the Indians. My food is very simple and light. I have never been able to conform my taste to the meal or the smoked fish of the savages, and my nourishment is only composed of corn which they pound, and of which I make each day a kind of hominy, which I boil in water." Sometimes he was compelled to live on acorns.

Father Fenelon, afterward famous as the Archbishop of Cambray, and author of *Telemachus*, was engaged for a short period at St. Michaels.

One of the good Father's letters to Rome gives this incident: "A woman being surprised by the falling sickness, cast herself into the middle of a large fire. Before they could extricate her she was so badly burnt that the bones of her hands and her arms fell from her one after the other. As I was not then in the village, a young Frenchman whom I have with me, and who performs worthily the functions of Dogique, hastened to her, and finding her in possession of her senses, spoke to her of God and His salvation, instructed her, caused her to perform all the religious offices necessary upon such an occasion, and baptised her. The poor creature passed the eight or ten days of life which remained to her in prayer. This was her only consolation in her grievous sufferings. In an entire hopelessness of all human succor, she suffered with

admirable patience in the faith of eternal life. Such works of grace make the most sensible impression in these barbarous regions, and greatly assuage the anxieties, the fatigues and the afflictions of a missionary."

Though wedded to the interests of their order, the missionaries were not unmindful of the spirit of conquest then prevalent in their beloved France. Indeed, it has been said that the Seneca missions were suggested by the Grand Monarch, Louis XIV. himself, the splendor of whose reign encouraged adventurous spirits to undertake distant enterprises, prompted by a desire to add to the glory of that proud ruler. Certain it is that to the missionaries were the French indebted for their knowledge of the Genesee country.

The command of Lake Ontario, and control of a certain valuable fur trade, were, late in the seventeenth century, matters of contention between the French and English; and especially were the rich lands of western New York a coveted object by the French Canadian authorities. M. de La Bar, an infirm old man, had long held the office of Governor-general of those provinces, but, being signally over-matched by the shrewd and eloquent Seneca Garangula, in an expedition he had undertaken against the Iroquois, his government recalled him in 1685, and, in his stead, appointed the Marquis De Nonville, a colonel in the French dragoons, an officer equally esteemed for his valor, wisdom and piety.

The Iroquois had of late grown defiant toward Canada, and the new governor, to curb their pride, resolved upon an expedition to destroy the villages and fields of the Senecas, then located near the Genesee, and to construct a fort at the mouth of the Niagara, which, in connection with Fort Cadaracqui, would not only hold that warlike tribe in check, but

protect, as well, the savage allies of the French, who, in small detachments, could then make predatory war upon the Senecas, distance hitherto and want of a place of refuge having prevented them from doing, as well as to accomplish other favorite objects of French desire.

The watchful Iroquois, penetrating these hostile designs, lost no time in notifying Colonel Dongan, the English governor of New York. The latter at once informed De Nonville that the Indians were persuaded an attack was meditated against them; and that, as they were subjects of the crown of England, any injury done them would be an open infraction of the peace existing between their two kings. De Nonville replied, that the Iroquois feared because they deserved the chastisement; that the provisions collecting were necessary for the large garrison at Fort Cadaracqui, and that England's pretensions to the Indian lands were baseless.

Dongan seems to have taken no measures to avert the blow; and as it could not be known upon which tribe the evil would fall, due provision could not well be made for protection. The Senecas were destined to feel its exclusive force. The first open act of hostility was the seizure of some Iroquois chief, who had been lured within French power, near Kingston, Canada, by the Jesuit Father Lamberville, under the pretext of preventing them from conveying intelligence to their tribes.

De Nonville's plans were wisely made, his army was commanded by able officers; and so perfectly were his orders obeyed, that his own army and the reinforcements from Niagara, which he had directed to meet him, arrived simultaneously at the outlet of Irondequoit bay, a coincidence considered ominous of success by his savage allies.

On the afternoon of the 12th of July, 1687, the army set out from Irondequoit bay for the four villages of the Senecas, guided thitherward by the trail along the eastern side of the river, and carrying thirteen days provisions. They numbered two thousand French regulars and militia and nine hundred and eighty-three Indians. Advancing in three columns through the oak openings, after a nine miles march they encamped for the night. Next morning they moved early, with the design of approaching as near as possible the Indian village which held the tribal fire, before the enemy could seize upon two difficult defiles necessary to be crossed, but which were undefended. The heat was sultry, and the men were fatigued. There yet remained a third defile near the entrance of the village, where it was intended to halt for the night, and the army still advanced. The scouts discovered the fresh trail of the enemy, and warned the troops to keep together. About three o'clock in the afternoon three companies of the French, together with the French Indians, fell into an ambuscade prepared by the Senecas, who were posted in the vicinity of the third defile. A smart but brief action ensued, with heavy firing on both sides. The Senecas were in turn thrown into confusion, and most of them flung away their guns and clothing and escaped to a dense woods and across a brook bordered by thickets. Ignorance of the paths and fatigue of the army, left the invaders in no condition for immediate pursuit. The Senecas had eight hundred men under arms in the action and in the village close at hand. They left twenty-seven dead on the field, and had a much larger number wounded, judging from the traces of blood. The French had about half the number killed and wounded. The battle occurred a short distance west of the present village of Victor, near the northeastern

edge of a large swamp, on the northerly side of a stream now called Great Brook.

Some writers claim that the action took place on the eastern bank of the Genesee, near the modern village of West Avon. De Witt Clinton located the battle ground on a farm purchased by Judge Porter in 1795, situated about six miles northeast of Avon, and half a mile east of Honeoye Falls. On plowing this land, three hundred hatchets, gun-barrels and locks, lead, and pieces of brass kettles, weighing upward of one thousand pounds, were there found, being more than sufficient in value to pay for clearing it. Beds of ashes and small mounds of black earth, formed from chips, were also dug up. On the first settlement of this country unmistakable evidences of its having been the site of a large Indian village were numerous. So uneven was the ground, occasioned by the numberless graves, that the pioneers were compelled to level it with spades before teams could pass over it. But John Blacksmith, who, in his youth had hunted over the country embraced within the limits of Monroe, Livingston and Ontario counties, and thus acquired an intimate knowledge of the old Indian localities, on attentively examining a map of the country overrun by the French, on which lakes, rivers and creeks were correctly delineated, placed his finger on a point a short distance west of the village of Victor, as the place of conflict.

After the battle, the troops being fatigued, the night was spent on the spot where the ambuscade occurred. The following morning it rained heavily, but slackened about noon, when the army set out in battle array to find the enemy. Moving forward, they found that the old village had been burned, and the entrenchments of the new village deserted. Encamping on the height near the plain, nothing more for the day was done

beyond protecting themselves from the severe rain which had again set in.

On the 15th the savages brought in two old men, whom the enemy, in their retreat, had left in the woods. Two or three women came to surrender themselves, and informed us, says the Marquis, that for the space of four days all the old men, women and children had been fleeing in great haste, being able to carry with them only the best of their effects. Their flight was toward the Cayugas. One of the old men, who had been of note in the village, and was father or uncle of the chief, told us the ambuscade consisted of two hundred and twenty men, stationed on the hill-side, to attack us in the rear, and of five hundred and thirty in front. The former force directed a part of their efforts against our rear battalion, where they did not expect such strong resistance, as those battalions drove them back more rapidly than they came.

In addition to the above, there were also about three hundred in their fort, situated on a very advantageous height, into which they all pretend to withdraw, having carried there a quantity of Indian corn. There were none but Senecas. After obtaining from the aged Seneca all the information he could impart, Father Bruyas, a Jesuit priest, baptised him. The French Indians then desired to burn the old man, but, on the solicitation of the white French, "they contented themselves with knocking him on the head with a tomahawk."

The first act of the day was to burn the fort. It was eight hundred paces in circumference, flanked by an intrenchment, advanced for the purpose of communication with a spring on the declivity of a hill, it being the only one where water could be obtained. The remainder of the day was employed in destroying Indian corn, beans and other produce.

This fort, although the plow has leveled its trenches, and nearly obliterated the evidences of its former occupancy, is still an object of much interest. The same solitary spring referred to by De Nonville, yet oozes from the declivity of the hill. Its site has long been known as Fort Hill among the inhabitants in the vicinity. Its summit is perfectly level, embracing an area of about forty acres. Marshall, to whom history is indebted for a clear and reliable account of the expedition, has preserved, in an interesting paper, facts to which we are here indebted.

On the afternoon of the 16th, the camp was moved to approach those places where there was corn to destroy. A party of our savages, says De Nonville, arrived in the evening with considerable booty, which they had captured in the great village of Totiakton, four leagues distant. That village was found abandoned by the enemy, who, in returning, had set it on fire, but only three or four cabins were consumed.

The 17th, continues the Marquis, was occupied in destroying the grain of the small village of St. Michael, or Gonnogarae, distant a short league from the large village, and prosecuted the work the 18th, after having moved camp in order to approach those fields which were concealed and scattered in the recesses of the forest. On the night of 19th, had a slight alarm, from a shot fired by a sentinel at an Illinois woman, a captive for nine years among the Senecas. She escaped from the enemy, and was wounded in the thigh. She said the Senecas had fled to the Onondagas, and that forty were killed, and fifty or more severely wounded in the late attack. The morning of 19th, camp was moved to near village of St. James, or Gannagaro, after having destroyed a great quantity of fine large corn, beans and other vegetables, of which there remained not a single field; "and, after having

burned so large a quantity of old corn that I dare not tell the amount, and encamped before Totiakto, called the Great village, or village of Conception, distant four leagues from the former. We found there a still greater number of cultivated fields, with which to occupy ourselves for many days. Three captives arrived this day—a young girl and two women of the Illinois natives.” In the sanguinary wars which long raged between the Senecas and Illinois, many persons had been taken by the former, who profited by their recent defeat to escape, though it should appear that many of the prisoners had been put to death by the Senecas.

“The 20th we occupied ourselves in cutting down and destroying the new corn, and burning the old. On the 21st we went to the small village of Gannounata,* distant two leagues from the larger, where we caused the destruction, the same day, of all the old and new corn, although the quantity was no less than in the other villages. It was at the entrance to this village that we found the arms of England, which the Sieur Dongan, Governor of New York, had placed there, contrary to all right and reason, in the year 1684, having antedated the arms as of the year 1683; although it is beyond question that we first discovered and took possession of that country, and for twenty consecutive years have had Father Fremin, Garnier and others as stationary missionaries in all their villages. One would hardly credit the quantity of grain which we found in store in this place and destroyed by fire.

“This same day a Huron came in with two scalps of a man and woman, whom he had knocked on the head, having found them near the Cayugas. He had noticed a multitude of paths by which the enemy fled.

* Or Dyu-do o-sot, on the little Conesus, near East Avon.

We left the above-mentioned village on 22d, to return to Totiakto, to continue there the devastation we had commenced. Notwithstanding the bad weather and incessant rain, we continued all day to make diligent preparations for a departure, which was the more urgent, because the sickness increased in the army," occasioned by the great number of hogs killed by the French army, and our food and fresh provisions diminished rapidly.

On 23d a large detachment of almost all the army, was sent to complete the destruction of all the corn still standing in the distant woods. By noon the corn was all destroyed. "We had curiosity to estimate the whole quantity, green as well as ripe, which we have destroyed in the four Seneca villages, which we found would amount to 1,050,000 bushels of green, and 150,000 bushels of old corn, by which we could estimate the multitude of people in these four villages.

"Having nothing further to accomplish, and seeing no enemy, we left camp on afternoon of the 23d of July, to rejoin our beatteaux, advancing only two leagues. We reached beatteaux on the 24th.

"On 26th we set out for Niagara, resolved to garrison that port as a protection for all our savage allies, and thus afford them the means of continuing in small detachments the war against the enemy, whom they have not been able to harrass, being too distant from them, and having no place of refuge. Although only thirty leagues from Irondequoit Bay to Niagara, contrary winds so delayed that it took four days and a half to accomplish the distance, arriving on the morning of 30th, and immediately set to work choosing a place and collecting stakes for construction of a fort."

By the 2d of August the temporary fort was completed, and the militia set out at noon for their quarters at Montreal. The following day De Nonville em-

barked to join the militia, and reached Montreal on 13th of August, leaving the regular troops to complete some details, with orders that M. de Troyes, a veteran officer, captain of one of the companies, should winter there with one hundred men. A sickness, caused by climate and unwholesome food, soon after broke out in the garrison, by which nearly all perished, including the commander. For so closely were they besieged by the Iroquois that they were unable to supply themselves with fresh provisions. The fortress was soon after abandoned and destroyed, much to De Nonville's regret.

“The French gained little honor and no advantage in their expedition. Their inefficiency disgusted their Indian allies, one of whom, an Ottawa, said they were only fit to make war on Indian corn and bark canoes.” Such is the just conclusion of Marshall.

The Jesuit missionaries retired with the French army, and their missions among the Senecas were never revived.

CHAPTER VII.

SULLIVAN'S EXPEDITION.

The Western Expedition under General Sullivan, was the leading military event of the Revolution in 1779. It constituted the principal exception to Washington's defensive policy of that year; and its influence upon the after settlement of this region gives the enterprise the importance of an epoch in our local history. While therefore, we briefly present its general features, attention may properly be claimed to full details of the operations and results of the expedition in the Genesee country.

The measure, too long delayed, was provoked by the insolence of the Senecas and other Indian tribes, and their sanguinary allies, the Tories. With the exception of a portion of the Oneidas and a few of the Mohawks, it will be recollected that the Six Nations were all in arms against the colonists, and to the lasting disgrace of the cabinet of Lord North, they were urged on by British emissaries to the commission of atrocities which have no parallel in modern history. Their remarkable organization and great numbers enabled them to keep the borders in a continual state of alarm, as well as to inflict upon the inhabitants a long series of injuries. The cry for protection against

these predatory wrongs had gone up to the Continental Congress from many a hardy frontier-man, who found himself threatened with dangers through hourly multiplying savageries. The settlers besought their Government to interpose its power and secure them protection for their homes and families against the inroads of a barbarous foe emboldened by the long impunity that had attended his successive deeds of rapine. But delay followed delay as the aspect of public affairs became less threatening, and Congress busied itself with other subjects than those of Indian atrocities which had grown unhappily too familiar. They indeed appeared content to resolve, to rescind, to postpone all decision. Meanwhile the western forest poured forth its savage hordes, and their spreading ravages compelled the border population to invoke aid from a nearer power. Their appeal, unheard at Philadelphia, found its way to Poughkeepsie, then temporarily the state capital, where it awakened an interest beseeming its importance. The Legislature of New York at once initiated a remedy, and made it practical by enacting a law which directed the Governor to draw from the militia of the State a certain quota, and send them against the Senecas. Thus it was that the first step was taken in the famous expedition of 1779. Formal notice of this action was at once transmitted to Congress, and, on the morning of the first of April, the letter of the Legislature of New York, bearing date the thirtieth of March, was laid before that august body. This letter referred in forcible terms to the Indian ravages on the great frontier, and the distresses they had occasioned; to the extreme difficulty, as well as the large expense, of covering the extended border by military posts; and closed by declaring that an expedition against the Senecas would be the cheapest and most practicable

mode of defending the households and settlements suffering from exposure, and that the Legislature had empowered the Governor to raise a thousand men by drafts from the State militia for that object.

For months before, at intervals, the subject of Indian outrages had been considered in Congress. In truth, twice in the previous year that body had resolved to fit out an expedition against the Senecas and other western tribes. In October preceding, the subject had been referred to Governor George Clinton and Generals Schuyler and Hand, who conceived it too late in the season to prepare for an enterprise of such magnitude. The massacre of Wyoming had, indeed, called forth special resolutions. But other matters were suffered to interfere, and no action resulted from such well worded sympathy. Now, however, New York, a leading member of the Federation, had taken a decisive step toward protecting the outlying districts; and Congress, feeling the justice of the demand, listened to the communication with an attention which presaged good result. Bold George Clinton was Governor of New York. He had held a seat in the Continental Congress, and its members were aware that he would yield to no tardy policy, indeed, he intended to conduct the expedition in person. And the Legislature, it was known, contained members equally earnest, who, when once enlisted in such a work, would be content with nothing savoring of procrastination.

The Congress, therefore, without further delay, applauded the "spirited exertions of the New York Legislature to facilitate such enterprise," and directed that the State's militia contingent raised for this purpose, be allowed rations and continental pay. Proper measures were also taken to collect an army of ample strength to effect the object. Washington, no doubt,

was quite ready to approve this action. He had passed the previous winter in Philadelphia, where Congress was sitting, to deliberate with the Board of war about the campaign of 1779, and especially to urge action in respect to Indian outrages along the frontier. Correspondence with General Hand, who appears to have devoted particular attention to the subject of a western expedition, shows that he had been carefully examining the routes best to be taken and securing information having particular regard to the distance and face of the country, and kind of navigation. But the result of these deliberations could not have been encouraging to the chief at that session: for our continental council did not partake of his anxiety in respect to the situation of public affairs. To him the period was a momentous one. The country, exhausted by years of war, needed rest. Bread was scarce, wages were high, and employment abundant, while the pay of the soldier was small and uncertain, and the terms of many were about expiring. The army, indeed, had begun to melt away. The alliance with France had produced a baneful feeling of security, which, it appeared to him, was paralyzing the energies of the country. England, it was thought, would now be too much occupied in securing her position in Europe to increase her force, or extend her operations in America. Many, therefore, considered the war as virtually at an end, and were unwilling to make the sacrifices or supply the means necessary for important military operations. "Dissensions and party feuds were breaking out in Congress, owing to the relaxation of that external pressure of a common and imminent danger which had heretofore produced a unity of sentiment and action." Congress had, in fact, greatly deteriorated "since the commencement of the war. Many of those

whose names had been as watchwords at the declaration of independence, had withdrawn from the national councils, occupied either by their individual affairs, or by the affairs of their individual States.”* Never too sanguine, Washington was now beguiled into no feeling of security; but the country was languid and exhausted, and had need of rest, and, all things considered, he deemed it wise to allow “America a breathing time.” He therefore assented to a defensive policy for the approaching campaign, with the single exception of this western expedition against the Indians.

He held that Indian warfare, to be effective, should not be merely defensive, but that we must make “war upon them in their own style; penetrate their country, lay waste their villages and settlements, and, at the same time, destroy the British post at Niagara, that nestling place of tories and refugees.” This policy prevailed, and the campaign, now finally decided upon, was set on foot at once. It consisted of, first, an expedition from Fort Schuyler, under Colonel Van Schaick, with six hundred men, who, on the 19th of April, surprised and destroyed the Indian villages of Onondaga, and got back to camp without loss. The principal expedition of the campaign, however, was that to western New York, under General Sullivan. Washington had devoted much thought as to the best route by which to reach the Indian settlements, and his leading officers were consulted, as we have seen. General Schuyler, more familiar with the country than others, believed that the most eligible course would be to ascend the Mohawk river, and continue thence westward to the Seneca villages, and, if practicable, to Niagara. There were difficulties,

* Irving's *Washington*.

however, in this plan, and, upon the whole, the line adopted was doubtless the best. It was Washington's original design that General Brodhead, who left Pittsburg in August of that year, with six hundred men, and destroyed several Indian towns on the Alleghany and other tributaries of the Ohio, should form a junction with Sullivan; but this part of the campaign was afterward abandoned.

The command of the expedition had been tendered by Washington to General Gates; but that officer, ever jealous of the Commander-in-chief, declined the service, in a cold, and uncourteous letter. The leadership was then offered to General Sullivan, who accepted and entered with alacrity upon the honorable and responsible duty.

The headquarters of the force was first established at Easton, Pennsylvania, from which point a general order, for the arrangement and marching of the army, was issued on the 24th of May. In the latter part of June, the troops moved to Wyoming, then recently the scene of that bloody massacre which had so shocked the sensibilities of Christendom. By the last of July, three thousand troops were assembled at Wyoming, and at one o'clock on the afternoon of the 31st of that month, the army commenced its march for Tioga, by way of the western branch of the Susquehanna river, the stores and artillery being conveyed up that stream in a hundred and fifty boats.*

This expedition, so fruitful in good results, was

* The army, as it now moved out, was composed as follows:

Gen. Hand's Brigade—Hubley's and the German Regiment, and Schott's and Spaulding's Independent Corps, compose Light Corps.

Gen. Maxwell's Brigade—Dayton's, Shreeve's, Olden's, Spence's regiments.

Gen. Poor's Brigade—Cilley's, Reed's, Scammel's, Cortlandt's regiments.

Total fit for duty July 22: Brig. Generals, 3; Colonels, 7; Lt. Colonels, 6; Majors, 8; Captains, 48; Chaplains, 3; Surgeons, 10; Drum Majors, 8; Fife Majors, 3; drummers and fifers, 131; rank and file, 2,312.

attended with more than its share of painful incident in each step of formation and earlier movements. At the outset, the officers of a Jersey regiment hesitated to obey marching orders. Washington received the intelligence of their wavering "with infinite concern," and declared that nothing had happened in the course of the war which gave him so much pain as their action. He was fully sensible of the justice of their demands. He was aware that they had appealed, without effect, to the Legislature of their State on the subject of the arrearages of their pay; that they had urged the starving condition of their families, and the burthen of accumulating debt; that their appeal had been slighted, and that they had obtained no satisfaction whatever. They next remonstrated. "Our pay," said they, "is only nominal, not real. Four months pay of a private soldier will not procure his wretched wife and children a single bushel of wheat! The situation of your officers is worse. The pay of a colonel of your regiments will not purchase oats for his horse, nor will his whole day's pay procure him a single dinner." The remonstrance closed by urging that unless immediate relief was afforded they would be under the necessity of quitting the service, and, unless provision for arrears was made in three days, they must be considered as having resigned. The emergency was serious. The cause of complaint was wide-spread and well founded; and had not Washington now exerted his powerful influence as well with the civil authorities as with the army, the expedition might have failed at this stage. But he succeeded in securing attention to the appeal. The memorial was withdrawn and the pay sent to the regiments, who promptly took their places in the brigade to vindicate anew throughout the campaign, their reputation, won on many a battle-field, for unflinching valor.

It is said that Sullivan's requisitions embraced many articles deemed extravagant by the Board of war. Among other things a large number of eggs were called for, while the quantity of rifle powder was greater, the board thought, than could in any event be necessary. It is certain that Congress received the requisitions with disfavor, and tardily granted orders for such supplies as by them were regarded essential. All this tended to delay the movement, and give publicity to what it had been designed to keep secret. Washington meantime grew anxious, and urged that success depended upon celerity. The commissariat, even at last, was but illy supplied either in quantity or quality. On reaching Wyoming not a pound of salted meat remaining was fit to eat, and in other departments contractors had equally wronged the public service. Sullivan says that more than a third of his men were without a shirt to their backs. Many of the cattle furnished him were too poor to walk and some were even unable to stand. Of the fourteen hundred horses provided, full fifty were worn out and unable to travel further than a single day's march beyond the Chemung river, where they were abandoned and ordered shot. The Indians afterwards gathered the heads of these slaughtered animals and arranged them beside the trail. From this circumstance the locality derived its present name of Horseheads.

On the 11th of August the army arrived at Tioga. A mile above the junction of the Tioga and Susquehanna rivers they approach each other to within a few rods. "Here a fort was built called Fort Sullivan, while the army, somewhat fatigued, lay on what might almost be called an island below," awaiting the arrival of Clinton's division. The water of the Susquehanna, through which the troops had to pass, was.

up to their arm-pits, and to preserve the ammunition dry, they hung their cartouch-boxes upon their bayonets, carried high above their heads. From this point Sullivan detailed General Poor with a detachment of seven hundred men, to meet Clinton. The precaution proved a wise one, for, after traversing thirty miles or more of wilderness, the detail came upon a body of Indians lying in ambush beside a well-beaten trail at Round Hill, near Choconut creek, awaiting the coming of Clinton. The Indians were surprised, and being driven down the bank and dispersed, the detachment moved on and soon after came up with Clinton's division. After a brief halt the latter's march southward was resumed.

The advent of Clinton's army into the region of Otsego lake with a well-appointed force, was an event so unexpected to the Indians and so formidable in character, that a wide-spread terror seized their families and they fled in large numbers across the country, first, to near Newtown, and, after the battle of the latter place, to the homes of the Senecas on the Genesee, where, remote from white settlements, they fancied themselves secure, little suspecting the blow, now preparing through the agency of this very force, to fall upon those distant towns.*

* In 1860, Judge Avery, of Flint, Michigan, saw, on the Grand river, in Canada, a venerable squaw, (nearly a hundred years old,) of the Nanticoke tribe, named *Way-way*, who was born at Choconut, and resided near that place at the time Clinton's army was on its way to form a junction with Sullivan. She recollected perfectly the dismay occasioned by that event, and also the flight with her people to the Genesee to seek safety, and when driven from the Seneca villages along the latter river by Sullivan, the continued flight with others, to Niagara. On the return of peace, *Way-way* and her mother, (she lost her father in the Newtown battle) came back with others, and settled near Owego, where they recovered their kettles and other valuables left buried when they fled westward. Judge Avery, to whom I am much indebted for facts, has used his interesting pen with marked success in rescuing many a fugitive leaf of early history from destruction.

At ten o'clock on Sunday morning, the 22d of August, General Clinton appeared with his division, in two hundred and ten boats. Salvos of artillery announced their arrival. The light corps was drawn up, Colonel Proctor's music was advanced to the front, and, while drums were beating and fifes playing, the division floated past the light corps to the camp of the main army. The force, with this addition, now numbered about five thousand men.

Clinton's division, consisting of sixteen hundred men, had come from the valley of the Mohawk by way of Otsego lake, and the easterly bank of the Susquehanna. As he neared Sullivan he despatched a small detachment under command of Lieutenant Boyd, whose untimely fate a few days later near Conesus lake, gives a tragic coloring to the expedition's history, to announce his coming, which arrived at the general head-quarters in a soaking rain.

The baggage was now got ready for the march. Several tents were cut up and a considerable force was detailed for work through the day and night to make up this material into flour sacks convenient for transporting on horse-back.

Having attained a comparatively open country the line of march was arranged in the following order: Gen. Hand's brigade, in front, in eight columns; Gen. Poor's brigade on the right, in eight columns, flanked by a strong body of light troops; Gen. Maxwell's brigade on the left in eight columns, flanked by light troops; Gen. Clinton's brigade, in eight columns, in the rear; Col. Proctor's artillery in the centre, flanked on the right and left by double files of pack-horses, which separated his command from Poor's and Maxwell's brigades; Major Parr, with the riflemen, disposed considerably in front of the whole, with orders to reconoitre all suspicious places previ-

ous to the arrival of the army. Colonel Cortland's regiment was added to Clinton's division, Olden's to Poor's brigade, and Butler's regiment and Major Parr's corps to Hand's brigade.

On the 26th of August the signal-gun was fired, and the whole army took up its line of march. A great and unknown wilderness—formidable obstacles to the movement of an army—spread before them. Unbridged creeks and rivers were to be forded, mountain defiles to be threaded, and morasses to be crossed. The maps of the country were full of errors, while the guides, even the best that could be procured, were so little acquainted with the route that they "could not conduct a party out of the Indian path by day nor in it by night." General Hand had been informed that the region between the Chemung river and the Genesee, was in great part particularly low, wet, and swampy, and could be travelled only with difficulty, and so informed Washington in March, yet nothing, as we know, could well be further from the truth. A wily foe, perfectly familiar with every pass, and at home on every trail, hovered always upon their flanks. Pioneers moved invariably in advance, and riflemen were disposed in front to reconnoitre suspicious places, and thus to prevent surprise. But while these precautions were taken to guard against disaster, confidence and good nature prevailed throughout the ranks, and neither officers nor men were unmindful of the demands of the palate. Besides the usual supplies, the Commander carried dried tongues and other articles of like character; and a number of live cattle were driven along to supply them with fresh meat. The general officers were entertained at Sullivan's table, where, with characteristic freedom, he criticised the Congress, and particularly the Board of war. This impolitic course, though evincing independence,

was cause of much after controversy and personal embroilment.

Six light brass field-pieces and two howitzers were carried by the artillery. The morning and evening guns were always fired, even in the deepest recesses of the forest; and much as Sullivan was criticised, even on the floor of Congress, for thus notifying the Indians of his progress and whereabouts, he never justified his course as he might have done, by quoting his orders from the Commander-in-chief himself. These orders, in the handwriting of Hamilton, and bearing Washington's autograph signature are still in existence.

Sullivan was familiar with Indian warfare, and was well aware of the terror which the discharge of cannon occasioned in the Indian mind. The peace of New England had in a measure been preserved by providing a "big gun" for exposed settlements. to be now and then fired from the little garrison house. Indeed, the shaking of a linstock by a woman over an unloaded cannon, proved enough on a notable occasion to hold at bay a band of savages. As the expedition was no longer a secret he determined to make the most of this feeling of dread on the part of the red-man. In his special orders of the 31st of May, Washington said, "the immediate objects (of the expedition) are the total destruction and devastation of their settlements and the capture of as many prisoners of every age and sex as possible." Washington had hoped to keep the route of the army a secret, but the fact had transpired, hence, as the natives, encumbered by little or no baggage, and familiar with the country, could easily keep out of the way of an army whose progress at best must be necessarily slow, it at once became clear that his attention must be confined to the principal object, that

of destruction to their settlements, since he could take no prisoners, and even if he had been able to do so, no suitable provisions could be made for their support or transportation. The morning and evening guns afforded little information as to the army's whereabouts, for the Indian runners were constantly watching its progress and reporting its movements to the retreating chieftains.

Washington was well aware of the effect of dash and clamor, and he particularly suggested that when going to attack the Indians, "it should be done with as much impetuosity, shouting, and noise as possible," and that it should be "impressed upon the minds of the men whenever they have an opportunity, to rush on with the war-whoop and fixed bayonet. Nothing will disconcert and terrify the Indians more than this."

On Sunday, the 29th of August, the expedition arrived at Newtown, near the present city of Elmira. The Indians and Tories, one thousand strong, under the Butlers and Brant, were here found entrenched behind well constructed earth-works, a short distance below the modern city, at a point wisely chosen for defence. Sullivan at once began to engage them, by opening his field-pieces upon their defences—meanwhile detaching General Hand's light troops to the left and Poor to the right around the mountain, the latter to fall upon their left flank, and thus cut off their retreat in that direction. Poor was obliged, however, to march over a mile in full view of the enemy, who readily penetrated his design. They observed, too, that when he opened signal fire other movements were making to surround them; and seeing that opposition was useless, they delayed no longer, but sounding the wild retreating whoop, at once quitted their works and betook themselves to

precipitate flight, the artillery's well-directed cannonade serving, meantime, to quicken their motions. The engagement lasted two hours. Sullivan had seven men killed and about thirty wounded. The enemy suffered more seriously, and were pushed so closely that in their retreat Walter Butler's commission, and the warrant of another tory officer, together with several orderly books, fell into our hands. The defeat proved decisive. The leaders could not, during the whole progress of the expedition, again bring the savages face to face with the army marching to invade their homes, and though ever on the watch to embarrass its movements and to strike a stealthy blow, they were obliged constantly to retreat,—slowly and sullenly,—before the steadily advancing expedition.

After the war, Brant told General Peter B. Porter, that Red Jacket, whose great influence was first fully exerted in connection with this expedition, sought to perplex the Indians by holding private councils with the young chiefs, and more timid sachems, to induce them to sue for peace, even on humiliating terms. Colonel Stone says, that at one time Red Jacket so far succeeded in his plan as to send secretly a runner into Sullivan's camp to make known the divisions existing among the Indians, and to advise the General to dispatch a flag of truce with certain propositions calculated to increase these divisions and to secure a peace dishonorable to them. Brant was privately informed of these proceedings, but fearful to disclose them, detailed two confidential warriors to waylay and kill the bearer of the flag of truce before he should reach the Indian camp.

The little Indian village of Newtown was laid in ashes, and the surrounding crops of corn and beans were also destroyed. From this point, on the night succeeding the battle, General Sullivan sent back to

Pennsylvania his heavy artillery, retaining only four brass three pounders, and a small howitzer. Having loaded the necessary ammunition on horse-back, and being otherwise ready, the army resumed the march early next morning for Catherine's Town, the home of the half-blood Queen Catherine Montour, which lay on a creek about three miles from Seneca lake, encamping at night-fall within thirteen miles of that village. The next day a road was opened for the artillery, through a hemlock swamp, nine miles in extent. Over this, as well as through several dangerous defiles, the army was now to pass. It had also to ford a swift running river which in many places was considerably broad and waist deep, while its course was so serpentine that it had to be crossed seven or eight times in the day's march. Sullivan was cautioned by his scouts against entering the swamp until daylight, and Clinton, who brought up the rear and was much fatigued, on reaching its entrance at night-fall, was so strongly assured that the lives of his horses and cattle, if not of his men, would be risked if he tried to go through before morning, that he did not attempt the task till the next day. Sullivan, however, pressed on, determined to cross that night. Flanking parties were accordingly sent forward, and other precautions taken against surprise; but such was the boldness of the hills and so narrow were the defiles, that a score or two of Indians might easily have obstructed the progress of the troops and thrown the army into confusion. The night was intensely dark, and as the men slowly groped their way, often sinking deep in the treacherous ground, they became weary and scattered, and not a few lay down here and there on the pathway for the night, unable to go farther. The situation was one of no little peril; but fully alive to its demands

the General encouraged his army forward, and by midnight had the satisfaction of reaching the already deserted town. The Indian scouts had keenly watched the army until evening, but having no thought that they would continue the march in a night so dark, over a route presenting so many difficulties, and to so late an hour, they made their way to the town at dusk where, roasting their corn, they passed the evening in busily planning for the next day, while the resolute commander of the invading forces was pushing forward his troops, amid difficulties whose daring character, singularly enough, secured him from the dangers, incident to the movement. Such a stroke was characteristic of Sullivan. Washington, well aware of his intrepidity and dauntless courage, had selected him as chief officer of the expedition, which involved risks like this, risks for which he had a relish. Though when the troops had safely accomplished that night's march, Sullivan, it is said, declared he would not repeat it for the honor of a command. Several of the cattle had been killed, and a number of pack horses lost in the mazes of the swamp. The men, however, all arrived safely, those who had dropped out coming in with Clinton in the morning. The army halted here until the second day to rest from the unusual fatigues. Catherine's Town, it was found, consisted of thirty houses, several of which were quite good. These were destroyed together with the orchards and growing crops of corn, beans and other vegetables.

An incident here occurred which proves the absence of personal hatred on the part of the army, however ready they were to destroy the towns and crops of the Indians, as a military necessity. An old Cayuga squaw, of great age, had been left in Catherine's Town by the Indians, in their precipitate flight, and was

found in the neighboring woods. The soldiers at once provided for her present wants, and treated her with kindness during their stay. Before leaving, the town having meanwhile been burnt, they erected a hut for the old woman, and gathered a quantity of wood for her use. They also left her a supply of provisions, which she was found using on the army's return. Such unexpected usage, drew grateful tears from her venerable eyes, and made her quite communicative. She assured the officers that the squaws generally were anxious for the Indians to remain in their villages, and make peace with the Yankees.

On the 30th of August, Sullivan addressed an order to the army in which, reflecting severely on the colonial authorities for neglect in furnishing supplies of food and horses, he requested the officers to ascertain if the troops were willing to draw half rations of flour, meat and salt, until the leading purpose of the expedition should be accomplished. The necessity of this measure, so essential to success, since the supplies, never sufficient in quantity, were now much reduced by loss in various ways, was fully appreciated, and the suggestion was received with cheers by the whole army, resolved as they were to execute the orders of Congress for the devastation of the Indian country at any personal sacrifice. But they really suffered nothing from hunger, since vegetables, common to the country through which they were passing, were found in profusion, and their wants were thus supplied from day to day by the several localities. Hominy or paune, made from corn, the camp-kettles serving as graters, was especially palatable, but caused bowel complaints to such an extent that its use was discontinued for a time. On the 8th of September, a captain and fifty men were detached with all the sick and lame, and ordered to return to the garrison at Tioga.

The work of destruction to Indian property was pursued relentlessly, and desolation marked the army's route. Grains and crops were destroyed. Orchards of apple, pear and peach trees, raised in most instances from the seeds and stones, under advice of the Jesuit missionaries, met the fate common to other species of property. In one place fifteen hundred peach trees, bending under the ripened fruit, were cut down. This is much to be regretted. Indeed, the Indians themselves, in their incursions upon the white settlements, were in the habit of sparing fruit trees, the growth of many years; and some of the officers desired Sullivan to mitigate his orders in this regard, but his instructions from Washington were specific and he insisted that they should be literally carried out. This was effectually done. "The blow must be sure and fatal," said Sullivan, "otherwise the Indians will derive confidence from our ineffectual attempts and become more insolent than before."

Washington's specific orders were thus stated: "The immediate objects (of the expedition) are the total destruction and devastation of their settlements. * * * It will be essential to ruin their crops now in the ground and prevent their planting more. * * I would recommend that some post in the centre of the Indian country should be occupied with all expedition with a sufficient quantity of provisions, whence parties should be detached to lay waste all the settlements around, with instructions to do it in the most effectual manner, that the country may not be merely overrun but destroyed. * * * After you have thoroughly completed the destruction of their settlements, if the Indians show a disposition for peace, I would have you encourage it. * * * But you will not by any means listen to overtures of peace

before the total destruction of their settlements is effected."

Between Cayuga and Seneca lakes the enemy fled so suddenly before the army that the advance guard occasionally found kettles of corn boiling over the fire. At the Indian village of Kanadaseago, just west of Geneva, a fine white child, about three years old was discovered by the army. It was entirely alone, nearly famished and quite naked, the only article on its person being a string of glass beads about its neck. When first seen it was playing at the door of a hut with a number of small sticks. On being spoken to it replied "Sago," ("How are you?") and used a few other Indian words. It evidently was of Dutch parentage, and probably had been captured the year before, on the Pennsylvania border.* A number of deer and bear skins were also found at the place, showing that the enemy had quit in haste.

On the morning of Saturday, the 11th of September, the army resumed its march at six o'clock, moving for a mile, through a thicket and swamp, before the main path was gained. The infantry, owing to this cause, was considerably dispersed, and the movement forward was thus delayed. After marching three

* Gen. Sullivan took no small interest in the little fellow's welfare during the return march. It was placed in a rough pannier or basket across a horse, balanced by an equal weight of baggage on the opposite side. On one occasion in crossing a stream, much swollen by a storm, the water was freely spattered over it. Observing this, Sullivan rode up, and taking out his handkerchief carefully dried the child's face. Captain Machin, of the Engineer party, became the child's godfather, and had it christened Thomas Machin. An excellent milch cow, which accompanied the expedition from first to last, and which on the return of the army to Tioga point, was carefully returned with the officer's horses to Wyoming, afforded nourishment for the little stranger. After the return of the army the child was taken to Major Logan's house at New Windsor, near Newburgh, where it soon caught the small-pox and died. Its birth-place, and parentage remain, alike unknown.

miles, the foremost ranks reached a spot of rising ground. The rich country through which they were about to pass could be seen stretching for miles to the westward—a broken forest, mainly of oak and hickory, with intervals of broken fields covered here and there with remarkably high wild grass. At one o'clock they descended to a beautiful valley, and, after a march of thirteen hours, encamped at Honeoye, an Indian town, situated on a fine plain, half a mile from the lake. This consisted of twelve houses of hewn logs. Around it were several large cornfields, and orchards of apples and other fruit trees. There was left at this point a garrison of fifty men, under Captain Cumming, of the Second Jersey Regiment, together with such soldiers as were not able to march. The garrison was directed to remain at this temporary post, and guard, until the army's return, the extra stores of ammunition and flour which otherwise would encumber the movement forward, now to become more active. Captain Cumming at once set about erecting a small fort at Honeoye, the works consisting of bags of flour with abatis of apple-trees. A three-pounder field-piece, and some of Colonel Proctor's artillery, were also left here, and were duly disposed within the works.

At Honeoye, Sullivan was informed by two prisoners that the Indians, a few rangers, and some British soldiers, had labored diligently during the previous season about the Genesee river, in planting crops to serve for their support while they were marauding along the frontier. These men had acted under the immediate orders of Walter Butler, who had passed several months of the summer along the Genesee, making his head-quarters at the cabin of Mary Jemison, the White Woman. Here he was supplied with port wine by the barrel, and amused his leisure hours

in fishing and hunting. The information communicated to the army gave additional stimulus, and determined men and officers alike to make clean work when they should reach the richer planting grounds near the river.

On Sunday morning, the 12th of September, it rained heavily, and the army did not move until nearly noon. A defile which they had to cross, prevented the usual order of march, and otherwise retarded movements. After traveling five miles they came to Hemlock Lake, which was forded at the mouth, where the water was knee-deep and about ten yards over. Soon they ascended an acclivity. Before them now lay a broad country in full view, covered generally with a large growth of oak and walnut. Moving forward, they, by turns, crossed tracts of marsh and alluvium, suitable, as the farmer-soldiers saw, for the finest meadows. The traveling, however, was indifferent, and the army moved slowly. By night-fall, General Hand's light corps, having the advance, arrived within half a mile of the little Indian town of Conesus (Gah-nyuh-sas.) It was designed in the morning that the army should pass the night in this village, but the main forces, delayed by the morning rain and other impediments of the roads, were still a full mile in the rear; and, without attempting to enter the Indian town, they all encamped for the night. General Hand's corps was ordered to remain on what is now Dr. McMillan's farm. The particular spot, then heavily wooded, proved to be "exceedingly ill-calculated for that purpose, no water being nearer than half a mile."

It was now Sunday evening, and after the light corps had encamped, Sullivan ordered Lieutenant Thomas Boyd, of the rifle corps, to report at his headquarters for special duty. This brave and tried young

officer was directed to take three or four riflemen, a guide, and the Indian chief Hanyerry, and reconnoitre the principal Seneca village on the Genesee river, in order, if possible, to effect its surprise. Major Adam Hoops, third aide-de-camp on Sullivan's staff, was present in the General's tent, and heard the instructions to Boyd. These were verbal, of course, but quite specific. "The country before us," said Major Hoops, "was unknown. We had heard of an Indian castle on the Genesee, which, by our reckoning, might be a few miles ahead of us." Sullivan calls this castle, or village, the capital of the Indian country; and toward it Boyd was to take his course. On leaving his commander's tent, he proceeded at once carefully to select his scouting party. Instead, however, of the smaller number, he took twenty-three soldiers who volunteered from the rifle corps, and three from Colonel Butler's Schoharie regiment, thus making the party in all to consist of twenty-six men, a force by no means as likely to effect the purpose as that which he had been directed to take with him. "Too few," says Minor, "if battle were intended; too many, if secrecy and celerity were prime requisites of the enterprise." Hanyerry (or Han Yost) acted as guide. Timothy Murphy, a private soldier, of marvelous coolness and boldness, famous alike as a border fighter and scout, whom Boyd found at a camp fire, filling the eager ears of his fellow-soldiers with stories of his Indian hand-to-hand fights, was also a member of the party. They set out early in the evening. The service was full of danger, the path was wholly new to them; but aware that time was essential, they proceeded actively, though with caution, along the trail leading westward from Conesus lake, up the steep acivity, and over the Groveland hills. Doubtless before quitting the summit for the mazes of

the dark and fruitless forest, the little band lingered a moment along the damp trail to catch another sight, to most of them a last one, of the camp fires glimmering far over the marshy plain.

Early on Monday morning, the 13th of September, the army marched from their evening's bivouac at the False Faces,* as it afterwards was called, on the farm now owned by Lemuel B. Richardson, near Conesus Centre, westward a mile to the Indian village of Conesus, where they made camp and breakfasted. This Indian town was situated on what is now known as Henderson's flats, near the head of the lake. "Here we found," says General Sullivan, "some large corn-fields, which part of the army destroyed, while the other part were employed in building a bridge over an unfordable creek between this and Genesee." This unfordable creek was the inlet of Conesus lake. The margins of this stream fronting the Indian village, now so well cultivated, were then a quagmire, and impassable for horses. Accordingly a strong covering party was detailed early in the morning to construct a log bridge over the inlet, and corduroy the approaches. The point selected was about four rods below the present bridge, over which passes the highway across the flat leading from Conesus Centre to the Lakeville road. The remains of this rude structure, composed of trunks of elm and white wood, were plainly visible in 1806, when James Scott came

* The spot where the army encamped is now embraced in a nine acre field, situated three quarters of a mile south-west of Conesus Centre and fifty rods east of Mr. Richardson's residence. For many years after the country was settled there stood in this field on either side of the Indian path, two oak trees upon which had been cut in the bark, the rude representation of the human face; about this spot Sullivan's camp was formed. The locality was long known as the "False faces," and from the circumstance mentioned, the place took its name. Lemuel Richardson, who afterwards "took up" this farm, was a Revolutionary soldier and accompanied the expedition into this region in 1779.

into this region ; and the abutments, stringers, and some few of the logs that constituted the track-way, could still be seen as late as 1813, and were removed, for the most part, in June of that year, for the purpose of repairing the more modern bridge and its approaches, and because it had become an obstruction to the highway. John White, of Groveland, then lived in that road district, and assisted in its removal. A tradition is extant that the army, in crossing here on their way to the Indian village on the Genesee, threw a three-pounder brass cannon into the stream, because of their inability to transport it further. But Sullivan makes no mention of the loss of a field-piece here, although his official report is quite particular, especially in reference to ordnance and ammunition. It seems most unlikely that so formidable a weapon, intended for use in this region, would be abandoned at this stage of the expedition, after surmounting more serious obstacles, especially as the army, having little to fear from the enemy, moved leisurely across the bridge. Moreover, had the piece proved burdensome, it could easily have been sent back to Honeoye during the morning, while the army lay inactive here, where Captain Cumming would have welcomed it as additional armament to his little fort. So strong, however, is the popular belief in this story that, when in April, 1865, the rebels evacuated Richmond, and the whole country was alive with excitement, a rumor reached Scottsburg, and traveled along the line of the inlet, that this abandoned cannon had been recovered, and was being fired in honor of the great event of the day. Firing was certainly heard in the direction of the lake, and scores of people flocked thither to see the old gun, and listen to its brazen voice ; but they reached the spot to learn that

the sound proceeded from a blacksmith's anvil, improvised for the occasion.

Noon was advancing, and yet the scouting party had not returned from its hazardous mission, though two of the little band despatched by Boyd, had returned in the morning, bringing a brief report to the General.* A council of officers, it is said, was now summoned at Sullivan's tent, which occupied the present site of the old negro fisherman's, Harkless Williams' house. This assembly was striking. The leading personage, Major-General John Sullivan, commander of the expedition, was a man of dauntless resolution and genuine revolutionary fire. One of the very first to strike for the cause of liberty, he held throughout the great struggle a conspicuous place; and after the war, in all measures tending to secure the adoption of the Federal constitution, and the pacification of the country, took an earnest and often important part. Three times its chief magistrate, he continued to enjoy other high civil dignities in his native State, down to the close of a life far more useful than the historian has yet accorded it to be; though Webster, at Bunker Hill monument, in addressing Lafayette, refers to him as an immediate companion in arms of the immortal Frenchmen, and groups him with Washington, Gates and Lincoln.† He was an attached friend of John Adams, and enjoyed the intimate companionship of Lafayette. At

* Sullivan's report says *two*; Major Hubley says, "*Four* men of Lieut. Boyd's party this morning (Monday, Sept. 13) returned, bringing information of the town of Gaghsguinlaheny (which they took for Genesee) being abandoned;" Major Norris's diary says, "After sunrise Boyd sent four men to report to Gen. Sullivan what he had discovered."

† "Monuments and eulogy belong to the dead. We give them this day to Warren and his associates. On other occasions they have been given to your more immediate companions in arms, to Washington, to Greene, to Sullivan, to Lincoln."—*Webster's Bunker Hill Oration.*

the moment appointed for the meeting, he enters the tent from a tour of personal inspection of the camp. His bearing is dignified, and the expression worn on his sunburnt face is grave and even anxious; for the expedition is now on the very threshold of its final work. His piercing eye moves from one to another; for he would gather the present feeling of each officer. Amiable in personal intercourse, he salutes, as he takes his camp-stool, the officers severally with warmth and native kindness. Forty years of age, erect in stature, five feet nine inches in height, his chest full, already inclining to corpulency, his eyes keen and dark, his hair black and curly, he presents a form and demeanor that challenge respect. The business of the council at once begins; for Sullivan is always impatient of delay. As the conference proceeds, we may glance at his career. Born at Somersworth, then a part of Dover, New Hampshire,* on the 17th of February, 1740, he passed his early years on his father's farm. After reading law in the office of Judge Livermore, of the supreme court of his native State, he was admitted to practice, and for several years before the war, was a leading member of the New Hampshire bar. He early showed a military

* The State of Maine is uniformly given as General Sullivan's birth place; but this is an error. When in 1787 he was a candidate for President of New Hampshire, as the office of governor was then called, for a second term, the opposition endeavored to prejudice his cause by urging that he was a foreigner—a native, not of New Hampshire but of Maine, and therefore not deserving of support, for, it was asked, "Are there not New Hampshire men competent to fill her Gubernatorial chair?" But the story availed his opponents nothing, for his father and mother, then both living, set the fiction at rest by asserting that Somersworth was in truth his birth-place—a fact which the people were thus made to believe—and they honored him with a re-election in 1787 and again in 1789.

The General's brother, James Sullivan, Governor of Massachusetts, was a native of Berwick, Maine, where he was born after the parents removed from New Hampshire.

taste, and received, in 1772, a provincial commission as major of militia. His father, the humble founder of one of the most distinguished of New England families—a family that has furnished two governors, several high military and a long list of civilian officers, was a school-master, of Irish birth; still retaining the family name of O'Sullivan,* possessed of a good education, a warm heart, and small earthly possessions. Deriving his mental activity and warmth of temperament from an Irish ancestry, Sullivan inherited, no doubt, from the same source, a jealousy of Great Britain. Not unfamiliar with political science, and alive to the bearings of public questions, the people turned to him at the first mutterings of that storm which culminated in the Revolution; and in 1774 he and Nathaniel Folsom were appointed delegates from New Hampshire to the first continental Congress. In December of that year, he, John Langdon, and Captain Thomas Pickering, “led a force against Fort William and Mary, near Portsmouth, took possession of one hundred barrels of gunpowder (afterwards used at the battle of Bunker Hill,) fifteen cannon, and all the small-arms and other stores, and carried them up into the country; concealing a portion of them under the pulpit of the Durham meeting-house. This was the first act of armed hostility committed in the colonies.”†

In June, 1775, he was appointed one of the eight brigadier-generals, and was assigned to a command

* The Irish prefix, O', was omitted by his children, however. The father lived to be more than a hundred years old, and was in the habit of visiting the General every year on horseback, from Maine.

† This bold act was “consummated by the seizure of the King's property and the disarming and imprisonment of his soldiers; and this, too, at a time when the universal language held in public was that of peace and anticipated reconciliation. *It was not until four months afterwards that the first blood was shed at Lexington.*”

on Winter Hill, at the siege of Boston. Despatched soon after with reinforcements to the northern army in Canada, he displayed great military skill and resolution in the retreat. Commissioned as major-general, "he served under Putnam on Long Island, and by a combat of two hours in the woods, aided by Stirling's vigorous defence on the right, contributed to the preservation of the American army. He was taken prisoner, but being exchanged for General Prescott, was with Washington at Westchester during the autumn. After General Lee's capture, Sullivan took command of his division, and led the right at Trenton on Christmas night, 1776." He commanded the right wing at Brandywine, and defeated the British left at Germantown, driving them two miles. In 1778, he personally directed the siege of Newport, but not receiving the expected aid from the French fleet, the siege was abandoned. In 1779, he was assigned, as we have seen, to conduct this expedition.

Seeing that "matters were drawing to a happy conclusion," he resigned his commission on the 9th of November, 1779, much against the wishes of Washington. The expedition, though conducted with eminent success, was keenly criticised in Congress, where political animosity must thus early be gratified, and he felt that certain members, especially of the Board of War, who appear to have blamed him for disasters which were inevitable, had deeply wronged him. His health, too, impaired by rough service and a bilious disorder that had seized him at the commencement and continued during the whole of the march, and his private affairs needed attention. Like other officers of the Revolution, his support had been drawn mainly from private means; but his personal concerns, less favorably situated than many, had become greatly embarrassed. On quitting the army, he resumed his

profession ; but the task of righting finances, shattered by long neglect, proved too great, and he died, as for years he had lived, surrounded by importunate creditors. Even death did not close the rugged chapter of a life of rugged fortunes. Under an old provincial statute, a debtor's corpse might be attached and held from burial until redeemed, Availing of this on the day of the funeral, Sullivan's creditors sent an officer to execute the infamous law on his remains. Closing the house, the relatives despatched a messenger for General Cilley, a former comrade in arms, who resided a short distance away. On arriving, the old soldier directed the doors to be opened, and the services to proceed. Said he, "the funeral of this dear general must not be interrupted." He then drew from his coat two horseman's pistols, carried by him through the Revolution, and, as he cocked them, added "Go on with the ceremonies." Prayer was offered, and the remains were placed on a bier ; the bearers took it up and proceeded to the grave, General Cilley, pistol in hand, following close after. The rites were completed without interference from creditor or civil officer ; Cilley then turned sorrowfully away, mounted his horse, and rode slowly homeward.

Brigadier-general James Clinton, the officer next in rank on this occasion, was of that honorable family which gave two generals to the Revolution, two governors to New York, and, we had almost said, two vice-Presidents to the Republic.* Born in Ulster

* George Clinton, brother of the General, was Vice-President of the United States during the second term of Jefferson. In 1812, DeWitt Clinton, his nephew, was favored with the nomination of the Republican members of the New York Legislature, for the Presidency. The Federalists made no nomination, and indirectly gave him their support. He received 89 electoral votes, while Mr. Madison received 128, and was thus re-elected. Before the amendment to the Constitution in 1803, the person, after the choice of the President, receiving the greatest number of electoral votes was

county, New York, three years earlier than Sullivan, his father was likewise an Irishman, and, on the mother's paternal side, was related to an officer in Cromwell's army. After receiving a liberal education, he served as a captain in the French war under Bradstreet, and, at twenty, took a gallant part in the capture of Fort Frontenac. Seven years later, he held command of the regiments raised to protect the frontiers of Ulster and Orange counties against Indian incursions. In 1775, with the rank of colonel, he went with the chivalric Montgomery to Canada. In 1777, promoted to brigadier-general, he, with his brother, Governor George Clinton, was in command of Fort Clinton and Fort Montgomery, just below West Point. On the 6th of October, the Fort was stormed by the British with 3,000 men, as a diversion in favor of Burgoyne, who was moving down from the upper Hudson, and who, a few days later, lost the field of Saratoga, that decisive battle of the Revolution. After a gallant resistance, the garrison of only 500 men were overpowered, but succeeded in making their escape. Clinton, the last to leave the works, was pursued, fired at, and his attending servant killed. Still flying, he was severely wounded by a bayonet, but escaped on horseback; yet pursued, he dismounted, and slid down a precipice a hundred feet to the creek; whence, covered with blood, he made his way home, a few miles distant. He was stationed at West Point during the greater part of 1778, engaged in throwing the great chain across the Hudson, to prevent the ascent of the enemy's ships. He was in charge of the northern department during most of the war, and was present at the

Vice-President. Had this provision been continued nine years longer DeWitt Clinton would have been Vice-President, as he stood next highest to Madison in that canvass.

capture of Cornwallis. In 1779, he was directed to co-operate with Sullivan in this expedition. In order to effect the junction, his force of 1,600 men was conveyed up the Mohawk in bateaux, about fifty miles above Schenectady, thence across to Ostego lake, a source of the Susquehanna river. Cooper, our great novelist, has invested the fair region through which he passed, with romantic interest, and has seen in Clinton's expedient of damming the outlet of that beautiful sheet to collect its waters, then tear away the obstruction in order to create an artificial current for floating his boats to the place of meeting with Sullivan, an episode of romantic interest. Clinton's appearance at this council is deferential, yet soldier-like. He has well endured the fatigues of the great march, for his constitution is like iron. His nature is affectionate and mild, but at the mention of danger ahead, he is roused to interest. His counsel is wise, and is received with the attention due to so experienced an officer.*

Brigadier-general Edward Hand, the leader of the vanguard, was a native of Clyduff, Ireland, where he was born on the last day of December, 1744. At twenty-eight, he entered the British army as ensign in the Royal Irish Foot, then on duty in this country. After serving two years, he settled in Pennsylvania. But his retirement was brief; for, at the beginning of the Revolution, he entered the continental service as a lieutenant-colonel. Made colonel of a rifle regiment in the spring of 1776, he was engaged in the battle of Long Island in the same year, and shared in the retreat from Brooklyn. He was also in the battle of

* General Clinton was the father of Governor DeWitt Clinton. He made his last appearance in arms on the evacuation of the city of New York by the British. He held civil positions after the war, and died at Little Britain, in Orange county, greatly loved and honored, in December, 1812.

Trenton in the following December. He commanded at Pittsburg during the succeeding summer and fall. In October, 1778, he was on duty at Albany, in command of the northern department, and in April following was appointed brigadier-general, and assigned to command of the light corps in this expedition. In the previous autumn, Washington had called his particular attention to the subject of such an undertaking, and asked him to consult General Schuyler as to its practicability. The correspondence reveals the degree of confidence reposed in his judgment. Afterwards, in September, 1780, Washington, recognising his standing, placed him on the board of general officers convened in the old Dutch church at Tappan, for the trial of Major Andre, the famous British spy. Lord Stirling, Lafayette, Baron Steuben, Knox, Stark, and other distinguished officers, to the number of fourteen, composed that tribunal. In the same year he succeeded Scammel as adjutant-general of the army, and held that important post until the war closed.* In character, he was bold and chivalric. His love for horses, especially for his fine roan charger, an animal remarkable for lofty carriage and spirit, which he had brought on this expedition, though he generally rode an active gray, gained him no little notoriety, as also did his excellent horsemanship. His military knowledge was valuable and extensive, and his general reading considerable. In this expedition he had exhibited ability and zeal, and, doubtless, at the council, his opinions were heard with attention.

* Gen. Hand died at Rockford, Lancaster county, Penn., on the 3d of September, 1802, aged 58 years. Judge James L. Campbell, of Cherry Valley, had a lively recollection of General Hand's being entertained with Washington at his father's, Col. Samuel Campbell's house, in Cherry Valley, in 1783. On this occasion Governor George Clinton, General Humphrey, Colonel Marinus Willet and other officers, were also present.

Brigadier-general William Maxwell, in command of the New Jersey brigade, was also present at the consultation. He was commissioned a general officer in October, 1776, having entered the continental service as colonel of a New Jersey regiment, and served under Montgomery in the Canada campaign of that year. He commanded the Jersey brigade at the battle of Brandywine, and also at Germantown. His caustic letter to the governor and legislature of New Jersey in respect to arrearages of pay due his officers and men, on the eve of leaving for the rendezvous of Wyoming, exhibits the positive side of his character, and shows his regard for the soldiers' welfare; while his selection, by Lord Stirling, as the army lay at White Plains, to accompany his lady and daughter to the British lines, and the "great politeness" with which, in the words of the Countess of Stirling, he received them on their return, proves him to have been a gentleman of refinement and courtesy.†

Brigadier-general Enoch Poor was also at this council-board. His brigade was ordered from Connecticut, where it lay unemployed at the time. He entered the continental service in command of the New Hampshire regiment. John Poore, the ancestor of the family, came from Wiltshire, England, in 1635, and settled in Massachusetts. The General was descended from lieutenant Daniel, of the colonial militia, who died at Andover, in 1713. General Poor served under Lafayette, and gained that distinguished officer's respect and affection. During Lafayette's last visit to this country, he gave as a toast on one occasion, "Light Infantry Poor and Yorktown Scammel;" and when shown the grave of Poor, he was much affected, and turning away, said, "Ah! that

† General Maxwell resigned his commission on the 23d of June, 1780, and retired from the service.

was one one of my Generals." He survived this expedition only a year, dying on the eighth of September, 1780, aged forty-four years. He died from the effect of a wound received in a duel with a French officer, the difficulty growing out of a controversy on the subject of State policy. So beloved was he by the soldiery, that it was deemed unwise to allow the real cause of his death to transpire, for fear of serious results; hence the army was permitted to believe that he died of bilious fever, and this error has remained uncorrected until now. He sleeps far away from his native hills, in the grave-yard of the Protestant Dutch church at Hackensack, New Jersey. There, underneath a willow, rests a horizontal stone which marks the grave of this gallant officer.* The army lay at Kinerhamach, near the boundary between this State and New Jersey, at his death. His coffin, draped with the national banner, was borne to the grave by officers of rank; and a long line of soldiers, both foot and horse, swelled the funeral procession, which extended from the upper end of the town to the church. Washington and Lafayette took part in the rites. Two field-pieces, drawn by artillery horses, followed the hearse, but were not discharged on account of the enemy's vicinity.

Other officers were present at this council. Colonel William Butler, whose regiment, stationed at Schoharie when ordered on this expedition, and which numbered on its rolls the names of Lieutenant Boyd, Timothy Murphy, and others of the scouting party, was doubtless there. The Connecticut missionary, Samuel Kirkland, who, a dozen years before, had

* The inscription on the tombstone reads as follows: "In memory of the Hon. Brigadier-general Enoch Poor, of the State of New Hampshire, who departed this life on the 8th of September, 1780, aged 44."—*Barber & Howe's Hist. Coll. of New Jersey.*

been successfully employed among the Senecas in this region, and now serving as brigade chaplain, as well as guide and interpreter, was probably present. This good man was of Scotch descent, and had come to this region under the auspices of the society for the propagation of the gospel among the Six Nations. No account of the proceedings on this occasion has come down to us. We only know that Sullivan expressed anxiety at the prolonged delay of the scouting party ; and, most likely, he produced and read the instructions of Washington, which were drawn up by Hamilton, and bore the signatures of those two immortal men. They direct the total destruction of the property of the Indians. Certainly, before many hours had elapsed, these orders, in their fullest extent, were carried into literal execution.

When the council broke up, the army still lay encamped in full view before its commanders. The surroundings were picturesque. Five thousand soldiers had improvised their camp upon the plain and its immediate hillsides ; their white tents contrasting vividly with the autumnal tint of woodland foliage. Anon, the drum-beat and sentry-call emphasised, at intervals, the undertone of warlike preparation. The resounding echoes, as the forest-trees gave way for the bridge, and the fruit-trees, loaded with apples and peaches, fell before ringing axe-strokes ; the rustling of crisp corn, trampled under heedless feet ; all lent their busy music to the scene which had heretofore been the domain of solitude and silence. The situation of the army was in itself novel. Its arms, now carried far into the heart of this remote and barbarous country, were unsupported from behind through hundreds of miles of forest wilderness, stretching eastward back to the main force under Washington. Before these martial pioneers all was unknown. Nothing, indeed, was felt

began to run his chain upward along the rise just west of the inlet. A picket-guard was here posted. Ascending the hill, outside the line of sentinels, the surveyor was proceeding with his work, making notes in his field-book, when he was fired upon by an Indian who had crept up to him. Leaving his jacob-staff standing, Mr. Lodge made quickly for the nearest sentinel; the Indian, tomahawk in hand, close upon him all the way. The sentinel, still unperceived by the pursuing enemy, raised his gun and shot the savage, bringing him down. The alarm was at once given, and the whole picket guard, strongly supported, immediately advanced to the top of the hill. No enemies, however, were in sight, although evidences of their recent presence were apparent in a line of packs, a hundred blankets or more, and a large number of hats lying along the brow of the hill. Simultaneously with the attack upon the surveyor, a corporal at the extreme verge of the picket line received a wound, causing his death next day. The sentinel, a mere lad, whose coolness saved the surveyor's life, and whose modesty had made him quite a favorite, was a recruit in the Jersey line. The general sent for him, applauded his presence of mind, and, subsequently, after the return of the army, ordered a sum of money to be paid to him in reward for his soldierly deed.

While the American army lay encamped almost undisturbed, the devoted Indian villages of Beardstown, Canaseraga, Big Tree, Canawaugus, and other towns on the river, were scenes of consternation. In October, 1865, I visited the Cattaraugus Indian reservation, near Buffalo, for the purpose of consulting Philip Kenjockety, a representative of the almost extinct tribe of the Kah-kwas. His parents resided with the Senecas on the Genesee during the early years of our Revolution. In 1779, they were living at Beardstown,

as has been stated in a previous page ; and Philip collected, with marvelous distinctness, these episodes of Sullivan's invasion. To the Indians residing on the Genesee river, and perhaps to the Six Nations generally, the American troops were known as Yankees, or, more familiarly, as "Bostonians" (Wah-stoh-nah-yans), and were looked upon, especially by the women and children, with great dread. The whole population of the Seneca villages became speedily aware that the army was forcing its way through the wilderness to destroy their homes and possessions. The corn, that year, was remembered to have been a great crop, and they were just engaged in gathering it when the army reached Conesus lake. Every day or two, during the progress of our forces, the arrival of messengers and wounded braves announced that the Yankees were drawing near. One of these runners had been taken prisoner by the invaders, but managed to escape. His relation was full of detail, and gave great alarm. The air seemed to grow heavy with omens, and the very birds gave signs of approaching evil. A small party of young warriors from Beardstown met the advance force of our army on a hillside, not many miles from the Genesee, and one of them, a favorite of the village, was wounded, but his companions conveyed him to his home. Skirmishes of this kind were frequent, and the wounded Indians managed to get back to their lodges, only to add to the general gloom. After Sullivan reached Conesus lake, a young Indian named Sah-nah-dah-yah, who could neither run nor walk well, because of a previous wound received in one of these skirmishes, said he must again go out to fight the Yankees. His orphan sisters begged him to remain with them. One of them clung about his person to keep him back, but he pushed her aside and left the hut. Arriving just at day-break in the little

Indian village where Boyd's scouting party had passed the night, he was discovered by Murphy, and sank under his death-dealing rifle. His moccasins, worked with a sister's care, were transferred to Murphy's feet, and his scalp soon hung from Murphy's belt.

Though the commotion in the Indian villages increased with the march of our men, none fled until, on the evening that witnessed the enemy's arrival near the lake, a "noise like thunder" was heard in that direction. An old warrior said to the wondering village that this was the echo of the Yankee's big guns—those terrible engines which embodied, to Indian superstition, all the dread mysteries of hostile "medicine men." On hearing this portentous word, the women set up a wail, the children bawled out a wild accompaniment, and the excitement grew every moment greater. By laying the ear to the ground the Indians could hear the tread of the troops in Sullivan's camp. The day was misty and rainy by turns, but preparations for quitting their villages went actively forward, and in a brief space the few horses that could be collected were ready to begin the long journey to Fort Niagara, whither the families were told to direct their pilgrimage. Soon after their departure, the shrill notes of a bugle, belonging, perhaps, to Boyd's party, were borne to them upon the night air, creating intense alarm among the fugitives. Kenjockety recollected that the Indians were followed next day for some distance by a small body of Yankees, but that they were protected by a detachment of British troops dressed in green uniforms.

Boyd's scouting party, on leaving the army, had pressed forward for nearly half a mile along the base of the hill, then, turning to the left, marched actively up the acclivity. A mile and a half above where the army lay, the trail they were following divided, one

path leading to Canaseraga, in the direction of Williamsburgh, the other to Beardstown. Boyd chose the former; his guides, unacquainted with the country, mistaking this for the proper path. On reaching the little village of Canaseraga, situated near Colonel Abell's residence, they found it deserted, although fires were still alive in the huts. The night was far advanced, and the party, quite weary, encamped, for a few hours, intending to ascertain at early morning the location of the capital town, the object of their quest.

It was not yet break of day on Monday morning, the fifteenth of September—a day so fatal to most of the little party—when Boyd, accompanied by Murphy, stole away from their companions, and entered the village near at hand. They here discovered two Indians coming out of a hut, one of whom was the wounded young warrior mentioned above, the other an uncle of the sachim Soh-nah-so-wah. A ball from Murphy's rifle quickly sealed the fate of the former, and the latter fled. Murphy, as was his custom, took off the slain Indian's scalp—his three and thirtieth trophy. The flying Indian, Boyd was well aware, would at once make known his visit to the enemy, and thus defeat his purpose. He therefore resolved to rejoin the army without delay. On going back to his party, he despatched two messengers to Sullivan with a report of operations. They were directed also to inform the general that the scouts would return immediately. The messengers reached the camp early in the morning. The scouting party prepared to retrace their steps also. Hanyerry recommended his leader to follow a different trail, but Boyd unwisely disregarded the advice of his faithful and intelligent guide. The most jealous caution was observed on the return march. "With Hanyerry in the front,

and Murphy in the rear, their eagle eyes fixed on each moving leaf and waving bough, they marched forward slowly and with the utmost caution. Five weary miles had they thus travelled the dangerous route, and were about to descend the hill at whose base the army lay.* “Less than two miles intervened between them and the camp, and the party were beginning to breathe freely, when they were surprised by five hundred Indians, under Brant, and five hundred Royalists, un-Butler.† The enemy were secreted in a ravine.” The party had taken to a small grove of trees when the firing began. A moment was thus secured for reflection. The lieutenant saw at once that the only chance of escape for his little party was the hazardous one of gathering all into a compact force, and breaking through the enemy’s lines. After a few encouraging words, he led forward his men for the attempt.

“In the first onset, not one of Boyd’s men fell, while his fire told fearfully upon the enemy. A second and third attempt to break the enemy’s lines was made, and seventeen of the Americans had fallen.” The firing was so close, before the brave party was destroyed, that the powder from the enemy’s muskets was driven into their flesh. Though a majority lay dead, yet “at the third onset of the Americans, the enemy’s line was broken through, and Murphy, tumbling a huge warrior in the dust who obstructed his passage—even to the merriment of his dusky companions—led forward the little band. Boyd, justly supposing if any one escaped with life it would be Murphy, determined to follow him; but not being so fast a runner, he was soon taken, and with him one of his

* Treat’s Oration.

† This number is believed to be too large. Six hundred in all, is, perhaps, nearer the truth. Kenjockety thought there could not have been as many as the latter number.

men named Parker.”* Sullivan says that Boyd was shot through the body during the melee. If so, his inability to escape is thus accounted for.

“Murphy, as he found the path unobstructed, exclaimed of himself, in hearing of the enemy, ‘Clear again, Tim., by —,’ while shaking his fist at the same time at his pursuers.”† He now pressed forward in the direction of the army, and soon observed that he was pursued only by two Indians, a tall and a short one. As they neared him, from time to time, he pointed toward them with his well-known but (now) unloaded rifle, and they, at every menace, slackened their pace. His moccasins, borrowed in the morning from the dead Indian, were growing too tight for comfort, and while under full headway, he opened his pocket knife and cut away the thongs which bound them about his feet and ankles, the blade accidentally entering and severely wounding his flesh. “Shortly after, he reached a swale, where, his feet becoming entangled in the long grass and rank weeds, he fell. The spot proved favorable for concealment, and he did not immediately rise. ‘His pursuers soon broke over a knoll so as to gain a view of the grass plot, and not discovering him, although he did them, they altered their course.’” “Murphy now loaded his rifle and cautiously proceeded on his way to the camp. He well knew his fate if taken prisoner, with the Indian’s scalp in his pocket, and moccasins on his feet. Again setting forward, he soon found himself headed by an Indian.” The discovery was instant and mutual, and each took to a tree. After dodging one another for some time, Murphy drew his ramrod, placed his hat upon it, and quietly pushed it a few inches beyond

* Captain John Salmon’s account.

† Mr. Treat’s Oration.

the tree. The Indian, supposing it contained a head, fired a ball through it. The hat dropped, and running up to scalp his man, the savage received the bullet of Murphy's rifle through his breast, and as he fell dead, exclaimed, "O-Wah."*

* Murphy's life deserves a book to give his exploits at full length. The Schoharie valley is full of traditions of his bravery and daring. It would be difficult to magnify his astonishing skill with the rifle, or his courage and address as a border fighter. Some years ago the author visited his grave, located on the farm he had owned near Middleburgh. The Onistegrawa mountain, whose sides often echoed back the sharp ring of his death-dealing rifle, looks down upon his humble resting place. His simple tomb-stone bears this inscription:

"Here, too, this warrior sire with honor rests,
Who braved in freedom's cause his valiant breast,
Sprang from his half-drawn furrow as the cry
Of threatened liberty came thrilling by."

* * * * *

"Lo, here he rests, who every danger braved,
Marked and honored, 'mid the soil he saved."

He died June 27, 1818, aged 67 years.

"After the battle of Monmouth, in 1778, Morgan's riflemen were sent to protect the settlements near Schoharie. Among those whose term of service had expired before the autumn of '79, was the bold Virginian, Timothy Murphy. Instead of returning home, he enlisted in the militia, and continued to wage a desultory war against the savages then hovering over the Mohawk settlements. By his fearless intrepidity, his swiftness of foot, his promptness for every hazardous enterprise, he was, though a mere private, entrusted with the management of every scouting party sent out. He always carried a favorite double rifle, an object of the greatest terror to the Indians, who for a long time were awe-struck at its two successive discharges. In the hands of so skillful a marksman, the greatest execution always followed its unerring aim. He had been several times surprised by small Indian parties; but, with remarkable good fortune, had as often escaped. When the savages had learned the mystery of his double rifle, knowing that he must re-load after the second discharge, they were careful not to expose themselves until he had twice fired. Once, when separated from his troops, he was surrounded by a large party of savages. Instantly he struck down the nearest foe, and fled at his utmost speed. Being hard pushed by one runner, whom alone he had not outstripped in the flight, he suddenly turned and shot him on the spot. Stopping to strip his fallen pursuer, he saw another close upon him. He seized the rifle of the dead Indian, and brought

While this tragedy was transpiring almost within rifle shot, the army, ignorant of the cause of delay, was uneasily watching for the return of the scouting party. As hour followed hour, and still they came not, vague fears of evil began to be entertained. Sullivan had carefully estimated the time necessary for their return march, and again called up and questioned the two messengers who had arrived in the morning, from Boyd, anxiously looking meanwhile for his brave lieutenant, or further tidings from him. The first hint of the danger reached Sullivan through the party still engaged at the bridge, and was, no doubt, brought by Murphy, who preceded the others. From this source the general was informed that Boyd and most of his detachment had been surrounded a short distance beyond the hill in overwhelming numbers by the enemy, who had been discovering themselves before him for some miles; that his men had killed two, and were pursuing the rest, when they were ambuscaded; that the supporting party, sent to secure Boyd's flanks, had escaped, but that Boyd himself, with fourteen of his men, and the Oneida chief, had

down his victim. The savages, supposing all danger now passed, rushed heedlessly on with yells of frantic rage. When nearly exhausted, he again turned, and, with the undischarged barrel, fired, and the third pursuer fell. With savage wonder, the other Indians were riveted to the spot; and, exclaiming that 'he could fire all day without re-loading,' gave over the pursuit. From that hour, Murphy was regarded by the savages as possessing a charmed life. When Clinton passed along the Mohawk, on his way to Tioga Point, he again joined his rifle corps, to share the dangers of the march into the wilderness."—*Treat's Oration*.

Murphy was a member of Captain Michael Simpson's rifle company, in Col. Butler's regiment. Lieut. Boyd was also an officer of this company. John Salmon, late of Groveland, likewise served in the same company. In the autumn of 1778, after the battle of Monmouth, Morgan's riflemen, to which Simpson's company belonged, marched to Schoharie to go into winter quarters. It was here that the orders to proceed to the Indian country found them the following spring.

been completely encircled. "To arms!" was immediately sounded. All the light troops of the army, and the flanking division, were at once detached and hurried forward. But relief was then too late; for, after destroying our scouting party, the enemy lost no time in vanishing into the great forest. They left behind them, however, a wagon-load of packs, blankets, hats, and provisions, thrown off at the opening of the fight, to enable them to act with more vigor. An Indian corpse was also found, accidentally left among the fallen Americans.

The enemy's force was commanded on this occasion by Walter Butler. Hunted at length to their homes, and too much weakened for offensive measures, they yet could harass the march of the invader. Accordingly, the day before, they had left Beardstown under their skilled leader, for the purpose of annoying our approaching army, as best they might, and after reconnoitering, had chosen a favorable spot crossed by the pathway leading to the Indian villages, and over which the patriot army must necessarily march. Butler's original purpose was to attack the army near the inlet as they crossed the swamp. But the soldierly dispositions made by Sullivan, and his constant preparation, did not favor this plan. Butler was therefore compelled to remain inactive with his force, and to witness, hour by hour, as he did, from his hiding-place near the brow of the hill, the progress of the work on the bridge, and the measures preparing for the destruction of the Indian villages. His latter well-conceived design was also frustrated by the appearance of Boyd's party in the rear. Always on the alert, the savages were doubly watchful now that their powerful enemy lay within cannon shot below, and cautiously as the scouting party advanced, their coming was known in time to make

simple dispositions. Nothing, therefore, but swift destruction awaited our little band. For the fierce warriors at once spread themselves out in a great circle, and then forming smaller circles within, so that when the devoted scouts entered at the opening left by the Indians on the path, and that opening had closed behind Boyd's band, they were absolutely surrounded, and their doom fixed. The brave fellows, finding that escape was impossible, resolved, doubtless, to die a soldier's death on the field, rather than be taken captive and suffer inevitable torture. Hence they asked no quarter, as we know, but fought unflinchingly to the death. The contest embraced all the elements of sublime heroism ; but narrowed down to an ambushade, it has escaped the attention which dauntless courage so well merits. Like bravery, exhibited on a broader and more conspicuous theatre, would have won for the actors a place in heroic history, and their individual names, now forgotten, might have been preserved and honored in song and story.

Murphy, a private named McDonald, Garret Putman, of Fort Hunter, afterwards in command of a spirited company of rangers in the Mohawk valley, and a French Canadian, regained the American camp. "The two latter secreted themselves early in the fight under a fallen tree around which was growing a quantity of thrifty nettles, and thus escaped observation, although several Indians passed over the log in pursuit of Murphy."

John Putman, a cousin of Garret's, above named, also from the vicinity of Fort Hunter, lost his life in this affair. "At his burial it was found that he had been shot while in the act of firing, as a ball and several buck-shot had entered the right arm-pit without injuring the arm." A soldier named Benjamin Custin, who belonged to the troops from Schoharie, at-

tempted to follow Murphy, but was also overtaken and slain, after he had killed his first antagonist in a hand-to-hand encounter. "Poor Hanyerry, who had performed prodigies of valor in the conflict of Oriskany, and who had rendered the American cause much real service, fell in this ambushade, and was found literally hacked to pieces."*

Boyd and Private Parker were hurried forward, immediately after the affair, with the retiring enemy to the vicinity of Beardstown. On finding himself a prisoner, the lieutenant "obtained an interview with Brant, who, as well as Boyd, was a freemason. After the magic signs of brotherhood were exchanged, Brant assured him that he should not be injured." "But Brant, not long after, being called off on some enterprise, the prisoners were left in charge of one of the Butlers, who, placing the prisoners on their knees before him, a warrior on each side firmly grasping their arms, a third at their backs with tomahawks raised, began to interrogate them about the purposes of General Sullivan, threatening them with savage tortures if true and ready answers were not given. Boyd, believing the assurances of Brant ample for his safety, and too high-minded in any situation to betray his country, refused, as did Parker, to reply" to questions touching the more immediate purposes of the army. The more than savage Butler was true to his threat; and when the prisoners peremptorily refused to answer, he handed them over to Little Beard and his warriors, who were already full of vindictiveness. The prisoners were seized, stripped, and bound to trees; then commenced a series of horrid cruelties, directed especially toward Boyd. When all was ready, Little Beard lifted his hatchet, stained with recent blood,

* Mr. Treat's Oration. ●

and with steady aim sent it whistling through the air. In an instant it quivered within a hair's thickness of the lieutenant's devoted head. The younger Indians were now permitted to follow the chief's example, and from right, front, and left, their bright tomahawks cleave the air, and tremble about the unflinching persons of the victims. Wearied at length of this work, a single blow severed Parker's head from his body, and mercifully ended his misery. Poor Boyd, however, was reserved for a worse fate. An incision was made in his abdomen, and a severed intestine was fastened to a tree. He was then scourged with prickly-ash boughs, and compelled to move around until the pain became so exquisite that he could go no further.* Again pinioned, his mouth was enlarged with a knife, his nails dug out, his tongue cut away, his ears severed from the head, his nose hewn off and thrust into his mouth, his eyes dug out, and the flesh cut from his shoulders, and, when sinking in death, after these enormities, he was decapitated and his disfigured head raised by the frenzied savages upon a sharpened pole. Thus fell a brave young soldier, whose life possesses more than ordinary material for a romance.†

* "If I mistake not," says Treat's published oration, "it was Judge Jones who informed me that when his father, the late Captain Horatio Jones, visited the spot a few years afterwards, he found the intestines still wound around the tree."

† Lieut. Boyd was a native of Northumberland Co., Pa. He was of ordinary height, and was a strongly-built, fine-looking young man; very sociable and agreeable in his manners, qualities which gained him many friends in Schoharie. While there he paid his addresses to Miss Cornelia, a daughter of Bartholomew Becker. After his death she gave birth to a daughter, of which he was the reputed father. When the troops under Col. Butler were preparing to leave Schoharie, Miss Becker, in a state of mind bordering on madness, approached her lover, caught hold of his arm, and in tears besought him by the most tender entreaties to marry her before he left Schoharie. He endeavored to put her off with promises; but doubting his intentions, she told him "if he went off without marrying her, *she hoped he*

A burying party was ordered out by General Hand, on his reaching the place of the ambuscade, and a few feet from the fatal spot were interred the remains of six of those who had there fallen. The bodies of the others, scattered through the woods, were not now found, but were subsequently placed in a second grave located near the former one.

On the return of General Hand's corps from this duty, the whole army was ordered to take up the line of march westward over the trail traversed by Boyd, for the Indian towns on the Genesee, "through the finest country I almost ever saw," says Colonel Hubley, in his diary. The pack horses, loaded with the stores, were moved to the bridge, already guarded by the artillery, to take their turn. The forces then advanced in regular order, and filed past. As the general and his staff passed over, they were saluted, the guard gathering so closely about that one of the aide-camps was jostled against the edge of an axe tied upon a pack horse, and wounded. Before dusk they arrived within sight of "the small castle," or Seneca village, situated near Williamsburgh, on the farm now

would be cut in pieces by the Indians. In the midst of this unpleasant scene, Col. Butler rode up and reprimanded Boyd for his delay, as the troops were ready to march; and the latter, mortified at being seen by his commander thus importuned by a girl, *drew his sword and threatened to stab her if she did not instantly leave him.*—*Simms' History of Schoharie*, p. 300.

Boyd was born in 1757. His father and only sister died before the Revolution. His mother sent her three sons into the field, with the parting injunction, says Major Van Campen, "never to disgrace their swords by any act of cowardice, or disgrace them by a moment's fear or reluctance when called to the defence of home and freedom." Lieut. Wm. Boyd, the second son of Mrs. Boyd, fell at Brandywine, in 1777. Lieut. Thomas, the youngest, was at the surrender of Burgoyne and at the battle of Monmouth, before joining Sullivan. He went to Schoharie in the autumn of 1778, under Major Posey, whose command consisted, as is believed, of three companies of Morgan's celebrated rifle corps, under Captains Long, Pear, and Simpson. Boyd belonged to the latter company.

occupied by Colonel Abell. A portion of the army, under Clinton, encamped near Fall Brook.

The Indians having thrown themselves into a wood on the opposite side of the river, seemingly determined to fight, the infantry and artillery were pushed to the front. Maxwell's brigade, with the left flanking division, were directed to gain the enemy's right, and Poor's brigade to move round to their left, while the right flanking division and two regiments from Clinton's brigade, moved to Poor's right flank. The infantry were prepared to rush on in front, supported by the remainder of Clinton's brigade. Thus disposed, the army moved forward and took possession of the town without opposition, the enemy retreating across Canaseraga creek, through a thicket where it was impossible for the army to follow. Word was now passed to encamp for the night.

On the morning of Tuesday, the 14th, parties were ordered out to destroy the corn, found in great plenty about Canaseraga, which they did by plucking the ears and throwing them into the river. About eleven o'clock, after having fired all the huts in the village, the army resumed march for Little Beardstown. After crossing Canaseraga creek at the fording place, near the site of Colonel Fitzhugh's residence, they moved through a small grove, and then over a "considerable swamp, and formed on a plain on the other side, the most extensive I ever saw," says Colonel Hubley, "containing not less than six thousand acres of the richest soil that can be conceived, not having a bush standing, but filled with grass considerably higher than a man. We moved up this plain for about three miles, in our regular line of march, a beautiful sight, indeed, as a view of the whole could be had at one look, and then came to the Genesee river, at the fording place," (about a mile north of the present village

of Mount Morris) "which we crossed, being about forty yards over, and near middle deep, and then ascended a rising ground, which afforded a prospect so beautiful that to attempt a comparison, would be doing injury, as we had a view as far as the eyes could carry us of another plain besides the one we crossed, through which the river formed a most graceful winding, and, at intervals, cataracts, which rolled from the rocks and emptied into the river." The army itself presented a novel appearance as it moved in regular order through the rank grass, which reached a height of from five to eight feet, and grew so thick that motion was slow. Often nothing could be seen but the guns of the soldiers above the grass. Passing next over a rougher section, the advance troops arrived at the "capital town," or Little Beard's village, which was much the largest Indian town met with in the whole route. Here they encamped. The fires in some of the Indian huts were yet fresh. Sullivan says of it: "We reached the Castle, which consisted of one hundred and twenty-eight houses, mostly very large and elegant. The place was beautifully situated, almost encircled with a cleared flat which extended for a number of miles, where the most extensive fields of corn were, and every kind of vegetable that can be conceived."

Just before quartering here, Paul Sanborn, afterwards for many years a resident of Conesus, then a private soldier, on the extreme right of Clinton's brigade, was moving with his detachment, and, as it wheeled quickly around in the direction of the village, discovered the headless corpse of Boyd. The blood was yet oozing from it, so recently had the body been freed from its tormentors. Leaping over this, Sanborn alighted beside that of Parker's, as it lay in the long grass. At once making known his discovery, the

remains were placed under guard of Captain Michael Simpson's rifle company, to which both Boyd and Parker belonged, and at evening the mutilated bodies and disfigured heads of these heroic men were buried with military honors, under a wild plum tree, which grew near the junction of two small streams, formally named at a great meeting in Cuylerville in 1841, as Boyd's creek, and Parker's creek. The heads of these two men were at once recognized by their companions, to whom Boyd's features were so familiar, and Parker's was identified, beyond doubt, from a scar on his face and his broken front teeth. Major Parr, who commanded the rifle battalion to which Boyd's company belonged, was present at the burial; and John Salmon, late of Groveland, then a private in Captain Simpson's company, assisted on the occasion.*



BURIAL PLACE OF BOYD AND PARKER.

On Wednesday morning the army set to the work of destroying the orchards (one of which, it is asserted,

* A rude mound now marks the spot of the burial, which is close by the present bridge across Beard's creek, on the road from Geneseo to Cuylerville. An engraving of the mound appears on this page.

Beard's creek is formed by the two streams, Boyd's creek and Parker's creek, referred to above. The Cuylerville grist-mill stands a few rods south-west of the mound.

contained 1,600 trees,) the crops of corn, beans, potatoes and other vegetables. The corn was collected and burned in kilns. It is said that ears were here found measuring 22 inches in length. Colonel Hubley says the crops "were in quantity immense, and in goodness unequalled by any I ever saw. Agreeable to a moderate calculation, there was not less than 200 acres, the whole of which was pulled up and piled in large heaps, mixed with dry wood taken from the houses, and consumed to ashes."

While the main army were thus engaged, Poor and Maxwell proceeded to Canawaugus and destroyed that town. Returning, they also destroyed Big Tree village.

"By three o'clock in the afternoon," says Col. Hubley, "the work was finished, the total ruin of the Indian settlements and the destruction of their crops, was completed." General Sullivan here issued an order during the day, announcing to the "brave and resolute army," that the immediate object of the expedition was secured, acknowledging his obligation alike to officers and soldiers, whose virtues and fortitude had enabled him to effect so much, and assuring them that "he would not fail to inform America at large how much they stand indebted to them." The order closed by directing that "the army will this day commence its march for Tioga." Eighteen days had now elapsed since it left Newtown on its way thither, during which time forty Indian towns, large and small, had been destroyed, together with 160,000 bushels of corn and a "vast quantity of vegetables of every kind."

Before quitting this spot, a woman with a child seven or eight months old, both nearly starved, came within the lines. She had been captured at Wyoming the year previous. She stated that the enemy had evacuated the town two days before; that Butler, at the same time, went off with a party of Indians and

rangers "to get a shot at the Yankees," and that the women had been fretting continually, and were constantly begging the warriors to sue for peace.

A few of the leading Indians lingered near their beautiful homes while the work of destruction was in progress. President Dwight relates an incident in this connection. The Seneca chief Big Tree, whom he describes as a man of lofty character and dignified deportment, had strenuously urged his countrymen to observe a strict neutrality, but without success. This chieftain stood, with others, on an elevated spot and saw his own possessions destroyed. "You see how the Americans treat their friends," said some of those around him, favorable to Great Britain. "What I see," calmly replied the chief, "is only the common fortune of war. It cannot be supposed that the Americans can distinguish my property from yours, who are their enemies."

The Indian warriors and their allies, together with 150 British regulars from Niagara by whom they had been re-enforced on the eve of quitting the Genesee, fled to Fort Niagara, which they reached on the 18th of September. Meantime the Indian women, children and old men were flocking thither from their burning towns, and as the plain far and near became covered with knots of fugitives, it strikingly resembled, says an eye witness, the diversified landscape formed by groups returning from an English fair.*

Temporary homes, in a few days, were provided elsewhere for these refugees, but as they still expected that British arms would triumph and their homes would be restored, they refused to quit the protection offered by the Fort. Indeed, the Senecas were now urged to make their future dwelling place in Canada,

* Ketchum's *Buffalo*, Vol. II, Appendix, p. 339.

but they continued to remain here until the following Spring, when the larger remnant of the tribe settled near Buffalo creek.

Scanty supplies awaited the fugitive Indians at Niagara, and the winter was remarkably cold, the snow very deep, and multitudes of deer and other animals perished from starvation. The refugees, fed on salted provisions, a diet so new to them caused scurvy, of which they died in great numbers.

The army retraced its course to Conesus, where a halt was made on Wednesday night. The return march was resumed next morning, and continued without special incident to Easton, Pennsylvania, where the troops went into temporary quarters.

The intelligence of the success of the expedition preceded the army, and everywhere it was received with tokens of gratitude. Congratulatory addresses were voted by corporations to officers and men; military bodies complimented them; and the Continental Congress, on motion of Elbridge Gerry, resolved that its thanks "be given to his excellency General Washington, for directing, and to Major General Sullivan, and the brave officers and soldiers under his command, for effectually executing an important expedition against such of the Indian nations as, encouraged by the councils and conducted by the officers of his Britannic Majesty, have perfidiously waged an unprovoked and cruel war against the United States, laid waste many of their defenceless towns, and with savage barbarity, slaughtered the inhabitants thereof." It was further resolved, "that it will be proper to set apart the second Thursday in December next, as a day of General Thanksgiving in these United States, and that a committee of four be appointed to prepare a recommendation to the said United States, for this purpose." The proclamation, in fitting language,

owns the hand of Providence, in "that He had gone out with those who went out into the wilderness against the savage tribes"; and we may well believe that the hearts of the colonists fully responded, and that they cordially united in the ceremonies of the day thus set apart.

Our whole army was greatly impressed with the beauty of this country and the fertility of its soil; and the attention of settlers was directed hitherward by the glowing descriptions brought home by the soldiers. That restlessness which follows all great wars, was particularly notable after the Revolution, making the period a favorable one for emigration; and a decade had not passed away before a number of privates and officers who had formed a part of Sullivan's army, and others, attracted by their accounts, removed hither, or were preparing to make this region their future home. Thus did the Indian campaign of 1779 directly tend to the settlement of the Genesee country; while the bloody wrongs inflicted by its aboriginal lords resulted in their expulsion therefrom, and their speedy downfall as a separate nation.

In the spring of 1780 several Seneca families came back, and temporarily settled in the neighborhood of their former villages on the Genesee; but the greater portion of them never returned. The precaution had been taken by the natives prior to Sullivan's arrival, to bury a quantity of corn, beans, and other seeds, first placing them in mats of black ash bark, then concealing them in a "cache," or trench dug in the earth, covering the whole with sand and litter. The army did not find this buried grain, and it was withdrawn by the Indians from its hiding-places on their return, and used by them for the Spring's planting.

CHAPTER VIII.

AFTER THE REVOLUTION. .

The soldiers of the Revolution were quite ready at the close of the great struggle, to return to the pursuits of peaceful industry. The fertile region which stretches beyond Seneca Lake, and as far westward as the Genesee river, had especially attracted the attention alike of officers and rank and file of Sullivan's army, and the valleys and hillsides so precipitately abandoned by the fugitive red men, were by another decade, to count among their permanent occupants some of those who had first seen them under conditions far less pacific.

Years, however, before the continental army had penetrated to these remote homes of the Indians, the country along the Genesee had been made familiar to the eyes of many a score of white prisoners, brought hither by that horde of dusky prowlers who, for nearly a quarter of a century embracing that period of disquiet along the border which ended only with the colonial war, lost no opportunity of harassing the frontier settlements, and whose predatory enterprises lay so little under the restraints of regular warfare.

During the French war, as well as during that of the Revolution, prisoners taken by the Senecas and other tribes allied with them, were brought to these

western fastnesses, whose remote situation afforded them immunity, to be detained in the capacity of artisans or laborers, or surrendered to their friends on the payment of fixed bounties. When permanent peace at length released all, those who were then remaining in captivity were prepared to impart useful information respecting the country to the vanguard of the pioneers.

In 1765 there were twenty-four white prisoners "among the Chenessee (Genesee) Indians."* A year later, Sarah Carter, a young white girl taken captive in Pennsylvania, reported that there were "forty Yankee prisoners among the Genesee Indians, one of whom was a large, lusty negro" blacksmith then working at his trade for the natives. He had already bought the time of a young Connecticut girl for five pounds currency, and had otherwise befriended those who had fallen into the hands of the natives. Squash-Cutter and Long Coat, two chiefs of the Delaware tribe who lived much among the Senecas at that period, employed themselves in bringing in captives to the towns on the Genesee and selling their time to the Indians, all of whom were exchanged or released before Mary Jemison, Captain Horatio Jones, Joseph Smith and other whites found enforced homes in this region.

New England and Pennsylvania did most toward peopling the Genesee country. The capitalists of Connecticut and Massachusetts were first to risk their means in the inviting lands which peace had thrown open to enterprise. But before any title could be given, an important question of jurisdiction, involving a history of England's grants, had to be settled.

* See MSS. papers of Sir William Johnson in the State Library. The Senecas are generally mentioned in those valuable papers as the Chenessee or Genesee Indians.

From about 1680 to 1759 Western New York was claimed by France as a part of the province of New France or Canada. By virtue of the discovery of the Hudson River by Hendrick Hudson, Holland, under whose auspices he sailed, claimed the territory immediately watered by the North River and an indefinite breadth to the east, west and south, to which she gave the designation of New Netherland. This vague claim embraced Western New York.

At the close of the Revolution, this part of the State was claimed by two commonwealths. Before the Colonial struggle, both Massachusetts and New York, under color of their respective royal English grants, had contended for its ownership, and peace was no sooner restored than the contest between them for this tempting domain was revived.

In the Congressional library at Washington are two venerable folios in manuscript, containing the transactions from day to day, as well as the chief speeches and debates, of the Virginia Company of London, from April 1619 to June 1624. These books have come down from Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, president and treasurer of the Company, whose name is conspicuous in English annals, through many a famous owner, and their origin, relating as it does, to the first title of this region derived from the English crown, and connected as it is with the controversy between the two States, becomes a matter of interest to us. The patent of that notable company was sealed by James I on the 6th of April, 1606, on petition of Richard Hackluyt and other "firm and hearty lovers of colonization," who had humbly asked the privilege of establishing "a colony of sundry persons of our people in that part of America commonly called Virginia, between the 34th and 45th degrees of north latitude," and stretching from the Atlantic to the

Pacific. The associates under the charter secured, Sir Thomas Gates and other "adventurers of the city of London," called the First Colony, were authorized to plant between latitude 34 and 41; while Raleigh Gilbert and his associates, of the English town of Plymouth, constituting the Second or Plymouth Colony, might plant between the 38th and 45th degrees, their grant covering the whole vast belt of territory extending "throughout the main land from sea to sea," and including, of course, all of Western New York.* The Virginia Company did not prosper. In the hope of improving its condition, the directors secured a more specific charter, with enlarged privileges. But the change proved a snare. James was at the time ambitious of a Spanish match for his son Charles, while Gondomar, the astute minister of Spain, feared that the great Virginia Company intended to take possession of the colonies and mines established by Spaniards in the New World. The latter, therefore, lent his powerful influence to those members of the Court who sought the overthrow of the Company, and to conciliate the Spanish minister, as well as to gratify the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Essex, and his party, the King lent a willing ear to the movement to destroy the Company. A pretext was soon found, and in 1624 the Lord Chief Justice declared the charter null and void. This strange act of the most unkingly of kings, was but one in that category of monstrous assumptions of the crown at this "period of vast contest and dispute," which hastened the

* See manuscript charter in *Virginia Records*, 1621-25, Library of Congress; also *History of the Virginia Company of London*, by Edward D. Neill. The associates named of the First Colony were Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluyt, and Edward-Maria Wingfield; and of the Second (or Plymouth) Colony, Thomas Hanham, Raleigh Gilbert, William Packer and George Popham.

decisive struggle of the seventeenth century between the sovereign and parliament.* The rapacious opponents of the Company had, with the sanction of James no doubt, for some time been eagerly seeking to obtain its records. To prevent interpolation, should they, in a contest so unequal, fall into the unfriendly hands of Warwick and his partisans (as they did,) the original records were secretly copied and carefully authenticated. The two manuscript volumes before referred to, written in the peculiar hand of the times "on a kind of elephant paper," which, after two hundred and fifty years, have found a repository in our national archives and on soil so directly affected by the charter, constitute the duplicates produced under conditions so befitting the period in which they had their origin. They afford conclusive evidence of the upright conduct of the Company, and dispel all charges of false faith made by the Spanish party, as it was called, at the English Court. As the originals were taken possession of by that arbitrary body, the celebrated "Star Chamber," and never restored, these are perhaps the only records now extant of the Company.

That little band of God-fearing men, the Puritans or Pilgrims, were settled at Leyden in 1617. After much thought they decided to emigrate to America and live as a distinct body under the government of

* Macaulay is fond of contrasting that monarch, son of the celebrated Mary, Queen of Scots, with the strong-minded, high spirited and courageous English sovereigns, whose princely bearing had, for two hundred years, made the throne one of venerable associations. He says: It was no light thing that royalty should (as in the case of James) be exhibited to the world stammering, slobbering, exhibiting unmanly fears, trembling at a drawn sword, and talking in a style alternately of a buffoon and a pedagogue," and he refers with great asperity to the King's extravagant claim that Parliament had no more right to inquire what he might lawfully do, than what the Deity might lawfully do.

Virginia, if permitted here to exercise the freedom of their religious opinions. A patent, whose privileges were as ample as the Virginia Company had authority to confer, was secured, and the pilgrims set sail from Delft Haven on the 6th of September, 1620, in the *Mayflower*, intending to locate near the Hudson river. Accident, however, carried their little vessel to the barren head-lands since so well known as Plymouth Rock, far to the northward of the bounds of their charter, which thus became "void and useless." In the following Spring a grant was secured from the Plymouth Company of the territory on which they had unintentionally settled. The colony grew, and in 1628 Charles I issued a charter for its government under the title of the province of Massachusetts Bay.* A half century later this patent was vacated, but renewed in 1691 by William and Mary, who expressly recognized the western boundary, as had each of the other patents, as extending from ocean to ocean.

In 1663, Charles II conferred upon his brother, then Duke of York and Albany, (afterward King James II,) all land lying between the Delaware river and the Hudson, and northwards to the bounds of Canada. This royal donation embraced the present State of New Jersey, (which subsequently became the property of Berkley and Castaret,) and also New York, which uniformly claimed, under the somewhat vague designation in the charter, the whole area of our present State, and as far eastward as the Connecticut river. Massachusetts, on the other hand, claimed to the Hudson, and likewise the western half of the territory of New York, and westward to the Pacific,

* In 1628, the Council of Plymouth (or Plymouth Company) transferred to Sir Henry Roswell and his associates, constituting the Massachusetts Bay Company, a part of their immense grant, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

under the old charter of James I to the Council of Plymouth. The charters of these two leading provinces, covering in large part the same territory, led to controversies as settlements expanded, both as to the right of property and the right of jurisdiction. And as each assumed to make grants to settlers in the debatable region, especially in that portion which lay between the Hudson and the Connecticut, and, to some extent, in that lying westward beyond the country of the Mohawks, angry dissensions and bloodshed followed upon the disorders occasioned by intrusions upon lands held under color of one or the other of the opposing interests. As early as 1767, commissioners were appointed by the two provinces, who met at New Haven, and after several days spent in discussion, "with grief found themselves obliged to return to their principals, leaving the controversy unsettled.* The Revolution, whose common danger hushed all minor disputes, soon came, but on the return of peace, the questions were reopened. The legislature of this State regarded the claim on the part of Massachusetts an ungracious one. The two States had fought and acted side by side during the Revolutionary struggle; "and after all the severe calamities by which these States hath been distressed in the progress of vindictive war," said they, "we flattered ourselves that the period was at length arrived when we should have an opportunity to repair our misfortunes without envy or interruption." Agents, however, were appointed by the two States to settle their respective rights. They met, consulted and separated, after uniting in a request

* See *Case of the Provinces of Massachusetts Bay and New York, respecting the Boundary Lines*, Lieut.-Gov. Hutchinson and two others appeared for Massachusetts, and Robert R. Livingston and two others for New York. At subsequent conventions between the two States, John Hancock and other eminent men took part.

for the friendly interposition of Congress, under the terms of the old articles of confederation. Governor George Clinton called an extra session of the legislature, which convened in October, 1784. Referring to the controversy he says: "Since the close of your last session the legislature of Massachusetts have thought fit to set up a claim to land lying somewhere within the ancient jurisdiction of this State, the precise location being left in obscurity. They have requested Congress to appoint a Federal court to inquire and determine such claims." It was not, however, until the joint commission of the two States had concluded its labors at Hartford, on the 16th of December, 1786, that a compact was formed for the permanent settlement of the questions so long in issue. By this, Massachusetts ceded to New York all claim and title to the government, sovereignty and jurisdiction of the lands and territory in controversy, and New York released to the former State and to her grantees, the right of pre-emption of the soil from the native Indians, and all title and property in that portion of this State lying west of the old "pre-emption line," which commences at the southeast corner of Steuben county and extending northward through Seneca lake, terminates at Sodus Bay, embracing an area of about six millions of acres of the fairest portion of the State.*

On the first of April, 1788, Massachusetts accepted the proposals of an association of gentlemen of capital, represented by Oliver Phelps and Nathaniel Gorham, for the purchase of its pre-emptive right to the whole section, for three hundred thousand pounds

* The release to Massachusetts also embraced 230,400 acres between the rivers Owego and Chenango, known as the Massachusetts Ten Townships, in Chenango county.

in the consolidated securities of that State, worth then about two shillings in the pound. These funds at once advanced, and Phelps and Gorham failed to meet their engagements. In February, 1790, they offered to surrender all but that one-third of their great purchase lying between Seneca lake and the Genesee river, to which, in July, 1788, they had secured by treaty at Canandaigua, a release of the Indian claims, for the consideration of two thousand one hundred pounds, New York currency. This offer was formally acceded to by Massachusetts in June of the same year, and the consideration therefor was reduced to thirty-one thousand pounds. The portion retained by them embraced all lands lying between the pre-emption line and a line drawn from a point on the Pennsylvania boundary south of the confluence of Canaseraga creek with the waters of the Genesee river, thence north-westwardly along the Genesee to a point two miles north of the Canawaugus Indian village, thence due west twelve miles distant from the most westward bend of the river, to Lake Ontario.* On the 21st of

* The Indian deed signed at this treaty affords the following description of the tract: "Beginning in the northern boundary line of the State of Pennsylvania, in the parallel of the 42d degree north, at a point distant 82 miles from the northeast corner of Pennsylvania or Delaware river, thence running west upon said line to a meridian passing through the point of land made by the confluence of the Shanahasgreikonreche (Canaseraga) creek with the waters of the Genesee river, thence north along the said meridian to the point last mentioned, thence northwardly along the waters of the Genesee river to a point two miles north of Shanawageras (Canawaugus) village, thence due west 12 miles, thence in a direction northwardly so as to be 12 miles distant from the most westward bend of the Genesee river to Lake Ontario, thence eastwardly along the said lake to a meridian which will pass through the place of beginning, and thence south along the said meridian to the place of beginning." The deed was witnessed by the Rev. Samuel Kirkham and others, and was approved by him under authority of a resolution of the legislature of Massachusetts, appointing him to superintend and approve the purchase.

November of the latter year, this tract was confirmed to Phelps and Gorham by an act of the legislature of Massachusetts. A survey of the tract showed that it exceeded, both in quantity and value, one-third of the whole territory. For this difference the purchasers duly accounted. With the exception of the parts that had already been sold and two townships reserved by them, Phelps and Gorham sold the whole of this one-third part of the original purchase to Robert Morris, and conveyed the same to him by deed bearing date the 18th of November, 1790. The quantity of land is described in the title to be 2,100,000 acres.*

In 1789 Mr. Phelps opened at Canandaigua, the first regular land office for the sale of unoccupied lands to settlers ever established in America. The system he adopted for the survey of his lands by townships and ranges, was, with slight modifications, adopted by the government for the survey of all the new lands in the United States. These "ranges" were six miles in width, running north and south through the whole purchase, and numbered from east to west. The ranges, in turn, were subdivided by parallel lines, six miles apart, running east and west, denominated "townships," which were numbered from south to north. The ranges were seven in number, each embracing fourteen townships. The latter were mostly subdivided into lots of 160 acres each, for the accommodation of actual settlers.

Settlements did not immediately follow the purchase by Phelps and Gorham. Indeed, it was not until 1792, when, by the opening of roads eastward and

* The whole transaction in relation to the Phelps and Gorham purchase was finally settled by an indenture entered into between them and Massachusetts, bearing date March 10, 1791, in pursuance of which the balance due from Phelps and Gorham, in respect to their retained portion of the entire territory, was paid on the 6th of April, 1813.



A. J. Roberts

REPRODUCED FROM THE ORIGINAL



A. S. Johnston

southward, access was facilitated to the new land of promise, that the tide of emigration thitherward began.

In the disposition of their lands, Phelps and Gorham accommodated their terms to the circumstances of purchasers. Several of their contracts drawn in January, 1789, contained the provision, "We engage to receive the one-half of each obligation in good merchantable ox or cow beef at the market cash price, or in West India goods at cash rates, provided, however, that so far as we receive in those articles, ten per centum is to be added to the debt due to us."

The two-thirds of the territory relinquished by Phelps and Gorham, reverted to Massachusetts, and were resold by that State on the 12th of March, 1791, to Samuel Ogden, who represented Robert Morris, the eminent financier of the Revolution, the friend of Washington and a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Morris's attention had early been drawn to the Genesee country, and he eagerly availed himself of the opportunity now afforded to secure the reverted lands. In January, 1791, he had written to Ogden, who was then in Boston, "to make the purchase at any terms." A few days later he wrote him again: "I consider the purchase of such magnitude that I shall never forgive myself if I let it pass by me at anything less than the limits which I have fixed, and you may depend that if I get it, I will make a greater fortune out of it in a short time than any other person can now believe." An expectation, it may be added, that was far from being realized.

On the 11th of May, 1791, Ogden having assigned his interest to Morris, a committee on behalf of the legislature confirmed the latter's title by granting him five several deeds of conveyance for as many separate parcels of land, the first embracing about five hundred thousand acres, afterwards known as the Morris

reserve, and the four others, the lands subsequently sold by Morris to the Holland Land Company.* Morris thus secured the exclusive power to extinguish the Indian claim.† The quantity of land conveyed was about four million acres; the consideration, one hundred thousand pounds Massachusetts currency, and the area "all the territory within the State of New York lying west of the meridian line commencing on the north bounds of Pennsylvania, at a point distant twelve miles west from the south-west corner of Phelps and Gorham's purchase and thence extending north to the boundary line of the United States in Lake Ontario, excepting only the reserved strip of land one mile in width, along the Niagara river, and with this exception, Robert Morris became seized of the pre-emptive title to the whole of this territory," relinquished to Massachusetts with the exceptions already noted.

That portion of this purchase lying east of the river soon passed out of the hands of Mr. Morris. Agencies had been established by him at the principal capitals of Europe for the sale of these lands, the value of which the owner himself, though holding them in high estimation, had essentially underrated. Just as he

* The deeds were deposited in the hands of Nathaniel Appleton and two others, and were delivered to Morris on payment of the purchase money.

A sixth deed was granted under authority of a joint resolution of the legislature of Massachusetts, adopted June 20th, 1792, covering the undivided sixtieth part of the lands embraced in the above deed, and reserved by each of them, caused by a contract made by Phelps and Gorham for the sale of 1-60th of the entire territory to John Butler, who subsequently assigned to Robert Morris, and the latter was thus enabled to acquire title to the whole directly from the State of Massachusetts.

† Without any stipulation on this subject the grant of the pre-emptive title would have carried with it a right to the soil, subject to the possession of the Indians, with the *exclusive* power to extinguish their claim. See Johnson v. McIntosh, 8 Wheaton's Reps., p. 564.

became fully aware of their great importance, and before he could communicate with his foreign correspondents on the subject, William Temple Franklin, a grandson of Dr. Franklin, had sold them in England in 1792 to an association composed of Sir William Pultney, an eminent British statesman, who, it would appear, was able to devote little personal attention to the affairs of the company,* John Hornby, once governor of Bombay, India, a retired capitalist of London, and Patrick Colquhoun, a philanthropic Scotchman of large means, and at the time High Sheriff of Westminster, England, upon whom the details of settling the purchase and disposing of the land principally devolved, a duty he performed with so much acceptance to his associates, and with such enlightened liberality as to gain the respect of the settlers.†

The associates now required an agent who should proceed at once to the new purchase and personally superintend their interests. At this time Charles Williamson, a Scotch gentleman who had spent several years in America, had come to London, where he was honored with the friendship of William Pitt and other leading men of the English capital. He had held a captain's commission in the British service, and being ordered to this country with his regiment during the Revolution, their vessel was captured by a French privateer. Williamson was brought to Boston and there held a prisoner of war until the close of the

* Sir William's family name was Johnstone. He was one of a family of fourteen children. His father was Sir James Johnstone. Sir William married Miss Pultney, niece of the Earl of Bath, and took his wife's family name in 1767. The village of Bath, in this State, was so named out of compliment, by Williamson.

† A tablet has been placed in the Court House at Canandaigua to his memory.

struggle. Opportunity had been afforded him to become acquainted with the quality of our new lands of which he readily availed himself, and as he was quite willing to accept the offer of the associates to manage their estates, he was engaged for the term of seven years. He possessed qualities which peculiarly fitted him for the position, and the appointment proved a fortunate one.* He enjoyed the confidence of his principals, their material resources were ample, and his zeal was fully equal to the task before him. On reaching Philadelphia he made the acquaintance of Robert Morris. After securing all the information about the Genesee country within reach, he made up his mind that a road must be opened to the purchase. He was told that this could not be done, but with his usual indomitable energy he marked out and opened a road from Ross Farm, (now Williamsport) to the confluence of the Canaseraga creek and the Genesee river, where, in 1792 he established his first settlement, Williamsburgh. The associates being aliens, could not take the title, and as a first step Williamson was naturalized in Philadelphia on the 9th of January, 1792, and on the 11th of April of the same year the title of the estate was made over to him. On the 31st of March, 1801, Williamson conveyed the lands to Sir William Pultney.†

* Captain Williamson was a native of Balgray, Scotland, his father being Secretary of the Scottish Earl of Hopeton. Two friends, both Scotchmen, John Johnstone and Chas. Cameron, accompanied him to this country. Williamson was a member of Assembly from Ontario and Steuben from 1796 to 1800, and was also first judge of Steuben Common Pleas from 1796 to 1803. continuously. He returned to Scotland, and died on or about the 31st of December, 1807, on the passage from Havana to England.

† The title of the Pultney estate has been the subject of frequent litigation during the last half century, in which attempts have been made to overthrow the title derived through Williamson on the ground of his alleged alienage.

Captain Williamson's energy and hopefulness animated all who came within the range of his personal influence, while his enterprise anticipated and supplied whatever became necessary to promote the prosperity of the rising towns. He is represented as a jolly Scotchman, a gentleman of liberal education, of fine social qualities, fond of his flagon of wine and a good story, of fine horses and herds of sleek cattle. He had seen service in Europe and was a man of the world. He possessed great activity, was upright and liberal in his dealings with the pioneers, and was always ready to impart information to any who sought homes in the Genesee country. "He frequently concludes a contract and removes every difficulty in the course of a few minutes' conversation." By his wisely directed enterprise he gave a great impulse not only to the settlements which he lost no time in establishing at Bath, Williamsburgh, Geneva and Sodus, on the great tract belonging to his principals, but to the Genesee country at large.*

Having thus disposed of that portion of his purchase lying east of the Genesee river, Mr. Morris was not long in finding purchasers for the lands west of the river in the Holland Land Company, an association

or on the ground that the Indian title had never been extinguished to the lands in question, though each time with marked want of success.

"The whole question was carefully examined and the validity of the title distinctly affirmed in the case of the Duke of Cumberland *vs.* Graves," by the Court of Appeals of the State of New York (3 Selden, 305, Thomas A. Johnson, J.).

* His domestic life was happy. His wife was a Boston lady, "timid even to bashfulness," with whom he became acquainted while a prisoner of war in that city. The Duke de Liancourt, who visited Williamson in 1795, says of this lady: "She is yet but a young woman, of fine complexion, civil, though of but few words, and mother of two lovely children; one of them, a girl three years old, is the finest and handsomest child I ever saw," and no flattery was more grateful to him than the praise of his two beautiful children.

consisting of five capitalists of Amsterdam, Holland.* The consideration was fifty-five thousand pounds sterling, of which sum £37,400 were withheld until the Indian title was extinguished in 1797, at the Big Tree treaty. As the purchasers were aliens they could not take the title in their own names, and the deeds were therefore made to parties in trust for them.†

* The names of the actual original proprietors were Wilhelm Willink, Nicolas Van Staphoist, Pieter Van Eeghen, Hendrick Vollenhoven and Rutger Jan Schimmelpenninck, composing the "Holland Land Company."

† Deeds from Robert Morris and Mary his wife, to the trustees of the proprietors, were as follows:

I. Bears date Dec. 24, 1792, and conveys two tracts of one million and half a million respectively, amounting to 1½ million acres, to Herman LeRoy and John Lincklaen in trust.

II. Bears date Feb. 27, 1793, and conveys one million acres to LeRoy, Lincklaen and Gerrit Boon, in trust.

III. Bears date July 20, 1793, and conveys 800,000 acres to LeRoy, Lincklaen and Boon, in trust.

IV. Bears date July 20, 1793, and conveys 300,000 acres to LeRoy, William Bayard and Matthew Clarkson, in trust.

After the Big Tree treaty of Sept. 15, 1797, by which the claims of the Indians to the above lands were released to Robert Morris, he made a confirmation to his grantees.

Concurrently with the execution of this conveyance by Morris, articles of agreement were entered into by which, among other things, a right was reserved to the grantees to elect, within a certain period, to convert the purchase into a loan, in which case the conveyance was to inure by way of mortgage to secure the repayment of the purchase money. The grantees choosing to hold the lands as a purchase, declared no election to hold them otherwise; but it was nevertheless contended by Morris and those claiming under him, that the whole transaction was to be considered as a loan, and that a right still existed in Morris or his assigns which a court of chancery would enforce. This question was put at rest by the conveyance of the 10th of Feb., 1801, from T. L. Ogden and Gouverneur Morris.

For more than half his life the late Gov. Seward was the principal agent and attorney, and removed from Auburn to Westfield to superintend the disposal of the company's lands. On his voluntary retracy from the agency, he was succeeded by the Hon. Geo. W. Patterson, ex-Lieut. Governor, who is now acting for them, though the title to the vast estate is now almost entirely in other hands.

Though the property was controlled by the associates, they issued stock called "American Land Scrip," which was held all over Holland. The attitude of the Indians, the Senecas included, at the period of the purchase and down to the success of Wayne's expedition against the western tribes was so unfriendly that public policy rendered any negotiation for securing their interest in these lands improper. But the decisive victory of that resolute officer humbled their pride and enabled Morris to hold a treaty at Geneseo in 1797. Morris had stipulated with the Holland Company to extinguish the title of the natives at his own expense, and the Company, accordingly, retained £35,000 sterling of the purchase money until this was done. In the summer of 1797 arrangements were made for this treaty. President Washington, who was fully aware of the forbearance of Mr. Morris, was ready to further the business by naming commissioners to superintend the treaty in behalf of the United States in conformity with law. Captain Bruff, who held command of the garrison at Fort Niagara, had held a conference with the Senecas, and had presented them with a flag. In their answer to Captain Bruff's speech on this occasion, they called Robert Morris the "big eater with the big belly," and asked that he might not come to devour their lands. Washington told Mr. Morris that he should feel it his duty to send Captain Bruff's letter, together with the accompanying speeches of the Indians, to the Senate with the nominations, and that such was then the desire to conciliate the Six Nations that he did not believe the Senate would confirm any nomination contrary to their wishes. The Senate, however, confirmed the nominations, but with the understanding that he was not to act in the premises until the Indians themselves requested a treaty. To Thomas Morris, a son of the

distinguished purchaser, fell the tedious part of securing the consent of the Indians, who feared that by asking for the treaty they would commit themselves to the sale of their lands. Their consent was at length obtained, but the commissioner, Isaac Smith of New Jersey, now found that duties of a judicial character to which he had meantime been appointed, would prevent his acceptance, and Col. Jeremiah Wadsworth of Connecticut was appointed to superintend the treaty in conformity with law. Massachusetts was represented by General William Shepard. Genesee, or Big Tree as it was then called, was fixed upon as the place for holding the treaty, in some respects the most important negotiation that has occurred between the whites and the Senecas. The latter were to then consider the question of forever relinquishing their broad hunting-grounds and their most revered burial-places in this State; "territory lying between the Genesee river and Lake Erie and between the Pennsylvania border and Lake Ontario."

Thomas Morris, who represented his father, reached Genesee on the 22d of August, 1797. The treaty had been appointed for the 20th, and the Indians, already collected in large numbers, had been waiting two days. "Not the Senecas exclusively, but groups from other tribes, had come in to be fed from the stores of the commissioners, and so greatly hungered were the natives that they were ravenous for food. Several of the oxen first killed for them were devoured raw, reeking in the blood." On the morning following, Morris called them together and after a speech of welcome, apologized for the non-arrival of the commissioners who had been delayed by bad weather. The unfinished residence of James and William Wadsworth, at Genesee, was hired for the accommodation of the commissioners and officers, and the representa-

tives of the Holland Land Company.* A large temporary council house, the exact site of which it is difficult to determine, was at once prepared for the occasion. Overhead it was covered with boughs and branches of trees, to shelter the assemblage from the sun. An elevated bench was provided for the commissioners and other benches for spectators. Many of the notables of the Senecas were present and took part in the discussions that ensued.

It was obvious from the outset that a number of white men, who spoke a little of the native tongue and whose offers of employment had been declined by Morris, would attempt to persuade the Indians to reject all offers made them, with a view to securing their own terms. The natives were in a mood to be influenced in this direction, for, with few exceptions, they were, said General Knox, greatly tenacious of their lands. To these venal white men Thomas Morris referred in his address. Cornplanter, who was disposed to treat the whole subject fairly, immediately arose and expressed his satisfaction at being informed that the mischief-makers were known and would be properly dealt with.

Late in the afternoon of the 26th of August, the commissioners arrived. They found the Indians engaged in receiving their annual presents from the United States, under direction of Capt. Chapin. The following day was the Sabbath, and intelligence hav-

* James Wadsworth was in Europe at the time. Those attending the treaty from a distance besides the two commissioners and Mr. Morris, were Capt. Chapin, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, the interpreter, and, occasionally, Capt. Williamson, James Rees, who acted as Secretary, William Bayard of New York, agent of the Holland Land Company, and two young gentlemen from Holland by the name of Van Staphoist, who were nearly related to the gentlemen of the same name who were the principal members of the Holland Company.—See *Thomas Morris' Rec. in MSS., N. Y. Hist. Soc.*

ing reached the Senecas of the death of the daughter of Capt. Chapin, whom they greatly respected, they appointed a council for condolence with him, to which all the gentlemen from a distance were invited.

At one o'clock on the afternoon of Monday the 28th, the council formally opened. It fell to Cornplanter to speak first. Turning to Thomas Morris he briefly addressed him, acknowledging the speech of invitation conveyed through Horatio Jones and Jasper Parrish, regretted that the commissioners had been delayed, and closed by returning the string of wampum which had reached him with the invitation. The commissioners then presented their credentials and Colonel Wadsworth delivered his speech, assuring the Indians of his purpose watchfully to observe the proceedings in their interest. He was followed by General Shepard. Mr. Morris then rose and said that his father was unable to be present, but that Captain Williamson and he had been duly appointed to represent him, and, as instructed, he would now submit Robert Morris's speech and a belt of wampum, which were laid upon the table. This closed the business for that sitting, and the council-fire was covered for the day.

The council did not assemble until late in the afternoon of the following day. Meantime the Indians were consulting among themselves on the speeches already delivered, agreeing, as was their habit, in private on the measures to be adopted, the arguments to be used in support, and fixing upon the speakers to present them, before meeting the white people in the more public council. On re-assembling Red Jacket thanked the Great Spirit for his care of the dignitaries, and after a few general observations turned to Thomas Morris and said, "It appears to us as though something is kept back. From the candor and veracity.

promised by you we hope that all will be laid before the Indians fairly." On being assured of this, the chief observed that as the gun was nearly down it would be well to wait until the next day.

On the morning of the 30th Mr. Morris presented at length the objects of the treaty. A few minutes of silence followed his taking his seat, when one of the chiefs said if Mr. Morris had nothing to add it was their wish to be left to their own private deliberations. Five or six days followed without a public session, the interval being spent by the Indians in considering the speech of Mr. Morris. Whiskey had now found its way to the Indians, and was interfering with the business that had called the council together. Farmer's Brother reported that several, among them Red Jacket, had been drinking and were quarrelsome. The chief, under advice, seized the offending barrel of spirits and knocked in the head, but not in time to prevent a general fight, the pulling of hair and biting each other like dogs.

On the 2d of September the sachems asked that the council-fire be uncovered. Farmer's Brother arose and stated that it was their intention to answer Mr. Morris's speech. Red Jacket followed in a short address whose drift was unfavorable to the object of the treaty. He referred in glowing terms to the importance which the possession of their fine lands had given the Senecas among other nations of Indians. Said he: "It raises us in our own estimation. It creates in our bosoms a proud feeling which elevates us as a nation. Observe the difference between the estimation in which a Seneca and an Oneida are held. We are courted, while the Oneidas are considered a degraded people, fit only to make brooms and baskets. Why this difference? It is because the Senecas are known as the proprietors of a broad domain, while

the Oneidas are cooped up in a narrow space." Mr. Morris parried this thrust with much address, and endeavored to convince Red Jacket that he was mistaken in this, referring to the treatment received by some of their chiefs when on a mission of peace with Colonel Pickering and others to the country of the hostile Indians at the West in 1793, who expressed little regard for the Seneca chiefs and refused to hold communication with them. Red Jacket promptly answered, admitting the fact, but imputing the discourtesy to their going thither in bad company. "Had we gone alone," said he, "and on our own business, our reception would have been such as Senecas have a right to expect; but when we interfered in the disputes of the United States, and accompanied its representatives, we forfeited all claims to such a reception," adding that the experience to which allusion had been made would warn them thereafter to confine themselves to their own affairs.

In the evening, a private conference was held with the principal sachems, at which Mr. Morris offered the Indians \$100,000 for their lands, a sum, he said, which placed in the Bank of the United States, would bring them \$6,000 a year interest. This offer they requested him to state in the public council. The following day Red Jacket communicated through a private medium that his speech did not express his own sentiments, but was made to please some of his people, and added that on the next occasion he should be less harsh. The assurance was not made good, however, for at the open council in the afternoon, referring to the former greatness of the Six Nations, the crafty chief covertly warned those who favored the sale, by alluding to the fact that their forefathers, who had parted with lands, had eaten up the proceeds and all was gone. He then referred to the plan pro-

posed of investing the money, and asked that the proposition might be put in writing. Mr. Morris assented, explaining, at the same time, the operation of an investment. The idea was altogether new to the natives, who being unable as yet, to count beyond a hundred, it became difficult to make them comprehend how money could increase without being planted in the ground, or how great a sum \$100,000 was. To aid their comprehension, he told them it would fill a certain number of kegs of a given size, and would require thirty horses to draw the silver hither from Philadelphia. The speech was well received, and with it closed the business of the day. The Indians spent the following day consulting together. A number of white men unfriendly to Mr. Morris, were observed to be busy among them. Hints were thrown out, and some of the sachems became reserved and mysterious.

On the 6th, in council, Little Beard, the chief warrior of the Senecas, spoke, addressing himself more especially to his own people. It would appear that this notable was the leader of those who were opposed to the sale. He therefore favored placing the negotiations in the hands of the ablest and shrewdest of the sachems, presuming that they would be more likely than those of less experience, to defeat the purpose of the treaty. He began by observing that it was the custom among their forefathers to refer all business relating to the nation's welfare, except war, to the sachems, "and, therefore," he continued, "the belt of wampum delivered me by Cornplanter, I shall return to him and let the whole business be transacted by the sachems. Whatever they determine upon, all the warriors will agree to." He sat down and Red Jacket rose slowly. Surveying the assemblage for a moment, he said the Indians did not want to sell their

lands though they had assented reluctantly to holding the treaty. There were expenses attending the convention, he continued, and his people were ready to offer Mr. Morris a single township on the Pennsylvania border at one dollar per acre. This land placed in market would sell, he said, for an advance sufficient to cover the expenses.

The negotiations had progressed slowly, and both Colonel Wadsworth and Mr. Bayard had grown impatient of further delay. The former was an old man, afflicted with gout and far from home; the latter wanted to see the lands of his principals freed from Indian occupancy, but as a large portion of the purchase money had been withheld by them, it mattered less to him if the demand of the natives should prove unreasonable. Mr. Morris, however, had cogent reasons for securing an Indian deed at a fair equivalent. The splendid fortune of his father, placed wholly at the disposal of the Continental authorities in the darkest hours of the infant Republic, had suffered greatly by the depreciation of the public credit. His flattery of retrieving a share of these losses through the purchase of this vast body of land had not been realized, and the fear now was that its inopportune sale, should the Indians prove exacting, might involve him in actual loss. He had hoped the Senecas would be content with \$75,000, but \$100,000 did not satisfy them. Mr. Morris, who better understood the Indian character than the commissioners, knew that anything like the appearance of haste would defeat their purpose, and especially he felt that farther delay was indispensable to counteract the impression that had been made on the Indians by the more recent speeches of their warriors. But so fixed were the two commissioners in their purpose of bringing the proceedings to a close, that they insisted that

when Red Jacket should make the above proposition,—of which they had been previously advised,—Morris ought boldly to reject it, and thus bring the natives to consider his offer, otherwise they would go home. To this Morris could only consent. No sooner, therefore, than the famous Seneca had sat down, than Mr. Morris told him the proposal did not merit a moment's consideration; that if they had no more reasonable offer to make the sooner the conference ended the better. Red Jacket sprang to his feet, and in great passion said, "We have now reached a point to which I wanted to bring you. You told us when we first met that we were free either to sell or retain our lands. I repeat, we will not part with them. Here is my hand on it," thrusting his arm across the table. "Let us shake hands and part friends. I now cover up this council-fire." All was now tumult. "The whooping and yelling of the Indians," says Mr. Morris, "was such that persons less accustomed to them would have imagined that they intended to tomahawk all the whites. One of their drunken warriors, in a most violent and abusive speech, asked me how I dared to come among them to cheat them out of their lands."

The result was a bitter disappointment to Bayard, and Mr. Morris was vexed at the miscarriage of their plans. He had hopes, however, of bringing on the business anew, if both Bayard and Colonel Wadsworth would engage not to interfere, either by advice or otherwise. To this both readily agreed. The following day when Farmer's Brother called to express the hope that previous friendships would not be lessened by the failure of the treaty, Morris reminded him that Indian usage gave to him who lighted a council-fire the right to cover it up. Hence as he had himself kindled this one, Red Jacket had no warrant for

declaring it extinguished ; and urged that it was yet burning. To this, after a few minutes reflection, the chief assented. Negotiations with the sachems having failed, custom justified an attempt to secure the approval of the warriors who defended the lands and the women who cultivated them, who were entitled to take the business in their own hands when dissatisfied with the management of the sachems. Accordingly, after a few days spent in examining the accounts for supplies, paying for provisions consumed and collecting the cattle not slaughtered, he invited the chief women and some of the warriors to meet him, renewing to them his offer. He assured them of his readiness to concede such reservations as were required for their actual occupancy, and showed them how much good the money would do toward relieving the women of drudgery. He also stated that he had brought some presents from Philadelphia for them, to be distributed, however, only in the event of effecting a purchase of their lands, but as he had no cause of complaint against the women, their portion of the gifts would now be divided among them, and in a few hours silver brooches glittered and glass beads sparkled upon hundreds of the dusky daughters of the forest, while all were more or less fantastically arrayed in shawls and printed India goods.

Some days were spent in rude festivities, alternated by serious consultations. A thrifty pig, well soaped, was let loose upon the green, and a dollar and the porker were offered to the one who should catch and hold him by the caudal extremity. A thousand failures and many a break-neck fall was the consequence, but all tended to restore good humor and bring all sides together. The women and warriors collected together in little knots and were obviously discussing the sale. At length Mr. Morris received a request to

call the council together for negotiation. Colonel Stone says that Cornplanter, being the principal war-chief, opened the proceedings. He said the women and warriors had seen with regret the misconduct of their sachems, and did not hesitate to declare the conduct of Mr. Morris as having been too hasty. Farmer's Brother, on the part of the sachems, stated that these proceedings of the women and warriors were, in view of what had occurred, in perfect accordance with their usages. From the moment this new stage was reached, Cornplanter became the principal speaker, and Red Jacket withdrew, no longer attending the meetings, but procuring some liquor remained drunk until the terms were agreed upon. Mary Jemison took a part in the deliberations, both in and out of the council-house, urging her claims for an allotment of lands in a manner that was more pertinacious than dignified. Red Jacket was opposed to recognizing her, but he was not present. The others were desirous of giving her a small reservation.

The new negotiators went directly to business, and a basis was soon fixed. But just as this point was reached an incident occurred which threatened the success of the treaty. Young King, a descendant of Old Smoke, the most powerful and wisest sachem of his time, appeared upon the scene for the first time, and so great was the influence which his birth had given him, that the Indians declined to proceed further until all that had been done should be submitted to him. The Secretary was directed to read the journal and speeches, and to explain the offer and its effect. This being done, he, after much deliberation, announced his disapproval, and it was only after long reasoning with him, that his consent to the sale of the lands was gained.

Four or five days were now spent in fixing the limits

of the reservations. Mr. Morris says the difficulty was not a small one. The Indians wanted them fixed by natural boundaries, such as the course of streams, but this mode was inadmissible from the fact that so little was known of the quantity of land it would give them, and for the sake of certainty it was finally settled that they should be marked by square miles. At the first meeting held to allot to each village its proportionate part, "the utmost jealousy was found to exist among several of the chiefs." The importance of the chief is measured, in large degree, by the number of his followers, and that number is limited by the extent of the land annexed to the chief's residence. Hence the struggle on the part of each sachem and chief warrior, both to increase his own bounds and to lessen those of a rival. The contest was more violent between Red Jacket and Cornplanter than any others, the former wanting the principal reservation at Buffalo creek, and the latter at his residence on the Alleghany river. They were only brought to terms by being assured that where reservations were of an unnecessary size, a deduction from the amount of the purchase money offered would be made.

Joseph Ellicott was present and laid down the extent of each reservation,* showing the map and

* The following were the reservations agreed upon. The list appears in one of the manuscript volumes of the O'Rielly Collection in the N. Y. Historical Society in the handwriting of Joseph Ellicott, and bears date of Sept. 16, 1797. I reproduce the orthography:

- No. 1. At Kannawaugus, Jeneseo River, 2 square miles.
2. At Big Tree, Jeneseo River, 2 square miles.
3. At Little Beard's town, Jeneseo River, 2 square miles.
4. At Squawkie Hill, Jeneseo River, 2 square miles.
5. At Gardeaw, Jeneseo River, 2 square miles.
6. At Ka-oun-de-ou, Jeneseo River, 16 square miles.
7. At Allegenny River, 42 square miles.
8. At Kattaraugus, about 42 square miles.
9. At Buffalo and Tannawanta Creeks, 200 square miles.

In all containing about 200,000 acres.

affording answers to every inquiry of the eager chieftains. By the 15th, the details had all been agreed upon, the deed was drawn up and was produced for signature.* Previous to subscribing, it was distinctly read and its import clearly explained to the Indians. Colonel Wadsworth then asked them if they understood it perfectly. If not he said it should be explained to them again. They replied that it was unnecessary, as they fully comprehended it, and that its terms were, in every respect, agreeable to them. They were then requested to sign it. Red Jacket here rose in behalf of Ebenezer Allan's daughter Polly, who wished to be informed of the situation of the land given by the Indians to Allan and his children. Mr. Morris replied that his father had already paid Allan for it and was now paying the nation for it again. To this Polly replied, "No, Mr. Morris, it was only the improvements my father sold." Morris answered, "The papers in my hands will prove the contrary." Turning to Colonel Wadsworth she said, "I forbid the commissioners buying my lands given me by the Indians." Wadsworth told her that she had bad advisers, and that although he had nothing to do with her business, yet if she desired it, he would examine her claim and give her a proper certificate if she would call on him in the morning. As Robert Morris had duly purchased the land in question and taken a warranty deed, it is presumed she was content to say no more about the matter. Mary Jemison now demanded that her interests should be duly guarded. She had secured a generous gift from the Indians at Gardow, and in fixing the limit of the reservation she objected to having it laid down in square miles, "stating that

* The deed bears date Sept. 15, 1797. See parchment copy, duly authenticated, in State Library. Also Appendix to Vol. VII, United States Statutes at Large.

she had various improved places, one of which was a patch of corn, another of potatoes and another of beans. She then named certain boundaries, to which Mr. Morris, in consequence of the impatience of the commissioners, hastily assented under the impression that the grant would not exceed 150 acres. When afterwards the survey came to be made, Mary's farm was found to contain 30,000 acres of land of excellent quality."

Red Jacket, who had acted a double part throughout, came privately to Mr. Morris on the night previous to the signing of the treaty and asked that a place be reserved near the top of the parchment for his signature after the others had signed. He had pretended to oppose the cession, he said, and to be consistent he could not publicly affix his name, but would do so before it went to the President, for it would not answer to have the treaty sent off to Philadelphia without his formal approval to it, as General Washington might think he had lost his rank and influence with the Senecas.

The consideration paid to the Indians doubtless exceeded the expectations of Robert Morris, who had fixed the price in his own mind at \$75,000. He had directed his representatives at the treaty to conduct everything on the basis of a "liberal economy." He had himself provided two pipes of wine, which he dispatched overland from Philadelphia to Geneseo by wagons. The presents distributed, a list of which I am enabled to furnish,* and the rations supplied,

* The following were provided as presents :

1,500 Rations of beef, one day, at five dolls. per hundred,	75 dolls.
1,500 " of flour at 2½ dolls. per hundred,	38
Do " of whiskey, 25 gallons, at 1½ dolls.,	37
Do " tobacco,	5

For thirty days would be 4,650

added more than \$15,000 to the purchase cost.

No sooner was the Indian title extinguished than preparation was made for careful surveys of the whole tract. Joseph Ellicott, a gentleman eminently qualified professionally and otherwise to superintend the work, had been commissioned in July preceding the treaty by the company's agent to send forward supplies of provisions during the fall for his surveying parties, and was prepared in the spring of 1798 to run the principal lines. David Rittenhouse, the eminent American philosopher, had personally attended to the preparation of the compass and other instruments for use in the survey. It had been decided to divide each township of six miles square into sixteen subdivisions to be called sections, and the latter into twelve lots each, three-fourths of a mile long and one-fourth of a mile in width and containing about 120 acres; but the surveyors soon found that the location of the larger streams and other causes would render this course

750 3 ft. blankets at \$2 each,	- - - - -	1,500	
750 2½ ft. " " 1½ "	- - - - -	1,125	2,625
150 pieces blue strouding, 24 yds. in piece, at \$1,	- - - - -	3,600	
100 " green legging stuff, of 18 yds. in piece, twilled, ¾ wide, at 6s.,	- - - - -	1,350	
200 " com. calico at 4s., 14 yds. per piece,	- - - - -	1,370	
50 " com. Holland at 4s., 24 yds. per piece,	- - - - -	600	
500 Butcher or scalping knives,	- - - - -	35	
50 Bags vermilion,	- - - - -	100	
300 lb. Powder,	- - - - -	600	
800 lb. Lead,	- - - - -	50	
100 Small brass kettles of 4 to 6 qts.,	- - - - -	100	
50 Brass kettles of 12 qts.,	- - - - -	100	
100 Black silk handkerchiefs,	- - - - -	80	
Presents for the chiefs in broadcloth, red or green, of good quality,	- - - - -	100	

Dolls. 15,360

Several cows were also given to the squaws.

impracticable. The plan was therefore early abandoned, and the lots were laid out into farms of three hundred and sixty acres each, as nearly as was practicable.

This done the Holland Company lost no time in developing the rich country which had come into their possession. Roads were constructed, mills were erected, and encouragement offered to actual settlers by a fair adjustment of terms of payment. The investment of the Holland Company in Western New York proved more fortunate for the development of the region than for the capitalists themselves, for it is understood that when the affairs of the association were finally settled, their investment had paid them a profit of no more than five per cent.

The conduct of the several great purchasers was eminently wise, and Turner justly concludes that Western New York "could have hardly fallen into better hands. Both the English and the Dutch companies, under whose auspices as proprietors, three-fourths of the whole State west of Seneca lake was settled, were composed of capitalists who made investments of large amounts of money in the infancy of the Republic, when its stability was by no means a settled point. They were satisfied with reasonable returns for their vast outlays, and patient under the delays of payment, as all must concede. Their correspondence reveals no disposition to oppress the settlers, or wish to have their business conducted in any other than a fair, honest or liberal manner."

CHAPTER IX.

SETTLEMENTS COMMENCED — BRITISH INTERFERENCE.

It was fortunate for this county that the earliest settlers here represented the enterprise, the culture and refinement, as well as the patriotism of the three States of Connecticut, Pennsylvania and Maryland, coupled with the proverbial independence, religious spirit and forecast of the Scotch emigrants. The Wadsworth brothers, and the Finleys, Jones, Fitzhughs, Carrolls and Rochesters, and the Scotchmen of Caledonia, may be mentioned as types of those who were first to establish their homes in this new country. Ireland, Germany and England were soon represented, and every Atlantic State added its quota to the daily growing settlements within the boundaries now prescribed to this prosperous shire.

Captain Williamson, speaking of the settlement of this region attempted by Oliver Phelps in 1789, says it "was attended with great, almost insurmountable, difficulties. There was no access to the country but by Indian paths, and the nearest settlement was above one hundred miles distant. The Alleghany mountains, then never passed, lay on the south, and Lake Ontario on the north, while to the west was one boundless forest. By the census of 1790, there were only

960 souls, including travellers and surveyors with their attendants, within the bounds" of the State west of the pre-emption line.*

The large share which James Wadsworth had in developing the Genesee country will be recognized by all. He was graduated at Yale College at the age of twenty. About that period his father died. He went to Montreal and taught school a year, and then returned to the paternal home at Hartford, Connecticut. An uncle had administered upon the estate, and the property, about \$45,000 in all, (and at that time a large sum,) was divided equally among the three brothers, himself, William, and a third who remained in Connecticut. On his way home from Montreal James had seen some very fine land on the Onion river in Vermont, and made up his mind that he would go back there and make an investment, but his uncle, Colonel Jeremiah Wadsworth, who had taken an interest in the Phelps and Gorham purchase, offered his nephews James and William one-half of his interest, or about one-twentieth of the reserved portion, at cost, and proposed to the former to give him the agency of the other half if he would remove to the Genesee. To this the brothers assented. It had been agreed that any co-proprietor who would settle on the lands might locate one thousand acres at the cost price, which was eight cents per acre. Phelps and Gorham had availed themselves of this provision in 1789 and located at Canandaigua. The Wadsworth brothers, the succeeding year, took their two thousand acres at Geneseo, at a cost of one hundred and sixty dollars. In the spring of 1790 they purchased a new and substantial ox cart and three pairs of oxen, and after many farewells William, with two or three hired men and Jenny, a

* See Williamson's Letters to a Friend. *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*

favorite colored slave belonging to the family, started across the country for Albany, while James went to New York to purchase an outfit for the new settlement, including a small quantity of "store-goods" and household furniture. He then took passage on board a sloop for Albany. The trip up the Hudson occupied a week. Mr. Wadsworth had for a fellow passenger at this time John Jacob Astor, who was making his first trip to Canada and the North-west to purchase furs. The acquaintance then formed between these two remarkable men, ripened into intimacy and continued through life. At Albany Mr. Wadsworth found his brother with the men and team, ready to take the supplies to Schenectady, where they purchased a boat. This the men poled up the Mohawk to Little Falls, whither William had preceded the water party overland, ready to draw the boat and its cargo around the falls. Another day's poling brought the boat to Rome, where they found two log houses, though there was but one as yet at Utica. Another portage by the ox team and cart brought them over to Wood creek; and when William saw all on board the boat at that point he started through the woods with his slow-moving team for Canandaigua, following the trail traveled by Phelps and Gorham's party the preceding year. West of Whitestown the road, little more than an Indian path, was full of impediments. Fallen trees had to be removed, the approaches to small streams often to be laid with logs, and standing timber to be cut away before the cart could proceed. So well, however, was the work done that the roadway thus improvised was used for some time, and to this day William Wadsworth enjoys the credit of opening the first road through the wilderness between Whitestown and Canandaigua.

"Arriving at Cayuga lake, there was no ferry scow,

and the party chartered two Indian canoes which they lashed together, and making a deck of poles, succeeded in crossing. Between Whitesboro and Canandaigua their average progress was twelve miles a day.* On reaching Canandaigua William expected to find his brother and the boat, but was disappointed. In going down Wood creek the party had run the boat upon a snag, and it was there held fast for three days and until overtaken by Augustus Porter, the brother of General Porter. He took a part of Mr. Wadsworth's cargo on his boat, and so far reduced the burthen that little trouble was now experienced in getting it again afloat. The two parties now started in company down the creek into Oneida lake, thence through the lake and river to the Oswego river, and up the latter stream to the outlet of Cayuga lake, thence to Mud creek. Passing up Mud creek to the outlet of Canandaigua lake, they then found their way to the lake, and the cabin of Phelps and Gorham at Canandaigua. William had reached that hospitable roof several days before the arrival of the boat, and becoming very anxious about his brother, fearing that he had been killed by the Indians, had gone down the outlet several miles and taken his position in the top of a tree which leaned over the stream. He saw them a long distance below, and joyfully welcomed them as they came under his lofty perch. Stowing a part of their supplies at Canandaigua and learning that there was a fine tract of unoccupied land on the Genesee near Big Tree, they started for that point, following Sullivan's route a portion of the way, and camping the first night at Pitt's flats, and the second night a little east of the foot of Conesus lake. The next morning William, keeping charge of the ox

* Turner's *Phelps and Gorham's Purchase*.

team, set out for the spot that had been described to them for a home, by the Indian trail leading to the Oneida village, while James, with a part of the men, shouldered axes and started on foot for the same place, through the woods by the Big Tree trail. Reaching a point on the western edge of the table land west of the present village of Geneseo, he began cutting down trees for a log cabin. The location of this cabin was about 105 rods west of the Mt. Morris road and 40 rods south of the lane leading from the Park to the "Home Farm" boarding house. Mr. James Wadsworth marked the spot by erecting there a small stone house now used in connection with the "Home Farm."

William, getting lost in a swamp two miles northeast of the present village of Geneseo, tied his cattle to saplings and there passed the night. This delay causing some anxiety, James got on their track the next morning, and finding the bewildered party, conducted them to the spot selected by him for the cabin, where they arrived on the 10th of June, 1790. The party slept in the cart and upon the ground for two or three nights until their hut was ready to afford them shelter. The unwonted sound of axes brought to their camp Lemuel Jennings, the only white man in that vicinity who had preceded them, who had erected a cabin and was herding some cattle on the flats in their neighborhood for Oliver Phelps.*

The Wadsworth brothers followed their first purchase of 2,000 acres at Geneseo for eight cents per acre, by a second of 4,000 acres the same season at fifty cents an acre, which was the price fixed by the company for the land in the vicinity of Geneseo. A

* James returned to Canandaigua on the first day of their arrival, and on his way back was benighted, but was guided to his home by a light held by Jenny, the colored woman, for William, who was hewing some planks for the cabin.

portion of the latter purchase was situated on the outlet of Conesus lake, where they had encamped the second night out of Canandaigua, and where they subsequently built a grist-mill.

In August, 1790, General Amos Hall, who had been appointed to take the census of Ontario county, then embracing the whole of the Genesee country, reported the population embraced within the present limits of Lima, at four families, comprising 23 persons; Sparta, one family of five persons; Geneseo, eight families, embracing 34 persons; Avon, ten families, 66 persons; Caledonia, ten families, 44 persons; Leicester, or "Indian lands," as it was designated in the return, four families of whites, 17 persons.

In September of the same year the new settlers had their first experience with fever and ague. The Wadsworth household, with the exception of the negro woman Jenny, were all brought down with it.

The brothers Horatio and John H. Jones had preceded the Wadsworths a few weeks. On the arrival of the latter they were occupying an Indian cabin at Little Beardstown, while a cabin they had begun the year before was being completed. "They had come from Geneva by way of Canandaigua and Avon with a cart, Horatio's wife and three children, household furniture and some hired men. Their cart was the first wheeled vehicle that passed over that route. From Avon they had no track, but picked their way along the ridges and open grounds. Besides Horatio Jones's family, there were in August, 1790, west of the river in what was then called the 'Indian lands,' the families of William Ewing, Nathan Fowler and Jeremiah Gregory."

Immediately after the Revolution all that part of the State lying west of a line running north and south and passing through the center of the present county

of Schoharie, was called Montgomery county, and the town of Whitestown embraced all that region west of Utica. In 1789 the county of Ontario was formed from the western part of Montgomery, but, notwithstanding this, town elections, for the town of Whitestown, continued to be held in all this region until 1791. At the election held in the latter year, Trueworthy Cook of Pompey, in the present county of Onondaga, Jeremiah Gould of Salina, and James Wadsworth of Geneseo, were chosen pathmasters. The district of the latter embraced the territory west of Cayuga lake, covering an area large enough for a State.

Ontario county was at first divided into districts, the second district, Genesee or Geneseo, "embracing all west of the east line of the present towns of Pittsford, Mendon, Richmond." The first town meeting for this district was held on the 5th of April, 1791, at Canawaugus.

Captain John Ganson, an officer of the Revolution, was elected supervisor; David Bullen town clerk. The assessors chosen were Deacon Gad Wadsworth, a Revolutionary soldier from Connecticut, Israel Stone of Stonetown (now Pittsford), General William Wadsworth of Geneseo, General Amos Hall of West Bloomfield, an officer of two wars, and Nathan Perry of Hartford, now Avon. The constables were Jasper Marvin and Norris Humphrey.

Roads opened slowly and settlements made small progress west of the river. Thomas Morris says that in 1791, and for several years thereafter, there was only an Indian path leading from Canandaigua to the Niagara river, and there was not a habitation of any kind between the Genesee river and Fort Niagara.

The Revolution had left the Indians broken in strength, and the growing power of the government held them under restraint; but it was well known that

influences unfriendly to the Republic were at work among the western tribes, and to some extent among the natives occupying the villages along the Genesee, although the latter claimed to be friendly and generally deported themselves properly. The apprehension of an Indian war deterred settlers from crossing to the western side of the river.* In the latter part of the summer of 1791, James Wadsworth went on horseback to Niagara for the purpose of informing himself as to the prospect of an Indian war. To a friend he wrote on his return: "You will not suppose that we are under much fears from the Indians when I tell you that I started from the Genesee river without company, and reached Niagara in two days without difficulty. But, sir, it was a most solitary ride. I had an excellent dinner with Colonel Butler at Niagara. We were served with apples, chestnuts, hazelnuts and walnuts, but what surprised me most, was to see a plate of malacatoon peaches as good as I ever ate."

The summer of 1792 witnessed a large addition to the population of the Genesee country. In July of that year the Albany Gazette† says: "We are

* There are two sides to most public questions, and it cannot be denied that the Indians had many provocations, which artful men could use to influence them. In the summer of 1790 two of the Senecas of Little Beardstown, minor chiefs, were murdered on Pine creek, in Pennsylvania. A reward was offered by the Governor of that State for the apprehension of the murderers. Little Beard and Red Jacket, in a letter of thanks to the Executive, "hoped that the murderers might be taken and that they might see them executed, for it is natural to look for revenge of innocent blood. You must not think hard if we speak rash. The words come from a wounded heart as you have stuck the hatchet in our head, and we can't be reconciled until you come and pull it out. We are sorry to tell you that you have killed eleven of us since peace, and we never said anything until the other day when in liquor."

The letter is dated at "Genesee River and Flats, August 12, 1790," and signed *Little Beard* (of Beaver Tribe); *Sangoyewatau* (Red Jacket), *Gissehaske* (of Wolf Tribe) and *Caumhesongo*.

† Albany Gazette of July 9, 1792.

assured of the rapid increase of settlements there, encouraged by the situation, climate and soil—equal in goodness to any part of the United States—and that the fever and ague, which it is common to suppose is epidemical there, has scarcely been known the present season. The Indians are very friendly, attending solely to their domestic concerns, and gradually acquiring civilized habits.” The population had so far increased that at the fall election in that year the canvass for governor was quite animated. The candidates were George Clinton, the incumbent, and John Jay, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. The poll of the town of Canandaigua stood three to one for Jay; and it is said that the complexion of the vote in Geneseo, where fifty ballots were cast, was the same, but owing to the fact that the tally list was transmitted to Albany without being signed by the inspectors, the returns were rejected. The result in the State was rendered so close by the rejection of Geneseo and certain other towns in the State, and the irregularities were so great, that the courts, after a heated controversy by the partisan press, were called upon to decide the question. The office was awarded to Clinton, against the earnest protest of Jay’s friends.

Postal facilities, as yet, were meagre indeed. Twice a month a mail was carried on horseback between Albany and Whitestown. In July, 1792, “several patriotic gentlemen of the Genesee country established a post to meet the one from Albany at Whitestown, which once a month will pass through Geneva, Canandaigua and Canawaugus to Williamsburgh on the Genesee river.”* In September of that year, the

* Albany Gazette, July 9, 1792. The proprietor of the Gazette took charge of packages intended for the Genesee country free of expense.

Postmaster General, Timothy Pickering, advertised for proposals for the extension of the post road from Canajoharie to Whitestown and thence to Canandaigua.

Eastern newspapers, as early as 1792, contained advertisements of Genesee lands. Captain Williamson, in August of that year, published an answer "to numerous applications for farms." He says,* "to those who wish to make actual settlements on his lands, that he has surveyors employed in laying off some hundred thousand acres which will be ready to be viewed by the 10th of September. It will be necessary for persons to receive instructions from Mr. Williamson at Williamsburgh. The price fixed on the land is one dollar per acre."

In the fall of 1792, William McCartney bought a farm of 320 acres in the southerly part of what is now the town of Sparta, near the Steuben county line, and was the first white settler in that region. Indeed, for more than a year there was not a white man within ten miles of him. Mr. McCartney was born in Barlocks, Dumfrieshire, Scotland, on the 2d of April, 1770. He came to America in the year 1791, in company with Andrew Smith, the latter settling at Bath, while the former, as stated, settled in Sparta. With little or no assistance he set to work to clear his purchase of the dense growth of oak, walnut and underwood with which he found it covered, and was the first to raise a crop of grain at the head waters of the Canaseraga. In the summer of 1796 he married a sister of James McCurdy, who resided within the limits of the present village of Dansville. Mr. Mc-

* Albany Gazette, Aug. 16, 1792. James Abeel, in the Gazette of Aug. 20, advertises "13,000 acres of most excellent land in Phelps and Gorham's purchase in the Genesee country."

Cartney was mild and frank yet firm, in his dealings with his fellow men, and the pioneers speak of him as a man of strong good sense, and qualified not only to manage his own interests with wisdom but to administer in public affairs with great success; and the local records show that, continuously, for more than a third of a century, he was called by the almost unanimous voice of his neighbors and townsmen to hold office. In 1796 he was made a commissioner of public roads, and directed the laying out and establishing of the highways of Sparta. This burthensome position he held for a number of years, as well as that of town clerk and commissioner of schools down to 1806, when he was made supervisor, to which office he was re-elected for twelve successive years. In 1817 he was sent to the Assembly, to which body he was re-elected the following year. In 1819 he was again made supervisor and held the office continuously until his death which occurred in 1831.* The same sterling business qualities that enabled him to lay the foundation of a competency, he carried into the discharge of his official duties, and in the board of supervisors, where he so long held a seat, composed of such men as Colonel Fitzhugh and General William Wadsworth, Mr. McCartney was notably one of the leading men.

In 1793 Thomas Morris and Oliver Phelps each built a small frame house at Canandaigua, and, when completed, these were the only two frame houses west of Whitestown in the present county of Oneida.

By January, 1793, letters and newspapers were conveyed by stated private posts, though at infrequent intervals, through all the Genesee settlements and as far west as Canandaigua. Writing to his father on

* He died on the 9th of Feb., 1831, and was buried in the cemetery near the South Sparta meeting house.

the 4th of February, 1793, Thomas Morris says, "our post goes (east) once a fortnight," and speaks of the great mildness of the passing winter and of the influx of settlers. In May of that year Moses Beal commenced running a weekly stage from Albany through Schenectady to Johnstown and Canajoharie, "at three cents a mile for passengers and fourteen pounds of baggage gratis." And the same month a stage was established between Canajoharie and Whitestown to connect with Beal's stage. This essentially increased the postal facilities of the pioneers of the Genesee.

The institutions of society came slowly. Up to the month of June, 1793, owing to neglect to appoint judges, no courts had ever been held in Ontario county, then embracing the country west of Seneca lake, although the county had been organized upward of four years. The first Circuit Court and court of Oyer and Terminer was held at "Patterson's Tavern," in Geneva, on the 9th of June, 1793, the presiding judge being John Sloss Hobart, one of the three judges appointed in 1777, on the organization of the judiciary. A grand jury was empaneled and charged, but no indictments were found. The first court of Common Pleas and General Sessions was held at the house of Nathaniel Sanborn in Canandaigua on the 4th of November, 1794. The presiding judge was Timothy Hosmer, with Charles Williamson and Enos Boughton as associates. At this term, James Wadsworth, Thomas Morris, John Wickham and Vincent Matthews appeared as attorneys.

In the autumn of 1793 the Marquis de Talleyrand, the famous French statesman, was piloted through the wilds of the Genesee by Benjamin Patterson, who, until recently, resided in Steuben county. The Marquis was then an exile and had leisure to inspect the natural features of this valley. Standing on the bluff

near the dam at Mt. Morris, he said, after admiring for an hour the scenery spread out before him to the eastward, "It is the fairest landscape that the human eye ever looked upon."

The Albany Gazette of the 15th of July, 1793, contains this advertisement: "Williamsburgh Fair and Genesee Races. There will be held at Williamsburgh, at the great Forks of the Genesee river, an annual fair for the sale and purchase of cattle, horses and sheep, to commence on Monday, the 23d of September and continue on Tuesday. It is expected at this fair that a number of fat bullocks and working oxen of the best New England breeds, with which the country is well supplied, will be shown. As the situation of Williamsburgh lays convenient for the Niagara market, it is also expected that both horses and young cattle will meet with ready sale at high prices, the demand from Upper Canada being considerable. On Wednesday there will be run for over the race-ground a purse of fifty pounds, and also a subscription purse. On Thursday there will be a run for the sweepstakes, and races for small prizes. On Friday there will be shooting matches and foot-races. As this meeting will be held in the centre of a country abounding in provisions, strangers will find no difficulty in providing themselves and horses, and pains will be taken to afford them every possible accommodation. Particular convenience will be made for such horses as are brought to compete for the different prizes. The horses must be regularly entered and carry weight according to the established rules at the races in the Low Countries."

The following year, (1794) fourteen horses were entered for the fifty pound purse, and cattle were driven from all the adjacent country to the show. The fair and races continued for several years to be highly successful, while the sales of stock were quite large.

The exhibitions were held on the flats lying between the present highway and the Canaseraga creek, west of the residence of the late Colonel Abell.

In 1793 the small-pox, a disease of which the Indians had justly a great dread, broke out among the Senecas on the Genesee. The Indian agent at Canandaigua, General Chapin, employed male nurses to go to Little Beardstown and other villages and take general charge of the sick. The papers of the agency contain the account of "Solomon Jennings for thirty-nine days nursing the Indians with the small-pox at Genesee river, seven pounds, sixteen shillings." The General Government employed and paid blacksmiths for the Indians, as well, and Chapin's papers contain the account of George Jones, rendered in November, 1793, for fifteen months' services as blacksmith for the Senecas at Genesee river, tools and sundry supplies, one hundred and twelve pounds.

The new stage lines appear to have promoted postal facilities but little at first, for in February, 1794, the Albany Gazette, expressing regret at the deficiency of mail communication between Albany and the Genesee river, says, "a respectable if not a major part of the letters and papers brought in the mail to the post-office in this city are destined further westward, but for want of regular conveyance are rendered useless from the length of time elapsing before they can reach the place of destination."* It appears that there was a sort of provisional post-office at Williamsburgh in 1793, for Timothy Pickering, writing to Gen. Chapin from Detroit in August, 1793, says, "The enclosed

* Timothy Pickering, Postmaster General, writes to Gen. Chapin, under date of June 3d, 1794, "The postroad is extended by law to Canandaigua. * * * The post will not be riding till September. * * * I shall order the mail once in two weeks from Whitestown to Canandaigua."—See Chapin's MSS. papers, N. Y. Hist. Soc.

letter I request you to forward to Philadelphia, either by forwarding it to the postoffice at Williamsburgh, or let it be carried by an Indian runner to the postoffice at Whitestown," and the same year the Secretary of War directs Gen. Chapin, "You should write me weekly by Captain Williamson's post."

In 1793 a plan was developed to divide this State, and erect the western half into a separate commonwealth. The crafty managers in the Livingston lease were doubtless at the bottom of this project. Failing to receive the approval of the legislature to their contract for the Indian lands, these men proposed, it would appear, to accomplish their design in this revolutionary manner. A variety of reasons, though not the real ones, were assigned for this step. James Wadsworth and other large land-owners were invited to take part in the movement. But it received no countenance from him nor from others in this region. The adjournment of the November term of the court of Common Pleas and General Sessions, of Ontario in 1794, was chosen as the occasion for a meeting to declare the popular opposition to the measure. The attendance was large. Timothy Hosmer, first judge of the county presided, and a series of resolutions were adopted setting forth that certain restless and turbulent characters from the eastern district of this State, evilly disposed towards the welfare of the country, had for some time past endeavored to stir up sedition among its peaceable inhabitants and excite them to acts both treasonable and improper, in proposing that the counties of Ontario, Otsego, and a part of Tioga and Herkimer, should immediately shake off all dependence from the State of New York, and support their independence by force of arms if need be; that the passions of the dishonest and disorderly, the ambitious and timid, had been flattered

to expect that laws would be passed by the proposed State for screening individuals from the payment of their just debts for six years; that all Indian lands and all public lands should become a prey to the rapacity of their hungry followers; and have engaged to sustain their measure with armed troops, collected from Vermont and elsewhere. Referring to the threats of the revolutionists, the resolutions say, "We have nothing to fear from any banditti they can collect for forcing us into measures we heartily disapprove," and that sensible of the many advantages they derive from their connection with one of the most respectable States in the Union, and desirous of continuation of same, highly resent the ill-timed and improper attempt made by the characters above alluded to, to disturb their peace. The proposed State could not defray the necessary expenses of the most moderate State government, and it would be unjust to raise enormous taxes for such an object on uncultivated lands, and they recommended that the Geneva meeting, appointed to be held on the 25th of November, be not attended, as it was called by strangers to the county.

The meeting expected, after such a public declaration, that the State administration would take the most vigorous measures to suppress any attempt that might be made to destroy the peace and quiet of the county.

Judge Cooper, in his charge to the grand jury of Otsego county, referred to this meeting and endorsed its action. Other officials and other public meetings discountenanced it, and the project however formidable at one time it appeared, seems never to have been revived.

The loss of the colonies was accepted with ill grace by the British authorities in America. The treaty of

1783 had, indeed, ended the war, but a spirit of hostility remained, and under one pretext or another the forts at Oswego and Niagara and other military posts on the western lakes continued to be occupied by British garrisons; and British officers affected to claim the territory of Western New York, the valleys of the western lakes and the region of the Mississippi, and every art was employed by them to keep alive the prejudices of the Indians and to incite them to unfriendly acts. The growth of the settlements along the Genesee was an especial cause of jealousy, both to the British and the Indians, though they did not venture directly to interfere. But when, in 1794, Charles Williamson began a settlement at Sodus Bay, the authorities of Canada resolved to put a stop to it. Lord Dorchester, then Governor-General of Canada, held a talk with the Indians, in which he artfully sought to provoke them to a hostile course, and found them disposed to second his measures. An alliance was formed, it is said, and a concerted movement agreed upon, having for its object the repossession of Western New York. Presents were freely distributed, "the British Superintendent of Indian Affairs," says Col. Hosmer, "being profuse of costly presents to his fierce allies; and broadcloths, blankets and silver ornaments were tauntingly exhibited to the white settlers of Avon and vicinity by the young braves of Canawaugus," who had received them of the Canadian authorities. There was good ground for believing, as our government did, that the Ministry of Great Britain entertained the idea of making war upon us. As a first step the Deputy Governor, Simcoe, dispatched Lieut. Sheaffe* of the British army to Williamson

* Better known afterward as Major General Sir Roger Hale Sheaffe. He commanded at the battle of Queenstown, after Brodie's death, and was otherwise conspicuous during the war of 1812.

with a formal protest against the further prosecution of the settlement at Sodus Bay, and all other settlements in Western New York, during the inexecution of the treaty. Williamson happened to be at Bath at the time, and Sheaffe informed his agent, a Mr. Moffat, of the nature of his mission, and stated that he would return in ten days. Williamson was sent for, and Thomas Morris met the British officer and conducted him to Williamson, who stood beside a table on which lay a brace of loaded pistols. The meeting was friendly and even cordial, for the two gentlemen had known each other years before, when both were in the English service. The protest was delivered and read, and Williamson desired the Lieutenant to inform his principal that no attention could be paid to the missive, but that the settlements there and elsewhere would be proceeded with all the same.

News of this proceeding on the part of the British authorities was not slow in spreading through the Genesee settlements. Its abrupt nature, and the morose and quarrelsome temper of the Indians who swarmed the forests, and had become "rude and saucy to the white settlers," says George Hosmer, "and would impudently enter their houses, take the prepared food from the tables, and commit other offences," and who were known as ready and willing allies of the authorities across the border, caused no little anxiety and alarm among the pioneers, who were destitute of arms and ammunition, and were scattered over a large territory, remote from assistance. A few sold out their betterments at a loss, and returned to the East. But the insolence of the demand excited the spirit of the settlers, many of whom had but recently laid down their arms, and many were the offers of personal service to repel any attempt to take Captain Williamson prisoner and send him in irons to

England, as had been threatened. A letter written at this period expresses the feeling of the sturdy settlers. "We are prepared to give a cordial and warm reception to our Canada friends, and shall not fail to persuade them to make six foot locations in the rich soil of the Great Sodus and along the Genesee should they come over with guns loaded and pointed."

The Lieutenant no sooner left than Captain Williamson despatched an express rider to President Washington, and another to Governor George Clinton, advising them of the peremptory character of Simcoe's order and of his own purpose to resist any attempt to interfere with the settlements. He requested that arms might be furnished and authority given to collect and organize the militia and volunteers. Governor Clinton was found at his home in Little Britain near Newburgh. The independence of the act stirred the stern old patriot and he lost no time in directing that the arms that had been assigned to the militia of the western frontier and the quota for Ontario county should be immediately forwarded; "For," said he in his order, "the principle set up in Governor Simcoe's protest cannot for a moment be tolerated, and if any attempt should be made on the part of the British to carry it into execution, face must meet face. To this end, exert every means to keep the militia of your division in the most perfect readiness for actual service." A law had recently passed the legislature authorizing the erection of fortifications on the northern and western frontiers, and commissioners were selected to carry it into execution. They decided to establish block houses at Fort Stanwix, at Onondaga Salt Springs, Canandaigua, Canawaugus, and at Bath. The Albany Gazette of the 11th of September, 1794, says, "Several of the block-houses and pickets on the western frontier are already completed, and all of

them are in great forwardness. Each will be furnished with a piece of cannon and all necessary ammunition, and seven hundred stand of arms for use of inhabitants of the frontier are on their way."

"While all this was progressing," says Turner, "in four days after the affair at Sodus, in fact, before Gov. Simcoe would have had time to execute his threats, the great measure of deliverance for the Genesee country and the few scattered border settlers of the west, had been consummated. 'Mad Anthony'*—(and there had been 'method in his madness,')—had met the confederated bands of the hostile Indians of the West, and almost under the walls of a fortress of their British allies, achieved a signal victory! Those upon whom Gov. Simcoe was relying for aid, (for it is evident that he looked to a descent of the western Indians upon the Genesee country in case the war was renewed,)—were humbled and suing for peace. This alone would have averted his worst intentions, and added to this was the consideration that Mr. Jay had sailed for London on the 12th of May, clothed with ample power from our government to arrange all matters of dispute."

"Those familiar with the history of our whole country in the earliest years of its separation from England, are aware how important was the well planned and successful expedition of General Wayne. Important in its immediate consequences—the putting an end to protracted, harassing Indian treaties, and the founding of that great empire of wealth, prosperity and unparalleled progress, our Western States. But few can now realize its local consequence, in the Genesee country. It gave security where there was little of it before, inspired hope and confidence with

* General Anthony Wayne, of Revolutionary fame.

those who were half determined to retrace the weary steps that had brought them into the wilderness, for they felt that if war was to be added to all the sufferings and privations they were encountering, it were better to abandon the field, if not forever, to a period more propitious. The news of Wayne's victory was communicated by Brant to Gen. Chapin, and it circulated briskly among the backwoods settlements. Here and there was seen small gatherings of pioneer settlers, congratulating each other upon the event, and taking fresh courage to grapple with the hardships of pioneer life. All was confirmed, when in a few days, the Senecas were seen coming back, upon their war path, humbled, quaking with fear at the mere recollection of the terrible onslaught that Mad Anthony had made upon the dusky legions that had gathered to oppose him, and uttering imprecations against those who had lured them from home to take part in the contest and then remained far away from danger, or shut themselves up in a strong fortress, but spectators in a conflict in which they and their confederates were falling like autumn leaves in a shower of hail."

Col. Hosmer says, "Tidings of Wayne's victory came like a reprieve after sentence of death, a skylark's call after a raven's croak." The Indians were thoroughly subdued, and chagrined by their terrible reverses and the bad faith of their Canadian allies, they determined to settle down quietly in their villages, and renew their amicable relations with their white neighbors. The British, also, bound by the terms of the Jay treaty, ceased from troubling, and the Genesee settlements were finally permitted to progress in peace.

Early in September, 1794, Daniel Kelly, John Jones and John Harrison, all of whom were afterward

notable farmers of Groveland, and all became deacons in the same church, left their Pennsylvania home, on the north branch of the Susquehanna, for a visit to the Genesee country by way of the Williamson road, "which was without bridges over creeks, or crossways in bad places, the underbrush and logs being removed a rod wide," says Mr. Harrison. William Ryans was also of the party. They had two horses between the four, riding and walking in couples by turns. The party on horseback would trot on far ahead, and hitching the horses beside the road, would start forward on foot, leaving their companions to come up and resume the saddle. A journey of eight days brought them to Williamsburgh, where, on the 13th of September, 1794, they put up at William Lemon's tavern, a small frame house, and the first frame house built in the town of Groveland. Ryans was displeased with the country, and home-sick, and started back the following morning, taking with him one of the horses. The three others went to Genesee to purchase lands of the Wadsworths, who were then laying the cellar wall of their homestead. James Wadsworth at once saw that they were good judges of farming lands, and advised them to look at some lots lying along the road leading to the foot of Conesus lake, describing the lands minutely to them, and specifying particular parcels on either side of the highway. They at once took the path up the hill, over the route now traversed by South street, just as a cold, drizzling rain began to fall. Daniel Kelly selected a lot of over a hundred acres on which the present graveyard is located, and John Harrison selected the farm lying directly east of it, across the main road. This done they went down to Peter Steel's tavern, a little log cabin situated in Upper Lakeville where Robert Masten's house now stands, for dinner. They reached there drenched to the skin,

and John Harrison no sooner got to the fire than a chill seized him, which was so severe that it drove him almost into the heap of smouldering coals. The first salutation that met his ear was the unwelcome remark of an old root doctor from a neighboring settlement, "You've got the ager, stranger, fast enough." After an hour spent here, they returned to Geneseo. Kelly paid earnest money, but Mr. Harrison was sick and far from home, and it was therefore concluded that he had better not part with the little money he had. It was agreed, however, that he and Kelly should return by the first of the following May to complete the purchase of the lands selected by them.* They then went to Lemon's tavern for the night. Harrison's ague came on again, and a daughter of John Ewart, who resided at Williamsburgh, was also down with it. The party were ready by daylight to return to Pennsylvania, and Mr. Harrison, sick as he was, decided to return with them. They had now but one horse, and as Mr. Harrison was weak, he took the saddle. In going down the hill leading to the inlet of Hemlock lake, Harrison began to shake, and calling to his companions to secure the horse, he threw himself off and started forward on a run, "shaking and stooping," he says, "as if I had my back broken. My companions laughed at my odd motions, but I felt too wretched to notice their jokes. Still, I liked the new country as well as my companions who had escaped that abomination of new settlements, the fever and ague, and we all three came back and located the following May, a step I have never regretted." Mr. Harrison says that Williamsburgh, at this, his first visit, contained,

* They did not get back, however, until the 12th of May, and Mr. Wadsworth had by that time sold the lot selected by John Harrison. The latter then purchased in Groveland. Ezra Gray occupied a part of Mr. Harrison's first purchase.

besides the frame tavern and a house occupied by John Ewart, some five or six log houses built by Captain Williamson. On their way home they met persons going toward the village they had just left, with cattle to exhibit at the approaching fair, and heard frequent mention of the races soon to come off, at which fourteen speed horses were entered for the fifty pound purse.

CHAPTER X.

PROGRESS OF THE SETTLEMENTS—RELIGIOUS PRIVILEGES.

While full heed was given to the material interests of the new settlements, the attention of religious societies was also drawn to the spiritual demands of the frontier. The legislature of Connecticut, at its session in October, 1792, passed an act enjoining contributions from all the churches of that State on the first Sabbath in the month of May, annually, for three years, to support missionaries and promote Christian knowledge in the northern and western frontier settlements, "where the ordinances of the gospel are not established and in places destitute of the stated means of grace." The moneys thus raised were placed in the hands of the good and wise Jonathan Edwards and two associates.* Eight missionaries were sent out by them in the summer of 1794, one of whom, the Rev. Aaron Kinne, proceeded on horseback by way of Catskill westward, passing through Geneva, where he preached to a large audience, to the Genesee river. He preached at Canawaugus, Big Tree, Williamsburgh

*The organization was denominated the "Missionary Society of Connecticut," and was the first organization of the kind in the United States. Its meetings were held at the State House in Hartford.

and other settlements, traveling more than thirteen hundred miles and preaching more than four score sermons, beside administering the sacrament. His hearers often came eight or ten miles to listen to him. The following year he again visited these places. When he reached a settlement it "seemed a day of gladness." Many with open arms embraced him, and often with the remark, "We are glad you have come back. We have not heard a sermon since you were with us last year." He found the people possessed of but limited school privileges, and generally observed a great scarcity of books, especially of a religious character.

In July, 1795, the Rev. Daniel Thatcher, a missionary, under the auspices of the Presbyterian General Assembly, organized a church at Lima,* and one in Geneseo, which subsequently removed to and still remains at Lakeville. Neither of these societies were immediately prosperous. That at Lima continued feeble until 1799, when it was reorganized as a Congregational society; and that at Geneseo, irregularly supplied and destitute of stated public worship, remained ineffective for some years and until its removal to its present location.

The missionaries seemed reluctant to cross the river. Society there, for several years, paid little regard to the demands of the church, or, indeed, to the mere ordinary restraints of order, and it was a common remark, current enough until the Scotch settlement was formed at Caledonia, that "Sabbath day never crossed the Genesee river."

In 1802, the Hampshire Missionary Society of Massachusetts sent out missionaries to the new settlements. These also visited the Indian villages along the Gene-

* Then called Charlestown.

see river. The Society represent that they had been favored with liberal subscriptions by the public for the expenses of ministers and for the purchase of bibles and other religious writings to be distributed among the settlers. The letter of introduction from the trustees of the Society to the missionaries is written in liberality of spirit. They were enjoined to avoid mere doctrinal disputations, and not to complain of the unavoidable hardships, incident to a new country, which they were voluntarily undertaking.

The broad forests and fine natural scenery of Western New York, and a desire, perhaps, to see the Indian in his native haunts, appear to have possessed a fascination for European travellers. The visit of Talleyrand has already been mentioned. Louis Phillipe, afterward Citizen King of France, tarried many days along the streams and among the habitations of the early settlers, and in June, 1795, the Duke de Liancourt, "one of the most eminent noblemen of France," says General King, passed through the Genesee valley, visiting every settlement, and spending several weeks with Captain Williamson, Mr. Wadsworth and others. He was accompanied by a young Englishman, three or four servants, and a favorite dog named Cartouche, who made a good meal of one of black Jenny's fine chickens at Geneseo, greatly to her disgust. The Duke was a close observer, and has left an interesting record of what he saw. He liked Captain Williamson, who explained to him that after spending six months in visiting and surveying the estate of his principals, he concluded to establish several settlements rather than one capital colony. The most eligible spots were therefore fixed upon, and Bath, Williamsburgh,*

* A full account of this now extinct village will be found in the sketch of the town of Groveland.

Geneva and Great Sodus were begun. By the summer of 1796 three wheat and seven saw-mills had been erected, and the eight hundred thousand acres that had been disposed of at an average value of three dollars per acre, had refunded the whole purchase money and other expenses incurred, and left a net profit of fifty thousand pounds sterling. The Duke says that Williamson personally directed everything, and was attentive to all who had business with him. Contracts were promptly concluded, and new settlers were treated with marked consideration. The titles secured from him were perfect; and the terms, which were reasonable and easy, were that all who purchased land of him were expected to clear a certain number of acres and place a family upon the farm within eighteen months; half the purchase money to be paid at the end of three years, and the remainder at the end of six years. No settler was allowed to want. Occasionally a poor family was supplied with a cow, and where a willing farmer was found struggling, with a yoke of oxen, and even a house to shelter him where adversity rendered such an act a matter of humanity. Williamson was everywhere. No detail was too insignificant for his personal attention, and no complaint was too trivial. His manner was mild and just, and his policy is commended in fitting terms by the titled Frenchman.

De Liancourt brought a letter of introduction from General Chapin to William Wadsworth, whom they found at Geneseo preparing to leave the next morning for Canandaigua, where he was to meet his militia command for a general muster. Of the ride to Geneseo the Duke says, that "along the whole route from Canandaigua to Geneseo, the woods, beautiful to the eye, are not so crowded with trees as on the other side (of Canandaigua). Several parts of the forest have

been burnt over by the Indians." The Duke was invited to spend the night at Mr. Wadsworth's house, and as there was no tavern then in Geneseo, he accepted. It was then eight o'clock in the evening and Mr. Wadsworth was just mounting his horse to visit a friend. The Duke describes Wadsworth's domicile as a "small log house as dirty as any I have ever seen." Stores of all kinds, meats, vegetables and live poultry were crowded in and about the house, and the Frenchman's olfactories were offended by the odors, and he was not overpleased with the beds. But so hearty a welcome was extended to him that he could overlook what his fastidious taste did not approve, and he was well pleased with the rough courtesy and bluff manner of his host. The Duke rose early in the morning to see Mr. Wadsworth, then a captain, before he set out for the muster. He found him undergoing the operation of hair-dressing at the hands of his negro woman Jenny. An Indian came in and bought a barrel of whiskey of him, and two persons from Williamsburgh were negotiating the purchase of some lands of him while his hair was receiving the final touches. Orders were given to the domestics and to his man of business, and a pressing request was made of the Duke to pass several days under his roof, all in the space of a few minutes. When the Captain's fine horse was brought to the door he grasped the Duke's hand, mounted his black charger, and galloped away. "After the Captain left," says the Duke, "his nephew, a youth of about fifteen years of age, conducted us to the flats which border the river."

On the flats, three miles from Mr. Wadsworth's residence, the Duke found a recluse named De Boni, whose character and history greatly interested him. Hermit-like, De Boni occupied a log hut, twelve feet-

square, built by himself and a faithful mulatto servant named Joseph. Twenty acres of land supplied them with grains and garden vegetables, and an occasional day's labor of Joseph secured them milk and eggs of their neighbors. De Boni was a Frenchman, a native of Alsace, born of parents of wealth and position. A quarrel with a neighboring land proprietor led to a duel in which his antagonist, a gentleman of greater age than himself and a man of consequence, was wounded. The dread of a *lettre de cachet* induced him to quit his native country and find his way to San Domingo, where he enlisted as a private soldier. Opportunity soon afforded a discharge and his ability and attainments as a civil engineer secured him a situation in the government of the island. He also became a planter and was enjoying a good income when civil dissensions suddenly broke out, and he was forced to quit the island. He came to America with little money and few effects. At Hartford he met Colonel Jeremiah Wadsworth, who, commiserating his condition, offered him the land he was found occupying, and aided him in securing a small sum of money. The Duke's party, now increased by the addition of two countrymen, sent word to De Boni that the party would dine with him the next day. The hermit expressed much satisfaction on their arrival, and though habitually peevish, exerted himself to make their visit agreeable. They found him a man of forty years of age, and of easy and agreeable manners. His reading had been extensive, his understanding was sound and his conversation entertaining. His nature was over sensitive, and his misfortunes had quite soured his temper and made him a misanthrope; and even the sprightly conversation of his countrymen did not dispel, except at intervals, the settled gloom that overhung his spirits, nor prevent occasional

bitter references to mankind, whom, in the gross, he appeared deeply to hate. He spoke kindly of Joseph, a busy and cheerful fellow, who stood in the relation of a friend rather than of a servant, and dwelt upon his capacity as a husbandman, gardener and cook, and of the shrewdness with which he managed to secure the assistance of farmers and their teams to cultivate his land. Of the Indians occupying a small village located near his domicile, he spoke kindly. Their freedom from the restraints of society, and their dislike of the encroachments of the whites, seemed to agree with his own singular mood, and he reasoned acutely in favor of that form of society which gives back to the whole all property and dispenses with all law. Two of the party passed the night with him, and at parting he expressed his thanks for the attention that had been shown him.

On their return the party were made acquainted with many facts relating to the progress of the settlements. Day laborers were then scarce and readily commanded one dollar a day. Merchandise was brought by Mr. Wadsworth from Connecticut, to supply his store, in wagons drawn by oxen, and the cost of transportation was met by fattening and selling the oxen at Niagara for beef at enhanced prices. Land was worth from \$2 to \$2.50 per acre, and under the contracts the purchase money all fell due in four years, the interest running from the date of the contract.

The Duke and his party quit Geneseo on the morning of the 16th of June, 1795, for Niagara. He says the road from Geneseo to Canandaigua "is a good one for this country. As usual it leads through the midst of woods. Within the space of twelve miles we saw only one habitation." Of Canawaugus he says, "The inhabitants here are yet but few, but among

them is one of the best inns we have seen for some time past. Mr. Berry keeps it, a good civil man," but of whose sobriety he does not speak so flatteringly.

The Duke makes particular reference to the oak openings along the road. These singular tracts, entirely free of timber and showing signs of former cultivation, as well as the open flats of the Genesee, "Where ten thousand acres might be found in one body, encumbered with not even a bush, but covered with grass so high that the largest bullock, at thirty feet from the path, would be completely hid from view,"* excited much speculation in early days. The first settlers supposed that the openings were poor lands, and it was only when compelled to test their quality that they discovered, to their agreeable surprise, that the soil was of great excellence, and lands which could have been bought for a quarter of a dollar an acre suddenly advanced to ten dollars.

In May, 1796, Charles Williamson was placed in nomination for the Assembly, the district embracing the counties of Ontario and Steuben, which then included all this region, and out of 638 votes cast he received all but eleven cast for his opponent. Lemuel Chipman was elected to the Assembly on the same ticket. The returns from the town of Sparta, which had cast its suffrages for him, were sent to Albany signed only by the clerk of the poll, and not by the inspectors. The vote of the town was therefore rejected and lost. Captain Williamson secured useful legislation for this region, and lost no opportunity for making the advantages of the Genesee country known to his colleagues and others. Other efficient influences were also at work to bring the region to the

* Williamson's *Letters to a Friend*.

attention of capitalists. James Wadsworth was in London in the spring of 1796, negotiating for the sale of Genesee lands. He writes in May, "My letters and friends have introduced me to an extensive acquaintance and a number of capitalists. I think I may be justified in saying that I have been able to inspire greater confidence in American new lands among gentlemen of property and respectability here than any who have preceded me on similar business." He found an earnest coadjutor in Sir William Pultney, with whom he was on terms of social intimacy. An observer, writing from Ontario county a few years later, says, "No land agent in the Genesee country is so successful as James Wadsworth. He sells three times as much as any one else." With the increasing sales of land and growing immigration, the roads began to improve. In September, 1796, Thomas Morris, writing to his father, says, "from Bath to the Genesee river the road is very practicable for wagons to travel, although at this season it is not always good." Williamson had procured legislation on the subject of public highways, and the Indians, who had previously opposed the cutting of a road through their lands from Canandaigua to Niagara, agreed in a conference held in October, 1796, at which Cornplanter was a principal speaker, to grant the privilege.*

In the Spring of 1796 William Magee † came to Sparta with his family, and settled in the Canaseraga valley, on what is now known as the Ward farm. He had selected the land the previous year, and engaged his brother Henry, who was then residing on Captain

* See *Albany Gazette* of Oct. 17, 1796.

† William Magee was a native of Ireland, which country he left in 1784, and landed at Philadelphia the same year. From there he went to Greenwich, New Jersey, where in 1788 he married Hannah Quick, who was of Low Dutch descent. From thence he came to the Genesee country.

John Smith's farm,* to put up a log cabin against the arrival of himself and family. He left New Jersey in September, 1795, but floods in the Susquehanna detained him several months and it was not until May that he was enabled to place his little family on a flat boat and make the slow journey up the river. From Hornellsville to Sparta they came by wagons laden with household effects, a pair of copper stills and seed, passing over the site of Dansville, where not a building of any description had as yet been erected.† The house then building, about seventy rods east of the Canaseraga, was not yet done, on their arrival and the family took temporary shelter in an Indian hut near by. The country was indeed new. The nearest neighbor north was Henry Magee, distant, by way of the road which then ran on the flats near the swamp, three miles, and as the gullies were yet unspanned by bridges and the steep places unleveled, locomotion was not very speedy. To the south the nearest neighbor was Darling Havens, who was keeping tavern in a log cabin three miles away. Groveland hill did not count a single settler. The road, a path by way of Havens' tavern, led to the Williamson grist-mill and saw-mill, the latter standing a few rods below the former, near Dansville; and the only settler on the road between the tavern and the mill was Captain John Clark, who then lived near the old Driesbach tavern stand. The site of Dansville was a dense thicket of pine underbrush with here and there a

* Now owned and occupied by Ozro Clark.

† It was an entire wilderness. I mean where the village now stands. South of the village nearly a mile there was one log cabin owned and occupied by Neal McCay, and one other cabin occupied by Amariah Hammond, north of the present village, near the Indian trail that passed through the place. He came into the place the same year that my father came into Sparta, 1796.—*Sam'l Magee's MSS. Recollections.*

stately pine tree. A mere wagon-track led to the mill, and to right and left "the pine bush was so thick that a person could not possibly see one rod into it on either side."* Both flat and hillside were a dense wilderness.

About a mile north of Henry Magee's house, on the main road, was a small collection of settlers called Hermitage. Residing there were Captain John Smith, a surveyor of some note, and a brother, George Smith, Alexander McDonald, a distiller, James Butler, an Irish boot and shoe maker, Scotch John Smith, Joseph Roberts and several sons all young men grown, Hector McKay, Robert Wilson, James Templeton, a tailor, Nicholas Beach and Levi Dunn.

In 1798 Thomas Howey opened a blacksmith's shop at Hermitage. At that time there was no other blacksmith in the town of Sparta, and yet he had not business enough to employ him more than half the time. The other part of his time he employed in farming. He was a thick, pussey person, not well suited to horseback riding, and consequently one day, when his family stood in need of some flour, he consulted with a fellow countryman James Butler, residing near the site of Driesbach's tavern, who advised him to make an Irish slide-car, as being better suited to travelling the Indian path,—for there was no road. Butler gave him a description and he went to work and made himself one which was pronounced all right. Taking an early start, he got along all right until he reached James Rodman's distillery. The latter treated him to a little of his good whiskey, after which he went on to the mill, got his grist, loaded up his slide-car and came back as far as Rodman's. Here several liberal potations of whiskey on an empty

* Samuel Magee's *MSS. Recollections*.

stomach rendered it necessary for him to take passage on the slide-car himself. After going about two miles he broke down. Being in no condition to place his grist on his horse, he concluded to place it on the side of the path and make his way back to Rodman's, which he did and remained there all night. Repairing his car the following morning, he returned to his grist, only to find that meantime a drove of wild hogs had discovered it, torn the bags into shreds and eaten up the flour. How could he explain the loss to his wife? A broken cog on the mill wheel was charged with the delay, and for a time the excuse passed current, but finally his wife and the neighbors got hold of the secret, and Howey never heard the last of it.

Williamsburgh contained three frame buildings at this time, and several log houses, perhaps twelve in all, mostly built by Captain Williamson. The inhabitants were Captain Starr, the tavern-keeper, Samuel Ewin, John Ewart, William Harris, Green Smith, Thomas and William Lemen, distillers, and Matthias Lemen, a tanner and currier. "The first sermon we listened to after our arrival," says Samuel Magee, "was in what was known as Williamson's big barn at Hermitage, some two hundred feet long, say some of the early settlers, built to accommodate horses that came to the races, since owned and used by Judge Carroll. Rev. Samuel Mills preached to an attentive congregation." Here and there was an Indian who had come stealthily in and taken a seat as far as possible out of view, where he watched the exercises with curious attention. Samuel Mills resided one mile south of Williamsburgh on the east bank of the Canaseraga. His sons, all men grown and residing with him, were Samuel, Jr., Alexander, Lewis, Philo and William A. In the summer he held service in the Williamson barn, and in the winter at private houses.

In 1797 the State took the road from Fort Schuyler to Geneva under its patronage. A lottery had been granted by the legislature for opening and improving certain great highways of the State, and among the number was this road. The inhabitants on the line of the road voluntarily subscribed four thousand days' work to put it into condition, and the commissioners "were enabled to complete the road of near one hundred miles, opening it 64 feet wide and paving with logs and gravel the moist parts," "and what in the month of June, 1797, was little better than an Indian path, was so far improved that a stage started from Fort Schuyler on the 30th of September and arrived at the hotel in Geneva in the afternoon of the third day with four passengers,"* and stages then ran weekly from Canandaigua to Albany. The new road so quickened travel that within the space of five weeks in the following winter, five hundred sleighs with families passed through Geneva.

In 1798 there was quite an addition to the population of Old Sparta from Pennsylvania, James Rosebrugh, William McNair and his three sons James, Andrew and Robert, three other sons by a former wife, John, Hugh and William R., the latter unmarried, with James and Samuel Culbertson and John Niblack. The next year came Jesse Collar and two sons, young men, who settled at Collartown, now called Scottsburch. Philip Gilman and a large family of boys also arrived soon after and located near James Henderson's, within one mile of Collartown and near the head of Cónesus lake. The same year Charles Carroll of Bellevue, and his brother Daniel, visited the Genesee country, crossing the mountains on horseback, a servant accompanying them with a led pack mule with

* Williamson's *Letters to a Friend*.

provisions. They spent several weeks in "reconnoitering the country but my uncle thought the prospect too discouraging," says Judge Carroll, "and they returned without purchasing."

A weekly line of stages was established the same year between old Fort Schuyler and Geneva by John House and Thomas Powell.*

At the election of Governor in May, 1798, Pittstown, Geneseo and other towns constituting the present county gave 562 votes for Jay and 79 for Livingston.

At this time the town of Sparta embraced the territory of the present towns of Sparta, West Sparta, Groveland, Conesus and Springwater, and though the population was sparse, there were no less than eight grain distilleries in the town.† The means of transportation would not admit of sending grain to market in its natural condition, but as a barrel of whisky occupied far less space, this mode was resorted to. Rye was principally used for stilling, which was generally done in the winter season when the still slops were fed to stock. It is not to be presumed that with such facilities for imbibing, there would be much check upon appetites, and many are the incidents relating to the results of insobriety among the early settlers. A pioneer who lived near the river would now and then take a drop too much, to the great annoyance of his high-spirited wife. She had tried several expedients to break him of the habit but without effect. So one night as he was returning late and much the worse

* The geography of the new country was as yet imperfectly understood. The *Albany Gazette*, the best informed of the Eastern papers, in referring to an advertisement in its columns, says that "4000 acres of land offered for sale in township 7, range 6 (in Steuben county) adjoining the settlement of Daniel Faulkner at Dansville, near Williamsburgh."

† Distilleries: Wm. Lemen, Wm. Magee, Alexander McDonald, Hector McKay, Nicholas Beach, John Hyland, James Rodman, James Scott.

for new whisky, she stepped suddenly before him in the road wrapped in a white sheet. This brought him to a full halt. "Who are ye, anyway?" said he. The spectre gave no answer. "Who are ye?" Still there was no answer. "If you're a good spirit you'll do me no harm, so no fear on that score. If you're the devil, as I suspect, I've married into your family and as you're too much of a gentleman to injure a relative, I fear no danger from that quarter, so I pass." The ghost retired discomfited, and the bibulous wayfarer trudged home.

The first school house built in Old Sparta was a log hut of small size erected at Hermitage in the fall of 1798, and opened the following May with a man named Blanchard as teacher, and a dozen or fifteen scholars, gathered from a long distance, Samuel Magee, then a lad, coming two and one-half miles through a dense wilderness. "As there were others who had quite as far to come," said he, "I did not complain. Ditworth's spelling book was then in use. In the winter the school was well attended. I have known many a young man and woman in the winter schools twenty-five years old and upwards, and very poor scholars at that."

The residents of Hermitage did their trading at Geneseo, where the current price of a barrel of salt, all of which was brought by teams from the Onondaga salt works, was five dollars. Tea was so great a rarity that the wife of Judge Rosebrugh, on receiving a small quantity as a present a few months after coming to Sparta, invited several of the settlers to her house to enjoy it with her family. The men left their plows and in their shirt-sleeves, their coats on their arms, started on foot, while their wives mounted horses and threaded their way over Indian trails to the hospitable roof. The story runs that the guests came near

having the opportunity of testing the quality of the novel plant as an article of food rather than of drink. Its preparation having been left to a domestic better skilled in "greens" than in bohea, as "store-tea" was then called, Mrs. Rosebrugh by accident overheard one of the children of the household asking the girl "why she put so much bohea into the kettle," and, on looking, found a good part of her present ready for stewing.

In the latter part of the summer of 1798 the Senecas got the impression that the government was not going to pay them the interest on the hundred thousand dollars paid them by Robert Morris. Their chiefs earnestly besought the Indian agent and other leading whites to see to it that their people were not disappointed in receiving their money. "We expect," said they, "that an annuity of \$6,000 will be ready for us at the falling of the leaves." General Chapin wrote the Secretary of War, "I hope, sir, this business may be attended to, and that the money may be sent in dollars, as no other money can be divided among them to their satisfaction. To have it sent in silver dollars may occasion more expense, yet such, at the time the agreement was concluded, was the understanding of all parties."

The French Revolution caused much alarm among the neighboring governments of Europe, and to none more than to England. In 1797 there was great fear of an invasion, and the British parliament in that year laid upon every estate the obligation of raising a certain number of fencibles. The Scottish Earl of Broadalbin, in carrying out this requisition, directed that every person on his broad earldom who had two sons, must place one of them in the Fencibles or leave his estates. The measure was unpopular in Scotland, and availing themselves of the alternative, a number

of young men sailed from Greenock in March, 1798, and after a passage of six weeks, landed at New York. Captain Williamson was apprised of the arrival of so desirable a party of colonists of his countrymen, and lost no time in inviting them to locate on his lands. They decided, however, to have a committee of their number examine the lands, which, having reported favorably, in March, 1799, a party of twenty-three of them, one-third of whom were females, set out on foot from Johnstown, Montgomery county, for the present town of Caledonia. After a journey of ten days, they reached their destination. The land was laid off into small farms which were assigned by casting lots. The whole party set to work to build a loghouse for each family, and beyond a trifling expenditure for nails for the doors and for fastening the clapboards upon the gables, their domiciles were completed without the use of money. All about them the country was a wilderness, full of Indians and alive with deer, wolves and rattle-snakes. "A man," says John Mc-Vean, "might travel twenty miles north or south from the settlement, and not see one house except an Indian hut." Fever and ague made its appearance, and one by one it attacked the new comers, but they soon recovered.*

* In Williamson's *Letters to a Friend* he says, "The plan of this settlement occupies about 10,000 acres, distributed in the following manner:

For the Ministry	- - - - -	100 acres.
" Schools, about	- - - - -	60 "
Ten gentlemen, 500 acres each	- - - - -	5,000 "
Ten farmers, 100 " "	- - - - -	1,000 "
Forty " 78 " "	- - - - -	3,120 "
For the Village, 60 lots of 12 acres each,	- - - - -	720 10,000.

CHAPTER XI.

PIONEER ELECTIONS — SCARCITY OF FOOD — RAPID GROWTH OF THE SETTLEMENTS.

The pre-occupied farmers of the new settlements found little leisure for politics. In an address of a committee of Federalists, of which Judge Porter was secretary, to the people of the old county of Ontario, "it was regretted that the inhabitants of this county have, in former elections, betrayed so much remissness and neglect in giving their votes that not more than one-third of the electors have voted," and so modest were candidates here that, says the address, "it is to be remarked that members of Congress from the Western district (embracing the counties of Onondaga, Cayuga and others,) have uniformly been elected from counties east of this.* A convention followed at Canandaigua in March, which nominated Thomas Morris for Congress and two Federal candidates for the Assembly, of whom the latter were elected.

In 1800 Charles Carroll of Bellevue, Maryland, induced his friends and neighbors, Colonel William Fitzhugh and Colonel Nathaniel Rochester to visit the Genesee country in quest of a town site contiguous to a water power. They came on horseback by way of

* See *Albany Gazette* of Feb. 1800.

Bath, over the Williamson road, accompanied by a servant and a led mule. Captain Williamson advised them to go to the Falls, as the present city of Rochester was then called, where they bought of Indian Allen one hundred acres embracing a mill site at the edge of the fall, and also a tract in the center of the present city, on the west side of the river, of the Pultney estate. Returning up the valley, Carroll and Fitzhugh purchased 12,000 acres in Sparta and Groveland, on which they subsequently resided, and Rochester purchased seven hundred acres in the latter town. Their families had been intimate in Maryland, and in this new country they proposed to continue this intimacy and friendship. They returned to Maryland, and in 1807 sent out an agent named Begole to take charge of their lands.*

At the legislative session of 1800 an act was passed for improving the State road from Utica to Geneva and incorporating a turnpike road company. The capital stock was fixed at 2,200 shares at \$50 per share. The commissioners under the act were Charles Williamson, Benjamin Walker, Jedediah Sanger and Israel Chapin. Books were opened for subscriptions to the stock at Geneva, Canandaigua, Utica and Albany. The prospectus estimated that there could annually be drawn from Onondaga, Cayuga, Ontario and Steuben, upward of 500,000 bushels of wheat, with a due proportion of other produce, and it concluded as follows: "Travellers all agree that the settlement and improvement of these counties have been more rapid and prosperous than that of any other tract of country of the same surface was ever known to be. Spirit of emigration still in its infancy, owing to the extreme difficulty of passing to and from

* Begole settled at Hermitage and became the father of a large family.

it as the present state of the roads for nine months in the year renders it almost impracticable to travel it even on horseback."

At the election for State Senator in 1800, Sparta gave 37 votes for Jedediah Sanger, Hartford 71 for the same candidate, Pittstown 69; Charlestown gave 94 for Nathaniel King and 22 for Jedediah Sanger, and Geneseo gave 75 for Sanger.

The fall of 1801 proved to be quite sickly. The weather was uncommonly wet, and billious fever was very prevalent, though not of a very fatal type. Indeed, agues and other bilious complaints were common prior to 1804. Maple sugar making was common among farmers at this period, from five hundred to one thousand pounds was often made in a season by a single farmer. The soil produced abundantly, and bountiful harvests rewarded the labors of the husbandman.

At the State election in May, 1801, the candidates for Governor were Stephen Van Rensselaer and George Clinton, and the vote in the towns embraced in the present limits of Livingston county, stood as follows: Charlestown gave Van Rensselaer 51 votes and Clinton 63; Sparta, 10 for Van Rensselaer and 29 for Clinton; Geneseo, 22 for Van Rensselaer, 63 for Clinton; Pittstown, 81 for Van Rensselaer, 27 for Clinton; Northampton, 78 for Van Rensselaer, 10 for Clinton; Hartford, 41 for Van Rensselaer, 25 for Clinton; giving Stephen Van Rensselaer a majority of 66 in the county. Governor Clinton was elected, however, by a majority of 3,965.

The census of Ontario county, taken this year, showed 1,691 electors possessing a freehold of £100 value, 247 electors possessing a freehold of £20 value, and 923 electors who rented tenements of forty shillings annual value. Sixteen hundred and thirty-four

freeholders was the ratio to one Senator, and 860 electors to one member of assembly.

The Indians, who had now experienced the advantages of machinery, were no longer content to hew the material for their houses with the axe, nor pound their corn and other grains in the mortar. They wanted saw-mills and flouring mills. At a council held in May, 1801, after deciding to annex the property of Squawkie Hill and Little Beardstown reservations to Buffalo Creek, and Big Tree to Tonawanda, they authorized their head men to negotiate for the disposal of Canawangus reservation to secure means to erect a grist and saw-mill, in case the land would amount to their cost. Soon after this their chiefs began to advise them to dispose of the other reservations along the Genesee, remarking that "our great reason for this exchange is that there are bad Indians living on these lands, and by placing them more compact, will be the means of keeping them in better order," and they applied directly to Captain Williamson and Thomas Morris to aid them in exchanging their lands for other property.

The observation of the Indians had advanced them another step toward civilization. At a council held near Geneseo in November, 1801, at which the principal chiefs of the Senecas, and representatives of the Onondagas, Cayugas and Delawares took part, Red Jacket, speaking for his people, said, "We have assembled at this time to receive our annuities. We have been treated fairly, but we wish next year that fine broadcloths be omitted and coarser woolen cloths be sent in their place, that a small portion may be divided to all, for our old men, women and children are now looking to you for something to screen them from the cold winter blasts and snows. At this season, too, our young men betake themselves to the

forest to procure game. They want more powder and lead. We no longer find our game at our doors, but are obliged to go to a great distance for it, and even then find it scarce to what it used to be. The white people are scattered so thickly over the country that the deer have almost fled from us, and we find ourselves obliged to pursue some other mode of getting our living. So all our villages have determined to take to husbandry, and we have concluded to accept the proposition of President Washington when he told us we must learn the customs of the white people, and he would provide us oxen to plow the ground and relieve our women from digging; with cows which our girls could learn to milk and to make butter and cheese; and with farming utensils and spinning wheels. He told us we must make use of beef instead of moose and elk meat, swine instead of bears, sheep in place of deer. Brothers! we desire you to make known to the President who is in the place of General Washington [John Adams] that we agree to accept his offer, for we find ourselves in a situation which we believe our forefathers never thought of."

A gentleman travelling through this region in June, 1802, writes to the Albany Gazette that "the spirit of improvement which pervades all parts of this State the present season has no example in our history, Turnpike roads are now progressing with spirit in all directions. A chain of them stretch the whole extent of the route from Schenectady to Canandaigua, a distance of 193 miles, which, it is expected, will be completed by the middle of October." Writing in the latter month on the subject, the Gazette says, "on the great turnpike much work has been performed, and although not finished, the road in its whole extent has received most valuable repairs." Proposals were also made to the energetic commission-

ers to carry the turnpike to Presque Isle, Niagara Falls.

In the same year James Wadsworth offered to set apart one thousand acres of land adjoining the river to encourage an English settlement, and adds, "I am disposed to offer substantial encouragement to the first English families who remove into this town."

At the Senatorial election in May, 1803, Ontario county gave 808 votes for Hyde, the Democratic candidate, and 1,059 for Matthews, the Federal candidate, showing a large increase in the aggregate vote in the county.

In October of this year the Holland Land Co. advertised three millions of acres of land for sale. By 1803 there were about thirty families settled in Geneseo. In April, 1803, James Wadsworth had fixed the price of the bottom lands adjoining the river at \$4 to \$5 per acre, according to quality and situation, and offered five thousand acres of these lands for sale.

In 1803 Ontario county elected three Federal members of the Assembly, Nathaniel W. Howell, B. P. Wisner and Amos Hall, over their Democratic competitors, Daniel Chapin, John Swift and E. Patterson, by an average majority of 350. At the State election in May, 1804, Ontario county gave 792 votes for Lewis for Governor, and 1178 for Aaron Burr. The number of Votes for assemblyman in May, 1804, in Hartford (Avon), was 134; Geneseo, 118; Sparta, 95; Leicester, 81; Southampton, 114.

The summer of 1804 proved to be one of great scarcity. James Wadsworth, writing on the 19th of July of that year, says, "So great a scarcity of provisions has never been experienced in this country." The growing crop, however, proved a good one, and in November of that year a wagon load of Genesee wheat

was carried to Albany from Bloomfield, 220 miles. The quantity was one hundred bushels, and was drawn by four yokes of oxen. It was purchased at Bloomfield for five shillings per bushel, and sold in Albany for seven shillings and three pence, the net proceeds of the load being not less than \$100. The journey, notwithstanding the badness of the roads at that season, was performed in twenty days. This was the first venture of the kind yet undertaken, of transporting by land grain from so great a distance and was only justified by the exceptionably high price then ruling in the Eastern market.* A team with an ordinary load, could make the trip over the turnpike from the Genesee to Albany and return, in a fortnight.

The price of unimproved lands in 1804, east of the Genesee, ranged from \$2 to \$4 per acre, and for farms of one hundred acres, of which twenty to thirty were improved, with log house and barn, would sell for from \$6 to \$20 per acre; west of the river the best unimproved lands sold for \$1.50 to \$2.50 per acre.

Among the annoyances to which the pioneer farmer was subjected, not the least was the depredations of the Indians. The misappropriation did not always arise, perhaps, from deliberate intent to commit a larceny, but it required some time for the native to become accustomed to the white man's notion of the rights of property. It was not an uncommon thing for a farmer to find an Indian astride a horse for which he had spent days in search of, and the coolness with which the native would listen to the reprimand was often as provoking as the loss of time occasioned by the search. Saddles, hogs, meat and wearing apparel were not infrequently taken. It was no satisfaction to obtain a judgment for costs against an Indian, for

* Albany Gazette, Nov. 22, 1804.

the officer could seldom find anything to levy upon. Farmers, therefore, resorted to General Chapin, the Indian agent, who at the annual payment of annuities, would deduct properly authenticated accounts against the Indians, and thus compel their chiefs to put a check upon the lawlessness of their followers.* The case, however, had two sides. The policy of the government toward the Indians was not fully defined, General Knox, in writing to General Chapin, calling it "helter-skelter conduct," and often the wrong-doing was traceable to the practice of dealing out whiskey and rum to the Indians, often by direct order of the government agent; † and sometimes the misdeeds of the uncivilized red man were committed to retaliate for the thieving of the whites upon them. The latter class of petty evils was so serious that the Indian agent was supplied with an annual allowance for paying the Indians for articles taken from them by the whites.

In January, 1805, the weather was exceedingly cold. On the 5th of that month John Kennedy, of Sparta,

* I give below specimens of these accounts:

"Rec'd of Isr'l Chapin Thirty Dollars in full of shirts, vest, &c., stolen from me in June last by the Indians of Squaka Hill.

Canandaigua, 3 Ap'l, 1801.

WM. WADSWORTH."

"Geneseo, 23d September, 1799.

Israel Chapin, Esq., Indian Agent,

To John Bosley, Dr.

For 650 (six hundred and fifty) pounds of Pork, being hogs killed by the Indians (of Squaka Hill) as acknowledged by them in the presence of Mr Parrish and Capt. Jones,

Dolls. 40 Cents 62."

(This bill is receipted by James Bosley for \$20.)

† In the Spring of 1792 Israel Chapin, Indian Agent at Canandaigua, supplied to Farmer's Brother and party, on their return from Philadelphia, 240 lbs. beef, 300 lbs. flour, 100 lbs. pork, and 10 gallons of whiskey.

In October of the same year, General Chapin delivered 4½ gallons of whiskey for the purpose of enabling Red Jacket's family to build a house.

perished on the road as he was returning from mill. His team was near him when found. Two men were frozen in Livonia, and others died from the same cause.

The year 1805 proved to be one of prosperity to this region. James Wadsworth says, "people here are very healthy, and everybody who minds his business is growing rich." Farmers had come in in abundance, but there was as yet much lack of persons of other occupations. In September of this year, James Wadsworth writes, "there is not a good tanner within 25 miles of the Genesee river."

In the month of January, 1805, the same gentleman was interesting himself in the establishment of postal facilities. On the 5th of this month he wrote to Postmaster General Granger on this subject, and said, there being then no postoffice at Geneseo, "We at present sometimes send our letters to Canandaigua, distance 30 miles, and sometimes to Hartford, distance 10 miles. As the postmaster at the latter place—Mr. Hosmer—is not a little careless, we are subjected to many inconveniences." * * * "By establishing a P. O. at this place you will very much accommodate this and the neighboring towns. I imagine that the receipts of the office will more than pay the expense of transporting and returning the mail once a week from Hartford to this place."

Mr. Wadsworth was in the habit of offering, in early days, to exchange new Genesee lands for old Connecticut and other eastern lands. On the 1st of August, 1805, he writes Samuel Finley, "I am desirous of encouraging the most respectable settlement from Marlborough to this town. I have determined to offer two important farms, together with a new farm of 100 acres, to three respectable families of Marlborough or the adjoining towns. You are therefore

authorized to offer these three farms to three inhabitants of industry and established and approved principles, in exchange for their farms, subject to this condition, that their farms shall be appraised by Esq. Joel Foote." Mr. Wadsworth also authorized a friend to advance \$15 to each of two good men of Berkshire county, to come and view the Genesee country. He took great pains to diffuse accurate information as to climate, crops and lands, and also worked indefatigably to stimulate the growth and prosperity of the settlements. In August, 1805, Mr. Wadsworth writes, "I am resolved on making the experiment this fall of sending mule colts to the Genesee river," and ordered the purchase of one hundred.

A feeling of prosperity was experienced by many of the settlers. Mr. Wadsworth wrote in August of this year, "I feel myself rich in Genesee lands, and rich in the faith that in a few years they will command \$20 to \$30 per acre."

The fever common to the early settlers, known as the "Genesee fever," still made its appearance, and nearly all the first settlers were attacked by it. It was of a low typhoid type and proved fatal in several instances. In others it left the constitution permanently impaired. Notwithstanding this the currents were setting strong in the direction of the Genesee country. Pittstown was receiving accessions from the prudent and industrious class of New England agriculturists; indeed, all parts of the country were receiving additions. In December, 1805, Mr. Wadsworth writes, "such is the prodigious influx of settlers to the Genesee river, that provisions will be very scarce next summer."

A total eclipse of the sun occurred near mid-day on Monday, June 16, 1806. This noted event is vividly recollected by persons yet living in our county.

The centre of the eclipse passed over Lake Erie, the Genesee country and Albany, and thence outward into the Atlantic ocean, to the southward of Nova Scotia. The atmosphere during the forenoon had been perfectly clear, and the sun was very bright until fifty minutes past nine, when a little dark spot became visible about 45° to right of Zenith. Shades increased, and at a quarter past ten o'clock stars were seen, and the atmosphere began to assume a pale and gloomy hue. At a quarter after eleven the sun was wholly obscured. It now appeared like a black globe with a light behind. The darkness, which equalled a deep twilight, lasted three minutes. Business was suspended, many stars were seen, fowls went to roost, birds were mute except the whip-poor-will, whose notes partially cheered the gloom, and an occasional bat flitted from its hiding place. The dew fell, the thermometer dropped a half dozen degrees, a certain chilliness was felt, and nature everywhere seemed to have taken on a sober aspect. At about 18 minutes past 11 o'clock a bright little spot showed itself to the left of the sun's nadir similar to the focus of a glass when refracting the sun's rays, and as this increased, a change, how pleasing can scarcely be conceived, took place in the complexion of things, and at about forty minutes past twelve the sun again shone forth in full splendor. Such a spectacle is so rare that it is not a matter of surprise that the Indians, who look with peculiar horror upon celestial phenomena, so unusual an event should seem an omen of fearful import. On this occasion they were filled with alarm. John Hunt, one of the pioneer settlers in the town of Groveland, says that Dan McKay, an Indian trader residing in Geneseo, was at Caneadea on the morning of the eclipse, and taking his watch out, he told the Indians that at such an hour the sun would be totally

obscured. As the sky was perfectly clear, and their untutored minds knew nothing of science, they refused to credit his statement, and went so far as to wager ten dollars with him that the event he assumed to foretell would not come to pass. Having thus staked his money on the certainty of the eclipse's occurring, he put out his horse and waited the event. As the hour approached and the sky became overcast, the countenances of the poor Indians were also overcast, and there was depicted thereon the greatest anxiety and consternation, and they ran to and fro in the most abject terror. The eclipse, however, was soon over with, and as the sun again poured down its flood of light, the spirits of the Indians rose, and they resumed their wonted composure. They paid their lost bet like men, and McKay started home ten dollars the richer for having possessed a little more education than his dusky customers.

In 1806 three Clintonian members of assembly were elected by the counties of Ontario and Genesee, which then voted together.

The spring of 1806 was one of famine. James Wadsworth, under date of May 23d, says: "There is literally a famine in this land of milk and honey. A severe drought last summer cut off about half the crop of corn. The farmers, they hardly knew how themselves, consumed their hay by the month of March, and have been compelled to feed out their grain to keep their cattle alive during a long, backward spring. They now find themselves destitute of bread to support their families. Six or eight families of the town of Southampton have applied to the overseer of the poor for assistance. I am supporting three or four families, and expect to be called on by more soon. My brother has been compelled to turn forty fat oxen from our stables, to preserve the grain they

were consuming for poor families who have not the means of subsistence."

A writer to a friend at the East, in May, 1806, says: "On my arrival I found upwards of thirty (30) families at Mount Morris ready to go to work. Some of them have handsome properties." The settlements were still sparse, however. Richard Osborn, who settled in Leicester in 1806, says there was then but one house between Tuscarora, afterward the residence of Major Spencer, and Caledonia springs. Where is now Vermont street in Conesus, there was then no road and no settler, nor was there for several years thereafter. Reverend Andrew Gray, a pioneer clergyman of the Presbyterian church, was preaching in Sparta in 1806, though he subsequently accepted a missionary appointment among the Indians near Lewiston, and did not return to Sparta until after Buffalo was burnt. In 1806 the road from Bath through Dansville and Williamsburgh to Avon, was by law declared a post road. In the fall of 1806 the Postmaster General, Gideon Granger, established a postoffice at Geneseo, and provided a mail to Avon once a fortnight, the whole service to cost \$26 a year, and, says a letter of that day, "it accommodates us perfectly." A gentleman writing from Geneseo this same fall, says, "you are mistaken in supposing that in coming to this country you come to a desert, you will find better roads here than in Haddam,* and you will find most of the people who have been here two or three years, enjoying the comforts of civilized life."

In June, 1806, James Scott left Northumberland county, Pennsylvania, with his family consisting of his wife and ten children,† in a large covered wagon

* Connecticut.

† One of whom is the Hon. Wm. Scott of Scottsburgh. The names of the

drawn by four horses and a yoke of oxen, reaching Sparta on the 1st of July. From Dansville they were obliged to cut a road most of the way to their new home. They settled in the woods on the farm now owned by Peter Swick. There was no wagon road in any direction, except the one they had just opened. An Indian path ran from Conesus to Hemlock valley, and nothing more. To the eastward stretched an unbroken wilderness to Naples, a distance of eighteen miles. In the territory now constituting the town of Springwater there was not a stick cut nor line drawn. A good many Indians roamed through the woods, and bears, wolves and deer, by the score, made their presence known, while panthers were far more common than welcome. Two years before bringing his family, Mr. Scott, who was an Irishman by birth, and a soldier in our Revolutionary army from love for his adopted country, had visited Sparta on horseback, in company with his wife, for the purpose of prospecting. The country suited the couple and in the fall two sons and one daughter came out, erected a log cabin, cleared off a piece of ground and sowed it with wheat. The next summer another son came out and drove a cow. All went back to Pennsylvania in the fall and returned with the family. "The Sabbath following our arrival in Sparta," says Esquire Scott, "my father, one of the girls and four of us boys attended meeting at the house of George Mitchell, a log domicile two and one-half miles south of Scottsburch, where Samuel Emmett, a Methodist minister, preached a sermon to a congregation of twenty-five or thirty persons, who had gathered from a circuit of two or three miles. His text was Ecclesiastes X, 1. I had heard the good man preach in Pennsylvania five years

children were Matthew, Anna, James, John, William, Charles, Jane, Thomas, Isabella and Samuel.

before, and seeing him here renewed agreeable associations. His voice was loud enough to lift the bark roof from the low-browed house, and he had all the earnestness of early Methodism. There was much shouting, and some of his hearers fell with "the powers," as it was called. The Doxology was sung but no benediction was said except 'meetin's over.' The season was one of great scarcity, especially of wheat. We had learned this before quitting Pennsylvania, and had brought sufficient to last until our ripening crop, and a bountiful one it proved to be, could be harvested. Four of us brothers, of whom I was youngest, went over to Groveland hill to help in harvest. We worked for the brothers Hugh, Abraham and John Harrison, William and Daniel Kelly, and Thomas Baily; William Magee on the Canaseraga flats, Jacob Snyder, who had a crop at Hermitage, but had moved to Henderson's flats before it ripened, and Thomas Begole,* agent for the Maryland Company. In the fall we all went to Mount Morris flats and husked corn for Captain William A. Mills. Each hand of us got two bushels of corn in the ear for a day's work, and a brother, with the two horses and wagon, got six bushels a day. By this means we secured a supply of corn for the winter. There were then but few inhabitants in the village of Mount Morris or Allen's Hill. Captain Mills was keeping tavern in a log cabin, and there were perhaps a dozen other log houses, occupied by the widow Baldwin, Deacon Stanley, Adam Holtslander, and Grice Holland. A Mr. Hampton lived in a log house on what is now called the Colonel Fitzhugh place, and Joseph Rich-

* Charles Carroll, Wm. Fitzhugh and Col. Rochester's purchase was then so called. A part of Thomas Begole's house is still standing near the late residence of Edward P. Fuller.

ardson kept a store and tavern at Williamsburgh. I recollect seeing two sons of Mary Jemison at Mount Morris. There were but few inhabitants at Geneseo, then generally called Big Tree. I remember the two Wadsworth brothers, (who had a store there in charge of William H. Spencer, either as partner or clerk), Colonel Lawrence, a Mr. Coates, Charles Colt and John Peirce. I know of none now who lived there at that time.

At Dansville I recollect David Shull, owner of the Williamson Mill, Samuel Culbertson (with whom I learned my trade as cloth-dresser, a good man) Peter LaFlesh, Neal McCoy, Jared Irwin, the first postmaster, Matthew Patterson, David, James and Matthew Porter, Peter and Jacob Welch, Jonathan Stout, John Metcalf, Amariah and Lazarus Hammond, Owen Wilkinson, William Perine and Isaac Vandeventer. The first town meeting we attended in Sparta was in 1807, and was held in the present town of Groveland, then forming a part of Sparta, at the tavern of Christian Roup, a log house standing nearly a mile south of the Presbyterian church. I recollect seeing at the polls Captain John Smith, Joseph Richardson, Robert Burns, John Hunt, Andrew Culbertson, William and Daniel Kelly, Samuel Stillwell, James Rosebrugh, William McCartney, Alexander Fullerton, James Scott, the McNair brothers, Thomas Begole and William Doty. It was an orderly gathering, but little of political excitement."

The first settlements in this section, as in all new countries, in early days, were located near navigable streams; and the little produce that found its way to market was either floated down the Susquehanna and Delaware rivers to Philadelphia and Baltimore, (the latter then affording the best market,) in arks, during the short season of three or four weeks of high water

in the Spring, or to Montreal by the Genesee and Lake Ontario. The latter was the shorter route, but was attended with delays and expense of portage around the falls at Rochester and below. The cost of sending a barrel of potash from the mouth of the Genesee across the lake to Montreal, in 1807, was one dollar, a sum which, measured by the price of grains at the place of production, was several times in excess of the present rate. Though in 1807, James Wadsworth says that the road from Geneseo to Canandaigua was excellent, yet the wagonways were impassable for loads in the spring and fall, and so imperfectly were they yet bridged and graded that, except in midwinter, transportation overland was quite out of the question. It must be recollected that the streams, seventy years ago, averaged twice their present size. The clearing of the lands has greatly diminished their power of absorption, and aged Indians point to tracts of farming lands which were known to them in their childhood as marshes and swamps. The commissioners appointed by the State to consider the feasibility of a canal from Lake Ontario to tide-water, reported as late as 1816 that the cost of transporting a ton of merchandise from Buffalo to Albany was one hundred dollars, and the time required twenty days. As experience has shown that wheat will not bear profitable carriage over ordinary highways beyond two hundred and fifty miles, it was not until the completion of the Erie canal, which at once reduced the cost of freightage to one-tenth, and subsequently to one-thirtieth of overland charges, that our agricultural interests were fully developed. To the ark, however, the pioneer farmers were greatly indebted, in transporting their marketable products, and they often referred to it with satisfaction. • It was invented by a Mr. Kayder, residing on the Juneata river. The high



Geo. W. Patterson

pieces of both flint and limestone. The absence of the
 porphyry of the lower part of the series of rocks,
 induced black iron ore, and also of pyrites, which,
 the heat of timber, with respect to wood, sent
 the purpose of city timber, and of a number of
 for lumber, affected the country, and to open a
 house or covering, which, in the winter, was
 often consisted of five or six men, and a few
 or five men could navigate it at the rate of fifty
 miles a day.*

In 1807, Pennsylvania obtained only two hundred
 logs. No one had a saw-mill at that time, but
 was a store at Northfield, kept by Mr. Hunt
 settlement also contained a few saw-mills.

In April, 1807, General Pike, in his report to
 Federal and State authorities, stated that he
 and the vote on the subject of the
 Lewis, 1462; Thompson, 1462; and
 of Avon were reported to the
 for lumber. He stated that the
 was shown to be a very good
 Taking the whole of the
 together, the
 between Thompson and

The month of January was
 remarkably cold, and the
 steady cold was continued
 were frozen and could not
 pelled to go long distances.

* In speaking of market at Northfield, in the
 following prices:
 Wheat per barrel 3 1/2
 Flour 7 1/2
 Oats and corn 1 1/2
 Buty per bushel 10 A 1



[Faint, illegible handwritten text]

[Faint, illegible handwritten text]

prices of both flour and lumber at Baltimore, and the plentifulness of both articles in the new settlements, induced him to try the experiment of preparing a long, flat float of timber, such as he supposed would suit the purpose of city builders, to be broken up and sold for lumber, after discharging cargo. A temporary house or covering was placed over the cargo, which often consisted of five hundred barrels of flour. Four or five men could navigate it at the rate of eighty miles a day.*

In 1807 Portage contained only two houses, both of logs. No one lived at Nunda at that time, but there was a store at Hunt's Hollow, kept by Mr. Hunt; the settlement also contained three dwelling houses.

In April, 1807, Ontario and Genesee elected one Federal and two Clintonian members of the Assembly, and the vote on governor in Ontario county stood, Lewis, 1462; Tompkins, 1240. The votes of the town of Avon were rejected in consequence of the inspectors having held the election for four days. The canvass showed 156 votes for Lewis and 42 for Tompkins. Taking the whole of what is now Livingston county together, the votes were divided almost equally between Tompkins and Lewis.

The months of January and February, 1807, "were remarkably hard ones. The snow was very deep, and steady cold weather prevailed. The smaller streams were frozen and the inhabitants of Sparta were compelled to go long distances to mill." The mill at Her-

* In speaking of markets at Bath in 1798, Captain Williamson gives the following prices:

Wheat per bushel,	-	\$1.00	Oxen, per yoke,	-	-	-	\$70.
Rye per	"	-	Cows, each	-	-	-	15.
Oats and Corn	"	-	An ox cart	-	-	-	30.
Barley per	"	-	A Log house 20x20	-	-	-	50.
		.70	" " " 2 rooms	-	-	-	100.

mitage had been neglected and the water had frozen up. Samuel Magee was started to Bosley's mill with an ox sled, with a grist for his father, one for Robert Barns, and one or two others. Starting long before daylight on a Monday morning, he found the weather bitter cold. Riding and walking by turns, he reached the mill, and was informed by Mr. Bosley that the water was frozen up hard and had been for several days, and the latter added, "I have more grain in the mill waiting its turn than I could grind in a month if I could begin to-morrow." "The building, as I saw for myself," says Mr. Magee, "was full upstairs and down, and with no prospect of a thaw, so I started for home." Reaching Moses Gibson's tavern, at the foot of Conesus lake, Gibson advised him to go to Henderson's mill, on the outlet of Honeoye lake, seventeen miles distant. He remained over night, and starting early the next morning, reached the mill without meeting a single team, and passing but two houses in the whole distance. He found a large number of grists ahead of him, but had the promise of getting his grinding done in the night time. But his grist was not reached until Saturday night, and he started for home early Sunday morning, by way of the foot of Hemlock lake. On reaching Scottsburgh the snow had left him, and he took his grist home on the hind wheels of Jacob Collar's wagon, reaching his home at 10 o'clock Sunday night, having spent eight days in securing a single grist.

In 1808 the Tuscarora lands, as they were then called, but since known as Major Spencer's farm, were occupied by squatters, who gave great annoyance to land-owners. The locality soon acquired a name more expressive than classical, "Buggarsburgh," and was held in dread by neighboring farmers. The denizens of this unthrifty neighborhood so frequently vis-

ited the sheep-folds on Wadsworth's flats, that the path thitherward became well-trodden, and was used for years afterward, while their visits were always sure to subtract a unit from the sum of the fine flocks kept there. The squatters were dreaded by the whole surrounding country, but finally a Philadelphian, named Jacobs, bought the land and succeeded in clearing it of its lawless occupants. Among the number was a former stage-driver, who had a worn-out horse whose legs were ill-mated, and when it dropped its foot, seemed to step clear over back on its fetlocks. Being at Geneseo on some public day, his horse became the butt of the crowd. After a good deal of fun at his expense, he offered to bet a hundred dollars that Dobbin could travel one hundred miles in twenty-four successive hours. The wager was taken, and it was agreed that he should go five miles north on the road to Avon, and return, making ten miles each round trip, and make ten trips. The owner toed the mark when time was called, and actually made nine trips, or ninety miles, with two hours and a half to spare, when the parties who had taken the bet were glad to buy off.

The election of 1808 brought out a larger vote than usual, and resulted in 383 votes being cast for the Federal candidate for Senator, and 470 for the Democratic candidate.* The vote of Lima, however, was rejected, owing to the fact that the returns, while declaring that "the poll was closed according to law,"

* The vote stood as follows:	Federal.	Democratic.
Sparta,	18	126
Avon,	118	38
Livonia,	32	23
Lima,	82	69
Geneseo,	88	76
Caledonia,	19	42
Leicester,	26	97

and gave the number of votes for each candidate, *did not designate the office!*

A division of the great territory of Ontario county was early agitated by the settlers along the river, who found it irksome to attend the courts and examine the records at Canandaigua. In February, 1808, a project was started to erect a new county, with the county seat at Avon, and a subscription paper was circulated to raise money to build a court house at that place. It had the countenance of Geneseo and the surrounding country, but was successfully opposed by Canandaigua.

The credit system, in business transactions, prevailed to a very large extent in the new settlements, and was productive, as it always is, of great evils. In August, 1808, Mr. Wadsworth wrote to Major Spencer that he was trusting a great deal, and urged him to restrict his credits more.

At the election of 1809 the town of Sparta cast 198 votes for Assemblyman, of which the Democratic candidates each received 168, and the Federal candidates 30. Avon gave the Federal candidates 139, and the Democratic, 60; Livonia gave the Federalists 76, and the Democrats 50; Lima cast 103 votes for the Federalists, and 19 for the Democrats; Geneseo gave the Federalists 89, and the Democrats 73; Caledonia gave 45 votes for the Federalists, and 106 for the Democrats; and Leicester cast 27 votes for the Federalists, and 21 for the Democrats. In 1809 Ontario county gave a Federal majority of 107. The previous year it gave 470 Democratic majority.

A writer for an Eastern paper, in May, 1809, says, "we have had a very severe winter. The oldest Indian does not recollect a winter equally severe."

In the summer of 1809, Asa Nowlen was advised to come to the Genesee country and open a blacksmith's

shop. He was assured that a shop could be built for him in ten days. Iron, he was told, was easily procurable from Pennsylvania, eighty miles distant. Nowlen had heard that the new country was unhealthy, and James Wadsworth assured him that "there was just as much foundation, and no more, for hanging witches in Boston a hundred years before as there is now for the report that our water is bad, and that the inhabitants are all subject to the fever and ague."

In the fall of 1809, General William Wadsworth visited Chancellor Livingston at his residence at Claremont on the Hudson, with a view to making himself acquainted with the qualities of the Merino breed of sheep, and the best manner of rearing them. He also ordered fruit trees from Prince's Garden, on Long Island, for his orchard.

In 1810 Colonel Nathaniel Rochester, of Hagarstown, Maryland, came to Dansville with a view of locating. He had visited the place ten years before in company with Charles Carroll and Colonel William Fitzhugh. He purchased a mill seat and a residence of Jacob Opp, and in 1811 brought his family, consisting of his wife and several children. He erected a paper mill, which he sold in 1814 to the Rev. Dr. Endress. Robert Marr, of Franklin county, Pennsylvania, was employed as foreman. Under his contract, Marr was to commence on the 1st of October, 1810.* After remaining in Dansville two or three years, Colonel Rochester purchased a farm in Bloomfield and removed thither, where he remained until 1817, when he removed to Rochester.

In 1810 the Democrats carried the election in Onta-

* Marr brought with him from Chambersburg, Pa., Horace Hill and another man named Dugan, who were the first paper makers employed in the mill. Thomas H. Rochester, aged 13, John Ward and Wm. Street were apprentices.—(Letter of Thomas H. Rochester to the Hon. Wm. Scott.)

rio county, which elected five Democrats to the Assembly; and Genesee county, which then sent but one member, also elected a Democrat. These two counties embraced the territory of this county. Peter B. Porter, a Democrat, was elected to Congress from the district composed of Ontario and Genesee counties. The same year the vote for governor in the towns comprising the present county, stood, 343 for Tompkins and 326 for Platt. In the previous year, at the election for State senator, the vote of the county was equally divided between Phelps and Swift, the opposing candidates.

Enterprise marked the progress of the settlements. The farmers had as yet formed no agricultural societies, but they never met without comparing views and exchanging suggestions. "Agriculture might be rendered doubly productive," writes a farmer from this region in 1810. "We want some prominent character to give it a new direction, to lead into new channels. But who shall do it? Our great men have other fish to fry. Our papers are filled with comments on European politics, on orders in council and royal decrees, which our farmers do not nor will they ever understand, and it would be no service to them if they did." This impatience was generally felt, and prompted farmers to improvement in their stock and to better modes of planting. In that year a dairyman was brought from Orange county and placed on Wadsworth's home farm, fruit trees were ordered from Long Island, and experiments were made with different grains and utensils.

The dirt roads, owing to the character of the soil and the imperfect manner in which they were laid out and worked, were always an impediment. When the ground was soft, the wagon-way was sure to be cut up and rendered next to impassable by the narrow-

tired wheels in common use. To remedy this the great Western Turnpike Company, in the summer of 1810, determined "that all wagons passing over their road, the wheel tires of which are six inches broad or upwards, shall be exempted from paying toll at any of its gates for the period of two years."* Every teamster was thus prompted to provide himself with broad-tired wagons. John White, of Groveland, has seen ten horses on a wide-tire wagon, which would exactly track with the narrow tire wheels, and would completely fill up and smooth over the ruts made by the ordinary vehicle.

The months of January and February, 1812, were exceedingly cold, "a tremendous winter," as a letter dated the latter part of March of that year, says. "The ground is now covered with snow, and we are obliged to give out grain. The wintering of our stock will cost us half as much as it is worth, and my brother has had the blues for six months." The winter had set in with unusual severity, and proved to be the coldest of any then yet experienced. A month later the same writer says: "Our section of the country is very flourishing. Wheat and all kinds of produce command money, and settlers are flocking to the Genesee river from all quarters. The embargo renders business dull, but almost any tradesman, with or without a family, would find constant employment in our little village (Geneseo). A good shoe and boot maker and tailor would make property fast. Farm hands command from ten to twelve dollars per month."

Merchandise had uniformly been brought up the Susquehanna, and thence overland from Elmira to Dansville. But in the fall of 1812 George Smith

* Albany Gazette July 9, 1810.

brought the last load of goods by that route in a covered wagon, drawn by six horses.

The year 1812 added little to the population of this region, notwithstanding the promise of the early season. "The war is a complete damper to all sales of new land. I have not filled out a dozen land contracts this season," says the principal land owner of this section, "indeed, more settlers have gone out than have come into the Genesee country."

CHAPTER XII.

WAR OF 1812.

The war of 1812, though favored by the great body of the people, embracing the Democratic party and many of the opposition, was nevertheless opposed by an influential though small minority of the Federals. The Eastern States, with the exception of Vermont and a large part of New York and New Jersey, were opposed to it. Pennsylvania and the South and South-west favored it.

The district composing the county of Livingston, was largely Democratic, and gave the war a cordial support. Major General William Wadsworth, commanding the militia of the division which embraced the county, promptly offered his services and they were as promptly accepted. Colonel Lawrence, of Geneseo, also volunteered, and was followed by a large part of his command.

War was declared on the 18th of June, 1812,* and on the morning of the 13th of October of the same year, about 230 men, under command of Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer, crossed the Niagara river from Lewiston to drive the British from Queenstown Heights. Colonel Van Rensselaer was severely

* The war ended Feb. 15, 1815.

wounded before the little force moved from the Canada shore. Though General Wadsworth was charged with the duty of superintending the moving of the troops, and was entitled by his rank to command the force, he promptly requested Captains Wool and Ogilvie, officers of the regular army, who had seen service, to direct the movements, and they resolutely pushed up the hill, assaulted the entrenchments and drove the enemy out. As the Americans entered the works, General Brock came up from the direction of Fort George, with a force double their number, and attempted to drive them out. The battery that had just been taken by our troops, was so efficiently worked, however, that the British were driven back in confusion, and General Brock, among others, was killed. Reinforcements were at once ordered from Lewiston, but the reluctance of the undisciplined militia, fully 1,500 in number, to cross the river and take part in defending the heights, (on the general plea that they had volunteered to defend the "lines," and not to invade foreign territory,) so delayed the work of preparation that an additional force of regular soldiers of the enemy, sent from Fort George, under General Sheaffe, arrived, and the Indians also collected from Chippewa, and by the middle of the afternoon, after an obstinate fight, had re-taken the entrenchments and either killed or made prisoners all who had so gallantly and successfully stormed the heights in the morning. Had our forces been sustained as they should have been, by their companions who stood passive on the opposite side of the river, they might have held the advantage so brilliantly won. General Van Rensselaer, who had crossed to the American side to urge the militia to cross, on finding that they would not do so, despatched a letter to General Wadsworth, who was in command, informing

him of the predicament, and leaving the course to be pursued to his judgment, assuring him that if he thought best to retreat, that boats would be furnished and fire opened on the pursuers; indeed, every measure would be taken to render the retreat as safe as possible. The note, however, reached General Wadsworth too late. He was already engaged with General Sheaffe when the despatch was placed in his hands.*

The indisposition of the militia to respond to the call of their officers so displeased General Van Rensselaer that he quit the service and returned to Albany. He was succeeded by General Alexander Smyth, who "took command of the American forces on the frontier." The surrender at Queenstown had depressed the spirits of the army as well as of the whole country. On taking command General Smyth planned a descent upon Canada. Many of the New York militia had shown an unwillingness to cross the Niagara river, and, to stimulate their patriotism and encourage enlistments, for a "month's duty," he issued, on the 10th of November, 1812, a flaming proclamation from his "Camp near Buffalo." In view of the utter failure of this enterprise, and of his total want of military skill, the manifesto reads like the vaporings of a master of comedy. The call, addressed "To the Men of New York," opens with a brief review of military

* General Van Rensselaer says of General Wadsworth, in his account of the battle of Queenstown, "General Wadsworth, a brave and meritorious officer, was requested to superintend the moving of the troops;" and in his letter of resignation he mentions as distinguished in this battle, General Wadsworth and his aid, Major Spencer.

In the battle of Queenstown, when the ammunition ran low, Major Spencer, (Wm. H. Spencer,) serving as aid to General Wadsworth, got off his horse, ran along among the wounded and dead, gathered the cartridges from their pouches into his hat, and distributed them to the advancing soldiers with the encouraging injunction, "Here, boys, are more balls. Now give it to 'em!"

operations, followed by a sharp criticism of the course of his predecessors in command. It continued thus: "In a few days the troops under my command will plant the American standard in Canada. They are men accustomed to obedience, silence and steadiness. They will conquer or they will die." Referring to the "ruthless deeds" of the officers of the British King, he proceeds, "Where I command, the vanquished and the peaceful man, the child, the maid, and the matron, shall be secure from wrong." "The present is the hour of renown. * * * You desire your share of fame? Then seize the present moment. If you do not you will regret it. Advance, then, to our aid. I will wait for you a few days." "Come in companies, half companies, pairs or singly. I will organize you for a short tour. Ride to this place, if the distance is far, and send back your horses."

This call was promptly responded to in Western New York. A company of about thirty was raised in the village of Dansville, under command of William B. Rochester as captain. Sparta and Groveland united in raising a company of about the same number. James Rosebrugh was captain and Timothy Kennedy lieutenant. When they were ready to march the weather was cold, and the frozen ground was covered with snow. The volunteers marched on foot to Buffalo, where they were at once mustered in as infantry. Soon after, on a cold winter night, the army was marched down to the river at Black Rock, and placed in boats, which lay in large numbers under the shore. After some hours' delay, expecting any moment to receive orders to move across and support the advance force that had already been sent over, the sound of a bugle was heard from the Canada side of the river, followed soon after with the announcement that the expedition, of which so much had been prom-

ised, had been abandoned. Smyth himself remained on the American side. Orders shortly came that the volunteers should return to their homes, and the regulars to winter quarters. General Porter, who strenuously urged that the army should cross over, published Smyth as a coward. The army was indignant, and the country felt disgraced. Smyth, who was promptly relieved of his command by the Government without trial, and excluded from the regular army, made his way to his home in Virginia on horseback, accompanied by his aid, to escape being mobbed by the soldiers and populace. An officer who had served with him met him on the road near Geneseo, and says, "Smyth looked as if the d—l had sent his compliments to the braggart. He travelled under the constant apprehension of being attacked." In passing the Benway farm in Groveland, he sighted a hawk on a tree several rods from the road, and, pulling a pistol from its holster, brought down the game without stopping his horse. He spent the night at Stout's tavern in Dansville, where he had an opportunity to observe many a silent evidence of the popular prejudice against him.

These two failures caused much depression of spirits throughout the country, and also a long and bitter discussion. The militia were much blamed by some for not promptly crossing the river and aiding General Wadsworth in the battle of Queenstown. But while some condemned them without measure, others justified their course. General Wadsworth himself, though blaming them for not performing their duty, was prompt to defend them against the wholesale aspersions of Eastern journals. In a letter to General Van Rensselaer he wrote, "I do not now say where the regulars or militia were who were not there to be counted off and afterward surrendered. It is clear

they were not where they ought to have been. It is Major Spencer's, as it is my opinion, that the whole force surrendered by me, or, rather, which was embodied, did not exceed, including officers, 400 men. I am conscious that on the 13th and on every other day during the campaign, I did, or endeavored to do my duty. With this I shall rest satisfied, however editors may estimate my services. I am aware the militia have faults, but they have merit too, and of that merit they ought not to be deprived unless it is intended to render them useless in future."*

General Wadsworth was made prisoner at Queens-town and placed on parole. He went to Geneseo, and while there, and before his exchange, General Smyth's fiasco occurred. He was impatient to return to the service. He writes in December, while still on parole, that "the epidemic, which originated on the lines, has been spread through the country by the returning volunteers, and is proving fatal to many of the inhabitants. I am not well and not without apprehension that the epidemic may lay claim to me, but not, I hope, until I am exchanged and can see General Smyth punished for his impudence and folly."

Turner, in his "Phelps and Gorham Purchase," says: "All the long delay of action, all the waste of time and neglect of opportunities that the militia had witnessed; and lastly, the errors of the commanding General in reference to the crossing place and the

* Accompanying the letter were certificates from Colonel (Winfield) Scott and Lieutenant Israel Turner, 13th U. S. Inf. The former certifies that the number of troops under his command, formed in two divisions in the 13th, did not exceed 130, exclusive of (17) officers, at the time the retreat was ordered. There were 253 militia infantry and rifles embodied. These certificates General Wadsworth requested General Van Rensselaer not to publish, adding, "Too much has already been published. We did not lug politics into the camp, and I do not see why we should be lugged into the political discussions of the day."

inadequate preparations for crossing, did not dampen the ardor or patriotism of the men of Western New York. In fact, we have it upon the authority of General Van Rensselaer himself that he brought on the conflict because the temper of these men would not brook further delay." * * * * "They soon realized the fatal omission to supply boats for crossing, and this, in itself, was a most untoward beginning of the day's work." And after graphically portraying the scenes of that attempt to cross the river under a heavy fire, he says, "It is amid the clash, the smoke, the excitement of battle, that courage rises and enervates; it sinks even with the brave, when they are surrounded by the dead and the dying, and are in a state of inaction. Still the militia pressed forward and endeavored to cross. When they refused to do so it was under the deliberate conviction, induced by all they had seen of that fatal morning's work, that all was lost; that with the vastly inadequate means of crossing a sufficient force could not be landed at one time, to insure a conquest, and only enough for successive sacrifices. In no case, in all the annals of battles, have undisciplined militia continued to stand firm, and press on when there was so much to discourage; so little to hope for." * * * * "Too long have the surviving men of Western New York, and the memories of the dead, been allowed to rest under censures mainly undeserved." * * * "Those of them who crossed the river and bravely fought, have had but little credit for it," and "who gallantly strived for laurels in a conflict so illy arranged and provided for."

From about the 1st of December, 1812, to the middle of March, 1813, a disease, spoken of by General Wadsworth in the letter just quoted, and known to physicians as typhoid pneumonia, prevailed in West-

ern New York as an epidemic, and malignant in form. The late Dr. Lyman N. Cook, of Dansville, who had good opportunity, professionally, for judging of its severity, says: "I doubt its ever having been more malignant or fatal at any time or place. The cold chill, which suddenly came on, was of such severity and duration that it was generally denominated the 'Cold Plague,' and many cases terminated fatally without reaction being restored. The fatality was about the same as in cholera—one in three—but as fatal cases leave a stronger and more lasting impression on the mind than cases of recovery, I presume the rate of mortality is generally believed to have been greater." Such, indeed, is the impression. The pioneers refer to the "epidemic" as usually proving fatal. There is scarcely a burying ground in the country that is not strewn with the graves of its victims. The disease originated in the British army in Canada, and passed into the American army in camp on the Niagara frontier. Hospital accommodations were then so poor that where patients were in a condition to be removed, they were allowed to return to their homes, and while the medical profession did not hold that the disease was contagious, yet, as it broke out in the settlements so soon after its appearance in the army and the return of the sick soldiers, the conviction fastened itself upon the minds of the pioneers that it was communicated in this way, which is probably true. It rapidly spread over the United States, arriving in Florida in about three years. This disease, which "has repeatedly prevailed in different portions of the United States, as an epidemic, often of wide extent, and, in its earlier visitations producing an amount of mortality truly appalling," is described as "a state of congestion or inflammation, more or less intense, of the lungs,

accompanied by that impairment of the sensorial powers and morbid condition of the circulation and of the organism generally, which characterize the more grave forms of typhus fever. Instances are known in which the patient was found dead, or died within three or four hours after being apparently well.* Of the cough, which usually came on within the first twenty-four hours, and the "remarkable pink-colored suffusion of the whole face," (common symptoms of the disease) an early settler says: "Swollen-faced, rose colored patients would be found barking in every house throughout the settlement—calomel and hemlock for sweating, the usual remedies, were in constant demand. Some got well, but many died. Though long years have passed away since the horrors of the epidemic were a present thing, yet the general features of the disease are so clearly fixed in my recollection that I feel safe in asserting that the spotted fever, which has so recently prevailed in this region, is identical with epidemic or cold plague." In this view some medical authorities concur, though it is authoritatively held that the two diseases are totally different. One is inflammation of the lungs; the other inflammation of the covering of the brain and spinal cord, the only resemblance being that both are epidemic.

On the 27th of May, 1813, Fort George, which stood on the Canada side of the Niagara river, opposite Fort Niagara, was taken by the Americans. On the night of the 6th of June following, the British fell upon the American camp, but were repulsed. At this time the army was 6,000 strong, under command of Generals Lewis, Chandler, Boyd and Winder, who were with their brigades, and Colonels Scott and Mc-

* Watson's Lectures on the Principles and Practice of Physic, p. 602. Prof. Samuel Henry Dickson calls the disease, *Pneumonia Typhoides*.

Comb with their regiments, while Commodore Chauncey, Capt. Perry and other naval officers were present. The capture of Fort George was the first extensive military operation of the war.

After the capture of Fort George, General Dearborn, commanding the American army, landed, and the next day ordered the British General Vincent and his flying troops to be pursued, when it was too late. Generals Winder and Chandler were sent in pursuit, but were assaulted at Forty Mile Creek on the 3d of June by Lieutenant Colonel Harvey, and both Generals were taken. As soon as Dearborn was informed of this disaster he sent forward General Morgan Lewis with more troops to join Colonel James Burn and bring Vincent to action, which Lewis was well disposed to do. Delays occurred, and at last, on the 23d of June, the final mishap of our campaign in Canada that summer occurred. Colonel Charles Boerstler, then lately promoted to the command of the 14th Regt. of Infantry, was permitted to take 600 men to a considerable distance, contrary to obvious injunctions of prudence, 600 men out of reach of support, to destroy a British lodgment. On the 24th of June he arrived to within a short distance of the Beaver Dams, and seventeen miles from Dearborn at Fort George, when, as he was about to attack a stone house in which Colonel Bishopp was entrenched, he was suddenly beset by between 500 and 600 Indians on one side, and a small party of English under Lieutenant Fitz Gibbon on the other. After a long fight, Boerstler, alarmed by the threats of the savages, and deluded by offers of capitulation, out of reach of succor, and with only a hopeless struggle before him, surrendered his whole command with tears in his eyes.

Congress had been in session a month when this event occurred, the climax of continual tidings of

mismanagement. Such was the feeling of impatience aroused by these disasters that a committee of Congress waited on President Madison with the request that General Dearborn be removed from a command which so far had been so unfortunate. The President assented to this request, and another general was appointed to the command of the American forces.

In September, 1813, the independent artillery company of Geneseo, under command of Captain John Peirce, about 60 strong, volunteered for three months' service. When the order came to move, private John Haynes of Lakeville was engaged in clearing a piece of new ground; the other members were likewise engaged in their ordinary avocations. They were sent to Lewiston heights and there assigned to guard duty in Major General Wadsworth's division. They took out a brass six pounder. All the members, save one who came from Groveland, were from the village and town of Geneseo. Their lieutenant was John Gray. Their first term of service was without special incident, save that in common with other militiamen they refused to cross the Niagara river. Captain Peirce had been placed in charge of a battalion, and the men, after the end of their term, without being formally mustered out, returned to their homes.

In September, 1814, the company again volunteered as minute men, and were ordered to the Canada frontier and there detailed for garrison duty at Fort George, near Lewiston. When the British crossed the river to retake Fort Niagara, a band of Indians and a company of British regulars attempted to capture this company. Unable to withstand the attack of this force, which proved to be much greater than their own, the men were ordered to save themselves. Each therefore made his best speed. Looking around soon after starting, private Haynes saw the enemy

close upon their rear, and the men striking back with their swords. A private soldier named Jones, and another named Hubbard, were never heard of after this retreat. In the same melee private Timothy Orton was killed by the roadside a hundred yards east of Lewiston village. Mr. Haynes had been ordered by the lieutenant commanding to get away as best he could, but, encumbered with knapsack, sword and musket, he could not readily mount his horse. "Hand me your musket," said the officer. This done, Haynes mounted, and as he did so the cannon passed him, the horses being pushed to the top of their speed. In crossing a ditch one of the horses stumbled, and a few feet farther up, being forced up the steep bank, they both fell. Some one called out, "For God's sake, go, they are coming!" He looked back and saw the enemy in full force close upon them; so severing the traces he left the cannon and brought off the horses.

A few days after Orton's death his father and Esquire Fay went out after his remains. He had been buried, but the man who performed this act, at once pointed out the grave, for he immediately recognized a strong family likeness between father and son, and he had also remarked a conspicuous scar on the face of the corpse, made by the kick of a horse, thus leaving no doubt as to its identity. The remains were reinterred near Lakeville* a fortnight after the death, in presence of hundreds of sympathising friends and neighbors.

The company took part in the battles of Lundy's Lane and Bridgewater, and fifty who were ordered to Fort Erie, participated in the battle of Chippewa, in the sortie at Fort Erie,—one of the most splendid

* He lies in the burial ground on the hill, a mile north of Upper Lakeville, beside the highway leading from Geneseo. The grave is marked by a stone with this simple inscription: "Timothy Orton, Died Dec. 19, 1813."

achievements of the war,—and in the action that preceded the blowing up of that fort. On the evening preceding the sortie, General Porter came into the fort to obtain re-inforcements for the party about to storm the enemy's works, which were situated in the swamp near at hand. A muster of the garrison was accordingly ordered. Of the company about 80 were present. Stirring speeches were made, and the Generals said that the British entrenchments were soon to be stormed and they were short of men to carry muskets. All who had nerve enough for the duty were therefore asked to volunteer. Although the dragoons were not required to carry muskets, 21 of the company stepped forward. Dr. D. H. Bissell and Judge Gilles were among the first to do so ; and in the order of march, these two men continued on the right of the line, up to the enemy's breastworks. The force marched from the fort to a large oak tree and there halted a moment. One of the Generals here asked if any one present had a full canteen of spirits. Dr. Bissell offered his. Each general and staff officer took a drink, and returned it nearly empty. Five minutes later they were engaged in a deadly conflict with the enemy.

In December, 1813, General Lewis having replaced General Dearborn as commander of the American forces, left Colonel Scott in charge of Fort George, at that time our only foothold in that part of Canada, after nearly two years' fighting. Eager to share the honors of the capture of Montreal, Scott, as permitted, left the fort under the command of General McClure of the New York militia, and joined the force organizing for the Montreal campaign. After Scott's departure, the British Lieut. General Drummond resolved, with 1,200 men, to retake Fort George. McClure proved no match for Drummond in spirit, if in

force, or for Colonel Murray who brought on the English advance. After a vaporing proclamation to the Canadians, as if they were a conquered people, the General, on the defeat of one of his scouting parties, called a council of war which resolved to abandon the fort as untenable, although Scott left it well provided with artillery and amunition, with open communication to one side of the river, and complete for resistance. The fort was abandoned and dismantled, and McClure, not satisfied with simply abandoning a good position, set fire to the flourishing village of Newark, destroying one hundred and fifty houses and turning more than four hundred women and children out of doors. On crossing the river he saw from Fort Niagara these people taking shelter from the wintry blasts at Queenstown, opposite, and fired red-hot shot at that place to deprive them of shelter there also.

This barbarous conduct inflamed the enemy, and gathered a force of British and Indians, and making due preparations, they attacked Fort Niagara, which, after a feeble resistance of the garrison, surrendered at discretion. Thenceforward, until the close of the war, the British held this fort. After capturing it, which event occurred on the 19th of December, 1813, they, in retaliation for the burning of Newark, laid Youngstown, Lewiston, Manchester (now Niagara Falls), and the Tuscarora Indian village in ashes. On the 30th of December, the little villages of Black Rock and Buffalo * were destroyed in like manner. With

* When the news that Buffalo was burned reached Conesus, through Captain Tyler of Livonia, (who was killed in the war,) two brothers, Joseph Richardson, a cripple, and Jonathan, resolved to take their teams and convey soldiers to the lines. Joseph was killed at Black Rock 'by a ball which passed through his heart. The friends sent to Buffalo for his remains and they were buried in Livonia. Jonathan was taken prisoner, carried to Montreal and Halifax, and after six months reached home. On his way to Mon-

Fort Niagara, the British captured 300 men, an immense quantity of commissariat stores, 3,000 stands of arms, several pieces of ordnance and a large number of rifles. Sixty-five of our men were put to death with the bayonet, and the British had reason to feel that they had amply revenged McClure's cruel course.

Turner, in speaking of this event, says: "The citizens commenced their flight soon after the first repulse of our troops at Black Rock; but few lingered until after daylight. After putting in requisition all the available means of conveyance—even to the last yoke of oxen and sled—many of the women and children were under the necessity of fleeing on foot, wading in the snow at an inclement season, illy prepared for the vicissitudes they encountered. In all the distance from Buffalo to Batavia, during the day, there was upon the road an almost unbroken procession of citizens, panic stricken soldiers, pressing on in the retreat as if they were hotly pursued; and the wounded and sick, in sleighs or upon litters. Other avenues of flight, especially the south road, through what is now Aurora, Sheldon, Warsaw, &c., to the Genesee river, presented similar scenes. The taverns were soon exhausted of their means of feeding the hungry throng, private houses yielded to the importunities of the famishing stinted supplies of provisions that had been stored for the winter's use. From the start upon the frontier, the first and second day, the throngs were constantly increasing by the addition of families along the roads that would hastily pile a few of their household goods upon sleighs, horse and hand sleds, and join in the flight. After the first day's flight, those who were considerate enough to realize that they were

treat he was urged forward, on the march, at the point of the bayonet. While in prison he was nearly starved to death. Joseph Richardson, Jr., son of the Joseph named above, made his escape before Buffalo was taken.

out of danger, would take quiet possession of deserted houses without the formality of a lease. Upon the old Buffalo road, Batavia was the first stopping place, and the small village was soon filled to overflowing; private houses, offices, out-houses, were thrown open to shelter the wearied and suffering who had been driven from the frontier. As a measure of precaution, the books and papers of the Holland Company's Land Office, were removed over the river to Lima." * * * * * "West of a north and south line that would pass through the village of Le Roy, more than one-half of the entire population had been driven from their homes by the enemy, or had left them in fear of extended invasion. Entire backwoods neighborhoods were deserted, hundreds of log cabins were desolate, and the signs and sounds of life were mostly the deserted cattle and sheep, lowing and bleating, famishing for the lack of fodder there were none left to deal out to them. Between the boundary that has been named and the Genesee river, there had been less of flight; the tide flowing eastward had been partially arrested; many wishing to stop as near their deserted homes as their ideas of safety would allow, found friendly shelter for the winter among those who remained undisturbed. The largest portion of the refugees, however, were hospitably provided for east of the Genesee river."

In the spring of 1814, Captain Enos Stone of Rochester, Lieutenant Claudius V. Boughton of Pittsford and Abell Parkhurst of Lima, ensign, raised a company of cavalry for short service. Governor Tompkins had received permission from President Madison to organize a few thousand six months men, and this company was accepted under that authority. The enlistment roll was opened in March and the company was full in April. The men were drawn mainly from

Lima, Bloomfield and Pittsford, with a few from Leicester. They rendezvoused at Rochester and were there mustered into Porter's Volunteer Dragoons. This force was ordered to the mouth of the Genesee river, where a command of 2,500 men was collected and stationed along the side-hill facing the lake, to prevent the British troops from moving up the river, as they were then threatening to do. Scarcely had the dragoons reached Charlotte before several of the enemy's vessels entered the harbor and commenced throwing shot and shell into our lines. Temporary earthworks were thrown up and fire opened on the ships, which soon hauled away.

Soon after this affair, General Porter and several of his officers, among whom was Dr. Bissell, now of Genesee, took a trip on horseback through Ontario and Cayuga counties for the sake of drill and to encourage enlistments. At Aurora, General Porter, Colonel Stone and Captain Boughton plunged into the lake, and the company officers rode in after them and mischievously crowded them farther from shore, to the great merriment of the male spectators, but to the annoyance of their superiors and the consternation of the ladies who had assembled.

Captain Stone, soon after entering the service, was promoted to a colonelcy, and Lieutenant Boughton took command of the company. Colonel Stone was afterwards suspended from command, for permitting, as officer of the day, his soldiers to burn the village of St. Davids, opposite Lewiston, in retaliation of some feuds between them and the Canadians. He was indignantly disarmed by the commanding officer and discharged, and while on his way home from the army, died at Le Roy of a broken heart. He felt that he had been greatly wronged, and doubtless was innocent of any intentional impropriety. The burning of this

village occurred just after the battle of Chippewa had been won, and while General Brown was resting in doubt whether to attack Fort George, or to follow up and attack Riall. It was the only wrong of the campaign, and was promptly punished, though a worthy officer suffered disgrace thereby.

Captain Boughton afterward resided in Victor, Ontario county, and represented that county in the Assembly. Lieutenant Parkhurst died in Lima about the year 1832.

The company entered the service 162 strong, and when mustered out numbered only 48 men. The others had either been killed in battle, died of wounds or camp disease, or been taken prisoners. But very few had deserted.

On the 15th of July, 1814, General Porter, with his brigade of volunteers, Major Wood of the Engineers, and Captain Ritchie with two pieces of artillery, drove in the British pickets at Fort George and formed the brigade within a mile of the fort, in full view of the enemy, with little opposition. Colonel Wilcocke with his American Canadians, Captains Hall, Harding and Freeman, of the New York Volunteers, and a company of Indian warriors, advanced under cover of a copse of trees to within musket shot of the fort, and gave Major Wood, with hardly any loss, an opportunity to examine the works; only a few of Captain Boughton's New York Cavalry being surprised and captured.

After the battle of Lundy's Lane, which occurred on the 25th of July, in which the British General Drummond was so badly worsted, a whole week elapsed before he was able to move forward. On the 3d of August he stationed 4,000 troops two miles east of Fort Erie, with a wood between the fort and his encampment. Finding the fort too strong for assault,

he determined to besiege it. The following day he made an unsuccessful attempt on the American magazines, which General Brown had transferred to Buffalo, prudently guarded by Major Morgan, with part of the rifle regiment taken from Fort Erie.

During several days Drummond was busy with preparations to take Fort Erie, while Gaines, who had command of the fort, was equally active in preparations for defense. Both sides were reinforced, and at sunrise of August 13th, Drummond's arrangements being completed, the engagement commenced with a severe cannonading. About sunset of the 14th a British shell burst in the magazine of the battery commanded by Captain Williams, and blew it up with a tremendous explosion, but without doing any material damage.

At 2 o'clock on the morning of the 15th, the British troops, in three columns of about 1,500 men each, moved in obscurity and silence to the assault. Their watchword was "steel," and General Drummond's written orders of attack recommended a free use of the bayonet. Afterward, when the two armies were in deadly conflict, his voice was often heard shouting, with profane brutality, to give the "damned Yankees no quarter." Several instances of revolting cruelty on the part of the British soldiers occurred. To repulse Drummond's attack, the American forces had been well disposed. General Gaines' position was on the margin of the lake, where the Niagara river empties into it. The ground was a level plain, a few feet above the water, and was strengthened by breastworks in front, entrenchments and batteries. Fort Erie, small and unfinished, was defended by Captain Williams, supported by Major Trimble's infantry. General Porter, with his brigade of New York and Pennsylvania volunteers, occupied the center. The

left was defended by Major McRae, with the 9th Regiment under Captain Foster, and New York and Pennsylvania volunteers under Captains Boughton and Harding. The fight continued until nearly dawn, when the enemy fled in complete disorder and dismay, and our victory was a decided and glorious one.

During the month following this engagement, very little was done by either army. At the end of that time General Brown, who had again assumed command of the American forces, determined upon a sortie from Fort Erie. The British army, consisting of three infantry brigades of 1,200 or 1,500 men each, besides artillery, were encamped in a field surrounded by woods, nearly two miles from their batteries and entrenchments, in order to avoid the American fire. A brigade of infantry attended the artillerists when at work. Two batteries were completed, and a third was in rapid course of construction, all mounted with heavy guns, one of them a 68 pounder, and all well supplied with ammunition. These works General Brown determined to attack. For seven days preceding the sortie there was a continual equinoctial storm of rain, which did not, however, prevent frequent skirmishes, and favored many desertions from the English camp. General Brown decided to attack the enemy's works by day, as being then least guarded, and an attack least expected. He had made himself carefully acquainted with the topography of the vicinity, and had had his soldiers cut roads through the woods, unperceived, close to the enemy. Colonel Jessup, with the 25th Regiment, remained in charge of the fort, and soon after noon of the 17th of September, the men were paraded and got ready for the attack. The left column, destined for Drummond's right, was placed under General Porter, to penetrate circuitously between the British batteries and camp,

thus to surprise and overpower the one-third at work before the other two-thirds off duty in camp could come to their help. Of Porter's three columns, Colonel Gibson, with two hundred of his rifle regiment and some Indians, led the advance. Lieutenant Colonel Wood, with 400 infantry headed by Major Brooke of the 23d, with that and the 1st regiments, had the right, supported by 500 militia of the regiments of Colonels Dobbin, McBurney and Fleming, which force was to attack the batteries. The rain fell in torrents, hence the free use of firearms was rendered impossible. Porter led his column close up to the enemy's entrenchments, turned their right without being perceived by their pickets, and soon carried by storm battery No. 3, together with a strong blockhouse.

In half an hour after the first shot, the three batteries and two blockhouses were taken, the magazine blown up, all the guns rendered useless, and every object of the sortie accomplished, with considerable loss, indeed, but with a success beyond General Brown's most sanguine expectations.

The Americans retired with 385 prisoners, many of them officers, and the total British loss was reckoned at 1,000. General Brown's loss was about half that number. Owing to the rain, which, as has been remarked, prevented the free use of rifles and muskets, the most of the battle was fought hand to hand.

This sortie was by far the most splendid achievement of the campaign, whether we consider the boldness of the conception, the excellence of the plan, or the ability with which it was executed. To General Brown the whole credit is due, although he had the enthusiastic support of Porter and several of the younger field officers. Brown was advised not to make the sortie, and at a council of officers held the evening before, they decided against it, but he did not

give up. In his emphatic manner he said, "As sure as there is a God in heaven, the enemy shall be attacked in his works, and beaten too, so soon as all the volunteers shall have passed over."

General Izard joined Brown and Gaines in October, 1814. At Washington and everywhere the belief prevailed that Izard would capture Drummond. On the 18th of October, 900 men of Izard's second brigade, under Colonel Bissell, the 5th Infantry under Colonel Pickney, a battalion of the 14th under Major Barnard, the 15th under Major Griedage, the 16th under Colonel Pearce, with rifle companies commanded by Captains Irvin and Darman, and a small body of dragoons, were sent to Cook's mill, twelve miles north of Chippewa, to capture some flour there. The next day the Marquis of Tweedale, with a select corps of 1,200 men from the British entrenchments, attacked Bissell, who defeated and put them to precipitate flight in great confusion.

The Americans abandoned and destroyed Fort Erie November 5th, 1814, and crossing the river, went into winter quarters at Buffalo, Black Rock and Batavia.

On the 15th of February, 1815, the war ended, and the settlers were once more permitted to lay down their arms and return to their homes, and the peaceful avocations of their rural life. It will be noticed that no attempt has been made, in this chapter, to give a detailed account of this struggle, and nothing has been said of the operations our armies in other parts of the country than the Niagara frontier, the writer's aim being simply to give some account of those military operations in which the settlers of the Genesee country were directly interested, and in which they participated. The complete history of the war has already been written by historians with whose works the reader is presumably familiar, and it is neither within

the province of this work or the desire of the writer to again review it. Conscious that the details of this disjointed narrative are very meager, enough has been told to show that the early settlers of this region responded readily when their country was in danger, as they and their fathers had done in the Revolutionary war; and it is seen that the service they were called upon to perform, was of the most arduous and dangerous character. In it some gave their all, their lives, while others returned to their homes, to enjoy for many years, the fruits of their dearly bought victory. And some we still have with us, aged but honored and useful citizens, to whom it is a pleasure to listen as they recount the trials and sufferings, the reverses and victories of this second war with Great Britain.

The result of this struggle was highly beneficial to the Genesee country. Many of the difficulties with which the early settlers had had to contend were removed, and life and property became more secure. The jurisdictional limits of Great Britain were defined and established, and thenceforth there was no interference with the progress of the settlements, as there had been previously with Sodus and other places.

Little mention has been made here of individual settlers who participated in the war, but the names of others will appear in the town sketches. Livingston furnished her full quota of troops when men were needed, and her record is one of which we have just reason to be proud. It is said that one town alone (Avon) lost more men in defense of the frontier than the entire county of Niagara. Of the patriotic devotion of the early settlers, no more need be said than this.

After the close of the war the tide of emigration set strongly in the direction of the Genesee country, and

the growth of the settlements was exceedingly rapid. The "cold summer" of 1816, indeed, acted as a check for a time, but subsequent favorable seasons, with their abundant crops, gave a new impulse to emigration, and in spite of the great drawback of a lack of markets for their surplus grain, settlers came in a steady stream. The wild forests disappeared, well-tilled fields began to dot the landscape, and flourishing villages sprang up here and there, where a few years previous only dense forests, with the red men as their only inhabitants, had existed.

About the 1st of October, 1814, Jerediah Horsford settled in Mount Morris. This good old man who has but recently (1875) passed away, was born in the town of Charlotte, Chittendon county, Vermont, on the 8th of March, 1791. His parents lived in a sparsely settled part of the State, and all about them was a dense forest. At the age of 6 years he was sent to the district school, two miles distant. The following winter a school was opened about sixty rods from his father's house, but it was not intended by his parents that he should attend, and it had not, probably, occurred to them that he could go, during the winter season, when the ground was covered with snow, as he had not, up to that period of his life, known the luxury of shoes. But he urged his parents to allow him to attend school, and actually did, for several winters, attend the school barefooted. His method of surmounting this difficulty was both original and ingenious. Procuring a thick pine board, large enough for him to place both feet upon it, he heated it thoroughly before the fire. Taking this in his hand he would start at the top of his speed through the snow, until his feet began to suffer from cold. He would then stop, stand upon the board until his feet were warmed, and then start again, and after two or three such stoppages would

reach the coveted goal. It may be imagined that one who evinced such zeal and determination in his efforts to acquire an education, would make the most of his opportunities. This was true of young Horsford, who, although working on his father's farm every summer, and often in winter being required to assist in chopping and preparing the year's supply of wood, kept up his studies, and made such good progress that at the age of 18 he was employed at \$10 a month to teach a district school, a vocation he pursued for four consecutive winters. With the opening of his first school he united with a dozen young men in his native village in the formation of a debating society, which for several years held its regular meetings and proved an efficient aid to Horsford in his intellectual advancement.

In the spring of 1814 Mr. Horsford resolved to seek his fortune in a new country at the west. With this object in view he gathered together all the little property he was worth, consisting of an old horse and a very cheap lumber wagon and single harness, all worth about \$70, and \$200 in cash, and on the 29th of March started for the Genesee Valley. He located at Mount Morris, and commenced farming, a pursuit he followed until late in life. In 1816 he was married to Maria C. Norton, daughter of Ebenezer Norton of Goshen, Conn. Soon after settling here he was honored by Governor DeWitt Clinton with a lieutenant's commission in the militia. This was soon followed by a captain's commission which he held for six years, when he was promoted to a colonelcy. Holding this commission for two years he asked for and obtained an honorable discharge.

In the spring of 1817 Mr. Horsford removed to Moscow where he opened a public house. This business he followed for twelve years, using and dealing in

intoxicating liquors, as was the universal custom in those days. Mature reflection upon the subject, however, convinced him that the traffic in alcoholic drinks was immoral in tendency, productive of a vast amount of suffering in the community, and, in fact, wrong. He therefore abandoned the liquor business, but kept his house open for a few months, until, finding that he could not make any profit except by selling liquor, he took down his sign, fully determined never thereafter to engage in business which could not be carried on without the aid of intoxicating drinks.

“When I commenced business in Moscow,” says Mr. Horsford, “the travel on the east and west road through the place had become very considerable, especially in the winter season, when emigrants from the east were in great numbers passing to the west and southwest.” At this time there were three public houses in Moscow, each of which was doing a fair business. Mr. Horsford says that “in those days it was the custom, and the practice was almost universal, with families that were moving, to take their own beds and provisions along with them, cook and eat at public houses as they could, and spread their beds, which were not always any too clean, on the floor at night, when they usually seemed to rest quite soundly. This practice was by no means confined to low life. I will cite one instance of the opposite extreme. At the close of the administration of John Quincy Adams, Peter B. Porter, his Secretary of War, on retiring from office at Washington, came across the country from Philadelphia, on his way home, in a heavy lumber wagon, described at that time as a ‘Pennsylvania wagon,’ drawn by two heavy horses. Mr. Porter, his wife, children, servant girl and teamster all passed a night at my house. At the usual hour for retiring beds were brought in from the wagon and spread on

the floor for Mrs. Porter, the children and domestic. Mrs. Porter, in consequence of her position, was asked and even urged to let the younger portion of the family occupy the beds on the floor, and herself retire with her husband. This proposition she very respectfully declined, saying she had slept on the floor every night since leaving Washington and preferred to do so until she should reach her own home at Black Rock. It was not unusual to have four or five beds spread on the floor at the same time, and occupied by families moving."

During the winter of 1814-15 Mr. Horsford taught the district school at Hunt's Corners, in the town of Groveland; in the summer of 1815 the district school at Mount Morris; and during the winter of 1815-16 he taught an Indian school at Squankie Hill, under an engagement with the Synod of Geneva. At this time the number of Indians, young and old, residing at this place, was about eighty.

The "cold summer" of 1816, before alluded to, was a time of great calamity. Save for the loss of life, Turner says it was as severe in its effects as the war. He says, "June frosts almost entirely destroyed the summer crops; in the forepart of the month pools of water were covered with ice. Upon one occasion, especially, in a forenoon, after the sun had dissipated the frosts, the fields and gardens looked like prairies that have been scorched with fire. Summer crops, other than the hardier grains, were crisped and blackened; the hopes and dependence of the people were destroyed. The wheat harvest was mostly protracted until September, previous to which, in all the more recently settled towns and neighborhoods, there was much suffering for food. Wheat was from \$2 to \$3 per bushel before harvest, and in the absence of summer crops, the price but slightly declined after harvest.

The inhabitants of nearly all the Holland Purchase, and all of Allegany depended upon the older settlements in Ontario for bread. The Indians upon the Genesee river had a small surplus of corn of the crop of 1815, which the white inhabitants bought, paying as high as \$2 per bushel. In the new settlements wheat and rye was shelled out while in the milk, boiled and eaten as a substitute for bread; while in many instances, the occupants of log cabins in the wilderness, subsisted for months and weeks upon wild roots, herbs and milk. The season of 1816 was the climax of cold seasons; that of 1817—the commencement of a series of fruitful ones; of plenty, and would have been of prosperity if there had been remunerating markets for produce.”

The condition of Western New York in 1817 is well described by Franklin Cowdery, in the *Cuylerville Telegraph* of March 18th, 1848, of which journal he was then the publisher, in an article entitled “Forty Years a Typo.” He says: “Western New York, in 1817, was verdant and woody, and roads and bridges not much for accommodation. The ice in the winter and a rope ferry in the summer were the substitutes for a bridge over the Genesee river between Moscow and Geneseo. The only paper mill was Dr. James Faulkner’s at Dansville, a place of hardly tenements enough to entitle it to the name of a village. Mt. Morris had a tavern, a few mechanics, and a small store kept by Allen Ayrault. Hon John H. Jones, of Leicester, kept an inn and was first judge of Genesee Co.

“Moscow square, covered with bushes, had been just laid out and a few small frame erections put up, and two or three tenements removed there from Leicester, about a mile, standing. An academy, in a rough looking cabin of two rooms, male and female

departments, with perhaps a dozen or fifteen students in all, was kept by Ogden M. Willey, and Miss Sarah H. Raymond of Connecticut. A low brick school-room, at the east end of the square, was the meeting house on Sundays. A blacksmith shop, a tavern, a store, and a printing office, made up the rest of the village. Deputy Sheriff Jenkins kept the inn, N. Ayrault, P. M., the store, and Richard Stevens was the blacksmith. There was a Dr. Palmer, lawyer Baldwin, and a justice who had been a minister, Rev. Silas Hubbard ; and there was a hatter, Homer Sherwood, and a tanner and shoemaker, Abijah Warren." In a subsequent article Mr. Cowdery adds: "There were other inhabitants at the beginning of Moscow, not in mind at the setting up of our preceding chapter, namely, Benjamin Ferry, tanner and shoemaker, successor to A. Warren ; Moses Ball, cabinet maker ; Theodore Thompson, grocer ; Levi Street, stage proprietor and eventually inn-keeper ; Peter Palmer, Sen., a cooper and natural poet, and Widow Dutton, one of whose daughters is the lady of Dr. Bissell, Canal Commissioner."

The printing office referred to by Mr. Cowdery, belonged to Hezekiah Ripley, who had in January, 1817, established the first paper published in the county, and two or three weeks later employed Cowdery as a "typo." It seems incredible now that the thinly settled Genesee country at that time could have had any need of a public journal, or the ability to support one, yet this newspaper venture in the wilderness seems to have at least maintained its existence, though subscribers must have been few and far between, and advertisers even more rare phenomena. The paper was started under the name of "Genesee Farmer." Afterward Mr. Cowdery was admitted to the concern as a partner, the paper enlarged and its title changed

to "Moscow Advertiser and Genesee Farmer." In a few months the partnership was dissolved, and Ripley, again sole proprietor, dropped the last half of the title. James Percival became proprietor January 8th, 1824, and moving the office to Genesee July 16th, 1824, changed the name of the paper to "The Livingston Register."

On the 15th of July, 1819, William Burbank advertised in the "Moscow Advertiser" that he had taken the stand at the river, between Genesee and Moscow, "which he is fitting up for the accommodation of travellers." * * * "He also assures travellers that no exertions shall be wanting to give them a safe and expeditious conveyance across the river. A new boat will be immediately built, when he will be able to ferry any teams that shall travel our roads."

In the same paper as the above, of date March 11, 1819, under the head of Assembly proceedings it is stated that "the bill to divide the towns of Livonia and Groveland, in the county of Ontario, was rejected in committee of the whole, for want of sufficient notice of the application."

Another notice in the same number of this pioneer journal serves to show where the early settlers found their most remunerative market. William H. Spencer announces that "any person living the west side the Genesee river, who contemplates sending pork, flour or ashes, to the Montreal market the present or ensuing season, can be accommodated with storage, and have their property forwarded if desired. Warehouse Point is about four miles below Moscow. The advantages of the place for storing property is, that it saves 12 or 15 miles boating, that would be required, was the landing to be at the Ferry-place, between Genesee and Moscow."

A large share of the advertising patronage of this

paper was from those who offered "one cent reward and no charges paid," for runaway indentured apprentices, and those who advertised thefts and trespasses on their wood lands.

In August, 1819, the Advertiser announced that a new post office had been established at York, and Moses Hayden, Esq., appointed postmaster. "This office is on the new mail-route from this village to Rochester."

At an early day the staple product of the Genesee valley was wheat, and the principal income was that derived from its sale for shipment to Baltimore or Montreal. In 1820 eight or ten boats were employed on the river in transporting the crops of the county purchased at Geneseo, Mount Morris and Canawaugus. A portion of the crops of the valley was sent to Arkport, and thence in arks or flat boats to Baltimore, which afforded a good market. Produce intended for Montreal market was sent down the river to Rochester. The large farmers sometimes marketed their own wheat, a course not unattended with expense. One of them relates his experience thus: His wheat was ground at Wadsworth's mill, near Geneseo. He then drew it to Avon, paid storage there, paid freight down the river and storage above the falls at Rochester, freight to Carthage (below Rochester) and storage there, freight to Ogdensburgh and storage there, freight to Montreal and storage there, commission for selling, and "cooperage everywhere" on the line. After paying for a draft on New York he had eighteen pence per bushel left for his wheat, without counting the cost and labor of transportation to Wadsworth's mill, and thence to Avon bridge.

Such were some of the difficulties which the early settlers had to meet, but after years brought the canals, the network of railroads, and shipping facilities such

as these pioneers never imagined possible. Time has worked wonders, in no part of the country more than in this, and the busy, wealthy and prosperous county bears little resemblance to the sparsely settled and isolated Genesee country of fifty years ago.

CHAPTER XIII.

ERECTION OF THE COUNTY.

The county of Livingston* was erected from parts of the counties of Ontario and Genesee, by act of the legislature, on the 23d of February, 1821. It is divided into seventeen towns, Avon, Caledonia, Conesus, Genesee, Groveland, Leicester, Lima, Livonia, Mount Morris, North Dansville, Nunda, Ossian, Portage, Sparta, Springwater, West Sparta, and York.

It is situated between the parallels of $42^{\circ} 33'$ and $43^{\circ} 0'$ north latitude; and $0' 37'$ and $1^{\circ} 8'$ of longitude west of Washington. Genesee, its capitol town, located near the center, is two hundred and ten miles in a direct line west of Albany, and sixty-one miles east of Buffalo, twenty-eight miles south of Rochester, and sixty-three miles north of the Pennsylvania border. It is the third county in the middle range east of Lake Erie. Its extreme length from north to south is thirty-seven miles; and its greatest width east and west is thirty miles. It is bounded on the north by

* There are six counties in the United States bearing the name of Livingston, namely: I, That in the State of New York to which this history relates; II, a parish in S. E. Louisiana; III, a Co. in western Kentucky, organized in 1798; IV, a S. E. Co. of Michigan; V, a N. E. Co. of Illinois; VI, a N. W. Co. of Missouri.

the county of Monroe, on the east by Ontario and Steuben, on the south by Steuben and Allegany, and on the west by Genesee and Wyoming. Its general form is that of an imperfect square. Its area is 655 square miles, or 419,200 acres. Its population at the census of 1875 was 38,564; when organized in 1821 it had a population of about 19,800 souls. Its greatest population, according to the census, was in 1840, at which time, by including the town of Ossian, since then annexed, it numbered 43,436 inhabitants. As in most rural districts in the State, so here, there is a constant tendency among its people to emigrate to the west, or to concentrate in the great cities, the former being more particularly true of this county.

When erected, the county contained twelve towns. Of these, eight, Avon, Freeport (Conesus), Genesee, Groveland, Lima, Livonia, Sparta and Springwater, embracing about two-thirds of the territory and a like share of the population, were taken from Ontario; and four, Caledonia, Leicester, Mount Morris and York, embracing the remaining third of the area and population, were taken from Genesee. In February, 1822, the north-west part of the town of Dansville, in Steuben county, was annexed to Sparta. In March, 1825, Freeport was changed in name to Bowersville, and in April of the same year the latter was changed to Conesus, which it still retains. In May, 1846, the towns of Nunda and Portage were added from Allegany; and in March, 1857, Ossian was annexed from the same county. In February, 1846, Sparta was divided, and three towns, Sparta, West Sparta and North Dansville, erected therefrom.

The county originated in the conviction that such a change would essentially forward the administration of justice, and otherwise promote the convenience of the body of the people. The boundaries of the coun-

ties of Ontario and Genesee, at the time of the division, embraced an area of not less than thirty-seven hundred square miles, an extent of country nearly three times as great as the whole state of Rhode Island. The same territory now forms the counties of Ontario, Genesee, Monroe, Livingston, Yates, Orleans, Wyoming, and part of Wayne. Nor were the two old counties unimportant in point of population or wealth. One hundred and sixty thousand souls, or more than a tenth of the whole population of the State at that time, had already made their homes there, and immigration was daily adding to their numbers; while the valuation of their real and personal estate was fifteen and one-half millions of dollars, or one-seventieth of the aggregate valuation of the commonwealth.

The movement for division was sharply contested from the outset, for, though the active opposition to the measure was in a minority, it was a minority of no little strength. Favoring division, however, was a party of more than equal zeal, who appealed to the daily experience of the pioneers, and cited the benefits that had resulted from sub-dividing the original counties. Indeed, there were those among the population, men by no means venerable in years, who could remember all the subdivisions that had occurred. The original counties of the province of New York were formed, as it will be remembered, in 1683, and for nearly a century the old county of Albany embraced all the vast territory of the present State, lying north of Ulster county and west of the Hudson river, including, of course, the whole of the Genesee country. But the progress of settlement at length broke in on those long established boundaries, and in 1772, Tryon county, named after one of the British governors, was taken from Albany. It included all

of the then province of New York lying west of Schoharie creek. In 1784, Tryon was changed in name to Montgomery, in honor of the heroic general who fell at Quebec. Montgomery had five subdivisions, one of which, Kingsland, covered most of the western settlements. Ontario was taken from Montgomery in 1789, and included the whole area to which the pre-emptive right had been ceded to Massachusetts, and most of which, being afterward sold by that State to Phelps and Gorham, subsequently passed into the possession of the Holland Land Company and the Pultney estate. Hence Ontario county, when organized, covered the whole territory embraced within the bounds of the State west of the pre-emptive line,* and which now forms twelve counties and part of a thirteenth.† Thus at successive periods, as will be observed, the county of Livingston has been a part of Albany, Tryon, Montgomery, Ontario and Genesee, and portions of it of Steuben and Allegany counties.

The large territory of the two counties of Ontario and Genesee, imposed unequal burthens on the towns. The more distant ones were put to an undue share of

* The pre-emptive line is situated a mile east of Geneva.

† The territory then forming Ontario county was commonly known as the "Genesee Country," although that title was occasionally applied. From Ontario have been formed the following counties: Steuben, (1796); Genesee, (1802); Allegany (1806); Cattaraugus, (1808); Chautauqua, (1808); Niagara, (1808); Erie, (1821); Monroe, (1821); Livingston, (1821); Yates, (1823); Orleans, (1824); Wyoming, (1841); Wayne, in part, (1823); in all, thirteen counties, excepting a part of one. Oliver Phelps was appointed first judge, on the organization of the county in 1789, and General Vincent Matthews was the first lawyer admitted in the court which then held jurisdiction over that vast region. The Genesee river became the boundary line between Ontario and Genesee on the erection of the latter county, and so continued until the erection of Monroe and Livingston counties. The ground now covered by the city of Rochester, lying on both sides of the river, was then divided between two counties until the erection of Monroe.—*Albany Argus*.

expense and loss of time in the transaction of business at the respective county seats. The rapid growth of the Genesee country, then regarded as next to incredible, rendered frequent transfers of land necessary, and a more ready access to the county records became each day a matter of greater moment. Litigation, of which all new countries have their full share, compelled the frequent attendance of jurors and witnesses, as well as suitors. These were drawn from their distant fields and workshops and compelled to submit to the tedious delays attending over-crowded courts, at serious cost of time and money.

We of this age of turnpikes and railroads, of daily mails and proximity to records of land titles, and especially of adequate court facilities, are little likely to realize the extent of the evils experienced half a century ago. Then highways newly laid out and indifferent at best, were next to impassible in seasons of mud and ruts;* the temporary bridges, (and indeed, there were few others,) were often carried away by floods, while the snows frequently laid an embargo on winter travel. Instead of forty-three post-offices within the bounds of this county, there were then but ten. The mails, infrequent, for even Avon boasted of but three a week, and transported principally in sulkies and on horseback, were tardy and irregular. Where at present a business visit to the county seat is the work of a single day, then, from portions of the old counties, it was the labor of three or four days. Now, as the population has become measurably fixed and suitably provided with courts,

* Col. Lyman says that he once had a team gone three months to Albany, and at one place, the teamster said, he did his best to get on for three days, staying three nights at the same place. "Indeed, between Canandaigua and Geneva I have seen forty horses to one heavy wagon, who did their best but could not move it but a few rods at a pull."

the transaction of legal business is a matter of some certainty ; then, as court facilities did not keep pace with the fast increasing causes, business fell into arrears, and all was involved in uncertainty,—all save the certainty of heavy expenses and constant delays, and, further, as Canandaigua and Batavia, the shire-towns, were not the natural centres of business of the territory embraced within this county, the people were not attracted thither for trade, nor did the principal avenues of traffic always lead toward those towns, hence they were forced away from the points where they were in the habit of transacting business.

Although the subject of a division of the county had been much discussed, it was not until 1820 that it came formally before the legislature. At the session of that year the standing committee on the erection of towns and counties, in the Assembly, to whom a large number of petitions for the new county were referred, advised that since “the various interests should be better understood and the opinions of the inhabitants be more definitely expressed before the Legislature could act intelligently upon the subject, and as little injury could be produced thereby, that the question be postponed until a future session,” adding, “we are sensible that some of the towns are at an inconvenient distance from the seat of justice, and have claims upon the Legislature for better accommodations.” To this the Assembly agreed.

Through the summer of 1820 the matter was much canvassed. Meetings were held and petitions were circulated by the multitude, increasing, it is said, “with fearful rapidity.” In December, 1820, a notice appeared in the *Moscow Advertiser*, and also in the *Albany Argus*, stating that the subscribers, Charles Colt, William Finley, John Peirce, David Warner, and their associates, intended to apply to the Legisla-

ture at its next session for the erection of a new county, to comprise the towns subsequently erected into Livingston. The friends of the proposed county of Monroe were also moving.

The majority of the people along the river, and those residing in towns contiguous to it, favored this division, while the northern part of Livonia, East Avon and Lima objected, and the more distant sections vehemently opposed any change. A remonstrance from Le Roy, Batavia, and the western parts of Genesee, signed by six hundred and fifty persons, opposed division on the ground that "no county ought to be erected composed of territory lying on both sides of the Genesee river, as it would subject half the inhabitants to great inconvenience and expense; and that the division would only promote the interests of a few lawyers, merchants and tavern keepers residing at the new county seats." Three hundred remonstrants, inhabitants of Canandaigua, Gorham and Naples, objected to any division of Ontario county, alleging that the "arguments advanced by the advocates of the several petitions, being, in our opinion, alike fanciful and fallacious, it is equal matter of surprise that there should be one as that there are seven applications for new counties," as was really the case. Division, they held, would destroy the symmetry of the old county and uselessly multiply offices and expenses. "At present," say they, "county charges fall lightly on individuals, and the times, financially, are unpropitious." More than this, they insisted that the effects of the Erie canal were "yet to be experienced, and the results of this great work might easily render a division unwise." They also urged that the extensive range from which to select men of integrity and talents, which division would circumscribe, secured able men on the bench, in the legisla-

ture and for other public stations. This argument was most pertinent just then for John C. Spencer, the distinguished statesman, and Myron Holly, scarcely less honored, as well as other men of no little note, were at that time members of the Assembly from that county, or occupying other places of trust.

The period was one of great pecuniary distress. The war of 1812, but five years closed, had caused a suspension of the banks and completely deranged the business of the country. The debt it had created, together with the unpaid liabilities of the Revolution, the debt contracted for the purchase of Louisiana, and other items of international obligations, brought the public debt up to over ninety millions of dollars, a sum then deemed so formidable as to raise a doubt of the nation's ability to pay it. At the same time "the whole paper system, after a vast expansion, suddenly collapsed, spreading desolation over the land, and carrying ruin to debtors. The years 1819. and '20 were a period of gloom and agony. No money, either gold or silver; no paper convertible into specie; no measure or standard of value left remaining. The local banks (all but those of New England), after a brief resumption of specie payments again sunk into a state of suspension." "No price for property or produce. No sales but those of the Sheriff and the Marshal. No purchasers at execution sales. No sale for the product of the farm—no sound of the hammer, but that of the auctioneer, knocking down property. Stop laws—property laws—replevin laws—stay laws—loan office laws—the intervention of the legislature between the creditor and the debtor; this was the business of legislation in three-fourths of the States of the Union—of all south and west of New England. No medium of exchange but depreciated paper; no change even, but little bits

of foul paper, marked so many cents, and signed by some tradesman, barber or innkeeper; exchanges deranged to the extent of fifty or one hundred per cent. Distress, the universal cry of the people: Relief, the universal demand thundered at the doors of all legislatures, state and federal.”*

The people in this section, mainly engaged in agriculture, and still largely in debt for their farms, experienced the full weight of these evils. Their lands, as yet but partially cleared, were but measurably productive, and as they had been contracted for in more favorable times at prices ranging from five to ten dollars an acre, the large arrearages of purchase money, now excessive, were bearing heavily, indeed ruinously, upon purchasers. Hence, in many instances they were driven to the alternative of obtaining a reduction or of giving up their “betterments,” as their improvements were called, and commencing anew. In Conesus, a committee consisting of Elder Hudson and Ruel Blake, were sent, with this object in view, to confer with the agents of the Pultney estate of whom the lands in that town were principally obtained. They were met, in proper spirit, by Robert Throup, the agent of that great property, and such was the influence of these good men and the wisdom of the agent that the contract price on many lots was reduced one-half, while at the same time the price of grain in payment of obligations was increased by the latter.

A few prices of those times will serve to give an idea of the prevailing market rates. Wheat, delivered at what is now Littleville, was sold at thirty-one cents a bushel to pay taxes. Oats were worth less than a shilling a bushel, and butter six cents a pound. Instead of trading by the use of money, the people

* Benton's "Thirty Years in the United States Senate"

were obliged to resort to barter. Eight bushels of wheat would buy but a barrel of salt or a pair of cow-hide boots, while under this mode of exchange, a good cow was valued at ten dollars, a yoke of working oxen at thirty dollars, a horse fifty, pork two dollars the hundred, while Indian corn seems to have had no market value whatever. And yet the people were clamorous for a new county, although it involved a large expense for the erection of county buildings and the salaries of officers. That such, under the circumstances, was their desire, is sufficient proof of the necessity of the measure.

The advocates of division were met by an opposition but little inferior to themselves in earnestness, which did not stop with remonstrating, but sought to remove the causes of complaint. Every facility was to be afforded by courts and county clerks. An instance may be given in the action of Judge Howell of Ontario county, then recently appointed, who opened his first term by sunrise and continued the sessions day after day, until late in the night, giving scarcely time for meals or sleep. "He run his court by steam." The calendar was exhausted; it could not be otherwise. The people of Canandaigua were in raptures. They boasted that a week's term was sufficient to dispose of all business before the court, and insisted that the evils complained of were but temporary. The remedy, however, came too late. The people were determined to have a new county, and the only question that now remained was as to the manner of division. Here differences of opinion prevailed. Three plans, zealously urged by their respective friends, were proposed.

The first was the Avon or "long county" project, designed to embrace in one substantially both Monroe and Livingston, with the county seat at Avon. Its

friends are represented in the petition deposited in the State Library, by eight hundred and fifty names, mainly from Avon, Caledonia and York.

A second plan, strongly urged from the south, proposed two counties, omitting from the southerly one the towns of Sparta, Ossian, Nunda and Portage, giving the whole of Caledonia to Monroe, and embracing Castile, Perry and Covington on the south. This would have brought the then thriving village Moscow at the centre, with the avowed object of making that the county seat. A prominent citizen of Moscow was sent to Albany for the purpose of urging this view upon the Legislature.

The third and successful plan was to form the two counties, Monroe and Livingston, from territory depending chiefly upon the river for a market, and to make Rochester, then a small village, one of the county seats; and a majority of those endorsing this plan favored Geneseo as the other. The friends of this mode of division were represented at Albany by Colonel Nathaniel Rochester and Judge Carroll, who, as well as their constituents, acted in harmony throughout.

The subject was now transferred to Albany. The numerous petitions and the remonstrances were referred, on Friday, the 26th of January, 1821, to a select committee of the Senate, of which Senator Charles E. Dudley, a name now and for all time to be associated with the progress of astronomic science, was chairman. In due time the committee reported "that the convenience and interest of the inhabitants of those portions of the counties of Ontario and Genesee included in the application, will be much advanced by the erection of a new county." Leave being given, Mr. Dudley brought in a bill entitled "An act to erect a new county by the name of Livingston, out of parts

of the counties of Ontario and Genesee, and for other purposes," and it was read twice by unanimous consent. On the third of February the bill was examined in committee of the whole, Senator Bouck, at a later day Governor, in the chair. It passed the Senate two days afterward, and on the 21st the Assembly concurred without opposition. The bill then went to the Council of Revision, a body wisely designed as a protection against hasty and unadvised legislation, and unwisely abolished before the following session by a change in the constitution. On the 23d of February, 1821, the Council, composed of the Governor, the Chancellor and two judges of the Supreme Court, "resolved that it does not appear improper to the Council that this bill should become a law of the State." To this, in the volume of original laws deposited in the State Department, is affixed the signature of Governor De Witt Clinton. It stands as chapter fifty-eight of the laws of that year, and immediately preceeding it is the act erecting the county of Monroe.

The county was appropriately named in honor of Chancellor Robert R. Livingston, the most useful as he was the most conspicuous of the early friends of agriculture in this country. Eminent as a jurist and a statesman, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, the devoted friend and patron of Robert Fulton, a man who faithfully loved and served his country in its period of supreme peril, he was, in a word, a type of that best product of the human race, a patriot statesman of the Revolutionary period.

For more than two hundred years the Livingstons filled the highest offices in Scotland. As is well known, James Livingston was appointed to the Regency of the Kingdom during the minority of King James I. The proud title of Earl was borne by many of the fam-

ily. The fair and unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots was born in Linlithgow Castle, of which Lord Livingston was hereditary governor, and during the invasion of that country by Somerset, Mary was again placed under his protection.

Five days after the erection of the county, the Council of appointment issued general commissions to Gideon T. Jenkins as Sheriff, James Ganson as Clerk, James Rosebrugh as Surrogate, and George Hosmer as District Attorney. A month later Moses Hayden was commissioned as first Judge.

The act designated three commissioners, Dr. Gama-liel H. Barstow, afterwards State Treasurer, Archibald S. Clark, and Nathaniel Garrow, to designate the place and fix the site for the court house and jail. They were directed to meet at the public house of James Ganson, in Avon, thence to proceed to perform the imposed duty.

It is easy to believe that an advantage so tempting to a new town as the county seat, was not to be gained without rivalry, and such was the case. Several candidates for the honor now appeared. Williamsburgh, the pioneer settlement, urged its claim. Avon, too, again entered the lists, although far too one side. But the latter objection was sought to be counteracted by the prejudice, amounting almost to gross injustice, then existing against the southern part of the county, whose resources, from being later settled than the northern portion, were as yet imperfectly developed, and less understood. The people on the line of the great State Road leading from Albany, by way of Canandaigua, to Buffalo, then the principal thoroughfare for emigrants, effected to regard the south towns as still a wild, even a sterile region, more suitable for hunting than for tillage. At a meeting in Lima, a leading member of the county bar, in advocating the

claims of Avon, urged that although the latter village was not the centre of the territory it was the centre of the new county's wealth. Said he: "The county seat should be here, as we shall now be required to pay all the taxes, for the southern towns are so poor that they produce nothing but buckwheat and pine shingles." This sneer was not forgotten; the name "Buckwheat" clung to the speaker to the end of his days. A Lima gentleman, at the same meeting, said they "might set it down as a settled question that the people of Lima would never agree to go one step south and be compelled to associate with the buckwheat growers and shingle makers of Sparta and Springwater."

Next to Geneseo in point of general favor for the location of the shire town, stood, perhaps, the little hamlet of Lower Lakeville. At a public meeting held there about this time, a majority of the leading men present, representing Lima, Groveland, Conesus and other towns, favored its selection for this purpose. But other influences finally prevailed. The Commissioners in due time decided in favor of Geneseo, and not without good reason. The village was situated near the geographical centre of the county, and was the place of the largest commercial resort. The surplus produce of an extensive district here found an outlet by way of the river. Indeed, this village soon became a point at which more wheat was sold than at any other inland market in the state, and at prices ranging as high and sometimes even higher than at Rochester. In population it then numbered fully five hundred, and far and near, by way of eminence, it was usually called "the village," and otherwise familiarly spoken of as "Big-tree."

At the time of which we write, the teeming mart of Dansville, although an enterprising town, had not

attained its present leading relative position ; nor had the fair village of Mount Morris then developed, to any considerable extent, its importance as a commercial centre ; neither did Lima, then boasting of but half a dozen houses, give promise of reaching the eminence it has since occupied as a seat of learning. Had any one of these facts been otherwise, the manner of territorial division might have been essentially different. Indeed, the weight of influence, since, at different times, brought to bear from some of these quarters, and especially from the southerly portion of the county, for effecting a removal of the county seat or to establish a half-shire, has been very great, and on several occasions one of these objects has been nearly effected.

The law required that before the site became fixed, a suitable lot for the court-house and jail should be duly conveyed to the supervisors. Prisoners were to be confined at Canandaigua until, in the opinion of the Sheriff, the proposed jail was so far completed as to be safe to receive them ; and, in the cautious language of the day, the act declared that when the prisoners should then be brought to Geneseo, "such removal shall not be considered an escape." The supervisors were required to determine, at their first annual meeting, what sum it was proper to raise for providing a court-house.

The act also appointed General William Wadsworth, Daniel H. Fitzhugh and William Markham, commissioners to superintend the construction of the public buildings, with ample authority to that end. These gentlemen duly qualified and entered upon their duties with characteristic energy.

Until the court-house should be ready, it was provided that the courts should be held in the brick academy building in Geneseo, a two-story edifice then

standing on the present site of the district school-house on Center street.

The county was entitled to elect one member of Assembly. The privilege of electing two was conferred in 1822. George Smith was the first member of Assembly.

By a supplemental act, passed also at the session of 1821, the supervisors and county treasurers of the counties of Ontario and Genesee, and the supervisors and county clerks of Monroe and Livingston, were required to equitably apportion all debts and effects as well as moneys belonging to the former counties, among the several counties.

After Geneseo was decided upon as the shire town, two sites were proposed for the county buildings. One of these was the public square or park at the south end of the village; the other, where the buildings now stand. The land, about four acres and a quarter, was given by William and James Wadsworth and duly conveyed to the supervisors to be used as a public square or promenade and for a site for the court house and jail.* In this they but carried out a purpose previously formed by them, which was to give a lot for the public buildings, whether they should be located in Geneseo or Avon.

The first annual meeting of the Supervisors was held in October, 1821. The Board was composed of members who would do honor to any legislative body. They were: From Avon, Thomas Wiard; Caledonia, Robert McKay; Freeport, Davenport Alger; Geneseo, William H. Spencer; Groveland, William Fitzhugh;

* Deed in trust from William and James Wadsworth to supervisors of Livingston county, dated July 14, 1821, recorded July 15, in book I of Deeds, at page 61. Consideration, one dollar. Conveys 2 47-100 acres to be used as a public square and promenade; also 1 79-100 acres for a site for court-house and jail.



Eng^d by J. S. Neill

Wm A. Mills



Wm. W. B.

Leicester, Jellis Clute ; Lima, Manassah Leach ; Livonia, Ichabod A. Holden ; Mount Morris, William A. Mills ; Sparta, William McCartney ; Springwater, Alvah Southworth ; York, Titus Goodman.

William Fitzhugh of Groveland was chosen chairman, and Ogden M. Willey of Geneseo, was made clerk.* Orlando Hastings was elected County Treasurer.

Among the first resolutions adopted was one authorizing a bounty of five dollars a head for the destruction of wolves, and two dollars a head for each wolf's whelp killed during the ensuing year. Leicester, it was voted, should be permitted to pay a bounty of one dollar for the destruction of each wild-cat. What would be thought now of the necessity for such resolutions ?

The bill for the personal expenses and services of the commissioners to locate the site of the county buildings, was presented and ordered paid.†

On the subject of the public buildings the Board determined that nine thousand dollars should "be raised and levied on the freeholders and inhabitants of the county for the purpose of erecting and finishing a court-house and jail." Of this sum three thousand dollars were ordered raised the ensuing year.

In December the Board formally expressed the opinion that the public buildings "should be of a size calculated for a county whose population was fast increasing, that they should be of the best material, and be constructed in the most faithful manner," and as the first sum named was found to be insufficient, they resolved to ask the legislature for authority to

* This model officer and good citizen held the position of clerk to the Supervisors for thirty years, to the general acceptance of the public.

† Amounting to \$174.00.

raise two thousand dollars more the ensuing year. This was accordingly done, the power was granted, the further sum raised, and the buildings completed.*

In February, 1822, Major Spencer and Orlando Hastings were appointed to examine the accounts opened under the act, by the treasurers of Ontario and Genesee, with Livingston, and to do whatever was necessary to effect a settlement. The matter was afterward placed wholly in the hands of Mr. Hastings. The journals of the Board appear to furnish no record of the final adjustment of these accounts.†

The court-house was ready for the courts in May, 1823.‡ In October the bonds executed by the Commissioners for superintending the building of the court-house and jail were ordered to be delivered up, and "the thanks of the Board were presented to the Commissioners for their faithful services ren-

*The valuation of the real and personal estate of the county in 1821 was \$2,177,901.25, as appears by a table compiled from assessors' returns that year.

†From the book of Supervisors' records of Genesee county, the following transcript has been furnished by Mr. Woodward, the County Treasurer:

"1822, January 13.

Resolved, That the moneys now in the hands of the treasurer of the county of Ontario be apportioned as follows:

	Aggregate valuation.	Aggregate of money divided.
To the county of Monroe,	\$1,098,127	\$348.78
do Livingston,	1,375,469	436.86
do Ontario,	6,304,185	2,002.31
	<u>8,777,781</u>	<u>2,787.95."</u>

Mr. Woodward says: "I find that subsequently, in the record of proceedings, that the accounts of the treasurer were settled and adjusted. Hence I conclude the moneys were duly paid over, although no specific mention is made of the payment."

‡Homer Sherwood, of Genesee, had the contract for building the court-house.

dered the county in erecting the public buildings."*

It was now formally resolved "that the keys of the court-house be delivered to Chauncey Morse, and that he have liberty to open it for public worship and to show the interior to any gentleman who may wish to view it ; and that he deliver the keys to the Sheriff to open the house for county purposes." A committee was appointed to deliver the keys and a copy of the foregoing resolution.

With equal formality was it resolved that the Sheriff be requested to "take charge of the irons belonging to the county and keep the same subject to the order of the Board."

The first Court of General Sessions, indeed the first court of record held in the county, convened at the Brick Academy on the last Tuesday of May, 1821. There were present Moses Hayden, first judge, Matthew Warner, Jeremiah Riggs and Leman Gibbs, judges. After prayer by the Rev. Mr. Bull, the court was opened by the usual proclamation. The following grand jurors were then sworn: William Janes, foreman, Robert McKay, James Smith, Asa Nowlen, Josiah Watrous, Francis Stevens, William Warner, Ichabod A. Holden, Ruel Blake, William A. Mills, Ebenezer Damon, P. P. Peck, Joseph A. Lawrence, William Crossett, William Carnahan, James McNair, John Culver, Erastus Wilcox, John Hunt, Daniel H.

* The official record says: "The Board of Supervisors at a meeting held Feb. 19, 1824, adopted the following resolution: *Whereas*, The Board of Supervisors of Livingston County believe that General Wm. Wadsworth for his gratuitous exertions in superintending the erection and finishing of the public buildings of the County, merits their individual approbation, Therefore,

Resolved, Unanimously, that the thanks of this Board, in behalf of the county, be rendered him for those exertions."

Fitzhugh, Thomas Sherwood, Ebenezer Rogers and Gad Chamberlin.

The first indictment and trial was the case of *The People vs. Mary DeGraw*, for assault and battery with intent to murder. On the trial of the case the jury returned a verdict of guilty of an assault and battery, and not guilty of the rest of the charges in the indictment.

The first commitment appears to have been that of May Brown, convicted at this term and sentenced to the Ontario county jail for thirty days.

The first term of the Court of Common Pleas was also held on the last Tuesday of May, 1821. Among the attorneys who presented licenses and were admitted to practice in this court at this time, were Samuel Miles Hopkins, George Hosmer, Felix Tracy, John Dickson, Orlando Hastings, Charles H. Carroll, Willard H. Smith, Augustus A. Bennett, Ogden M. Willey, Hezekiah D. Mason, and Melancthon W. Brown. On motion, Mark H. Sibley, was also admitted to practice as above. The first trial held in this court was the case of *Alfred Birge, Appellee, vs. Joel Bardwell, Appellant*. O. Hastings appeared as attorney for the appellee, and A. A. Bennett attorney for appellant. The jury was composed of the following members: James Richmond, LeRoy Buckley, Federal Blakesley, Roger Wattles, T. H. Gilbert, Joseph White, Jehiel Kelsey, John Salmon, Geo. Whitmore, David A. Miller, Riley Scoville, Andrew Stilwell.

During the judge's maiden address to the grand jury, the door opposite the bench opened, and a distinguished member of the bar, "standing six feet eight and well proportioned," entered the room. Though his bearing would have done credit to a Bayard, yet he could not resist a mischievous wink to the Judge. The latter could not help seeing it, as it was

intended for him alone, and it was too much for him under the novel circumstances. He hesitated a moment, broke, and was forced to abruptly descend from the heights of his eloquence. But right keenly did he scold the wicked joker for the prank he had played him, after the ermine was put off for the day.

In 1823 the May term of the Common Pleas, Charles H. Carroll, first judge presiding, having opened in due form, adjourned to the new court-house.* Here, after being duly convened, the first term was opened by a court as dignified, surrounded by a bar as able and accomplished, and by jurors as honest and intelligent as any new county, scarcely twenty years emerged from the wilderness, ever boasted.

The county was now fully provided with the necessary buildings and machinery, and it has since fully maintained its standing among the other divisions of the State.

Incidents connected with its organization have been preserved. Among these was one in reference to the design for the county seal. The dominant party at that time was called the "Bucktail." The first County Clerk was of that party, and in ordering the seal he chose for the design a buck with large horns and a long, bushy tail, longer than the law of nature justified. This caudal grace was long ago curtailed, however; indeed, the design itself was soon superseded, the seal now bearing simply the name of the county between a larger and a smaller circle.†

* On convening in the new court-house George Hosmer was appointed District Attorney, and Samuel Stevens, Crier. The first trial held in the new court-house was the suit of Driesbach and Scholl, Executors, Appelles, vs. Samuel Culbertson, Appellant.

† The kindness of the County Clerk, Mr. Baker, has placed the three seals of the county in my hands. The design on the first is a deer, it is true, but alas for the truth of the anecdote, with the smallest fraction of a tail—some anti-Bucktail, no doubt, having deprived the noble buck of his political symbol. The second differs only in the style of lettering from the present one.

CHAPTER XIV.

EARLY BANKING PROJECTS—GENESEEE VALLEY CANAL.

The growing communities, with their rapidly increasing business transactions felt very seriously the want of banking facilities, and as early as 1823 an attempt was made to establish a bank at Geneseo. A petition was presented in the Assembly March 4th of that year, for the privilege of opening a bank at that place, which was signed by the judges and supervisors of the county. It was referred to the committee on banking, and, apparently, was never reported by that committee, for in the Livingston Register of March 2d, 1825, the following notice appears :

“Notice is hereby given that an application will be made to the next legislature of the State of New York, for an act of incorporation for a bank, with the usual privileges of banking, by the name and style of the Livingston County Bank, with a capital of one hundred thousand dollars, to be located in the village of Geneseo.”

The notice is signed by William H. Spencer and Homer Sherwood, and is dated Dec. 20th, 1824. This movement was probably also unsuccessful, for a similar notice subsequently appeared in the Register dated Nov. 15, 1825, and signed by John H. Jones,

Moses Hayden, Edward Bissell and Philo C. Fuller. It asked for a charter for a bank with a capital of \$250,000, "and with liberty to increase the stock to \$400,000." All these efforts, however, proved alike futile, and it was not until 1830, as will subsequently appear, that the citizens of the county succeeded in securing the measure they so much desired.

In 1823 P. R. Bowman was running a line of stages from Canandaigua to Warsaw by way of Moscow. In the *Livingston Gazette* of July 3d of that year he gives notice that thereafter he "would continue his line once in each week. He will leave Moscow on Saturday afternoon immediately after his arrival from Canandaigua, and return from Warsaw on Monday evening, and on Tuesday morning start again for Canandaigua." Between Moscow and Canandaigua the stages were run twice each week, passing through Geneseo, Livonia, Richmond and Bristol. In connection with this line stages were run from Canandaigua to Palmyra, and (via Geneva) to Lyons, connecting with the Erie canal.

The same paper contains the notice of Jedediah Richardson, Hiram Jones and Nehemiah Westbrook, announcing that their new boat "Independence" would commence running on the river, between Babcock's Ferry and Rochester, and make regular trips once in two weeks, carrying freight down or up "on the most reasonable terms."

Notwithstanding such enterprises, the greatest drawback to the growth and prosperity of the county, as of nearly all Western New York, was the lack of prompt, reliable and cheap transportation for the products of its rich fields. The nearest markets, or the most remunerative ones, were Baltimore and Montreal; and from this county the only routes were navigable streams and the broad expanse of Lake Ontario,—the

former tortuous ways, full of impediments, subject to floods and drouth, and incapable of being navigated except by flat boats and rafts, floating with the current if passing down, laboriously poled along if passing up the streams. Added to these difficulties were numerous portages or carrying places, to avoid waterfalls and rapids, or in passing from one stream to another. The opening of the Erie canal somewhat improved this state of affairs, as it brought nearer the markets of Albany and New York, yet it only did so to a moderate degree, for the nearest point on that great artificial waterway was comparatively a long distance from the farming communities of Livingston. It can be readily imagined, therefore, that transportation charges were excessively great, and that the produce of the fertile lands of the settlers found a slow and unremunerative market. Some prices have already been given in this work, and instances showing the result of attempts to carry the surplus grain to market,—attempts which generally left the margin on the wrong side of the ledger. The attention of the people was thus early directed toward measures for improving communication with the Eastern markets, and the Erie canal having just been completed, and having already given promise of fulfilling the highest anticipations of its wise projectors, it was natural that a similar work should be proposed to meet the necessities of commerce in this and adjoining counties.

A call appeared in the Livingston Register of June 15, 1825, for a public meeting to be held at the house of Col. John Peirce, in the village of Geneseo, on the 28th of June, of the citizens of Monroe, Livingston, Allegany, Cattaraugus and Steuben counties "who feel interested in the formation of a canal from Rochester along the valley of the Genesee and Canaseraga, and of a canal from Genesee river to some point of the

Allegheny river." The meeting was "for the purpose of devising means to collect and convey to the Canal Commissioners and to the State government, the necessary information as to the practicability and vast importance of the above canal routes." The call was signed by Phillip Church, Daniel H. Fitzhugh, William H. Spencer, Ira West, Jonathan Child and Herman Norton.

At this meeting a committee was appointed "to obtain information respecting the practicability of making a canal" as proposed, and subsequently this committee was notified to meet at Geneseo on the first Tuesday of September, to commence the active discharge of its duties. A bill had been introduced in the Assembly the previous spring, authorising a survey for this proposed canal, but it failed to become a law. Five years later the question was still being agitated by the people of the Valley, their efforts thus far having met with but little success. A large and enthusiastic meeting of citizens of Sparta and adjoining towns, friendly to the Genesee Valley Canal, was held in Dansville July 24th, 1830. Resolutions were adopted claiming that the region through which it was proposed to run the canal "as equal if not superior to any which for a length of time have been presented to the public, and especially so as it has been satisfactorily ascertained that by a canal connecting the waters of the Allegheny river with the great Erie canal, a complete water communication will be effected between the two great commercial cities of New York and New Orleans." A meeting of like character had been previously held at Angelica, and subsequently, on the 26th of August, 1830, a delegate-convention of conspicuous men from all the counties effected by the proposed measure, was held at Geneseo, for the purpose of securing a survey of the route.

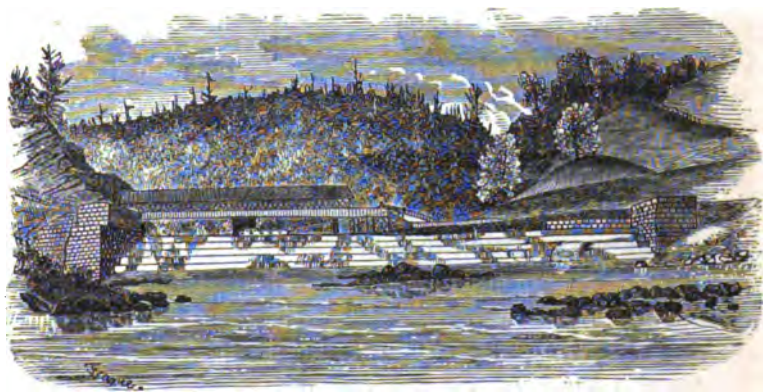
Again, in 1833 we find a call for a meeting to be held in Geneseo Nov. 20th, of "the inhabitants of the counties more directly interested in the construction of a canal from Rochester to Olean, with a branch to Dansville village," "for the purpose of taking into consideration the proper measures to be adopted in relation to that object." The call was signed by H. D. Mason, William Finley, Allen Ayrault, Daniel H. Fitzhugh, Robert Dixon, D. H. Bissell, Russell Austin, S. G. Grover, John Cutler, Donald McDonald, Charles Colt, Lemam Gibbs, James Wadsworth, P. C. Fuller, J. Young, William H. Stanley, Donald Fraser, Jr., William A. Mills, James McCurdy, Tabor Ward, Jotham Clark, E. Hill, C. R. Bond and James S. Wadsworth.

Other meetings were held in various places, but it was not until 1834 that the preliminary surveys for the canal were made, although the subject was constantly discussed in the public prints and by individuals. Meanwhile the necessity of some better means of transportation had been yearly becoming greater, and the people had become clamorous for this improvement. The trade with Rochester, which had become thus early an important commercial center, was carried on principally by the river. Lumber was floated down during the spring and fall freshets, "and the passage was considered short if made in two days. Our merchants brought their goods by the same channel, but requiring from four to five days to run up."* Such means of transportation, while answering the needs of the country when first settled, were wholly inadequate to the then present demands of their inland commerce, and no effort was spared to enforce this fact upon the attention of the Canal Commission-

* Mount Morris *Union and Constitution*.

ers and the legislature. This demand of the people of the Valley was, therefore, at length heeded, and a survey made as stated, in 1834.

The total cost of the canal, as estimated by the chief engineer, F. C. Mills, after making this survey, was \$2,002,285. Subsequent surveys and examinations, together with a change in the plans of many of the structures, increased this estimate to \$4,750,125.79, and reviewing this estimate again, he made it \$4,900,122.44, but included in this \$197,099 for reservoirs for supplying the summit level with water. Its actual cost when completed, however, was about \$6,000,000, or more than three times the first estimates of the engineer.



DAM ACROSS THE RIVER AT MOUNT MORRIS.

So expeditiously was the project pushed, after the preliminary steps had been taken by the State authorities, that about 30 miles of the line had been put under contract in 1837, and 50 miles in 1838. The remainder of the work was let in the following year. It was originally intended to be 123 miles long, including "navigable and unnavigable feeders," but the canal itself is only 118 miles in length. Its general course is a south-westerly one from Rochester, through Monroe,

Livingston, Wyoming, Allegany and Cattaraugus counties, (passing through the towns of York, Leicester, Mount Morris, Nunda and Portage), following the valley of the Genesee river to Squaukie Hill, at Mount Morris, where it crosses the river and follows the Cashaqua valley to a point beyond Nunda, when it again seeks the river, which it re-crosses at Portageville. Thence it descends to Olean. The peculiar character of some parts of the country traversed by this artificial waterway necessitated some very expensive work. The plans first proposed included 115 locks (besides several guard locks), one tunnel of 1032 feet in length near Portageville, 15 aqueducts, 8 dams, 134 culverts, 103 highway bridges, several tow-path bridges, 130 farm bridges, and a number of bulkheads, waste-weirs, etc. Alterations in the plans changed these figures some what, but not materially, except in the abandonment of the tunnel project.

The greatest engineering difficulties were encountered, and the heaviest proportionate expense incurred on that portion between Nunda and Portageville. Here there is a cutting through the ridge, dividing the valley of the Cashaqua from the Genesee valley, 73 feet deep, and a series of locks, about 17 in number, which are required to reach the summit level, 982 feet above the level of the Erie canal. Besides these extensive works, the highest skill of the engineers was required to carry the canal around the high, mountainous hills overhanging the river,—and the attempt to do this seemed several times a futile one. “The canal having been brought from the deep cut across the Cashaqua ridge almost to the verge of the perpendicular cliffs impending over the river, takes thence the ascending course of the stream. Approaching to within about two miles of Portageville, the mountain increases rapidly in height,” and the excavation be-

comes very deep, in some places 50 or 60 feet, through solid rock. Here it was proposed to cut a tunnel through the mountain, and work was commenced upon it and continued until the most stupendous difficulties compelled the engineers to abandon the work. The length of the tunnel was to have been 1082 feet, its height 27 feet, and width 20 feet, piercing the towering mountain from side to side. This work was deemed necessary on account of the treacherous character of the sliding shelves of the hill, but the same cause which led to the tunneling of the hill finally forced the engineers to abandon this project and construct the canal around the side of the hill. A writer for an Eastern paper,* who visited the work while it was in progress, describes it as follows: "Great embarrassment has already been experienced and heavy expenses incurred in consequence of these slides, both above and below the tunnel," and, speaking of the tunnel itself, "since the excavation has been commenced, such is the character of the rock, thrown together, apparently, by Nature in loose masses and blocks, that it now appears that the entire roof and sides of the tunnel will require arching with solid mason work. Indeed, temporary arches of wood have been found necessary during the progress of almost every successive yard of the work. It is by far the greatest undertaking of the kind that has been attempted in our country." Of the engineer he says: "If he shall at last accomplish the work of pinning, as it were, the canal to the slippery shelf of sand which overhangs the gulf, we shall have something worth while to show to engineers of the old world."

After nearly a quarter of a million of dollars had been expended on the tunnel it was abandoned. It

* William L. Stone.

can be seen, in a ruined condition, in passing over the line of the canal,—a dark, half-ruined cavern in the crumbling rock, and the lasting depository of the people's money, squandered in a foolish struggle with Nature. But though baffled here, the engineer did succeed in pinning the canal to the treacherous side of the towering mountain, and his work is well worth a long visit to see. The hill rises quite abruptly to the height of several hundred feet. A long distance below, in a chasm with almost perpendicular sides, is the Genesee, encircling the base of the hill and hurrying along over the rapids or madly leaping down the upper and middle falls. Half way up the precipitous



LOWER FALLS AT PORTAGE.

side of the mountain is the canal, cut into its side, and overhanging the raging torrent below. A narrow strip of land alone serves as a tow-path, from which the descent is almost perpendicular to the river. The canal winds around the hill in this manner, passes

under the famous Portage Bridge, and a short distance above crosses the river by means of a wooden aqueduct. Work upon the canal was prosecuted vigorously, except on the upper sections,* and in 1840 thirty-seven miles, from Rochester to Mount Morris, were completed. The line from Mount Morris to the Shaker settlement, four miles, and the Dansville branch, eleven miles, was completed in 1841; from the Shakers to Oramel, thirty-six miles, in 1851; from Oramel to Belfast, two miles, in 1853; from Belfast to Rockville, three miles, in 1854; and from Rockville to Olean basin, twenty-four miles, in 1856.

The completion of the canal to Mount Morris in 1840, and to Dansville in 1841, was hailed with demonstrations of the greatest joy by the people of the valley. Early in the summer of 1840 a meeting was held in Rochester to make arrangements for a suitable celebration, and in the fall of that year, in accordance with the previous arrangement, the letting of the water into the canal was observed, with appropriate ceremonies. In 1841, when the canal was opened to Dansville, the State scow went through from Rochester with a numerous delegation on board, and a six-pounder cannon from which a salute was fired at every village on the route.

In 1857 the legislature authorized the extension of the Genesee Valley Canal from Olean to Mill Grove pond (which connects with the Allegany river), a distance of six and one-half miles. The engineer's estimate of the cost of this work was \$88,500.

* Work on these sections was suspended by act of the legislature March 29, 1842, but was subsequently resumed. The enormous cost of the canal above the original estimates of the engineer proved a great hindrance to the rapid progress of the work, and there is reason to suppose that had the State known how great the cost was really to be, it would never have authorized the construction of the canal.

The canal, however, was not the only measure of relief proposed by the people of the Valley. Other plans for providing suitable means of transportation were suggested, the most important of which was the improvement of the Genesee river. There were those who believed this a better plan than that of constructing a canal, and until the latter measure was sanctioned by the legislature, and work upon it commenced, they urged their views with great zeal and pertinacity. In 1838 "the inhabitants of Livingston county friendly to improving the navigation of the Genesee river, from Rochester to Geneseo, or to some point above, as may be found practicable," were invited to meet at the Court House in Geneseo on the 16th of December. "A general attendance is requested," said the call, "as it is wished to have an interchange of views in relation to applying to the legislature for a modification of the law for constructing the Genesee Valley Canal, so far as to leave it discretionary with the Canal Commissioners to substitute the river in place of a canal along its banks." The meeting was held and was largely attended by citizens of York, Avon and Geneseo, the southern towns being evidently opposed to the measure. Curtiss Hawley of Avon was made chairman, and Benjamin F. Angel of Geneseo secretary. George Hosmer presented a series of resolutions, which, after approving speeches by those present, were adopted. These resolutions commended the wise policy which had for years characterized State counsels, by which the benefits of legislation had been extended to all parts of the State, and especially the aid which had been given in opening avenues of trade and commerce, "a policy which has advanced us to a proud and commanding eminence among our sister confederates, and justly entitled New York to the appellation of the

Empire State." It was also declared that those composing this gathering were in favor of a water communication between the Alleghany river and the Erie canal at Rochester, and that they were friendly to the proposed canal, but that they at the same time believed that if a portion of the Genesee river could be improved and used advantageously as a canal, "at a saving of more than a quarter of a million of dollars to the State, and at the same time render greater facilities to trade at a period of interrupted navigation in the spring and fall, when a canal, supplied with water from the summit level of the Genesee Valley canal, would be locked with ice," it should command the serious and candid consideration of the public. The resolutions concluded by urging a modification of the act authorizing the construction of the canal so as to allow the Canal Commissioners to inquire into the expediency of substituting such portions of the river as might prove desirable, in place of the canal, and a committee consisting of Calvin H. Bryan, George Hosmer, Allen Ayrault, Charles Colt, Joseph B. Bloss and Elias Clark, was appointed to present these views to the legislature.

The project, however, does not seem to have had the support of the public, or at least of the people inhabiting the towns south of Geneseo, on the proposed route of the canal. Hence the movers in the enterprise were unsuccessful, and it was early abandoned.*

About this time, also, the question of improving the Alleghany river from Olean to Pittsburg was seriously discussed, the object being to make a continu-

* At this early period railways were too much in their infancy to be regarded with much favor, but at this meeting Mr. Bryan and Mr. Hosmer, in their addresses, suggested that the time might come when a railway along the valley of the Genesee would supersede any other mode of transportation.

ous water connection, via the Genesee Valley canal, Allegany and Ohio rivers, between the Erie canal at Rochester and the river towns on the Mississippi. A number of meetings in behalf of this object were held in the county, and the subject was urged upon the attention of Congress.

In 1857 the legislature authorized the extension of the canal to Mill Grove pond, about six miles beyond Olean, and a small amount of work was done on this improvement, when the work was suspended, and has not since been resumed. In 1858 a new project was broached, that of extending the canal beyond the Allegany river to certain creeks flowing through rich iron and coal regions. The estimated cost of this improvement was \$110,000, while incalculable benefits were expected to be derived from it. It was an unfavorable time, however, to urge the State to engage in any new enterprises of this character, and when the commonwealth had recovered sufficiently from the financial crisis of 1857 to warrant it in making any such vast expenditure of public funds as this and other contemplated measures for internal improvement would have demanded, the war came on and monopolized its energies and resources. Now it is seriously proposed to abandon this canal, as being a useless and costly burden to the State. It is strongly urged, and with much truth, that the canal has survived its usefulness, and might better be abandoned than sustained in navigable order at such cost. It is true that the tolls received have never paid the cost of the ordinary repairs and running expenses, much less any interest on the cost of its construction, yet it has been of inestimable value to the whole Valley which it traverses, and though now, in these days of railroads and fast freight lines, it is comparatively useless, it has paid indirectly many times its cost. It is

scarcely possible to estimate the influence it had in developing the resources of this part of the State, but a little reflection will convince any one that to a very large degree our remarkable growth and prosperity are due to the facilities afforded by the Genesee Valley Canal, and that the State was wise in constructing it.

In 1826, after an exciting contest, William H. Spencer and James Faulkner were chosen Assemblymen by large majorities, while Ethan B. Allen was elected Senator. Levi Hovey having been elected County Clerk, John H. Jones, who had recently held the same office in Genesee county, was recommended by the Republicans to fill the vacancy as Judge of the courts of Livingston county. The appointment, however, was given to Willard H. Smith of Caledonia, who served in this capacity with great acceptability until 1832.

On the evening of the 30th of May, 1826, a meeting of a number of the prominent citizens of the county was held at the Court House in the village of Geneseo, to take steps for the establishment of a school on the monitorial plan, "sufficiently extensive to teach 600 scholars, particularly in the higher branches of science." Articles of association, previously drawn up, were adopted, and a committee consisting of George Hosmer, Charles H. Carroll, James Faulkner and Philo C. Fuller, was appointed to solicit subscriptions in aid of this object. In August of the same year a committee advertised for proposals for the erection of buildings for the "Livingston County High School." The specifications called for an academic building, of brick, 65 by 33 feet, three stories high, and a brick or frame boarding-house, of about the same proportions. These buildings were completed in due season, and constitute the property of the present Geneseo Academy. In 1827 the legislature incorporated the Living-

ston County High School Association, with the following incorporate members: William Wadsworth, James Wadsworth, William Fitzhugh, Daniel H. Fitzhugh, John H. Jones, Charles H. Carroll, George Hosmer, James Faulkner, William H. Spencer, Philo C. Fuller, John Colt, Henry P. North, Lemam Gibbs, Orlando Hastings, Augustus A. Bennett, William Finley, Moses Hayden and Jeremiah Briggs. The school remained under the control of a stock association until 1849, when it passed under the control of the Synod of Buffalo, and became a school under Presbyterian control, but not especially a sectarian institution. For nearly half a century it remained one of the most useful and prosperous, as it is one of the oldest, academies of the State. Its graduates have been numbered by thousands, and students from every clime have laid the foundations of their education within its walls. It is a source of deep regret that in 1875 the Academy was closed, with no prospect of its immediate re-opening.

The post-rider in early days was an important personage. His visits were eagerly watched for, and none were more warmly received in the settlements than he, whose coming brought tidings from absent friends, or news of the great world's doings. Besides delivering the letters and papers coming through the mails he made it a part of his business to supply newspapers to the people on his route, in much the same manner as the business is done by newsdealers at the present day, buying his papers of the publishers and furnishing them to regular customers at a certain rate per annum. As in more modern times, payments were not always made with as much promptness as they should have been, and the post-rider was often compelled to issue touching appeals to the delinquent customers to pay him. William Hutchins gives

notice, over date of Dec. 10, 1823, "to all those who have received of him the Livingston Gazette, printed at Moscow, that a collection must be made in order to enable him to pay the printer." He very kindly offers, however, to receive grain in payment for newspapers, if delivered by the 15th of January at Gainesville, China, Springville, Collins, or at Walnut Creek Mills.

In the fall of 1824 the mail stage between Geneseo and Rochester run three times a week each way, leaving the former place Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays, at half past six o'clock in the morning. In April, 1825, E. Fisk advertises that the "Rochester stage will in future leave Geneseo every morning at half past five o'clock," and the common wagons before in use were exchanged for "elegant coaches." In December of the same year the stage was advertised to leave Geneseo for Dansville, Bath and Olean Sundays and Wednesdays, on the arrival of the Rochester stage. The line to Rochester intersected the east and west line at Avon, thus giving a daily communication with Rochester, Canandaigua and Batavia, and points farther east and west. "For this accommodation the public are indebted to the enterprise of Mr. E. Fisk, whose perseverance has, from the use of a common wagon which lately passed between this place and Rochester once a week, established a daily line of elegant coaches."

As early as Jan. 8th, 1824 formal application was made to the legislature by residents of Nunda, "That six miles of the north part" of that town, in the county of Allegany, might be erected into a separate town and annexed to the county of Livingston. Some years later this prayer of the people of Nunda was substantially granted.

The people of the young and growing county were

not allowed to suffer for the want of amusements. Traveling shows early found their way hither, and the public journals contained frequent flaming announcements. The Register of June 17, 1824, advertised a new museum of wax figures as "now open at the house of C. Watson in Moscow for a few days only." The collection embraced noted personages, the "Sleeping Beauty," and views of celebrated places. "The decorations and dresses are made in that style of elegance that will insure gratification to the observer. The museum will be open from 9 o'clock in the morning till 10 o'clock in the evening. Music on an elegant organ!" Unless the making of wax figures has since become a lost art, and the specimens to-day but inferior imitations of those then shown to the public, it is not to be presumed that the exhibition was a very meritorious one. Perhaps as fascinating, far more terrible, finally, was the show of the snake charmer, who about this time visited Geneseo and surrounding towns. Allowing the repulsive reptiles to crawl freely about his person, he attracted curious crowds wherever he went. He was frequently warned of the danger he run in allowing the reptiles to touch his person, but he only laughed at the fears of his spectators. One unlucky day, however, while exhibiting his snakes in Conesus, one of the reptiles in crawling across his face, bit him on the lip. Every thing was done by the kind hearted people that was possible, but he was soon beyond human aid, and died in the most terrible agony.

There were very few Indians within the limits of the new county at the time of its erection. An informant states that there could not have been more than eighty or one hundred at this time, including young and old, male and female remnants of the Senecas. The residence of these people was at Squaukie Hill. Soon

after the sale of their lands in 1825 they began to leave, going to the western reservations, and in a few years none were left. The Indians of Allen's Hill, Little Beardstown and other villages had gone some years before. Civilization had done but little for these dusky natives. With rare exceptions they continued to live in their old huts, with fires in the centre, and nothing but skins and blankets for beds. The women also continued to the last the laborers of the tribe, while the men spent their time in hunting, fishing, and the idle amusements of their villages.

On the 28th of January, 1824, a meeting of inhabitants of the County was held at the Court House in Geneseo, for the purpose of forming a county Bible society, auxiliary to the American Bible Society. The history of one of the oldest and most useful civic organizations of Livingston County dates from this meeting. The meeting was well attended, and an organization effected. As officers for the ensuing year, the following were chosen: President, James Wadsworth; Vice Presidents, Charles H. Carroll and Jeremiah Riggs; Treasurer, Orlando Hastings; Corresponding Secretary, Rev. Norris Bull; Recording Secretary, Augustus A. Bennett; Directors: Willard H. Smith, Caledonia; George Hosmer, Avon; Orrin Gilbert, Lima; William Janes, York; Eben E. Buell, Geneseo; Lemah Gibbs, Livonia; Dr. Asa R. Palmer, Leicester; James Rosebrugh, Groveland; Samuel Chapin, Jr., Freeport (Conesus); Jonathan Beach, Mount Morris; William McCartney, Sparta; Alvah Southworth, Springwater. The society has had a continued existence to the present day, and in its peculiar field no organization has done greater or more efficient work. The Bibles distributed by it are numbered by thousands, and on several occasions the whole county has been canvassed, and a copy of this

precious book placed in every home where one was found wanting, often "without money and without price."

The cause of the Greeks in 1824 excited the liveliest interest in Livingston County, as it did throughout the country, and our liberty-loving people were not slow in showing their sympathy and extending substantial aid to the struggling Greeks. For this purpose a county meeting was held at Geneseo on New Year's day, 1824, at which Judge Jones of Leicester presided. A series of resolutions expressive of the sentiments of the citizens were submitted by William H. Spencer, Calvin H. Bryan and Orlando Hastings, which were heartily endorsed. A committee was also appointed to receive and forward to New York such contributions as might be placed in their hands, while committees to solicit and receive contributions were appointed for each town in the county. In this way liberal contributions were secured, and substantial aid given to the cause in which the Greeks were engaged.

A local paper announces as "commercial enterprise," under date of May 27, 1824, the passage by Geneseo, on the river, of the canal-boat "Hazard," from Nunda, on her way to Albany, loaded with pine lumber, ashes, etc. The boat was owned by Sanford Hunt of the former place. Shipments were often made in this way down the river, until the completion of the Genesee Valley Canal. At one time an attempt was made to introduce steamboats on the river, and steamboat navigation companies were organized, but the attempt was not successful, although trips were made several seasons by small steamboats. The following announcement appears in the Livingston Journal of July 28th, 1824: "We can congratulate the public upon the arrival of the steamboat 'Erie Canal,' Captain Bottle, at our village last evening. A more

welcome arrival, and one which throws the smiles of a bland and hearty cheerfulness among our villagers could not well have happened."

The same paper contains a communication from Avon commencing as follows :

"Cheer up you lusty gallants,
With music sound the drum,
For we've descry'd a steamboat
On the Genesee hath come."

The writer follows this ryming effusion with a detailed account of the arrival of the boat at Avon on the 26th, from Utica. "This being the first time the river has been navigated by steam, drew together a numerous multitude, all eager to catch a glimpse of the novel stranger who had come in such a questionable manner among us." A company of gentlemen immediately assembled on board the boat "to honor its arrival and greet the commander with a cordial welcome." Toasts were drank, accompanied with music on board and the roar of cannon on shore. The genius of Fulton, the steamboat itself, its gallant captain, the Genesee and the beautiful scenery on its shores, the arrival of the boat, and the great promise of the future, dating from this opening of steam navigation, all received due attention from the toasters, and each sentiment was lustily cheered by the multitude who had gathered to see the wonderful sight. "As the last gun was fired, the boat was gotten under way, and moved up the river toward Geneseo, the place of her destination, at the rate of about six miles per hour."

At Geneseo the boat met with much the same greeting. On the day following her arrival a large company of ladies and gentlemen went on board, and Captain Bottle gave them an excursion up the river, returning in the evening. The boat was about 77 feet long, with a breadth of beam equal to that of the

largest canal packet, and drew about 11 inches of water, exclusive of her keel. Where no obstructions existed the boat made about four miles per hour up stream. Captain Bottle stated at that time that a successful steamboat navigation might be prosecuted from Rochester to Geneseo, and even a few miles above, if the obstructions impeding the passage were removed. The channel was in some places filled with fallen trees and snags, which often detained the boat for hours. The editor of the Register concurred with Captain Bottle in the opinion "that nothing is wanting but an alteration in the Feeder at Rochester, and a cleaning out of the rubbish in the river, to make this one of the most easily navigable streams in the State," and favored an appropriation by the legislature to effect this object.

The next attempt at steam navigation on the river was by the "Genesee," a rear-wheeled steamboat owned by a stock company, Major W. H. Spencer and other citizens of the county being interested in the enterprise. It plied between Rochester and Geneseo, its landing at Rochester being at the head of the Feeder, and at Geneseo a little below North's Mill. Its carrying capacity was not very great. It was intended for passengers and for towing river boats, of which it could tow about three at a time. The speed of the "Genesee" was greater than that of its predecessor, it sometimes making ten or eleven miles an hour. It would leave the Geneseo landing at 5 o'clock in the morning, and reach Rochester by 10 or 11 o'clock that forenoon. Returning, it would leave Rochester at 4 o'clock P. M., reaching Geneseo at 10 or 11 o'clock in the evening,—distance by the river, 65 miles. If it brought up a tow it might be detained two or three hours or more. There were berths for the hands, but none for passengers. The "Genesee,"

however, was not a success, and after running two seasons the enterprise was abandoned. During the first season the boat was commanded by Captain William W. Weed, and Captain John Dallson commanded it the second season.

On the 12th of August, 1825, as a Mr. Adams of the village of Geneseo was opening a drain to conduct the water from the marshy spot on which the two springs are located which supply the village with water, "he came in contact with a substance between two and three feet below the surface of the earth, so peculiar in its appearance and delicate in texture, that he was induced to make a critical examination of it, and found it to be a bony substance very much resembling in appearance that of ivory. After removing the earth he found it to be of a spiral form, measuring five feet in length, and seven inches in diameter at its base, gradually diminishing in size to an obtuse point. The figure of the substance so nearly resembled the tusk of an elephant that he concluded it must have its fellow, so he renewed the search and soon found it situated about three feet from the first, and precisely resembling it in every respect, their points lying in opposite directions.* He soon found eight of the teeth, "four of which were evidently the back teeth of each side of the jaws, they being fitted to each other, and two belonging to the upper and two to the lower jaw, all precisely alike as to figure and dimensions, their transverse diameter being three inches and their horizontal diameter six inches, one of which weighed $3\frac{1}{2}$ pounds without the process that enters the jaw, that being totally destroyed in all of them. These teeth were marked upon their grinding surface by four rows of studded, blunt points, elevated an

* Livingston Register, Aug. 17, 1825

inch. The four remaining teeth were of less size, and their grinding surface perfectly smooth. The enamel of all the teeth is sound and perfect."

The discovery of these mastodon remains caused no little excitement in the village. The citizens, believing that with proper care the whole skeleton might be obtained, volunteered to remove a sufficient area of surface to effect this object. As anticipated, the bones of the body and extremities were found, but so much decayed that it was impossible to raise any of the more important ones entire. Traces, however, were left, by which their size and figure were ascertained. "The lower bone of the hind leg measured three feet in length from the knee joint to the ankle. The thigh bone, from joint to neck, was also three feet in length, and eighteen inches at its smallest circumference." The length of the animal, measuring from the centre between the base of the two tusks to the exterior point of the pelvis, was estimated at twenty feet, and the height at twelve feet. "The animal could not have been old, as eight molar teeth were found—old animals have only one molar on either side of each jaw."* The bones were placed in the cabinet of the Buffalo Natural Historical Society.

A similar discovery was made about the year 1835, in straightening the road from Scottsburgh to Conesus lake. In digging the ditch on the east side of the road, where it ran through a swamp of five or six acres, near the inlet of the lake and about thirty rods to the west, the remains of a mastodon were found, about three feet below the surface. Eight teeth were found, four of which had blunt points, and weighing about two pounds each. The shoulder blades, pieces of the ribs and some joints of the backbone were also

* *Silliman's Journal*, Vol. 12, p. 380, 1st Series.

found. Some of these bones are now in the Le Roy Female Seminary.*

In November, 1824, Livingston county gave 849 majority for DeWitt Clinton for Governor, over Samuel Young. Every town in the county except Groveland gave a majority for Clinton. In 1820 Governor Clinton had proposed in the State Senate that the federal constitution be amended so that presidential electors should be chosen by the people in districts. Following up the idea, he recommended in his speech at the opening of the extra session in November, 1820, that a State law be passed providing for the election of the electors by the people on a general ticket. This proposed change was the great theme of discussion in the fall of 1823, and throughout the following year. Originally agitated by the "Bucktails," all the Clintonians joined them in favoring the bill. The advocacy of this measure added to Clinton's popularity with the people, but the moving cause of his triumphant election may with safety be attributed to the action of the legislature in the spring of 1824, in removing him from the office of Canal Commissioner. This was done by the "Bucktails," his political enemies, yet though it was but following out the policy he had himself always pursued, it seemed to the people "like striking a fallen enemy." His work in behalf of the people, especially in developing the resources of the State, were not forgotten, and rallying to his support they carried him into office with a majority of over sixteen thousand. In this contest, as has been shown, Livingston stood firmly by the "people's candidate," and contributed largely to his successful canvass.

* Within the last two years several bones of a mastodon were discovered on the borders of the county near Dansville, some eight feet below the surface, a portion of which are now in the possession of Professor Allen of the State Normal School at Geneseo.

Warmly supporting Clinton, the people also strongly favored his proposed change in the manner of choosing electors, and looked with suspicion on all who did not hold the same views. During the sitting of the January Common Pleas, and while the electoral bill was pending in the legislature, John Van Fossen, with a view of getting up a general meeting of the electors of this county, without reference to party, to give expression to the views of the people on this subject, presented a paper to Judge Carroll, then First Judge of the county, who was also Republican candidate for Congress, while he was at dinner with about fifty others at Amos Adams' tavern in Geneseo. The Judge declined to sign the paper, believing that Van Fossen had some ulterior purpose. Van Fossen at once caused to be struck off hand-bills which he circulated slyly in Monroe county, stating that Judge Carroll was opposed to any change in the existing mode of appointing presidential electors. Judge Carroll, when apprised of this fact, publicly denied the assertion. His opponent, Moses Hayden, was also compelled by public opinion to define his position on this question, and his letter caused considerable discussion, although he warmly favored Clinton's measure. At the election Mr. Hayden was successful in securing a re-election.

In the summer of 1826 Governor Clinton, accompanied by his son Col. Clinton, and Gen. Beck, visited the Genesee Valley. Accepting the statement of the opposition organ as true, his reception was not a warm one. "His Excellency's visit at this place was remarkable for nothing but its silence; his friends, we think, were hardly civil to him."*

In 1826 Charles H. Carroll was the Republican can-

* Livingston Register, July 25, 1826.

didate for State Senator, his opponent being his old foe, Mr. Van Fossen. The result was somewhat of a surprise, a canvass of the votes showing that Judge Carroll had a majority of about 600, in a district which in 1824 had given Mr. Clinton a majority of between 5,000 and 6,000. The Register, then the "Bucktail" organ at Geneseo, commenting on this result, said: "Notwithstanding, the little regency editor of the Journal, in his simpering tone proclaims that 'in this Senate District Charles H. Carroll, the Bucktail candidate, has been elected by a small majority.' It is true that it is not 6,000, neither is it reduced to the sickly number of nine; but is respectable in a district where the political parties claim to be nearly equally divided, and one that the friends of Judge Carroll feel not inclined to find fault with—and why need his enemies."

CHAPTER XV.

ANTI-MASONRY—NEW COUNTY PROJECT.

An event occurred in the fall of 1826, in the neighboring county of Genesee, that filled the people with alarm and terror, and aroused them to a fever heat of excitement. A wide-spread effect was produced upon the then existing political parties, and a new organization sprang into existence, which rapidly increased in numbers, and for a time exerted a powerful influence over the political affairs of the State.

This occurrence was the abduction and supposed murder of William Morgan, a royal arch free mason, a printer by trade, then living at Batavia. As the whole subject has been fully discussed by other writers, only enough of the details will be given here to explain the course of the people of this county, especially in their political action. Morgan, it appears, unable to earn a livelihood by his trade, determined to publish for his pecuniary benefit, a pamphlet containing an *expose* of the secrets of masonry. While at work setting the type for this pamphlet, his intention was discovered by some of his fellow masons, and communicated by them, as subsequent events seemed to show, to the members of the order, far and wide.

A warrant was issued by Jeffrey Chipman, a Justice

of the Peace in Canandaigua, on the 11th of September, 1826, for the arrest of Morgan on a charge of stealing a shirt and cravat, and Mr. Cheesebrough, master of a masonic lodge at Canandaigua (who procured the warrant), together with two or three other masons, went to Batavia with it. Causing Morgan to be arrested, they hurried him in a close coach to Canandaigua, where he was brought before Justice Chipman, but was discharged, as the Justice believed him guiltless of the charge preferred. He was immediately re-arrested on a small debt due Aaron Ashley, which Cheesebrough claimed had been assigned to him. Judgment was rendered against Morgan for two dollars, and an execution being issued he was committed to close confinement in the Canandaigua jail. During the night of the 12th he was discharged from custody, but was immediately seized by a party of unknown persons, and rapidly and secretly conveyed to the Niagara river, where he was left confined in the old magazine of Fort Niagara, in charge of Colonel King and Elisha Adams. On the 29th of September he disappeared, and nothing was ever afterward heard of him.*

The people of Batavia had been for some time aware that Morgan was regarded with suspicion by the masons, as they had made several ineffectual attempts to suppress the forthcoming work. When it became known, therefore, that Morgan had been forcibly seized after his discharge from custody, and had mysteriously disappeared, they determined to investigate the case and vindicate the majesty of outraged law. At a public meeting held in Batavia, a committee was ap-

* As to his ultimate fate later disclosures seem to leave no doubt. A party of men chosen by lot, met under cover of darkness, and conveying him to the middle of the Niagara river, consigned him to its waters, firmly bound and weighted with stones.

pointed which instituted a strict investigation, without, however, being able at that time to discover any traces of the missing man beyond the fact that his abductors had conveyed him rapidly toward Rochester. These facts being reported, the community became convinced that a great crime had been committed, and the dreadful suspicion prevailed that Morgan's life had been sacrificed by his abductors. Then the whole western part of the State was aroused, and alarm, indignation, and a deep determination to probe the mystery to the bottom prevailed among all classes of people. Meetings were held in nearly every town, at which was condemned in the severest terms the outrage which had been perpetrated, and steps taken to ferret out and bring to justice the impious hands that had thus stained themselves with human blood. The evident deliberation with which the abduction had been committed, the large number of agents employed, and the secrecy with which all the movements had been conducted, pointed to a well-organized and wide-spread conspiracy to put Morgan out of the way, and indicated that in thus ignoring the laws and outraging the sentiment of the peaceful community, a large organization had been interested. This was enough to fill the community with alarm, but when was added to this evident strength of the abductors the mystery which surrounded the occurrence—itsself an element that seldom fails to inspire terror—it may be readily believed that not only indignation but the greatest alarm filled the hearts of the people.

The committee before spoken of continued its investigations, but at first with little success. "They could trace him [Morgan] as far as Rochester, and it was a long time before the clue was found by which he was finally traced to Fort Niagara. The very difficulties interposed to the investigation increased

the excitement in the public mind. There were some who early implicated the whole masonic fraternity in the guilt of the transaction. This, however, was not at first the general public sentiment ; but when, as the investigation proceeded, it was found that all those implicated in the transaction were masons ; that with scarce an exception no mason aided in the investigation ; that the whole crime was made a matter of ridicule by the masons ; and even justified by them openly and publicly ; that the power of the laws was defied by them, and the committees taunted with their inability to bring the criminals to punishment before tribunals where judges, sheriffs, jurors and witnesses were masons ; that witnesses were mysteriously spirited away, and the committees themselves personally villified and abused for acts which deserved commendation, the impression spread rapidly and seized a strong hold upon the popular judgment, that the masonic institution was in fact responsible for this daring crime.”*

It is proper to say, however, in this connection, that this extract is from the pen of one who was a prominent anti-mason, and who took a leading part in the investigation. Therefore it is probable that his picture of the opposition met with by the committees in their investigations is highly colored and overdrawn. Many engaged in these investigations, and the warfare on masonry through honest abhorance of the crime that had been committed, and a firm belief that all secret societies were inimical to the spirit of our institutions. Others, however, seized upon the opportunity to advance their own political ends, and some who were loud in their denunciation of masonry, and zealous to an excessive degree in the prosecution of

* Hammond's *History of Political Parties*.

those suspected of complicity in Morgan's abduction, would have been as ready, had the popular current been setting that way, to applaud the dark deed and extol the shining virtues of the masonic order. It was certainly the case that the abduction and murder of Morgan found many to condemn it among masons themselves, while, as must be admitted, a few of the order approved and defended it.

The effect of this event on the then existing political parties was very great, although for a year or two it was not sensibly felt outside of the counties of Genesee, Monroe, Livingston, Orleans and Niagara.

The rise and progress of the anti-masonic party was briefly epitomized at one of its later conventions, as follows: "The abduction of Mr. Morgan called forth the first general expression of popular opinion against secret societies. That event occurred at Batavia Sept. 11th, 1826. A considerable period elapsed before the people in the immediate vicinity of that outrage became sensible of the fact that freemasonry had commanded and justified the high-handed conspiracy; and a still longer period transpired before the iniquitous oaths and obligations of the order became generally known. But finding themselves at length unable to ferret out the conspirators, and becoming acquainted with the alarming principles, in accordance with which their fellow citizen had been bereft of liberty and life; a determination was made by the people, in a few of the towns in the counties of Genesee, Monroe and Niagara, by the exercise of the right of suffrage, to effect the abolition of the institution in whose name and service the daring deed was committed. In the spring of 1827, a few scattering demonstrations of this determination were made at the town meetings. In the fall of 1827, the question was for the first time brought distinctly and with concert to

the polls, in the counties of Genesee, Monroe, Livingston, Orleans and Niagara, in each of which counties the anti-masonic ticket prevailed, and the territory including them became thenceforth known in masonic language as the 'infected district.' In the summer of 1828 a convention of seceding masons was held at LeRoy, in the county of Genesee, by whom the truth of the revelations of free-masonry made by Morgan was affirmed, and a farther revelation was made by many of the higher degrees. In the fall of 1828 the memorable presidential canvass absorbed almost the entire public attention, without the limits of the counties above mentioned and the counties adjacent. Nevertheless, anti-masonry, in defiance of and in opposition to both of the political parties, deposited in the ballot boxes 33,000 votes. In the month of February, 1829, a State convention was held at Albany, in which forty-two counties were represented, and by which the first national convention was recommended. As yet neither of the political parties had openly declared itself in opposition to anti-masonry, and in many parts of the State both had vied in caressing it."

In this county action was early taken to express the sentiment of the community. A call appeared in the local journals for a meeting to be held at the Court House in Genesee on the 12th day of January, 1827, "for the purpose of expressing their sentiments in regard to the outrage committed upon William Morgan, and of adopting such measures as may be deemed advisable to discover his fate, and to prevent a recurrence of such detestable transactions." The call was signed by C. H. Bryan, P. C. Fuller, J. Wright, R. Austin, E. N. Buell, S. F. Butler, Charles Colt, Campbell Harris, and J. Percival. At this meeting Judge Jones (a prominent free-mason), was made chairman, and Philo C. Fuller secretary. Mr. Bryan

gave a brief review of the transaction which had given occasion for this meeting, and referred to the fact that there was no statutory prohibition of the kidnapping of white persons, although there was a statute to prevent the abduction of people of color. Several affidavits relating to various facts connected with the abduction, and a report of the recent trial at Canandaigua of persons implicated in it, were read, and a committee consisting of P. C. Fuller, C. H. Bryan, J. Clute, H. D. Mason and J. Almy, was appointed to report resolutions for the consideration of the meeting. The resolutions thus reported and adopted condemned in the severest terms the kidnapping of Morgan, "a procedure so obviously repugnant, not only to the laws of the land, but to the first principles of civil liberty,"—"we view the transaction as one calculated to excite alarm—one which no consideration can justify; and one which as intelligent and watchful citizens, we are bound to reprobate in decided terms." A suggestion was made that a law should be passed forbidding "the kidnapping of free white citizens," and a committee, consisting of the chairman, secretary, and Mr. Clute, was appointed to "correspond with other committees in neighboring counties, and to receive contributions to be used in endeavoring to discover the fate of Morgan, and in detecting and bringing his abductors to condign punishment; and that a contribution for these purposes be taken up at this meeting."

The people of the several towns followed the example thus set by this county gathering, and meetings were held in a large number of places. A local journal* gives an account of a large meeting held in Sparta on the 17th of March, 1827, to give expression

* Livingston Register.

to the sentiments of that community. Benjamin Roberts presided, and William D. McNair officiated as secretary. The resolutions passed expressed in ringing tones the abhorrence with which the people viewed the outrage. "The history of the last six months," the resolutions read, "has disclosed facts which make every individual tremble for his own safety; our liberties have been invaded,—the majesty of our laws has been trampled upon with impunity—our citizens have been arrested, robbed, kidnapped, and murdered without the shadow of a crime, or any legal pretense whatever." The press, it was averred, had been generally silenced, free-masonry had become a stepping-stone to office, "and the principal posts of honor, trust or profit, from the President of the United States, down to the petty magistrates of our towns and villages, are generally held by masons." The meeting pledged itself to oppose the election of any one to any office of honor or trust who was a member of the order of free-masonry, and appointed Russell Day, Hiram Kellogg, S. W. Smith, James McNair and Benjamin Wheeler a committee of vigilance and correspondence for the town of Sparta.

These accounts serve to show how thoroughly the people were aroused, and the deep, earnest and determined spirit with which they entered upon this warfare on an institution they deemed so dangerous to individual liberty and popular government. The most intense feeling was generated, and probably no question of public interest in this country ever more thoroughly engaged the attention of the people, was made the theme of more earnest discussion, or gave rise to a warmer political canvass than this popular uprising against masonry.

In the elections of 1827, however, the influence of this opposition was but little felt. The forces were

but gathering then, that afterward for several years controlled the politics of the "infected district," and exerted a powerful influence in State councils. Nevertheless, it behooved candidates for office, even at this time, that they be able to show a clear record on this question, and probably the election of Calvin H. Bryan to the Assembly in November, 1827, was due to the fact that he was not only a Jackson man, but also a decided anti-mason. At the same time William Janes, another vehement opposer of masonry, was also elected to the Assembly, the majority of both himself and his colleague being about 500.

At the spring elections of 1828 the anti-masons were largely in the ascendancy, the issue being for the first time brought directly before the people. A newspaper of that day said of the result: "Intelligence received from the several towns in this county, of the result of the late town elections, furnishes the best evidence that anti-masonry still flows in a 'natural and healthful channel,' notwithstanding the great exertions made use of by royal arch politicians to direct its course." The anti-masons elected the whole, or the greater part, of their tickets in nine out of the twelve towns comprising the county. In Groveland, Leicester and Lima the masons elected their candidates for the office of Supervisor by small majorities.

In the spring of 1828, Charles H. Carroll, who was then one of the Senators from this district, resigned his seat for the purpose of devoting his whole time to his private affairs. He had served during 1827 and the winter session of 1828, with great acceptability to his constituents and credit to himself, but his large personal interests demanded that he should forego, for a time at least, any further political honors. In his letter of resignation to the Hon. Peter R. Livingston, President, *pro tem.* of the Senate, he said:

“The unusual time occupied by the sessions of our legislature for the last two years, compel me to tender you the resignation of my seat in the Senate of this State. In years of ordinary legislation it would have afforded me much satisfaction to have served my constituents the four years for which they elected me. My own affairs, however, oblige me to resign this honor for the residue of the term ; and to do it at this time that my place may be supplied at the ensuing election, and my constituents saved the expense of a special one.” The resignation was accepted, although it was said that “his retirement at this time is a source of regret to his friends, while the public will lose the services of a worthy and useful legislator.”

It becoming necessary to supply the vacancy caused by Judge Carroll's resignation at the November election, an anti-masonic convention was held at Rush Oct. 20th, 1828, which nominated James Wadsworth for this position. Mr. Wadsworth, however, although a decided anti-mason, declined to be a candidate. He was absent from home when the convention met, but William Wadsworth, his brother, on learning of the action taken, addressed a letter to the anti-masonic central committee of Livingston county, in which he said : “This nomination was contrary to his [James'] wishes and his express declarations will appear from the following letter from him addressed and read to the convention. I am induced to ask a publication of this letter from a thorough conviction that my brother will not in any event suffer himself to be considered a candidate. His absence will prevent his declining publicly in time to permit another nomination. Under these circumstances, as it is the unquestionable right of Livingston county, I take the liberty to suggest to you gentlemen the propriety of recommending some other person without loss of time.”

Following out this suggestion, a meeting of anti-masonic electors of the county was held in Geneseo on the evening of the 20th. James Percival acted as chairman, and Philo C. Fuller as secretary, and a resolution was unanimously adopted that Moses Hayden of York be recommended to the electors of the district as a candidate for the office of Senator.

Meanwhile an anti-masonic State convention had been held at Utica on the 4th of August, which had nominated for Governor, Francis Granger of Ontario, and for Lieut.-Governor, John Crary of Washington. In this convention James Wadsworth's name had been frequently mentioned in connection with the nomination for Governor. "Great unanimity of sentiment prevailed among the members of this body, although met from remote parts of the State. But two candidates for Governor were mentioned on the first attempt to obtain the mind of the delegates, when each one named the individual of his choice. These two were James Wadsworth and Francis Granger, Esquires. As no member present was able to answer for the acceptance of the former gentleman, his name was reluctantly withdrawn by his friends, yet notwithstanding the propriety of unanimity at the final balloting, some few could not be prevailed upon to relinquish what they deemed a fit opportunity of expressing their preference for a man who is so eminently qualified to discharge the duties of the high and important office for which he had been named by those who knew his worth, and are acquainted with his sentiments on the particular subject which then engaged the attention of the convention." Mr. Granger, however, declined the nomination for political reasons, although he was a decided anti-mason, and Solomon Southwick of Albany was substituted. Anti-masonic nominations had also been made for all the

offices to be filled at the coming election. These were as follows: For Congress, Timothy Childs; State Senators, George H. Boughton, Moses Hayden; Assembly, Philo C. Fuller, Titus Goodman, Jr.; Sheriff, Russell Austin; County Clerk, Chauncey R. Bond. Each of the other political parties also had a full ticket in the field, and the canvass was one of the most closely contested political campaigns ever witnessed in the county. Much feeling was engendered, and the discussion was heated and bitter. All opposition to the new political movement was, however, useless. The people, regardless of all former political ties, of the ridicule of their opponents, the reasoning and entreaties of politicians or the unconcern of the two great parties, were deeply in earnest in their determination to crush out, by the power of the ballot, what they conceived to be the great wrong of the age, freemasonry. The result was astonishing to party leaders, and even to the people themselves. A canvass of the votes cast at the election showed that Southwick for Governor had received 1963 votes, to 1257 for Van Buren (Jackson candidate), and 867 for Thompson (Adams man), while the anti-masonic candidates for Congressman, State Senators, Assemblymen, Sheriff and Clerk were elected by overwhelming majorities.

This was the first great triumph of the anti-masonic party, to which it added others in successive years until it was finally wholly absorbed by the Whig party about the year 1832.

Early in the spring of 1827 the citizens of Mount Morris commenced an important public work, which has since added largely to the commercial importance and prosperity of that beautiful village. This was the construction of the race-way extending along the hillside, below the village, from the Genesee river to a point near the center of the village, from whence its

waters are again returned to the river by means of a small stream emptying into the Canaseraga creek. The plan proposed embraced a strong timber dam at the river to raise the water to the proper level to carry it through the race-way, and a lock and apron to facilitate the passage of boats. The work was done for the purpose of providing an extensive water-power, which it has answered admirably, a large number of flouring mills, saw-mills, wood and iron working establishments, etc., being driven by the power which it furnishes. The present dam is substantially built of stone, and maintains the level requisite both to supply the race-way and the canal which here crosses the river..

The board of supervisors gave notice in December, 1828, that "a farm is wanted for the accommodation of the poor of the county. It must be within six miles of the Court House in the village of Geneseo, and must contain about one hundred acres of land; the land must be of good quality, well timbered, and well supplied with good water. Any person having a farm for sale that will answer the purpose for which it is wanted, is requested to deliver a particular description of the same to William H. Spencer, before the 15th of December ensuing, stating the quality and quantity of land, how much is in timber, what kind of timber," etc., and "the ready cash price asked for the farm."

At the November session of the board in the following year, the Superintendents of the Poor reported that they had purchased, under direction of the board, "a farm one mile and a half from the village of Geneseo; containing about 136 acres, for the sum of \$5,440, payable in annual installments." The Superintendents erected an addition to the dwelling house already on the premises, 48 feet in length by 36 feet in

width, and two stories high. Other improvements were made, and on the 10th of June, 1829, they commenced to receive paupers into the house; receiving up to Nov. 7th of that year thirty-four persons, of whom twenty were males and fourteen females.

Quite a formidable movement was made in 1830 for the erection of a new county, out of portions of Allegany, Genesee, and "so much of Mount Morris in Livingston county, as would lie south of a continuation of the north line of the town of Sparta to the Genesee river." The project appears to have originated in Allegany county, and was there pushed with remarkable pertinacity. Outside of that county, however, few were found to favor it. At a meeting of the citizens of that portion of Mount Morris which it was proposed to include in the new shire, it appearing "by the legislative reports that petitions purporting to be 'from Allegany, Genesee and Livingston' have actually been presented in furtherance of the said application," a protest was entered against this or any other project that contemplated the separation of all or any part of said town from the county to which it is now attached. The people said that while they conceded the right of their neighbors to "cut and carve" up their own county to suit their local or personal interests, they were "constrained to express the belief that the people of this section are unanimously opposed to the extension of the 'gerrymandering system' to this town or county."

A large meeting of citizens of the whole town was held in the village of Mount Morris Jan. 11th, 1831, for the purpose of taking steps to oppose the efforts of those who were seeking a division of the town. William A. Mills was called to the chair, and W. H. Stanley acted as secretary. A committee consisting of William A. Mills, W. H. Stanley, Moses Marvin,

Humphrey Hunt and James Miller, was appointed to report resolutions expressive of the sentiments of the meeting. In the resolutions thus adopted the citizens said, "While we are willing our more prosperous brethren of Allegany and Genesee should impose on themselves any amount of taxes which they may desire, for their own exclusive convenience, we have not sufficient disinterested benevolence to induce us to 'go over and help' them; nor can we think it a generous attempt on their part, without consulting our feelings, to force us into a measure which we can have no possible interest to advance." And a local journal, in commenting on this action, expressed the prevalent feeling in saying that it was "sincerely to be hoped that the wishes of the inhabitants of Mount Morris would not be unheeded," while it was kind enough to say of the instigators of the new county movement that in advocating a division they were "suspected of being influenced more by considerations of private interest than by a proper regard for the good of the public." Owing, probably, to the determined and persistent opposition which it met, the new county project failed of success, and the people of the county were not called upon to discuss the question for several years.

Up to this time all efforts to secure the establishment of a bank in the county had proved futile, although such a monetary institution was imperatively demanded by the commercial necessities of the community. Avon had made several attempts to secure a bank charter, and so also had Genesee, Mount Morris and York, but at this time the legislature was chary of its favors in this direction, and the desire of the people was ungratified. At the session of the legislature of 1830, however, the bill to incorporate the Livingston County Bank was passed, and the

long wished for measure was secured. Naturally the people of the county were much elated, and especially so as this was the only charter west of Syracuse granted at this session. In May of the same year the commissioners appointed to distribute the stock of the bank announced that the subscription books would be opened in Geneseo May 31st, at the house of C. Hamilton, and that a payment of \$1 on each share of \$25 was required by the act of incorporation. The notice was signed by William H. Spencer, Allen Ayrault, W. H. Smith, D. H. Fitzhugh and William Lyman. Such was the public desire for the bank, and the confidence felt in its financial success, that in three days the entire capital stock, \$100,000, was subscribed and the payment of \$1 per share made. On the 25th of June the stockholders met for the purpose of completing the organization, when the following gentlemen were elected directors for the ensuing year: John Greig, H. B. Gibson, Nathaniel W. Howell, Abraham M. Schermerhorn, James K. Guernsey, Charles H. Carroll, Hezekiah D. Mason, Felix Tracy, Owen P. Olmsted, Eli Hill, William Lyman, William H. Stanley and Allen Ayrault. Subsequently Allen Ayrault was chosen President, Watts Sherman* cashier. Eben N. Buell, James Percival and David C. Stewart were appointed inspectors of the next election.

Work was immediately commenced on a new banking house, and in the Register of Sept. 8, 1830, we find the following reference to the bank and its building: "The capital stock of this bank (\$100,000) was promptly paid in on the 1st inst. and everything is now in readiness for the transaction of business. A

* Afterward a member of the well known firm of Duncan, Sherman & Co., Bankers, New York.

very neat banking house, well calculated both for convenience and security, has been erected since the first of June. The building is of brick, situated about the centre of the village ; and will, as we understand, be completed in a few days ; until which time the business of the bank will be transacted in an office appropriate for this purpose." The same paper indulges in a congratulatory strain over this event. It says : "Thus have the untired exertions of the inhabitants of this place been rewarded with success. Their perseverance for the last six years has resulted in the establishment of an institution which has long been needed, and the lack of which has placed this section of the country under some disadvantages which we hope will now be no more felt. We confidently look forward to the fulfillment of all the predictions we have heretofore made in relation to the benefits to be derived from this bank, and have still good reason to believe that with proper management, such as it will undoubtedly receive, that both stock holders and those who have occasion to transact business with the bank will find an ample reciprocity of benefit and favor."*

The end of the century's third decade found the county, in the ninth year of its existence, in a highly prosperous condition. Its population had increased from 19,800 in 1821 to 27,719 in 1830, its territory was dotted with numerous enterprising and growing

* The expectations of the editor were fully realized. During the twenty-five years of its existence as a corporation it paid in dividends to its stockholders, \$379,500, and then returned to them every cent of the capital stock. An eminent banker, speaking of its management, wrote : "In reference to the closing of the operations of the Livingston County Bank, after its existence of a quarter of a century under your management—a Bank managed better as well for the good of the country, as for the benefit of the stockholders, I do not think exists, or has existed in the country."

villages, and its active population was rapidly developing the resources of this rich and fertile region.

As a fitting close to this period of our history, a brief sketch of the pioneer press of the county will be interesting. The first newspaper printed in the county, the "Moscow Advertiser and Genesee Farmer," has already been mentioned in a previous chapter. Mr. Percival, after his purchase of the office and its removal to Genesee, gave his paper an enlarged form, new type and other marked improvements, and espoused the Bucktail cause. The Livingston Journal, started in Genesee in 1822 by Chauncy Morse, represented the Clintonian and "National Republican" party. The Morgan excitement brought a change in parties, however, and the Register became the organ of the anti-masonic party and afterward that of the Whigs, while the Journal became the Jackson organ, to which party it remained attached until it was discontinued in 1834. In 1829 the Register changed hands, Anson M. Weed and Allen Warner becoming the proprietors. The Journal also changed owners during this period. Ashel Harvey was for a short time associated with Mr. Morse in the publication of the paper, and both of these gentlemen were succeeded in 1829 by Levi Hovey. Both of these early newspapers were small sheets, well filled with foreign news but almost wholly devoid of local intelligence. They were fair specimens, however, of the weekly county papers of that period, and in some respects were ably conducted. It was the day of party organs, and as such they were successful journals, and were liberally sustained, considering the early period of their existence.

Moses Hayden, while serving his second year in the Senate, sickened and died Feb. 14, 1830. His death was a surprise to his constituents, and caused a feel-

ing of deep and wide-spread regret. His public services had been rendered with marked ability and a sincere purpose to secure the public good, while his private character was one of singular purity and integrity. He consequently enjoyed the confidence and esteem not only of his own party, but of the people generally, and his unexpected death was the cause of sincere sorrow. His remains were brought from Albany in May of the same year, and re-interred near his late residence in York. Philo C. Fuller was chosen to fill the vacancy in the Senate caused by Mr. Hayden's death.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE DECADE FROM 1830 TO 1840.

Notwithstanding the fact that the question of a canal along the valley of the Genesee to Olean had now been before the people for fully six years, and the measure urged year after year with great determination upon the attention of the legislature, nothing had as yet been done by that body to further this object. Discouraged by their attempts to secure the needed measure, the people of this and Monroe counties turned their attention to other plans for improving the transportation facilities of the valley.

About this period the attention of the country was directed to the subject of railroads, which were then just coming into use, and the people of the Valley naturally concluded that a railroad would solve the difficulties under which they labored.

On the 15th of November, 1831, a meeting of citizens of this county was held at C. Hamilton's house in Geneseo, for the purpose of taking measures to call a general meeting of the inhabitants of the counties of Monroe, Livingston, Genesee, Allegany and Steuben, who felt an interest in the construction of the "Rochester and Dansville Railroad," along the

valley of the Genesee river and Canaseraga creek. Charles H. Carroll acted as chairman of this meeting, and Allen Ayrault secretary. The object of the meeting having been stated, it was announced that a notice had been given that an application would be made to the legislature for a charter for this road, with a capital of \$300,000. It was therefore resolved that a call be issued for a general meeting to be held in Geneseo on Tuesday, Nov. 29, 1831, and all residents of the counties previously named, who were interested in this project, were invited to attend. The committee appointed to carry this into effect consisted of Charles H. Carroll, Allen Ayrault, C. H. Bryan, D. Firman, James Proudfit, Asa Arnold, William A. Mills, H. Jones, Jr., D. H. Fitzhugh, Smith Parmalee, James McCurdy, F. Blakesley, Robert Dixon, S. C. Grover, J. Clark and John Young.

Preliminary meetings were also held in Dansville and other places to promote this object, which were participated in by leading citizens. On the 29th inst. the general meeting was held in Geneseo, and proved a large and enthusiastic gathering. All sections were represented, and a great unanimity of sentiment prevailed. In the preamble adopted appears this: "Whereas we have repeatedly and in vain petitioned to the legislature of this State for the improvement of our natural means of intercommunication by the construction of a canal from Rochester to Olean up the valley of the Genesee river: and whereas, within a few years the science of the construction of railroads and the machinery employed thereon has been so much improved as to exceed the most sanguine expectation of power and speed in its adaptation to the transportation of passengers and produce; and whereas in this latitude the railroad has a decided advantage over the canal system by extending its

benefits and facilities throughout the whole year." Hezekiah D. Mason, Allen Ayrault, C. H. Bryan, Felix Tracy, William A. Mills and James Faulkner were made a committee to circulate a petition for signatures, praying the legislature to incorporate the company.

In the memorial to the legislature on this subject, it was urged that the face of the country over which the projected railroad would pass, was well adapted to its construction. From Rochester to the mouth of Canaseraga creek, about thirty miles, the rise was stated at 45 feet; and from the latter point to Dansville, a distance of about eighteen miles, the rise was 160 feet; a total rise of 205 feet in forty-eight miles. Referring to the extent of the traffic over the water and land routes at this time, the memorial said: "The surplus products of the Genesee and Canaseraga valleys and southern country, pass to Rochester down the Genesee valley. The amount of tonnage up and down the valley in the last year is 16,846 tons. This appears upon and is taken from the books of the forwarding merchants. Not included in this statement are the articles of oats, barley, beer, butter, cheese, lard, pork unpacked, tar, peltry, salt and lumber, and a great variety of other products that never find their way to the storehouse of the merchant. There are in the immediate vicinity of Dansville fifty-six saw-mills surrounded by immense forests of white and yellow pine. The joint product of these mills at a low estimate is 5,000,000 feet." * * * "Present price of transportation from Dansville to Rochester, loads furnished both ways, is \$4 a ton. From Genesee by water, twenty shillings. A trip on railroad from Dansville to Rochester and return could be made in nine hours; from Genesee in six hours."

The Village Chronicle of Dansville gives an account

of a meeting held in that village Jan. 7th, 1832, in furtherance of the projected railroad, at which addresses were made by Judge Carroll, James Faulkner and others. The members of Congress of the 26th, 27th and 28th districts were requested by this meeting to use their influence to secure the appointment of some member of the corps of topographical engineers to make a survey from Lake Ontario to the head waters of the Susquehanna river, through the valleys of Genesee and Canaseraga.

These united and persistent efforts were speedily crowned with success. The bill incorporating the railroad company passed the Senate Feb. 23d, 1832, by a unanimous vote, and in the latter part of March it was passed by the Assembly. This successful issue was the signal for joyful outbreaks throughout the Valley. Public meetings were held, congratulatory addresses delivered, and in other ways the people testified to the general good feeling. The Village Chronicle of March 29, 1832, thus notices the reception of the news at Dansville: "The cheering intelligence that the bill incorporating the Dansville and Rochester Railroad company had passed the Assembly, and only wanted the signature of the Governor to become a law, was received in this village on Monday evening last, about 8 o'clock, and as a demonstration of the joy with which it was hailed by our citizens in the short space of half an hour, every house and shop in the village was handsomely illuminated, which together with the skyrockets, fire-balls, bonfires, etc., that were flying in all directions, presented a beautiful scene."

Surveys for the proposed road were commenced in July, 1832, by Mr. Almy of Geneseo, and Nov. 20th the stock books of the company were opened at the Eagle tavern in Rochester, and Hamilton's tavern in

Geneseo, for the purpose of receiving subscriptions. A portion of the stock was taken during the three days the books were kept open at this time, but in the following year the directors were compelled to give notice that the subscription to the stock of the company not having been filled, the books would again be opened at the Eagle tavern in Rochester on the 9th of September. The persons signing this notice were Elisha Johnson, Charles H. Carroll, A. M. Schermerhorn, W. H. Spencer, Daniel H. Fitzhugh, James Faulkner and William Lyman.

Unfortunately, however, this constitutes the most part of the history of the Rochester and Dansville railroad. Like all similar enterprises it met with delays, disappointments and embarrassments, and the enterprise was finally wholly abandoned. Subsequently the Genesee Valley Railroad company built a line from Rochester to Avon, finishing it in 1854; the Avon, Geneseo and Mount Morris Railroad company extended the line to Mount Morris, opening the road to the public in 1859; and forty years after Dansville celebrated the chartering of her railroad company, the cars entered that village for the first time in the fall of 1871, the line having been extended by the Erie and Genesee Valley Railroad company from Mount Morris. The entire line from Rochester to Dansville is now under lease to and operated by the Erie Railway company.

In addition to this railroad enterprise, a charter was granted in 1832 for a railroad from Geneseo to Pittsford, but nothing was done to build the road.

The general election of 1830 resulted in the election of the entire anti-masonic ticket. The Senators chosen were Philo C. Fuller and Trumbull Carey; for the Assembly, Jerediah Horsford and James Percival. Calvin H. Bryan was a candidate for Member of Con-

gress for the Twenty-seventh district, but was defeated by Frederick Whittlesey of Rochester, who filled the position during the years 1831 to 1835 inclusive, the congressional district at that time embracing Livingston and Monroe counties.

The town elections of 1831 resulted very favorably to anti-masonry. But three towns elected opposition tickets. Groveland, Mount Morris and Lima. The anti-masonic organ in commenting on this result said, "the elections demonstrated that anti-masonry not only holds strong in this county, but that it is continually increasing in strength. In several towns the fraternity, although they put in requisition their utmost endeavors, were unable to get up any opposition."

In March, 1832, Willard H. Smith was appointed by the Governor and Senate First Judge of the county courts of this county, succeeding Hezekiah D. Mason, who had served since 1829. At the same time Samuel W. Spencer was appointed in the same manner as Surrogate, to succeed James Rosebrugh, who had filled the office since the organization of the county in 1821.

By the act of June 29, 1832, Livingston and Allegany were made the Thirtieth Congressional district, and the first Representative chosen was Philo C. Fuller of Geneseo, who served from Dec. 2, 1833, to Sept. 2, 1836, when he resigned and was succeeded by John Young of Geneseo. Mr. Young was succeeded by Luther C. Peck of Allegany, whose service covered the years 1837 to 1841 inclusive, when John Young was again returned and served one term.

The history of the county press of this period is one of frequent change and vicissitude. The Village Chronicle was established in Dansville in 1830 by David Mitchell and Benjamin C. Dennison. Its first

editorial says, "The Chronicle will be subservient to no political party or association of men, but devoted to whatever will conduce to the general good of society. It will be a faithful chronicler of the times—a brief history of passing events—a valuable domestic paper; and such an one as may be advantageously introduced into every family." Upon its espousing the anti-masonic cause, Mr. Dennison severed his connection with the paper April 12th, 1831, and removed to Geneseo. The paper was continued by Mitchell, who in a short time changed the name to the Village Record. It was soon after this discontinued. On the removal of Mr. Dennison to Geneseo he became the proprietor of the Journal, its name now changed to the Courier. In 1832 the paper was published by Evans & Woodruff, and in the fall of that year Henry F. Evans became the sole proprietor. The paper met with the usual fate of such enterprises, and ceased to exist in 1834.

Meantime the Register, the opposition journal, was also experiencing many changes. Mr. Percival had sold the establishment in 1829 to Anson M. Weed and Allen Warner, as previously stated, but the death of Mr. Weed in 1831 dissolved the partnership, and Mr. Percival again became the publisher. In 1832 Elias Clark bought the office and published the Register until 1834, when he disposed of the establishment to William H. Kelsey and Richard M. Miel, Mr. Kelsey retiring in the following year, and Mr. Miel became the sole proprietor. Although the "Register" had been the organ of the Whig party, it received but an indifferent support, and Mr. Miel after consultation with some leading Democratic politicians of the county resolved to turn his paper over to the support of that party and its candidates. This was done in an able editorial which produced a great sensation at

the time, as it was believed several prominent Whigs were in the secret, and they found it necessary to disclaim publicly any connection with the change. After a precarious existence of several years, during which the Register was successively published by D. S. Curtiss, Hugh Harding and John Kempshall, it was discontinued by the latter at the close of the "Tippecanoe" campaign in 1840. The materials of the office were sold to Peter Lawrence and removed to Perry.

The sudden change of front by the Register, and its desertion of the Whig party, was the cause of a good deal of indignation, and the leading Whigs of the county were determined that its place should be filled. To this end David Mitchell and William H. Kelsey purchased the materials of the defunct Journal establishment just before the election of 1835, and commenced the publication of the Livingston Democrat. Mr. Mitchell soon retired from the paper, and Mr. Kelsey continued it alone until the spring of 1837, when it was compelled to succumb to unfavorable circumstances. Such failures were enough to dishearten most men, but the sturdy Whigs of Livingston were men of great determination, and devotion to the principles of their party. Besides, the opposition had an organ in the Register, and their pride would not permit the Whigs to be behind in this respect. Measures were accordingly taken to establish a new organ, on a firm basis and with an experienced printer at its head. To this end negotiations were opened with Samuel P. Allen, then a young printer, who had learned his trade in the Register office under Mr. Warner, and his uncle Mr. Percival. In reference to these negotiations Mr. Allen says: "During the summer of that year [1837], I was called upon at Mount Morris by some of the members of the Whig Central Committee,

and urged to undertake the publication of a Whig journal at Geneseo. The committee consisted of William H. Spencer, Charles Colt, John Young, Elias Clark and Gurdon Nowlen. * * * The late William W. Weed was also active in the enterprise, and by personal efforts, probably accomplished as much as any other gentleman in securing the necessary funds to purchase a new press, etc." The negotiations with Mr. Allen were successful, and early in September, 1837, with a one-horse lumber wagon, he proceeded to Buffalo "with the old type of the Journal-Democrat establishment, and with a small amount of funds furnished by the committee, exchanged for new type at the foundry of Mr. Nathan Lyman—the journey occupying three days. Meantime a new Washington press had arrived from New York, and the first number of the Livingston Republican was issued on the 19th of September, 1837." The office was the property of the Whig central committee, Mr. Allen acting only as editor and publisher, but he says, in the letter from which we have quoted, "in March, 1844, such had been the success of the enterprise, that I was able to purchase the establishment, for which four hundred dollars was paid. The great Clay campaign of that year probably furnished the Whig committee an opportunity to 'invest' these funds!"

The election of 1831 resulted in the choice of George W. Patterson and John Young as Members of Assembly, and in 1833 the county was represented by George W. Patterson and Samuel W. Smith. The election in the fall of 1833 resulted in the choice for this office of Salmon G. Grover and Tabor Ward. Again in 1834 Mr. Patterson became the choice of the electors for this position, his colleague being Hollom Hutchinson. At the same time Elias Clark was chosen County Clerk—the Whigs carrying the elections.

In 1835 the elections resulted in another sweeping Whig victory, the Assemblymen chosen being Charles H. Carroll and George W. Patterson. On the 20th of January, 1836, Calvin H. Bryan was appointed District Attorney by the Court of General Sessions, but was superseded May 30th of the same year by A. A. Bennett. The election of this year resulted in the choice of George W. Patterson and William Scott Assemblymen, who served two successive terms. In 1838 Mr. Patterson was again re-elected, his colleague being Elias Clark. At the session of 1839 Mr. Patterson was chosen Speaker and filled the position two successive terms with great credit to himself and honor to his constituents.

Elias Clark was succeeded as County Clerk by William H. Stanley, who was elected in 1837. In 1840 Samuel P. Allen was chosen to fill the office. George Hastings superseded A. A. Bennett as District Attorney, May 27th, 1839, while the Sheriffs of the county during the period covered by this chapter had been Augustus Gibbs, elected in 1831; Josiah Wendell, 1834; William W. Weed, 1837, and James Brewer, 1840.

Until the adoption of the new constitution in 1846, Surrogates were appointed by the Governor and Senate, for the term of four years. On the 23d of March, 1836, Benjamin F. Angel was appointed Surrogate, and held the office until April 22d, 1840, when he was superseded by William H. Kelsey, who in turn was superseded by Mr. Angel in 1844, upon the advent to power in the State of a Democratic administration. The office of Supreme Court Commissioner—an officer to perform the duties of a Judge of the Supreme Court at Chambers, was conferred upon Mr. Angel at the same time, and held by him until the new constitution went into effect in 1847.

Applications to the legislature for charters and legislative aid to various enterprises, were of frequent occurrence at this time. In 1836 notices appeared that applications would be made for charters for banks at Avon, Dansville and York Centre, and the villages of Avon and York Centre wanted to be incorporated, while the people of Dansville asked for an act to incorporate the Dansville Academy, and the directors of the Livingston County Bank desired to increase their capital stock to \$250,000.

In 1837 an act was passed incorporating the Genesee Hydraulic Company. It was the design of this company to provide a great water power, by proper dams and other works on the Genesee river. The passage of the bill was hailed with the greatest demonstrations of joy on the part of the people of Genesee, but it does not appear that the company ever commenced work. It is certain, at least, that the wild expectations of the people were never realized.

The presidential campaign of 1840 was a memorable one, and holds its place in history as one of the most spirited and closely contested political campaigns the country has ever witnessed. The Whig party came early into the field with its standard bearers, William Henry Harrison for President, and John Tyler for Vice President. The Democratic party nominated for re-election President Martin Van Buren and Vice President Richard M. Johnson.

It was a period of great financial distress. In 1837 had occurred the disastrous financial panic, when bank after bank suspended specie payments, enterprise was crippled, the business of the country to a large degree suspended, and thousands of laborers thrown out of employment. The government, which a few months before had had a surplus of forty millions of dollars, found itself in this crisis unable to

meet its daily obligations, and an extra session of Congress was rendered necessary to extricate it from its difficulties. In 1840 the financial distress had been but little relieved, and the people generally attributed this to the attempts of the government to regulate the currency. Under the generally accepted rule that the party in power is responsible for all existing evils, the Democratic party was held responsible for this widespread distress and business stagnation, and its nominees were thus rendered unpopular. This tendency of popular judgment has ever been a marked feature of our political system, and while it may, and undoubtedly does, sometimes do injustice to party leaders and organizations, it also acts as a wholesome check upon the abuse of power or the neglect of manifest public duty.

Some peculiar features marked the campaign of 1840. General Harrison, the Whig candidate for President, had served in the campaign of 1811 against the Indians, and at the battle of Tippecanoe had won great military honors. His admirers now took advantage of this, and "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," became the Whig watchword. Another peculiarity arose from the fact that some injudicious opponents had taunted General Harrison with having lived in a log cabin and used hard cider as a beverage. "Hence the term 'log cabin' was seized upon and became the great talismanic word of the party, the effect of which all the arts of the 'little magician' were insufficient to counteract. Miniature log cabins were a part of the paraphernalia got up to give effect to the mass meetings, which were not unfrequently measured by acres. These rude structures, decorated with 'coon skins,' were also erected of sufficient dimensions for the accommodation of the local assemblages. There was scarcely a city or village which was not adorned with

an edifice of this description. And the number was 'legion' of those who traced their conversion to the 'new light' emitted from these political forums."

Like their brethren in other parts of the country, the Whigs of Livingston had their log cabins and hard cider, much to the amusement of their opponents, who derided them unmercifully. The Whigs of Genesee erected a cabin near the centre of the village in the latter part of August, and it afforded a place for numerous gatherings during the campaign. It was not a sightly structure, however, and many were the derisive laughs enjoyed by the Democrats at its rough appearance and uncouth shape. The Register for Sept. 1st, under the head of "village improvements," announces the completion of the log cabin, which had been built in one week. It considered the architecture unique, and compared the cornice in front, which had no posts to sustain it, to "Federal Tippecanoe Whiggery," which, it said, "is destitute of props, posts or supports, that can save it from the fate that awaits it."

Dansville also had her log cabin, erected in one day, at a grand mass meeting of Whigs, and although threatened with destruction by the Democrats, it served its purpose in the campaign, and was the scene of a number of exciting and enthusiastic political barbecues.

After a canvass which will long be remembered, the two great parties met at the polls and measured their relative strength. The result proved an overwhelming Whig victory, the party electing its candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency, gaining a large majority in Congress, and sweeping everything before it on its local tickets. In Livingston county it achieved a signal victory. The entire Whig ticket was elected. The Register, the organ of the Democracy, discouraged by this result, and its resources

exhausted in attempts to maintain an existence, gracefully yielded to the inevitable and suspended publication. The county officers chosen at this election were Samuel P. Allen, County Clerk; James Brewer, Sheriff; Augustus Gibbs and Reuben P. Wisner, Members of Assembly. John Young was also chosen Member of Congress, and John Wheeler Presidential Elector.

The county had now nearly reached the twentieth year of its separate existence, and was prosperous to a degree exceeding the highest expectations of those who had favored its erection. The population at this time had reached 37,777, an increase of about 8,767 in ten years. The assessed valuation of real estate was \$10,477,692; of personal estate, \$768,432; aggregate valuation, \$11,246,124.

The development of the manufacturing interests of the county had kept pace with her agricultural progress, and among the principal manufacturing establishments were one woolen mill, six iron establishments, four paper mills, twenty tanneries, one brewery, sixty nine saw-mills, thirty grist-mills, sixteen fulling mills, fifteen carding mills, and one oil mill.

Of banking establishments the county had two. The Livingston County Bank, at Geneseo, with a capital of \$100,000, and its report for 1839 showed loans and discounts to the amount of \$217,844, dividends in that year, \$14,000, and surplus, or profits on hand, \$37,762. Allen Ayrault was President, and Ephraim Cone Cashier. The Bank of Dansville was a banking association, located at Dansville. Its capital was \$150,300 at this time, and the amount of its circulation \$124,000.

Two villages in the county were incorporated, Geneseo and Mount Morris, the former in 1832, the latter in 1835. But Dansville, Moscow, Avon, York, Lima

and Livonia were flourishing villages, Dansville, at least, having a larger population than either of the incorporated villages. The number of postoffices in the county was thirty.

Three newspapers were at this time making their weekly visits to the people. These were the Livingston Republican and Livingston Register,* published at Geneseo, and the Spectator, published at Mount Morris by Hugh Harding.

Two incorporated academies furnished educational facilities, in addition to the excellent district schools. These were the Genesee Wesleyan Seminary at Lima, with an average attendance per term of 180 pupils, and the Livingston County High School, with an average attendance of 83 pupils per term. There were also several unincorporated academies which enjoyed a high reputation as institutions of learning. Among these were the academies at Moscow and West Avon.

A daily line of stages gave comparatively easy communication with all points, and carried the mails with regularity and despatch. A line run from Rochester to Bath, accommodating all the principal places in this county, and making connection with a Philadelphia and Washington line, and also with lines running to Buffalo, Lewiston, Utica and Albany; while the Genesee Valley Canal, now completed to Mount Morris, and rapidly approaching a finished state on its upper sections, afforded ample and cheap facilities for transporting the abundant products of the Valley.

* Suspended after the Presidential election of 1840.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE DECADE FROM 1840 TO 1850.

The ambushade by which a brave scouting party sent out from Sullivan's army of invasion in 1779, was ruthlessly destroyed by the savages, has been described in a previous chapter. The ambushade occurred on the farm now owned by James Boyd, situated just below the graveyard near John Gray's residence in Groveland, and a few rods south of the public road. The spot where the remains were interred may still be identified, though the field is under cultivation. Until recently the deeply worn trail traversed by Boyd's scouting party and over which the army passed, might easily be traced through the wood lot near by; and even now, for quite a distance between this spot and the lake, the Indian path is used as a private roadway.

The fallen soldiers were buried in two graves near together, the larger of which was located between three huge oaks whose stumps were standing thirty years ago. Captain Salmon, who now sleeps in the grave-yard close at hand, lived for many years but a mile distant and frequently visited the spot in company with men yet living. He never was weary of pointing out the place of conflict, nor of identifying with soldierly reverence the burial place. The earth over the graves, while yet the virgin soil thereabouts

lay undisturbed, had settled about two feet, and bushes has been thrown into the depression. Thus it remained for some years until the brush was removed by a tenant, who plowed over the spot and gradually levelled it up even with the surrounding surface. *since...*

While the country was yet new and farmers allowed their cattle and horses to roam at large, John Harrison, of Groveland, one morning in crossing Deacon Carpenter's farm, just north of the site of this ambuscade, in search of his stock, stumbled upon a human skull which lay beside a decaying log. This doubtless belonged to one who had been wounded in the fight and had crawled off in that direction to die. A



scalping knife also, possibly the property of the Indian killed by Murphy while effecting his escape, was found a little way eastward of the graves. A number of other relics have been picked up from time to time, though few are preserved.* For many years

* The engraving on this page shows the scalping-knife alluded to above; an axe dug up about forty rods east of the spot where the military bridge was built across the inlet; and a pair of huge bullet moulds, now greatly rust-eaten, capable of running a dozen balls at once, found near Sullivan's camping-ground at Conesus.

The knife is the property of Mr. James Boyd, on the farm; the axe was presented to the author by Mr. Granger Griswold of Conesus—the notch near the eye-hole was made by taking out a piece of steel for ornamenting a

it was the practice of Groveland boys, on their way to the lake for fishing, when their route lay by this spot, to seek among the soldier bones, then quite freely scattered over the surface, for such pieces as they best liked for cane tops. Military buttons, too, were now and then picked up and applied to the same fanciful purpose until the hand of the curious and the corrosion of time together had removed the more open evidences of the burial-place, so that when in 1841, the general exhumation occurred, it was only after digging over a considerable space that the exact location of the two graves was ascertained. Mingled with the bones and dust thrown up on that occasion were found four pewter buttons of a particular pattern, bearing on the face in large letters, the initials "U. S. A." These were at once recognized by Paul Sanborn and Lemuel Richardson, and one or two other Revolutionary soldiers present, as the kind worn by the Riflemen, to which corps Boyd's party belonged. The identity of the remains, consisting of bones more or less decayed, of teeth, and we believe, some portions of military clothing, was thus fully established.

At a county celebration held in Geneseo on the 4th of July, 1841, it was decided that on the next national anniversary day the work of erecting a monument in honor of Boyd and Parker, and those who fell in Groveland, should be commenced ; but further action did not take place. The citizens of Rochester in laying out the beautiful cemetery grounds of Mount

cane made from the wood of Big Tree for Thurlow Weed; the bullet-moulds were presented by the late James T. Norton of Geneseo.

There was found on Mr. Richardson's farm, on the spot where the army lay encamped for the night, a gun-barrel; and Mr. Richardson some years ago plowed up two horse-shoes, of great size, much eaten by the rust, which doubtless belonged to the army horses.

Hope a short time previous to this date, had assigned an elevated spot therein, called by them Revolutionary Hill, for the interment of all soldiers who had died or should die in Western New York. A request was accordingly made to the citizens of Livingston County to deliver up the remains of their heroic dead for that purpose. By a portion of our people this request was favorably entertained, while others preferred that the venerated relics should remain where they had been placed by their soldier companions.

To decide the question a county meeting was convened at the Court House in Geneseo on the 14th of August. A committee here selected reported through Allen Ayrault, favoring the removal, and advising that the remains be delivered to the Rochester authorities at Cuylerville; and thirteen leading citizens were designated to carry out this conclusion.* Two days afterward several of these gentlemen proceeded to Groveland where they obtained the bones there buried. A delegation also visited the grave of Boyd and Parker near Cuylerville. This was found to be partly overgrown with the roots of wild plum trees. The bones were disinterred in the presence of a score of well-known citizens. A physician present† carefully examined and pronounced them human remains, and from the position in which they were found, no reasonable doubt could be entertained that these were the relics of our ill-fated scouts, the victims of savage torture.

This preliminary action aroused enthusiasm and touched the popular heart; and the spirit in which

* These were Calvin H. Bryan, Wm. T. Cuyler, Daniel H. Bissel, Reuben Sleeper, John Henderson, Horatio Jones, John R. Murray, Jr., Allen Ayrault, Samuel Treat, Jr., Edward R. Hammatt, William W. Weed, William H. Stanley and Daniel P. Bissell.

† Dr. Garlock.

the after ceremonies were conducted redounds to the lasting credit of the counties of Livingston and Monroe. Scottsville, Geneseo and other corporations took formal action on the subject. Mount Morris provided a breakfast for the military and civic delegations from Rochester. Official bodies also took action. The State Senate, then in session at Buffalo as a court of correction of errors, were invited to participate. In reply they "resolved, that the Senate duly appreciate and fully approve of this patriotic movement of their fellow citizens, but that public duties now resting upon them forbid their joining therein."

The municipal authorities and military companies of Rochester left that city in a flotilla of five canal boats on the evening of the 19th of August.* Bonfires were kindled at the principal villages along the route, and crowds of people at each stopping place testified the public reverence for the memory of those whose deeds were about to be so conspicuously honored. At Scottsville Captain Elnathan Perry, of Rush, one of Sullivan's men and a fellow soldier of Boyd, joined the party.

On reaching Cuylerville a procession was formed and proceeded to Boyd and Parker's grave. The bones of these men had been already placed in an urn, and the relics from Groveland had just arrived in a sarcophagus under escort of a procession of citizens of the county, formed at Geneseo, nearly a mile in length. While the two cavalcades halted a few rods from each

* Three of these boats were gratuitously furnished by Col. John Allen, of the old Clinton Line of canal boats; a fourth was provided in an equally liberal spirit by Sidney Allen, of Rochester; the fifth boat was the regular packet.

The military corps of Rochester which on this occasion responded, consisted of Williams' Light Infantry; Union Grays; City Cadets; Rochester Artillery; and German Grenadiers. Their movements were directed by Col. Amos Sawyer, who had been selected commandant for the occasion.

other, and the Rochester military companies were drawn up on two sides of the passage-way, the committee of arrangements and the survivors present of Sullivan's army ascended to the summit of the mound raised over the grave of Boyd and Parker, the band, meantime playing a dirge. The urn was next raised, borne to the hearse, and placed in the sarcophagus by Major Van Campen. The two processions then united, and, to the sound of muffled drums, moved slowly toward a beautiful grove on Cuyler's farm near by, where a platform had been erected for the ceremonies. An audience of 5,000 persons had here gathered from the surrounding country, and everything evinced the deep feeling which the occasion excited. The venerable Major Moses Van Campen of Dansville, now about eighty years old, an officer of the Revolution, a schoolmate and companion-in-arms of Boyd, presided. Paul Sanborn, who discovered the headless remains of two of the martyrs, (almost four-score) occupied a seat on the platform; as likewise did Lemuel Richardson and Captain Perry. Other Revolutionary soldiers took part. An eloquent oration, replete with special historic interest, was delivered by Judge Samuel Treat, and at its close the president of the day formally surrendered the relics to the Rochester authorities, and an hour before sunset the military corps, charged with their eustody, started northward. The arrival of the remains at Rochester the next morning was announced by the firing of cannon, and a great multitude of spectators lined the banks and landings.

At ten o'clock, amid the tolling of bells and the echo of minute guns, the cavalcade moved toward Mt. Hope. In the escort were Governor Seward and military staff, several noted army officers, the Vice Chancellor and other prominent men, the city officials, committees, and civic and fire companies. Arrived

at Revolutionary Hill, Governor Seward made a short address. Referring to those whose ashes were about to be deposited, he said: "God forgive the man who does not feel his blood grow warmer at the recollection of the daring, the devotion, the patriotism, of those who thus acted and thus fell." After formally dedicating the grounds to their peculiar use, the Rev. Elisha Tucker read the funeral service of the Episcopal church. The last solemn acts of sepulture were thus performed in the presence of high officers of the State, and other honored functionaries and a great concourse of the people.

Though these rites evince the reverence in which the patriot dead were held, yet a just feeling would dictate that their remains should have been allowed to sleep, uncoffined, in the rude graves beneath the sod moistened by their life-blood, where they had been placed two-thirds of a century before. And respect to their remains demands that they should yet be brought back and re-interred in the spot made doubly interesting from being the extremest point westward at which fighting took place in New York during the Revolutionary war, a spot which marks an event that has greatly influenced the personal fortunes of all who claim nativity in this county. Let then these rapidly wasting ashes, now suffering from neglect, be brought back and be replaced in the martial grave which they found in the bosom of our noble forest, thereby consecrating the broad acres to freedom, and making the whole county a grand mausoleum of her patriots.

Let us raise a fitting memorial to "mark the spot which must forever be dear to us and to our posterity, that whosoever in all coming time shall turn his eye hither, may behold that the place is not undistinguished."

James Boyd, who owns the farm where the fighting occurred, and who worthily wears the name though he shares not the blood of the principal martyr of the ambushade, generously offers to devote the ground whence these bones were removed, for their re-burial. The place in which Boyd and Parker found a grave, already marked by a rude mound near what was Beardstown Indian village, might easily be beautified. This generation has nobly preserved from successful rebellion the nation to which the Revolution gave being. What more appropriate then, than to fulfill the obligations which we imposed upon ourselves, on the anniversary of Independence in 1841, by consecrating some future Fourth of July to the re-burial of these Revolutionary dead whose graves were the *first patriotic landmarks of Livingston county.**

The Livingston County Agricultural Society was formed in 1841, at a meeting held for that purpose in Geneseo on the 1st of July. Representatives were present from all parts of the county, and considerable interest was manifested. A constitution was adopted, and the following officers chosen : President, William A. Mills ; Vice Presidents, Holloway Long, James S. Wadsworth, Daniel H. Fitzhugh ; Recording Secretary, C. H. Bryan ; Corresponding Secretary, C. R. Bond ; Treasurer, Allen Ayrault ; Managers, M. Brooks, Mount Morris ; S. W. Smith, Sparta ; C. H. Carroll, Groveland ; W. H. Spencer, York ; W. W. Wadsworth, Geneseo ; W. W. Wooster, Leicester ; Hector Hitchcock, Conesus ; Edward A. Leroy, Cale-

* It is proper to state that for this account of the ceremonies attendant upon the removal of these soldier remains to Rochester, I am indebted to Col. L. L. Doty's MSS., and the suggestion there made as to their re-burial in Livingston county comes from his patriotic pen. Why not adopt it? and what more fitting time for this sacred and patriotic duty than this, the centennial year of our national existence?—*The Editor.*

donia ; Asahel Warner, Lima ; H. S. Tyler, Springwater ; Leman Gibbs, Livonia ; John E. Tompkins, Avon.

This society has continued in existence to the present day, and its annual fairs have become noted for their fine exhibition of choice blooded cattle and sheep. As a stock-raising county, Livingston ranks among the first in the State, and her blooded stock, thanks to the efforts of the Carrolls, Wadsworths, Fitzhughs, Spencers, Ayrault, Brooks, Barber, Sherman, Peck and others, have acquired a national reputation.

In 1841 Gardner Arnold and Chester Bradley were elected to the Assembly, and were succeeded in 1842 by Daniel H. Fitzhugh and Daniel D. Spencer. James Faulkner was at the same time (1841) chosen Senator, who served during the years 1842 to 1845 inclusive. In the same year (1842) Charles H. Carroll was elected Member of Congress. At the fall election of 1843 the Whig party was again triumphant. The county officers chosen were William H. Whiting, County Clerk ; William H. Scott, Sheriff ; Gardner Arnold and Daniel D. Spencer, Assemblymen.

On the 3d of March, 1844, the State government having in the meantime again passed into Democratic hands, Benjamin F. Angel was appointed Surrogate, to succeed William H. Kelsey, who had, in 1840, superseded Mr. Angel in this office. In this position Mr. Angel remained until 1847, discharging its duties with great ability and perfect satisfaction to his constituents, when by the adoption of the new constitution, the office was united with that of County Judge. The same year Mr. Angel received the appointment of Supreme Court Commissioner, an important office under the old constitution having concurrent jurisdiction with that of a judge of the Supreme Court of the State, at chambers. Calvin H. Bryan, who set-

tled in Geneseo the year the county was erected, and who had always occupied a leading position as a lawyer and politician, was appointed by the Governor and Senate a Canal Appraiser for the State, and Daniel H. Bissell of the town of Leicester, was elected Canal Commissioner. These responsible places of trust were worthily filled, and reflected honor upon these respected citizens and upon the county.

But little less exciting than the "Log Cabin" conflict of 1840, was the presidential campaign of 1844. The leading and absorbing question of this contest was the annexation of Texas, a measure which the Democratic party North and South earnestly advocated, while the Whigs as vigorously opposed it. It involved the slavery question, which added to the warmth and bitterness of the canvass. The South was unanimously in favor of annexation because the new territory offered a rich field for the extension of her peculiar institution; the anti-slavery men of the North, for the same reason, gave the measure their unqualified disapproval. To add to the intensity of the feeling a new element, the Anti-Slavery party, made its appearance,—for the first time in a presidential election—nominating James G. Birney as its candidate for the presidency. The candidates of the Democratic party were James K. Polk for President and George M. Dallas for Vice President. The Whigs supported Henry Clay and Theodore Frelinghuysen. In this county the Whigs supported John Young and Harlow Wells for the Assembly.

As the canvass progressed it became an exceedingly warm one, especially in this county, which possessed more than the usual number of leaders prominent in State and national politics. On the Whig side we recognize the names of Young, Carroll, Wood, Colt, Kelsey and others equally prominent, while among

Democratic leaders were James S. Wadsworth, Benjamin F. Angel, Calvin H. Bryan, Daniel H. Bissell, George Hastings and others. All were firm partisans, energetic workers, and men of wide-felt influence. Thus the local canvass was given an interest it would not otherwise have possessed, since these leaders had reputations as well as views and principles to sustain; while the nearly equally balanced power of the two parties in the nation rendered the issue doubtful, and furnished an incentive for each to put forth its greatest strength. But the victory was not for the Whigs. A variety of causes combined to weaken their strength, and the election resulted in the triumph of Mr. Polk by an overwhelming popular vote, and also the success of the Democratic State ticket. "Never had the Democratic party achieved a greater triumph than in the election of 1844. Both of the great parties of the country had put forth their entire strength in the contest; the interest excited was intense and universal, and the result decisive. The Whig party was entirely prostrated, and apparently discouraged. The Democratic party of the State never held so strong a position. The severity of the contest with the Whigs had restored its ancient discipline," * * * "and the utmost enthusiasm animated its masses." Not so in Livingston county, however. "Its firm adhesion to the Whig cause has in times past been proverbial," and on this occasion it firmly stood by its Whig principles. The candidates of that party were elected by the usual majorities, but it was a hard-earned victory, and the opposition had the satisfaction of knowing that every inch of the ground had been contested with unflinching courage and indomitable will.

At the election of 1845 John Young and William S. Fullerton were the Whig candidates for the Assembly. Speaking of these nominations a Whig organ

said: "This unflinching, unwavering Whig stronghold has prepared herself for the battle, and Locofocoism always feels her blows when they fall." The opposing candidates were David McDonald of York and Ira Merrill of Avon, both worthy citizens. The Whig candidate for Senator was Lorenzo Dana; his opponent, Thomas J. Wheeler of Cattaraugus. At this election, also, the question of a convention to revise the constitution was voted upon. The campaign was a closely contested one, but the Whig party was triumphant in the county. The Senate district was largely Democratic, however, and Thomas J. Wheeler was chosen Senator.

The people having declared in favor of a constitutional convention, an election was held April 28th, 1846, to choose delegates. The nominees of the Whig party in this county were Allen Ayrault and William H. Spencer. The opposing candidates were Willard H. Smith and Hector Hitchcock. Probably no local canvass was ever more vigorously prosecuted, or the occasion of more bitterness of feeling. There was but little opposition to Mr. Spencer, but with Mr. Ayrault the case was different. His position as the President of the Livingston County Bank had made for him enemies as well as friends; the former class including not only those whom the bank had refused to accommodate, but a large number who entertained a prejudice against all banking institutions. Taking advantage of this, a desperate effort was made to elect the Democratic nominees. The Whigs were well organized and disciplined, however, and their strength was too great to be overcome. The Whig candidates were elected by a majority of about 970, only two towns, Caledonia and North Dansville, giving Democratic majorities. The Whig organ at the county seat* was

* Livingston Republican, May 6, 1846.

pleased to say of the result: "It gives us sincere gratification to announce the result of the election in this county. Under all circumstances it is the most overwhelming defeat our opponents have ever encountered, and one which, if repeated, would almost annihilate them as a party in Old Livingston."

The town of Nunda and that part of Portage lying east of the Genesee river, forming a part of Allegany county, were annexed to Livingston county, by an act of the Legislature passed in April, 1846. The town of Sparta was also divided, and the towns of North Dansville, Sparta and West Sparta formed from it. This gave the county sixteen towns. The annexation of Nunda and Portage added a rich and flourishing territory. "The two new towns were the best part of Allegany county, and will make a rich addition to Livingston. Besides their fame for raising excellent wheat, they are equally distinguished for rolling up plump Whig majorities."*

The gubernatorial election of 1846 possesses more than ordinary interest to the resident of this county, since it elevated to the highest office in the State one of the leading citizens of Livingston. This was John Young, of Geneseo, an able member of the bar, and a prominent politician. Mr. Young, as a member of the legislature, as well as by his congressional services, had acquired a brilliant reputation, and was looked upon as one of the ablest and most trustworthy leaders of the Whig party. His prominent position in the Assembly of 1845, where he strenuously advocated the holding of a convention to revise the constitution, added to his already favorable record, attracted to him the attention of the whole State. Mr. Young had early avowed himself in favor of this measure,

* Livingston Republican.

but many of the leading Whigs then in the legislature viewed it with indifference, or were openly opposed to it. By his arguments and persuasive powers he brought nearly all of them to the adoption of his views, and under his leadership they gave the measure a warm support. The Democracy were divided on this question, and no honorable means were lost by Mr. Young and his friends to widen the breach. During the progress of the convention bill he made a number of speeches in reply to Horatio Seymour, then the Speaker of the Assembly and the leader of the conservative Democrats, which won him high praise from his party, and made him its leader in the Assembly.

It was while the recollection of this brilliant success was still fresh in the minds of the people, that the Whig State convention was held at Utica Sept. 23d, 1846. "It was well understood that Mr. Fillmore did not desire to be again a candidate for Governor, and the name of Mr. Young was often mentioned in connection with that office, long before the assembling of the Whig State convention."* On the meeting of the convention, Mr. Fillmore was warmly supported by his friends, notwithstanding his reluctance to appear as a candidate, and two of the three informal ballots that were taken gave him a large majority over Mr. Young. On the third ballot Mr. Young received 76 votes to 45 for Mr. Fillmore. After this ballot the convention adjourned to the court-house, where, after effecting a permanent organization, Mr. Babcock, of Erie, arose and in a very commendable speech withdrew Mr. Fillmore's name as a candidate, and moved that the nomination of John Young as the Whig candidate for Governor be made unanimous. The motion

* Jenkins' Lives of the Governors of New York.

was received with the greatest enthusiasm, and again and again was responded to with rapturous applause. Hamilton Fish, of New York, was then nominated for Lieutenant Governor, and nominations were also made for the minor offices.

The Democratic party renominated Silas Wright and Addison Gardner, then Governor and Lieutenant Governor, while the Abolitionists and the new Native American party, which first appeared in 1843, each made separate nominations. The anti-renters endorsed the nominations of Youngs and Gardiner.

The nomination of Mr. Young was received with every demonstration of joy by the people of Livingston county. A special express from Rochester brought the news to Geneseo on the evening of the 23d, and "one universal shout of approbation rent the air, which was repeated and re-echoed long and loud in cheers and huzzas, such as are made only in the height of unbounded joy." The intelligence spread rapidly through the village, and in a very short time a large crowd assembled at the American Hotel, where an impromptu meeting was held. Ogden M. Willey was made chairman, and J. M. Campbell secretary. A committee consisting of W. J. Hamilton, Judge Endress and J. M. Campbell was appointed to wait upon Mr. Young and inform him of his nomination. These gentlemen soon returned and reported that "Mr. Young was found enjoying a fine flow of spirits, and received the announcement of the committee in the spirit of a true Whig. Mr. Young requested the committee to present to it his acceptance of the nomination, and his kindest regards for their renewed demonstrations of friendship and partiality toward him." Upon receiving this report the meeting adjourned to the front of Mr. Youngs' house, where the firing of cannon and the shouts of the peo-

ple rent the air "after the most approved example of '44." After this demonstration the procession moved down the street, made light as noon-day by the numerous bon-fires, to the Eagle Tavern. "The Whig houses were opened for the night, and for once the quiet village of Geneseo gave free reins to the expression and demonstration of joy.*

The Whig local nominations were early made as follows: For Congress, Robert L. Rose of Ontario; Senator, Samuel H. P. Hall of Broome; Sheriff, William Scott; County Clerk, William H. Whiting, re-nominated; Members of Assembly, William S. Fullerton, Andrew Sill. The Democratic nominations were, for Congress, Peter Mitchel; Senator, William M. Hawley; Assembly, Napoleon B. Jones, Morgan Hammond; Sheriff, Ira Godfrey; County Clerk, George A. Fuller.

The campaign was a warm one, both parties laboring hard to secure success. In the State, however, a variety of causes weakened the Democratic party, while the Whig strength in the county was too great to leave any hope of their defeat. Nevertheless, the result of the election was a surprise to both parties. Mr. Young was chosen Governor by a majority exceeding eleven thousand, and the Whigs secured the legislature and twenty-two of the thirty-four Congressmen. Mr. Fish, the Whig candidate for Lieutenant Governor, was defeated, however, by Judge Gardner, the Democratic candidate thus demonstrating that the Anti-Rent organization at that election held the balance of power in the State. The result in Livingston County was particularly gratifying to Mr. Youngs' friends. His majority was 1,450, while Mr. Fillmore's majority in 1844 had been only 1,029. The

* Livingston Republican.

majority for Mr. Young in the "Old Eighth" district was nearly eleven thousand, an increase of nearly three thousand over that of 1844. This flattering vote shows in what estimation Mr. Young was held by those who knew him best, and justified the claim made for him, that he was a man of the people.

Intelligence of the success of the Whig cause was not long in reaching the towns of this county, and was the signal for general rejoicing. The special express from Rochester arrived in Geneseo on the evening of the 4th of November, and announced the election of Mr. Young, which was "truly acceptable to a large number of people from various parts of the county who were present. A procession was formed, on the spur of the moment, which moved amid the roar of cannon, and the blazing of bonfires, to the residence of Mr. Young. He was called out and congratulated upon his triumphant election, in an eloquent and appropriate speech by Hon. C. H. Carroll. Mr. Young replied by making a few but very eloquent remarks. The crowd then gave three times three for Young and Fish, after the most approved examples of '40 and '44. Other speeches full of spirit and animation were made by A. Ayrault, Esq.; B. F. Harwood, Esq.; A. A. Hendee, Esq., and Mr. Kershner. The firing of cannon and other rejoicings were kept up until a late hour, and the 'home of Mr. Young' presented a scene of joyful enthusiasm which was emphatically gratifying to every true Whig heart."*

The Attica and Hornellsville railroad project engaged a large share of public attention in 1846 and the following year. This road was intended to run between the two places named, and to make a connection with the New York and Erie railroad (now the

* Livingston Republican, Nov. 10, 1846.

Erie Railway) then in course of construction. Two routes were proposed, one through the counties of Wyoming and Allegany; the other known as the Northern or Valley route, traversing the western and southern portions of Livingston county. Allegany favored the former, and Livingston, for equally obvious reasons, the latter route; and, although the Valley route was the longer one of the two, yet such was the earnestness and determination with which its friends urged its adoption, that they nearly succeeded in their efforts. Public meetings were held in various places, and liberal subscriptions made to the stock of the company. At a meeting held in Mount Morris Feb. 20th, 1846, \$20,000 were subscribed, conditionally, within an hour after the books were opened, but the liberal subscriptions and untiring energy of the friends of the Southern route, coupled with the fact that that was the shortest one, combined to defeat the Livingston project, and the former route was selected, with the crossing at Portage.

Contemporaneous with this railroad movement, was one in behalf of a plank-road from Rochester to some point in Allegany or Steuben county, passing through Avon, Geneseo, Mount Morris and Dansville. A meeting to further this object was held in Geneseo Jan. 25th, 1847, of which Allen Ayrault, of Geneseo, was chairman, and Amos Dann, of Avon, and Isaac L. Endress, of Dansville, secretaries. The object of the meeting was explained by B. F. Angel, of Geneseo, and papers were read showing the estimated cost of the work. A committee consisting of Mr. B. F. Angel and James Wadsworth, of Geneseo, Asa Nowlen, of Avon, G. T. Olyphant, of Mount Morris, and S. W. Smith, of Dansville, was appointed to co-operate with the citizens of Rochester and other places on the line of the proposed road, in furthering the enter-

prise. A few years later it was partially successful, as will subsequently appear.

In 1849 the people were agitating the question of locating the New York and Erie railroad through the Cohocton instead of the Canisteeo valley, and a public meeting, favorable to this action, was held in Geneseo August 11th. At this meeting James S. Wadsworth, Allen Ayrault, John Vernam, Philip Woodruff, Lester Bradner, W. T. Cuyler, Hiram Boyd, Jerediah Horsford, W. S. Fullerton, B. F. Angel, Luther C. Peck, Charles Colt, Andrew Sill, C. H. Bryan, H. G. Dyer and George Pratt were appointed "a corresponding and business committee to carry into effect the object of this meeting." A meeting in behalf of the same object was held in Dansville on the 8th of August. In 1850 this project was modified to a proposition to construct another line of road from Corning through the Cohocton valley to Rochester. A meeting was held in Bath Jan. 10, 1850, to consider this question, which recommended that a general meeting be held in Geneseo on the 24th of January, "of those interested in the entire proposed route." In accordance with this recommendation the meeting was held in Geneseo, and called together a large number of the enterprising men of Western New York. Delegations were present from Buffalo, Attica, Batavia, Mount Morris, Dansville, and all parts of Steuben county. "The convention was addressed by several gentlemen from abroad, well versed in the conduction of railroad matters, and many encouraging inducements were held out. Among them was an offer from three extensive iron manufacturers to furnish the amount of iron necessary for the construction of the road, and take stock in payment."

During the summer of this year an engineer was employed to make the preliminary surveys. The cit-

izens of Steuben county, with commendable enterprise, proposed to build on their own responsibility, the road from Corning to Bath, a distance of eighteen miles. From that point the engineer reported two feasible routes to the Genesee river.

The first of these, called the Honeoye route, was described as follows: "Commences at Blood's Corners, north, near Naples, along west bank of Hunt's Hollow and Honeoye lake to Richmond Centre, crossing the outlet of Hemlock lake at Frost's Hollow, thence, one mile east of Lima, one mile west from Honeoye Falls, to the village of West Rush, crossing the Genesee river on Judge Sibley's farm, about fourteen miles south of Rochester, thence up Dugan's creek to Caledonia village, passing on the south side of the State road, through Le Roy, Stafford and Batavia—thence direct to Buffalo." The distance by this route was 134 miles.

The Conesus route run "from Blood's Corners west six miles to Tuttle's Inn (six miles east of Dansville), thence along the west bank of the Springwater valley, through Conesus Center, along the east bank of Conesus lake to Lakeville at its foot (six miles east of Geneseo), thence down the outlet through Littleville and Avon Spring, crossing the Genesee river north of the bridge at Avon—thence up White Creek to intersect with Honeoye line at Caledonia village." The length of this route was 132 miles, a trifle less than that of the Honeoye line.

Another railroad was projected in 1851, "the Genesee Valley line," which was designed to extend from Rochester to Pittsburgh, passing through the towns of Avon, Geneseo, Groveland, Mount Morris, Nunda and Portage.

Here, then, were railroad and plank-road enterprises enough to engage the entire attention of the

people, and with so many to divide attention and resources, it is surprising that any were successful. Added to these was a proposed telegraph line through the Genesee valley, which was receiving great encouragement, and was soon afterwards constructed.

The Buffalo and Cohocton road was early put under contract, the Conesus route having been selected, and Buffalo, instead of Rochester, fixed upon as the western terminus. The company met with less delay and embarrassment than usually fall to the lot of such enterprises, and in July, 1853, regular trains were running between Caledonia and Corning; the remainder of the road was completed soon after.

The Attica and Hornellsville railroad was so far completed that trains were running in January, 1852, between Portage and Hornellsville, and thus the county had now, crossing its borders, two railroads in actual operation.

The Genesee Valley Railroad, unlike the Cohocton road, furnishes a long history of delays, failures, embarrassments and disappointments. The line was put under contract from Rochester to Mount Morris in 1852 and 1853, and work on the road from the former place to Avon was prosecuted with reasonable vigor. South of Avon, however, but little was done beyond a small amount of grading, and the people along the line early began to have fears that the enterprise would prove a failure. Indeed, it was plainly evident that the company directors viewed with indifference the completion of the road beyond Avon, and was expending its energies in completing the northern portion. The company did, however, make a contract in 1854 for the completion of the road from Avon to Mount Morris, and it was proposed to issue bonds to the amount of \$300,000 to meet this expense. The directors were suddenly stopped, however, by an in-

junction procured by two or three stockholders residing in Geneseo and Mount Morris, restraining them from issuing the bonds. This proved the death blow to the enterprise, so far as the southern portion of the line was concerned. The line from Avon to Rochester was completed, and regular trains running in October, 1854.

The Genesee Valley Telegraph line was completed and in operation in the summer of 1851, the line extending from Rochester to Dansville, and the plank road from Piffardina to Mount Morris, *via* Geneseo, was finished in the fall of the same year. Both were constructed and owned by stock companies, and each proved a fairly remunerative investment.

The previous political record of this chapter ended with 1846. In the following year, the new constitution having gone into effect, an election was held in June to fill the offices of the Court of Appeals and Supreme Court, and also to choose a County Judge, District Attorney, and a Sessions Justice. The Whig nominees in this county were elected. Scott Lord, for County Judge, receiving a majority of 34 over Judge W. H. Smith, the then incumbent; and A. A. Hendee, for District Attorney, a majority over R. P. Wisner of 502.

At the election in the fall of this year the Whig State and County nominees were elected by large majorities. Allen Ayrault, of Geneseo, was chosen Senator, and Gurdon Nowlen, of Geneseo, and Nathaniel Coe of Nunda, Assemblymen. Mr. Ayrault served as Senator during the session of 1848, and resigned June 2d. The vacancy was filled at the fall election of 1848 by the choice of Charles Colt, of Geneseo, who served during the years 1849 to 1851, inclusive.

The presidential election of 1848, although an im-

portant one, was not a very exciting campaign. The Democratic party nominated Lewis Cass for President, and William O. Butler for Vice President. The nominees of the Whig party were General Zacharia Taylor and Millard Fillmore. The Free Soil party also entered the field with a ticket composed of Martin Van Buren and Charles Francis Adams. The election resulted in the triumph of the Whig cause, in the nation and State, and Livingston shared largely in the honors of the occasion. The Vice President elect had spent a portion of his boyhood days here, and the Lieutenant Governor of the State, George W. Patterson of Chautauqua, had for a long term of years been one of its most prominent citizens. The local officers chosen were Charles Colt, Senator; Archibald H. McLean and Phillip Woodruff, Assemblymen; Chauncey Metcalf, County Treasurer; Ogden M. Willey, William J. Hamilton and James H. Vail, Superintendents of the Poor.

The fall election of 1849 resulted in the choice of Harvey Hill for Sheriff, Israel D. Root County Clerk, and the re-election of Mr. McLean and Mr. Woodruff to the Assembly.

In the summer of 1849 Ex-Governor Young was appointed Assistant Treasurer of the United States at New York, and entered upon the discharge of his duties in July of that year. The bondsmen of Mr. Young were Allen Ayrault and James S. Wadsworth, of Geneseo, of whom the New York Express said: "The security is ample. Mr. A. was lately a State Senator, and is an honorable Whig. Mr. W. is a Democrat, whose friendship outweighs all political prejudices." Mr. Young remained in this position until his early and lamented death on the 23d of April, 1852.

In 1850 the Whigs elected the following officers:

Congressman, Jerediah Horsford ; District Attorney, William H. Kelsey ; Superintendent of the Poor, James H. Vail ; besides their candidates for the minor offices, Alvin Chamberlin and Orrin D. Lake were chosen Assemblymen.

The review of the newspaper history of this period is of special interest. In a previous chapter this history was brought down to 1840. In 1846 Mr. S. P. Allen sold the Livingston Republican establishment, at Geneseo, to John M. Campbell, who took possession Sept. 1, 1846. On the 10th of September, 1847, Mr. Campbell transferred his interest to Joseph Kershner, then a prominent lawyer at Geneseo, who wore the editorial harness until the 5th of July of the following year, when he gave place to Charles E. Bronson. During the period from 1846 to 1849, the paper met with many reverses and vicissitudes, and proved an unsuccessful financial venture. On the 27th of December, 1849, the paper passed into the hands of James T. Norton, who published it with marked success until his death in 1865. It is now published by James W. Clement. In 1843 the Geneseo Democrat was started by Gilbert F. Shankland. After a checkered existence, it was removed to Nunda in 1847, and in the following year was discontinued.

The Western New York was established in Dansville Jan. 13th, 1841, by George W. Stevens. The name was soon changed to the Dansville Whig, with Mr. Stevens as the publisher. He was succeeded by Charles W. Dibble, who published the paper about one year, when it again passed into the hands of Mr. Stevens. In 1848 the name was changed to the Dansville Courier. In 1849 it was published by H. D. Smead, under the name of the Dansville Democrat, and subsequently the paper passed into the hands of George A. Sanders. This gentleman moved the office

to Geneseo in 1855, and issued the first number of the Geneseo Democrat April 4th, 1855. In 1857 the paper was discontinued. In 1848 Richardson & Co. started the Dansville Chronicle, which was suspended in 1851. The Dansville Herald was started in 1850 by E. C. Daugherty & Co., and was afterward published by H. L. & L. H. Rann, and George A. Sanders. The Herald was subsequently purchased by Messrs. Robbins & Poote, and the name changed to the Dansville Express, which is now published by F. J. Robbins.

In 1858 the Sentinel was established by H. C. Page. The Daily Times was started in 1859, by W. J. LaRue, and in June of the same year was changed to the Daily Register, with Mr. LaRue as publisher and H. C. Page editor. It suspended in 1860.

The Dansville Advertiser was started August 2d, 1860, by A. O. Bunnell, by whom it is still published.

The Mount Morris Spectator was started in that village in 1834. In 1843 Geo. B. Phelps commenced the publication of the Livingston County Whig. In about six months it passed into the hands of James T. Norton who had been its printer under Mr. Phelps. In 1846 Mr. Norton published in connection with it a daily edition, giving the latest news each morning "by canal packet." The daily was continued but three months, and then was discontinued as an unprofitable venture. On the 2d of February, 1848, Mr. Norton and Mr. Hugh Harding, the publisher of the Spectator, united their publications under the name of the Livingston Union, with Harding & Norton as publishers. Mr. Norton retired in 1849 to assume charge of the Livingston Republican of Geneseo. The former journal is now published as the Union and Constitution, by William Harding, a son of one of its founders.

The Nunda Gazette was started in 1841, Ira G. Wisner publisher. In about one year it was removed to

Mount Morris, where it was published until 1843 as the Genesee Valley Recorder. The Democrat was the next newspaper venture in Nunda. It was started in 1848 by Milo D. Chamberlain, but was soon discontinued. In 1850 the Telegraph was started by Charles Atwood, and lived about a year. In January, 1852, N. T. Hackstaff commenced the publication of the Times. A fire in July of the same year brought this venture to an untimely end. The Nunda News was established in 1859 by Chauncey K. Sanders, who still remains its publisher.

The Cuylerville Telegraph was started in 1847, in that then thriving canal village, by Franklin Cowdery, who years before had worked in the first printing office established in the county. In 1848 Peter Lawrence became the proprietor, and soon after the paper was discontinued.

In Lima but one newspaper venture had been made during the period covered by this history. The Weekly Visitor was started in 1853 by A. H. Tilton and M. C. Miller. Subsequently it was published by Raymond & Graham, and by S. M. Raymond alone under the name of the Genesee Valley Gazette. In 1856 the paper suspended publication.

At the end of the year 1850 the County had reached the thirtieth year since its organization, and the height of its prosperity. Its population, as shown by the census of 1850, was 40,875; or, including Ossian, which was afterward annexed, 42,144. This was more than double the population of the county when formed, and larger by nearly three thousand than it was ten years later. This falling off is explained by the fact that, like all eastern sections, Livingston county supplied a large number of those who swelled the tide of emigration to the great West, and settled

those now thriving States with a sober, industrious and progressive people.

The Genesee Valley Canal was now in full operation, several railroad enterprises gave promise of speedy success, and telegraph and plank-roads lines were in process of construction. The well-directed efforts of the people in industrial pursuits were uniformly rewarded with success, and on all sides peace and prosperity prevailed.

Such was the condition of the county at the end of the century's fifth decade, and there was but little indication of the coming storm, which ten years later broke upon the country, rousing Livingston, as well as other sections, to deeds of patriotic valor.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE DECADE FROM 1850 TO 1860.

The county alms-house, originally a private dwelling-house, was early found too small to accommodate the large class of persons who sought its shelter. When purchased by the county, the building was modified and somewhat enlarged, but even with these improvements it was inadequate to the purpose, and it was found impossible to properly care for its inmates in accordance with the ordinary requirements of sanitary laws. It thus became necessary to provide new and larger quarters, and for this purpose the question was first considered at the annual meeting of the board of supervisors in 1849. The result of these deliberations was that the board appropriated the sum of \$6,000 for the purpose of erecting a new building, and appointed as a building committee, Allen Ayrault, William J. Hamilton and Russell Austin, who were also directed to sell the old building. The committee immediately entered upon the discharge of its duties, and early in the following year had decided upon the plans of the building. The contract for its construction was then made with S. A. Hooper, of Geneseo, who pushed the work with such vigor that it was completed about the first of December, 1850, and the inmates were moved from the old house to the new and more comfortable edifice before the vigorous winter had fully set in.

The committee, in making their report to the board of supervisors, announced that they had exceeded the appropriation by \$250.94, although, as they said, they were "aware of the caution of the supervisors, and of their instructions extended to us [them] not to exceed the sum of \$6,000." "But," added the committee, "it may not be improper for us to say, that we are satisfied the building in some respects has cost Mr. Hooper, the builder, more money than the contract price, and while the consideration of an allowance to him by us is inadmissible, we understand Mr. Hooper intends applying to your board for relief, and in view of his great economy and fidelity in the execution of his job, we cannot forbear expressing the hope that his application will meet with favor." Mr. Hooper did apply for relief, which was granted to the amount of \$1,101.46, making the total cost of the new almshouse, exclusive of heating apparatus and furniture, \$7,956.40.

The building is situated on the north side of the road leading from Geneseo to Lakeville, about a mile east of the former village. It has a front of 108 feet, and a depth of 36 feet, with two wings each 53 feet in depth. The building is three stories high, without including the basement, and the internal arrangement has been found well adapted to the purpose for which it was designed. Recently an insane asylum has been completed, at a cost of about \$20,000, adjacent to the almshouse, which for its convenient arrangement and relative cost, will compare favorably with any in the State.

The old building and eighteen acres of land on the south side of the road were sold at auction, on the 13th of December, 1850, to Dr. D. H. Bissell, of Geneseo, for the sum of \$2,001.

The 58th Regiment, N. Y. S. M., had an encamp-

ment at Mount Morris commencing Aug. 25th, 1850, and continuing one week, which attracted thousands of people from all parts of the country "to witness the parades, reviews, etc., of the citizen soldiery of Old Livingston." The camp was located on a rising piece of ground near the village, and eight companies had their quarters there in tents. These companies were as follows: Rochester Union Grays, Mount Morris Union Blues, Canaseraga Light Infantry, a company from Springwater, one from Livonia, one from Conesus, Groveland and Sparta, one from Avon and Lima, and the Big Tree Artillery from Geneseo. The encampment was under the command of Col. James Wood, Jr., Colonel of the 58th Regiment. A newspaper account of this encampment says: "Thursday was the great day of the week. The troops were reviewed by Generals Crouch and Fullerton, attended by a large and brilliant staff, and the affair passed off alike creditable to all. The grounds adjoining were densely covered with thousands of interested and pleased spectators of all ages and sexes. On Saturday afternoon the troops struck their tents and at about three o'clock departed for their respective homes well pleased with their sojourn of a week at 'Camp Livingston.' To Col. Wood and his staff, much credit is due for the regularity, order and decorum with which the camp was conducted. The gentlemanly deportment and soldier-like bearing of all connected with it, was the subject of general remark, and reflected high honor upon the Regiment."

On the 25th of August of the following year the regiment went into camp at Geneseo, on grounds at the head of North street—a spot afterwards made memorable as the site of Camp Wadsworth, where, when the more serious business of actual war stared citizens and soldiers in the face, the Wadsworth

Guards (104th Regt. N. Y. V.) were recruited for service in the field. Seven companies belonging to the 58th Regiment attended this encampment, and four Rochester companies, belonging to Major Swan's battalion, were also present. The companies were reviewed on Tuesday, the 26th inst., by Brig. Gen. W. S. Fullerton, and on Wednesday by Major-General Wool and staff, of the U. S. Army, who spoke of the troops in the highest terms, and pronounced them in point of discipline and thoroughness of drill, "superior to any he has witnessed in any agricultural county in the State."

Another encampment was held in Avon in 1855, under the command of Colonel Van Valkenburgh of Bath. This was the last military "training" of this character held in the county.

In December, 1850, Philo C. Fuller of Geneseo was appointed Comptroller of the State, *vice* Washington Hunt, who had been chosen Governor at the preceding election. This appointment gave great satisfaction, not only to the Whigs but to all his fellow-citizens of Livingston County, without regard to party. His administration of the duties of his office was an able and conscientious one, and he retired at the end of the year 1852 with the good opinion of all parties.

A favorite mode of traveling between Mount Morris and Rochester at this time was by the Genesee Valley Canal. R. Shackleton was running a daily line of packets between those places in 1851, as he had done for several years, and other persons were engaged in the same business. The packets were well built and comfortable boats, fitted with many conveniences, and afforded decidedly the most pleasant means of travel known until the advent of the modern railway sleeping coach.

Early in 1851 steps were taken for the organization

of another bank at Geneseo, under the name of the Genesee Valley Bank. The charter of the old Livingston County Bank had but a few years more to run, while the banking capital of the county was wholly inadequate to meet the wants of its business men. There was thus a good field for a new monied institution, and the enterprise was pushed with such zeal that the capital was all subscribed within a few days, and at a meeting held April 21st, 1851, James S. Wadsworth, D. H. Fitzhugh, Alvenus Cone, Henry Chamberlain, D. H. Abell, Charles Colt, D. H. Bissell, Peter Miller and William Cushing were chosen directors. Mr. Wadsworth was made President of the bank, and William H. Whiting appointed Cashier. The local journal, in announcing the organization of the bank said: "The institution commences operations under the most auspicious and flattering circumstances." The bank was ready for business May 23d, 1851, and entered upon a career that has since proved uniformly successful and prosperous, and ranking it as one of the most carefully managed institutions in the State.

The Portage riot, an affair which at one time promised most serious results, and occasioned considerable excitement throughout the county, occurred early in July, 1851. A large number of the laborers engaged on the section of the New York and Erie Railroad running through Portage struck for higher wages, and as is generally the case, not only refused to work themselves, but would not permit others to do so. So annoying were the strikers in their efforts to prevent others from working, a requisition was made, on the 7th of July, on the civic authorities of this and Wyoming counties, and six or eight officers repaired to the scene of the strike. A desperate encounter ensued between the officers and the disaffected work-

men, in which a number of the latter were shot, two, at least, fatally. Among the officers present were Constable Holland of Mount Morris, and Deputy Sheriff William Doty of Geneseo, who took an active and brave part in the encounter. On the same day a requisition was made on Captain Hamilton of Geneseo, for the services of the Big Tree Artillery, and that organization started for the scene of conflict, arriving there about 4 o'clock A. M., of Tuesday, the 8th inst. The sight of the militia cowed the rioters, and without any serious opposition twenty of their number were arrested, twelve of whom were confined in the jail at Geneseo, and the others taken to Wyoming county. Some of these were afterward released, while the principal offenders were properly punished.

At the fall election of 1851, Scott Lord was re-elected County Judge; John White, Jr., County Treasurer; William J. Hamilton, Superintendent of the Poor; Alvin Chamberlain and Orrin D. Lake, Assemblymen; and Myron H. Clark, Senator; all being nominees of the Whig party. Their Democratic opponents were George Hosmer for County Judge; Daniel H. Bissell, County Treasurer; Lucius Warner, Superintendent of the Poor; Lewis E. Smith and Hector Hitchcock, Assemblymen. The Whig majority at this election ranged from 1,289 to 1,760.

On the 12th of December, 1851, Harvey Hill, then Sheriff of the county, died after a short illness, and Norman Chappell, of Avon, was appointed to fill the vacancy. Of Mr. Hill it was said that "he was a good officer; active, efficient and trusty."

The presidential campaign of 1852 was a warmly contested political battle. A desperate effort was made by the Democratic party to regain its lost power, and Hunkers, Barn-burners and all other factions laid aside their differences for awhile and united in the en-

deavor to recover the old footing. The Whigs too, ignoring for a time the factional quarrels which had weakened them, united upon a common platform to repel the assaults of their foes. The nominees of the Democratic party were Franklin Pierce for President, and William R. King for Vice President. The Whigs nominated for these offices General Winfield Scott and William A. Graham, while the Anti-Slavery party supported John P. Hale and George W. Julian.

Nationally the Democrats were successful, as they were also in the State, electing their candidates by an overwhelming majority. Livingston county yet remained firm in its adhesion to Whig principles, however, and gave the nominees of that party for county officers a heavy majority. The officers chosen were William Scott, Sheriff; James S. Orton, County Clerk; Jacob B. Hall, Superintendent of the Poor; Amos A. Hendee and Abram Lozier, Assemblymen. The Whig candidate for Congress, William Irvine, of Steuben, was defeated by George Hastings, of Livingston, the Democratic candidate. The Whig nominee for Presidential Elector, Samuel W. Smith, of Livingston, was also defeated.

In the spring of 1853 the people of Mount Morris organized a bank, with a capital of \$130,000, under the name of the Genesee River Bank. The directors chosen were John R. Murray, R. P. Wisner, Calvin Norton, Jesse Peterson, Henry Swan, John Vernam, Allen Ayrault, H. P. Mills, R. Sleeper, William Whitmore, and Lyman Turner. John Vernam was chosen President. The bank commenced business in November, 1853, and like the other chartered banks of the county it has been uniformly successful.

At the fall election of this year the Whig nominees were James Wood, Jr., for District Attorney; James H. Vail, Superintendent of the Poor; Amos A. Hen-

dee and Abram Lozier, Members of Assembly ; Myron H. Clark, Senator. George Wilson of Canandaigua was an independent candidate for this office. The Democracy presented two tickets for popular approval. The Hards nominated John A. VanDerlip for District Attorney ; Morton Reed, Superintendent of the Poor ; Lemam Gibbs and Hector Hitchcock, Members of Assembly. The Softs nominated Samuel H. Northrop, Samuel Finley, Lemam Gibbs and William N. Alward for the several offices in the order named. The election resulted in the triumph of the Whig candidates, with the exception of Assemblyman in the first district, Mr. Hendee being defeated by Judge Gibbs.

In May, 1853, Benjamin F. Angel, of Geneseo, was appointed Consul to Honolulu, Sandwich Islands, and in the latter part of June sailed for that port. The Senate failed to confirm his nomination, and after discharging the duties of the office for eighteen months he was succeeded by Darius A. Ogden, of Penn Yan. Mr. Angel went from Honolulu to China, on a commission from the United States Government, to examine into and if practicable negotiate the settlement of a troublesome controversy between the Chinese custom authorities and the American merchants in China, growing out of the unjust and arbitrary imposition of exorbitant export duties, when it was claimed that the Chinese authorities utterly failed to protect our commerce on the coast and in Chinese waters against the depredations of Chinese pirates. In this mission Mr. Angel was entirely successful, and he returned to the United States by way of the East Indies, Egypt and Europe in the fall of 1855.

Reference has already been made to the fine stock of the Genesee Valley. In 1853 an important step was taken, having for its object the further improve-

ment of the large herds of the Valley. For this purpose a meeting was held at the close of the Annual Fair on the 29th of Sept. 1853, which appointed a committee to mature a plan of organization, and to call a future meeting. In accordance with this arrangement a meeting was held at the American Hotel in Geneseo on the 22d of Oct. following, of which C. R. Bond was chairman and S. L. Fuller Secretary. The deliberations of this meeting resulted in the formation of the "Livingston County Association for the Importation and Improvement of Stock," with a capital of \$8,000, to be increased to \$12,000 if deemed necessary. Any person was permitted to become a member on the payment of fifty dollars. The officers chosen were: President, Jas. S. Wadsworth; Secretary, Daniel H. Fitzhugh; Treasurer, Allen Ayrault; Directors, Charles H. Carroll, Aaron Barber, Wm. A. Mills, Robert Rome, Geo. W. Root, Richard Peck. Agents were to be sent to Europe to select and purchase stock from the celebrated herds of the Old World, and these animals were to be sold at public auction, under the conditions that the purchasers should retain them in the county for at least three years from the time of sale, and that the stockholders of the company should have preference in the use of the animals, upon complying with the owners' terms.

The amount of stock was early taken by the progressive farmers of Livingston, and in December David Brooks of Avon and Samuel L. Fuller of Conesus were selected to proceed to Europe and purchase the stock. These gentlemen sailed Jan. 21st, 1854, and early in the spring returned with selections, from the best foreign herds. The company suffered the loss of some animals, however, and when the sale was held June 27th, 1854, but twelve animals were sold. The highest price paid was \$1,075 for the bull Usurper,

by C. H. Carroll, and the lowest \$350 for the heifer Damsel. The average price was nearly \$600 per head. The purchasers were Homer Sackett and others, Caledonia; C. H. Carroll, Groveland; J. S. Wadsworth, Geneseo; Richard Peck, Lima; N. Chappell, Avon; D. H. Albertson, Avon; and D. H. McHardy, Avon. This importation resulted in a small loss to the Association, owing to the death of several animals, but that it proved largely remunerative to the stock breeders of the county is shown by the fine herds which now graze in its rich fields, and which, it is no exaggeration to say, have a national reputation. In this respect Livingston has for years occupied a leading position among the stock-raising counties of the State.

Late in the year 1853 a movement was set on foot for the formation of a new county, from parts of Livingston, Ontario, Steuben and Allegany. Dansville was proposed as the county seat. The plan contemplated subtracting from Livingston's fair proportions the towns of Springwater, Sparta, Dansville, West Sparta, Nunda and Portage. Naples and Canadice were to be taken from Ontario, Cohocton, Wayland and South Dansville from Steuben, and Burns and Ossian from Allegany. The project was the subject of considerable discussion, and was urged with great zeal upon the attention of the legislature. It does not seem to have received a very general support from the southern towns, however, and was early abandoned. As a sort of compensating measure, a bill was introduced in the Assembly in March, 1854, dividing the county into two jury districts, making Dansville a shire town, and providing for the erection of a jail in that place. The bill failed to pass, however, and the question of division has several times since agitated the people of the county, but without any great strength being developed in its favor.

The Whigs entered the fall political campaign of 1854 with Myron H. Clark as their candidate for Governor, and Henry J. Raymond for Lieutenant Governor, while on the county ticket were John White, Jr., for County Treasurer; Lyman Turner, Superintendent of the Poor; David H. Abell and John S. Wiley for the Assembly. William H. Kelsey was the Whig nominee for Congress. The Democrats put in nomination the following county ticket: County Treasurer, Chauncey R. Bond; Superintendent of the Poor, Ebenezer Leach; Members of Assembly, Lyman Odell, McNeil Seymour. The temperance men also made an independent nomination for the Assembly, supporting John B. Crosby and Sidney Sweet.

For the first time in many years the Whig party of Livingston met with defeat. The proud boast of the Whigs that this county, no matter what might befall the party elsewhere, always "stood firm and immovable," and that "her unwavering host could not be moved from the path of duty and right," had become an idle one, and defeat sat upon the banners where so often victory had perched. The Democrats elected their candidates for the Assembly and for Superintendent of the Poor, while the Whigs secured the remaining offices. Mr. Kelsey, the whig candidate for Congress was elected by a majority of about 6,000, he having secured the votes of those calling themselves Americans, at this time a party without a definite organization.

The country at this time was in a condition of political chaos. Old parties were losing their strength, and party cohesiveness was fast disappearing. The discussion of the slavery question, and the growing power of the foreign elements infused into our national life, forced new issues upon the people, and gave rise to new organizations. The Democratic party, notwith-

standing its numerous factions and its manifest mistakes, managed to preserve its party organization, and to a great degree its former strength. The Whigs, however, were less fortunate. After the fall election of 1854 Mr. Greeley declared that the Whig party was dead, and the little it had achieved in this election seemed, certainly, to justify his assertion. To add to the political confusion, a new party made its appearance, whose influence, although exerted somewhat secretly at first, was strangely powerful. Other organizations seemed to waver before it, and proclaiming high purposes, appealing to the patriotism of men, their religious and social prejudices and passions, many men of sound judgment and unquestioned integrity were drawn into its ranks, which swelled until the party wielded a powerful influence in political affairs.

In this county the influence of the wide-spread disorganization in the political parties was first felt at the special election held for this Senatorial district Jan. 30th, 1855, to fill the vacancy caused by the election of Myron H. Clark Governor of the State. The Whig nominating convention met at Lima Jan. 22d, when a resolution was adopted "that the members of this convention approve of the nomination by the Peoples' convention, of Hon. Charles Loomis, as this day made at Canandaigua." This action proved unsatisfactory to a large number of the Whigs, especially in this county, and William H. Goodwin was also nominated. The election resulted in the triumph of the anti-fusionists, or American party, Mr. Goodwin's majority being over 2,000.

The spring town meetings of this year were also carried by the Americans, against a fusion of all other elements. In but one or two towns were regular Whig or Democratic nominations made.

The first county convention of the American party was held in Geneseo July 9th, 1855. S. J. Crooks of Nunda called the convention to order, and permanent officers were chosen as follows: Chairman, Lyman Odell; Secretaries, H. L. Janes and James Faulkner, Jr. A committee was appointed to report resolutions expressive of the views of the convention, consisting of S. J. Crooks, W. A. Mills, J. Kershner, John Shepard, L. Williams, Jr., J. Faulkner, Jr., J. S. Wiley, Robert Grant, L. Odell, R. Olney, N. Chappell, B. Payne, Scott Lord, H. McCartney, A. C. Campbell, A. Conkey and Francis Hull. The resolutions reported approved the declarations of the national American party—"hostility to public and party corruption, and the means by which the leaders of party have hitherto forced upon us our rulers and our political creed—a determined resistance to the aggressive policy of the papal church—the right of every man to the uncontrolled and peaceful enjoyment of his religious opinions and worship, yet asserting that christianity is an element of our political system, and that the Holy Bible is the repository of all civil and religious freedom, and therefore condemning every attempt to exclude it from the schools."

Meanwhile elements opposed to the Democratic party on account of its attitude on the slavery question, and to the American party because of its secret and proscriptive character, were crystalizing to form the Republican party, which a few years later was destined to enter upon a long career of success and power.

In the midst of this political confusion came the fall election of 1855. The American party in this county supported Sidney Sweet for Senator; Scott Lord for County Judge; Hugh McCartney for Sheriff; James T. Norton for County Clerk; Harvey Armstrong for

Superintendent of the Poor ; Lyman Odell and Samuel J. Crooks for Members of Assembly. Opposed to these men was the Republican or fusion ticket, as follows : Senator, John Wiley ; Sheriff, John N. Hurlburt ; County Judge, George Hastings ; County Clerk, Charles Root ; Superintendent of the Poor, Lyman Turner : Members of Assembly, John H. Jones, Alonzo Bradner. The Democrats made an independent nomination of Chauncey Loomis for Sheriff, and the temperance people supported John B. Crosby for the Assembly in the first district.

The campaign was a lamentably bitter one, and one of the most closely contested political battles ever fought in the county. The result was a decided victory for neither party, although in the State the Americans had a large majority. The American candidates for Sheriff, Member of Assembly in the first district, and also the nominee of that party for Senator, were elected, and a majority of about 450 given for the American State ticket. The other offices were, however, secured by the fusion candidates, by small majorities.

Following this was the presidential election of 1856, when three great parties marshalled their forces and contended for the mastery. The Democrats entered the field with James Buchanan and John C. Breckenridge as their nominees for President and Vice President. The Republicans presented the names of John C. Fremont and William L. Dayton for these offices, and the American party supported Millard Fillmore and Andrew J. Donelson. The county nominations of the Republican party were Amos A. Hendee for District Attorney ; Chauncey R. Bond, County Treasurer ;* Daniel H. Bissell, Coroner ; David Gray, Ses-

* The defalcation of John White, Jr., and his removal from the office of County Treasurer, having left a vacancy to be filled at this election.

sions Justice ; Lyman Hawes and Alfred Bell, Members of Assembly. William H. Kelsey was nominated for Congress, James S. Wadsworth, Presidential Elector at large, and Isaac L. Endress, elector for this county. The Americans nominated Scott Lord for District Attorney ; Edward R. Hammatt, County Treasurer ; Orson Walbridge, Sessions Justice ; William H. Thomas, Coroner ; Alvin Chamberlain and Orville Tousey, Members of Assembly. Samuel Hallett of Steuben was the American nominee for Congress. The Democratic nominations were, for District Attorney, John A. VanDerlip ; County Treasurer, Walter E. Lauderdale ; Coroner, Arnold Gray ; Sessions Justice, Clark B. Adams ; Congress, Benjamin F. Angel ; Assembly, John H. Jones, Utley Spencer.

The Democrats achieved a national victory, but in Livingston county the new Republican party developed a strength which neither its friends nor its opponents supposed it to possess, and the election resulted in an overwhelming victory for its nominees. The Republican vote polled nearly equalled the combined vote of the two opposing parties, and gave it the ascendancy which it maintained for a long period thereafter.

In 1857 the Republicans were again successful, but lost the Assemblyman in the first district. The officers elected were John B. Halsted, Senator ; John H. Jones and Alfred Bell, Assemblymen ; Levi P. Grover and Harvey Farley, School Commissioners.

In July, 1857, Benjamin F. Angel, of Geneseo, who had twice before been honored with foreign appointments by the administration, was appointed Minister Resident to Sweden. The people of Geneseo where his residence had been from early boyhood, and where he occupied a prominent position as a lawyer and po-

litical leader, improved the occasion to show their respect and esteem for him, by inviting him to a public entertainment, to be given in his honor. The invitation was signed by all the leading citizens of Geneseo, without regard to party, but Mr. Angel was compelled to decline it on account of his early departure. He remained at Stockholm until the change of administration in 1861.

The Genesee Valley Railroad was now open from Rochester to Avon, but all efforts to complete it to Mount Morris had proved unsuccessful.* It had early become evident that the directors of the company did not intend, or did not have the ability, to complete the road; and the feeling was very general that the former was the true solution of the question. There had been much in the management of the company's affairs to create suspicion and distrust, and to justify the dissatisfaction which existed among the people, which were not allayed when the company attempted to enforce the collection of subscriptions against citizens of Geneseo and Mount Morris, without giving any assurance that this portion of the road would ever be completed. The people of Geneseo were also displeased with the location of the road, through that town, the line of which, against their earnest protest, had been run along the lower plateau, nearly half a mile below the village, when surveys had shown an equally practicable route along the upper plateau, and much nearer the business center.

The question of the completion of the road remained in a state of vexatious uncertainty until the fall of 1855, when a meeting was held at Rochester, composed largely of representatives from this county,

* The original intention had been to extend it to Pittsburgh, but this idea was entertained only for a short time.

to consider the question of completing the long delayed enterprise. It had been proposed that a company be formed to complete the road from Avon to Mount Morris, and then to lease it of the Genesee Valley company. In furtherance of this plan a committee consisting of three Rochester gentlemen, and John R. Murray and Lester Phelps of Mount Morris, was appointed to solicit subscriptions. The latter gentleman stated that his town had already subscribed \$80,000 for this object, and Genesee would take \$20,000 more. The road-bed was already partially graded, \$100,000 having been expended by the old company on this part of the line, and it was believed that \$200,000 would complete it. On the 21st of June of the following year another meeting was held at Genesee, at which it was stated that the Rochester and Genesee Valley Railroad Company had offered to release all its right and title in and to the line south of Avon to any company that would complete the road from Avon to Mount Morris. Accepting this proposition, steps were immediately taken to form a new company, and George S. Whitney, William T. Cuyler, William M. Bond, C. H. Carroll and H. P. North were appointed a committee to solicit subscriptions to the stock. An organization was effected at this meeting by choosing as directors John R. Murray, Allen Ayrault, H. P. North, Hiram P. Mills, C. H. Carroll, W. C. Hawley, J. S. Wadsworth, Charles Jones, William A. Reynolds, John Fowler, William T. Cuyler, R. P. Wisner and William Kidd. At a subsequent meeting Henry P. North was made President of the company. and Richard P. Fitzhugh and E. R. Hammatt were added to the board of directors, in place of Mr. Reynolds and Mr. Ayrault.

The most untiring efforts were now made to secure subscription to the stock along the whole line of the

road, and many were so desirous of seeing it completed that they took more stock than they were able, or should have been required to hold. Two prominent citizens, now in mind, in this manner opened the way for a series of financial reverses that have swept away a fine property, and left them in straightened circumstances. Republics may be ungrateful, but it little behooves the people of the Valley to treat lightly the claims to lasting honor and gratitude of such men, who have helped to make it a rich and prosperous community.

Such was the success of the company in securing subscriptions that in October, 1856, a contract was made with George W. and George B. Phelps for the completion of the road by the 1st of September of the following year. Work was immediately commenced by these energetic contractors, and pushed forward with all possible dispatch. In the calculations made, however, the financial crisis of 1857 did not enter as a factor, and consequently when that period was reached and all public or private enterprises were seriously embarrassed or wholly suspended, this one proved no exception. Unable to provide the contractors with the means to prosecute the work, the directors were compelled to suspend operations, but early in 1858 they were resumed again, through the earnest and indefatigable efforts of the officers of the company. On New Year's day, 1859, the first train entered Geneseo, and soon after the road was completed to Mount Morris. Regular trains commenced running in April, 1859.

Thus was brought to a successful issue one of the most important enterprises of the Genesee Valley. For years it was a "child of sorrow," meeting with reverses and misfortunes enough to have filled the bravest hearts with dismay. But at last, through the

indomitable will and the energy of its projectors, the road was finished and opened to the public. The result should prove a suggestive lesson to the promoters of later but equally unfortunate railway projects.

In 1857 was experienced one of those strange storms of financial disasters which sweep over the country at well defined intervals, carrying ruin to business men, crippling and retarding enterprise, and throwing helpless upon the world thousands of laboring men without work or the means of livelihood. Yet in this county its effects would have been comparatively lightly felt had it not been immediately preceded by another calamity of equal magnitude, the almost total failure of the wheat crop. For many years the grain raised on the fertile hills and in the fruitful valleys of the Genesee had borne the highest price in the market, and the flour merchant who could ticket his cargoes with the magic word "Genesee," was sure of a sale, even in very dull markets, at by far the best rates. The tables of the wealthy were deemed lacking in an important particular, if unsupplied with bread made from the celebrated "Genesee wheat," and far and wide it was eagerly sought for by those who could appreciate its worth. But in 1855 a terrible enemy to this great staple, the so-called weevil, made its appearance, and its ravages caused the almost total failure of the crop. Hundreds of fields of bright, waving grain, fell a sacrifice to its remorseless onslaught, and where thousands of bushels of wheat had been harvested before, only a few hundreds rewarded the husbandman for his labor now, while many fields proved a total loss. This great failure of the principal crop, coupled with the stringency of the times, caused a financial distress unknown for years, and a large number of business failures followed. The banking institutions of the county, however, remained

firm during the general crash throughout the country, and not only bravely weathered the storm, maintaining their integrity while hundreds of other banks went down, leaving their promises to pay, worthless as rags in the people's hands, but extended substantial aid to the entire business community. The ravages of the weevil continued for several seasons, but not to so serious a degree as at first. Nevertheless, it was years before the county again reached its former importance as a wheat-growing district, and never since has its wheat filled the place in the markets of the world it once occupied.

At the fall election of 1858 the Republicans supported John N. Hurlburt for Sheriff; Charles Root for County Clerk; S. N. Chamberlain for Sessions Justice; Lyman Turner for Superintendent of the Poor; C. R. Blackall for Coroner; Samuel L. Fuller and John Wiley for the Assembly. William Irvine was the nominee for Congress. The Americans also presented a ticket for popular approval, although their strength had greatly diminished, and this was destined to be their last appearance as a party organization. The American nominees were George F. Coe, Sheriff; County Clerk, Matthew Porter, Jr.; Sessions Justice, William Houghton; Superintendent of the Poor, Peter Miller; Coroner, James E. Jenks; Assembly, Lyman Odell, Samuel Skinner; Congress, Goldsmith Denniston of Steuben. The Democratic party entered the field with the following ticket: Sheriff, Wilbur Watson; County Clerk, Charles L. Bingham; Sessions Justice, Utey Spencer; Superintendent of the Poor, George Mercer; Coroner, Arnold Gray; Assembly, John H. Jones and David D. McNair. The Democratic nominee for Congress was George B. Bradley.

The election resulted in sweeping Republican vic-

tories throughout the State. In the county the Republican majorities ranged from 1,600 to 1,400, and every nominee of that party was elected.

For the first time since the disintegration of the old Whig party, the fall election of 1859 found party lines clearly defined, and the contest between two great organizations. The American party had dissolved, and its members found places in the ranks of the other two parties, the accessions from this source of the Republican party being the greatest, on account of its position on the slavery question, which had become the leading and all-absorbing issue.

The Republicans of Livingston supported the following ticket at this election: County Judge, Sidney Ward; District Attorney, Gershom Bulkley; County Treasurer, Chauncey R. Bond*; Sessions Justice, Charles H. Randall; Coroners, William Nisbit and Zara H. Blake; Assembly, Samuel L. Fuller and John Wiley; Senator, D. H. Abell. The Democratic nominees were, George Hastings, County Judge; Adoniram J. Abbott, District Attorney; George Mercer, County Treasurer; Utey Spencer, Sessions Justice; William H. Bennett and Arnold Gray, Coroners; James G. Clark and Joseph W. Smith, Assemblymen; Senator, Linus W. Thayer. But little interest was manifested in this election, except in the strife to secure the office of County Judge. The friends of Mr. Hastings made an unusual and successful effort in his behalf, and he was re-elected; his majority, however, being only 94. The rest of the Republican ticket was elected by large majorities.

The allotted period to be covered by this history has

* While holding this office, Mr. Bond died June 2, 1860. The vacancy thus caused was filled by the appointment of James T. Norton to the office. At the fall election of 1860, Mr. Norton was elected for three years, and retired at the end of that time having declined a re-election.

now been nearly all brought under review, and a brief comparative view of the county, showing its growth, material progress and importance may not be out of place.

The census of 1860 showed the population of Livingston county to be 39,546, and the assessed valuation of real and personal estate, in that year, was \$14,306,555 ; for causes already named, the showing of population not being as favorable as that of 1850. The wealth of the county, as shown in the tables of assessed valuation, makes a more favorable exhibit, the increase since 1821 amounting to \$12,128,654, or nearly six fold. When organized the county had twelve towns. The division of Sparta into the towns of North Dansville, Sparta and West Sparta, increased the number to fourteen, while the annexation, from Allegany, of the towns of Nunda and Portage in 1846, and Ossian in 1857, brought the number of towns up to seventeen, and added a rich and flourishing territory. All buildings necessary for the transaction of public business, the safe keeping of important records, or the care or confinement of its unfortunate and vicious classes, had been provided, equalling in size, convenience or cost, those of any rural county in the State.

Internal improvements had kept pace with the county's growing strength. The Cohocton Valley railroad skirted its eastern border, the Genesee Valley Canal wound along its western boundary, while midway between them was the newly completed Avon, Genesee and Mount Morris railroad, connecting at the former place with the vast network of railroads extending over the country. The educational progress of the county also furnished a proud record. The Genesee College and Genesee Wesleyan Seminary at Lima, Genesee Academy, and the academies of Avon, Moscow and Dansville, together with the excellent

schools, public and private, of other towns, had a wide reputation, and some of them, especially the three first named, were filled with students from all parts of the globe. Added to these was the Atheneum (Wadsworth) Library at Geneseo, with its thousands of volumes, free to all residents of the county. Nor were the institutions of religion neglected. The churches of the several denominations throughout the county were beautiful, commodious and costly edifices, and the people generally a church-going and God-fearing community.

In worldly affairs the inhabitants of the county were also prosperous and happy. The country had in a great measure recovered from the effects of the financial reverses of 1857, the crops were uniformly good, manufacturing and commercial interests were thriving, and a bright, peaceful and prosperous future seemed dawning on the people.

Just as this period had been reached, occurred the ever memorable presidential campaign of 1860. It is unnecessary to recount here the many exciting incidents of that period, which are still fresh in the public mind, and will remain so, long after the recollection of subsequent campaigns becomes a dim and shadowy picture of the past. In its furor and excitement, its campaign songs and partisan bands of uniformed men; in the intensity and bitterness of the feelings it engendered; even more in its after results; it stands out as one of the most important epochs in our national history.

The Republicans early entered the field with Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin as their national standard bearers. The Democratic party, less fortunate in uniting its forces, presented two tickets for public approval. The regular nominees of the party were Stephen A. Douglass and Herschell V. Johnson;

the candidates of the "Seceders' convention" were John C. Breckenridge and Joseph Lane. A fourth party, calling itself the Constitutional Union party, put up John Bell for President and Edward Everett for Vice President.

Passing over the State nominations of these contesting parties, we come to those of more immediate interest, the county nominations. The Republican party supported the following ticket: Congressman, Robert B. Van Valkenburgh; County Treasurer, James T. Norton; Sessions Justice, Charles H. Randall; Coroners, J. B. Patterson and Loren J. Ames; Assemblymen, Matthew Wiard and George Hyland; School Commissioners, Franklin B. Francis and Harvey Farley. The Republican nominee for Presidential Elector was James S. Wadsworth. The nominees of the Democratic party were for Congressman, Charles C. B. Walker; County Treasurer, Hezekiah Ailen; Sessions Justice, Utley Spencer; Coroners, George H. Bennett, Zara W. Joslyn; Assemblymen, David H. Albertson, David Davidson; School Commissioners, Daniel Bigelow, Samuel D. Faulkner.

The canvass in this county was conducted with the same feeling and earnestness which everywhere marked it. Wigwams sprang up here and there; lofty poles flung to the breeze the banners of the contending parties; bands of "Little Giants" and "Wide Awakes" almost daily paraded the streets, or lit up the dark night with their smoking torches; and frequent political gatherings were addressed by the chosen orators of the opposing factions. It was the campaign of 1840 repeated with variations; the days of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" revived.

At last the decisive day came when the parties met at the polls to declare their political preferences, and when the smoke of battle rolled away, it was found

that the Republican party had achieved a great and unparalleled victory. Like the whirlwind it had swept everything before it in the North, and state after state had rolled up majorities before unknown. In Livingston county the entire Republican ticket was elected, the majority on the electoral ticket being 1917, and on the county ticket averaging over 1800,— a result that was astonishing to men of all parties.

CHAPTER XIX.

LIVINGSTON'S PART IN THE WAR OF THE REBELLION.

Whatever else may be recorded on the page of history, the brave valor and unflattering patriotism of a people should have a prominent place, and be written in characters as lasting as the eternal hills. It is with this fact in view that some attempt is here made to give an account of Livingston's part in the War of the Rebellion, and of her contributions of men and money in support of the general government, when foes assailed it, and the national life was in danger.

The people of this county have ever been notable for their loyalty and patriotism. Many of its earliest settlers, when they penetrated the forests of this then vast wilderness, were fresh from the toils, privations and bloody battles of the Revolutionary struggle; and a few years later, when the British foe again invaded our shores, no people responded more readily to the call of the government for help, endured the privations and dangers of war more cheerfully, or rendered greater service in repelling the enemy than the loyal citizens of Livingston. Love of country was with them a strong passion. Some of their best blood had been given in its defense, and their sturdy, honest, fearless character made them warmly devoted to the principles of civil and religious liberty upon which the government was founded.

Thus, when intelligence came that the Southern people had risen in open rebellion, their patriotic zeal was aroused to the highest pitch, and an earnest reso-

lution found unanimous expression that the government should be sustained, and the Nation's life preserved, cost what it might.

It is not so long ago but that many still remember the intense excitement that prevailed when news came of the firing upon Fort Sumpter. The national emblem had been insulted, the federal authority defied, the safety of the Union was threatened! The dark cloud that had long been overhanging the nation had burst, the storm was upon it, and people awoke from fanciful security to find themselves involved in all the horrors of civil war. Then it was that the people of Livingston county, in common with the whole loyal North, rose up in their patriotic strength and asserted their determination to defend the government they had founded and cherished, against the traitorous hands that were raised to destroy it. The valleys reverberated with the patriotic songs of loyal men; the Spartan hills echoed back the sound; and from near and far came ever-increasing evidence that when the principles of free government were assailed Old Livingston would be among the first to tender its services for protection and defense. It was no time now for partisan feeling, or for luke-warm measures. A graver duty presented itself, and with party lines obliterated, partisan differences forgotten, the people united upon the common platform of "The Union, Now and Forever," and sung in unison the patriotic lines,

"Our Country! right or wrong—
What manly heart can doubt
That thus should swell the patriot song,
Thus ring the patriot shout?
Be but the foe arrayed,
And war's wild trumpet blown,—
Cold were his heart who has not made
His country's cause his own!"

Under the calls of President Lincoln for troops, Livingston county was among the first to make enlistments. Union meetings were everywhere held, and prominent men of all parties united in addressing them and in securing volunteers. Before the smoke had scarcely cleared away from Sumpter's ruined walls, a large number had enrolled themselves under the Union banner, and were forming themselves rapidly into companies. Nor did the people forget, in this hour, the duty which they owed to the families of those who enlisted to fight their battles for them. Relief funds were raised in the several towns, and the brave soldier, when he went to the battle's front, had the satisfaction of knowing that those dependent upon him would be well cared for by those who had undertaken this patriotic duty. Loyal men gave freely and cheerfully to this holy cause, and these funds were swelled to most generous proportions. Unfortunately their aggregate amount cannot be stated, but it is certainly safe to say that the contributions made in this way were not less than \$50,000.

Later, when the Sanitary Commission had been organized, liberal aid was constantly given this important branch of the service by the county, and no little credit is due the loyal wives, mothers and sisters who worked with a devotion worthy of this noble cause, to render it efficient in field and hospital.

And later still, when the long struggle had drawn heavily upon the home circles, the Union arms had suffered repeated reverses, and even strong men were filled with doubts and fears; when this dark hour had come and enlistments were slow, the county came nobly to the rescue and offered liberal bounties to recruits, counting no cost too great that would save the Nation, or preserve the honor of Old Livingston. The money thus paid amounted to the vast sum of

Twelve Hundred and Fifty Thousand Dollars, or nearly one-tenth of the total assessed valuation of the county.

As early as June, 1861, the county had furnished five companies of volunteers, without including a large number, probably enough to have formed another company, who had enlisted at Rochester and other places. These five companies were raised in the towns of Dansville, Geneseo, Lima, Mount Morris and Nunda, and were officered as follows: Dansville company, Carl Stephan, Captain; George Hyland, Jr., 1st Lieutenant; Ralph T. Wood, 2d Lieutenant. Geneseo company, Wilson B. Warford, Captain; Moses Church, 1st Lieutenant; John Gummer, 2d Lieutenant. Lima company, James Perkins, Captain; Philo D. Phillips, 1st Lieutenant; H. Seymour Hall, 2d Lieutenant. Mount Morris company, Charles E. Martin, Captain; Joseph H. Bodine, 1st Lieutenant; Oscar H. Phillips, 2d Lieutenant. Nunda company, James M. McNair, Captain; George T. Hamilton, 1st Lieutenant; Henry G. King, 2d Lieutenant. All of these companies rendezvoused at Elmira, but, perhaps unfortunately, they were assigned to different regiments.

The Dansville volunteers were made Company B of the 13th Regiment, N. Y. V. I. and in the organization of the regiment Captain Stephan was made Lieutenant Colonel, and George Hyland, Jr., became Captain of the company. The 13th Regiment was raised in Rochester in April, 1861, by Colonel Isaac F. Quimby, and was the first to pass through Baltimore after the memorable attack by the mob of that city on the 6th Massachusetts (April 19th, 1861). It participated in the first battle of Bull Run, Siege of Yorktown, battles of Hanover Court House, Mechanicsville, Gaines' Mills, Turkey Bend, Malvern Hill, 2d Bull

Run, Antietam, Shepardstown and Fredericksburgh. The regiment was mustered out May 14, 1863, having served two years. Throughout its term of service the "Old 13th" was distinguished for its gallantry and bravery, and won a record for meritorious service which will ever be a source of just pride to its living veterans.

The Lima and Mount Morris companies were made a part of the 27th Regiment, N. Y. V. I., the former as Company G, and the latter as Company H. This regiment was formed at Elmira from companies recruited in Rochester, Binghamton, Lyons, Angelica and this county, with Colonel Slocum, afterward made a Major-General, in command. It took part in the battles of 1st Bull Run, Mechanicsville, West Point, Gaines' Mills, Goldborough's Farm, Chickahominy, White Oak Creek, Malvern Hill, Crampton Pass, Antietam, and the first and second battles of Fredericksburgh. It was mustered out May 31st, 1863, after serving the two years for which it was enlisted. The list of engagements in which this regiment participated shows that it shared in some of the hardest fighting of the war, and it was distinguished for signal bravery and conduct becoming the true soldier of the Union.

The Geneseo and Nunda companies were assigned to the 33d Regiment, N. Y. V. I., the former as Company E. and the latter as Company F. This regiment was composed of two companies from Seneca Falls, and one each from Palmyra, Waterloo, Canandaigua, Geneseo, Nunda, Buffalo, Geneva and Penn Yan. The organization of the regiment was effected May 21st, 1861, with Robert F. Taylor as Colonel. On the 8th of July the regiment left for the front, and during its term of service participated in the battles of Yorktown, Malvern Hill, Fair Oaks, Williamsburg, Lee's

Mills, 2d Bull Run, Antietam and Fredericksburgh, and many minor engagements and desperate skirmishes. The regiment was mustered out June 2d, 1863, and accompanying the order for this purpose was an address from General Sedgwick, in which he said :

“The General commanding the corps congratulates the officers and men of the Thirty-third New York Volunteers upon their honorable return to civil life. They have enjoyed the respect and confidence of their companions and commanders; they have illustrated their term of service by gallant deeds, and have won for themselves a reputation not surpassed in the Army of the Potomac, and have nobly earned the gratitude of the Republic.”

The 8th N. Y. Cavalry numbered among its members many brave and gallant troopers from the different towns in this county, and in August, 1862, James McNair received a commission as Captain and recruited a large number of men in Groveland and the towns adjoining, who formed the nucleus of Company L of this regiment. Almost its first service won for the regiment a fame which to the close of the war was never diminished. When General Miles surrendered Harper's Ferry, this regiment not only cut its way out, but passing entirely through Lee's army, captured Longstreet's wagon train, and was safe inside the Union lines when the morning dawned. The regiment took part in the following engagements, which are engraved on a shield attached to its regimental flag-staff: Winchester, Harper's Ferry, Antietam, Snicker's Gap, Phillimont, Union, Upperville, Barber's Cross Roads, Amisville No. 1, Amisville No. 2, Freeman's Ford, Beverly Ford, Middleburg, Gettysburg, Williamsport, Boonsboro No. 1, Boonsboro No. 2, Funkstown, Falling Waters, Chester Gap, Brandy Plains No. 1, Brandy Plains No. 2, Culpepper, Rac-

coon Ford, Jack's Shop, Germania Ford, Stevensburgh, Brandy Plains No. 3, Oak Hill, Bealton Station, Muddy Run, Locust Grove, Barnett's Ford, Craig's Church, Yellow Tavern, Richmond Defenses, Meadow Bridge, Hawes' Shop, White Oak Swamp, Malvern Hill 2d, Nottaway C. H., Roanoke Station, Stony Creek, Winchester 2d, Summit Point, Kearneyville, Opequan, Front Royal, Milford, Fisherville, Tour's Brook, Cedar Creek, Middle Road, Lacey Springs, Waynesboro, Five Forks, Namazine Church, Sailor's Creek, Appomattox, Lee's Surrender. Sixteen officers were killed under the flag of this regiment, of whom two were from this county, Major James McNair, killed at Nottaway C. H., June 23d, 1864, and Captain H. C. Cutler, killed at Beverly Ford, June 9th, 1863. Captain Andrew Kuder and 1st Lieutenant Charles A. Goheen returned with the regiment, and were mustered out at the close of the war.

In the summer of 1861, while General Wadsworth was on a flying visit to Geneseo he stated to prominent gentlemen that the war was to be a long one, and he was extremely anxious that Livingston should do her whole duty. To accomplish this he proposed that a regiment should be raised in the county, and asked Col. John Rorbach to allow him to present the latter's name to the Governor for a commission to recruit such a regiment. After some hesitation Col. Rorbach consented, and in a short time he received a commission to recruit and organize a regiment for the service. The experiment seemed a hazardous one, inasmuch as the county had already furnished recruits enough at least for a regiment, but earnest men had hold of the measure, and it was bound to succeed. It was also proposed to call the new regiment the "Wadsworth Guards," in honor of the brave officer who had first proposed its organization, and who had already re-

flected such honor on his native county by his daring bravery and self-sacrificing patriotism.

Colonel Rorbach found, after some weeks' hard work, that it would be impossible to organize a regiment without having a local depot to which he could send his recruits as fast as they were secured. He asked the State government, therefore, to establish a military depot at Geneseo, and an order to this effect was issued. The "old camp ground" at the head of North street having been selected as the site of the military depot, barracks were immediately constructed, and the work of recruiting was again entered upon with new vigor. The men, as fast as they were enlisted, were sent to this depot, which was called Camp Union. The energetic commander of the post, seconded by his able assistants, pushed the work of enlisting men so vigorously that the minimum number was secured, and the regiment mustered into the service Jan. 24th, 1862. In the following month the Wadsworth Guards, as they were called, received marching orders, on the 26th of February, 1862, they departed for the seat of war. At Albany three companies were added to the regiment from Troy, to make its complement of ten, and an organization was perfected as the 104th Regiment, N. Y. V. I., with the following officers :

Colonel—John Rorbach.

Lieutenant Colonel—R. Wells Kenyon.

Major—Lewis C. Skinner.

Adjutant—Fred. T. Vance.

Quarter Master—Henry V. Colt.

Surgeon—Enos G. Chase.

Assistant Surgeon—Douglas S. Landon.

Chaplain—Daniel Russell.

Co.	CAPTAINS.	1st LIEUTENANTS.	2D LIEUTENANTS.
A	Henry G. Tuthill.	Albert S. Haver.	Reuben R. Weed.
B	Luhman H. Day.	Henry A. Wiley.	Homer Stull.
O	Stephen L. Wing.	Henry Runyan.	Nelson J. Wing.
D	Zopher Simpson.	Jacob H. Stull.	George H. Starr.
E	Hugh C. Lattimore.	William T. Lozier.	Wm. L. Trembly.
F	Gilbert G. Pray.	Luman F. Dow.	Wm. J. Hemstreet.
G	Jas. A. Gault.	John P. Rudd.	John R. Strang.
H	Jas. H. Selleck.	E. B. Wheeler.	Thos. Johnston.
I	John Kelly.	William R. Cross.	Chas. W. Fisher.
K	John C. Thompson.	John H. Miller.	William C. Wilson.

The first seven companies named were recruited principally in this county ; the others were those added at Albany. The regiment was soon engaged in active service, and under the successive commands of Colonels Rorbach, Lewis C. Skinner, Gilbert G. Pray and John R. Strang, it participated in some of the hardest fought battles of the war. It seemed to be its fate, from the start, to be in the thickest of every fight and to suffer terrible losses. At the battle of the second Bull Run the regiment lost 94 officers and enlisted men ; at Antietam 76 ; at Fredericksburgh 53 ; at Gettysburg 219 ; and had only 315 men on its rolls Jan. 1st, 1864, out of 917 originally mustered into the service. It also participated in the battles of Cedar Mountain, Rappahannock Station, Thoroughfare Gap, South Mountain, Chancellorsville, Mine Run, The Wilderness, Chantilly, North Anna, Spottsylvania, Bethesda Church, Weldon Railroad and Petersburg. In July, 1862, F. DeW. Ward, D. D., of Geneseo, joined the regiment as Chaplain, and served in this capacity until November 25th, 1863, a period of one and one-fourth years. The regiment was mustered out in 1865, having served its term of three years, won a proud record for bravery and faithfulness to duty, and nobly asserted its right to bear the name of that brave patriot, James S. Wadsworth.

In the summer of 1862, a call having been made for 300,000 more troops, the State government made each Senatorial district a regimental district, with a mili-

tary camp in each one, at some designated point.

The counties of Livingston, Wyoming and Allegany, composing the 30th district, were thus made a regimental district, with the camp at Geneseo. On the meeting of the Senatorial committee, however, a resolution was adopted requesting the Governor to change the location of the camp to Portage. This was accordingly done, and persons having been authorized to enlist recruits, the work of filling the district's quota commenced. So rapidly did this proceed that recruits came flocking into the Portage camp before the barracks were erected for their accommodation, and early in August a sufficient number of men had enrolled themselves in the three counties, to form a full regiment, and the 130th Regiment, N. Y. V. I., was organized and mustered into service Sept. 3d, 1862. It was composed of four companies from Livingston, three from Wyoming and three from Allegany. The organization was completed by the election of the following officers :

Colonel—William S. Fullerton.

Lieutenant-Colonel—Thomas J. Thorp.

Major—Rufus Scott.

Adjutant—George R. Cowee.

Quarter-Master—A. B. Lawrence.

Surgeon—B. T. Kneeland.

Co.	CAPTAINS.	1ST LIEUTENANTS.	2D LIEUTENANTS.
A	J. E. Bills.	J. P. Robinson.	C. L. Daily.
B	Howard M. Smith.	S. Herbert Lancey.	Saul C. Culbertson.
C	R. P. Taylor.	O. R. Cook.	S. V. Waldo.
D	Jacob W. Knapp.	Leonard Wilkins.	Jared M. Bills.
E	Wheeler Hakes.	S. F. Randolph.	Elias Harton, Jr.
F	Jeremiah Hatch.	S. A. Farman.	A. K. Thorp.
G	Alanson B. Cornell.	C. L. Brundage.	G. Wiley Wells.
H	Joel Wakeman.	Ira Sayles.	E. S. Osgood.
I	James Lemen.	R. A. Britton.	F. S. Adams.
K	Andrew J. Leach.	Jas. O. Slayton.	Edmund Hartman.

The regiment was ordered to Fortress Monroe, and formed a part of the Seventh Army Corps. It was changed to the 19th N. Y. Cavalry, Aug. 11th, 1863,

and from the 10th of September, 1863, was known as the First New York Dragoons. The regiment was commanded successively by Colonels Fullerton,* Alfred Gibbs and Thomas J. Thorp, and participated in the battles of Deserted House, Blackwater, Siege of Suffolk, Manassas Plains, Culpepper, Todd's Tavern, Yellow Tavern, Meadow Bridge, Old Church, Hawe's Shop, Coal Harbor, Darbytown, Kearneyville, Trevillian Station, Newtown, Cedar Creek, Smithfield, and several other engagements. It was mustered out in 1865, having done service for the Union that has won for its members the highest honor, and the enduring gratitude of the people.

Just here let it be recorded that Livingston was the first county to furnish its quota for this regiment, having responded with alacrity and cheerfulness to the call for help which came from an imperilled government, and it was said on this occasion with just pride that "the patriotic fervor of her sons continues unabated, and their response to the call for men is still answered by hundreds who unreluctantly sacrifice the comfort, happiness and allurements of home, for the stern experience of the camp." When the 130th Regiment was organized, two or three hundred more men had been enlisted than were required to fill it to the maximum number. The Senatorial committee immediately authorized Colonel James Wood, Jr., of Geneseo, to recruit and organize another regiment, and enlistments continued with unabated zeal. War meetings were held throughout the county, patriotic citizens made substantial additions to the national and State bounties, and towns vied with each other in friendly rivalry, in filling their quotas. It was a time of intense feeling; of earnest devoted patriotism. Col-

* Resigned before the regiment left the State.

onel Wood's authority was granted in August. In one month all the men for the regiment were in camp at Portage, and there was a surplus of nearly four hundred recruits in the district. The regiment was mustered into the service September 28th, 1862, as the 136th Regiment, N. Y. V. I., with the following officers:

- Colonel—James Wood, Jr.
- Lieutenant Colonel—Lester B. Faulkner.
- Major—David C. Hartshorn.
- Adjutant—Campbell H. Young.
- Quarter-Master—John T. Wright.
- Surgeon—B. L. Hovey.
- 1st Asst. Surgeon—E. Amsden.
- 2d Assistant Surgeon—C. F. Warner.
- Quarter-Master Sergeant—Richard W. Barney.
- Commissary Sergeant—J. S. Galentine.

Co.	CAPTAINS.	1ST LIEUTENANTS.	2D LIEUTENANTS.
A	A. T. Cole.	M. M. Loyden.	John W. Webster.
B	Edward H. Pratt.	John J. Bailey.	Nicholas V. Mundy.
C	A. A. Hoyt.	Wells Henderahott.	Emerson J. Hoyt.
D	A. Harrington.	Myron E. Bartlette.	Russell G. Dudley.
E	H. B. Jenks.	Jas. G. Cameron.	Seth P. Buell.
F	J. H. Burgess.	John Galbraith.	Chas. H. Wisner.
G	Sidney Ward.	Orange Sackett, Jr.	Kidder M. Scott.
H	E. H. Jeffres.	Edward Madden.	Anson B. Hall.
I	H. L. Arnold.	Frank Collins.	Geo. M. Reed.
H	A. F. Davis.	Geo. H. Eldredge.	Geo. Y. Boss.

The regiment was composed of five companies from Livingston, three from Wyoming, and two from Alleghany. It left Camp Williams (Portage) October 2d, 1862, and proceeding directly to Washington, was soon after seeing actual service in the field. It was assigned to the Eleventh Corps under General Sigel, where it remained until April 14th, 1864, when it became a part of the 3d Brigade, 3d Division, Twentieth Corps. The regiment was successively under the command of Colonels Wood,* Lieutenant-Colonel

* Promoted to the rank of Brigadier General in 1864, and to the rank of Major General in 1865.

L. B. Faulkner and Lieutenant-Colonel H. L. Arnold, and took an important part in the battles of Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Lookout Mountain, Chattanooga, Missionary Ridge, Knoxville, Buzzard's Roost Gap, Resaca, Cassville, Dallas, Gilgal Church, Kulp's Farm, Kenesaw Mountain, Peach Tree Creek, Turner's Ferry, Atlanta, Milledgeville, Savannah, Charleston, Averysburgh, Bentonville, Goldsboro and Raleigh. The Regiment was mustered out June 13th, 1865, having won the commendation of commanders, an enduring fame, and the deepest gratitude of the people. Throughout the struggle its members had been brave, unflinching soldiers, and in every battle had entered the thickest of the fight with a gallant bravery that earned them great distinction.

Besides those in these organizations, many recruits were furnished by the county for other regiments. Among these were the 14th Heavy Artillery, the 24th Artillery (of which Lee's Battery was a part) Harris' Cavalry, and regiments from other States. Others, again, entered the Navy, and won enviable records there. The total number who entered the Union service in other regiments other than those raised in the county is unknown, but it was certainly several hundred.

Such, in brief is the war record of Livingston, and imperfect and incomplete as it is, it yet reveals a spirit of the truest loyalty in the people of the county, and presents an example of labor and sacrifice, of bravery and patriotism, which the nation well may emulate. The people gave freely of men and money, and in the darkest hours of the struggle they never faltered. Even when their loved sons fell like forest leaves before the rude blast, they did not waver, but closing up the fearful breach with others as dearly beloved, they watched with aching but brave hearts, for the final

issue of the strife. And when it came, they deemed the victory a glorious one, though it had cost thousands of lives and millions of treasure; though there was scarcely a home that was not mourning the loss of father, brother or lover, and tears and sorrow attested the horrible havoc of war.



TOWN SKETCHES.

AVON.

Area, 24,891 acres ; population in 1875, 3,325 ; Boundaries : North by Monroe county ; east by Lima ; south by Livonia and Geneseo ; west by the Genesee river, which separates it from York and Caledonia.

In area and productive wealth Avon ranks among the leading towns of the county. It was formed from the original District of Geneseo in January, 1789, and embraced townships ten and eleven of the seventh range, under the name of Hartford. This designation was derived from the city of the same name in Connecticut, and was suggested by Dr. Timothy Hosmer, one of the first proprietors of the township and a native of that State. In 1808 its name was changed to Avon, from a town in Connecticut in the vicinity of the city of Hartford. In 1818 the town of Rush was set off from Avon.

About one thousand acres of the territory of the town consist of river flats ; the remainder is upland, comprising a series of terraced hills, generally running in the direction of the river, with intervals of broad sweeps of undulating ground. Deming hill, in the southern part of the town, rises to the height of about 150 feet above the alluvial meadows skirting the

river. The soil of the flats is unsurpassed in fertility; that of the uplands is a substratum of sand intermixed with gravel, and in some parts with clay, and is especially adapted to the growth of wheat. The farms are under a high state of cultivation, and are principally owned by their occupants. The forests have generally been cut away, but selected shade trees in profusion have been spared by the axe, adding great beauty both to the farming lands and the several hamlets.

The Genesee river flows along the whole western border of the town; and the outlet of Conesus lake traverses its south-western corner. The Little Conesus, a considerable stream which drains a large swamp in the town of Lima, crosses the southerly portion of the town and empties into Conesus outlet below Littleville.

The first permanent settlement in the town was made by Gilbert R. Berry in the spring of 1789. He located less than a rifle-shot south of the old red bridge, where he opened a log tavern. In that day there were few white men within a day's ride. Berry had brought together the material for his rude log house, when a lucky circumstance enabled him to raise it without calling the Indians to his assistance. The late Judge Hopkins of Niagara county happened to be returning from a hunting expedition to Canada with several companions, and stopped at Canawaugus for a few hours' rest. Here they found the pioneer just as he was about sending out for his dusky neighbors. They saw Berry's strait and fell to and aided in lifting the remaining heavy logs to their places, thus securing him a domicile. Berry was of Irish extraction. He came hither from Albany, where he had been bred to mercantile pursuits. "His wife," says Colonel Hosmer, "was a grand-daughter of the Hen-

drick Wemple, historically known as the interpreter of General Herkimer in his interview with Brant at Unadilla previous to the mournful meeting at Oriskany. Berry resided for a time at Geneva, but pushing westward to near Canawaugus, he not only opened a tavern and store there, but established trading-posts at Big Tree, and at the mouth of the river, carrying on a brisk business with trappers and hunters; and his pack-horses, laden with furs, were often seen threading the main trail to and from Albany. He acted as General Chapin's local Indian agent, corresponding with his principal and with the post at Buffalo, not by telegraph, but by means of old Sharp Shins, the Indian Runner. At his death, which occurred in 1797, while he was yet a young man, his widow assumed charge of the tavern, which became the favorite stopping-place of land agents, surveyors, explorers, Scotch emigrants and pioneer settlers." The rope ferry across the river at Canawaugus, early established by her husband, also fell under her charge. The more notable Indians were partial to "Widow Berry's tavern," and Te-neh'-anah (which Seneca name expresses her reluctance to sell spirits to the Indians in the absence of her husband) was greatly esteemed by them. Turner says: "Widely known in early days was the comfortable resting-place that she provided for man and beast; and in her primitive tavern some of the best wives and mothers of the Genesee country were reared."

In 1790 Dr. Timothy Hosmer and Major Isaiah Thompson, of Farmington, Connecticut, visited the Genesee country and purchased the township on behalf of five Connecticut men, of whom they were two. "The price paid," says Colonel Hosmer, "was eighteen pence, New England currency, per acre, then a high rate in consequence of the open flats.

Of the five grantees only Major Thompson and Dr. Hosmer became residents here. The latter had been surgeon of the Sixth Connecticut regiment and served through the war of the Revolution. His diploma of membership in the Society of the Cincinnati, signed by Washington as its President, and General Knox as Secretary, is an eloquent attestation of his long term of service."* "Partly from love of adventure, partly to escape professional practice requiring constant toil, he emigrated from his pleasant New England home to this realm of unbounded forest. He passed the summer of 1790 in exploring the country, returned home in the fall, and in the following year, accompanied by his sons Frederick and Algernon Sydney, began the work of settlement by erecting a log dwelling near the present residence of his nephew, James Hosmer. In 1792 his family joined him, and being the only physician within call of the datched settlements, he relieved the sick, prompted by a spirit of benevolence rather than professional gain. His good humor and encouraging words cheered the desponding settlers wrestling with disease and the fearful privations of the wilderness. The red man appreciated his skill and named him At-ta-gus, or "healer of diseases."

"When Ontario county was organized Dr. Hosmer became one of its judges and succeeded Oliver Phelps as First Judge. The latter office he held until sixty years of age, the constitutional limitation. He possessed a fine literary taste, and his well-selected library of medical and miscellaneous works was an anomaly in the backwoods. His correspondence reveals

* "His dress-sword, a sharp blade, inclosed in a silver-mounted black leathern sheath, is now in possession of a grandson, at Meadville, Pa. On Dr. Hosmer devolved the duty of laying finger on Andre's pulse after the execution of that noted British spy, and reporting him dead to the officers of the Court martial."

varied reading and mental culture. He had acquired high professional reputation in the army, and at one time was transferred from the Connecticut line to the staff of the Commander-in-chief.

“He was a gentleman of the old school, scrupulously clean and neat in his attire, with a portly frame and erect military carriage. His hair was ribbon-tied, and carefully powdered by his black body-servant ‘Boston.’ His breeches of soft and nicely dressed deerskin, were fastened at the knees by silver buckles. He was courtly in his manners to all, but especially marked for chivalric courtesy to women. When passing a lady acquaintance in the street, he would bow with uncovered head though rain were falling, and the poorest, the most unfortunate of the sex ever found in him a ready champion and defender. He died in November, 1815, aged 70 years.” He sleeps in the village cemetery, where a plain and substantial headstone marks the spot.

“Major Thompson was a cavalry officer of merit during the Revolutionary struggle. His intrepid conduct in battle commanded the respect of his superiors.” “He died the first season after his arrival in the Genesee country, of bilious fever. His grave, with its enclosure of pickets, arrested the attention of passers-by in my boyhood, situated not far from two oaks, survivors of forests, that grace the grounds of ‘Rose Lawn,’ a bow-shot from the railroad depot.” No trace now remains, however, of the resting place of this veteran of the first great national struggle.

“The next settler of consequence in Avon was Captain John Ganson, an officer of Sullivan’s expedition. Under his supervision a ‘tub-mill’ was built on the beautiful stream that, following its natural channel, emptied into the river on the Markham farm, and is

now lost in the reedy embrace of Horse-Shoe pond.* To this tub-mill no doubt was attached a hand seive of splinters being substituted therefor. It was a busy place in the olden time, and grists to be ground were brought through heavily timbered woods from Bough-ton's hill and other sequestered clearings many a mile distant. The stones of this primitive mill were taken from native quarries near by, and ingeniously fashioned on the spot. No trace of this curious structure now remains."

"A second growth of forest conceales the old track that led to its mossy door-way, and with diminished volume flows on the singing waters of a stream which turned this first mill that made flour in the valley of the Genesee." "The title of Captain Ganson proving defective to the fine tract here selected by him, he purchased the famous tavern stand so long associated with his name near Le Roy."

Another name occurring frequently in early reminiscences of Avon is that of Colonel William Markham. Colonel Hosmer says of him: He was one of old Ontario's first representatives in the Assembly. He came into the Genesee country with Captain John Smith of Hermitage, and explored the wilderness in 1788, accompanied by chain-bearers and surveyors; surveyed the first line run from Canandaigua to the Genesee river; and years afterward was one of the commissioners designated to locate the county seat. I knew him in my tender years, and no portrait in memory's hall is painted in more vivid lines than his patriarchial face and silvery hair. Hospitable to strangers, kind to the poor, public spirited as a citi-

* The tub-mill stood on a stream that crosses the road south of the Sackett place, on the Rochester road, and distant from the highway about 25 rods in an easterly direction

zen, he is ever mentioned in terms of commendation by surviving pioneers."

"A mile or more south of this old worthy's homestead was the residence of Jehiel Kelsey,—an honest man. A son of the Green Mountain State, and trained in a rugged school, he was a leading spirit in the march of improvement."

Thomas Wiard was a native of Wolcott, Connecticut. In 1804 he emigrated with his family to the Genesee country and settled in the village of Genesee, occupying a little log house which he built on the spot until recently occupied by the two small brown houses on Main Street, opposite the Genesee Valley Bank. In 1805 he removed to a farm half a mile from the village of East Avon, where he continued to reside up to the time of his death. He took an active part in public affairs, was prominent in local politics and especially active in the memorable contest that terminated in the elevation of the younger Adams to the Presidency. He held the office of Justice of the Peace for many years, and was nine times elected Supervisor of the town. He was a man of very positive character, and of the strictest integrity in all relations, public and private.

One family name among the pioneers of Avon, that of the Whalley brothers, calls up an eventful page of English history. In the latter part of the tumultuous reign of king Charles I, Richard Whalley appears among the notable actors in public affairs, sustaining, with his great leader, Cromwell, the cause of the commonwealth against that of the recreant King and his vain-glorious cavaliers. Whalley's was one of the five regiments selected to guard the city of London. A few months later Whalley sat as one of the judges of that historic body, the High Court of Justice, to try the King. The trial was a speedy one, the King

was beheaded, and Cromwell was not long in reaching the great office of Lord Protector for which nature had so perfectly fitted him.

When Charles II came to the throne the vindictive cavaliers clamored for the death of the judges, or regicides as they were then called. Some gave themselves up, only to fall victims, suffering the penalty of death after the mockery of a trial; others, knowing too well the rancor of those surrounding the King, hid themselves or fled beyond the sea and were finally outlawed. Whalley and Goff came to America, where they remained in voluntary seclusion to the end of their days. Descendants of this man Richard Whalley were among the pioneers of Avon, and did much to reclaim the waste places.

The first school-house in the town was built of unhewn logs a few rods north of Zion church. There, on Sabbath days, Judge Hosmer read the beautiful and impressive service of the Episcopal church to a body of devout listeners. These were the first religious services held in the town.

The first saw-mill in Avon was erected by Judge Hosmer on Conesus outlet at Littleville in 1796. It was situated directly opposite the Glen Avon mill, on the south side.

In 1813 the town contained 5 saw-mills, one grist-mill, 6 distilleries and one carding and cloth dressing establishment. There were 76 looms in families, the yearly product of which was 21,325 yards of woolen, linen and cotton cloths.

“The famous Hosmer stand,” says Colonel Hosmer, “was built by James Wadsworth and was first occupied by Nathan Perry as lessee. Soon after Finley and Lovejoy became proprietors. At the death of one of the partners, the brothers Algernon Sydney and William T. Hosmer, purchased the property. The host

and hostess who gave the place its enviable reputation, however, were Timothy Hosmer and lady. 'Jo-win-sta-ga,' 'Big Fire,' was the apt name by which my beloved uncle was known to the Senecas, referring to the capacious hearth, with its immense back-log and formidable fore-stick, on which were high piled the flaming faggots in winter. The roar of the chimney, 'the wind-pipe of grateful hospitality,' was sweeter than the music of summer birds to the chilled Indian and belated traveler. Generals Jacob Brown, Scott, Ripley, Hall and their military found rest and refreshment under its ample roof, and Joseph Bonaparte, ex-King of Spain, Louis Phillipe, Commodore Perry, the exiled hero of Hohenlinden, General Moreau, and Marshal Grouchy, the marplot of the Waterloo campaign, were among the distinguished names inscribed on its moth-eaten register."

"The first town election for Avon was held at the house of Peter Shaefer. The vote was taken by Gad Wadsworth." At the election for Governor in April, 1800, George Clinton received 25 votes and his opponent, Stephen Van Rensselaer, received 41 votes. In 1803 the board of excise of the town granted licenses to Polly Berry, Joseph Pearson, John Pearson and Benjamin Pearson.

"Captain Asa Nowlen was a native of New London, Connecticut. In youth and early manhood he followed a sea-faring life and rose, step by step, to the command of a merchantman. He was a thorough seaman and intrepid officer, acquainted with nautical tactics, and with every rope and bolt of a ship. In our quasi war with France, he was taken by an armed cruiser with a valuable cargo on board the prize and suffered with fellow captives the horrors of long imprisonment in the West Indies. His life was colored with the hues of romance. Far and wide in the days of the

Old Line he was known as a stage proprietor and mail contractor, and became, at a later period, the purchaser of Avon Springs. 'To the frank bearing of a bluff sailor he united the liberal soul. He was truly a remarkable man. When too infirm to walk the tramp of his old horse 'Pomp,' a general favorite like his master, announced that the captain was abroad on some enterprise for the public good or errand of mercy. In business affairs he was marked by enlarged views and keen, intelligent foresight. A vein of native humor enriched his playful discourses. Among my boyhood's pleasant memories are the sea-songs he sung so well. He played a prominent part in the great masonic excitement.'

Avon took a prominent part in the second war with Great Britain, and her record is a proud one. Colonel Hosmer, from whom I have already largely quoted says: "With pride permit me to mention as a bright page in the annals of my native town that in our war with Great Britain Avon lost more men in defense of our invaded frontier than the county of Niagara. Black Rock will ever be associated with the heroic name of my townsman Colonel Samuel Blakesley, who led the 'Silver Grays.' Their gallant conduct extorted praise from foes, being mentioned in General Drummond's official report. After a vain attempt on a wounded horse to rally the fugitives, the late George Hosmer, who was aid to General Hall, rode side by side with Colonel Seymour Boughton from a lost field. In breaking through the Indian lines, the latter was killed by a pipe tomahawk that smote him fatally on the temple. Captain Ezekial Wadsworth, brother of Richard, late proprietor of our mineral spring, behaved with signal intrepidity and was one of the last to leave the field of Black Rock.

George Hosmer was a native of Farmington, Con-

necticut, and was 12 years old when his father removed to Avon. He pursued his early studies under the tuition of the Rev. Ebenezer Johnson of Lima. In 1799 he entered the law office of Nathaniel W. Howell of Canandaigua, and in 1802 was admitted to practice, opening his office in Avon. He was then the only lawyer west of Canandaigua. His family had signaled themselves in the legal profession. A great uncle, Titus Hosmer, was one of the signers of the Articles of Confederation and was a member of the First Congress, and at the time of his death was a judge of the Maratime Court of Appeals of the United States.

George Hosmer was more than ordinarily gifted as an advocate, and as his loyalty to a client could never be doubted, his professional business was quite large.

Heman J. Redfield says: "I was the attorney for the plaintiff in an action founded upon a note. A jury had been empaneled, and I had stated the case to them. Turning to my papers for the note it was not to be found. I had left it in my office in Le Roy. I intimated to Mr. Hosmer, who was the attorney for the defendant, that I supposed I must submit to a non-suit. He instantly rose and, addressing the court, said, 'I scorn to take advantage of my friend under such circumstances; let a juror be withdrawn and let the panel be discharged.'"

He was not only associated in all the important trials of this portion of the State, but was in the habit of attending the courts from Albany to Buffalo. On the organization of the county he was appointed District Attorney, and held the office until January 27th, 1824, when he was succeeded by Orlando Hastings. On the 29th of May of the same year he again assumed the duties of the office. He was also a member of the Assembly in 1824. Here he distinguished him-

self by his readiness in debate, felicitous choice of words, impressive delivery and earnestness of purpose. Indeed, he possessed, in an eminent degree, the requisites of an orator. A retentive memory, brilliant imagination, with an exhaustless wardrobe of imagery, impassioned manner and a powerful voice, melodious in its inflections. His miscellaneous reading was extensive, and he had at his tongue's end the rarest and richest utterances of the poets, ancient and modern.

In 1812 he served on the frontier as the aid of Major General Amos Hall. In his official report of the battle of Black Rock, General Hall bears this testimony to the meritorious services of Mr. Hosmer. He says: "To my two aids-de-camp, Majors George Hosmer and Norton, I cannot withhold my warmest thanks for their cool, deliberate bravery and the alacrity with which they executed my orders from the first movement of the troops in the morning to the close of the day."

Mr. Hosmer died at Chicago in March, 1861, while on a visit to his daughter, in the eightieth year of his age. His large circle of friends was wholly unprepared for the sorrowful intelligence. He had retired at night in his usual health, after spending a cheerful evening, in the family circle. Soon after lying down his little grand-daughter noticed that he breathed with difficulty and alarmed her father, John Sears, who, on entering the room was requested by Mr. Hosmer to raise his head from the pillow. Scarcely was this done when in a clear and audible voice he said, "This is the last of me," and expired.

Avon was a favorite region for the Indians, drawn thither by the natural beauty of its groves and forests, as well as by the healing properties of its mineral springs. In more modern times their village lay on the western side of the river, but it was the water of

the springs that gave it name—Can-no-wau-gus—fœtid water.

Colonel Hosmer is of the opinion, as I have elsewhere stated, that one of the decisive battles between the French under De Nonville, and the Senecas under old Cannehoot, a name made classical by his exalted muse, took place near the eastern bank of the river, not far from the railroad bridge crossing the Genesee. In cutting through the sandy knolls at this spot, workmen flung to the surface arms, fragments of green uniforms and skeletons that crumbled on exposure to the air, obviously the remains of a hurried military burial.*

In the extreme northeast part of the town, on the old Hurlbut farm, the site of an Indian village was plainly discoverable, and curious implements are still found there. When first plowed burnt corn, bone crosses, lance-heads of horn, and other articles were found.

In 1820 the number of scholars in the town entitled to public money was 654. The vote on the constitution of 1821 was as follows: yes, 265; no, 35.

The healing quality of the springs was known to the Indians long before any authentic account of this region had been gathered by the whites, and frequent visits to the "fetid" waters were paid by the red men. Later, when the country had become settled by white men, the latter also made excursions to the healing waters, but without finding the excellent accommodations for guests now afforded by the widely known hostleries of the village. William Scott, of Scotts-

* "Not far from this spot," says Colonel Hosmer, "when for the first time the virgin soil was upturned by the plow, my father picked up a French *coteau de chasse*, with the arms of France upon the blade. Military buttons, Jesuit crosses and other similar mementoes are often picked up here after a rain."

burgh, writing of a visit he made at an early day to the springs, says, "With my wife and some friends I visited the springs in the woods, and where the upper spring now is for a number of rods around was a perfect bog filled with logs and brush. By stepping from log to log I managed to make my way to near the center of the marsh, and found a place where I could lie down and get my face near the sparkling fluid, which I did and took my first drink of Avon water." The principal spring "occurs in a valley which runs nearly north and south," and distant about half a mile from the river. An extensive marsh years ago covered the site of the bath-house and pleasure grounds adjacent.

CALEDONIA.

Area, 26,199 acres; population in 1875, 1,981; Boundaries: North by Wheatland (Monroe Co.); east by Rush (Monroe Co.); south by Avon and York; west by LeRoy (Genesee county).

As an agricultural town, Caledonia is found in the front rank of her sister towns, and latterly is gaining prominence in mercantile and manufacturing enterprises. Northampton, from which Caledonia was formed, was made a town in 1797. On the 30th of March, 1802, three towns were set off from Northampton, and named Batavia, Leicester and Southampton. The Caledonia settlement then lay in the town of Southampton, and it was not long before the name of the town was changed by vote to Caledonia. This was done April 4th, 1806.

The surface of the town is moderately uneven, except in the northern part, where it is quite uneven and broken. The Genesee river runs along its eastern border, while Allan's creek winds across it. Caledonia Spring, in the northern part, covers an area of about six acres. There are ten or twelve springs in all, lying near together. The water, which is very cold, and yet never freezes in winter, commences to rise in October, and continues rising until April; keeps two months even; and then commence lowering until October. The outlet forms a good water power a few rods north of the spring, which drives a grist-mill, saw-mill and machine shop. The body of water formed by the springs is one of the finest trout ponds in America. A species of insect which breeds about the springs feeds the trout, which are raised here in large numbers.

About the year 1798 one L. Peterson, a Dane, became a squatter near the big spring, and there built a little log house which he opened as a tavern. This man was, as near as I can learn, the first white settler in this place. An Englishman named Burks settled here soon after, and David Fuller came in 1798. The Senecas had a village at Caledonia Spring, which was the general rendezvous of the tribe during the fishing season.

Captain Williamson early conceived the notion of planting a colony of Scotch people here. "His plan," says Dr. McLaren, "like almost the plans he cherished, was somewhat magnificent, and bore the traces of his old country aristocratic prejudices." One hundred acres were to be appropriated as a glebe lot for the support of the minister, and about sixty acres for the school. Provision was made for ten gentlemen, each of whom was to have a farm of 500 acres. There were to be ten farmers holding 100 acres each,

and forty holding 78 acres. A village was projected containing sixty lots of 12 acres each. It was expected that Caledonia would become one of the most important places in this part of the country. Though the good Captain's expectations were not realized, yet it was so far carried out that his countrymen settled here, and they and their descendants have continued to occupy this fine town. Of the causes which led the Scotch to quit their birth-places, endeared to them by centuries of tradition, and bid good-bye to crag and glen and loch, to find a home in this far-off region, we are informed that there were two. The great land holders of the Highlands of Scotland began to turn their attention more largely to sheep-raising, the small farms were thrown together into great sheep farms, and the number of the tenantry was thus largely diminished. Many families were thus thrown out of the homes they had occupied for generations, and hundreds were driven thus to find new homes here. But another cause also contributed to this result. The British government was then engaged in war with France, and the most strenuous efforts were necessary to keep the ranks full. Impressment was resorted to, especially to fill the Highland regiments, and the constant fear of being thus forced into the army sent many young men out of the country. Dr. W. T. McLaren relates a case in point: "One day a Highland farmer, on his return from market, informed his wife with great concern, that he had seen a recruiting officer at the market town, and that, as he had heard, it was his intention on the next day to visit their neighborhood in search of men. As they had a son of suitable size and age for the army, they feared he would be laid hold of as a recruit. They immediately decided to send him at once to America. With such sorrow as only parents under these circumstances can feel,

they gathered his little all together, and giving him their blessing, with many tears, bade him farewell, and long before the gray light of morning had revealed the rugged profile of the eastern mountains he was far on his way to Greenoch and the land of the West. His parents, his home among the heather-clad hills he never saw again. His days were spent here where he became an elder in the A. R. church. He died here, and on the tombstone you may read the name of William Frazer."

The first company of settlers in Caledonia belonged chiefly to Perthshire. They left their homes in the spring of 1798, and sailing from Greenoch about the 1st of March, they reached New York about the last of April. Delaying as little as possible they went by boat to Albany, and thence on foot to Johnstown, where many of them had friends residing. Here they would have settled, but their scanty means had been exhausted by their long journey, and for a while matters looked dark indeed to them. "But Providence," says Dr. McLaren, "soon opened up the way before them."

"As soon as Mr. Williamson heard of their arrival in Johnstown he made a journey to see them, and, if possible, to induce them to locate in his projected township at the Big Spring. He found them poor in purse, with nothing to pay for lands, and but little even for present subsistence. He held out every inducement to take up their residence on his estate, offering them lands at three dollars an acre, payable as they were able, in wheat, at seventy-five cents per bushel. He engaged to furnish them with provisions until they could help themselves, and promised them a lot of two acres near the spring as a site for a meeting-house, a hundred and fifty acres to aid in supporting a minister, and fifty acres for school purposes.

He would moreover lend them what money they might need in moving from Johnstown to their farms.

“These proposals of Captain Williamson were as attractive as they were reasonable, but before the people would answer them they, with characteristic prudence asked time to reflect upon them. To satisfy themselves that the offered lands were safe from the much dreaded Indians, and suitable for farming purposes, they sent five of their number to view them. These five, Malcolm and James McLaren, Hugh McDermid, Donald McPherson and John McVean made the journey, more than two hundred miles, on foot, following the road which had, by extraordinary exertions, been opened the year before from Fort Schuyler (Utica) to the Genesee river. Before entering Geneva, where they expected to meet Captain Williamson, they stopped under the shade of a bridge that crossed the outlet of the lake, and there using their pocket knives as razors, and in other rude and primitive ways, made their toilet. They were highly pleased with the lands that had been offered them. On their return they met Mr. Williamson on the way from Geneva to Canandaigua and signified to him their acceptance of his proposals. The papers requisite to the bargain were drawn up on the road. On returning to Johnstown they made the hearts of their companions glad by their report. In March of the following year (1799) while there was yet sleighing, a part of the company, consisting of about twenty persons, came up to their new homes, the remainder following them in the succeeding spring. John McVean says they found here a public house, kept by a Mr. Fowler.

Among the first comers were Peter Campbell, Malcolm and James McLaren, and John McNaughton, with their wives, and Donald McVean, a single man. Peter Campbell settled near the springs, and when the

church was formed he took an active part in its affairs, and was made an elder. His hospitality and kindness to the new comers in after years were unbounded, and as long as he lived the poor found in him a liberal and helping friend. Malcolm McLaren very soon died, and was buried in the lot upon which Mr. Denoon's church was afterward built. His was the first death in the settlement. John McNaughton located on Allen's creek. His house, also, was one where the latch-string was never drawn. Donald McVean settled south of the springs, on what was called the Leicester road.

In planning the survey of the land, Mr. Williamson endeavored so to arrange it that as many lots as possible should have a front upon the streams. These lots were generally chosen first; and it was not until these were all taken up that the settlers began to locate upon the uplands. The result proved, however, that the first comers had chosen the poorest land.

Very shortly after the first settlers came in, during the same spring, Mr. Williamson began the erection of a mill. It was built under the superintendence of Jonathan Baker, and was finished in about three years. It had but one run of stones, which were brought from Albany at an expense of \$35 for transportation. It stood just at the outlet of the Big Spring, not far from where John McKay's saw-mill now stands. After a number of years its stones were taken out, and it was turned into a woolen factory. Until this mill was finished the grain used by the people was ground generally at the Messrs. Wadsworths' mill on the outlet of Conesus lake.

The support of the first settlers, until they were able to raise their own supply, was furnished them by Mr. Williamson from his store at Williamsburgh. Alexander McDonald, his agent and clerk there, had

orders to provide them with cows and provisions, and in fact everything that they required, taking only their notes in payment.

Among the many privations endured by the first settlers, that which they felt most severely was the want of church privileges and the preaching of the gospel. There were among them many truly godly people who had hungered for the bread of life. Hence the question of having a church was soon agitated, and as early as 1802, on the 15th day of November, a meeting of the people "was held at the house of Peter Campbell in order to incorporate and establish themselves into a religious society conformable to an act of the Legislature of the State of New York." Alexander McDonald and John McNaughton presided. "It was unanimously voted that the name or title of the society shall be the 'Caledonia Presbyterian Religious Society.' Thomas Irvine, Duncan McPherson, Peter Campbell, John Christy and Peter Anderson were elected trustees." Caledonia was the name given by Mr. Williamson to the settlement; but the township in which it was situated was still called Northampton. At this period the nearest post-office was at Canandaigua.

There came in now a very important company of settlers from Inverness Shire, Scotland. They started from their Highland homes in July, 1803, and were a week in reaching Greenock. There being at that time little trade with America, they were obliged to remain there five weeks waiting for an American ship, then in port, to get ready for sea. This was the "Trapper," Captain William Taylor. After a voyage of a little more than six weeks, they arrived in New York. They found that city desolate and almost deserted, in consequence of the yellow fever, which had made great havoc that season. After a delay of two days

they succeeded in hiring a sloop to convey them up to Albany. Like the first company, they too made Johnstown their stopping place, where they remained for a time.

Not finding any place that suited them, they turned faces to the Genesee country. Arrived here they were treated with great hospitality and kindness by those who were already settled. In the spring of 1804 they located on what was called the "forty thousand acre tract," immediately south of the Pulteney lands and belonging to the Holland Company. The name Inverness, then given to the district where they took up their residence, was long retained by it. They paid from \$3.50 to \$3.75 per acre for their lands.

The houses of the first settlers were generally of very rude construction. Bark served the purpose of shingles, the floor, if there was one, was made of slabs split off from logs, rudely smoothed with the axe. Doors were made of the same material. As soon, however, as John McKay had finished his saw-mill in 1804, a very marked improvement took place in the houses.

The want of a school was very soon felt in the settlement. The people accordingly met together and resolved to establish one. The school-house was built of logs, in the year 1803, as nearly as can be learned. It stood on the Allen's creek road, about a quarter of a mile west of John A. McVean's corner, a point which was then very nearly in the center of the settlement. This was the first school-house west of the Genesee river. Alexander McDonald was the first teacher.

In this log school-house the early settlers met regularly on Sabbath days for religious worship. Prayers were made, portions of scripture read, and sometimes commented on. There was among them a man by the

name of Peter Farquharson, who had enjoyed considerable advantages in the old country, and had even made some progress in classical knowledge. When he was present he was generally called on to read a sermon out of some approved volume. Occasionally they were favored with the presence of a minister. It was here that the church was first organized by the Rev. Jedediah Chapman of Geneva. This occurred in March, 1805. As part of the organization proceedings, three elders were chosen, two of whom were to officiate as deacons. It is believed these were Donald McKenzie, Duncan McPherson and Donald Anderson. The church thus organized was taken under the care of the Presbytery of Geneva. It was occasionally supplied by Mr. Chapman, and by the Rev. Mr. Lindsley of Big Tree, now Geneseo.

Mr. Williamson, it will be remembered, had promised the people who settled here on the lands for which he was agent, that he would grant them two hundred acres for church and school purposes. The deed, however, could not be made out until there was a religious society legally constituted. But before that event took place, in 1802, Mr. Williamson had ceased to be the agent of the Land Company. Colonel Throup, his successor, though bound, of course, to fulfill all his engagements, seemed unwilling to give the society the promised deed, and it was not until 1805, after repeated solicitations by letters and by messengers, that he did so. When the deed came from Geneva, a meeting of the society was called at the house of James McLaren, to receive it. It was first resolved to deposit the deed in the hands of Peter Farquharson. By a second resolution "all persons were excluded from having any interest or property in the Donation Land, except such as lived on the Pulteney lands." This resolution was directed against

the new comers from Inverness, who had the year before bought on the Forty Thousand acre tract. "Against such unprecedented proceedings, which had a tendency to tarnish the Christian religion and dismember societies and congregations," Peter Campbell and Alex. McDonald "protested." Here was the beginning of the strife that for so many years agitated the settlement. The Donation Land, intended to be so useful, resulted for a time at least in very great injury. The church became divided into two factions, and a long series of quarrels ensued, resulting sometimes in violence, often in bitter words and bad feeling throughout the settlement. It was not until ten or twelve years had elapsed that the controversy was ended by an equitable division of the property between the two societies into which the original church had become divided.

Beside the two hundred acres given to the society—they lay on the south side of Allen creek, and included what is called "the old burying ground"—a lot of two acres lying in the village laid out near the springs was granted as the site of a church and manse. Upon this lot, in 1805, the people built a log meeting-house, thirty feet by forty. In this work, though they were already, as we have seen, alienated from one another, the people from Inverness and those from Perthshire labored harmoniously together. This primitive church stood not far from the site of the house now occupied by Mr. Hatch, its gable ends facing east and west. Alexander Denoon was secured as minister.

At the town meeting held in April, 1805, the sum of \$100 was voted for bounty on wolves, and the bounty for every wolf killed within the limits of the town was fixed at \$5.

In the spring of 1807 an event occurred that filled the infant settlement with horror, and made a deep

impression on many. A number of men were engaged in laying out a road in the neighborhood of Duncan McColl's. Some trifling dispute arose between James McLean, a very bad tempered man, and William Orr. McLean grew very much enraged, and all at once raised his axe and cleft Orr's skull, killing him almost instantly. Archibald McLaughlin came up a moment after, and stooping down to look at the murdered man, exclaimed in a tone of reproach, "Oh, Lachlin, Lachlin, and what have you done now!" Without any further provocation he raised his axe again, and striking McLaughlin on the shoulder, cut him down to the very heart. Donald McColl, then a boy about 16 years old, with great boldness and dexterity, jerked the axe off McLean's shoulder and hid it in a thick jungle of hazel bushes. He then fled, as for his life, to the village. McLean pursued him until he found he could not overtake him, and then he hid himself. Meanwhile Donald McColl reached the village frightened almost out of his senses, and gave the alarm. The whole settlement was roused to arrest the murderer. By hiding himself in hollow logs and in the woods he succeeded in escaping to Canandaigua, where he was suspected and arrested. He was afterward convicted and executed at Batavia.

About this time there grew up quite a little village about the springs. John McKay's saw mill, and his grist mill, to which people sometimes came even from the neighborhood of Buffalo, brought considerable business to the place. In 1805 John Cameron came in from Geneva and opened a store in connection with a tavern. Up to that time the settlers had been obliged to purchase the few things they bought either at Williamsburgh or Canandaigua. Three or four years later Colonel Robert McKay started another store, which was extensively patronized.

On the 12th of May, 1808, the excise commissioners of the town licensed nine persons to keep an inn or tavern in the town of Caledonia.

The year 1810 was memorable as the one in which a stage commenced running through the place, conveying the mail. This stage started from Canandaigua on Monday morning at 6 o'clock, and passing through this place, Batavia and Buffalo, reached Niagara on Thursday at 3 o'clock in the morning. The fare was six cents per mile. Six years afterward a tri-weekly stage run west as far as Batavia. Thence to Buffalo an open wagon went whenever there were passengers.

On the breaking out of the war of 1812 the Scotch people of Caledonia showed considerable enthusiasm. A company was raised among them, and under the command of Robert McKay volunteered its services on the frontier. It was actively engaged both that and the following years. In 1813 Captain McKay was promoted to the rank of Colonel, and William Duer succeeded him in the command. While serving at Black Rock under Colonel Blakeslee, Colonel McKay and several others were taken prisoners and carried to Montreal, where, after a time, they were exchanged. During the whole course of the war the settlers here showed themselves strongly attached to the interests of their adopted country.

During the war the village of Caledonia was a favorite stopping-place for the soldiers and sailors passing to and fro between the seaboard and the lakes. On one occasion a party of about five hundred sailors, who had been drafted to man Commodore Perry's fleet on Lake Erie, stopped for a few hours at noon on their way west. They were transported by a train of between seventy and one hundred great wagons. At that time all the land between the main street in the village and the shore of the springs was open. There

they were turned out to cook their dinner. Near by there was a field of potatoes, belonging to Robert McKay. As soon as the sailors discovered it they began to dig the potatoes to cook for their dinner. Mr. McKay was, of course, greatly incensed, and sternly ordered the trespassers off, but they did not notice him except to laugh and joke at his expense. He and several of his friends then armed themselves and entered the field, determined to defend property, even at the expense of life. A fight was imminent when the commanding officers, who were enjoying themselves in Mr. Cameron's tavern, were sent for, who soon allayed the disturbance. In the course of the afternoon the detachment moved on to the west, and spent the night near Batavia. The next day they reached Buffalo and were immediately put on board the fleet. Before the next morning they had secured prizes near Fort Erie valued at \$200,000.

At about the same time the people were very much annoyed by a squadron of dragoons which passed twice through the place. Nothing was secure from their depredations. When word was brought to the village that they were returning from the west, every one made haste to shut up his fowls and lock all his doors, taking care to hide away all articles of any value. They wheeled into the open space before the spring for a halt, and after they had tethered and cared for their horses, they began to scatter for plunder. A party entered John Cameron's store and there, despite all the efforts of those who were employed to protect the goods, they appropriated everything they could lay their hands on. One of the party, having asked to look at buckskin gloves, a package was shown him, and in less than five minutes, during which time the utmost confusion and noise prevailed, every pair was gone, safely stowed away in a dragoon's pouch.

Detachments escorting British prisoners, and carrying wounded and dead Americans eastward, often passed through the village.

William Armstrong was one of the most influential of the early settlers. He was a native of Falkirk, and came here, it is believed, in 1807. Being a Lowlander he was regarded by his clannish Highland neighbors as a speckled bird, and they were not disposed to respect him much at first. By his generous liberality, however, to all who were straitened, his strong common sense, and especially by his deep and consistent piety, he won very soon a position of great esteem and influence among them. He died in 1829, after a lingering and painful illness. His loss was very greatly felt in the settlement.

Judge Willard H. Smith was another man who exerted a large influence over the infant settlement, and added greatly to its growth and prosperity. He was born at Chesterfield, Cheshire county, New Hampshire. When six years of age his father removed to Hampshire county, Massachusetts, where Judge Smith was educated. On the 11th of January, 1814, he removed to Caledonia, where he opened a law-office. In 1832 he became County Judge, and presided for nearly sixteen years, during which time several suits of great importance were tried before him. He was a lawyer of great ability, a judicial officer who was prompt, firm and incorruptible, and a citizen who was always held in great esteem by his neighbors and acquaintances.

CONESUS.

Area, 19,996 acres; population in 1875, 1,377; boundaries: on the north by Livonia; east by Cana-

dice (Ontario Co.); south by Sparta and Springwater; west by Groveland.

Conesus lies upon the eastern border of the county. Its general surface is more elevated than any other town of the eastern range. The town of Conesus was organized in 1819. On the 13th of April of that year the Legislature enacted that "all that part of township eight, in the sixth range of townships (then) included in the towns of Livonia and Groveland, except that part of township eight lying on the east side of Hemlock lake and adjoining the town of Richmond, shall be, and the same is hereby erected into a separate town by the name of Freeport," and the same act appointed the first town meeting to be held at the dwelling-house of Enoch Squibble, near the head of Conesus lake. On the 26th of March, 1824, the Legislature changed the name of the town to Bowersville, and on the 15th of April of the following year the present name was adopted by authority of the Legislature.

The name of Freeport was derived, it is said, from the following circumstance: A squatter who had been a sailor, settled on a particular lot near the brow of the western hill. After fencing it in and making some improvements he was forcibly driven off by the owner. The ejection provoked the landless pioneer, who, at some pains, published his version of the story, urging that however ready other sections might be to welcome immigrants, this particular region was no "free-port." This name, for want of a better, clung to the locality, and when the town was set off it retained the designation.

Bowersville was derived from Henry Bowers, a large land-owner and early settler. Conesus, it is scarcely necessary to say, is the Indian name of the lake along which the town lies.

CONESTOGA LAKE. LOOKING NORTH FROM THE HEAD.



The township was early laid out by Henry Bowers into lots numbered from 1 to 139. Five of these lots, comprising 814 acres, were set apart for the benefit of Canandaigua Academy, of which institution Mr. Bowers was a liberal patron. On the re-survey of the township it was found that the first five lots of the series were situated in Hemlock lake.

The surface of the town is rolling, though marked in some parts by abrupt hills which slope down on the east and west to the two lakes. The soil is somewhat more clayey than the general average of the County, though portions of it are equal to the best upland anywhere found for winter wheat. The timber is principally oak, walnut and chestnut on the upland; and ash, pine, elm and swamp-oak in the valleys and low lands. The Marrowback hills, which rise in places to the height of many hundred feet, run through the eastern part of the town, their general course being nearly parallel with Hemlock lake. The Calaboge valley extends from near the centre of the town into Springwater. Turkey hill runs along the western border of the town, keeping the direction of Conesus lake. This range of hills took name from the levies occasionally made upon the poultry yards in the valley, by a few families given to petty pillage who lived upon this hill. McMillan Gully or Mill Creek, terminates near the shore of Conesus lake. Its steep sides are, in some places, from 60 to 100 feet in height. The roadway passes near the edge of the gully. Some years ago a resident of the town named Hamilton was thrown from his wagon at the most precipitous point, while under the influence of liquor, and falling to the bottom of the gully, was killed. Purchase Valley, on Lot No. 41, is marked by equally precipitous banks. Specimens of bituminous slate are found in the rock composing the walls. During

the War of 1812 a drafted soldier from Conesus deserted from the army, then lying near Buffalo, and took refuge in this gully, then so thickly wooded along its margin as to be almost inaccessible. The period was mid-winter, and as he was aware that a reward had been offered for his arrest, he kept closely concealed during the day-time in a nest he had formed for himself among the upper branches of a venerable hemlock tree, closely surrounded by smaller trees. At night he was in the habit of visiting a neighboring log hut for his food. Officers scoured the gully several times, but did not succeed in discovering his hiding-place.

John, James, Samuel and Matthew McNinch were among the early settlers, as were Francis, Joseph, John and Elijah Richardson. The first saw-mill was erected on Mill creek, near the Centre, in 1793, by James Henderson and Jacob Dunham. Eleven hands raised the mill, five of whom came from Dansville and six from Lima.

The earliest settler of the town was James Henderson, who removed from Pennsylvania in 1794, and located on lot 49, near the head of Conesus lake. Hugh McKay came in 1795, and got out the logs for a house. The following year he invited the Indians from Squakie Hill to come and help him raise the house. Jacob Dunham also came in 1795, and the following year Jesse Collar located on lot 109. The Indians were very friendly, and readily sold them corn for bread and seed. The corn was fitted for the table by pounding it in a hole burned into the top of a stump, and then sifted through a sieve of bark splints.

Jacob Collar was born in Sussex county, New Jersey, Feb. 25th, 1770. In the spring of 1796, in company with his father, Jesse Collar, he settled in Con-

esus, on lot 109. The same year Hugh Harrison of Groveland was married to Phebe Collar, the first wedding in Conesus. When Mr. Collar removed from New Jersey, he loaded his effects into two large Jersey wagons, one of which was drawn by three horses, and the other by an ox team. The journey was made in twenty-eight days. A portion of the way they were compelled to cut a path through what was known as the beech woods, some days making not more than half a dozen miles. When night came on, bark and boughs would be collected and piled about a dry log and the whole set on fire, affording an opportunity for cooking their food and drying their clothing. On reaching Conesus they set about erecting a log house. The land was so thickly wooded that it was not found necessary to draw the logs to erect the house; enough were felled on the site. Darling and Isaac Havens of Sparta and the Culbertson brothers of Groveland came and helped to raise the house. For some time after the family settled in Conesus there was no road for wagons. In going to Dansville on horseback, the way was marked by "blazed" trees to the foot of Bowers' hill.

It is stated that when Mr. Henderson made his settlement in the town he, inadvertently probably, intruded upon some land which the Indians had some years before cleared and planted with apple trees. This caused a good deal of ill feeling among the Indians, and in order to live in peace with them, Mr. Henderson made it a custom, for years, of making annual presents to the Indians of such articles as would please their fancy.

About the year 1800 a singular man settled in the town, on lot 19, on the west side of Hemlock lake. His retiring disposition and isolated, lonely life won for him the title of the "Hermit." His real name was

Meloy, and he gained his livelihood by hunting and fishing. A story is told of his encounter with a bear in Hemlock lake early one morning. The bear upset the boat, and afterward tried to mount it. Meloy would strike him with the oar, and the bear would strike back with his paw. Finally, after a desperate struggle, the bear was drowned.

James McNinch, another old settler, came to Conesus in 1807, and settled on lot 111. During the summer and fall he built a log house, leaving it to be completed at odd spells. In place of a door, which Mr. McNinch had not had time to make, Mrs. McNinch hung up a bed blanket. One evening Mr. McNinch was absent, and his sister came to spend the night. Venison had been cooked in the fore part of the evening, and about 9 o'clock the wolves, scenting the meat, began to collect about the house. They grew bolder by degrees until they threatened to come into the house. The two women managed to get a horse which had been hitched a short distance away, and fastened him to the door-post. Whenever the wolves attempted to get into the house the horse would kick and fight them, and with this and the aid of bright lights they were enabled to keep the hungry wolves at bay until help came.

The first school in the town was opened in the winter of 1810 in a small log house near the residence of James D. Alger, with Mary Howe as teacher. It is recollected that greased paper was used in the windows, instead of glass.

Mrs. Lucy Patterson, whose father settled in the present town of Lima in 1802, and removed to Conesus in 1806, says the nearest grist-mill at this time was at the present village of Hemlock Lake, while the nearest store was Gurnsey's, at Lima, where the people generally did their trading. Mrs. Patterson also

says: "When we came into this place our nearest place where meeting for worship was held was in a frame school house on what was then called Buell Hill, about one mile south on the road leading from Livonia Center to the village of Hemlock Lake." Here service was held by the Presbyterians. About 1810 a number of Methodist families began to settle in the town, and meetings for worship were frequently held at private houses. Families of the Baptist persuasion also began to come in, who likewise met for devotional exercises. A Baptist clergyman named Ingraham, who lived in Conesus in 1808, preached occasionally. He is said to have been the first clergyman who settled in the town, and the Rev. John Hudson, a Methodist, who settled here about the year 1815, the next. About the year 1816 the Methodist Episcopal Society was organized in Conesus Center, and Mr. Hudson became the pastor of the church. In 1818 a society of the Christian order was organized, near Foot's Corners, but it existed for only a few years.

On the 16th and 17th of April, 1817, snow fell to the depth of two feet by actual measurement, and on the 10th of May in the following year snow fell to the depth of nine inches. On the 19th of April, 1820, Jotham and Thomas Clark crossed Conesus lake on the ice. On the 13th of July, 1816 a severe frost destroyed most of the corn and injured the potato crop. On the 10th of September of the same year another frost destroyed the remainder of the crops. Potatoes that year were worth \$1 a bushel, and corn \$1.25. Marrowback hill suffered greatly. Nathaniel Cole said that many families actually came near starving. For himself, he was obliged to go to the woods, cut timber and burn log heaps so that he might get ashes to sell, to supply his family with the necessaries of life.

Bears and deer were so plenty as to be troublesome. As late as 1816 farmers found it necessary to watch their wheat crops in the early morning, to prevent the deer from nipping off the growing blades, and bears were so bold as to render it somewhat dangerous to travel about the woods without a dog or gun. Wolves were very plenty. James McNinch was burning a coal pit, occupying a shanty at night. During the afternoon he had killed a deer and carried the choicest parts to his cabin. The wolves scented the blood and at night gathered about the shanty. McNinch was compelled to set fire to a pile of wood near the door and use his gun to keep them from breaking in.

In common with other new settlements, Conesus felt the scarcity of money in early days. Even in matrimonial matters the local magistrates were called upon to take trade in place of cash. A young broom-maker traveled several miles on foot with his betrothed, one winter afternoon, to have Davenport Alger marry them. Calling the justice aside he offered him two well finished splint brooms if he would perform the ceremony. The offer was declined, and the couple trudged off to find another justice. They met Esquire Blake on horseback. The rueful story of the would-be bridegroom carried the point; the magistrate jumped off his horse, united the pair, shouldered his brooms and resumed his journey.

In 1818 Andrew and Gardner Arnold established a store at Conesus Center, and the following year Harvey May opened a store at what is now called Foot's Corners. Hosea Gilbert built the first woolen factory in 1819.

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John Young



John Young

GENESEO.

Area, 26,937 acres ; population in 1875, 3,118 ; boundaries : north by Avon ; east by Livonia and Conesus lake ; south by Groveland ; west by York and Leicester, from which it is separated by the Genesee river.

The town of Geneseo was formed in 1789, by the Court of General Sessions of Ontario county. Its name is of Indian origin. It lies centrally between the eastern and western boundaries of the county, and north of the center, measuring from south to north. In extent of territory it is, with two exceptions, larger than any other town in the county. Its surface, terraced and furrowed by valleys, is generally rolling. On the east it descends abruptly, in some places three hundred feet, to Conesus lake, and on the west toward the Genesee river the declivity is equally steep. The Genesee flats extend the whole length of the town from south to north, having an average width of half a mile.

Though irregular in its western outline, the town is nearly square, the four sides facing the cardinal points of the compass. Considerable streams cross its surface, running both eastwardly and westwardly. Conesus outlet, the largest, flows toward the river through the extreme north-eastern corner, and then bending westerly re-enters the town. After describing a half circle it again flows northward beyond the boundary of the town. Fall Brook, next in size, rises in the southeastern part of the town, and running westerly empties into the river near Cuylerville bridge. In the northern part of the town Jaycox creek, nearly as large as Fall Brook, and flowing in the same general direction, also empties into the river. Several smaller

streams drain other portions of the town into the lake or river.

The soil of the town, of clay or clayey loam, is strong and very productive. Wheat of excellent quality is produced in large quantities, while live stock of superior quality is raised by the farmers generally.

The Indians, during their occupancy of the Genesee country, had several small villages near the river within the present limits of the town, the most considerable of these being Big Tree and Canaseraga. The celebrated chieftain Red Jacket resided for a time in the town on Ewing's farm.

"Big Tree," a designation rather vaguely given to that part of the town embracing the village and immediately west of it, derived its name from a great oak which stood on the bank of the river west of the Wadsworth dairy farm. For years the spring and fall freshets continued to wear away the earth beneath this immense oak, and a few years ago this venerable forest king fell into the river. Happily its trunk, which measured many feet in diameter at the butt, has been preserved, and may now be seen in the village.

On Fall brook, near the highway leading to Mount Morris, is a perpendicular cascade of nearly ninety feet. In the spring and fall the floods dash over the shelf in considerable volume, but for the greater part of the year only a slender thread of water finds its way down the rocky wall. Tradition has long been busy with this romantic spot, and superstition has peopled its groves and recesses with beings of another world. It is said that an Indian girl, the favorite daughter of a chieftain of a neighboring village, being urged to marry whom she did not love, threw herself over the fatal rocks. The natives say that often at twilight,

and always amid the howlings of autumn tempests, the plaintive tones of her voice could be heard.

It is popularly held that in Sullivan's expedition a band of Seneca Indians were surrounded and driven over the falls by the advance guard of Clinton's division. But as no reference is made to such an occurrence in Sullivan's minute report, the story is clearly without foundation, even if it were not inconsistent, and, indeed, improbable.

Another version refers the occurrence to a period nearly a century anterior to the latter date, connecting it with the French invasion, under De Nonville, in 1684, of the Seneca villages in the Genesee country. It is likely that the tale has its origin in the destruction of a small band of De Nonville's army, which the Indians, familiar as they were



FALL BROOK, GENESEO.

with the locality so close to their homes, were enabled to entrap and destroy.

For many years after the town became settled several large trees standing near the falls bore numerous bullet marks, a fact that gave rise to a report that a battle had been fought here. A more reasonable explanation, however, is afforded in the fact that during the winter of 1813-14 a regiment of Pennsylvania troops was quartered on Judge Carroll's farm, and detachments were in the habit of visiting the falls for game and for rifle-practice.

On the 5th of April, 1791, a town meeting was held at Canawaugus for the "district of Genesee, in the county of Ontario." John Ganson was chosen super-

visor, and David Bullen town clerk. William Wadsworth was elected an assessor; Jasper Marvin a constable; Darling Havens a pound keeper; and Lemuel B. Jennings a pathmaster. It was voted that swine might run at large if sufficiently yoked. At the succeeding annual town meeting Colonel Thomas Lee was made supervisor, and it was voted to allow four dollars for every wolf killed in the district. The meeting adjourned to the first Tuesday in April following to the house of Abner Mighells, in Miles' Gore, now the town of Lima. At the latter meeting the bounty on wolves was raised to five dollars. In 1793 four tavern licenses and thirteen retailers' licenses were granted by the commissioners of excise, at the rate of two pounds each. Thirty-five pounds were realized from this source, and paid over to the poor-masters.

The town meeting of 1797 was held at the house of William Wadsworth. It was here voted that a town house be built on the town square, "on a lot south of the new house of David Benton."* The building committee were William Wadsworth, Horatio Jones, Alexander Ewing, John Barsley, † and John M. Miner, and the sum of two hundred dollars was ordered collected the current year for building the house. In 1805 a special town meeting voted "that it is expedient to remove the town house to Meeting-House Hill, nigh the burying ground, and to repair the same for

* It was ordered that the house be built 32 feet long, 22 wide, and with 18 feet posts.

† John Barsley owned a lot through which Centre street now runs. When the street was laid out he was disinclined to allow his lot to be used for the improvement. Finally, however, he consented to sell on condition that the authorities would accept from him a receipt which should read in payment for the property "from the first to the second coming of Christ."

a meeting-house, the expense of moving and repairing the same to be done by voluntary subscriptions."

At the town meeting of 1798 held at the house of William and James Wadsworth, it was voted that "we are well satisfied with" the manner in which the money had been expended and the town house built.

The town assessment roll of real and personal estate for the year 1805 showed an aggregate of \$142,503.

After the town house was removed to the top of the hill near the burying ground, the Presbyterian congregation held services in it for a number of years. They had no pastor, but a suitable person was selected to read a sermon, and some one of the good deacons conducted the devotional exercises.

In these early days the town meetings and elections were conducted with much warmth, but externals in all respects were carefully regarded. Private residences, the town house, meeting house, or the court house, were the places selected for the public business. The town officers were chosen from the ablest and most reputable citizens. Major General William Wadsworth held the office of Supervisor for twenty-one years. Colonel Lawrence, who led the regiment which volunteered in this locality in the war of 1812, Judge Finley, Major Spencer, John Young, Charles Colt and Allen Ayrault, severally held the same office. The lesser places were equally well filled. Phlo C. Fuller was town clerk in 1823. Sheriff Carnahan held the same office, and Ogden M. Willey, an accomplished register and scribe, held it for fifteen successive years. In 1816 James Wadsworth was elected a commissioner of common schools, and two years later was made town inspector of schools.

All the business of the town was brought before these annual spring meetings, and transacted in the

spirit of a pure democracy. The common interest was fully recognized. Moneys for general objects were voted; wolf and panther bounties were authorized; dogs, "over one in each family" were taxed; steelyards and measures purchased; and overseers of highways were instructed to destroy "Canada burs," burdocks, and noxious weeds. Indeed, these stated gatherings were incipient agricultural societies, at which the success and failure of various modes of farming, and the general experience of the previous year was discussed with practical reference to the immediate future.

The town expenses, in early times, were very moderate. In 1798 the sum of twenty dollars was deemed



COURT-HOUSE, JAIL AND CLERK'S OFFICE, GENESEO—
TAKEN SOME YEARS AGO.

sufficient to defray the expenses of the town for the current year. Four years before, when wolf bounties stood at five dollars the head, fifty pounds was considered a suitable appropriation for all town purposes. The town's accounts were then yet kept in pounds,

shillings and pence. Indeed Mr. Wadsworth so kept his own accounts down to the year 1838.

Idle persons, and those who had no visible means of support, met with little favor from the enterprising population of the town in early days. In the winter of 1806 a native of Connecticut, "living a pauper on the town of Geneseo," was called before two justices of the peace to give an account of himself. Their court was held at Mrs. Catherine Faulkner's tavern, which stood a few rods south of the Presbyterian church on Main street.* These magistrates learned from the pauper that "he had no property to support him except perhaps fifteen bushels of rye," and he was forthwith notified by the justices to remove with his family from the town to the place of his last legal settlement, which was New Haven, within nine days' time. He chose, however, to disobey their mandate, for it appears from the record that he "absconded and left his said wife in a state of sickness upon the town unable to be removed, and also his son, scarce three years old." One of the justices, a month later, finding that the wife's health was "now in such a situation that her neighbors say she may be removed without danger," notified her accordingly, and she too, left the town.

Connecticut furnished a majority of the early settlers of the town. Lemuel B. Jennings was the pioneer. As early as 1788 he made a beginning in the woods on his location, now the farm of R. A. Kneeland, Esq., two miles south of the village. Mr. Jennings came from Connecticut. He was a man of more than usual force of character, though somewhat eccentric in his habits. Not unfrequently he came to town

* Mrs. Catherine Faulkner was the mother of Judge James Faulkner of Dansville.

without his hat; and though ordinarily quite grave he now and then indulged in a jest. While the Livingston County Bank building was being erected he was one day standing against the wall, already breast high. Looking from one workman to another he said, "I'm glad we are to have a bank. For many years poor men have not been able to get money enough to pay their debts, but now we shall have just what we want of it. Hurry it up, boys." Many now living will recollect Mr. Jennings' stalwart form, and his family of eight giant-like sons. Nor will they have forgotten his great, lonely, weather-beaten frame house—one of the first of the change from the era of log huts—perched upon its rough stone foundation. This building, broadside to the road, flanked by tall Lombardy poplars, with the ashery and distillery in the background, together formed a marked feature in the neighboring landscape.

Captain Elisha Noble was one of the earliest settlers, coming here from Connecticut. He was an active and enterprising citizen. His brother, Russell Noble, also came at an early day, and was widely known in the settlements as the left-handed fiddler. A natural impulse seemed to direct him to the frolics and gatherings of the early days, where he, with his fiddle snugly stowed away in its green bag under his arm, was always a welcome addition.

"Russell Noble! at the bare mention of his name there are surviving pioneers who will be reminded of their younger days, and their enjoyments; and if there is 'music in their souls',—as there was wont to be with most of them,—they will almost fancy they hear the notes of his old violin! A fiddler was no obscure person in those early days; and Noble had no competition—for he was the pioneer fiddler;—he

and his old violin mark the advent of music on the Holland Purchase. Compared with his,

“—Italian trills were tame.”

In these primitive times, in sleigh or ox sled ride, at recreations that followed log-house raisings, logging bees, road cuttings, at Christmas and New Year's frolics; far and wide, in the early sparse settlements, Noble and his fiddle formed an accustomed and necessary part. It was to be hoped that his reputation as a fiddler would have remained unquestioned, but recently a facetious gatherer-up of reminiscences has ventured to slur it, by intimating that he used to have no more 'regard for *time* than he had for eternity.' ”

Two miles northwest of Geneseo was the settlement still called the Seven Nations. When the County was erected it consisted of ten or fifteen families, who came hither from Lewiston and Buffalo, when those places were burnt, during the last war with Great Britain. The name appears to have been derived from the miscellaneous character of the inhabitants.

Here William W. Wadsworth established an industrial school, which was continued, however, only a few years. He projected a large building, but completed only a portion of it.

A mile north of the village of Geneseo, a half century ago, was a road running west to the river from the Avon road, near Mr. Morrison's residence. Along this road, on either side, were a dozen or more log houses. This settlement was known as Slieborough. The roads through this district in spring and fall were often almost impassable, the soil being a heavy clay, which, after the rainy season had begun, became deep, stiff and wax-like mud.

On the 10th of June, 1790, came James and William Wadsworth, from Durham, Connecticut. Their location here was an event of consequence, and their influ-

ence was at once and widely felt. Possessing sagacity as well as enterprise, they foresaw the future importance of the Genesee country. Lands were purchased by them at merely nominal prices, and they soon set about inviting emigration and began to develop the latent excellence of this great agricultural region.

Temple Hill was early selected by James Wadsworth for an academy site, and in 1827 the present academy buildings were completed. A fine natural grove of oak and maple is in front of these edifices, while twenty rods to the east is the village cemetery, now neatly laid out in lots and walks, and carefully kept in order. This cemetery is rendered interesting as being the last resting-place of Major General William Wadsworth, of the war of 1812, General James S. Wadsworth, Governor John Young, Major William H. Spencer, Calvin H. Bryan, and other public men. These grounds were set apart as a burial place very soon after the town was first settled.

Across the road, to the north, and distant but a few rods, is a fine natural fountain called Mammoth spring from the fact that several bones and teeth of a mastodon were exhumed here in 1825. James S. Wadsworth carried the water in log pipes to Main street,* where a reservoir was constructed. Iron pipes were afterward substituted, and the village has now a perfect system of water works, supplied by this spring. Near the spring is said to have been fought one of the noted Indian battles between the Senecas and Erie for the mastery of the country along the Genesee river.

In the War of 1812, while the battle of Lundy's

* This important work was performed by Mr. Wadsworth at his own expense, the cost being paid from moneys he had won in the election of Mr. Polk to the Presidency over Henry Clay in 1844.

Lane was in progress, much anxiety was felt by the citizens, who, though no telegraphs or railroads existed, had been apprised that a battle was about to be fought. A number of men from the town were engaged, it was thought. The firing was distinctly heard, it is said, by placing the ear to the ground.

The town house, a wooden structure, as we have seen, of two stories, stood just south of the present academy buildings. The common school house stood on the southwest corner of the burying ground.

In 1813 there were not more than thirty houses in the village. Main street, North and South streets were located about where they now are. Two considerable gullies crossed Main street; the one nearly opposite Concert Hall, the other just south of the machine shop. The road leading down the hill near the Court House, instead of running at right angles with Main street, bore to the north-west in the direction of Shackleton's ferry, which crossed the river where the bridge now stands.

The bridges on Main street across the gullies were merely of a temporary character, and neither convenient nor safe. Mr. Jacob Hall recollects an anecdote illustrative of the frail character of the south bridge. He had bought an ill-broken cow of a Groveland customer, and while milking her one evening she managed to get her head through a length of picket fence ten feet long, and lifting it from its fastenings she made her way into the street and down toward the bridge. Her bellowing called out the villagers, who were greatly amused by the odd spectacle. The fence was pretty well balanced on her neck, but so heavy that every few steps the cow would tip forward, tail in air, bellow, come down upon her knees, and then righting herself, get up and go on again. Reaching the bridge she was unable to clear the railing, and the

fence struck the railing and corner post. The post broke off, and down into the gully went railing, post, cow, fence and all. Soon emerging, however, the cow came up without the fence, and took to the hill up South street, where she was soon overtaken. Mr. Hall drove her down what is now Temple Hill street, then simply a bridle path, and on his way down North street sold her to Ben. Fox, a colored man, from whom the street took its sobriquet of "Nigger street."

When Colonel, afterward General, Winfield Scott marched his regiment through the village in 1813, they came down South street and through Main street to a lane running east, up which they marched to the lot now occupied by Mrs. C. H. Bryan's residence, where they encamped. There was then no Center or Second streets.

Colonel Lawrence resided in the house recently occupied by the Hon. Scott Lord. Standing just above it was a log house in which Colonel Lawrence's sister lived, and just below was his blacksmith shop. The residence of the Wadsworth brothers stood where the family mansion now stands. In the northeast corner of the house was their business office. The square or common was situated where the park now is, and contained about fifteen acres of land. On the south side of this stood Wadsworth and Spencer's old store house, a log building then used as a temporary ware-room. Near where the Presbyterian church now stands was then a great frame house, occupied as a dwelling and office by Samuel Miles Hopkins. This building, many years ago, was removed to the rear of Olmsted & Bishop's store on Main street, and used as a livery stable. Near the site of Concert Hall, and close by the gully, stood a frame school house.

On the American Hotel site stood Pierce's tavern, a

low, one story building with broad side to the street. It had been painted yellow, but sadly needed another coat. The tavern consisted of a small bar-room, sitting-room and kitchen, with a small stoop on the north end. Captain Pierce sold the stand to Orlando Hastings, who built the attic for the use of Comet Lodge and Billings Chapter of Free and Accepted Masons, and it was occupied by them until the occurrence of the Morgan affair. Major Nowlen soon became proprietor and Comfort Hamilton succeeded Captain Pierce as landlord, and kept the house for a number of years, to the general acceptance of the travelling public.

Near the site of the Genesee Valley National Bank stood Captain Asa Nowlan's blacksmith shop, and just north of it was his dwelling-house. These buildings occupied a front of twelve rods, and the lot extended back several rods. For this land Captain Nowlan paid thirty-seven dollars and a half. Captain John Pierce's store, a small yellow structure, occupied the site of Cone's Banking Office. Beyond this was a frame building kept as a tavern by Amos Adams.* On North street was a small frame house owned by Ben. Fox, the negro.

Two years before, (in 1811) the town of Genesee contained one meeting-house, six school houses, and two infantry companies.

A local historian, writing of the religious history of Genesee, says: "Those who came in at this time † were many of them from Pennsylvania, following the road which I have before referred to as opened up by Capt. Williamson, mostly Presbyterian families, and descendants of the Scotch-Irish; bringing with them

* This building was afterward removed to North street, where it is still used as a dwelling house.

† 1791.

those strong Calvinistic sentiments in which they had been educated, and warmly attached to the Presbyterian form of government. Hence it was very natural that the first religious society formed within the town should be Presbyterian.”

Such a church was organized in 1795, by the Rev. Samuel Thatcher, a missionary of the General Assembly. The first elders were Daniel Kelly, James Haynes, and John Ewart. For a number of years meetings were held at private houses, sometimes at Mr. Ewart's, sometimes at a house near Bosley's Mill, or at Smith's, on what is now known as the Field's farm, on the lower Dansville road. When the town house was built, services were held in that, and after the building was moved to Temple Hill, it was repaired and passed under control of the society. The writer previously quoted* says: “Near it, just on the edge of the burying ground, was a school-house, in which Rev. Mr. Butrick held the first Sunday School in the town, holding it with a little incongruity on Saturday afternoon, the exercises being mostly the recitation of the catechism. This school-house was afterwards moved on to the Weeks' farm, and now forms part of the house occupied by Leander Armstrong.”

Other settlers coming in who were Congregationalists, the little church was divided and a Congregational society was organized May 5th, 1810. It remained a Congregational church until 1834, when it changed to a Presbyterian church, and is now known as the Second Presbyterian Church of Geneseo. The edifice on Main street was erected for this society in 1817.

The Presbyterian church—the first one—after the church division, held their meetings in the eastern part

* Rev. Geo. P. Folsom.

of the town, at a school-house in winter and in a large barn in the summer, until the erection of their church building in 1826. Its title still remains, First Presbyterian Church of Geneseo, although its edifice is in the village of Lakeville.

“The Geneseo Gospel Society, the society of the Second Presbyterian church, was organized and legally incorporated Sept. 11th, 1815, by the election of Joseph W. Lawrence, Samuel Finley, Isaac Smith, Wm. H. Spencer, Samuel Loomis and Timothy P. Kneeland, as trustees.” One of their first acts was the raising of forty dollars to repair the town house. In 1816 Mr. Wadsworth deeded to the Geneseo Gospel Society the 100 acres of land they now own, two miles south-east of the village. This was in accordance with a promise made by several of the large land-owners, of cessions of land to the first regularly incorporated religious societies which should be organized in the several towns. Its present name is “The First Presbyterian Church of the village of Geneseo.”

The first pastor of the Second Presbyterian church was the Rev. Abraham Foreman, who was installed July 12, 1817, and dismissed Nov. 17, 1819. The next pastor was the Rev. Norris Bull, D. D., who was installed June 19, 1822, and dismissed July 3, 1832.

“Very early Geneseo was a preaching station of the Genesee Conference, formed in 1810. In 1807, Father Hudson came here to reside, and thus speaks of the place and his labors: ‘The village consisted of a few scattered dwellings. Our little society then assembled in a small school-house.’”

St. Michael's Episcopal church was organized at the house of Mr. Ebenezer Belden, May 17th, 1823. The wardens first chosen were Colonel William Fitzhugh and David Warner. The vestrymen were

Samuel W. Spencer, C. H. Bryan, Eli Hill, David A. Miller, Chauncey Morse and Marius Willet.

PHILO C. FULLER.

A young New England lawyer, destined to exert a wide influence in politics as well as upon the business interests of Livingston county, fixed his home in Geneseo soon after the war of 1812. It was Mr. Philo C. Fuller, who had been invited hither by James Wadsworth.

An incident which took place on his arrival at his new residence exemplified Mr. Fuller's excellent disposition. The Avon mail-wagon, on the evening of April 19, 1815, (says an early settler,) set down a large, gentlemanly person of some nine and twenty years at Peirce's stage house. There were no hotel registers in those days, or the little log and frame hostelry at "Big Tree" kept none. Colonel Peirce met his guest at the door, received his name, made ready his supper and gave him a room. The prompt, half-military way in which the guest answered his landlord's customary questions, encouraged an onlooker—some weather-beaten soldier, who had come several miles on foot through the mud, to ask aid in making up his claim for military services—and he ventured to consult the new comer upon his business. The veteran was needy, and Mr. Fuller was chilled, hungry and wearied out; but the lawyer at once took the proffered bundle of papers, and, with the aid of the soldier's verbal statements, soon set his claims in order. The poor fellow would have gladly emptied his pocket in payment for such unexpected assistance, but Mr. Fuller would accept nothing beyond the very audible thanks of his grateful client. The stranger's manner, as well as the service itself, attracted the attention of a host of townspeople collected near. "And I made up my mind,"

says the relator, "that the Squire (Mr. Wadsworth) had made no mistake this time in his choice of a confidential clerk." Years afterwards in referring to his first impressions, Mr. Fuller said, "I well remember my surprise at the inferior appearance of the village and also at the excellency of the supper given me by Mr. Peirce. It was neat, palatable, and very speedy and tastefully gotten up."

Mr. Fuller was a native of New Marlboro, Berkshire county, Massachusetts, where he was born on the 13th of August, 1787. He traced his family to Dr. Samuel Fuller, who came over in the *May Flower*, and who practiced as a physician in the colony of Plymouth. Mr. Fuller often referred to the exemplary lives of his immediate relatives, especially those in Connecticut, whose daily walk and conversation conformed to the rigid Puritan model. His father, Samuel Fuller, died in May, 1792, after which the youth lived with his grand-parents and his treatment by them was of the kindest and tenderest character. He was fond of books and loved penmanship, an art in which he greatly excelled through life. He was even at that early age a good speller. In the winter of 1803-4 he commenced a course of private instruction under "Parson Catlin, the Presbyterian clergyman, who was critical in English and superb in latin." Spending afterwards a couple of years in teaching a district school, he concluded to go to Virginia. Accordingly, early in the fall of 1806, he left New York on a schooner bound for Richmond. He reached the latter city an entire stranger, and without a line of introduction to anybody. Accidentally meeting a merchant who had recently given up business, he engaged to close the affairs of the concern, a task he so successfully accomplished that the merchant urged him to become his partner in the lumber trade. But this was not to his

taste, and he soon found employment as a teacher in the family of Mr. Burke, then a State Senator from King and Queen county. Here he had the use of a fine library and other advantages afforded by the liberal means of his patron. The following autumn found him at his mother's who had removed to Wolcott, near Sodus Bay, New York. In January, 1809, he returned to Massachusetts to begin the study of law. Making his way himself, he found it necessary to take a district school in Florida, Orange County, New York. Soon after the close of the term Mr. Fuller entered Judge Gilbert's law school, at Hebran, Connecticut. In February, 1813, he was admitted to the bar after a severe examination, and with his diploma in his pocket Mr. Fuller visited his friend Dr. Seward, who advised him to enter the office of an eminent lawyer in Newburgh to gain experience in practice. At the latter village he happened to take board at the same house with a recruiting officer, Captain Machin. The war with England was the topic then uppermost, and was discussed with all its bearings at the table of his landlady. Mr. Fuller's beautiful penmanship, and his skill in preparing papers had induced Machin to employ him from time to time in making up returns and putting in form various official reports. After a few days Machin offered to procure him a lieutenant's commission if he would enter the service. Military life had no great attraction for Mr. Fuller, but after short reflection he enlisted and his squad started for the cantonment at Greenbush, opposite Albany. Captain Larned, the commanding officer of the post, had already been made aware of Mr. Fuller's qualifications for office duties, and on reaching the station he was informed that the military store-keeper at Albany desired his services as a clerk, and in half an hour's time he was

installed in that capacity in Gray street, at a good salary. Here he remained until the close of the war, a period of eighteen months, devoting himself with great zeal to the varied and responsible duties of his new position.

The close of the war found Mr. Fuller preparing to remove to Ohio, for the practice of his profession. About this time James Wadsworth was returning from New York. Stopping at Albany he met a friend whom he informed that he wanted a confidential clerk. This friend advised him to tender the place to Mr. Fuller. This after a short conversation with the young lawyer he did, and offered him at the same time what was then a large salary. The flattering proposal was however declined, but was renewed with the proviso that if after a few weeks spent at Geneseo the position should not be found agreeable to him, Mr. Fuller would be sent to Ohio at Mr. Wadsworth's expense, and this was agreed to. Leaving Albany in the Western stage, then a long covered wagon which was entered from the front, and much the worse for the great wear and rough usage incident to the war then just closed, he reached the Genesee river at Avon after a passage of five days and four nights' continuous riding. A few hours more brought him to his future home. The morning after his arrival he entered Mr. Wadsworth's office, which then occupied the north-east corner of the dwelling-house. A common picket fence separated the yard from the road, then little traveled. The grounds about the mansion were not yet laid out, and there was little in the appearance of the surroundings to indicate the residence of a man of wealth. The nature of Mr. Fuller's duties were briefly explained to him, and before the close of the first day he had settled down to their discharge. His legal acquirements, coupled with superior busi-

ness tact, and a knowledge of men, were readily brought to bear in the extensive affairs of his new employer. In after years Mr. Wadsworth remarked that when Mr. Fuller had been in the office an hour he felt that the flattering opinion he had formed of the new clerk in Albany was more than justified. In April, 1817, Mr. Fuller married ~~Mary~~ ^{original} Nowlen, daughter of Captain Nowlen of Geneseo, who had died a few months before. Mrs. Fuller was more than an ordinary woman. Her house was a social centre, and notable for its refined and cordial hospitality. During the long and by no means unfrequent absences of her husband at Albany and Washington on public business, she remained in Geneseo in charge of the household, devoting a Christian mother's care to the education of her sons. She had experienced something of the privations of pioneer life, and had thus gained that added virtue of self-reliance which shines forth so beautifully in the characters of the matrons of those early times. The first district school, conducted in a log house whose floor and roof were of split plank, opened in the town of York, had been taught by her while the country was yet so new that the school-house was reached by the Indian trail only, and the river was crossed by fording.*

Mr. Fuller continued in the employment of the Wadsworths until the fall of 1828, when he was elected to the Assembly. A re-election followed, and from that time down to the period of his final retirement, he was almost continuously in public life. In the spring of 1830 Judge Hayden, who had been returned to the Senate from the old eighth district, having died in February while in office, Mr. Fuller was

* Mrs. Fuller died at Conesus, Nov 28, 1850. To her husband her loss was irreparable.

chosen to fill the vacancy thus created, and served during the sessions of 1831 and 1832. In the fall of the latter year he was elected to Congress, where he continued until near the close of a second term. His letters to trusted friends while in Washington, while exhibiting more than ordinary power of expression, are replete with pungent criticism of public men and measures, and exhibit a thorough acquaintance with the spirit and tendencies of southern leaders in Congress. The arrogance and assumption of the slaveholding class were most distateful to him. Resigning in September, 1836, he removed with his family to Adrian, Michigan, to assume the management of a bank in that place. In 1840 he was elected to the lower house of the legislature of Michigan, and was chosen speaker of that body. A year later Francis Granger, then Postmaster-General, tendered Mr. Fuller the position of Assistant in his department. At the solicitations of political friends he accepted. Unable however to concur in the policy of President Tyler, he resigned at the end of twelve months. While in Washington he was nominated by the Whigs of Michigan as their candidate for Governor, and although his party was in the minority he made a strong though unsuccessful canvass. In the following year he returned to this county, to reside on his large farm in Conesus, where he remained until the fall of 1850 when, on the elevation of Washington Hunt to the gubernatorial chair, he was appointed to succeed him as comptroller of the State. It is seldom that a new incumbent of that responsible and perplexing office so readily mastered its intricacies as did Mr. Fuller, or so wisely administer our complex finances. His experience in accounts suggested improvements in the mode of arranging and keeping the records of payments and rules for auditing claims, and the more

important ones have been permanently adopted and continue to do their part in protecting the public treasury from particular forms of imposition. At the close of the term he returned to his estate in Conesus, where, dividing his time between farm and books, and in the society of his family and attached friends he spent the remainder of a useful life, which terminated on the 16th of August, 1855. In person, Mr. Fuller was but an inch short of six feet, of good presence and dignified bearing. In his latter years he became quite stout. His complexion was fair, and his fine blue eyes, which fairly set out of his head, illuminated the whole face. His neighbors and constituents held him in high estimation, and it is certain he never did any act to forfeit the confidence of those who trusted him. The years spent by him among public men gave him ease of bearing in society. Mr. Fuller made little pretension as a speaker, though he expressed himself with fluency on any question. His judgment of men was excellent. His loyalty to friends, and to any cause he espoused, was a marked quality of his character. In the many heated political contests in which he took part through a long career, he was always a wise and trusted leader, and his mind was so well poised that his judgment was little influenced by clamor or prejudice.

JAMES WADSWORTH.

Among the early settlers there were none who exerted a more marked influence in shaping the future of the Genesee valley than the Wadsworth brothers, and of these, James, the elder, stands the most prominent, as the friend and patron of agricultural pursuits, and the educational advancement of the people. James Wadsworth was born in Durham, Connecticut, April 20th, 1768. Of his father we have but little.

account, save that he was possessed of a fortune that was considered quite large in those days. When twenty years of age he was graduated by Yale College, and his father having in the meantime died, the estate was settled by an uncle, as detailed in a previous chapter, and himself and brother set out for the wilderness of Western New York.

The personal address and business tact of these men, especially of James, were widely felt at this time, when large land-owners were seeking to divert emigration to their broad domain, and no little credit is due them for the rapid progress of the settlements. In 1796 James Wadsworth was requested to undertake a mission to England, for the purpose of inducing capitalists to become interested in the lands of Western New York. There he was introduced to people in high circles, and his address and personal influence won for him connections that ultimately proved of great advantage. His mission was eminently successful, although the benefits derived from it were indirect. The settlements grew with astonishing rapidity, the possessions of the Wadsworths, under their wise and liberal management, increased steadily, and in a few years they were recognized as among the wealthiest men of the State. The death of General William Wadsworth March 18th, 1833, without family, left James the sole proprietor of this large domain, and this "was probably the only instance since the breaking out of the Revolutionary contest, of the investment of a fortune accumulated by the industry of a whole life, in agricultural property. In most, if not all, of the other cases in which fortune has been derived from the purchase and sale of land, it has been changed in its investment from the tillable soil to city lots or moneyed securities." * * * "The estate of the Wadsworths, reserved in compliance with the

principle originally adopted, that their capital should not be withdrawn from the region in which it was accumulated, was partly held in their own hands, partly leased, and partly cultivated upon shares. The Home farm, cultivated under their own immediate direction, comprises upwards of two thousand acres, of which more than half is a rich alluvial 'flat' of the Genesee river.'

In the year 1804 Mr. Wadsworth married Naomi Wolcott, of East Windsor, Connecticut. Mrs. Wadsworth was a woman of cultivated taste, rare judgment and a disposition congenial to that of her husband, and those who enjoyed her acquaintance speak of her in the highest terms.

As men view these things, the life of James Wadsworth was an uneventful one. He steadily and persistently declined public office, yet he was continually engaged in measures for the public good. He sought a quiet, unobtrusive life, and was averse to all ostentatious display, yet his acts of charity and liberal efforts in behalf of those around him were continuous and won for him the profound respect of his fellow-men. A special cause, which found in him a life-long and generous supporter, was the education of the people, and if not the father of the common school system of the State, much of its efficiency and usefulness is due to his untiring efforts in its behalf. This was the great object of his life, and he devoted his time, his energies, and his rare intellectual powers to measures which should place within the reach of the masses a sound and liberal education. To him credit is due for the existence of the present district school libraries. This measure he urged upon the attention of the legislature in 1835, and yielding to his suggestions, a law was enacted authorizing the inhabitants of each school district to appropriate a sum not exceeding \$20 for the

first or \$10 for each succeeding year, to purchase school libraries. Two years later, when the United States Deposit Fund was received by the State, he urged that a certain portion of the income from this fund should annually be used for library purposes, and in 1838 he employed a clergyman at his own expense to present his views to the legislative committee, and to collate facts bearing on the question for its information. These efforts proved successful, and at the session of that year an annual appropriation of \$55,000 was made for this object, which still continues in force.

Mr. Wadsworth did not stop here, however, but devoted himself to the task of securing the publication of suitable works for these libraries, and in many cases bore no inconsiderable share of the expense, and also assuming the payment of the sums required from the districts in his own locality, under the law of 1835, which sums were never repaid to him. He was also deeply interested in the subject of agricultural chemistry, then a comparatively unknown branch of science, and spent large sums in procuring the publication of elementary works and tracts on this subject, for free distribution among the people.

His interest in providing reading for the people was also manifested in another way. He was one of the first, if not the very first, to urge upon Mr. Astor the establishment of the magnificent library in New York which now bears his name, and it may be readily believed that the life-long friendship which existed between these men gave Mr. Wadsworth considerable influence over Mr. Astor, which led him to the establishment of that lasting monument to his liberality and public spirit.

The crowning act of Mr. Wadsworth's life was the establishment at Geneseo of the Athenæum (now called

Wadsworth) Library, with a permanent endowment for its support and improvement. This library, which now comprises over eight thousand volumes, placed in a large and handsome brick building, is free to all inhabitants of the county, and the benefits it has already conferred and will confer in time to come are scarcely to be estimated.

In 1843 Mr. Wadsworth's health began to decline, and he became sensible that his end was near. He preserved his usual cheerfulness however, and faced death with equanimity and fortitude. Yielding to the importunities of his family and friends he tried a change of climate, although himself aware that all efforts to arrest the progress of his disorder would prove fruitless. Returning in a short time to Geneseo, he died June 7th, 1844, aged 77 years. This event was the cause of unfeigned sorrow in Geneseo, and among all who had known him, but it was said of him that "he died as he had lived, calm, dignified and collected, with an unshaken reliance on the justice and goodness of his Heavenly Father."

In all his intercourse with his fellow-men Mr. Wadsworth was kind and courteous. "To an habitual dignity never lost sight of, Mr. Wadsworth added a courtesy of manner that rendered his society interesting in the highest degree. His conversational powers were uncommonly great. He never trifled, he was never dull. A temper naturally quick, he had subjected to absolute control,—and his life has been a continual testimonial of inflexible perseverance." As compared with his brother William he was the most intellectual man. William was possessed of indomitable will and perseverance,—a practical, go-ahead, business man. The two together were symmetrical in character,—“James to counsel and plan, William to execute; James inside, William outside.”

GENERAL JAMES S. WADSWORTH.

James Samuel Wadsworth, the eldest son of James Wadsworth, was born in Geneseo, October 31, 1809. His boyhood was spent in his native village, in fitting himself for the college course which his father designed he should pursue, and his education was completed at Harvard University and Yale College.* On the 11th of May, 1834, he married Mary Craig Wharton, daughter of John Wharton of Philadelphia. After the death of his father in 1844 the care of the vast family estates devolved upon him, and occupied most of his time. Resembling his father in many respects, he proved a careful business manager, a kind, forbearing landlord, and a man of prudence and forethought. The patrimonial estate comprised extensive farms in the valley of the Genesee, in several adjoining counties of Western New York, and in a number of the Western States, besides city property in Buffalo, New York and other places. The landed property was occupied principally by tenants, and the rents rarely exceeded four or five per cent. of the valuation of the lands. Tenants were required to pay all taxes, a plan which gave them an interest in all public affairs, and placed them on the side of the landlord. As a proof of Mr. Wadsworth's fairness in dealing with his tenantry, the fact is cited that there has never been the slightest appearance of organized opposition or other difficulty on their part, and as a class they could not be better disposed. They were among the best of farmers, and the opportunities given them were so favorable, that many who are now in comfortable

* He subsequently studied law with Daniel Webster, and afterward in the office of McKeon & Deniston, at Albany, and in 1833 was admitted to the bar. He never engaged in practice, however, but his legal training was of great advantage to him in after life.

if not wealthy circumstances, laid the foundations of their accumulations as "Wadsworth tenants." In years of bad crops Mr. Wadsworth was easy and liberal in his terms. For some years the weevil proved very destructive to the wheat crop, and some were unable to pay him the full rent. He refused to allow them to fall into arrears, but permitted them to pay what they could, and cancelled the indebtedness on these terms. His business affairs were conducted with system, regularity and promptness, and although a bold operator, he was prudent and far-seeing. He was conspicuously engaged in railroad, banking and other enterprises, and was regarded as a wise and practical business man. In the winter of 1861 he was a member of the Peace Congress or Convention, this being the only office, with the exception of Regent of the University, and Presidential Elector, held by him until the breaking out of the war. Like his father he was averse to all show and ostentation, and repeatedly declined public offices when tendered him by an admiring public, twice refusing the nomination for Governor of his State. As a member of the Peace Congress he was earnest in his efforts to close the widening breach between the two sections, but stood firmly opposed to all compromise with the slave power.

On the actual outbreak of the war, Mr. Wadsworth was foremost among those who tendered their services to the government, and he gave the national cause a hearty, earnest and patriotic support. When, early in April, 1861, Washington was surrounded with enemies, and communication with the East was cut off by hostile movements in Maryland, and the destruction of railroad bridges between Philadelphia and Baltimore, he chartered a vessel at New York, loaded it with supplies at his own expense, and personally conducted it to Annapolis for the benefit of

the Union troops stationed there. This thoughtful and opportune act was characteristic of this earnest and generous patriot.

Afterward he was in Washington, where he was often in consultation with Gen. Scott, and the government, as to proposed measures for the protection of the Capitol, and for active operations in the field, and his wise counsels were invaluable in this perilous hour. In May the Governor of New York commissioned him as Major-General of the volunteer force called for from this State. The United States government, however, did not ratify appointments of general officers made by governors of states, and in June he took the place of volunteer aid on the staff of Gen. McDowell. He was in the battle of Bull Run, in which he bore a conspicuous part. He had a horse shot under him, and in the disastrous retreat he seized the colors of one of the regiments and rallied the men to the support of "the glorious old flag." He was particularly commended in the official report of Gen. McDowell for the humanity and bravery displayed on this field. The report says: "Major Wadsworth stayed at Fairfax Court House till late in the morning (after retreat of Union army) to see that the stragglers, and weary and worn-out soldiers, were not left behind," and again, "the latter [Gen. W.], who does me the honor to be on my personal staff, had a horse shot under him in the hottest of the fight." On the 9th of August, 1861, he was commissioned a Brigadier-General, and was assigned to a command in McClellan's army before Washington. After a winter of comparative inactivity General Wadsworth was appointed in March, 1862, Military Governor of Washington City. The position was one of great responsibility, and the duties arduous and unpleasant. They required the tact and wisdom of a statesman, the promptness, de-

ision and unquestioned authority of a soldier, yet he administered them in such a manner as to command the confidence and respect of the government, as well as of the people.

While still holding this position, General Wadsworth was, in 1862, nominated by the Republicans of New York as their candidate for Governor, his opponent being Horatio Seymour. Upon the news of the nomination reaching Washington he was waited upon by a body of citizens, and in a speech in reply to their congratulations he said, "The earnest men who have brought me forward as their standard bearer, are assured that I think as they think, that I feel as they feel on this great question. They do not wish, they do not intend to survive the dismemberment of their beloved country." "It would be criminal folly in the government," he continued, "if it had overlooked one great element of Southern society, which may be, and will be, as we use it, an element of weakness or strength—to have overlooked or forgotten that we are fighting against an aristocracy supported by slavery; and it would have been worse than folly to suppose that we could suppress the rebellion and yet save that aristocracy. A year and a half of bitter experience has taught us that we cannot do it; that we should fail in our purpose if we attempted it—aye, fail ignobly and deservedly. * * We have got to conquer it or be conquered by it. This struggle is already far advanced. It is near its end. If we would save ourselves we must cast off this devil who has disgraced and dishonored us from the hour of our birth. We want peace, but we want a country more. We want an honorable, a permanent, a solid peace. When we have achieved that we shall commence again a career of prosperity—prosperity the like of which we have never known before and the world has never

before witnessed. We shall spring, as it were by one bound, to be the mightiest, freest and the happiest people on the face of the earth."

General Wadsworth, however, was not destined to be Governor. The State took one of those great political changes to which it is so often subject, and his opponent was chosen, without, however, detracting from his personal popularity, or the esteem of his friends.

In December, 1862, in answer to his repeated requests, he was called into active service in the field, and assumed command of the First Division of Reynolds' First Corps. During the winter the army was inactive, but General Wadsworth found ample employment in looking after the welfare of the men in his command—a duty which he performed with religious faithfulness. A soldier who served under him says :

"And we can testify from observation, to his faithfulness, his skill, his courage. He was always to be found, too, at his post. When his regiments were on picket, he visited them often ; when his brigade was on drill or on duty, he always was in command, aided by his son, and when a regiment chased the enemy, and when the brigade went on foraging expeditions, or reconnoitered in force, with the design of making an attack, he was invariably with them, taking the lead, even pioneering the way, running hair-breadth escapes, and always escaping. We have known him to visit the sentinels at night, and two o'clock in the morning, lantern in hand, to inspect the entire camps, looking in at every tent to see if the men had room and were comfortable."

During the year 1863 General Wadsworth was constantly in the field, and in the battles of Chancellorsville, and Gettysburgh, he took part in the hardest

fighting; and occupied a prominent position. After the battle of Gettysburgh he was relieved from command and sent on a tour of inspection on the Mississippi, "to report on the condition of the camps of the freedmen and other matters regarding the liberated slaves." Just before starting on this expedition he had an interview with the paymaster from whom he had drawn his pay from the time of his entry into the service, to whom he said, "While I am in the service I shall be paid only by you; and my reason for that is, that I wish my account with the government to be kept by one paymaster only, for it is my purpose, at the close of the war, to call on you for an accurate statement of all the money I have received from the United States. The amount, whatever it is, I shall give to some permanent institution founded for the relief of disabled soldiers. This is the least invidious way in which I can refuse pay for fighting for my country in her hour of danger."

After his return to Washington General Wadsworth was employed, early in 1864, as a commissioner for the exchange of prisoners. Shortly afterward, however, he again entered the field, and was attached to Gen. Warren's corps, the command of the Fourth division, which included the remnant of his old division in Reynolds' corps, being assigned to him. The corps crossed the Rapidan on the 4th of May, 1864, and on the following day was in the Wilderness, engaged in a fierce conflict with the enemy. On the 6th the fighting was renewed, and Wadsworth's division was repeatedly called upon to repel the assaults and charges of the enemy upon it. The fighting was severe, and General Wadsworth had two horses shot under him in the morning. The battle was renewed in the afternoon by the assault of Longstreet upon a part of Wadsworth's division, and in opposing it,

Wadsworth had a horse shot under him, and was himself struck in the head by a shot which mortally wounded him. He was taken up insensible by the Confederates, who had possession of the field, and conveyed to one of their neighboring hospitals, where he died two days afterward. Patrick McCracken, a resident in the vicinity, enclosed his body in a coffin and buried him in his family burying-ground, whence it was taken a few days afterward and conveyed to Washington, and thence, by way of New York, to his old home in Geneseo. Everywhere on the route the greatest respect was shown the remains, and the deepest grief was manifested at his untimely and tragic fate. The burial, in his family lot in Geneseo was without display, but marked by every demonstration of respect. The entire village was draped in mourning, and the citizens attended with heavy and saddened hearts the last rites over the body of a man for whom they entertained the profoundest respect.

“It was not merely that he sacrificed his bodily life from his convictions of duty, and from his love of country—the poorest soldier who fell in the ranks has made that costly sacrifice; but that, holding as he did ample possessions, linking rich meadows with flourishing towns, and spread over many fertile fields, he rejected the allurements that might have appealed irresistibly to such as he. He felt that life was more than abundant opportunities for enjoyment and ease. He felt that *his* life was in devotion to principle, and that it was bound up with the destiny of the nation. Thus, those lands so marvelously rich by nature, so marvelously rich in fortune, will be richer now in history, and the beautiful valley of the Genesee will perennially blossom with the memory of JAMES S. WADSWORTH.”*

* Address by Rev. E. H. Chapin, D. D., on presentation of flags to Military Bureau, July 4th, 1865.

JOHN YOUNG.

Few men have ever occupied a more prominent position in county and State politics than the subject of this sketch, and none more than he earned a high and honorable position through personal efforts, unaided by favoring circumstances. John Young was a native of Vermont, where he was born in 1802, but while he was yet in his boyhood his father, Thomas Young, removed to the town of Conesus, in this county, where he was for some years the keeper of a public-house, and afterward a tiller of the soil. Mr. Young was considered rather eccentric in character, but was possessed of more than ordinary good sense and judgment, and was enterprising and persevering to a remarkable degree. Mrs. Young was an amiable woman, of great intelligence, and of many virtues, and both she and her husband were respected and esteemed in the community in which they lived. The circumstances of the family, however, were humble, and although John was their only son, and they were not inclined to deny him any advantages, they were not able to give him the liberal education he desired. The boy was given the best education the common schools of his town afforded, and self-reliant and hopeful, he was sent forth into the world, with his father's blessing, "to carve out a destiny for himself."

The profession which he early chose for himself was that of the law, but his humble circumstances seemed to interpose almost insurmountable obstacles. "Having once determined on his course, however, no obstacles were allowed to interfere with, or to prevent, the accomplishment of his desires. Before him was the goal on which his thoughts were fixed; all his energies were directed toward the attainment of his wishes; and the difficulties that occasionally sprung up in his path, only sharpened the zest and increased the eager

ness with which he prosecuted his preliminary studies."*

In 1833 Mr. Young commenced the study of law in the office of Augustus A. Bennett, of East Avon. No better opportunity could have been desired than this. Mr. Bennett was one of the ablest members of the bar in the county, and study under him could not fail to be of immense advantage to the young student. While pursuing this course Mr. Young, unwilling to burden his father, supported himself by teaching school and occasional practice in justice's courts. He finished his studies with Ambrose Bennett, of Geneseo, a prominent lawyer and politician, and was admitted in 1829 to practice in the Supreme Court, having previously been recognized as an attorney of the Livingston Common Pleas. Having thus successfully attained the object for which he had so long labored, Mr. Young opened an office at Geneseo, and entered upon a professional career that was highly flattering. "Possessing remarkable shrewdness and perseverance, a thorough knowledge of human nature, good common sense,—native talents above mediocrity, developed and invigorated by the experience to which the character of a self-made man must always be subjected—together with integrity, fidelity and industry, he was well fitted to encounter the difficulties and embarrassments incident to a professional career, and to achieve the triumphs which await desert like that which he exhibited." Mr. Young early took a place in the front rank of the legal profession, and retained it through life. A few years before his election to the office of Governor he formed a partnership with general James Wood, which continued until Mr. Young's death.

* Jenkins' *Lives of the Governors*.

The political career of John Young has already been so closely followed in these pages that it is scarcely necessary to repeat the details here. Some points in his life, it may be proper, however, to treat more fully than has been done in the general history.

Mr. Young took an active interest in politics early in life and his early associations and education inclining that way, he acted with the Democratic party when he first became a voter. He was the candidate of this party for county clerk in 1828, but was defeated. He afterward acted with the anti-masonic party, until it was merged into the Whig party, when he became an ardent and earnest supporter of the principles of that organization. He held several minor town offices, and in 1831 was sent to the Assembly by the anti-masons. Here he at once took a high position, and acquitted himself creditably on all occasions. In 1836 he was chosen Representative in Congress, *vice* Philo C. Fuller, resigned, and served in the session of 1836-7. In 1840 he was again chosen to this office by a very large majority, which result was attributed "in a good degree, to his own personal exertions in supporting and defending the principles and the candidates of his party in Livingston county." In the House he was distinguished for his labors on committees, his sagacious advice in relation to party policy, and his ardent support of Whig principles and measures.

In 1844 Mr. Young was again called from retirement by his political friends and sent to the Assembly. His brilliant record there has been mentioned in previous pages, and the consequent triumph of the Whigs in making him Governor, noted. His administration of the duties of this office was marked by firmness, independence, great consideration for the public welfare, and executive ability of a rare type.



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W. H. Barroll

His cutting rebuke, "I am Governor," to one who sought to influence his action, shows the high motives which governed his official conduct.

In July, 1849, Ex-Gov. Young entered upon the duties of United States Assistant Treasurer at New York, to which position he had been appointed by the new Whig administration, and continued there until his death, April 23d, 1852. His health for some years had been delicate, and the progress of his disease—consumption—was such that for some months his friends were prepared for the final issue of the struggle against the insidious marches of this dreaded foe of human life. Nevertheless he was himself hopeful, and did not seem to realize how near death was. Yet when the last hour came, he sank peacefully and trustfully into the sleep that knows no waking.

Mr. Young was married in 1833, to Ellen Harris, daughter of Campbell Harris, of York. His wife and five children survived him, and all of the children are still living.

It is risking little in saying that Mr. Young died when only entering upon the brightest portion of his life, and that, had he lived, other and greater honors would have been showered upon him by an admiring and trusting people.

GROVELAND.

Area, 24,769 acres; population in 1875, 1,373; boundaries: on the north by Geneseo; east by Conesus; south by West Sparta; west by Mount Morris.

An elevated table land, occupying the center of the County, constitutes three-fourths of the territory of

the town of Groveland. On its westerly side the township slopes down toward the Canaseraga creek, whose flats comprise the remaining fourth part of the area. In June, 1812, the Legislature enacted "that from and after the first Monday of April next, all that part of the town of Sparta in the county of Ontario, comprehending township eight, in the seventh range, and the west half of township eight, in the sixth range of Phelps and Gorham's purchase, be and is hereby erected into a separate town by the name of Groveland, and that the first town meeting be held at the dwelling house now occupied by William Doty in said town." Its population at this time was quite sparse, and thinly scattered over the township, but the lands were soon taken up and occupied by actual settlers. The pioneers found the surface of the town everywhere diversified with clusters of fine trees, free from undergrowth, with intervals of natural openings. The fires periodically kindled by the Indians had destroyed the leaves and bushes, and in a great measure the fallen and decaying wood, so that it presented the appearance of a succession of groves, and when the town was created the early settlers had the good taste to petition that it be called by the appropriate name of Groveland.

Samuel Magee says: "What is now called Groveland hill was at first considered very poor land. Many portions were scatteringly covered with chestnut and the different kinds of oak, and some places were destitute of timber altogether. The openings grew up to a tall red grass, which was generally burnt over every fall by the Indians. In some parts of the timbered lands would be found an undergrowth of whortleberry and other bushes; and take it all in all, the land was considered poor. Consequently there were few settlers on the hill until the introduction of clover and plas-

ter. Then the land seemed to come right up. Groveland farmers could thus raise as big crops as we of the valley, and their wheat was of better quality—the berry was larger and more plump.”

The principal streams are the Canaseraga and Cashaqua creeks. From the nature of both soil and topography some of the rivulets have worn through the strata, forming broad chasms and waterfalls of striking beauty. Of this class may be mentioned the brook that crosses the “upper road,” near the residence of William A. Mills, and flowing westward enters the Canaseraga below the Hermitage burial ground. Half a mile above the latter spot on this stream is a thicket of several acres in extent, hemming in a chasm 350 feet across. The banks here rise perpendicular to a height of 175 feet. The stream above the fall has worn its way down through a narrow channel, and leaps down a cascade of 75 feet perpendicular fall. A mile above, on the margin of this stream, is a sweet sulphur spring, whose waters are collected into a small basin cut into the slate rock. Years ago this spring was held to possess peculiar efficacy in rheumatic complaints.

The soil of the uplands is especially adapted to wheat; the flats to corn and grazing. The farms are generally cultivated with care, and the crops are exceptionably certain and bountiful. “You cannot brush together better farmers in Western New York than are to be found in Groveland,” says an agriculturist from another part of the county.

The earliest settlement of the town was made at Williamsburgh. One of the first acts of Captain Williamson, after his selection as agent of the English company represented by Sir William Pultney, was the establishment of several villages or settlements in the new territory, and conspicuous among these was

Williamsburgh, which was established in 1792, taking its name from Sir William Pultney.

The settlement of the Genesee country, though begun in 1789 by Phelps and Gorham, progressed but slowly, so great were the natural impediments. There were no roads, the only access being by Indian paths, the nearest settlement was a hundred miles distant, and a great forest at the east, west and south hemmed in their purchase, while at the north lay Lake Ontario, with no facilities for its navigation. A sale of their property having been effected, however, by Phelps and Gorham, to the English company, Williamson no sooner landed at Baltimore and entered the Genesee country than he was impressed with the idea "that this new country, situated immediately north of the centre of Pennsylvania and Maryland, must reap great advantage from opening a communication therewith across the Allegany mountains," especially as it was from that direction that he looked for a large part of his immigration. Hence his first step toward improvement was to examine in person a feasible route hitherward. He set out on this expedition on the 3d of June, 1792, and met with such success that by November of that year thirty miles of the road were sufficiently completed to admit of the passage of wagons, and by August of the following year the road was completed to Williamsburgh, a distance of 170 miles.

Starting at Williamsport, this road ran up the Lycoming to the mouth of Trout Run, thence over Laurel Hill and through the wilderness, striking the Tioga at Blossburg, then called Peter's Camp, and following the latter stream to the mouth of the Canisteo, thence to Painted Post and up the valley of the Cohocton, through Bath to the head of navigation of that stream. Thence the road ran through the present.

town of Wayland, and passed the head of Spring-water valley about six miles south of Hemlock lake, thence over the hills to the inlet of Conesus lake, which valley it crossed about one mile below the present village of Scottsburg. Continuing westward along the southerly base of Groveland hill, it passed through the farms now owned by John Gamble, the widow Hyland and Jacob Bean, and intersected the present Dansville and Geneseo road about 100 rods north of Zahner's mill, thence along this road to Williamsburgh. Such was the route of the Williamson or old Bath road. Many of the early settlers in the Genesee country came hither over it, and for years the southern mail passed to and fro by this notable highway. Some traces of it can yet be seen. In the woods half a mile east of Scottsburg, on the farm now owned by Samuel Scott, it crossed a gully, and its deeply worn course is there plainly visible.

Work on this road had already begun, when in 1793, a colony of Germans sent out by Pultney and his associates under a personage of their nationality named William Berezy, "an itinerant picture merchant of a good deal of tact and gentlemanly address," who had won the confidence of Mr. Colquhoun in London, reached Philadelphia. The number, it would appear, consisted of eighty families, for whose passage to this country arrangements had been made early in the previous year. Pultney and his associates designed selecting poor but industrious Saxons, "discreet farmers," as Colquhoun expressed it, and, as Captain Williamson had written his principals that women were wanted in the Genesee country, Berezy was asked to increase the number of that sex, "but," wrote Colquhoun, "they should all understand the dairy and the rural work in which the servants of farmers are employed in the country, such as making

butter and cheese, and spinning and weaving in the winter." These colonists were to bring their own physician and clergyman, and Williamson was directed to take measures for rendering everything as comfortable as possible for them when they should arrive. Every detail for their comfort on shipboard was the subject of careful provision months before they set out. Clean beds were provided, "the ticks and blankets of which were to be carried up to the Genesee country to be used there," wholesome food, ample in quantity, pure water, and suitable space in the vessel had been arranged for. It was hoped this forethought would secure a superior class of emigrants, but never were great expectations more sorely disappointed. Instead of skilled agriculturists, "they proved," says Thomas Morris, "to be vagabonds of the worst description, collected together out of the streets of Hamburg and other cities, and totally unused to any rural occupation,"—"idlers, indifferent mechanics, broken-down gamblers and players," says another account, and the females were equally unfit for pioneer life. On their arrival in port Williamson thought they might be profitably employed on their way hither in cutting out the proposed road. But their quality was soon shown. Totally unused to the axe, the greater number persisted in cutting down trees with the cross-cut saw. While thus employed several fatal accidents occurred, and where they used the axe an old gentleman who came over the road in an early day says "the trees looked as if they had been gnawed down by beavers." Williamson, out of patience with their awkwardness, directed them to come at once to Williamsburgh. Here he had purchased for them a large field of ripening wheat on the flats adjoining the river, which they were told to harvest for their own use. But this, like all other labor,

they refused to perform, insisting on being fed and maintained in idleness. Under the pretense that they were authorized by the associates, they contracted debts, extending their patronage to the Wadsworth's at Geneseo. They denied the authority of any one to direct them, and in the absence of Williamson they became unmanageable. John Johnson, his agent at Williamsburgh, fearing violence, sent to Canandaigua, begging Thomas Morris, who spoke German, to hasten to his assistance. On his arrival Morris expostulated with Berezy but without effect. Williamson was expected back, and the Germans resolved to hang him on a tree they had selected near at hand for the purpose. Disappointed at his non-arrival, they assembled around Johnson's house and threatened violence to him. Morris tried to dissuade them but they rushed toward him and but for his timely escape would have suffered in the agent's stead. Williamson at length came. "Sunday intervened, but Berezy and the minister were all day pow-wowing in every house in the settlement." On Monday Williamson found himself with his friends Morris, Johnson and several others, in all a force much inferior to their opponents, besieged by the refractory Germans, who had collected in a body, and under the influence of Berezy were making extravagant demands as conditions of peace and their continuance in the colony. "Driven into a corner between two writing desks," says Williamson, "I had luckily some of my own people near me, who were able to keep the most savage and daring of the Germans off, though the cry was to lay hold of me. Nothing could equal my situation but some of the Parisian scenes. For an hour and a half I was in this situation, every instant expecting to be torn in pieces." Berezy himself now became alarmed for the consequences of the outbreak, and tried to

quiet his countrymen ; but the more reckless of them turned to plunder. The cattle were driven off or killed, and all kinds of property was rendered insecure, as well as the personal safety of the citizens. Warrants were at once sued out, and with the assistance of some boats' crews and new settlers who were hurried from Bath, pending the return of Richard Cuyler, clerk of Williamson, who had been despatched to Albany with a requisition upon Governor George Clinton for a force sufficient to quell the riot, several were apprehended, and carried to Canandaigua and tried on indictments for assault and battery and riot, and convicted of both. The proceedings "terrified and humbled them," and they were let off with small fines under promise of leaving the country. This they did after those who had been fined earned the money of farmers in the vicinity, having already agreed to go to Canada, where Governor Simcoe had assigned them a tract of land for a colony.

The site of Williamsburgh was on the road between Geneseo and Mount Morris, and is now marked by the residence of the late D. H. Abell. It comprised a tavern stand, one or two stores and a number of dwellings, the entire village covering about 30 acres. On the flats adjoining the river was also the celebrated race-course, where the first fairs and races ever held in the Genesee country came off, as described in an earlier part of this work. These fairs drew together a large concourse of people, some coming hundreds of miles to attend them, while from the Niagara frontier came many cattle dealers to purchase for the Canadian trade the fat, sleek cattle they were sure to find on exhibition. The tavern was a frame building erected for that purpose by Captain Williamson, and stood on the south-west part of the town square, which was situated about 80 rods east of the river.

The main building was about 30 feet square, and two stories high, a large wing extending from the rear of the principal building. In the second story of the latter was a good sized ball-room, in which, as early as 1800 was kept a dancing school. The first landlord was Captain Elijah Starr, who was succeeded by William Lemen. The first town meeting of the town of Sparta was held in this house on the first Tuesday of April, 1796. William Perine succeeded Lemen and kept the tavern two years. Thomas Hummer succeeded him and the latter, it would seem, was the first tavern keeper who had a license. William Magee purchased the tavern, the town square and village lots, amounting in all to some 30 acres, of the Geneva land office, and shortly after sold the property to Joseph Engle. The latter kept the tavern two years, and failing to make the payments, Magee took the property back in 1806 and kept the tavern one year. The property soon passed into the hands of Major Carroll, and the tavern was closed. Not many years afterward it took fire and burned down.

A recent writer* says that Williamsburgh contained a good hotel building, a dry goods store, a distillery, blacksmith shop, grocery, a grain warehouse and about forty dwellings. The distillery stood in the ravine just north of the present farm buildings of the Abell estate, while across the way, opposite these farm buildings, stood the old tavern. The same writer says: "Church services were occasionally held in a portion of the warehouse, the Rev. Samuel J. Mills, a Presbyterian minister, holding the religious services. He was the pioneer minister in the valley, south of Avon; preaching here and there as his services were required or accepted, and often in the open

* M. H. Mills of Mount Morris, in the *Enterprise* of Dec. 22, 1875.

air * * He is represented to have been a devout and sincere man, simple and plain in his manners, and much esteemed by the frontier settlers of that remote period. He resided near the village of Williamsburgh. A few old apple trees, standing to the left of the road just after crossing the Canaseraga creek bridge, going from Mount Morris to Geneseo, on lands now owned and occupied by Dr. Fitzhugh, mark the site of his ancient home. His house burned down. He took the 'Genesee fever' and died. Through the kind offices of James Wadsworth, Senior, (one of the original proprietors of the Wadsworth estate) his remains were buried in 'Big Tree' (Geneseo) cemetery; whether on his lot, or what precise part of the grounds, the writer is unable to state. Although the immediate resting-place of his mortal remains may be unknown, yet his memory lives, and is inscribed upon the page of history. * * * The early preacher of the evangelical truths of the Bible in the Genesee valley, Christianity owes to his memory a debt."

Among the early settlers of Williamsburgh was Alexander McDonald, who brought with him some goods to trade with the Indians, mostly woolen cloths and blankets, and thus gave rise to the belief that he was the first storekeeper. He never replenished his stock, however, and only stayed in the village a short time when he removed to Hermitage, where he engaged in farming and also established a distillery.

Joseph Richardson located in Williamsburgh in 1805, and established a store, continuing in this business a number of years. Samuel Magee says that in 1807 Richardson enlarged his business by keeping a tavern and by carrying on a distillery, all three branches of business at the same time. "The first year he kept his store in the old tavern house, and in the year 1806 moved his stock of goods into the building now occupied by Colonel Abell."

The first school in the town of Groveland was taught at Williamsburgh about the year 1793 by Samuel Murphy. The first mill was built for Captain Williamson by Charles Scholl on lot 58 in 1797.

Williamson's expectations in regard to Williamsburgh were very great. He believed that here was to be the great commercial centre of Western New York, and had visions of a thriving, busy, populous town that should rival all others in importance. He painted its future with glowing enthusiasm. Writing to a friend he said, "the progress of the settlement is so rapid that you and myself may see the day when we can apply these lines to the Genesee country :

' Here happy millions their own lands possess,
No tyrant awes them, nor no lords oppress.'

At another time he writes : " On the Genesee river a great many farms are laying out, sixty-five miles from its mouth is a town marked out by the name of Williamsburgh, and will, in all probability, be a place of much trade ; in the present situation of things, it is remote, when considered in a commercial point of view ; but, should the fort of Oswego be given up, and the lock navigation be completed, *there will not be a carrying place between New York and Williamsburgh.*"

But Williamsburgh's greatness soon passed away. Genesee and Mount Morris grew apace, and other villages sprang up in various places, but Williamsburgh's glory waned. Its decline seems to have commenced about 1807, and in a few years only a few old buildings remained. To-day, we believe, not one remains to mark the site of this ancient village.

William McNair was among the earliest settlers of the town. He came to Williamsburgh June 10th, 1798, with his wife and sons, James H., William and Charles. James H. McNair, who moved to Sonyea

the same year, with his father's family, says there was no permanent settlement of Indians at that place. He plowed up a sandstone anvil and some Indian utensils. The Indians retained a white man there as a prisoner, during the Revolutionary war, to mend their guns.

Samuel Magee, who came in 1796, says that Hermitage, about a mile north of Henry Magee's farm, on the main road, was a small collection of houses where were then residing Captain John Smith, surveyor ; his brother George Smith ; Alexander McDonald, a distiller ; Thomas Hovey, blacksmith ; James Butler, boot and shoe maker ; Scotch John Smith. Joseph Roberts and family of grown up sons, Hector McKay, Robert Wilson, a tailor named Templeton, Nicholas Beade and Levi Dunn.

One of the earliest settlers and most prominent and influential citizens of the town of Groveland was Judge James Rosebrugh. Judge Rosebrugh was a native of Mansfield, New Jersey, where he was born on the 24th of April, 1767. He was the son of the Rev. John Rosebrugh, a sturdy Scotch Presbyterian minister, who, when Washington with his "dispirited and broken forces, was retreating through New Jersey before the superior army of the British," called upon his people to take arms, and not content with this, shouldered his musket, and refusing to take the command, went with them to the field of strife. Being compelled, by reason of his age and the fatigue of the march to halt at a tavern while the army passed on, a party of Hessians came up and wantonly murdered the aged minister in cold blood.

Judge Rosebrugh exhibited much of the same unflinching patriotism. It was long remembered of him by pioneers that close upon that series of disasters to our arms along the Niagara frontier which marked the

opening year of the War of 1812, and appealed so eloquently to the patriotism of the settlers of the Genesee country, he was among the first to volunteer. Raising a company of his neighbors as minute men, they marched to the sorely threatened border and there served out the term of their enlistment.

Judge Rosebrugh removed to Western New York in 1795, his family then consisting of a wife and one child. The little household reached Sonyea on the 4th of July of that year, and here was born his eldest son, the first white child in that settlement. He subsequently removed to Groveland hill and settled soon after on the farm which he occupied until his death in November, 1850. His first log cabin home was enbosomed in an almost limitless wilderness, and Indians far more frequently crossed his threshold than whites. Wild animals were plentiful, and wolves, bears and panthers were often met with. Not long after settling in Groveland Mrs. Rosebrugh made a visit to a neighbor, two or three miles distant, by way of the trail below, on horseback. Returning just before evening, when half way home her ears were greeted with a piercing scream from the bushes near the path. It was like a child's cry of distress, though louder than a score of infant voices. Her horse knew the sound and seemed incapable of motion, so great was its terror. But she, with great presence of mind, struck the faithful animal a telling blow, and it bounded forward at the top of its speed, the panther leaping after at a great pace and following to within a few feet of the door.

In the spring of 1814 Judge Rosebrugh was elected to the Assembly, taking his seat in September of that year. The session was charged with legislation in support of the war, and proved an important one. William C. Bouck, Samuel Young and other notable

men were his fellow members. He was re-elected in 1816 and also in 1818, serving through four sessions. In 1820 he was chosen over John Van Fossen to the convention which framed the second constitution of the State, after a spirited canvass, marked by many incidents of local interest. The judge was naturally reserved in demeanor, but always relished a joke. While in the Assembly he was placed on a joint committee of the two houses to arrange the interior of the then new capitol. Mr. Van Buren, then in the Senate, and a member of the same committee, had urged a particular plan for fixing the ladies' gallery in the Assembly chamber, and was more tenacious, the Judge thought, than became a Senator in a matter effecting the lower house. So taking up a slip of paper he penned two or three verses, humorously referring to the known partiality of the future President for the ladies, so pertinent to the occasion that the accomplished sage of Lindenwald was laughed out of his plan. The Judge's pen was more than once employed in a facetious way. The subjects of his harmless satire, however, had their good natured revenge. On one occasion he had prepared a speech on a party question with some care, a fact known to certain of the opposition. Opportunity did not offer for its delivery, and yet, next morning, carrier-boys were sent out in all directions with a blank sheet bearing the flaming title, "Speech of the Hon. Mr. Rosebrugh of Ontario." Copies were left at the doors of members of his party and hawked through the streets. The joke was the town talk for the day, and by none was it enjoyed more than by the Judge himself.

On the erection of Livingston county in February, 1821, he was appointed Surrogate, and held the office until March, 1832. Many of the wills of the early settlers were proven by him and appear in the official

folios recorded in his own hand. His office duties were performed at his residence in Groveland with the exception of stated days at the county seat.

Judge Rosebrugh received many marks of the confidence of his immediate neighbors. Among other town offices he was several times chosen Supervisor, and often acted as umpire in the adjustment of local disputes. He was a liberal supporter of religious work, and in the latter years of his life was a member of the First Presbyterian church of Groveland. He sleeps in the gully school-house cemetery, a few rods only from the farm which he subdued from the wilderness and long and profitably cultivated.

CHARLES H. CARROLL.

No citizen of Groveland ever commanded a larger share of public confidence and esteem than Charles H. Carroll, who became a resident of the town in 1815. Charles Hobart Carroll was a son of Charles Carroll of Bellevue, and was born at the ancestral seat, Bellevue, Hagerstown, Md., on the 4th of May, 1794. He was reared in affluence and luxury. His parents were models of the old-fashioned gentry, owning large numbers of slaves and living in a generous, open-hearted manner. At the age of 18 young Carroll graduated at St. Mary's College, Baltimore, with high honors. The second war with Great Britain was now in progress, and soon after quitting college he volunteered into the service, serving through 1813 and 1814. In June, 1815, he removed with his parents to the Genesee country, settling in Williamsburgh, where he continued to reside until his death. Soon after locating in Groveland he went to Litchfield, Mass., to read law, and in 1819 was admitted to the bar. In the fall of 1820 he married Alida, daughter of Jeremiah Van Rensselaer of Utica. His popular qualities and his

aptitude for public place had attracted the attention of the intelligent settlers to him, and in 1821 when the towns comprising the new county of Livingston required an agent to visit Albany to present their claims, the choice fell upon him. After several weeks' zealous labors with the legislature he was enabled to return to his gratified constituency bearing a certified copy of the law erecting the new shire.

In February, 1823, he was appointed First Judge of the county and held the office for over six years. Before the close of his judicial term he was elected to the State Senate from the old eighth district, serving two years in that capacity. Illness of himself and wife prevented his acceptance of the nomination for a second term which was urged upon him. In 1826 he built a beautiful home known as the Hermitage, where he always entertained in the most generous, genial manner, and his home was always made cheerful and happy surrounded by a large family.

Judge Carroll served in the Assembly in 1836, and in 1840 was elected to Congress, serving two consecutive terms in that body. He also filled various town and other offices in the gift of the people.

His great farm was a pattern of agricultural well-being. He greatly enjoyed superintending his "large estate, in developing its agricultural resources and in improving the breed of horses and cattle. In this he rendered a great service to his section of country." He acted as agent for the sale of large tracts of land lying in Mount Morris and Nunda. While he guarded with the strictest fidelity and watchfulness the interests of the owners, he was ever the protector of those who found themselves unable to fulfill promptly their contracts. During the sale of the entire tract he never commenced legal proceedings against a purchaser.

No public enterprise, no movement having for its object, the improvement of community and the advancement of the public good, ever found Judge Carroll a looker-on simply. A public meeting never seemed more complete than when he occupied the presiding officer's chair, "an able and dignified officer." In politics, in education, in the prosperity of religious movements he took a deep interest, and his views on all public questions were broad and liberal. "In the councils of the Episcopal church, both diocesan and general, he was an earnest, liberal and systematic supporter, and his cheerfulness, deep faith, sound, consistent church views and never failing liberality to the poor and needy, made him beloved in all the circles of life." He died July 22d, 1865, and society lost and mourned for one of its truest friends.

"I remember with great pleasure and profit," says an esteemed friend, "his eloquence, his geniality, his fund of information and humor, his liberality, his quick response to all calls of charity and for all public improvements, his noble gifts of time as well as money, his unbounded hospitality; but far beyond all these, he left on me the unvaried and constant impression that he was a christian."

Daniel Kelly settled in Groveland in 1799, on the farm on which he continued to reside until his death, a period of 62 years. Few men in the town of Groveland exerted so large an influence as he. He was a man of strong nature, well settled in his convictions, frank in his expression, and always ready to give a reason for his faith. His ancestors, who fled from the north of Ireland on account of religious persecution, settled in Pennsylvania. Daniel Kelly was born in

Tinnicum, in that State, Nov. 10th, 1782. In 1797 his father, with a family of eight children removed to Lakeville in this county, where the elder Kelly died in 1834. In 1807 Mr. Kelly married Mary Ann Roup, daughter of Christian Roup. Major Kelly held the office of Supervisor of his town for many years, and in the board of supervisors his practical wisdom and thorough knowledge of public business gave him a commanding position.

Another early settler was John Hunt, who came here in 1800. He settled first on the farm afterward owned by Samuel Culbertson, and later owned the present homestead of John White. In 1810 he settled at what is still known as Hunt's Corners, where, in 1814 he opened a tavern, which he kept for about six years. At that time there were two other taverns in the town, William Doty's, to the south, and Joseph Richardson's at Williamsburgh.

Michael Johnson located in Groveland in the spring of 1806. He was a native of the north of Ireland, of Scotch-Irish parentage, whose ancestors took part in the memorable siege of Londonderry. From this place Michael Johnson sailed in the spring of 1804, landing in New York the last of July of that year. He reached the home of his relative, William Crossett,* in Geneseo, in the fall. Mr. Johnson built a log cabin in Groveland, on the farm which continued to be his residence until his death in June, 1835. He was a man of decided convictions, great industry, and as a citizen was one of the most respected and influential in Groveland. He was one of the deacons of the Presbyterian church on its foundation, and continued in this relation until his death.

* Father of John Crossett.

LEICESTER.

Area, 20,300 acres; population in 1875, 1,662. Boundaries: north by York; east by Geneseo and Groveland; south by Mt. Morris; west by Castile, Perry, and Covington, (Wyoming county).

Leicester was formed at the same time with Genesee county from Ontario county, and comprised four towns, viz: Leicester, Batavia, North Hampton and South Hampton, by an act of the Legislature on the 30th day of March, 1802. Its name, first written Lester, after Lester Phelps, a son of Oliver Phelps, who was a partner of Nathaniel Gorham, was changed in February 1805, to its present orthography. On its first formation Leicester included the present town of Mt. Morris, a part of York, and an essential portion of the county of Wyoming. The principal villages of the Senecas lay in this town, Little Beardstown, Squakie Hill and Big Tree, whose chieftains could call the whole warlike tribe upon the battle-trail; and, if we may credit the tales of captives, something of sylvan state was observed by the dignitaries of these castle-towns, as old writers call them, whose vaguely defined sites are now devoted to the ordinary purposes of agriculture by the thrifty farmers of Leicester. The narrative of the captivity of the Gilbert family of Quakers, who were brought to the country of the Senecas in 1780, and whose enforced stay here for a short period forms a part of that account, makes mention of their formal reception at Big Tree village by the Indian wife of the chief Warrior.* "On reaching the Genesee river," says the narrative "Captain Rowland Montour's wife came to meet us. She was

* The Gilberts were captured in Northumberland Co., Pa. The Montours, John and Rowland, aided in their capture.

the daughter of Siangorothti, king of the Senecas. This princess was attended by the Captain's brother, John Montour, and another Indian, and also by a white prisoner who had been taken at Wyoming. She was attired altogether in Indian costume, and was shining with gold lace and silver baubles. Her attendants brought us what we much needed, a supply of provisions. After the customary salutations, Captain Montour informed his wife that Rebecca Gilbert was her daughter and that she must not be induced by any consideration to part with her. The princess took from her own finger a silver ring and placed it on Rebecca's. By this ceremony she adopted the white girl into her household, and the latter was conducted to her future hut in the retinue of the forest princess.

Brant, the Butlers, Red Jacket, who was a statesman but never a war chief of the Eastern and Western tribes, the Johnsons and other British officers were familiar with the pathways that traversed these forests and the red man's villages that dotted this township. Here all the wise men of the league collected to plan their predatory campaigns, and to celebrate their successful forays, and the very soil though long ago disturbed by the white man's plow continues to be held in special veneration by the descendants of the former occupants here, and if we might adopt the grotesque fancies of the natives, these hills and valleys yet faintly echo the exultant shouts of their braves, and the voices of their wild orgies that diversified the times of old. The general surface of the town forms a terraced slope declining riverward, the portion of its territory to the Eastward running down to and embracing the flats. Of the soil of the fruitful bottoms it is unnecessary to speak. The upland is especially adapted to the culture of wheat, and the

product of this cereal reaches 62,450 bushels annually. Within a few years past no little attention has been given to dairying, and with marked success.

Leicester was the first of the towns west of the river in which a permanent settlement was made. Soon after the close of the Revolution, Horatio Jones, whose years of captivity here had made him familiar with this region and therefore fully aware of its great excellence for agricultural purposes, prepared to settle on the flats. The Indians becoming informed of this, and pleased to have one to whom they were partial for a neighbor, gave to him and Joseph Smith, a fellow captive jointly, a tract of land six miles square.

The south-east corner of this tract was at a point near the junction of the Canaseraga creek with the Genesee river. On the westerly side, running thence six miles to the west, the same to the north and thence an equal distance eastward to the river. On the older maps this grant is laid down as the "Smith and Jones tract." But at a council of the Senecas held some years later these limits were reduced and a portion of the grant re-called. Smith soon traded off his share, and Horatio Jones, by some misrepresentation was constrained to part with the principal portion of his, and the tract mainly passed into the hands of Oliver Phelps and Daniel Penfield. Jones still retained a section almost baronial in extent, and in 1789, his brothers John H. and George came hither with a view to beginning settlement. Reaching the flats in July, they cut about nine acres of grass, starting in at a point a few rods south of the present bridge over Beard's creek, near the Cuylerville flouring mill, and stacked the hay on the pioneer meadow. The same fall they plowed and sowed to wheat the ground they had previously mowed, and this nine acres it is be-

lieved was the first crop of this grain planted west of the Genesee river.*

Horatio Jones was yet at Geneva, though busied in getting ready to remove to the Genesee. At the former place on the 17th of December, 1786, William Whitemore Jones, his eldest son and first white child born west of Utica, saw the light of day. A few years since opportunity was afforded me to spend several hours with this gentleman, so familiar in early days with all the noted Senecas, and who saw them in their villages along the Genesee before innovations had modified the habits or feelings of the race. His recollections had the clearness of a written record, and his estimate of the various notables of the tribe expressed in language as terse and incisive as a sachem's, seemed to me to be eminently just. Age, though he then might be called venerable in years, had not bowed him a whit, and in reviewing early pioneer days, a subject to which I specially asked his attention, he displayed a vigor and vivacity that would not be expected in one at his period of life. Though choosing the quiet of a farmer's life and disinclined to take part in public matters, Mr. Jones through many years exerted no little influence upon community, and it falls to me as an annalist, to say with no little pride, in speaking of him, the first born of twenty counties, that he possessed more than ordinary strength of mind and force of character, and may well claim attention in a local work aside from the fact of birth-right.†

In November, 1787, at Geneva was born Mary, the daughter of Joseph Smith, the first female child born

* The clevis and pin used on the plow on this occasion are still in the possession of Col. Wm. W. Jones's family.

† Mr. Jones was strongly inclined to military matters. He held a Colonel's commission at one time. Several references will be made in these pages to his personal qualities and his bouts with the Indians.

west of Utica. Two years later her parents removed to Leicester.*

Joseph Smith was for a number of years prominently connected with the early settlement of Leicester. He was a native of Massachusetts, and fully in sympathy with the spirit prevailing in that colony. Soon after the opening of the Revolution he entered the army, and was taken prisoner by the Senecas in one of their incursions in that direction, and brought to the Genesee, where he was held until the close of the war. He had been associated with Capt. Jones during the years of their captivity, and at the return of peace the two removed to the foot of Seneca Lake, where they became Indian traders. Smith soon after located at Canandaigua, and after the Indians made the grant to him and his associate, Smith removed to Big Tree. He had acquired great familiarity with the Seneca tongue, and was frequently employed as an interpreter. His open-hearted and obliging nature led him to indorse for friends and the lands he had received from the Indians were parted with mainly to meet the obligations of others. His death, which occurred at Moscow, was occasioned by injury received by him in a game of ball between Indians and whites at Old Leicester. On the birth of his eldest son, Capt. Jones was presented with a bark cradle by the Indians, but not content with this, he determined to construct one more in conformity with the white man's notions. Boards were nowhere to be had. Recollecting, however, that a deserted boat lay near the shore of the Seneca river, at a spot three or four miles distant from his house, he started through the snow one afternoon, knocked the boat apart, and

* Mary Smith married Justin Dutton who died at Moscow in 1815. She now resides with her son-in-law, Dr. D. P. Bissell in Utica.

shouldering several pieces of its water-soaked sides, returned to his domicile. From this rough material he constructed a cradle that yet remains in the family after doing duty for three generations. In June, 1790, Capt. Jones and family started for the Genesee flats. His household consisted of himself, his wife, three sons,—William W., George and Hiram, and a young girl, Sally Griffith, who subsequently married Benjamin Squire of Genesee. On crossing the river near Flint creek, by fording, they found ready for their occupancy a log hut, located near the wheatfield that had belonged to the Indians. Here in May, 1791, was born James Jones, the first birth in Leicester.* Mrs. Jones died in June, 1792, and hers was the first death that occurred in the town. Many of the Indian huts were yet standing and settlers were coming in and putting up log structures. As yet, however, there was no frame building of any kind in the town, but in the fall of 1796, Horatio Jones erected a frame barn, a little to the west of Jones's Bridge, where it still stands, and soon after he built a frame distillery at the Fort farm, as it is called, being the same farm that was occupied by Colonel Jones.

Settlement clustered about the site of the future hamlet of Old Leicester, as it is yet familiarly called. The natural beauty of the spot drew the pioneers thitherward, and roads began to radiate therefrom. One ran in the direction of Batavia and thence to Lewiston; another directly west to the town of Sheldon, twenty-five miles distant. And still another in a southwesterly direction to the Alleghany river; all quite primitive but still passable in ordinary seasons. A highway was also opened to the eastward, and in

* James Jones entered the war of 1812, and with his brother George was taken prisoner in 1813. Both were tomahawked by their captors, a band of Indians, in a dispute about a division of prisoners.

1804 Daniel Curtis established a ferry across the Genesee at the place now spanned by Jones' bridge. The road continued thence to Geneseo.

The free habits of the first settlers called for a number of taverns. The supply, it should seem, must have been quite equal to the demand, although the Indians, both those still residing here and the roving bands which periodically visited this section, soon became among the most reliable of patrons. The whites drank too, and observed the Sabbath with a respect quite equaled by the red men. "Whiskey and Sabbath desecration were then and there notoriously prevalent," says Elder Hudson. Leonard Stimpson appears to have been the pioneer inn-keeper. In 1797 he established a public house near the river bank, sixty or eighty rods north of the present site of Jones' Bridge. Six years later he built a frame tavern house on the site of Charles Jones' residence, which became incorporated into the latter, in reconstructing the house some years later. Soon after Stimpson opened the first tavern, one Joseph Simonds opened a less pretentious house, a "Shanty for the sale of cakes and beer on the spot afterward occupied by the Pine Tavern." Francis Richardson about the same time opened a public house in a little log building which stood near the roadside, on the farm now owned by Hiram Crosby. James Forbes soon after opened one on the Moscow and Geneseo road, near the ferry, and a Mr. Whitmore opened one at Jones' Bridge.

None of these houses, however, appear to have been licensed. Indeed, the local records preserve no minute of any regular license until one that was granted to Leonard Stimpson in May, 1803.

Many stories are told of the mischievous propensities of the loungers about Old Leicester. Stimpson's tavern was their favorite resort. Here they met nightly

to raffle, drink, and often to fight. Few travellers stopped at the place without having a horseshoe pulled off, harness cut, a linch-pin drawn or some article taken.

Old Leicester village grew apace, and by 1812 there was quite a little settlement there. Samuel Miles Hopkins, though residing in Geneseo, had purchased property at this place, and was aiding in the growth of the hamlet. He had prepared a plan and collected materials for a large public house there, indeed he had actually begun the work. But taking some offence, he sent for Captain John Smith of Groveland, a surveyor of some note, and set to work at once to lay out the rival village of Moscow, the land at that point already belonging to him.

A spacious square in the centre of the plot, since essentially encroached upon, was first staked off, and then the extensive limits of the prospective rural metropolis were run, and the lots laid off. The first building reared within the bounds of Moscow was a barn for Jessie Wadams, and in 1814, the latter gentleman opened the first public house in the village. Gideon T. Jenkins, afterwards the first Sheriff of the county, soon after succeeded to the stand which has since been converted into a dwelling house and is now occupied by Horatio Jones. Soon after Mr. Jenkins became proprietor, Joseph White opened a second public house, and not long afterward Homer Sherwood erected a third, which soon passed into the hands of Jerediah Horsford. Several residents of Old Leicester removed to Moscow, and in half a dozen years the latter place had reached about the present population. The site of Moscow when first laid out was covered with scattering pines, interspersed with a short growth of white oak and an undergrowth of bear-berry and whortle-berry bushes.

Public houses now abounded, and distilleries were to be found at almost every crossroad. Churches, too, began to be erected, but as yet no educational institution beyond the log school house, and even the latter were few and far between, until in 1815 the Moscow Academy was projected and its construction pressed to early completion. The edifice was a frame building forty feet by twenty-four, and three stories high, fronting on the square. An engraving of the building appears on this page.



MOSCOW ACADEMY.

The Academy opened under flattering auspices. It was almost the first school of academic grade in western New York, and drew scholars from Buffalo, Canandaigua, and other distant places, as well as receiving good encouragement from its immediate region. Ogden M. Willey was the first principal, assisted by Miss Abby and her sister. The character of the members of the professions associated with Moscow has always been highly honorable. Samuel Miles Hopkins, Felix Tracy, John Baldwin, H. D. Marvin and Frederic Wicker were among its lawyers, and William C. Dwight, Asa R. Palmer, D. H. Bissell, D. P. Bissell and W. H. Sellew were among the physicians. John Baldwin was the first to establish a law office at the village. He

came there from East Bloomfield in 1814, and Dr. Asa R. Palmer was the first physician. In June, 1817, a Presbyterian Society was organized at Moscow, and the Reverend Abraham Forman of Geneseo, supplied the pulpit. The services were held in the lecture room of the Academy building, and although the eccentricities of the pastor were often the talk of the town, yet his ability and zeal crowded the room, and it soon became necessary to fit up the whole of the lower floor of the Academy for the purposes of worship.* Mr. Forman was called to the pastorate of the Geneseo church and the society was for a year or two without stated preaching.

In June, 1820, Samuel T. Mills was installed over the society and remained until October, 1826. Six months later the Rev. Amos P. Brown assumed pastoral relations and continued until the fall of 1829. Several changes of pastors followed, the society meantime increasing in numbers, and in 1832 a church edifice of wood was erected at a cost of \$3,000. A half dozen years after its completion a portion of the society seceded and built another church. In 1844 the divided society was reunited under the Rev. John W. McDonald, who was unanimously called to minister to the united church in the old edifice. Since that period the Presbyterian church of Moscow has had a liberal support and has been prosperous.

In 1829, the Methodist Society, which had previously held its meetings in private houses and school houses, built a frame church.

* Ashael Munger, Abijah C. Warren and Asa R. Palmer, were the first elders of the society. In addition to these three men, the following persons composed the society, as first organized: Ashel Munger, Jr., Hinman A. Boland, Eunice Munger, Amanda Munger and Bethsheba Warren. Felix Tracy and Samuel M. Hopkins soon after united with the church and became active as members.

The Baptist church edifice was erected in 1844, and had for its first pastor Elder Taylor. In 1815 Nicholas Ayrault opened a store at Moscow, the first established there. His stock consisted of a general assortment of merchandise and groceries. Soon afterwards William Robb opened another store in a building that had been moved to Moscow, from the present farm of George Lane, where it had been occupied as a public house by Dennison Foster. Allen Ayrault, who had removed to Moscow from Mt. Morris, succeeded to the business of Mr. Robb, and remained as the successful proprietor of the store for two or three years, when he removed to Geneseo. William Lyman, another early merchant of this place, came to Geneseo from East Haddam, Connecticut, in Sept., 1814, and went into the office of Jas. Wadsworth, where he remained a few months. He then clerked for Spencer & Co., until August, 1816, when he bought some goods of his employers and went to Sparta, and there remained until Nov. 1818, and on the sixth day of that month received his first stock of goods at Moscow from Albany by teams. A wool-carding and cloth-dressing establishment was quite early opened by Peter Roberts and Samuel Crossman, on the branch of Beard's creek north of the present residence of Lewis Newman. The first upland farm cleared and cultivated in the town was that of Josiah Riden, now occupied by David Bailey, lying a little to the north of Cuylerville. In September, 1825, an Indian treaty was held at Moscow in the Academy. It was a quiet affair, and the place selected probably on account of its freedom from excitement or interruption. Not more than one hundred persons were present at any time. Major Carroll of Groveland, Judge Howell of Canandaigua, and Nathaniel Gorham, attended on the part of the United States. Jasper Parrish and Horatio

Jones acted as official interpreters. A large number of Seneca chiefs were present, and took part. Mary Jemison was also there, and formally sold her Gardau reservation to Henry B. Gibson, Micah Brooks and Jellis Clute.

The first saw mill in the town was built by Ebenezer Allen, at Gibsonville in 1792. The first grist mill was built on the south branch of Beard's creek, at Rice's Falls, in 1797, by Phelps and Gorham, and was burned down in 1817. It was rebuilt, and stood some years thereafter, but was finally taken down. The first newspaper published in the town (and it was also the first that was published in the county) was started at Moscow in 1817 by Hezekiah Ripley.

Gibsonville lies in the south-western part of the town, on the outlet of Silver Lake. It was named for Henry B. Gibson of Canandaigua, and was first settled by Ebenezer Allen in 1792, but after remaining a short time he parted with his interest there, and removed to Rochester. Its water power is used for a paper mill and a saw mill, and it contains about a score of houses. Cuylerville lies on the canal in the eastern part of the town and takes its name from Colonel Cuyler. It sprung into existence on the completion of the Genesee Valley Canal, and soon became a favorite market for wheat and other agricultural products, and was incorporated in 1848 as a village. The construction of railroads has seriously interfered with the business of the canal and Cuylerville has suffered from this cause. It occupies a part of the site of the most important of all the Seneca villages, Little Beardstown. It has one church, Associated Reformed, built in 1845, a large grist mill and a distillery. To the west of Cuylerville, some half a mile, stood the first residence of Colonel Cuyler, known as Woodville, erected by Samuel Miles Hopkins, in

1814. In the beautiful grove contiguous to the house was held the celebration in 1843, over the remains of Boyd and Parker and their compatriots. The house was burned in February, 1860. The changes in the channel of the Genesee river are notable. It was within the memory of Little Beard that the bed of the river was at one time within a few rods of Charles Jones's old farmhouse, a half mile distant from its present bed. In 1820-22, the channel was so near the store-house then standing north of Jeff. Wetherfield's house that wheat could be spouted into boats lying in the river, now distant thirty rods. Jones's Bridge was the first bridge built over the river south of Avon. It was built of wood in 1816, was carried away in the spring of 1831, and was rebuilt in 1832-3. The Mount Morris bridge was built in 1830, was carried away in 1832, and rebuilt in 1834. The Cuylerville bridge was erected in 1852.

HORATIO JONES.

Captain Horatio Jones was born December 17th, 1763, near Downingtown, Chester county, Pa. His grandfather, an Episcopal clergyman named Charles Jones, emigrated from the city of London while yet a young man and settled in Philadelphia. When the subject of this sketch was about six years of age, his father, William Jones, removed to Baltimore Co., Md., where John H. Jones was born. His father was an armorer, and designed to bring him up to the same employment, but the Revolutionary war was in progress when he reached an age at which the stirring events of that period had stronger attractions than the forge and hammer for one of his adventurous spirit, and before his size would permit his enlistment he became attached to a company of Rangers or "minute men." Like all frontier boys of that day he was a skilled marksman, a qualification, added to a hardy

frame, which even at so early an age, enabled him to count the privations of the colonial service as of small moment, and made him a welcome addition to the slowly wasting battalions at that period of the struggle, and in May, 1780, at seventeen, he enlisted in the Bedford Rangers, commanded by Captain Dunlap. The company was ordered to a neighboring fort, there to be reinforced, for duty along the western frontier. The garrison, however, was found so weak that it could spare no soldiers, and Capt. Dunlap, prompted by his men who were eager for active work, concluded to follow out the original purpose by marching his small force at once into the Indian country. He had reached the wilderness at the head of the Juniata and was crossing the stream early one morning when he was surrounded and surprised by a body of Indians, who fired upon the company, killing nine men and taking eight prisoners. Among the latter were the Captain and Jones. At the first alarm, Jones took to the bank and entered the woods at the top of his speed. Two Indians followed. Though his gun had been wet while fording the stream and could not be fired, the natives were ignorant of the fact, and when they approached too closely he would turn, point it at them, and they would drop on their knees. He would then start on again, and the race would be resumed. After running some two miles, his foot caught in some undergrowth and he fell. The Indians were at his side in a moment, and he surrendered. Returning to the place of ambuscade, the prisoners were placed together, the Indians divided, a part before, and a part taking position behind the captives, and started rapidly northward through the vast stretch of unbroken forest toward the country of the Senecas. For the first two days they were without food. On the third, the entrails of a bear were apportioned to

Jones. Captain Dunlap, showing exhaustion, was silently despatched from behind with a tomahawk, and as he fell his face was carefully turned skyward that his spirit might ascend to the white man's happy hunting grounds, as the other prisoners were given to understand. On the fourth day a hunting party brought in a fine deer. The Indians pointed toward it. Mistaking their gestures for an invitation to help himself to the venison, Jones ran to the spot with the alacrity of a hungry man. The Indians suspecting that he was trying to escape and unwilling to lose one who had already gained their favor, made after him. Stopping when he reached the game, the natives came up, laid him on his back, tied arms and legs each to a tree, and further secured his limbs by driving pronged sticks over them, and in this condition, with his face upturned to a pelting rain, kept him all night. He endured the punishment without complaint, a fact which pleased the Indians so much that that day he was relieved of the luggage that had previously been committed to his shoulders. In turn, however, he divided the burthen of an overloaded fellow captive, older and feebler than himself. Arriving at the Indian village of Caneadea, he was informed that at a council held to decide his case, the Great Spirit had interposed in his behalf, and his life was to be spared on condition of his reaching a certain wigwam, located about eighty rods distant, and which was pointed out to him from a height near the village. The old and young Indians, the squaws and children of the village and neighborhood, lined the way thither. Jack Berry, as he was afterwards called was present and motioned to him to start without a moment's delay. He saw the wisdom of the friendly advice and set out at once. Hatchets, arrows, clubs, knives, and every conceivable native weapon, was hurled at him by the

shouting and yelling Indians, as he made for the house of refuge. With no little address he managed to dodge the more dangerous missiles and reached the goal with few bruises, amid the hearty cheers of the excited crowd, and was at once adopted into a family, one of whose sons was killed in an expedition shortly previous, under the name of Ta-e da-ogua. While running the gauntlet, one tomahawk whistled past him, just grazing his head. It had been thrown by one of the warriors that took him prisoner, as he afterwards learned. Readily adapting himself to the situation, he assumed their dress, acquired their language, and set about repairing their implements of war and the chase. His stout arm won respect at once. Although surrounded by savages, he never allowed an insult to go unresented. If hatchets were thrown at him by the mischief-loving, he returned them with usury. At dinner one day, a young brave, fond of amusing himself at the expense of others, offended him in some way. Jones stepped to a succotash kettle, seized a boiling squash, gave chase, and overtaking the festive Indian, thrust the hot vegetable between his hunting-shirt and bare back, then resumed his meal. At another time a party had dug up some saplings, and as they passed him bearing them on their shoulders, one of the Indians purposely stuck a mass of roots into Jones' face. As quick as thought his right hand was brought across the native's nose, breaking in the bridge and giving him a disfigured nasal organ the rest of his days. Possessed of uncommon mental vigor, and of more than ordinary penetration, he was cool, fearless and ready of resources, traits which the natives esteemed. To this may be added that he was strong of body and fleet of limb, and was always ready to try speed or strength with the best of them. Their implicit confidence in

him, acquired during the years of his captivity, was retained through life, and proved valuable to the government in the treaties with the northern and western tribes in which he participated, and his residence down to the period of his death, continued a favorite stopping place for the natives who visited him almost daily. His judgment was so much respected by the Senecas that he was often chosen as arbiter to settle disputes among them ; and his knowledge of the Seneca tongue was so accurate that he became their principal interpreter. Red Jacket preferred him as translator of his speeches, on important occasions, as his style, which was chaste, graphic and energetic, suited the qualities so marked in that great orator's efforts, accurately preserving not only the substance but the most felicitous expressions. He was commissioned by President Washington as official interpreter, and was employed on several occasions to accompany delegations of sachems and warriors to and from the seat of Government. In a notable speech of Farmer's Brother, at a council in November, 1798, the Indians asked the legislature of this State to permit them to grant Captain Jones and Jasper Parrish a tract of two miles square of land, lying on Niagara river, three miles below Black Rock, as a substantial mark of their regard.* The speech referred to was : "As the whirlwind was so directed as to throw into our arms two of your children, we adopted them into our families and made them our children. We loved them and nourished them. They lived with us many years. They then left us. We wished them to return and promised to give each of them a tract of land, and now we wish to fulfill the promise we made them

* By the laws of the State no transfers of Indian lands could be made to private individuals without permission of the Legislature.

and reward them for their services." Subsequently he acquired a large body of land on the Genesee flats. At one period of his captivity he became dissatisfied, and resolved to return home. Leaving his adopted father's wigwam before daylight one morning, he travelled for hours southward. Night came on and he began to reflect that his youthful associates, and perhaps his relatives too, would be scattered and gone, and the first streak of light the next morning witnessed him retracing his steps. He resumed his abode with the Senecas, who never suspected him of having attempted escape, where he remained until peace brought about a general exchange, a period of five years. Soon after the close of the war he removed to Seneca Lake, where his brother John joined him in October, 1788. He was married in the year 1784, to Sarah Whitmore, herself a prisoner from the valley of the Wyoming, by whom he had four children. He was twice married, his last wife dying in 1844. In the spring of 1790 Captain Jones removed to the Genesee country. Here he died on the 18th of August, 1836, retaining his well-preserved faculties to the last. He lies buried in the Genesee cemetery. In person he was strong and compactly built. His height was under, rather than over, the ordinary size. In early life his weight did not exceed 180, but in his latter years, he became quite corpulent. His eyes were grey and his hair light inclining to auburn. Major Van Campen often visited Capt. Jones. On such occasions their experience during the Revolution, often formed the interesting subject of conversation. The Major had twice been made a prisoner by the Indians.

Before the country was settled Capt. Jones was chosen as the agent of the Government to carry the money to be paid to the Indians at Buffalo through

the woods. It was a large amount, and in specie. Armed with a tomahawk and scalping-knife, he put the money on the back of a powerful mare, a favorite, fast traveler, and mounted, leaving these directions, "If I am murdered at my camp you will find the money twenty rods north-west of where I sleep." He traveled by the Indian trail till night compelled him to camp in a bark hut on a branch of Tonawanda creek. After securing his treasure, he built a fire, ate his supper, turned his mare loose, and adjusting his saddle for a pillow, lay down to sleep. He had slept a few hours when he was awakened by dreaming that a little Indian had come to him, and told him in Indian, that if he remained where he was, his bones would lie in a pile. So vivid was the impression that he got up and looked about on every side. His mare seemed frightened, and was disposed to hover about the fire rather than to seek food. He laid down, and soon fell asleep, but before long the same Indian seemed to come to him on the same errand. He arose the second time, looked around, and observed the same uneasiness on the part of his mare, but neither seeing nor hearing anything uncommon, he lay down and slept. Again the Indian came with the same errand. Horses accustomed to running in the woods, when alarmed will whistle very shrilly, unlike anything that is observed in our educated animals. As he awoke the third time, his mare gave him that somewhat startling monition, and he was thoroughly awake in a moment. He knew that his journey and the object of it was well understood. So looking to his arms, he dressed and caught his horse, placed his money on horse-back and mounted, just as the first streaks of daylight began to appear. He had accomplished about a quarter of a mile when he heard a rustling in the bushes close by the side of the path. He gave the mare a touch, and

she sprang past the noise, leaving the path clear to a man who came out of the brush just behind her with a good sized club in his hands. "You stir early," said the slayer. "Yes," was the response. As the mare had already struck a sharp gait Jones thought it was as well not to check her. A little farther on he found a bright fire burning, and a large kettle over and another man not far off. Putting that and that together, he thought that kettle was intended for the accommodation of his bones. This impression was strengthened the next day by hearing that a man by the name of Street, who had been to Buffalo and sold his cattle, and was returning with the proceeds, when he arrived at about this place had been accosted by two men who asked him to get off and drink, and doing so, and after taking a sup of whisky stooping to drink from the spring, they knocked him on the head and took his plunder. The spring was called "Murder Spring" afterwards.

GEORGE W. PATTERSON.

Mr. Patterson was the youngest of three New-England brothers who settled in Livingston County soon after the close of the war of 1812. They were men of sterling worth, broad and liberal in sentiment, and bore their full part in moulding and directing the social and political tendencies of society in those early days, as well as in promoting the material enterprises of the settlers who so rapidly changed our western wilds into well cultivated farms. Mr. Patterson was born at Londonderry, New Hampshire, on the 11th day of November, 1799. A noted ancestor of his, John Patterson, removed from Argyleshire, Scotland, about the year 1600 to the parish of Priestland in the county of Antrim, Ireland, where he purchased a large landed estate of the Lord Antrim who became so distinguished

a partisan of the Stuarts. A descendant of this John Patterson in the fourth generation, Peter by name, emigrated from Ireland, in 1737, to Londonderry, New Hampshire, and soon after married Grisey Wilson, whose grandfather had taken part in the noted siege of Londonderry, a fact that quite likely determined the name of their New England home. Peter had three sons, Robert, Thomas and John, the second of whom married Elizabeth Wallace. Five daughters and seven sons were born to them, of whom Peter was the eldest and the subject of our sketch the youngest. The maternal grandfather, James Wallace, came from the county of Antrim, Ireland, to the New Hampshire settlement, where he married Mary Wilson, of whom this incident is related: The vessel on which her parents had taken passage for this country, was captured in mid-ocean by a pirate, and while a prisoner the mother gave premature birth to this child. In a capricious moment the pirate captain offered to release both crew and passengers, on condition that the parents of the newly-born child would call it Mary, after his wife. They assented, and after making the infant presents of jewelry and a piece of rich brocade silk, the pirate released the captives who were no doubt ready enough to part company with so romantic a godfather.

The brocade, it may be added, became the wedding-gown of the grown-up Mary.* The father of the future Lieutenant-Governor was a farmer in comfortable circumstances, who duly valued education. The son was therefore afforded such advantages as were offered by the common school and a neighboring academy, and at eighteen the father proposed to him,

* Gov. Patterson has a part of the brocade wedding-dress in his possession.

first, that he might go through college, or second, he might take a certain hundred and twenty acres of land near the homestead and make a farmer of himself. Both offers were declined, for with native independence he had already determined to swim without corks. He reasoned that the four years spent in college would subtract too large a sum from his early lifetime, and as to the land, New Hampshire farming as then conducted, seemed to him a pursuit well calculated to make a poor man of him to the end of his days. Neither proposition being accepted, his father was content to let him try the experiment of striking out for himself, and lived to see him a prosperous man of business, honored by his adopted State in her councils, and advanced to the second office in rank in the commonwealth. On his eighteenth birthday Mr. Patterson engaged to teach a district school in Pelham, near his home, for the winter; and on the 2d of June following, the winter's wages in his pocket, and accompanied by his brother William, and William D. Barnett, now of Attica, he left New Hampshire for Western New York. A journey of three weeks brought them to the Genesee country. Mr. Patterson's first home was in the family of Daniel Kelly of Groveland, and "a better one no young man will ever find outside of his father's house." Yankee observation soon suggested to him that the great harvests of the finest wheat of the continent, being gathered when he reached this region, needed some better machinery for winnowing it than any then in use, and his first step was to open a shop for the manufacture of fanning-mills on the present Benway farm in Groveland, then owned by William Doty. This modest shop of logs stood near a small pond north of the house, which still goes by the name of Patterson pond. To be nearer his work he became a boarder at

Doty's tavern, "where he had a good time generally with the sons of the landlord, two of whom were older and five younger than himself." And here at night, his day's work done and well done he would meet a knot of the pioneers, men older than himself, who were in the habit of collecting about the broad and cheerful fireside of the log hostelry. The new comer was a favorite at once. No one could tell a more pithy story, and his trenchant discussion of politics, then running high, was listened to with satisfaction by those of his way of thinking, and with marked respect by his opponents. The latter were not the men to let an error of fact or argument go unchallenged, and Mr. Patterson here strengthened himself for debates in more notable assemblies. He spent but a year here. His brother William had settled near Havens' tavern, and in the spring of 1818, he there joined him, remaining until 1822, when he removed to Ripley, Chautauqua county, where he stayed until the fall of 1824, and then came back to Livingston county and purchased and occupied the farm now owned by William Elliott in Leicester. The manufacture of fanning-mills continued to occupy his time until his removal to Westfield in 1841. How much of the superior market quality of Genesee wheat was due to the facilities his fanning-mill afforded in preparing it for eastern markets, it might be difficult to show, but it is certain that a very large part of the crops of this famous wheat growing section was fitted for market for many years by the use of "Patterson's" or "Patterson & Dickey's" machines. Indeed, for almost a generation, no other fanning mill was used. In the spring of 1821, Mr. Patterson had a quantity of wheat in store at Almond, where it could not be sold for ready money. The cost of transporting it to Rochester, then the nearest cash market, was three

shillings a bushel, and once there it was worth but two shillings and sixpence. Instead, therefore, of sending it to the Rochester market with the certainty of a sixpence margin on the wrong side, he exchanged it for boards on the Allegany river at Olean. Seven bushels of wheat at Almond for one thousand feet of boards at Olean, and on the opening of navigation he became a raftsman for one trip only, floating down the Alleghany and the Ohio rivers on board his raft in quest of a market. He held at Cincinnati, and without assistance took the boards from the water and piled them on shore, receiving seven dollars a thousand in Miami Exporting Company's paper, a wild cat currency, worth on that particular day sixty cents on the dollar, the next day but fifty, and continued to rapidly depreciate until it became entirely worthless. On reaching home, his neighbors were anxious to know how he had made out. He had but one answer for all, "I have saved—myself." The "West" was just now opening, and the great stories of its opportunities were finding their way back to the settlements along the Genesee. As he was on the road to the newer region of promise he determined to see for himself. So investing the meagre proceeds of his lumber in a horse, saddle and bridle, he "set out to find a better country than Livingston county," traveling through Indiana, Illinois and Kentucky, returning to Cincinnati after a month's absence. In going from Brookville, Indiana, to Fort Harrison, on the Wabash, by way of Indianapolis, he was compelled, for want of better accommodations, to sleep in the woods several nights, and to follow blazed trees for forty miles through the wilderness, by day, to reach the site of the present city of Indianapolis. On arriving there he found the surveyors running out city lots, and quartered in a small log shanty, then the

only hotel in the prospective capitol. From Cincinnati he returned by way of Chillicothe, Cleveland, Erie and Buffalo, the latter place being then a village of seven hundred inhabitants. The Erie Canal was "staked out," but not a shovelfull of earth had been removed from its bed in that (now) city. At that time there was but one steamboat on Lake Erie (The Walk-in-the-Water), and three small ones on the Ohio river above the falls, and not a single Post-coach at any point in the United States, west of Buffalo. The mails, yet few and far between, were carried on horseback or on foot. Railroads were not yet born, or telegraphs thought of. After making this tour he returned to Livingston county, concluding that "the people of Livingston county might travel through the States, north of Carolina, and as far west as Kansas, and would find no spot equal to the Valley of the Genesee."

Mr. Patterson for many years took an active part in politics, displaying the same zeal and conscience in that relation as in business affairs. His fidelity in every position, and his practical wisdom, secured him the unwavering support of an intelligent constituency through more than a quarter of a century, and until business engagements not only, but inclination, induced him to retire to private life. His first office was that of Commissioner of highways of Leicester, and when the position of justice of the peace became elective, he was chosen to that office and retained it by re-election until he removed to Chautauqua county. He was eight times elected to the Assembly from Livingston county, and was twice made speaker of that body while representing this county.* He took a

* He was elected by the Whigs to the Assembly in 1832-33-35-36-37-38-39 and 40.

prominent part in the memorable presidential campaign of 1840, and at the great mass meeting held in Geneseo in the autumn of that year, among the most noticeable features of the day was the farmer's dinner of pork and beans, hard cider and corn bread, given out in the Leicester carry-all. Mr. Patterson had been speaking, and coming down from the speaker's stand—the roof of the log cabin—at precisely twelve o'clock, he mounted the wagon, took out a great tin horn, and in true farmer fashion called his tribesmen together, and amid a tumult of applause sat down with them to the substantial fare spread upon a bark table.

He was elected Lieutenant-Governor in 1848 on the Whig ticket, headed by Hamilton Fish, and presided over the sessions of 1849 and 1850 with remarkable dignity and fairness. His name has been repeatedly mentioned with the office of Governor, but never at his instance. Indeed it may be said with entire truth that office has uniformly sought him. He has never been a seeker after place. His sterling integrity, mature judgment, and withal his manliness of character, have long given him a high place among public men, and first and last have distinguished him many times as the fit man to act for the State on commissions and special service. Two or three instances may be given. The question of selecting a proper quarantine station at the port of New York, for the protection of the inhabitants of the metropolis and of the whole country from imported diseases, had long perplexed the Legislature and the executive authorities. To reach a solution of a question so important, a commission of eminent men were named of which Mr. Patterson was one, and after a careful examination they presented a plan which, while it avoided the local prejudices occasioned by the situation of so formidable a pest-house.

reached the end in view in a practical way. Another subject of the first importance to the commerce of the port was referred to a commission of which he was a member. Several years ago encroachments of a serious nature threatened with danger the harbor of New York. Not only were the piers run far out into the North river, but structures had been commenced which were essentially changing the channel and threatened to lessen the capacity of the grand roadstead. The records were overhauled, the public archives examined, to ascertain the original boundaries of the State. The exterior lines were then laid down and the report of the commission was adopted and confirmed, and remains the authority on the subject. The threatened evil was thereby averted. It will be recollected that in obedience to public sentiment the Legislature in 1860 appropriated a large sum of money to be expended in Kansas for the starving and suffering colonists of that much afflicted territory, while it was passing through its ordeal of trial. The proper expenditure of the grant was a delicate and difficult task, but the commission of which Mr. Patterson was one of the most active members, were eminently successful in meeting the needs of the settlers, while doing nothing to merit the adverse criticism of excited partizans. In all the varied duties committed to Governor Patterson through a long public career, no breath has ever been raised against his integrity; no act has lessened the confidence of attached friends, and while enjoying many marks of general regard, he has never seemed more gratified than when, his duties ended, he might return to his home and to the important business charge committed to him by the Holland Land Company in superintending their landed interests, in which trust he succeeded Governor Seward when the latter was elected Governor. In February,

1825, he married Hannah Whiting Dickey, daughter of John Dickey of Leicester. He has two children. In person Mr. Patterson is but one inch short of six feet in height, and his weight of two hundred and twenty-five pounds is not at the expense of his activity or disproportioned to his well-knit frame.

LIMA.

Area, 19,607 acres ; population in 1875, 2,921. Boundaries: on the north by Rush and Mendon (Monroe county) ; east by West Bloomfield (Ontario county) ; south by Livonia ; west by Avon.

Lima is the extreme northeastern town of the county, and was one of the earliest settled. Being situated on the great route between the eastern and western portions of the State, over which traveled a constant stream of emigration, it early attracted settlers, and became a well known place. The surface of the town is undulating and hilly, and is drained by Honeye creek and its branches, the former furnishing excellent water power to the scores of mills and factories which line its banks, beyond the limits of the town. The soil in the southeastern part of the town is clay and clayey loam ; in the southwest sandy and gravelly loam. The farms are under a high state of cultivation, the farm buildings and fixtures of the best character, and thrift and prosperity are apparent on every hand. In these respects Lima will compare favorably with any town in the county, while her people, as a class, are intelligent, enterprising and industrious.

Lima village is near the center of the town, and

ranks as one of the most beautiful villages in the county. The old State road forms its Main street, along which, in early days, was a large number of inns, for the accommodation of the emigrants and teamsters who were passing through. The village long went by the name of the "Brick School house Corner." It contains four churches, and the Genesee Wesleyan Seminary. The buildings of this institution are located on a beautiful eminence in the northwest part of the village, and from almost any direction are plainly visible to the traveller long before he reaches the village. The Seminary was founded in 1830 by the Genesee Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It was opened for pupils in 1832. The first building erected at a cost of \$20,000, was destroyed by fire in May, 1842. The present building was immediately erected, at a cost of \$24,000. It is of brick, four stories in height, with a front of 136 feet, to the south, while wings extending back give east and west fronts of 96 feet. In 1849 Genesee College was founded, and another large building, known as College Hall, was built. This was one of the most flourishing colleges in the country, but a few years ago it was abandoned, and the Syracuse University founded. The Seminary, which had been previous to this time one of the largest and most successful academies in the State, and one which sent out more students than any similar institution in Western New York, received a serious blow by this abandonment of the College, but within the past year it has entered upon a new career of prosperity and usefulness. The college property, consisting of buildings, a farm of seventy acres, a cash endowment of \$54,000, besides libraries, philosophical apparatus, etc., have, by legislative act, been transferred to the Seminary, thus placing it on a sound financial basis. In addition to this, \$15,000 have just

been expended in modernizing and improving the buildings, which now equal those of any similar school in Western New York.

Paul Davison and Jonathan Gould are credited with being the first settlers in Lima, their arrival here occurring in 1788. Turner says that if his information in this respect is correct, "this was the first advent of an household west of the Adams' settlement, in Bloomfield." These men came from the valley of the Susquehannah in search of a new home in the Genesee country. "Passing the last white habitation at Geneva, they pursued the Indian trail to the present town of Lima ; where, finding a location to suit them, they erected a cabin and commenced making an opening in the forest. Going to the Indian lands at Canawaugus, they planted and raised a patch of corn and potatoes. Their location was about one mile south of the Indian trail, near the west line of the town. After some improvements upon their cabin, such as the luxury of a bark roof, and a hewed plank floor, and gathering the small crop they had raised upon Indian lands, they returned to the Susquehannah, and in the spring of 1789, Mr. Davison, with his family, consisting of his wife and her mother, and two children, came to make his permanent home in the wilderness. He was accompanied by Asahel Burchard. The family and household implements were conveyed in an ox cart, Mr. Davison and his companion sleeping under the cart, and the family in the cart, during the whole journey.* In 1790 Mrs. Abbott, Mrs. Davison's mother, died, this being the first death in the town, and the second in the Genesee country. The first birth was that of a daughter of Mr. Davison. In 1790 Dr. John Miner and Abner Miles (or Migells, as some

*Turner's *Phelps and Gorham Purchase*.

of the records have it), settled in Lima, and Miles becoming the owner of a large tract of land in the shape of a gore, the town was called "Mile's Gore." The town was formed Jan. 27th, 1789, as Charleston, but it retained its local appellation for some years. In April, 1808, the name was changed to Lima.

Steven Tinker and Solomon Hovey, of Massachusetts, settled in Lima in 1791; and Colonel Thomas Lee, Willard and Amasa Humphrey, Reuben and Gideon Thayer, Colonel David Morgan, Zebulon Moses, Asahel, William, and Daniel H. Warner, all from Massachusetts, came previous to 1795.

The first school was taught by John Sabin in 1792, and in 1793 Reuben Thayer opened the first inn. The year following Tryon & Adams established a store in Lima, the first in the place, and one of the first in the whole Genesee country. Zebulon Norton built the first grist-mill in the town, on the Honeoye creek, about three miles north of the village of Lima, in 1794, and in 1796 Reuben Thayer built the first saw-mill. The first religious society, the Presbyterian, was organized by the Rev. Daniel Thatcher, in 1795. There are now five churches in the town, four of which, at least, have elegant and costly houses of worship.

Among other early settlers were Miles Bristol, Wheelock Wood, and James K. Guernsey, the latter long the leading merchant of the town.

The first town meeting for Charleston was held at the house of Reuben Thayer on the 4th of April, 1797, nine years after the town was formed. At this meeting Solomon Hovey was chosen Supervisor, James Davis Town Clerk, Joseph Arther and Willard Humphrey Assessors, Mr. (probably John) Minor Justice, Elijah Morgan, Nathaniel Munger and J. Gold, Road Commissioners, and Joseph Arther and William Williams Poormasters.

Colonel George Smith came to Lima in March, 1798. He found there, in addition to those already mentioned, Phineas Burchard, Joel Roberts, Jonathan Gould, Jedediah Commins, Christopher Lee, James Sterling, John and David B. Morgan, Jonah Moses, Nathaniel Munger and Samuel Carr.

Adolphus Watkins came to Lima in 1799, from Ashford, Winford county, Connecticut, where he was born in 1783. He says: "I came from Albany to Utica, Canandaigua, and along the State road to this place. There were a few log houses here then. Where Rochester street is now, used to be a muddy lane leading to a grist-mill in Honeoye. There was no road going to the south, except one about a mile west of here, leading about a mile and a half south, where it stopped. This was Charleston then and a wilderness. Reuben Thayer built a house here before I came, and it still stands. I came with my uncle Jonathan Gould, driving two cows out here. He had been here some time before. My uncle took up a half mile square, and I lived with him a few years and then went to work as a carpenter and joiner, and mill-wright. There was one run of stone at Honeoye. The land was heavily timbered with black walnut, white and black oak, elm, cherry, basswood and other kinds." The Indians from Canawaugus swarmed around here then, but were not troublesome. Mr. Watkins has seen whole tribes filing past on their way west. Game was plenty, deer, bears and wolves being often killed. Occasionally a panther was slain, though not often. In the War of 1812 Mr. Watkins took part, volunteering three different times. Captain William Batin raised a company here, and Mr. Watkins joined it, for service on the frontier. This company went first Sept. 26th, 1812, but reached Buffalo too late to participate in the fighting. The

only one now living who was here when Mr. Watkins came to Lima, is Luther Moses. Mr. Watkins himself although ninety-three years old, retains his faculties to a remarkable degree, and his remembrance of the early days is as clear and distinct as though the events were but of yesterday's occurrence.

Miles Bristol early made Lima his home, where William A. Bristol (now living) was born in 1805. Mr. Bristol still resides on a portion of the farm owned by his father, on which many Indian relics (mentioned in a previous chapter) have been found. He says there were many Indians about here when he was a boy, and that he has seen forty Indians sleeping on the cellar floor of his father's house at one time. They were quiet, peaceable, and readily reciprocated any favors shown them.

Considerable excitement was caused in Lima in 1811 by a conjuror who made half a dozen of the citizens of the town believe that buried treasures were to be found in subterranean vaults, nearly half a mile west of Norton's mill. These deluded persons commenced digging industriously, while a large party of the curious and unbelieving surrounded them. An excavation had been made some twelve feet square and fourteen feet deep when our informant saw it. He had some brass beads which he would slyly drop into the excavation, and the men, finding them would become excited and work with increased vigor. The conjuror was present with his divining rod, and would go round making a circle. No one was permitted to cross this circle, else the charm would be broken and the conjuror be compelled to re-establish the circle by going around again. It is needless to say that no treasure was found, but the people of Lima have learned that their greatest treasure is to be obtained in thoroughly digging over the rich fields of her valuable farms.

It has already been mentioned that Lima, being upon the old State road, was an important point in early days. Especially was this the case during the second war with Great Britain, when troops were constantly passing through the town to and from the frontier, and after its close, when the tide of emigration which set in sent a constant stream of emigrants through the place. Inns were opened all along the route, those in the town of Lima being so numerous within the distance of two miles that they were scarcely a stone's throw apart. One of these old hostleries still stands, a dingy, venerable old building, about a mile west of the village of Lima. It is known as the "Yellow Wasp," and is occupied as a residence by Mr. Thomas P. Bishop. During the War of 1812 it was a flourishing inn, and famous for its social gatherings. At one of these country dances, so runs the story, a dispute arose between the civilian guests and some soldiers who had come from their winter quarters near Avon to attend the ball. The soldiers attempted to mount to the ball-room, upon which the civilians poured down the stairway upon their heads a barrel of beans, and finally succeeded in expelling them from the house. The soldiers retaliated by firing several shots into the house. The affair created considerable excitement in the neighborhood for several days, and was the cause of several personal encounters, but it ended without serious results.

LIVONIA.

Area, 22,811 acres; population in 1875, 2,898
boundaries: on the north by Lima; east by Rich-

mond (Ontario county); south by Conesus; west by Geneseo.

Livonia lies upon the border of the county. It was erected on the 12th of February, 1808, from Pittstown, now Richmond, Ontario county. In 1819 a part of its original territory was taken off to form the town of Conesus.

Its name, derived from a Russian province, was proposed by Col. George Smith, at a meeting of citizens called to petition the Legislature for the erection of the town. The surface of the southern half of the town is moderately hilly, that of the northern half undulating, and the whole, with trifling exceptions, is arrable. Conesus lake lies upon its western border, and Hemlock lake upon the eastern border. The town is drained by the outlets of these two lakes, and by the outlet of Lake Canadice. The soil in the valleys of these streams is a clayey loam, that of the uplands a sandy and gravelly loam, resting on a substratum of lime-stone, and the whole is peculiarly well adapted to the growth of winter wheat, of which grain it produces in proportion to area as large a number of bushels as any town in the county. The first settler in the town was Solomon Woodruff, who in the year 1789, located on lot number 32. He removed from Litchfield, Connecticut, alone on foot, with his gun, axe and a pack upon his back. After making a clearing, he built him a log cabin and returned for his wife, bringing their effects to their new home with an ox team, the journey occupying three weeks. In February, 1794, Mr. Woodruff opened a tavern in his log dwelling house. The same year was born to him a son,—Philip Woodruff, long a leading member of the county bar, the first white child whose birth occurred in the town. In 1794, Mr. Higby and Peter Riggs settled in Livonia; two years later Philip Short

located near Hemlock lake. David Benton and John Walcot, from Connecticut, came in 1798. Ruel Blake, Thomas Grant, Nathan Woodruff and George Smith, became residents in 1801.

The substantial character of the pioneers of Livonia, and the natural advantages of the town, early gained for it the favorable opinion of the neighboring settlements. In December, 1805, James Wadsworth writes to an eastern correspondent: "The settlers of Pittstown (Livonia) are mostly from New England, prudent and industrious, and will in time pay for their lands." The prediction was fully verified. The favorable terms granted to the first purchasers enabled them promptly to meet their engagements; indeed the demand for their products from immigration alone, afforded them the means of meeting their installments as they fell due.

The ample water power afforded by the considerable streams of the town was early utilized. In 1795 Mr. Higby built a saw-mill on the outlet of Hemlock lake, and in 1798 Seth Simonds, of Bristol, erected a grist-mill for Thomas Morris, of Canandaigua, on the same stream.

The new settlement had been favored with good health, and it was not until the fall of 1797 that the pioneers were called to mourn the first death in the town, that of a child of Mr. Higby. "Our grief was genuine," says an early settler, "and as we lowered the rude little coffin into the earth, it is safe to say that there was not a dry eye amongst us." A colony composed mainly of Eastern people, would not be long without a district school, and in the winter of 1798 and 9, a little log house at the centre was opened for a winter term to the children and young people. Dorias Peck was the teacher. In 1801, David Benton erected a frame house, the first in the

town. The carpenter work was done by Col. George Smith and John Walcot. The house is still standing. In 1803 Isaac Bishop opened a store and made an ashery. The heavy growth of forest trees, and the dense underwood, afforded favorable covers for wild game. Wolves, and bears too, were often seen, and the depredations of the latter were quite annoying. Sheep, and even swine needed to be housed near the dwellings of the settlers. An incident of 1805, occurring on the farm of Mr. Richardson, near the site of South Livonia,



PRIMITIVE SCHOOL-HOUSE.

is related. While chopping near his hog-pen early one morning, Mr. Richardson heard an unusual disturbance in the inclosure. Slipping quickly to the pen he saw an enormous bear attempting to drag a large hog over the side. Lifting his axe he jumped into the pen. The bear dodged his blows, and he was obliged to call a fellow-workman before the hungry brute could be driven off and made to retreat into the rank weeds. With the aid of a neighbor a dead-fall was set for the bear. On visiting this trap the next morning the bait was gone, but the weight, in its fall, had caught the bear by one of its fore paws, which, in its struggles, had been torn off, and the victim got away minus the paw. The Indians roamed over every portion of the town and have left visible traces in several parts of their occupancy. As already shown, remains of the most extensive of those rude fortifications yet found in the State, whose origin remains a matter of so much question, are found in the town.

The first town meeting was held at the house of Solomon Woodruff. Lyman Cook was chosen super-

visor, Theodore Hinman, town clerk, and John Warner, Matthew Armstrong and George Smith, assessors. Jacksonville, at one time a promising hamlet, located on the outlet of Hemlock lake, a mile or so north of Slab City, has gone to decay. It contained at one time a grist-mill, distillery, cloth-dressing works, one store and several dwelling houses. The place was regularly laid out and the village lots duly numbered. A single dwelling house only remains, occupied by the former proprietor of the cloth-dressing works.*

The first Universalist Society was organized in 1831. The first trustees were Robt. Adams, John Farrel and George Smith. The Mennonite Society was organized in 1827. There are in all, ten churches in town. In the northwest part of the town is situated the little hamlet of Lakeville, on the outlet of Conesus Lake, and near by but lower on the stream, is Millville, taking its name from a large grist-mill first erected by Mr. John Bosley some time before 1800, and burned down. It was next erected by Edmund Bosley in 1822, and was again burned. The last time it was rebuilt by Lucien F. Olmsted & Co. in 1835, and is now owned by Clark & Sons. The first settler here was John Bosley who came before 1800. He purchased about four hundred acres, mostly of the Wadsworth's, for which he paid from two and a half to three dollars an acre. Thirty rods north-westerly of the mill is a spot known as Fort Hill, which derives its name from some breast-works that were plainly seen when Mr. Bosley came to this place. He plowed it and planted it to corn and potatoes the first year of his residence. There was a small undergrowth of bushes on it, which he grub-

* A map of the village plot appears among the records of the County Clerk's office, drawn by E. Caulkins, Jr.

bed out and cleared away, and in doing so found axes, tomahawks, a gunbarrel, a large number of beads, some of extraordinary size, skulls, thigh bones and other relics of its former occupants, the Indians.

Some wild plum trees, which bore excellent fruit, were also standing for many years after Mr. Bosley came. A plaster mill, run by wind, was built on the hill south of the grist mill, and a deposit of plaster was claimed to be found and the mill did quite a business, but it was discovered that the plaster was not plaster, and the mill was abandoned. Mr. Aug. Porter, who was a surveyor for Phelps and Gorham, received the town of Livonia for his services, at the rate of one shilling per acre, and sold it for one shilling and six pence, and regarded it a great bargain.

Solomon Woodruff, one of the first settlers, was born in South Farms, Connecticut, and came to Livonia in 1792, and settled on a farm one mile south of the Centre. His nearest neighbor at that time was Mr. Pitts, at the foot of Honeoye Lake. He purchased his farm of General Fellows, a large land owner at four shillings per acre. The first year he cut the timber on one and a half acres, and burnt the brush, and without removing the logs planted it to potatoes, and with the avails of this crop paid for his farm of one hundred and fifty acres. He returned to Connecticut in the fall, and in February, 1793, with his wife and two children, and his household effects on a sled drawn by a pair of three year old steers, started again for his home in Livonia, and was twenty six days on the journey to the house of George Goodwin, in what is now the town of Bristol, Ontario county, where his youngest child died, after which event he and his family pursued their journey and arrived safely at his house, a log one which he had, with the help of a neighbor by the name of Farnam, rolled up previous

to his departure to Connecticut. The nearest grist mill was six miles east of Canandaigua, and to this Mr. Woodruff often went with his oxen and the grist on the yoke between them, as he had no wagon, and there was hardly a road for one. At this time the Indians were quite troublesome, and on one occasion when Mr. Woodruff was absent, they came to the number of thirty and demanded the bark which covered the corncrib to make a covering for their huts, and upon being refused by Mrs. Woodruff, they came into the house, intoxicated, and remained the entire night, threatening the lives of herself and child. The next year, in the fall, a party of Indians came by Mr. Woodruff's, and one of them snatched up this same child and started off at full speed, but fortunately his course lay up a steep hill which somewhat arrested his flight. Luckily, a man who worked for Mr. Woodruff met him and relieved the child from its perilous situation. The next summer there was a great treaty had some place west of his house and eleven hundred Indians passed his place in Indian file and the train was over one mile in length. About the same time an Indian runner was sent out from Buffalo to go to Canandaigua, and reached Mr. Woodruff's house at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, seventy-five miles distant from Buffalo. He halted a few moments, took a drink of water, and started again, and reached Canandaigua before sunset, a total distance of one hundred miles. When Sullivan's army passed near the foot of Hemlock Lake, they cut down an orchard of apple trees. They afterwards sprouted up, and Mr. Woodruff cut some and stuck them into a potato and planted them, and one of the trees is now standing, a venerable relic of his labor, bearing the best of native winter fruit.

George Smith was born in Dorset, Vermont, on the

3d of March, 1779, while his parents were moving from Scituate, Rhode Island, to the former state, in which they continued to reside until 1798. His ancestors were of Rhode Island. His father, Oziel Smith, removed to Livonia, where he died in September, 1818, at the age of 78 years. His mother's maiden name was Margaret Walton.* In the winter of 1798, George engaged with Joel Roberts, of Lima, to drive a team of two yoke of oxen and a horse from Rutland, Vt., to the Genesee country, heavily loaded with plow irons, chains and other agricultural implements. The journey was made in twenty four days. He remained in Lima until the spring of 1801, when he removed to Livonia with John Walcot, to work at the carpenter and joiner trade, and mill-wright business. Their first job was the erection of the first framed house built in the town of Livonia. This house in its original form is still standing. In 1803 he worked a season on the old court house now standing in Batavia, and in the fall of the same year he erected a saw mill for the Holland Land Company at the Oak Orchard falls, now Medina. At that time the Ridge road was not cut out. The nearest inhabited house stood on the old Queenstown road, nine miles distant. In January, 1807, he married Sally Woodruff.† In the March following he commenced house-keeping in a log house on the farm on which he has continued to reside to the present time. On the formation of the town, Colonel Smith was elected assessor, and was elected supervisor in 1820, and several times there-

* She died in Clarendon, Vt., on the 10th of June, 1793, at the age of 39 years.

† Daughter of Nathan Woodruff of Litchfield, Ct. She died February 17th, 1835, at the age of 51 years. He re-married Dec. 23d, 1843, to widow Helena M. Stout, of East Bloomfield, who died March 6th, 1845, at the age of 51 years.

after. He was appointed justice of the peace in 1819, and held the office about eight years. Immediately after the Declaration of war in 1812, he was commissioned as Major in Colonel Peter Allen's Regiment of Militia, and was ordered to the Niagara frontier. The regiment was first quartered at Five mile Meadows, and afterwards at Lewiston. When the order came on the 12th of October to attack Queenstown, the Major was detached and ordered to take charge of the boats and transportation. After the repulse of the troops under VanRensselaer, in the first movement, Major Mullany was ordered across with a hundred men. But the firing upon the boats in the first attempt, had demoralized the boatmen and they ran away. The soldiers however supplied their places, though lacking skill to manage the boats in the swift current, they were carried half a mile below the point of attack, and when they reached the shore were fired upon by the enemy, who left the heights and came down in such force as to make prisoners of the battalion with the exception of Major Mullany, Doctor Lawton of Philadelphia, and one other, who put off in a boat, and though exposed to a general fire from the British lines, they succeeded in making good their escape, their boat so badly riddled on reaching the American side that it was in a sinking condition. Meantime Captain, afterwards General Wool, was crossing the river with his forces, and stormed and took the heights. As soon as the American forces had reached the other side, General Wadsworth, with a small force under orders took boats for the purpose of supporting the movement, and to take command of the attacking party. He directed Smith to raise the flag of his regiment, and to join his force. He promptly stepped in to one of the boats and unfurled the colors, though the enemy paid their respects to the

party with a twenty-four pounder planted over the river. He had the honor of planting this flag on the British battery. Major Smith was sent out under Colonel, afterwards General Winfield Scott, to drive the Indians who were firing upon the heights, from a piece of woods. On the return Major Smith passed an old soldier of the Revolution, then serving in Col. Stranahan's regiment, who was trying to scalp an Indian. On being ordered to desist, he replied that it had cost him a great deal of trouble to kill the Indian, for they had been dodging each other's shots for some time, and insisted that he might be permitted to preserve some remembrance of the red-skin. If not allowed the scalp he would content himself with the Indian's blanket, two good yards of blue broad-cloth, and stripping it from the body of his fallen antagonist, he deftly thrust the prize into his knapsack. After the heights were retaken by the British and our troops made prisoners, they were taken to Fort George, and at the end of a week were released on parole. Major Smith was a prisoner and was included in the parole. In 1817 he was appointed Colonel of the 94th Regiment of militia, and served two or three years in that capacity. On the organization of the county in 1821, he was elected to the Assembly, being the first representative from the new county, and the last under the first constitution.

In 1823 he was re-elected to the Assembly having for a colleague George Hosmer, of Avon. In person he lacked but half an inch of six feet; weight 170; form masculine, complexion dark, and health good.

LEMAN GIBBS.

Leman Gibbs was a native of Litchfield, Connecticut, where he was born on the 15th of August, 1788.

His parents, Eldad and Ester Riggs Gibbs, were substantial Connecticut people, of limited means, who in 1801 concluded to cast their lot in the Genesee country, whither so many from their native state had preceded them. In the latter part of the winter of that year, the parents, with Leman, then their only child, and Jeremiah Riggs, started from Litchfield by way of Albany in a sleigh. Before reaching Livonia they were compelled to substitute a wheeled vehicle. This was after a few days changed again for a sleigh, and near Canandaigua the load became stuck fast in the mud. Detaching the horses, Mrs. Gibbs mounted one and with the youth behind her, she followed her husband, who on foot, made his way along the Indian trail, by Pitt's Settlement to Solomon Woodruff's, the first settler in Livonia. The family settled about a mile north of the Centre. Although too young to render much aid in preparing the new home he yet took hold manfully, and thus early formed the habit peculiar to him in after life, of bearing his full share in every labor and duty. The country about their forest home was absolutely wild. Judge Gibbs said the "tameness of deer and birds was shocking." While out gathering berries one day with his mother, a beautiful fawn, quite likely chased by dogs, ran to him for protection and was taken to the house. Educational opportunities in a neighborhood so sparsely settled, were scarce. Indeed no school was kept within reach. He however went to Bloomfield, where he spent two or three winters with the Rev. Dr. Hotchkiss, where he prosecuted the more useful studies with much zeal. At the age of eighteen he engaged to teach school, following the work during each successive winter for several years. His fondness for music had made him proficient in the art, and he opened a singing school. The early settlers were

accustomed to introduce the popular songs of the day at the frequent social gatherings, and here Judge Gibbs was always foremost. His uncle, Jeremiah Riggs, was quite gifted in making impromptu couplets on some familiar theme, a verse of which he would "line," and Judge Gibbs was as apt in wedding them to music, and these impoverished efforts were the source of special delight to the little assemblages. The hospital house of Eldad Gibbs was always open to new comers, and many were the good-natured practical jokes played by the circle of young men who often gathered there, upon any pretentious night. A gentleman from an eastern city on a prospecting tour, had sought and obtained permission to spend Saturday and Sunday in this household. Before going to church, he asked if he could be shaved. "Certainly," answered one of the youngsters. The preparations were made and one-half of his face was carefully shaven and the back of the razor carefully rubbed over the other side. A home-made pomade of bear's-grease was then deftly applied to one side of his head, while the opposite side was left to luxuriate in its native harshness. Looking-glasses were not common in those days, and the city gentleman was not aware until he reached the next settlement, why his appearance had attracted so much attention at the log church.

It was but natural that Judge Gibbs should hold office. His excellent good sense, and his honest worthiness, commended him to the suffrages of his neighbors, and, without any effort or volition on his part, he was called to public stations as soon as he was old enough to take office, and was continuously in office until his failing strength compelled him to give up all public employment. He was first elected constable, and was then appointed deputy sheriff,

when the county still belonged to Ontario: He held the office of justice of the peace for nearly thirty-five years, and on the erection of Livingston county was appointed side judge, and occupied a place on the bench until the present constitution substituted the office of sessions justice, for which latter he was at once designated. He was several times elected supervisor. His early official duties were performed while the law of imprisonment for debt was in force. In its most favorable aspect, this law operated harshly, and in a new community, where credit is a necessity and money scarce, instances were constantly presented of great hardship and cruelty. Judge Gibbs was a man of too tender sensibility to draw the head of a pioneer family to prison, or to deprive a family of their last cow, and while he often mitigated the severity of the law to the deserving, he was now and then imposed upon by the professions of some worthless fellow, and between the two he became so involved by being obliged to pay debts contracted by others, but for which, and of tenderness in executing the law, he had rendered himself liable that at one time all his worldly possessions were advertised for sale, and it was only by the timely help of friends that he was enabled to stay the sale and to get clear of his embarrassments; and it required the labor of many years to recover from the effects of this trouble.

He served as Member of Assembly in 1854, and after the close of the session was appointed a commissioner to examine the public account. His practical good sense was shown in the report made by himself and his fellow commissioners, in which several incipient abuses were pointed out and checked by subsequent legislation. Judge Gibbs had a fondness for military matters. Entering the militia as a musician he passed through the several grades to that of Briga-

dier General, from which he resigned. While holding the rank of sergeant he was promoted above a superior. The jealousy of the latter led to a misunderstanding, and finally to a challenge to fight a duel. Mutual friends stepped in and the difficulty was amicably settled. In his own town he stood as a sort of common peacemaker and arbitrator and had much to do in quieting neighborhood difficulties. He was a firm and consistent christian for many years, and not only by precept but by example, did he let his light shine. His form was robust, and he lacked but an inch of six feet in height, was of dark complexion, and healthy constitution.

MOUNT MORRIS.

Area, 28,545 acres; population in 1875, 3,817. Bounded on the north by Leicester; east by Groveland and West Sparta; south by Nunda and Portage; west by Castile (Wyoming County).

Mount Morris is one of the larger towns and lies on the western border of the county. It takes its name from Robert Morris of Revolutionary memory, who in the spring of 1792, purchased the great farm of Ebenezer Allen, which embraced the village site and many a broad acre of the flats. The town was formed from Leicester, by an act of the Legislature on the 17th of April 1818. Its surface is greatly diversified. On the eastward between Canaseraga creek and the foot of the table lands spreads a broad alluvial plain of unsurpassed fertility, two miles in width. The ground then rises abruptly to the first terrace, along

the edge of which runs the Genesee Valley Canal, traversing the town from north to south. Stretching riverward with a uniform grade the western border attains an altitude of several hundred feet above the flats. The territory of the town is singularly free of waste lands, as scarce an acre can be found that is not already under cultivation or capable of a high degree of culture. The farms are to an exceptionally large extent, the property of actual occupants, and the farm houses and buildings which exceed in number those of any other town in the county, rate above the average in quality, a fair index of the thrift and comfort that generally abounds. Nature, too, has bestowed her favors liberally. The scenery from every point of the extended plateau is rich and varied, a vast park-like landscape, picturesque in its highlands and bottoms, and diversified by the winding river and sinuous creek. The uplands bordering the flats in the neighborhood of the river were a favorite haunt of the Indians, and also of the fort-builders as has already been shown. Though the principal villages of the Senecas in later times were located on the western side of the Genesee, yet there was a considerable town known as Big Kettle's village, near Mount Morris. No sooner was the Genesee country opened to settlement than the advantages of this region attracted capitalists from New England and Pennsylvania. Ebenezer Allen, the "Blue Beard" of the border, had secured a large donation in lands from the Indians and had opened a store near Damon's Run in 1790, first exhibiting his wares under the great council Elm. He replenished his stock in Philadelphia, and took every occasion afforded by his visits to that city, to make known the advantages of this locality. That city was then the seat of the general government, and Colonel Trumbull, an officer of the personal staff of

Washington, whose artist brush has preserved some of the most interesting subjects of Revolutionary history, formed the half romantic notion of establishing his home in these beautiful wilds.* He purchased a section of land, planted an orchard, made some preparation for building a residence near the site of the late Judge Hastings' house, and changed the name of the spot to Richmond Hill. For some reason the purpose was abandoned by him and the property passed from Allen into the hands of Robert Morris, who it is quite certain designed making the place his home. Its name was changed to its present designation.

Ebenezer Allen was the pioneer of the whites. He settled first near Mt. Morris in 1785. His career, the more notable portion of which is associated with the town, forms a curious episode in early annals. He was one of those daring characters, without conscience or patriotism, who thrive best in troublous times. A native of New Jersey, he took the tory side in the Revolution, and was forced to quit his home, finding an asylum toward the close of the struggle among the Indians along the Genesee, where he worked Mary Jemison's land until the return of peace. He defeated soon after, by a characteristic trick, a plan of the frontier Indians and British to renew the border troubles. Just before an expedition was to start he procured a belt of wampum and carried it as a token of peace to the nearest American fort. The act was wholly unauthorized, but so sacred a thing was the wampum, that the Indians determined to bury the hatchet, resolving, however, to punish Allen for the cheat. He was pursued for months but eluded their

* Trumbull painted the historic pictures of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, and Washington resigning his commission.

clutches by hiding in the woods and fastnesses.* When pursuit ceased, Hi-a-ka-too replaced his tattered garments, and Allen settled down near Mt. Morris, marrying a squaw named Sally. The following spring he purchased at Philadelphia a boat-load of goods, which were brought to Mt. Morris by way of Cohocton, and bartered for ginseng and furs. After harvesting a large crop of corn and wheat he took up a farm near Scottsville at the mouth of a creek that bears his name. The next season Phelps and Gorham gave him a hundred acres of land on the west side of the river where Rochester now stands, on consideration that he would build a grist and saw-mill there.† In 1791 he asked the Senecas to grant a portion of the Genesee flats to his daughters Mary and Chloe, born of his Indian wife Kycudanent or Sally. The Indians disliked him, and showed no haste to comply, but he made a feast at which more whiskey than meat was served, and thus secured a deed of four square miles, including the site of Mt. Morris, which took the name of Allen's Hill, and the adjacent flats to the east.‡ Thither he returned in the summer of 1792, built a house and planted a crop. Agriculture alone did not suffice him, and he prepared to add a store-house to his log mansion. The Indians warned him that timber collected

* He was subsequently taken prisoner by the Indians, carried to Canada, tried and acquitted. See Turner's Holland Purchase, p. 298.

† He built the mills, and in 1792 assigned his interest in the tract to Benj. Barton for 200 "pounds N. Y. currency." In 1802 the tract was purchased by Col. Wm. Fitzhugh, Col. Rochester and Charles Carroll.

‡ The deed provided that Allen should have care of the land until his daughters were married or became of age, and out of its proceeds he should cause the girls to be instructed in reading and writing, sewing and other useful arts, according to the customs of the white people. "Sally, the mother, was to have comfortable maintenance during her natural life or remained unjoined to another man."—Turner's Holland Purchase, p. 301.

The daughters were fine looking girls, and were educated in Philadelphia.

for such a purpose would go into the Genesee. He persisted, however, and the Senecas, when all was got together, headed by Jim Washington and Kennedy, took the timber, carried it to the river and threw it in, and saw it float away. But Allen got out more, built a saw-mill at Gibsonville to supply lumber, and erected a store-house where Judge Hastings' residence now stands. By this time he had taken several wives, red, black and white, and scarcely had he settled in his new quarters before another, Millie Gregory,* was added to his rude harem.

In one of his yearly visits to Philadelphia he met Robert Morris, to whom he gave a glowing account of the Genesee country. "Hemp grows like young willows," said he, "and the forest trees about this city are no larger than the branches of trees in my neighborhood." As settlers increased Allen grew uneasy, and in 1797, Governor Simcoe of Canada having granted him lands on the Thames river, he removed thither after selling the tract on the Genesee to Robert Morris, who changed the name to Mt. Morris. Allen's life closed in 1814, in Canada, after a checkered career. Many crimes, most of which grew out of his sensual nature, have been imputed to Allen, and appears to rest upon creditable authority. His moral character certainly appears to great disadvantage. "He murdered those for whom he professed most friendship, and out of sheer love of blood, would beat out the

* Or McGregor, daughter of a white settler at Sonyea. Two men were hired to drown her, taking her in a canoe they ran over the rapids at Rochester "swimming ashore themselves, but leaving her to go over the main falls." She, however, disappointed them by saving herself and soon appearing in the presence of her faithless lord at the mouth of the river, a dripping nymph. She followed him to Canada, and became one of his new household and became the mother of six children.—Turner's Phelps and Gorham Purchase, p. 406.

brains of infants when on the war-path." Altogether he holds a most unenviable place in pioneer annals.*

The first Baptist minister who preached in Mt. Morris was the Rev. Samuel Mills, father of General William A. Mills. The first Presbyterian minister was the Rev. Robert Hubbard. The preachers who most frequently visited Mt. Morris were from among the Methodists, among whom occur the names of Jesse Lee and John B. Hudson. Before 1810 a small Methodist class was formed in this settlement, which soon disappeared from deaths, removals, and other causes, and yet the place was visited at stated times by preachers of this order. About the year 1813, Rev. Daniel D. Butterick came to this section with the design of laboring as a missionary among the Indians near the village, if the way seemed open. He made some efforts for them, but for some reason soon abandoned his plan and spent his days as a missionary among the Cherokees. It was in the year 1814 that the Presbyterian church of Mt. Morris was organized. On the 29th of April of that year the following fourteen individuals met in the school house and were formed into a church: Jesse Stanley, Jonathan Beach, Luther Parker, Enos Baldwin, Abraham Camp, Luman Stanley, Russel Sheldon, Almira Hopkins, Lucy Beach, Martha Parker, Sarah Baldwin, Mary Camp, Patty M. Stanley and Clarissa Sheldon. In 1831, the present Methodist society of Mt. Morris was organized. The Protestant Episcopal Church of Mt. Morris was organized in the spring of 1833. In 1839 the Baptist society was constituted. The school house was for a long time the only public room for holding religious services. Allen Ayrault, Wm. A. Mills and Jesse Stanley assisted in putting seats in

* Historical sermon of Rev. Mr. Chichester.

this school house, for the purpose of holding meetings about the year 1815. They were constructed with high wooden backs, and "they felt prouder," said Mr. Ayrault, "with the accommodations thus afforded than many would at the completion of the most costly church edifice." The first Presbyterian church was dedicated January, 1832. It stood where now is the orchard of Dr. Branch, back of his residence. Ten years afterwards it was removed a few rods to the south, fronting State street, and enlarged by an addition of twenty-five feet in length, which made its dimensions eighty-four by forty-four feet. September 29th, 1852, it was destroyed by fire. The dimensions of the new brick edifice are eighty by fifty-two feet. The lot was the gift of John R. Murray, Esq. The Methodist Episcopal church was dedicated January 1st, 1833. A few months later the society of the Protestant Episcopal church dedicated their house of worship. In 1840 the Baptist society dedicated their house of worship.

GENERAL WILLIAM A. MILLS.

Among the earliest settlers of Mt. Morris was Major-General William A. Mills, who was born May 27th, 1777, in the town of New Bedford, Westchester County, New York. His father the Rev. Samuel I. Mills, was a Presbyterian minister, and a graduate of Yale College—a native of Derby, Connecticut. Gen. Mills located at Mount Morris in 1794, at seventeen years of age. His capital consisted of good health, a common suit of clothes, a five franc silver piece in his pocket, and an axe on his shoulder. He put up a small cabin on the high table land overlooking the flats, at the north end of the present village, where he lived several years, keeping bachelor's hall, on most friendly terms with his neighbors the Indians, and

cultivating land on the flats in common with them, raising Indian corn and stock. He learned to speak the Indian language fluently, and ere long had so worked into the good will and friendship of the Indians that he gained their entire confidence and became their advisor and counsel in their dealings with white people in that locality, and was also their arbitrator not unfrequently to settle matters of dispute arising among themselves. He was a personal and warm friend of "Tall Chief," the head of the Seneca tribe at Allan's Hill and Squakie Hill, and was also well acquainted and on friendly terms with "Red Jacket," chief of the Senecas near Buffalo. Mary Jemison the "White Woman," was a frequent visitor at his house, living only five miles distant at Gardau. His Indian name was Sa-nem-ge-wa, or "Big Kettle," meaning in our language *generous*. From his long residence among the Indians he became much attached to them, and they to him. He never deceived or cheated them in all his dealings with them; the result was he had their entire confidence, and never lost it. In after years when the Indians had by treaty given up their lands about Mount Morris and moved to the Indian reservation near Buffalo, when passing backward and forward through the country, as they frequently did, they always made it a point to stay over night with Sa-nem-ge-wa. Even to this day, among the older Indians on the reservation west of Buffalo, the name of Sa-nem-ge-wa is still familiar, but they have lost the tradition and only know that it relates to some great and good white man, the Indian's friend, who has long since gone to the happy hunting grounds and is there waiting for them to come. The only white man at Mt. Morris when General Mills located there was Clark Cleveland, a mason by trade, intemperate and dissolute in his habits.

Indian Allan had been there, but at this time was living with the Indians west of the Genesee river at Beardstown. General Mills built the first house erected by a white man in the village. It stood nearly opposite the residence of the late Daniel A. Miller on Stanley street. It was a block house, made by flatting sticks of timber on both sides for the walls, the roof being made of staves or long shingles split from oak logs.* General Mills was married March 30th, 1803, to Miss Susanah H. Harris, at her father's house at Tioga Point, Pa. Miss Harris came to Mt. Morris in 1802, all the way on horseback from her home, to visit her brother and his family who had located there. While there she became acquainted with young Mills, who soon followed her home and they were married. She was a most excellent christian woman, and was highly esteemed by all who knew her not only for her social qualities but for her kindness of heart and liberality to the poor and needy. She died in April, 1840. Previous to his marriage General Mills had constructed a substantial log house on the high elevation of ground overlooking the flats, in which he reared a large family and there resided until the fall of 1838, when he moved into his elegant brick mansion which he had just completed, and which is now the residence of his daughter, Mrs. Dr. Branch. He continued cultivating the land on the flats in common with his Indian neighbors, raising grain and stock, and also added to it the distilling business until the lands came into market, which was fourteen years from the time he first settled in Mt. Morris. During this time many of the settlers who came and located there, finding the fever and ague

* Gen. Mills sold this house before occupying it as was his intention, to a settler by the name of Baldwin, but soon bought it back again.

prevalent, from which all suffered more or less in that locality, were discouraged and moved away to other sections of the country, but the subject of this sketch, not daunted, and with a resolution and fixedness of purpose which knew no defeat, remained with the firm determination to become the owner some day of at least a portion of the rich alluvial bottom lands which he had so long cultivated. His first purchase was twenty acres on the flats, for which he paid fifty dollars in silver per acre. This was the lowest priced land he ever bought on the Genesee flats, although the general received opinion always has been that he got his lands for little or nothing. They were reserved lands and always considered valuable, and when brought into market, sold for the extraordinary high price above stated. In his later purchases he paid as high as \$80 per acre. At the same time the uplands could be bought for from ten to fifteen dollars an acre. General Mills was at the time of his death a large land holder, owning about eight hundred acres of the most choice land in the Genesee Valley. Considering the fact that he commenced without capital, paid such prices, and made his money substantially from the soil to pay for them, shows a degree of success, seldom if ever equaled in any new country. He was the first Justice of the Peace, and Supervisor of the town of Mt. Morris for twenty years in succession. He was prominently connected with all the measures of public utility which effected this section, and especially his locality, from the time he settled in Mt. Morris in 1794 to the time of his death in 1844. He was one of the commissioners to petition the Legislature to authorize the construction of a dam across the Genesee river at Mt. Morris and to excavate a canal or race from the river to the village, a distance of a mile. This enterprise secured to

the village of Mt. Morris a good water-power, which materially aided the growth and prosperity of the place, and is to-day of great value to the village.* Previous to this the nearest grist-mill was twenty miles distant, at which place the grinding for his distillery was done. General Mills organized the first militia company in Livingston county, and was elected Captain. In the war of 1812 he went to the frontier, where he remained until the war closed, rendering his country valuable service. Report reached Mt. Morris that he was killed on the frontier. Some of his neighbors got together and called on Mrs. Mills to sympathize with her, and also to inform her they had agreed to start the next morning for the frontier, in pursuit of his dead body. Adam Hostlander, John Eagle, Mr. Stanley, Lewis Baldwin and Arzel Powell were foremost in this pursuit.

During that night General Mills reached his home, to the great surprise of his family and neighbors. He soon after fell sick with the Genesee or spotted fever brought on by fatigue and hardship on the frontier, from which he barely survived, after six weeks confinement to his bed. He was always ready to assist the poor and needy and never turned such away empty-handed or disappointed. He was the standing "aid" for all the early settlers in the town of Mt. Morris who bought land and moved on to it, and could

* My informant assures me he well remembers the morning this work was commenced and the first shovel-full of earth cast. The village people and laborers, amounting perhaps to 100 persons, assembled at the foot of the hill, on the line of the work just north of the present wagon-road bridge across the race, as you go north to the Genesee river. It was here the first ground was broken. The men were all drawn up in line, appropriate remarks were made by Deacon Stanley and General Mills, the latter excavating the first shovel-full of earth, Deacon Stanley the next, after which wine and liquor was drunk, and the work of furnishing Mt. Morris with water-power thus inaugurated.

not pay for it. He never allowed one such to lose his land. He was on those early settlers' paper to the average amount of \$12,000 for nearly twenty years. He never lost but \$250 in consequence. In no instance can it be said of him that he ever charged anything for his services, and the responsibility incurred in their behalf, or that he would allow them to pay him anything for these valuable services, extending through many years. The result was that there was scarcely a farmer in town but that sooner or later became under obligations to General Mills. In the summer of 1816, the crops in Allegany County were almost entirely destroyed by frost especially on the Short Tract, and at Caneadea. In the winter following there was a famine in these neighborhoods. Teams and sleighs were sent down to Mt. Morris for wheat and corn. The settlers who came down brought no money to pay for their supplies for the best reason in the world, they had none nor could raise none in their neighborhood to bring. They called on General Mills and laid their case before him, and the condition of their people at home, and said if he would let them have what they wanted he should some day be paid amply therefor. Though strangers to him he listened to their tale of suffering, and literally filled their sleighs with corn and other grain and pork, and sent them home rejoicing. The following summer in harvest time, fourteen of the residents of Caneadea and Short Tract came to Mt. Morris and worked for him, thus paying him in full for his generous act in providing food for their starving people the winter previous. His military career was quite as successful as his financial. As before stated, he organized the first militia company in what is now Livingston county, and from this small beginning rose to the rank of Major-General of the militia of the

State. The district which he had command of was large, embracing Allegany, Genesee, Livingston, Wyoming, Monroe, Ontario and Steuben counties. He used to hold his fall meetings and parades at the principal villages in the different counties, and some of the leading men of Western New York were at times on his staff. On these occasions Gen. Mills always rode a stylish bred bay horse, which he purchased of Major Carroll for one hundred and ten dollars in silver, which at that time was considered a great price.*

General Mills lived in Mt. Morris half a century; his death occurring April 6th, 1844. His age was 67. He died suddenly after dinner, from disease of the heart, while taking his customary nap. His family consisted at his death of nine children. He was a man of many virtues, retaining the love and confidence of a great circle of acquaintances down to the close of a long and useful life. His youngest son, Dr. Myron H. Mills, served in the Mexican war on the staff of a distinguished officer of the army, and at the close of the war Secretary Marcy personally tendered him an appointment in the regular service as a mark of his appreciation of the Doctor's professional service. Dr. Mills has been a successful contractor on the public works, and after acquiring a competency has settled on the family domain near his birth-place, a spot endeared by many associations.

Deacon Jesse Stanley came here about the year 1809, from Goshen, Connecticut. He was a sterling man, of unwearied industry, and unusual buoyancy of spirits.

* This horse was General Scott's saddle horse which he rode on the frontier in the War of 1812, and was ever afterward known as the "Scott horse" by all the early residents of the town of Mt. Morris and Livingston county.

He died in June, 1845, aged eighty-seven years. His sons Oliver and Lumen accompanied him here. The former died in October, 1851, aged seventy-four, the latter in October, 1839, aged sixty years. He was truly one of the pioneers of Mount Morris.

NORTH DANSVILLE.

Area, 5,349 acres; population in 1875, 4,084; boundaries: on the north by Sparta; east by Wayland; south by Dansville (Steuben county); west by West Sparta and Ossian.

North Dansville was formed from Sparta on the 27th of February, 1846. Three years later an additional portion of Sparta was transferred to its territory, making it about three miles square, but still leaving it one of the smallest, if not the very smallest, of the towns in the State. It has, however, the largest population of any town in the county. The surface of the town consists mainly of the fine flats which lie between East and West hills, the summits of which rise to the height of six or eight hundred feet. The soil upon the slopes is a clayey and gravelly loam, well suited to the culture of grapes and other fruits. The deep sandy alluvium of the bottoms is peculiarly fitted for horticultural purposes, and for nursery gardening, to which uses it is largely devoted.

Canaseraga creek, which rises a few miles to the southward, flows through the northwestern portion of the town, and presents a succession of cascades within the distance of a couple of miles, affording "power enough," says a local authority, "to drive all the

mills of Lowell, and so permanent in its supply as to be little affected by the driest weather." Across the southern end of the town runs Mill creek, a considerable stream, on which are situated a number of mills. The village of Dansville, the largest in the county, was incorporated on the 7th of May, 1845. Its name was derived from Daniel P. Faulkner, an early settler, popularly known as "Captain Dan," hence Dansville or village. It lies near the head of Canase-raga creek, and the head of the valley. The branch, or southerly stem of the Genesee Valley Canal, terminates here. The construction of a slip immediately above lock number eight, with a basin located near the centre of the village, were the subject of animated local discussion, leading almost to bloodshed, but were completed at a cost of about six thousand dollars to the citizens of Dansville. Although fairly entitled to the name, Dansville has not been suffered to possess it without a sharp struggle. More than two score years ago the name of Dansville, as applied to the post-office, was for months the subject of a heated contest between neighboring villages in Livingston and Steuben counties. In 1824 the representative in Congress from the Steuben district, on the petition of the inhabitants of the village of South Dansville, in the latter county, had the name of the Dansville post-office changed to South Sparta, and transferred the former designation to South Dansville post-office. The result was that many important business letters intended for patrons of the old office found their way to the Steuben office under its new name. Finally, all who had letters that had gone to South Dansville, each separately wrote a letter to the Post-Master General, and requested him to change the name of the office back to Dansville, and the one in Steuben county back to South Dansville, which he did, and this post-

office has been called Dansville since. When this quarter town was constituted a town by itself (having been taken from Sparta), the attempt was made by our Member of Assembly, General Fullerton, to call this quarter town "Dansville," and the remaining portion in Steuben county "South Dansville." The Steuben delegation opposed the measure, and Gen. Fullerton not being willing to take the responsibility of giving a new name to an old place called this quarter town North Dansville, its present name. Settlement at Dansville was began in the autumn of 1795 by Amariah Hammond and Cornelius McCoy of Pennsylvania, who "cut the first bushes and felled the first trees." Mr. Hammond came on horseback, and being pleased with the future site of Dansville, spent two days in examining the country about the source of the Canaseraga. He relates that he slept two nights under a pine tree, on the farm which he subsequently owned. With the exception of here and there an open space, red with strawberries, the ground was densely covered with an undergrowth of hazel and black thorn. The bushes were interlaced with grape vines loaded with fruit. During the first winter, Mr. Hammond built a log house, and in the following April he brought his wife and child from Bath on horseback to their new home. The household goods and farming utensils were transported by two yoke of oxen and a sled. The little party spent the first night near the present village of Blood's, and on the next evening took supper in their log mansion. The load of household goods not coming up, Mr. Hammond sought and found it about three miles back, the oxen so weary that it became necessary to halt there for the night. Mrs. Hammond spent the intervening period alone. Soon after nightfall the wolves gathered about the house and kept up their howling for hours, and she

became so terrified that she did not attempt to sleep. Some months after, James McCurdy arrived and took up the farm which he continued to occupy until his death. In the fall of the first year his step-father Mr. McCoy, and himself, made out to chop enough logs to build a cabin eighteen feet by fourteen, which they considered a very large house. On raising-day some came from Geneseo, then called "Big Tree," and also the Old White Woman's sons and other Indians from Allan's Hill, now Mt. Morris, some from Post-town, or Painted Post, and some from Bath. The building was laid up and the roof covered with basswood bark in one day.*

Captain Dan. Faulkner, one of the pioneers, seems to have been a man of great enterprise. He brought several families with him, assisted in erecting the first saw mill, brought the first load of dry goods by sleigh from Albany, and formed the first militia company, a troop of grenadiers, and secured the necessary equipments for them from the Governor. Another early settler was Colonel Nathaniel Rochester.

Wm. Scott of Scottsburgh says: "In the spring of 1811 I entered into co-partnership with Peter Laflesh in the carding and cloth-dressing business at Dansville. Mr. Laflesh was a practical carder as well as cabinet maker. I accordingly contracted with William Bushnell of East Bloomfield, to furnish the machinery for four hundred dollars, a quarter down, the remainder in three annual payments. But my partner could not meet his share of the first installment, and I was greatly embarrassed. This was my first business venture on my own account, and I could not endure the thought of failure. Colonel Rochester had come to Dansville the summer before, and was

* See McCurdy's letter in Clark's Miniature of Dansville village.

living at Stout's tavern, with his family. It occurred to me that he might be disposed to come to my relief, so I called at his room, introduced myself, and made known my strait. After many and close inquiries as to my knowledge of the business, he proposed, much to my relief, to become a partner in the business. The machinery came and we opened the shop in a building belonging to the old grist-mill property, which Colonel Rochester had purchased of David Sholl at the upper end of the village. Although over half a century has passed away since I formed his acquaintance, I hold the memory of Col. Rochester in unabated respect, and his assistance every way so timely, with undiminished gratitude. About this time Colonel Rochester was making a visit every few weeks to the "Falls," as Rochester was yet called, to superintend the laying out of village lots. On my way home from a collecting tour I met him returning from one of these trips, at Begole's Tavern, a little log house standing about fifty rods northeast of the residence of the late Judge Carroll. I see him now, riding up to the door, seated firmly on a small bay pacing mare, and carrying his surveyor's chain and compass strapped to the saddle. After a well cooked supper to which our sharp appetites did full justice, we were shown to a room in the garret containing but one bed. As neither objected, we occupied it together, though it was long before sleep visited us, for Col. Rochester was full of the flattering prospects at the Falls. 'The place must become an important business point,' said he, and he expressed regret that he had spent so much time and means in Dansville, instead of going to the Falls at once, adding, 'If I had just made over to you by gift a deed of all my property at Dansville, and gone direct to the Falls, I should have been the gainer. Dansville will be a fine village, but the Falls, sir, is

capable of great things.' I reminded him that he had established a successful paper-mill and other machinery at Dansville, and had otherwise aided in giving an impulse to the business of that already thrifty town. 'Yes,' said he, 'but I am past the age for building up two towns.' During the conversation I remarked that the name the 'Falls,' was good enough then, but added, 'of course you will find a more fitting one as the place increases.' 'Ah,' said he, 'I have already thought of that, and have decided to give it my family name,' and that was the first time I ever heard the word Rochester applied to the present prosperous city. Col. Rochester was a fine type of the true southern gentleman. His manner was commanding. He was then venerable in years, though, his step was firm. He was tall, perhaps quite six feet high, stooped a little and always walked with a cane. He was dignified and affable in ordinary intercourse, though somewhat austere to strangers, but at home in his own family circle, the excellencies of his fine character were all brought out. I never knew a more kindly or devoted husband and father. In the fall of 1812, not wishing to work at my trade the approaching winter, I engaged with Jared Irwin* to assist him about the store and tavern until spring. His store and John Metcalf's were then the only ones in Dansville. Their goods were purchased in Philadelphia, and brought over land by way of Sunbury to the Susquehanna, thence in boats to Newtown, (now Elmira). Mr. Irwin that year, had made his purchases early for the winter trade, selecting for those days a fine assortment, and as everything was advancing in price under stimulus of the war, was anticipating handsome returns. When the goods

* First Postmaster at Dansville.

reached Newtown, Mr. Irwin sent George Smith, of Hermitage, for them, with his great broad-tire wagon, surmounted by its towcloth covering, and drawn by six horses. After some days, word reached us that Smith's wagon, laden down with the stock, in crossing the Canisteo river had been upset into the stream. Hands were at once sent to the spot to aid in saving the merchandise, but when it reached Dansville, tea, powder, coffee, cloths, laces, in a word, the whole purchase was found to be soaked thoroughly, and either worthless or badly damaged. The mishap so worried Mr. Irwin that he soon fell victim to the epidemic or "war fever," a virulent disease then raging all over the country. Mr. Irwin's family desiring the Rev. Mr. Lindsley of Geneseo, to preach the funeral sermon, I was sent on horseback to invite him to perform the service. Passing over Groveland hill I stopped at Doty's tavern, a small log house (still standing on the Benway farm though changed in location), with a large open fireplace at the end. In this, as I entered, was blazing a heap of logs, whose cheer and warmth was grateful to my chilled body. 'Squire Doty, a spare, quick-motioned, middle-sized man, made room for me in the circle gathered about the fire, earnestly discussing the war. A few bottles were fenced off in the corner of the room. The house was two stories high, rude in appearance, but within cheery and orderly, and the table abounded with good fare. A person entering that house would readily discover that Squire Doty and lady were persons endowed with minds of no common cast. I there met William B. Rochester and his sister Kitty, who were returning from the Falls in a sleigh. The snow had left them, and it was arranged that the brother should go forward with the horse and harness, the sister to remain until my return and ride behind me on my

horse to Dansville, a charge which honored me as much as though the young lady had been a princess. Of the business men of Dansville in 1807, I recollect John Metcalf and Jared Irwin, merchants; the latter also kept a tavern as did Jonathan Barnhart; also, Jonathan Stout, tailor, Isaac Vanderverter, tanner, Gowen Wilkinson, Amariah Hammond, Jacob Welch, Jas. McCurdy, farmers, Peter Laflesh, cabinet maker, and Daniel Sholl, who owned the grist mill, built by Charles Williamson at an early day. There was at that time, neither church nor school house within the village limits. A poorly built log school house* stood a mile north of Barnhart's tavern where service was held on Sabbath and singing school once a week. The Rev. Andrew Gray usually preached, sometimes Mr. Parker, a missionary from Connecticut. Peter Laflesh led the singing, Mrs. Wilkinson, mother of John Wilkinson, was a leading voice in the primitive choir."

Joshua Shepard, who came to Dansville in 1813, was born in Plainfield, Connecticut, in 1779. He commenced life as a carpenter, and worked at Canandaigua and in the neighborhood until the War of 1812, when he was trading near the lines and fearing an invasion from Canada, came to Dansville, where he engaged in Merchandizing. He was very successful as a merchant, always prompt in collecting and prompt in paying. The usual credit then was for one year, but he insisted on payment spring and fall, and full payment in the winter. Almost all the business was barter, money being very scarce. Wheat was very low, and was sent to Montreal. It was worth only two shillings and sixpence store pay, and on one ship-

* This school house stood west of the road and near where now stands a large barn of William Hartman's.

ment he only realized seventeen cents per bushel. The woolen, paper, flouring, clover-seed, and lumber mills of which Dansville then had a number, he furnished with goods on credit. He was also engaged with Lester Bradner in a distillery. He usually went to New York city in the winter-time all the way in a cutter. Mr. Shepard did all he could to promote the public welfare, and was always prominent in good works, and when the first house of worship was erected, he not only gave the land but assisted largely in paying for the building. In February, 1808, Dr. Philip Scholl fixed his residence in Dansville. He was a native of Moore township, Northampton County, Pennsylvania. When he arrived at Dansville the village contained about a score of houses. He purchased a lot on the corner of Main and Exchange streets, and cleared a spot for a house. A day or two was spent in grubbing out the stumps of saplings and bushes before the cellar could be excavated. Dr. Scholl soon became the owner of the flouring mill, and operated it for several years, attending meanwhile to his professional duties. He soon came to a good understanding with the Indians, who were in the habit of visiting the upper portion of the mill-race in small fishing parties, and they seldom went away without a little bag of corn meal. A daughter of Dr. Scholl,* says: "On our reaching here, and for some time afterwards, there was a miserable common school kept in a temporary log school-house north of the village, which likewise answered for a place for occasional religious services, and for public meetings. There was not yet a professing christian here. Occasionally a circuit preacher or missionary came through, and in half an hour the building would be filled with people

* Mrs. Wm. H. Pickell of Dansville.

Little idea can now be formed of the roughness of the early settlers generally. Of course we had but little in the way of cultivated fruits and butcher's meat, but plenty of wild grapes, wild plums, and crab apples, and a ready supply of venison and small game." Dr. Scholl was a man of much energy of character. In person he was stout and thick-set, and was predisposed to apoplexy, of which he suddenly died in 1821, on a visit to his former home, where he lies buried in the old Stone Church grave-yard, near Kreidersville, Pa.

As early as 1807, as has already been seen, services were irregularly held in a tumble-down building a mile north of the village by a Presbyterian minister, but it was not until the twenty-fifth of March, 1825, that the Presbytery of Bath organized a church at Dansville. "The church then organized," says Calvin E. Clark, "consisted of a small colony of nine members from the first Presbyterian church of Sparta, and two from the Presbyterian church in Buffalo, making eleven in all, which was placed under the care of the Rev. Robert Hubbard as stated supply. Additions were gradually made to this feeble society until the summer of 1827, when the church united with the Presbytery of Ontario, having at this time forty-six members. After the erection of a new school house, which occupied the site of the present Episcopal church, the society met in that on the Sabbath, but it soon became too small for their increasing numbers. At this time Joshua Shepard very kindly and liberally donated a lot on Main Street and one thousand dollars to erect a church, which offer was accepted by the society and a building was put up and finished at a cost of thirty-five hundred dollars. It was opened and dedicated to divine service in 1831, but before it was finished the generous donor was

called to mingle in other scenes, and was not permitted to see or enjoy the fruits of his liberality. In 1840 a division in the church took place and two Presbyterian congregations, known as first and second Presbyterian, was the result. This state of things lasted until 1861, when they were united by the action of the Ontario Presbytery.

In the fall of 1818, Merritt Brown and wife came to Dansville. They were Methodists, and they found here but one person of that persuasion, though there were some Methodist families at West Sparta, six miles distant, where there was occasionally preaching by circuit preachers. After Mr. Brown located here, occasional service was held at his house, by the Rev. Thomas Magee and Elder Nash. The following year the Rev. Micah Seager and Elder Chester B. Adgate were appointed to the circuit, the latter remaining two years, and through the agency of their zealous ministrations a revival took place. In 1821 the Rev. James Gilmore was appointed to the circuit, and was succeeded by Elder Prindle. By this time several Methodist families had moved in, and a class was formed. Ephraim Walker was the leader. The members were Eliza Walker, Samuel Smith and wife, Thomas McWhorter and wife, George and Mark Morrison, and widow Morrison. On the first Sabbath in January, 1825, the Rev. Gideon Stoddard held the first quarterly meeting in Dansville, followed by a protracted effort, and revival which lasted two or three years. In 1829 the first Methodist church, a structure thirty by forty-eight feet, was erected in Dansville. It occupied the site on which the present Methodist church stands. The Rev. Robert Parker and the Rev. Thomas Carlton were the first pastors. The first trustees were Merritt Brown, William Curtice and Benjamin Pickett. In the spring of 1858 a Seminary was established

here under control of the Methodist denomination, at a cost of \$15,000. There are in this town six other churches, none however established at an early day. One of the most extensive and probably the only exclusively water cure establishment in the United States is located in Dansville. In May, 1855, Mr. David J. Wood, long a prominent merchant in Dansville, died under circumstances that created some suspicion of foul play in the minds of those whose relations were intimate with the family. The wife and two children were absent at the time of Mr. Wood's death, but returned in a couple of days thereafter. In a fortnight or so the three were taken sick, the symptoms resembling those of Mr. Wood. Mrs. Wood died. The children recovered after several weeks' sickness, and on settling up the estate it was found that they were penniless, although Mr. Wood, on his death-bed, declared that he was worth several thousand dollars. The bodies of husband and wife were exhumed and the contents of their stomachs submitted to an experienced chemist for analysis, who found traces of poison. Suspicion was at once directed to the brother of Mr. Wood. He was arrested and after a long and exciting trial was found guilty and hung at Geneseo on the 9th of July, 1858.

NUNDA.

Area, 22,291 acres; population in 1875, 2,708. Boundaries: on the north by Mount Morris; east by Ossian; south by Grove (Allegany county); west by Portage.

Nunda is one of the extreme south-western towns of the county. Its surface is quite hilly, the highest point, near its center, being about 1200 feet above the canal at Nunda village. The soil, a sandy loam, with gravel and clay intermixed, is well adapted to the diversified needs of the farming community, and especially so for the raising of wheat, of which staple this town was once one of the most abundant producers. Cashaqua creek, in the northwestern part, is the principal stream. The Genesee Valley Canal traverses the northwestern corner of the town, and commences here the immense rise it is necessary for it to make to surmount to the summit level at Portage. The deep cutting of the canal, its numerous locks and picturesque scenery in this and the town of Portage, are worthy of frequent visits from tourists and sight-seers. Indeed the scenery about here is beautiful, in some instances grand, and attract many summer pleasure-seekers to the vicinity.

Nunda was formed from the town of Angelica, Allegany county, March 11th, 1808. Its people early manifested a desire to annex the town to this county, and measures were taken to effect this object soon after the county was organized. They were not successful, however, and it was not until 1846 that Nunda was taken from Allegany and annexed to Livingston.

Nunda village, situated in the northwestern part of the town, is a flourishing place, having a large number of business places, and a few manufacturing establishments. The streets and private residences are very attractive, the well-shaded thoroughfares and the tasteful architecture of the dwellings making it one of the most beautiful villages in the county. It contains six churches, and an academy, the building of which is one of the best and costliest school edifices in the county. The Nunda Literary Institute,

opened in 1845, was also in its day a noted and flourishing educational institution. Its building was burned in June, 1859.

Nunda Station, on the Erie Railway, is in the southwest part of the town, and a busy place. At present it is the nearest railroad station for the inhabitants of the town, and is an important shipping point. East Hill in the southeast part of the town, is a small hamlet. Coopersville, in the northern part, contains a grist-mill and a few houses.

The Tuscarora tract, which embraced the town of Nunda and a portion of Mount Morris was at a very early day the property of Luke Tiernan, of Baltimore. It was late in coming into market, and the rich lands were seized by squatters, whose only title was that given by possession. They spent their time in hunting, fishing and trapping, paying little attention to the cultivation of the soil. They were of no practical benefit in developing the resources and promoting the growth of the town, and rather hindered than encouraged emigration. Mr. Tiernan sent an agent, one McSweeney, to protect his interests, but not understanding the nature of the men he had to deal with, he was beset with troubles. The squatters had an able and shrewd advocate in a Joseph Dixon, who defended them against all suits for trespass, and caused the agent much vexation. On the advent of settlers, the squatters removed to other places, where the annoyances of civilized life would not trouble them.

In 1806 Phineas Bates and Beela Elderkin located near the present village of Nunda, being the first permanent settlers of the town. Other early settlers were David Corey and brother, Reuben Sweet and Peleg, his brother, Gideon Powell, Abner Tuttle,

William P. Wilcox, John H. Townser, and James Paine.

Alanson Hubbell opened an inn at what is now the village, in 1820. The first store was kept near the centre, by Wm. P. Wilcox, at this time. Willoughby Lovell built the first saw-mill in 1818, and the first grist-mill was erected in 1828 by Samuel Swain and Lindsey Joslyn.

In 1820 the Hon. Charles Carroll had charge of the sale of lands in this vicinity, and became soon after the proprietor of the site of the present village of Nunda, which he laid out in 1824. In addition to those already mentioned, Elijah Bennett, William and Jacob Devon, were among the early settlers. Hiram Grover was an early merchant, James Heath an inn-keeper, Drs. Wright and Gilmore, physicians. William Hammond was also an early settler, and a prominent and influential citizen.

In 1806 or 1807 James Scott and two or three other farmers went up the Cashaqua valley, with a view to locating, but these close observing farmers saw that the hazel bushes had hanging on them dead hazelnuts, and concluding that it must be frosty there, did not buy any lands. They spent the night in a partly built hut or log house, between Brushville and Nunda village. There was then but one occupied house between these two places, and that was occupied by a squatter named Kingsley. Brushville was covered with low brush, no trees of large growth being found there.

Azel Fitch, Russell Messenger, Abijah Adams and Zaphen Strong settled in the town in 1816, and in 1817 George W. Merrick came. The same spring the families of John and Jacob Passage, Abraham Acker, John White, Schuyler Thompson and Henry Root settled in Nunda, which then embraced a territory as

large as a modern county. Mr. Merrick was a native of Wilmington, Tolland Co., Conn., where he was born in February, 1793. He was six times elected Supervisor, and was for sixteen years Justice of the Peace. While in Jefferson Co., N. Y., Mr. Merrick read an account in some newspaper that a man named Barnard, of Nunda, with five others, went into the woods one Sunday morning, chopped the logs and laid up a log cabin as high as the chamber floor, and one log above, before sunset. On reaching Nunda Merrick purchased the claim on which the cabin was standing, fifty acres of land and improvements, for forty dollars in gold. The "improvements" were the log cabin mentioned, which was twelve feet square, and one-half acre of land cleared and sowed to turnips. He at once raised the logs five feet higher, and put on a roof of shingles of his own make, without using a nail. Five hundred feet of boards were all he could procure anywhere for finishing purposes.

An eccentric pioneer says that at this time a bird familiar to all the early settlers used to say, "Work or die." Later, when people were prosperous, lived in larger houses, and more in the style of the present day, it changed its refrain to "Cheat and lie."

One of the first, if not the very first of the religious organizations of Nunda was that of the Baptist society. On the 21st of May, 1819, twelve individuals, members of other churches of that denomination, who had removed hither, organized the Baptist church of Nunda. They received the right hand of fellowship as a church from Elder Samuel Messenger, pastor of a neighboring church, who preached for them half the time that year. During the first three years, 47 members were added to the original number. Among the active and liberal members of the church in early days may be mentioned Deacon Rawson, Deacon

Schuyler Thompson, Nathaniel Coe, Reuben Pierce and Daniel Ashley. In October, 1823, Elijah Bennett, a member of the society, was ordained to the ministry and became pastor of the church. His compensation was very meagre, and he was often obliged to depend upon the labor of his hands to procure support. The church minutes, July 3d, 1825, contain this record: "Voted to give Elder Messenger \$50 for half of the time, to be paid in produce by the first of the ensuing February." In 1826 Elder Bennett's pay was raised to \$100 annually, for half of the time. The society was incorporated in October, 1827, when "John Waite, Silas Warren and Daniel Ashley were chosen trustees. They at once purchased a site on which was erected what was considered a commodious church edifice, of wood. The rapid growth of the membership eventually required a larger building, however, and in 1840 the spacious brick edifice now in use was erected. The wooden building was purchased by the Nunda Literary Institute, and used for educational purposes until its destruction by fire.

The Presbyterian church was organized at about the same time as the Baptist church, and the Methodist society was formed in 1844.

The first frame house erected in the town of Nunda was by George W. Merrick. Another frame house was erected soon after. A squatter named Bata, was perhaps the first settler within the corporate limits of the village of Nunda. He came here in 1815 or 1816. He cleared a small plot of ground, set out some fruit trees, and started other improvements. When John McSweeney, the agent of the Tiernan tract, arrived, Bata was driven off. McSweeney was a native of Ireland. He became dissatisfied with the new country, and at the first town meeting held in Pike, petitioned for an appropriation to enable him to return to Ire-

land. The first frame house in the village of Nunda was erected in 1824 by Asa Heath, and the next one by Alanson Hubbell. Heath came from Washington county and settled in Nunda in 1820. A part of the house he built is still standing. The village of Nunda was incorporated April 26th, 1839.

OSSLIAN.

Area, 25,086 acres; population in 1875, 1,144. Boundaries: on the north by West Sparta; east by North Dansville and Dansville, Steuben county; south by Burns (Allegany county); west by Grove (Allegany county) and Nunda.

Ossian was taken from Angelica on the 11th of March, 1808, and remained a part of Allegany county until 1857, when it was annexed to Livingston county. Angelica was then the shire town of Allegany county, distant twenty miles from Ossian over rugged roadways; and though Geneseo is equally distant, even by the ordinary wagon roads, it is more easily reached. The surface of the town is broken and hilly throughout, yet while the summits of the greater hills rise to a height of 600 to 800 feet above the grass-covered valleys, but a small proportion of the land is unsuited to tillage. About half the area of the town is uncultivated, the forests in some parts, for a hundred acres together, remaining in their primeval condition. The soil in the valleys is a gravelly loam, that on the hills a sandy loam, with some clay in the eastern part. In the north-west part is a small gas spring. Sugar Creek flows through the town, near the center. Ossian Cen-

ter is a small settlement, containing eighteen or twenty houses. West View, a smaller settlement, contains about a dozen houses and a saw mill.

The first settlement was made in 1804 by Judge Richard W. Porter and his brother James Porter, of New Jersey. James Haynes and James Croghan settled here about the year 1806, and Jacob Clendenin in 1807. Orrison Cleveland, William and John Gould, and Heman Orton came about the year 1810. Luther Bisbee was an early settler in the north-west corner of the town. The first child born was Abraham Porter in 1805; the first marriage that of John Gelson and Betsey Shay, in 1816; the first death that of John Turner, killed by the falling of a tree in 1807. The first school in the town was taught in 1813 and 1814 by a Mr. Weston.

In 1817 Oliver Stacey opened the first inn, and Daniel Canfield the first store in 1824. The first saw-mill was built by Nathaniel Porter in 1806 or the following year, and the first grist-mill by John Smith in 1826.

There are two churches in the town, Presbyterian and Methodist. The first church, the Presbyterian, was organized Sept. 29, 1818, by the Rev. Robert Hubbard. In 1825 it numbered 49 members, and in 1832 it had 63 members. The Rev. Mr. Hubbard was the first preacher, but enjoyed only occasional preaching from him, as he had two extended congregations.

“The town of Ossian* was one of the early sales of Phelps and Gorham to Jeremiah Wadsworth, who sold it to Robert Troup. It was included in agencies of James Wadsworth, under whose auspices its sale and settlement commenced. A saw-mill was built there in 1806. Frederick Covert, Wm. Boyle, Samuel

* Turner's *Phelps and Gorham Purchase*.

M'Crea, Richard Porter, Joshua Carpenter, Elijah Belknap, James Rooker, Wm. Lemen, James Gregory, and James Boylan, had become purchasers, and it is presumed most of them settlers in 1807. Mr. Wadsworth advertised that he would exchange lands in Troupston for improved farms in New England. He said:—'The township is situated on the Canase-
raga, about twelve miles above its confluence with the Genesee river; ten miles from Arkport. There is an excellent wagon road from Geneseo, through Sparta, to Troupston. A road has been made from the village, through Troupston, to Angelica.' In December of the same year, Mr. Wadsworth writes to Mr. Troup that he had supplied a new settler in the township, (Mr. Carpenter,) with a pot ash kettle, and adds:—'you cannot imagine what a help two or three pot ash kettles are, in a new township, to the settlers.' "

PORTAGE.

Area, 15,585 acres; population in 1875, 1,172. Boundaries: on the north by Mount Morris; east by Nunda; south by Granger (Allegany county); west by Pike (Wyoming county).

Portage lies in the extreme south-western part of the county, and is one of its later acquisitions, having been annexed to Livingston from Allegany in 1846. It was formed from the town of Nunda March 8th, 1827. The name was derived from the portage or carrying-place around the falls of the Genesee, which flows along its western border. The surface is quite hilly, in some parts rising to a height of several hundred feet above the general level of the locality. Near

Portageville the hills attain a height of 200 feet above the railroad. The scenery in the vicinity of the river is picturesque and grand. The river after leaping over the Upper and Middle Falls, flows through a deep chasm, whose rocky sides rise quite perpendicularly to a height of from one to two hundred feet. Here, also, the Genesee Valley Canal crawls along the mountain side, and feels its way to the aqueduct crossing the river above the railroad, while the old railroad bridge, probably the largest wooden bridge in the world, and a wonderful example of the engineering skill of man, spanned the river at this point, and was for years the object of pilgrimages from all parts of the country. It was destroyed by fire in 1875, but has been replaced by an iron bridge as wonderful in construction, and as worthy of a long journey to see, as its famous predecessor.

The soil of the town is a clay loam in the eastern part, and a sandy loam in the western portion. Oakland, Hunt's Hollow and Portage Station are small villages, the latter a railroad station on the Erie Railway.

Jacob Shaver, so far as can be learned, was the first settler in Portage, coming here in 1810. He settled on lot 150, where he made a clearing, and built a log house. Ephraim Kingsley and Seth Sherwood followed him in 1811. Other early settlers were Prosper and Abijah Adams, Enoch Halliday, Walter Bennett, Russell Messenger (who gave the name to Messenger Hollow), Nathaniel B. Nichols, Asahel Fitch, Elias Hill, Joseph Dixon, Solomon Williams, George Wilmer, Stephen Spencer, Willis Robinson, Allen Miller, Elias Moses, Horace Miller, Thomas Alcott, Joseph and Thomas T. Bennett, Benjamin Fordyce, Horton Fordyce, Reuben Weed, Cyrus Allen, Wm. Dake, Nathaniel and Charles Coe.

In 1816, Colonel George Williams, as sub-agent of Pultney estate under Mr. Greig, came to Portage and under his enterprise and skilful management, the lands were brought into market and rapidly sold to settlers. Col. Williams, who was a son of Dr. William A. Williams of Canandaigua, continued as agent for the sale of these lands for many years, and such was his liberal and considerate manner of dealing with the settlers, and yet the conscientious regard he manifested for the interests of his superiors, that he was held in high esteem, and retained through life the confidence and respect of those having dealings with him.

Sanford Hunt emigrated from Green county to Livingston county in December, 1818, with his wife and seven children. Mrs. Hunt was a native of Coventry, Tolland Co., Connecticut. Her maiden name was Fanny Rose, and she was a niece of the lamented Nathan Hall of Revolutionary memory, and daughter of a surgeon in the Continental army. The little household had tarried at Sonyea for two or three months, and reached Portage in January, 1819. On their way to Portage, Mr. Samuel R. Hunt says: "In coming in from the direction of Mount Morris, we passed much of the way over corduroy roads, and through the six-mile woods between the present river and State roads, across the White Woman's tract. We came out upon an old clearing east, called the Shaver place—now John Angel's farm. Forging the creek twice we came to anchor as far south as the road was opened. There was not a bridge across the creek from source to mouth, though one was built the following spring. There were but three families south of here, by way of the State road, in eleven miles—that is, to the junction with the Dansville road. These were George Gearhart and a son-in-law, John Growlin and Andrew

Smith. Here were also Henry Bennett, Nathaniel B. Nichols and Walter Bennett, his partner (who built a saw-mill the year before), Enoch Miller, Henry Devoe, Elder Elijah Bennett and several single men. Deacon William Town and Henry Root lived near, and last, though not least, Elias Alvord, potash boiler."

On the west was Ephraim Kingsley, on the Nash farm. Mr. Hunt says: "He first took up the farm in 1816, and set, I think, the first apple orchard on the Cottinger tract, unless it be a few trees on the Shaver place. Solomon Williams set a good orchard, and did more to introduce good fruit, apples especially, than any farmer I know of. He went to Utica, Chenango, and afterward to Canandaigua, for grafts, and by saving some and discarding others he left, perhaps, the best and most profitable varieties in the county. South of him was Warren Carpenter, on the Short Tract road. West, Samuel Fuller, a Revolutionary pensioner from Rhode Island."

Turner says of Sanford Hunt: "He had come to the then new region, with a large family, after, business reverses, which had left him little but a manly fortitude and spirit of perseverance, to rely upon. He engaged in farming, merchandizing in a small way, (his goods principally obtained in Geneseo) erected mills, an ashery; was a valuable acquisition to the new country; retrieved his broken fortunes; and what was a moral triumph, of far more consequence, reared and educated a family of sons and daughters who have proved worthy of such a father, (and such a mother it might well be added)." Hunt's Hollow is so called from the fact of his residence there. He left five sons, among whom were Samuel R. and Horace Hunt of Hunt's Hollow, and Washington Hunt, Governor of the State in the years 1851 and 1852.

The future Governor laid the foundation of his edu-

cation in the common district schools of Portage, after which he was a student in the Geneseo Academy, paying his way by doing manual labor morning and evening. He afterward entered the store of Bissell & Olmsted, of Geneseo, and when Mr. Bissell removed to Lockport, he followed him thither, at the age of 17 years. There his progress and advancement were rapid, until he had attained the highest position in the State.

In 1817 Prosper Adams opened the first tavern in Portage, and Sanford Hunt started the first store in 1819. The first saw-mill was built in 1816, and the first grist-mill in 1817, by Russell Messenger.

The first religious organization was the Presbyterian church, at Hunt's Hollow, about the year 1820. The town now contains four churches, Presbyterian, Methodist, Episcopal and Baptist.

SPARTA.

Area, 17,243 acres; population in 1875, 1,141. Boundaries: on the north by Conesus; east by Springwater; south by North Dansville; west by West Sparta.

The town of Sparta was formed in January, 1789, and it originally embraced the towns of Sparta, West Sparta, Groveland and North Dansville, together with a portion of Springwater. Groveland was formed in 1812. A part of Springwater was taken from Sparta in 1816; and in 1846 Sparta was divided and the three towns formed first above named. A portion of Groveland was annexed in 1856. The surface of the town is

quite hilly, in some parts the summits being 800 to 1,000 feet high. On the hills the soil is a gravelly loam, while in the valleys it is a sandy, gravelly loam, with some mixture of clay. The Canaseraga creek flows along the western border.

The most important village in the town is Scottsborough, named after Matthew and William Scott, early settlers. It is situated in the northern part of the town, and contains two churches, several stores, a tavern, grist and saw-mill, and about forty houses. North Sparta, Sparta and Reed's Corners are small hamlets.

The map of Sparta has been more frequently changed than that of any other town in the county. The territory of the original town of Sparta extended from Livonia south to the Allegany county line, and west from Naples, Ontario county, to the Genesee river.

The first settlement was made at Scottsborough about 1794, by Jesse Collar, from Pennsylvania, and for a number of years the place was called Collartown. Other early settlers were Darling Havens, John Niblack, John Smith, Asa Simmons, Robert Wilson and Thomas Hovey, who came previous to 1798, Peter Roberts in 1799. Nearly all the earlier settlers were from Pennsylvania. Thomas Bohanan taught the first school. Darling Havens came from Sussex county, New Jersey, where he was born, in 1794, locating at a place in the Canaseraga valley ever since known as Havens' Tavern. He kept the first tavern in Sparta. He died April 2d, 1814. His son, Isaac Havens, came with him to Sparta, and lived on the same farm until his death in June, 1856. The first grist-mill was built in 1810 by William D. McNair. The first town meeting for the town of Sparta was held at Williamsburgh on the first Tuesday of April, 1796. William Harris was

chosen Supervisor, and William Lemen Town Clerk. In 1797 the town meeting was held at the same place, Lemen's tavern, Williamsburgh; in 1798 it was held at James Clark's house; in 1799 at the house of Captain Henry Magee. At this meeting the sum of \$80 was voted for town expenses for the ensuing year.

Philip Gilman and Joshua Carpenter came to Sparta about the year 1802, from Pennsylvania. Both were Revolutionary soldiers, and drew pensions until their deaths.

The first religious society in the town was that of the Methodist church. Elder John B. Hudson visited Sparta East Hill in the fall of 1805. He says that from Groveland he "passed on to Sparta East Hill, where was another little company of Methodists. All of our members and most of the people here had emigrated from Pennsylvania." The town now contains six churches.

Alexander Fullerton* was an early settler in Sparta. He was a native of Chester county, Pennsylvania, of Scotch parents. While residing in Pennsylvania he was made a captain in the militia. This so pleased the parents, whose respect for military rank was very great, that he was treated with peculiar respect by them. This anecdote is related: The parents kept a tavern, and when a traveller would inquire the price of a dinner he would be answered thus: "Oteen pence by yoursel", but twa shillings if you eat with my son, for he has the best the hoose affords and an onion to relish it with." The same love of military display descended to General W. S. Fullerton, who, for many years, was prominently connected with the militia service of the State.

The early preacher of Sparta was the Rev. Andrew

* Father of General William S. Fullerton.

Gray, the remembrance of whom lingered tenderly in the minds of the pioneers long after he had passed away. His life was a chequered one in many respects. He was born in the County Down, Ireland, Jan. 1st, 1757. Migrating to America he took part in the Revolutionary War, at the age of seventeen. He was taken prisoner at the battle of Long Island by the Hessians, and in an altercation between two of these hirelings, each of whom claimed Gray as his prisoner, the latter nearly lost his life. After suffering indescribable horrors for several months, he escaped to the American lines, and afterward took part in some of the hardest fought battles of the war. When the long struggle ended he studied for the ministry, hiring out by the day to earn the means with which to secure an education. He preached his first sermon in 1793, in Low Dutch. In 1795, in company with Major Van Campen and Mr. McHenry he came to Allegany county, N. Y., where the three purchased a large tract of land, and moved here with his family in the following year. The title proving defective he lost largely. He preached in Allegany about twelve years, preaching in Dansville, Almond and Angelica. In 1806 or 1807 he moved to Sparta, where he preached to two congregations, one in Sparta, and one in what is now Groveland. In December, 1807, he was authorized by the New York Missionary Society to proceed to the Tuscarora Indian village and confer with the chiefs and members of the tribes, on the subject of their connection with that society. After holding the council with the Tuscaroras he was accepted by them as a missionary, and removed with his family to the Tuscarora village. His labors were blest, and many of the Indians were converted. He was greatly harassed by the war of 1815, and on the 18th of December, 1814, when Lewiston was burnt, he was obliged

to flee. He left the table spread and the tea poured out. He lost his household property and library, for which no restitution was ever made. He returned to Sparta, where he remained until his death, in 1839, "much and justly lamented." The funeral procession, a very long one, was headed by two venerable Revolutionary soldiers, Captain Perine and Major VanCampen.

A person of no small note came to Sparta at an early day. This was General Daniel Shays, the inciter of the outbreak known as "Shay's Rebellion," which occurred soon after the close of the Revolutionary War, and threatened for a time the peace of the eastern part of the Union. Shays came to Sparta in the company of Jonathan Weston, a school teacher, who had been on a visit to Cayuga county. He is described as having been a short, stout, talkative old gentleman, whose quick and sprightly manner struck the observer at once. William Scott, who visited him here, in company with young Millard Filmore, says: "I can recollect that both Filmore and I were much disappointed in his personal appearance. By no means commanding in person, his dress was quite ordinary and there was nothing to mark him as one to take the lead, and we wondered how the talkative old gentleman had become so prominent." Shays squatted on a lot near Hungerford's, where he lived three years. He then married the widow of the senior Darling Havens, who was then living with two unmarried sons about a mile east of Scottsburgh. Here Shays lived several years, until, obtaining a pension, he bought twelve acres of land near Scottsburgh and built a log house and frame barn. He resided here until his death. The barn is still standing. In his latter years he drank pretty freely, but would never associate with low company. He prided himself in

setting a good table and entertaining friends. His death occurred Sept. 29th, 1825, at the age of 84 years. He was buried in the town of Conesus, a mile north of Scottsburgh, and no stone marks his grave.

The first newspapers circulated in Sparta, and the first in the county, were the Repository and the Messenger, both of which were printed in Canandiagna, and delivered by post-riders. A postoffice was established in the town in 1814, with Samuel Stillwell as postmaster.

A great deal of whiskey was used in early days, although there was comparatively little drunkenness. Perhaps this was because the liquor was home made, and unadulterated with the vile poisons that are found in liquors of the present day. William Magee says: "There was a great deal of liquor used in those days. They had their bees to put up log cabins, log barns, and also their logging bees; and to take it all in all, it required a great deal of liquor." The town of Sparta then embracing its largest territory, had eight stills in operation, from about 1796 to 1810. These were owned by William Lemen, William Magee, Alexander McDonald, Hector McKay, Nicholas Beach, John Hyland, James Rodman and James Scott.

In June, 1806, James Scott* left Northumberland county, Pennsylvania, with his family of ten children, in a long covered wagon drawn by four horses and a yoke of oxen, reaching Sparta on the first day of July. From Dansville they had to cut a road most of the way to their new home, and settled in the woods on lands now owned by Peter Swick and heirs of L. Doud. There was then no wagon road in any direction. An Indian path ran from Conesus to Hemlock valley, and nothing more. To the eastward stretched

* Father of the Hon. William Scott of Scottsburgh.

an unbroken wilderness to Naples, a distance of 18 miles. In what is now the town of Springwater there was not a stick cut nor line drawn. A good many Indians roamed through the woods; and bears, wolves, panthers and deer, almost by the hundred, made their presence known. Two years before bringing his family, Mr. Scott had visited Sparta on horseback with his wife for the purpose of prospecting. The country suited him and in the fall two of his sons and one daughter, came out, erected a log cabin and cleared off a piece of ground which they sowed to wheat. The next summer another son came out and drove a cow. All returned to Pennsylvania in the fall and came back with the family the following year.

“The Sabbath following our arrival in Sparta,” says William Scott, “my father, one of the girls and four of us boys attended meeting at the house of George Mitchell, a log house standing two and one-half miles south of what is now Scottsburg, and six miles south of Conesus lake, where Samuel Emmet, a Methodist minister, preached to a congregation of about twenty-five or thirty persons. I had heard the good man preach in Pennsylvania, and meeting him here renewed agreeable associations to us all.”

“The season was one of great scarcity of flour here. But having learned the fact before leaving Pennsylvania, we brought a sufficient supply to last until new wheat could be harvested, of which there proved to be a bountiful crop.” The first town meeting attended by the Scotts after their arrival in Sparta, was held in 1807, in the present town of Groveland, at the house of Christian Roup, a log house standing less than a mile south of Groveland Center. Here they met John Smith, Joseph Richardson, Robert Burns, John Hunt, Andrew Culbertson, William and Daniel Kelly, Samuel Stillwell, James Rosebrugh, Thomas Begole, William Doty, and others.

James Scott was a native of the County Antrim, Ireland, though his parents were born in Scotland. The family sailed for America on the 21st of August, 1773, and reached New York on the 16th of October. They settled at Mount Bethel, Pennsylvania. At the breaking out of the Revolution James Scott joined the patriot forces, serving under Colonel Stroud, whose regiment was detached from field service and detailed to protect the frontier from the incursions of the Indians, so frequent after the massacre of Wyoming. "My mother was staying with some friends in Philadelphia at the time of the battles of Brandywine and Germantown and heard the sound of the cannon all day, and after the battles, so disastrous to the colonists, saw the British march into the city with colors flying, and take possession, though they did not seem disposed to disturb quiet citizens." Mr. Scott was married about the year 1780 to a daughter of John Smith, who had come from Londonderry, Ireland, at the same time with the Scotts. Mr. Scott lived at Mount Bethel until 1794, when he removed to Northumberland county, where he remained until his removal to Sparta. "My parents hearing much said about the Genesee country, resolved to see it for themselves. They set out on horseback in the summer of 1804, and after a journey of five days reached Sparta. The same distance can now be made in half a day. A location was made, they returned, and at once prepared to take up their abode in the newer land of promise, where they continued to reside until their death." Mr. Scott died in 1840, at the ripe age of 84, his wife surviving him eleven years. It was truthfully said of him that he was never heard to utter one vulgar or profane word. He was an even-tempered, patient, firm, and warm-hearted man, and was universally respected.

William Scott, upon whose recollections large drafts have been made in this work, and who is yet living, a hale, hearty old man, commenced his business life as a wool-carder and cloth-dresser. He says: "In August, 1807, Samuel Culbertson came to my father's to get a boy for a fortnight to assist in his carding shop at Dansville, and it was concluded that I should go and remain with him through the carding season. I, however, stayed with him through that year and the two following ones, and felt competent at the end of that time to take charge myself of a wool-carding and cloth-dressing shop."

In May, 1810, Mr. Scott hired out to Ichabod A. Holden and Russell Gilbert, who had a carding and cloth-dressing establishment two miles north of Hemlock lake, at a place now called Jacksonville. His wages were \$18 per month. "In the fall I hired to a man of the name of Plumb, at Norton's Mills, now Mendon, at \$18 per month. Elder Weeks owned the works. After cloth-dressing was over at that place I returned to Holden & Gilbert's in Livonia and worked for them until the first of April. I had agreed with Mr. Laflesh to purchase a carding machine and set up the business in Dansville, in company with him, he being a carder as well as cabinet-maker. So I agreed with William Brisband of East Bloomfield to furnish one for \$400, one-fourth to be paid down and the remainder in three equal annual instalments. When the time came for setting up the machine, Laflesh could not pay his part of the first payment, which put me to much embarrassment, it being my first effort to set up business for myself." Mr. Scott saw Colonel Nathaniel Rochester, as is stated in the sketch of Dansville, and formed a partnership, which helped him out of his difficulty.

Afterward Mr. Scott was foreman in the wool-

carding and cloth-dressing establishment which Benjamin Hungerford started in what is now the town of West Sparta in 1814, where he remained for some time. "I engaged with Judge Hurlburt, of Arkport, to take charge of his carding and cloth-dressing works through the season, at \$85 per month. The following year I took the works on shares. I doubt not the good influence surrounding me during the two years I resided in the Judge's family had a favorable influence over me during my subsequent life. The Judge had settled in Arkport in 1795."

"Having settled up my business at Arkport I returned to Sparta, making up my mind to settle there for life, in the spring of 1819. I commenced building a house at Collartown, or Scottsburgh, which I completed in the autumn of the same year. That house is now owned and occupied as a hotel by Captain Darling Havens,* a worthy representative of a family of hotel-keepers, who, for three quarters of a century have made the name a favorite one with the travelling public."

Mr. Scott was married Feb. 9th, 1820, to Phebe Woodruff, daughter of Isaac Woodruff of Livonia. In the spring of 1821 he opened the public house at Scottsburgh, and continued in that business until the completion of his new house in 1826. The following year he sold the tavern stand to Dr. E. Wright, and moved to his new residence. He was elected a Justice of the Peace in 1835, and filled the office for twelve consecutive years. The little stone building in which he held court was often the scene of sharp encounters between members of the bar. Mr. Harwood, of Dansville, and Philip Woodruff, of Scottsburgh, were often pitted against each other. Harwood was

* He has since died.

always plausible with witnesses and skillful in presenting the strongest points of his case, and so courteous that he usually had some advantage over his opponent. Woodruff was much more thoroughly versed in the law, was a man of keen discernment, and possessed a high sense of honor. He was very successful in his practice and always true to his clients and friends.

In 1836 Mr. Scott was elected to the Assembly and was re-elected the following year. In 1847 he was elected Sessions Justice, under the new constitution, occupying the bench with Judge Lord, County Judge, and John H. Jones of Leicester, associate Sessions Justice. In 1856, Mrs. Scott died, "a bereavement that fell like a blight upon my pathway," says Mr. Scott, who, in a retrospective letter, written after having passed man's allotted time—three score years and ten—says: "Many a heartfelt enjoyment has been shared by me in former days with near and dear friends. And, calmly turning from the Past, with its teeming memories, to the Future, with all its transcendent interests, with that eye of Faith which sees more and more clearly as life advances, I may be permitted to say that I derive assured consolation for anything that may be denied here by bereavements, in the hope of a perpetual re-union of friends in a happy Immortality."

In the fall of 1813 Mr. Scott went on horseback from Sparta, by way of Dansville, Painted Post and Newtown to Meansville, now Towanda, Pa., to order millstones for the first grist-mill built in Scottsburgh. The stone was quarried in the mountain above. He ordered the stones, for which he paid \$60, and the following winter a team was sent for them, the transportation charges amounting to \$80. Mr. Scott thinks the "runner" of these two stones is now in Zehner's mill.

About the middle of June, 1813, it commenced raining and continued for three or four days, when just at evening, on the 19th of that month, the rain began to fall in torrents, increasing in volume until the flood threatened to wash away every structure on the mountain streams of Sparta. Benjamin Hungerford, of West Sparta Hill, had but just completed a new saw-mill on Duncan's creek, and placed a new set of machinery in the old carding shop, when the storm came and swept machines, structures and all away. Colonel Rochester's saw-mill dam on the East Dansville creek, which supplied water for himself and for Scott's carding mill, was also carried out. But the most notable loss was that of William D. McNair's grist-mill, which stood on Stony Brook, a few rods east of the highway leading from Dansville to Haven's tavern. The building was strongly built of stone on a solid foundation, and so confident was the proprietor of its security, even on such a night, that becoming alarmed, as the storm increased, for the safety of the log house in which he was living, he moved his household effects into the mill, and his family to the miller's house. Scarcely had they reached the latter place than a loud crash announced the total destruction of the stone mill, with all its machinery and stores of grain and goods.

Seldom has such a storm been witnessed in this country, and the popular notion was that a cloud had "burst." The flood washed mill-stones many rods from their place, and buried them so deeply in the sand and gravel that only after the washings of lesser floods for many years afterwards, were they discovered. It may be stated, as a curious fact, that the log house above alluded to survived the storm and still stands.

SPRINGWATER.

Area: 32,562 acres; population in 1875, 2,129. Boundaries: north by Conesus and Canadice (Ontario Co.); east by Naples, (Ontario Co.); south by Wayland and Cohocton, (Steuben Co.); west by Sparta.

Springwater is the largest town, and forms the south-eastern corner of the county, its eastern half extending six miles beyond the general eastern line of Livingston. It was erected on the 17th of April, 1816, and was formed from Sparta and Naples, both towns then belonging to Ontario County. Its name was derived from the abundance and excellence of the springs which everywhere break out along the bottom of the hilly grounds, and was chosen at a meeting of the inhabitants called to petition for its erection. Other names were suggested but Seth Knowles said that none were so suitable and expressive as that they selected. The soil of the town is a sandy and gravelly loam, plentifully interspersed here and there with clay. Its surface is somewhat broken, and is more hilly than any other town in the eastern half of the county, and both from soil and topography, it is better suited for grazing purposes than for grain. The inlet of Hemlock lake, which flows northward through the western portion of the town, is the principal stream. Cohocton river has its source in the north-eastern part of the town, and passes thence southward into Steuben county. The Pultney estate embraced a portion of Springwater, and several sharply litigated suits have grown out of the peculiar character of the title to that property in the town.

On an elevated hill, not far from the head of the lake, were found many years ago remains of the Fort-builders, over whose history yet broods so much of uncertainty, showing that the locality whose natural

beauty has so much in it to attract, was known to, and appreciated by the aboriginal races ages ago. The first settler in Springwater Valley, then called Hemlock Valley, was Seth Knowles, a native of Connecticut, who settled on lot 18, in 1807. His house, a small log tenement, stood a mile above the lake on the east side of the valley. The spot is not far from John Jennings' dwelling house. The next settler was Samuel Hines,* who located here in 1808. He built a saw mill the following year, three miles above the lake, which subsequently became the property of Farnum and Tyler. Hugh Wilson, who came from Northumberland, Pa., built the pioneer grist-mill in 1813, at the foot of the hill where the road from Scottsburg enters the valley. It occupied nearly the present site of Charles Brewer's mill. It was a frame building, about twenty-two by thirty, two stories high, and had two run-of stones. Elder John Wiley, who settled in Springwater on the 14th of March, 1815, found thirty families in the town. He crossed Hemlock lake on the ice, returning from the war then just closed, and on reaching the western side, learned that peace between England and America had been declared. The forests, he says, were yet in a state of nature, with only here and there a small patch of clearing. The hamlet of Springwater then contained one frame dwelling house, built by Samuel Story on the premises subsequently owned by Harvey S. Tyler, a frame barn built by Mr. Watkins, of Naples, and now owned by heirs of Edward Withington, and a little frame "seven by nine" store, erected by Hosea H. Grover, who kept the first store, built the first ashery, and made the first barrel of potash. There were also

* Another account claims Phineas Gilbert as the second settler. It is said that he removed to Springwater in 1806, and settled on the lot afterward owned by Dr. John B. Norton, about 100 rods north of Gilbert's house.

three frame saw-mills and a frame grist-mill, besides four or five log houses. There was then but one school house in the town, a "small log structure" said Mr. Wiley, "which stood in my dooryard and which in after years I tore down." "Grover," he says, "exchanged goods for shingles, boards, maple-sugar and black salts or potash, articles then reckoned as lawful currency for we had no other medium. The war had left us without money. Shingles rated at twenty shillings, and boards at seven dollars per thousand, while common shirting was worth half a dollar a yard, plug and pig-tail tobacco from fifty to sixty cents a pound, and salt five dollars a barrel, and very hard to get even at that. We were shut up in this then remote region. Horses weres carce enough. I think there were but three in town. Mr. Goodrich of East Hill told me he supplied his large family with potatoes all one season by bringing a bushel and a half at a time from Richmond, a dozen miles away, on his back, and Sylvester Capron said that for the first year he carried the flour of a bushel and a half of wheat on his back from Reed's Mill, in Richmond, a like distance. Harvey S. Tyler, then about eighteen years of age, was the first school teacher I knew, though I believe that Jas. Blake had kept a school the previous winter in the log school house. David Henry, who some years afterwards removed to Michigan, was the first physician that settled in Springwater. On reaching the Valley I found Elder John Cole, a Baptist minister, there. He was the first clergyman who settled in the town. Of the Methodist Society, Phineas Gilbert, a native of Massachusetts, who located in Springwater in 1810, was the class leader when I reached there. The society then consisted of half a dozen persons. The Methodist circuit then embraced Bloomfield and Springwater, or Hemlock Valley as

our place was then called, and was supplied by the Rev. Elisha House, a man of superior parts, assisted by James S. Lent, a son-in-law of Lemuel Jennings, of Geneseo. The first quarterly meeting ever held in the town was under charge of Abner Chase, Presiding Elder of Ontario district, in 1820 or 21, in the barn of Jonathan Lawrence, who was then the class leader. The barn stood on the premises now owned by Addison Marvin. The society met at private houses until the school house accommodated it better. There was no Presbyterian society, nor any member of that church in the town when I reached there. In a year or so, Mrs. Lucy Chamberlain, my grandmother, who had been a member of the Presbyterian church at Dalton, Mass., for fifty-one years, came here to reside with her daughter, Mrs. Lawrence, wife of Jonathan Lawrence. The old lady took a letter from the Rev. Mr. Jennings, of Dalton, on leaving there, but told him she had learned that there was no Presbyterian congregation at Springwater, and that she would unite with the Methodists, which she did. The Rev. Mr. Bell, a Presbyterian Missionary, preached a sermon in the house of Dr. David Henry in 1816, the first sermon preached by a Presbyterian minister in the town I think.

The first distillery in the town was built by Alvah Southworth, on premises then owned by Jonathan Lawrence. It was a frame building, about twenty by thirty feet. About twenty gallons a day was distilled from rye and corn, thus making a home market for these grains. The spirit was sold at the still, and carried away by farmers in jugs and bottles, and occasionally in kegs.

“The first wool-carding and cloth-dressing establishment was erected by Edward Walker in 1821, on premises now owned by William Brewer. It was a frame

building, about twenty-two by thirty, two stories high, the cloth-dressing part below and the carding above. The new settlement was generally blessed with good health, but in the winter of 1813-14, as I was told, the epidemic, or cold 'plague,' visited the valley. One of the earliest settlers named Farnam, and his wife, both died, and were both buried in one grave. An incident of the winter of 1816 cast a shadow over our new settlement. A Mr. Goodrich, a shingle maker, living on West Hill, on the farm now owned by Nehemiah Osborn, had been busy shaving shingles all the morning, and in the afternoon both he and his wife had been called away to a neighbor's, leaving the two children, aged two and five years, alone at home. By some means the shavings took fire, and when the parents started back they saw their house a mass of flames. Of course assistance, even if it could have been had, was then useless, and both children were burned to a crisp, and the house and contents completely destroyed. The year I came to Springwater, 1815, I presume there was not more than one hundred, certainly not to exceed two hundred bushels of winter wheat raised in the town. In three years the annual production was increased ten-fold. In 1816 I paid for one bushel of wheat at Hugh Wilson's mill, to Joseph Cady, the sum of three dollars, then a common price scarce as money was, and it was very scarce. I was then boarding with 'Squire Southworth. I went down to breakfast one morning, and was informed that there was no wheat bread nor any wheat flour in the house. I sent my brother with a horse to Pitts' mill, Richmond, a distance of twelve miles, where he procured two bushels of wheat as a favor. He rode a horse. I was present at the first town meeting. Politics entered little into the contest for the office of supervisor, we looked alone to the qualifications of the candidates.

There was Oliver Jennings on one side, and Samuel Story on the other. Jennings was declared elected by a majority of one. The friends of Story, because of some alleged informality, claimed the election for their man. They went to Canandaigua, got the first election set aside and a new one ordered. We tried it over again, and Jennings was elected the second time by one majority. John Culver, appointed by the Governor, was the first justice of the peace in town. After enduring the inconvenience of being without a post-office as long as possible we at last succeeded in getting a mail and post-office. Alvah Southworth was the first Post-Master. On the arrival of the first mail, so great was the satisfaction of all that the farmers and everybody came down to the village to satisfy themselves that there was no delusion about it."

The few Presbyterian families among the first settlers were occasionally visited by a minister of that denomination. It was not, however, until fourteen years after the settlement of the town, that a church was formed. It consisted of twelve members, and was formed on the 10th of February, 1821. The Rev. Lyman Barrett, of Naples, preached the first sermon, and continued to supply the pulpit occasionally for the next five years. After him the Rev. James Cahoun performed similar service for about three years. The Rev. Seymour Thompson was stated supply for nearly three years. The Rev. Daniel B. Woods was ordained and installed pastor Sept. 19th, 1839, and was dismissed from his pastoral charge August 25th, 1841. The Rev. William Hunter succeeded Mr. Woods in October of the same year, and was ordained and installed Sept. 25th, 1844. He still retains his relation to the church. The house of worship was dedicated December 31, 1840.

WEST SPARTA.

Area, 19,820 acres; population in 1875, 1,208. Boundaries: on the north by Groveland; east by Sparta; south by Ossian; west by Mount Morris.

West Sparta was formed on the division of the old town of Sparta, Feb. 27th, 1846. Its surface is quite hilly, and some of the highest summits are 500 to 700 feet above the valleys. The soil is a clay loam in the northern part, and a sandy loam in the southern portion of the town. Canaseraga creek flows along the eastern border, and Butler Brook, a small stream, in the southern part, in which is a perpendicular fall of about 60 feet. In the northeastern part of the town is a large marsh known as Canaseraga swamp.

The town contains no large village, but has four small hamlets, Kysorville, Union Corners, Beyersville and Woodville. There are four churches in the town Presbyterian, Methodist Episcopal, Baptist and Christian. The first church organization was the Baptist.

Settlement was commenced in the south part of the town in 1795 by Jeremiah Gregory. Other early settlers were William Stevens, who came in 1796, Abel Wilsey in 1797, Benjamin Wilcox in 1798, and Samuel McNair in 1804.

Ebenezer McMaster opened the first tavern kept in the town in 1820, at Kysorville. Three years later the first store was started by Jonathan Russell at Union Corners. Samuel Stoner built the first grist-mill in 1823.

In 1814 Benjamin Hungerford established the first wool-carding and cloth-dressing mill in West Sparta. Mr. Hungerford had removed to Sparta from Cayuga county. Returning homeward in the fall of 1814 from his usual fall visit to the east for the purchase of dye-stuffs, he called upon an old neighbor, Nathaniel Fill-

more, a small farmer living near Skaneateles lake. While there he expressed a wish that Mr. Fillmore's son, Millard Fillmore,* then a lad of fourteen, should return to Sparta with him, and learn the cloth-dressing trade. The war then in progress had stirred the patriotism of the youth of the country, as well as those of maturer years, and young Fillmore had been urgent to go as a substitute for some drafted man. Quite likely with a view to directing his son's attention from a project so unsuitable in one so young, the father had inspired Mr. Hungerford to make the request. At all events the proposition was received so favorably that the son was constrained to assent. This required some resolution, as he had never before been out of sight of home. The distance was a hundred weary miles through woods and new settlements. Mr. Hungerford had a poor team and a large load, and the road was much of the way very bad. As a consequence young Fillmore walked a greater part of the journey, suffering not a little from sore feet and stiffened limbs. As he neared his new home nothing struck him with so much surprise as the contrast between the vegetation in Cayuga and the exuberant vegetation of the Canaseraga valley. The change seemed extraordinary to him.

"I met young Fillmore," says William Scott, "the morning after his arrival for the first, and at once took a liking to him. He was dressed in a suit of home-spun sheep's gray coat and trousers, wool hat and stout cowhide boots, but his appearance was very tidy. His light hair was long, his face was round and chubby, and his demeanor was that of a bright, intelligent, good-natured lad, quite sedate, rather

* Millard Fillmore was born in Locke, now Summer Hill, Cayuga county, in 1800.

slow in his motions, with an air of thoughtfulness that gained my respect. I may safely say, for I have it from his own lips, that he then had no expectation of anything beyond the acquirement of a good trade and pursuing it through life." He came with the understanding that he was to remain four months, and then, if both employed and employer were satisfied, further arrangements were to be made. Perhaps he expected too much here. At any rate the treatment he received was very galling to his feelings. His experience during the few months he spent in Sparta implanted " 'a deep sympathy,' as he himself remarks, 'for the youngest apprentice in every establishment, 'even to the printer's devil.' " Instead of being set to work at his trade, he was required to chop wood and to do all manner of chores, and on manifesting surprise, was met with the answer "that such was the usage of the trade." He bore it all until coming into the shop a little before dark one evening, after chopping in the woods, he was ordered by Mr. Hungerford to go up on the hill and cut some wood for the shop fire. As he quit the door he let drop the remark that "he had not come there expecting to give his time to such work." He went up the hill, mounted a log and began chopping. In a few minutes Mr. Hungerford appeared, his face flushed and manner excited. As he came up he said, "Do you think yourself abused because you have to chop wood?" "Yes, I do," was the reply, "for I could learn to use the axe at home. I came here to learn a trade. I am not satisfied and don't think my father will be." He was angry, and perhaps was not quite respectful in his language. At all events, he was charged with impudence and threatened with chastisement. Upon this he raised his axe and told Mr. Hungerford if he attempted to punish him he would knock him down.

The latter stood a moment, then turned and walked off. This brought matters to a crisis, so the next day he was asked if he wished to go home. He replied: "I came on trial for four months, and if I can be employed in learning the trade I am willing to stay. If not I wish to go home." He remained, and from that time the duties assigned him were made more satisfactory. The fare provided by the household was somewhat simpler in character than either young Fillmore or the other hands had been accustomed to, but having resolved to stay his full time of four months, unless driven off by ill-usage, he made small complaint on that score.

Mr. Fillmore says, "I met here in the person of the foreman, William Scott, a man who seemed born for another destiny. In him I found a friend and also a congenial companion, so far as such a boy could be a companion of a man ten years his senior. I then formed for him a friendship which I still cherish with grateful recollections. His was the only society I enjoyed. I scarcely visited a neighbor, indeed only one or two were near enough to be accessible to me. I neither saw book or newspaper to my recollection. I attended no church, and think there was none in that vicinity then."

Young Fillmore had one holiday while here. The carding works were stopped on New Year's day, and all hands went down to a log house occupied by Robert Duncan, on Duncan's now Bradner's creek, where they saw the usual rough sports of early days. Rafting, turkey-shooting, wrestling, jumping and other athletic displays, and a good deal of whiskey drinking occupied the time. He recollects being ushered into a room almost stifling with its fumes of alcohol and tobacco-smoke. In one corner, on a table, stood a live turkey, surrounded by a compact

crowd of men highly excited over a raffle for the fowl, whose nominal value was fixed at four shillings. Twelve cents were placed in a hat, and each person taking a risk gave it a shake and then emptied the contents out on the table three times, and he who turned up the most heads in the three throws won the turkey. Instead, however, of taking the turkey, the lucky one pocketed the four shillings and the raffle proceeded, game following game through the whole evening. Fillmore was urged to take a chance. He did so once, and won the turkey, received its value, and has never gambled a cent since. The weather of that New Year's day was most unseasonably warm, the afternoon was showery, and the evening set in with violent rain, thunder and lightning. The party remained at Duncan's until midnight and then started homeward. The path led them a mile through a dense pine forest, running in many places near the precipitous bank of the little stream on which the cloth-dressing works were located. The underbrush had been partly cleared away, and the larger trees on the route were blazed as a guide. The men had no lantern, but carried, instead, a pine-knot torch. They had not gone far when the torch became extinguished, and Fillmore, being the youngest, was sent back to relight it. Being detained a little, he found when he got back that his companions had gone on. Starting forward, he was soon overtaken by a sudden deluge of rain, accompanied by peal upon peal of the most deafening thunder, and lightning so vivid that he was completely blinded. His light went out, and he was left in utter darkness. He could hear the roar of the little stream just beneath him, and after a few moments could occasionally catch a glimpse of the edge of the precipitous bank. This was a dangerous predicament for the future President. The dark pine

forest absorbed any chance ray of light, and holding his hand before him, he could not perceive the faintest shadow of it. He was too near the edge of the stream to venture forward. The pelting rain had drenched him to the skin, and he did not fancy staying out all night, so lifting up his voice to its loudest pitch, he had the great good fortune, after many efforts, to make his companions hear, just as they turned into the yard at home.

Soon after this incident young Fillmore was sent on foot to Dansville for some medicine. The two or three inches of snow on the ground entirely obscured the path, and losing his way he reached the village by a circuitous route. By the time his purchases were made the sun was nearly down, and he was advised to return by a more direct though less frequented path than that usually traveled, through the scrubby pine lands. On striking the path he followed the steps of some one who had preceded him until just after dark, when, to his surprise, he came to the Canaseraga creek, which was full of floating ice and snow, and could not be crossed. There had once been a bridge at this spot,* but all had disappeared except the cobble-stone abutments on either side of the stream, and a single string-piece, connecting the two. Wolves, at this time, were very plentiful, and as he stood debating how best to effect a crossing, he heard the howling of a pack of these animals behind him, and, as he readily fancied, on his track. The waters of the creek, already swollen, were rising fast, as he observed by the crackling of the ice. He saw but one mode of placing the Canaseraga between himself and the wolves, so mounting the stone abutment he

* This bridge was built by Captain Williamson, at what is now Commons-ville. Between that point and Hungerford's there was then but one house, that of James Duncan.

climbed to the string-piece, and getting astride, hitched himself across, just as two or three of the wolves put in an appearance at the spot where he had so lately been anxiously studying the situation. As he had no means of defense, and the wolves seemed hungry, he lost no time in setting out for his employer's house, still nearly two miles distant.

At the conclusion of the cloth-dressing season, his four months' probation being ended, Filmore concluded to return to his father's; and about the middle of January, 1815, shouldering a small knapsack, afoot and alone, he left Sparta West Hill for his home in Cayuga county, there to enter upon a career which has become a part of our national history. It was not until the fall of 1860 that Mr. Fillmore was enabled to revisit the spot, although he had often expressed a desire to do so. In the latter year, in company with William Scott, he went to the site of the old mill and spent several hours about the spot. The structure was gone, and the site was overgrown with bushes. The place recalled many recollections of his early and humble occupation.

YORK.

Area : 29,689 acres ; population in 1875, 2,483.
Boundaries : on the north by Caledonia ; east by Avon and Geneseo ; south by Leicester ; west by Pavillion and Covington.

York, which ranks among the larger towns, lies upon the western border of the county. It was formed by special act of the Legislature, on the 26th of March,

1819, from Caledonia and Leicester. In 1823, a small portion of Covington was annexed to York in order to straighten the town lines. The act erecting the town directed "that the first town-meeting should be held at the house of Nathan Russ, inn-keeper." This election, which was well attended "brought together" says one who was present, "a goodly number of substantial and intelligent young men who had never before taken part in public affairs. William Jones was chosen supervisor. The name of the town was selected at a meeting of citizens, called to urge the passage of the bill for the erection of the town, then before the Legislature, and was designed as a compliment to Joseph York, Member of Assembly from St. Lawrence county, who had favorably reported the bill from the committee of which he was chairman. The following incident is related of this meeting. Several persons had favored the name of Philadelphia. A physician who was present, referring to the sparse population said, "to call the proposed town by so big a name is like calling Trip, Bose—a large name for a small dog. I had rather call it 'Yate,' after Long's spaniel," alluding to a dog of that name which had been given to Colonel Long by a New York gentleman, and which just then put in an appearance. Some opposition was manifested to the formation of the new town, but Judge Hayden, who was sent to Albany by the meeting, was able to successfully meet the objections that had been raised and to procure prompt and favorable action upon the subject. The surface of the town rises gradually from the river for a mile or more, when it becomes comparatively level, though diversified by gentle undulations whose general inclination is to the east. Brown's creek flows eastward through the central part of the town, and Calder Creek, somewhat smaller than the former, runs through the north-

ern portion. Both streams empty into the Genesee river. The soil in the southern and central parts of the town is a clay loam ; that of the northeastern portion is a sandy and gravelly loam, the whole being especially adapted to the culture of winter wheat, of which staple an enormous quantity is annually raised, as is also hay and orchard fruits. Greigsville in the south part of the town, contains one church and twenty-two houses. Piffardinia, in the south-east part of the town derived its name from David Piffard, a prominent citizen of this hamlet. It is situated on the Genesee Valley Canal and contained one church, twenty-three houses, a steam saw-mill, warehouses, stores, etc.

York Centre is situated near the geographical centre of the town. There are four churches in the village, several stores, a hotel, formerly a furnace, and was once a very busy and thriving village.

Fowlerville, in the north-east part of the town, was named for Wells Fowler, the first settler. It contains two churches, several stores, a hotel, and is a neatly kept little village. An extensive machine shop for the manufacture of agricultural implements gives an employment to a large number of hands, and turns out many thousand dollars' worth of work annually.

There are in town nine churches, designated as follows: Two Presbyterian, two Methodist, one Baptist, one Congregationalist, one Associated Presbyterian, one Associated Reform Presbyterian, and one reform Presbyterian. In 1880 The York Scientific and Literary Institute was opened at York Centre, under the charge of Professor Pendleton. The attendance of students at the opening was from forty to fifty. The course of study embraced the languages, mathematics and the English branches. It was not properly sustained and was dis-

continued after a year. Settlement was begun in the town in 1800, by several Scotch families, among whom were Donald and John McKenzie, Angus McBean, John and Alexander Frazer, Archibald Gillis and John McCall. These families formed a part of the colony of settlers that emigrated from Scotland and located in Caledonia, the same year. John Olunas and John and David Mart were early settlers. The latter in later years kept a public house at the Centre. Ralph Brown, who located here in 1808, purchased and owned the land where the village of York now stands. He built a small log house, and before it was fully completed, he opened it for the accommodation of the traveling public. John Russ and his cousin, John Darling, both from Vermont, settled here in September, 1809. They went to work and raised the body of a log house. The structure was speedily completed with the exception of a door. As there were no boards to be had, they concluded to postpone its occupancy that fall, especially as the prospect of opening a bachelor's hall was agreeable to neither of them, and returned to the east for the winter. While erecting the house these two young men boarded a couple of months with Ralph Brown, then the only white man at the Centre. Mr. Brown had opened his house as a pioneer tavern. A single fact will show the primitive character of the establishment. Mr. Russ says that Mr. Brown had but two knives and two forks in his house. When these happened to be in use, a guest or boarder would draw out a pocket knife, if he had one, or be supplied with a hickory stick. Mr. Russ and his cousin John Darling each brought a sister from Vermont when they returned in the spring, the journey occupying three weeks. The ox-cart, their only conveyance, was freighted with household goods and farming implements. Mr. Russ

was Justice of the Peace in York for many years, and held several commissions in the militia. In 1809 James Calder came and located in the north part of the town. The following year Oliver Stone settled a mile from the Centre. He brought the first wagon that had appeared in the settlement. Dr. Benjamin Wood of Vermont, who came in 1811, was the first physician who settled in the town. The first birth that occurred in town was that of Angus McKenzie, who, as has been claimed, was the first white child born in the Genesee country west of the river. In 1817 Nathan Russ opened an inn at the Centre. The year before Chandler Pierson had opened a store there, and a year or two later, Peck & Goodman opened another in a log house at the Centre. Ralph Brown built the first grist-mill and was ready for business in 1818. It stood on the creek within the limits of the village. Roswell Stocking had erected a blacksmith shop about this time. Another early settler was Holloway Long, who came to York in 1818, from Shelburn, Franklin county, his birth-place. His wife accompanied him. Their goods were brought by a team consisting of a yoke of oxen and a span of horses. The family started in a cutter in which they made a part of their journey. The snow then failed them and wheels were substituted. The little group were protected from the inclement weather by a piece of tow-cloth, that had been spun and woven by Mrs. Long. The cutter contained their provisions and cooking utensils, for which they found frequent use on the route. The family were nine days on the road, the team with the goods being twenty-eight days making the journey. Temporary shelter was provided for the family on their arrival, and Mr. Long went to work at once to erect a log house. In a few days it was up and occupied, though not very com-

fortable until the opening of spring enabled him to chink it. Mr. Long settled on the "Forty Thousand Acre Tract," and on his arrival found four or five families occupying temporary quarters on the tract. The locality was then called "Caledonia South Woods." The Indians roamed over the town, and in a day's walk more red men than whites were to be met with. The Indians were peaceably disposed. Mr. Long took up the farm at \$14 an acre, on which he continued to reside until his death.

He gives an account of the organization of the York Artillery, a company of great local celebrity in its day. Accidentally discovering one day that he was familiar with military tactics his neighbors met in the evening, a militia company was organized, and Mr. Long was elected Captain of the "York Artillery." A cannon was promptly furnished by the State authorities, and a small armory was erected. The company continued in existence for several years, and afforded much social enjoyment as well as an opportunity for instruction in the manual of arms. On the breaking out of the war of 1812, the company was ordered to the frontier where they remained a couple of weeks. On several other occasions during the progress of hostilities the company was ordered out. It also stood the draft twice. In 1814, when the attack on Fort Erie was imminent the company was called upon again to proceed to the Niagara River. A detachment of the company crossed the river and took part in the siege. Elder Josiah Goddard a native of Conway, Massachusetts, was in York in 1818. His meetings were the only one held for many years. He sometimes preached in Col. Long's house. At a later period service was occasionally held by Rev. Mr. Denoon from Caledonia, half the day in Gaelic and half the day in English. In 1812 or a year later the

Associated Reform Presbyterian Church at York Center, "The Log Church" as it was called, was the first building used for worship.

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