

# GEORGE WASHINGTON: HIS RELATIONSHIPS TO THE AREA OF CHAUTAUQUA AND ADJOINING COUNTIES

## INTRODUCTION

1999 marks 200 years since the death of George Washington. Amateur historians over the past two centuries have made quite a game of finding personal and local connections to our first President. Our own area has not been a heavy player in this game, but it does have its points. At least as far back as 1875, and probably well before, Washington's 1753 trip to Fort Le Boeuf was well known locally. He didn't quite reach Chautauqua County in 1753. Although he later again six times came into the Ohio Valley, that is west of the Appalachian Mountains, he never again came nearer than roughly 100 air miles from Chautauqua County.

He was in New York State for extended periods during the Revolution and he started his Presidency in New York City, but the farthest west he ever came in this state was in late July, 1783 when he came to Oneida Lake. This was about 60 miles farther from the northeast corner of Chautauqua County than Rochester, Pa., where he came October 21, 1770, is from our south boundary.

There were a few times, however, when his attention should have been directed specifically toward Chautauqua County and fewer still when it demonstrably was.

## WASHINGTON COMES TO FORT LE BOEUF

It was at the beginning of Washington's career, when he was 21, that he approached to 12 miles from the southwest corner of our county. Had he not subsequently become so famous, the incident would still be important to historians as one of the many and crucial steps irreversibly leading up to the French and Indian war. That war, or more properly its outcome, was one of the most important turning points in American history and particularly so for our local history.

In the forests of North America the outer reaches of two of history's first world empires came in contact and created friction. War is a universal of human history. France and England had been frequently at war nearly as long as they had existed, at least for the past 700 years. As early as 1613, seven years before the Pilgrims landed, when both England and France had only a handful of people precariously clinging to the shores of this vast continent, Samuel Argal from Virginia attacked the French colony at Acadia (later Nova Scotia) and blustered to force France off the continent.

A hundred and forty years had passed since then and in that time many events, some planned such as the endeavors of La Salle for the French and Dr. Daniel Coxe for the English, some unplanned such as the genealogical tangle that precipitated the War of the Spanish Succession (all these around 1700), sharpened

the focus of French-English conflict in America.

Washington's 1753 adventure was part of this old story more than it was part of the build up to the American Revolution. That revolution was both the beginning of a new chapter in human events and still another chapter of this old story of European conflict, but it lay yet in the future.

Caught between the outliers of these advanced societies with populations in the tens of millions were the Indians, people with stone age technology and organization, and total populations mostly smaller than present Chautauqua County villages, but also people with impressive resourcefulness and sting.

The Iroquois Indians in New York and their largely autonomous offshoot, the Mingoes in the Ohio Valley had a sophisticated policy that made them the most successful survivors on this corner of the continent. They tried to maximize their trade benefits but they also tried to keep any disparity in power between France and England in a range they could potentially offset. They dominated other tribes and used or even sacrificed them when necessary. It worked for decades (1700-1748). However, by the close of King George's War (1748), they had allowed the English so much advantage that the French became alarmed.

In 1749, after setbacks in two colonial wars (1702-1713 and 1743-1748) the French sent Pierre Joseph Celoron to chase out Pennsylvania traders, scare Virginia land speculators, and formalize the French claim to the Ohio drainage. His failure alarmed them still more so in 1753 they undertook a massive effort (2,200 men) to fortify the entire route from Montreal to Louisiana, especially and first the Ohio valley and its approach from Lake Erie.

The French in so doing, brushed aside the protests of the Iroquois who at that point were forced to realize the jig would ultimately be up for them. They saw what the European powers could do when they really wanted to. More importantly for local history, the European powers awakened and tested their ability to project power to the interior.

The English situation was complicated by the differing motivations of the crown vs. the now large colonial populations. The French, with a much smaller population and more authoritarian structure, were more nimble, even though their limited resources were badly drained by corruption. Each English colony tended to be out more for its own interest than for the collective good. Plus divisions within the rather democratic colonial legislatures held back funding and hobbled authority. On the other hand, independent Pennsylvania and Virginia traders had out done the much vaunted French *coureurs de bois* in the competition for pelts, which is what actually precipitated the long simmering crisis.

It fell to Robert Dinwiddie, governor of Virginia, to send

a messenger to the commander of the French forces "encroaching" on King George's (George II) lands. That land, now in Pennsylvania, was then in dispute between Virginia and Pennsylvania (not to mention France, the Iroquois, the Mingoes, and the Delawares) Dinwiddie had tried to get both Pennsylvania and New York to act with him. Failing in that but with blessings from London, he did what he had to.

The messenger, George Washington, set out from Williamsburg October 31, 1753. The following day at Fredericksburg, he picked up Jacob Van Braam. Van Braam was a Dutch immigrant with a limited command of English. Washington knew him as a Masonic brother and former fencing instructor. He was hired as French interpreter.

On November 14 they arrived at Willis Creek, now Cumberland, Md., where Washington engaged Christopher Gist, one of the most noted frontiersmen of the era, as his guide. Gist was familiar with the Ohio Valley and familiar with the Indians, and he knew how to handle himself in the wilderness. He had also done an excellent job the previous three years as explorer for the Ohio Company in which George Washington's half brother, Augustine, was a principle. We might also note that Gist's daughter, Nancy, about that time was rather fond of young Washington and he of her. Washington also then and there hired Barnaby Currin, an experienced Indian trader who had worked for Gist, John MacQuire (another trader), William Jenkins, and Henry Steward.

Washington and his party now left the Potomac valley and crossed over to the Youghiogeny and Monongahela then down to the present site of Pittsburgh (then uninhabited). On the 22nd, they had stopped at the trading post of John Frazier. From 1741 until earlier that year, 1753, Frazier had his trading post at Venango, present day Franklin, Pa. Several other traders also worked out of Venango. (George Croghan, a Pennsylvania Irishman, had a store house at present Irvine, less than 20 air miles, about 35 miles by water, from Chautauqua Lake, as early as 1749.) It seems almost certain these English traders would have heard about the Chautauqua portage somewhere along the line from the Indians.

On November 24 Washington came to Logstown, near the present Economy and Ambridge, Pa., 18 miles down river from the forks of the Ohio. This was one of the most important Indian towns in Pennsylvania. And it was as far as Captain William Trent had gone when he had set out as Governor Dinwiddie's first choice of messenger to the French.

The following day Tanaghrisson or Half-King arrived in town. He was a Catawba by birth, captured young and raised as a Seneca. He was now serving as the Mingo chief and Iroquois representative. Washington asked him in private about the route and the country they had to travel. Interpreter, John Davison, was the only other man present. Tanaghrisson would have known

about the Chautauqua portage. Whether he told Washington about it or not, we can't know. If he did, it didn't make much of an impression. Tanaghrisson did mention the fort at Presque Isle (Erie), where on September 3 he had suffered an insulting reply to his demand the French leave Indian land.

Washington needed Indian guides and armed guards, and the Indians were eager to accompany him so they could find out what his secret mission was all about. Because of, not despite this, Washington was delayed at Logstown for days. The Indians, fraught with mixed incentives and mixed emotions, were scrambling slowly to collect wampum and chiefs necessary in their diplomatic formalities if they were to sever alliances with the French. Tanaghrisson had little support behind him from his own Mingo, less still from the local Delawares and the central Iroquois council which he served, and none at all from the local Shawnee.

Washington was from a family interested in land development and he was culturally a self perceived Englishman. Even more than any of the French, he thought of the Indians as tedious obstacles in the long term but vital allies in the short.

While at Logstown, Washington encountered several other Indians who may have known the Chautauqua region. These included Shingas and Scaroyady, the Delaware chief and an Oneida-Mingo official respectively. His interpreter, Davison, was widely traveled and knew many Indians who might have mentioned the lake and portage. But Indians, for good reason, didn't often volunteer much geographical knowledge.

Finally Washington set out December 1 with his entourage to which was now added Davison, Tanaghrisson, and three other Indians (any of whom may have known Chautauqua). These were Jeskakake, White Thunder, and the young Guyasuta.

Jeskakake (Dejiquesque) was the chief charged with returning wampum to the French, a diplomatic gesture of hostility. In the 1770's Guyasuta, an uncle to Cornplanter, became the half king or highest Iroquois authority in this area. He certainly at that time was familiar with the Chautauqua portage. In 1753 he was a young man brought along as a hunter and body guard. Washington may not even have learned his name.

This party now set out northeasterly overland and cross country to Venango where they finally encountered a French outpost. They had traveled 70 miles in five days. There was, in 1753, no actual fort, just John Frazier's trading post which the French had seized and were now using.

Venango was the scene of Washington's famous meeting with Joncaire, although which Joncaire is not completely agreed by historians. Some think it was Daniel. Probably it was Philippe Thomas, the older brother. Joncaire was the one whose tongue was loosened by wine when he made his boast that it was their design to take possession of the Ohio and by God they would do it.

Although the English could raise two men to the French one, they were too slow and dilatory to stop the French.

Washington exploited the relaxed atmosphere to gather specific and accurate information about routes, forts, and distances. He was the first to use the name "French Creek," perhaps because he did not know or could not spell the French name, Riviere aux Boeufs. Although Niagara Falls was an important fortification and supply point, he also failed to pick up that name, terming it instead "the Falls of Lake Erie." It is not surprising he did not pick up the name Chautauqua, especially in view of the fact the French were not using the Chautauqua route that year.

Joncaire, ironically, probably knew the Chautauqua portage better than any of the other French officers Washington encountered. He had been over it several times since 1739, perhaps even before.

Although as Indian superintendent Joncaire was in charge of the Ohio valley, he referred Washington to the highest ranking military officer on the Allegheny, up stream at Fort Le Boeuf.

Washington and his party, again delayed by Indian diplomacy, set off December 6th, this time with a French escort: Pierre Papin La Force and three soldiers. La Force was a very good man with the Indians.

Through rain and snow and swamps the party of 16 covered about 36 miles and arrived after sunset December 11th at Fort Le Boeuf which was a real fort - a small one but a real fort.

The commander at Le Boeuf was Legardeur de St. Pierre who had arrived there December 3 to take command following the death of Chev. Pierre Paul Marin on October 29. St. Pierre at 52 years and five days age impressed Washington as elderly. He was an experienced frontier officer. He had been through Chautauqua Lake with Baron de Longueuil in 1739, ten years before Celoron, but his immediately previous assignment had been far western exploration searching for the Pacific Ocean as far west as Manitoba.

That's something to consider. We have the habit of thinking of Chautauqua County as the western frontier in 1803. This man came back a thousand miles half a century before that. And he had been to Chautauqua Lake 14 years earlier. A modern historian, Francis Jennings (1984) claims that Jacques Le Torte, a trader from eastern Pennsylvania, working for Dr. Daniel Coxe, went down the Allegheny and Ohio (but not through Chautauqua) and explored the Missouri Valley secretly another 50 years before that 1739 first recorded discovery of Chautauqua Lake. We were always a little patch behind, but that is several other stories.

The next day, December 12, Washington presented the letter from Dinwiddie. St. Pierre had sent for Le Gardeur de

Repentignay, the commandant at Presque Isle because he understood a little English, among other reasons. He arrived at two o'clock.

On the evening of the 14th the French gave Washington their official reply, which was predictable, disappointing, and tentative. The final answer had to come from the top, Governor-General Duquesne at Quebec.

The French were very smooth in delay tactics with the Indians. They tried to detach the Indians from Washington literally as part of a larger strategy to detach them diplomatically from English allegiance. Washington, inexperienced and against great odds, tried valiantly, ingeniously, and partially successfully to thwart the French. The cost was three days delay and considerable blunting of the force of Tanaghrisson's protest.

Washington used the first day to spy out the number of canoes made and being made near the fort. He realized he had to report this alarming news back to Dinwiddie as soon as possible and with equal urgency he had to retain the attachment of the Indians.

From Le Boeuf back to Venango Washington's party traveled in canoes provided by the French. One contained Washington and the other Virginia English. There was another for the Indians and the French came in four canoes. Currin and two others had departed by land with the horses on the 14th. Washington arrived at Venango on the 22nd.

After an extremely difficult and hazardous journey, Washington reached Williamsburg January 16 and presented the French reply to Governor Dinwiddie the same day. The following day he turned in his journal prepared from his daily notes.

(Washington's journey to Fort Le Boeuf is one of 33 events and motifs depicted at the appropriate ring age location on a section from the giant Hanover Elm preserved for 33 years at the Little Valley Museum and now at the Hanover History Room, Silver Creek, since October 23, 1992. These scenes were selected by local historians Everett R. Burmaster, who cut three slices off the giant fallen elm, and Roscoe B. Martin of Forestville. They were painted in 1940 by Seneca artist Sanford Plummer of Gowanda. See Hanover Historical Newsletter, December 1, 1992)

#### MAPS ASSOCIATED WITH WASHINGTON'S 1753 JOURNAL

Washington submitted a map with his journal. He was a professional surveyor and his map included every detail of his journey. It also showed the portage to Presque Isle. The right hand edge cut off sharply there, just short of the Chautauqua region. He cut the Allegheny off sharply short of the edge in a manner that suggests he knew nothing reliable of the farther headwaters. And his map fails to show portions of French Creek

and Le Boeuf Creek above Lake Le Boeuf, streams that are toward and in Chautauqua County.

(Map # 1. detail from the George Washington map from the George Washington Atlas, U. S. George Washington Bicentennial Committee, Washington, D. C., 1932. Also reprinted 1995 by the Virginia Surveyors' Foundation, Richmond, Virginia. Map widely reprinted.)

Three copies of this map exist, each a little different, but what I have stated applies to all of them. No copy was published in the 18th century.

Dinwiddie sent several copies of Washington's journal to London by different ships. Extracts from the Journal were printed in London Magazine for June, 1754. Accompanying these was "A Map of the Western Parts of the Colony of Virginia" which showed Washington's path, natural features and locations, and much more surrounding area than had Washington's own map. It also showed "Bussaloons" at Irvine, Pa., the Conewango named "Kanavagan R.," and an unnamed Chautauqua Lake.

(Map #2. A Map of the Western Parts of the Colony of Virginia from the article "Washington's Map of the Ohio" by Worthington Chauncey Ford, Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Soc., Dec., 1927, p. 7. Also in Wilderness Chronicles of Northwestern Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical Survey, Harrisburg, 1941, edited by Sylvester K. Stevens and Donald H. Kent, plate V)

A full edition of Washington's journal was soon printed in London by the map maker and atlas publisher, Thomas Jefferys. To it had been added "A New Map of the Country as far as the Mississippi." This map much more closely resembled the map in the London Magazine than it did Washington's own map, but not enough for either to have been a copy of the other. Its treatment of our local region was the same, including the unnamed Chautauqua Lake. This map, not the one Washington actually drew, is the one most commonly associated with Washington's 1753 journey. Both the magazine map and the Jefferys map drew from French sources, particularly Jean Nicolas Bellin, the dominant map maker of the mid 18th century.

(Map #3. A New Map of the Country as far as the Mississippi from Lloyd Brown's Early Maps of the Ohio Valley, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1959. Map widely reprinted).

Incidentally, Washington's Journal was also printed in 1754 in Virginia by William Hunter in Williamsburg, without a map.

To make it more confusing, there are two versions of the Jefferys map, found in different copies of the Jefferys printing. At the lower right is found an inscription in three lines:

"Shanopins are those named Chaouanons in the French Maps, Shanaws & Shanoah in this Map. The Shawanons are the same with ye Satanas."

Alternatively, the last sentence reads, "The Shawanons are the same with ye Senekas one of the Six Nations."

Actually the Shawanons were the Shawnee.

There were other differences, but the two versions treat our area the same.

Keep in mind, the best French maps had been accurately showing a named Chautauqua Lake since 1740 and as I just stated, the French had been a thousand miles farther inland.

Meanwhile, back in Virginia, next February some Virginians built a little fort for the Ohio Company at the present location of Pittsburgh. The Ohio Company was an association of speculators, including friends and relatives of George Washington. The French came down the river, in large part over the Chautauqua portage, and shooed out the few Virginians April 16.

At the same time Virginia was sending reinforcements toward the forks of the Ohio to support the little band that had built the fort. Washington was leading these troops consisting of 145 soldiers, eighteen officers, a drummer, two wagons, a surgeon, and a Swede volunteer. Before he reached the spot, he learned the French had taken the fort.

He pressed on anyway and on May 23 he skirmished with a small force sent out from the fort. The first shots of the French and Indian War were fired that day, by troops, some of whom had come down across Chautauqua Lake. Although the French had used the Chautauqua route little, if any, in 1753, they used it heavily early in 1754. The first bullets ever fired at Washington in battle, many of them anyhow, had been carried over Chautauqua Lake.

The French sent out a larger force and Washington was forced to surrender at Fort Necessity on July 4. The French obtained Washington's new journal or notes for this expedition. They translated and published them in 1755 for propaganda purposes. With the journal was a map, different from, but similar to the Jefferys map of 1754. Again it treated our area the same, including the unnamed Chautauqua Lake.

This map, as I just said, was much like the other published maps I have discussed here, but those others were attached by publishers to Washington's work. This one had actually been in Washington's possession. However, this was probably the worst part of Washington's life, certainly the low point in his military career, and his attention was far from that little

unnamed lake even if it was on his map.

(Map #4 "A Region Under Dispute: the Ohio Valley" in Marcel Trudel's Atlas of New France, Presses De L'Universite' Lavall, 1973 plate 60, original in Archives of the Quebec Seminary.)

So far we have four maps associated with Washington and the south shore of Lake Erie in one way or another for 1753 and 1754. 1.) the map he drew in 1753 (three versions), 2.) the map from the London Magazine, 3.) the Jefferys map (two versions), and 4.) the French translation of the captured map (the original, i. e. the English version, is lost).

### THE WALKER-WASHINGTON MAP

By 1770 a lot of water had gone under the bridge. Washington had been with Braddock on his disastrous attempt to retake Fort Duquesne in 1755 and he had been with Forbes in his successful effort in 1758. Washington had married, had acquired title to Mount Vernon, had become a member of the House of Burgesses, and had taken on other public offices. He had also, like most of his neighbors and members of his social class, acquired a considerable debt. With that on his mind, Washington had advised his neighbors of the wisdom of land speculation. He also took his own advice seriously.

Washington and all members of the Virginia regiment of 1764 were entitled to land bounties. The colony had intended to reward the veterans with undeveloped western lands which required nothing out of pocket from the government.

Unfortunately there was a war going on, until the Peace of Paris in 1763. Then Pontiac's rebellion promptly if briefly blocked any further plans involving the west. The Proclamation of 1763 (October 7), and some local proclamations by British military commanders, made everything west of the water divide Indian territory. However, in 1768 the Treaty of Fort Stanwix with the Iroquois and the Treaty of Hard Labour with the Cherokees opened up the half of the Ohio Valley east of the river to speculation and settlement. The resident Delawares, Mingoes, and especially Shawnees were left odd man out in the agreement between English and Iroquois.

Certainly at this point, Washington's geographical interests were directed well south of our area because our area would have been in the Indian territory and beyond the boundaries of Virginia.

In 1770 the governor of Virginia put up 200,000 acres for the veterans - partly on Washington's urging. Washington had also worked out a potentially profitable plan for himself and surveyor friend William Crawford on the side.

So on October 5, 1770 George Washington set out on his fifth trip into the Ohio valley, his first trip in civilian capacity, and the one which would bring him his life time second closest to our county. He returned home December 1st.

Before Washington set out on this journey, he copied a map which he designated "Aligany Copied from a Map of Doc. Walkers laid before the Assembly." This was a map Dr. Thomas Walker presented to the House of Burgesses on December 13, 1769.

(Map #5 "Aligany Copied from a Map of Doc. Walker laid before the Assembly", original in Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Map reprinted several places including Adrian Johnson's America Explored: Cartographical History of the Exploration of North America, Viking, 1974.)

Walker was a skilled physician but also an explorer, land speculator, and political figure from Albemarle County, Virginia. He was the earliest explorer of Kentucky who kept a good record of his journey. He worked for the Loyal Land Company, the chief rival of the Ohio Company to which George Washington had connections.

Walker set out March 24, 1750 and returned July 13.

His map covered a much larger territory than his actual Kentucky explorations. Obviously he borrowed from available published maps. His map included all of Lake Erie and the Chautauqua region. It is quite crude and shows no Chautauqua Lake and no names in this area, not even where Washington had personally gone in 1753. But it does show this region and includes the Conewango - and George Washington drew, or copied, it. But all it really does is reinforce the idea that Washington remained quite uninterested in our area at this time.

#### THE BRODHEAD EXPEDITION

George Washington's strategy in the Revolutionary war was basically defensive. This is an against-the-odds way to win a war, but it can be done.

There were exceptions to the defensive approach. One was the Sullivan-Clinton-Brodhead campaign against the Iroquois in 1779. It was probably the most carefully and exhaustively planned of the few offensive campaigns of the Revolution and it was Washington's baby right down the line.

Alexander Flick, the famed New York State historian, in 1929 at the sesqui-centennial of the campaign, advanced the idea that the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign (along with George Rogers Clark's conquests in the Illinois country) were crucial in securing the western territories to the U. S. in the peace negotiations following the war. He further suggests that Washington acted with

foresight in that regard. Joseph R. Fischer (1997) and other recent historians pooch pooch the idea. Fischer claims U. S. success at the negotiations is attributable mainly to a British opinion that the west was of little value and that neither Sullivan's nor George Rogers Clark's successes had any influence. Furthermore, Washington left no recorded statement to suggest a grand western strategy. Be that as it may, in 1794, Canadian governor, John Graves Simcoe made a bizarre brief blustering attempt to roll back the New York settlement frontier to "the old French line." He also advocated making the west into some form of Indian buffer state. All of which makes one wonder what might have happened if the Iroquois had remained entrenched in their primeval homeland.

Plans for a New York Indian campaign first formed in 1778. St. Ledger and Burgoyne had been defeated in New York in 1777. This was called the turning point of the war, but it actually only brought the war to a stalemate. In 1778 the dramatic Wyoming and Cherry Valley raids by Indians and Tories made the task of doing something about the Iroquois imperative.

Meanwhile, down at Fort Pitt, plans for campaigns against Detroit and/or Niagara were annual - plans, not actions. By the late 70's the most active centers for the origin of Indian raids shifted from the Shawnees, Delawares, and Wyandotes of northwestern Ohio to the Munsees and Senecas of French Creek and the upper Allegheny. This happened largely because of American diplomatic bungling and stupid brutalities committed by frontiersmen and untrained militiamen that had alienated initially neutral and friendly communities. (The Iroquois settled on the upper Allegheny and French Creek were predominantly Seneca. "Mingo" was a loosely defined term for Iroquois living anywhere west and south of their New York homeland. It was the predominant term for these Iroquois in American use at that time.) The main depot of British support shifted from Detroit to Fort Niagara. Col. Mason Bolton, the commander there, placed Lt. John Docksteder of the Indian Department at Buckaloons (Irvine, Pa.) in 1778 and at Cattaraugus Creek in 1779.

The campaign, as actually executed, is now called the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign, sometimes especially locally the Sullivan-Clinton-Brodhead Campaign. At the time, it was called The Indian Expedition. The main thrust under General John Sullivan came up the Susquehanna River from Easton, Pa. General James Clinton's forces gathered at Canajoharie on the Mohawk River and came down to join Sullivan at Tioga, Pa., just below the state line on August 22. The combined forces, about 6,000 men (some women and children followed part way) essentially followed the Great Warrior's Path to the Iroquois heartland as far as the Genesee River. They reached their farthest west point Sept. 14.

Col. Daniel Brodhead at Fort Pitt came up the Allegheny August 11- Sept. 14 with 605 men plus officers and eight Delaware Indians to attack the villages near the state line and on French Creek. (at a cost of \$6,000) There were also two smaller thrusts

associated with the campaign. On April 21, Col. Goose Van Schaick with a force of 558, attacked the Onondaga villages from the north. In the Connecticut River Valley, Col. Moses Hazen built a road and assembled troops as a diversion.

In 1779 George Washington, Col. Daniel Brodhead, generals Edward Hand and Phillip Schuyler, Col. William Patterson, and others on the Continental Army staff gathered all the information they could about the routes into and through the Iroquois heartland and as far as Niagara. The questioning started with Washington querying General McIntosh at Fort Pitt January 31. (McIntosh commanded at Fort Pitt May 26, 1778- Feb. 20, 1779.)

Washington later sent two formal questionnaires. The first contained 19 questions and was sent to General Hand, Colonels Coxe and Peterson, and Col. Charles Stewart. The last question asked the distance from Fort Augusta (Sunbury, Pa.) to the Allegheny and what kind of country it was, how much used by travelers, and how long the portages.

However the focus was on the Susquehannah drainage and routes north and northwest from it. But a little information did come in about the upper Allegheny, especially from General Hand. He even found a few informants who drew rough maps. The only one that seems to have survived shows little more than the mouths of the unnamed Conewango and named French Creek.

(Map #6 untitled map from microfilm of the manuscript Papers of Continental Congress. Also published in A. C. Flick, "New Sources on the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign in 1779," Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association, Vol. X, No. 3, p. 205.)

Among the Washington papers in the Library of Congress is the only description I know of from this period of the upper Allegheny and the portage to the Genesee. It is dated May 13, 1779 and is in Alexander Hamilton's handwriting.

Edward Hand was designated to lead Sullivan's Light Corps and he had been commander at Fort Pitt (June 1, 1777 - May 26, 1778) so he was as intimately involved in this intelligence effort as an American general could be.

Eleven out of the 16 questions on Washington's second questionnaire concerned the upper Allegheny directly or partially.

So Washington's interest was now turned toward this general region. We can safely assume he carefully examined most of the better maps of the time including those of Lewis Evans (1755), plus the updated Thomas Pownall version (1776), and the map of Dr. John Mitchell (1755), all of which showed a tiny, named Chautauque Lake. Mitchell had complete access to all the official sources and these certainly would have included copies of many French maps. Evans worked more directly from field sources and

informants. His admittedly limited knowledge or outright guesswork for the Allegheny headwaters. What he did know of that river was from numerous traders and an otherwise unknown "very intelligent Indian called The Eagle."

At first there was an intent to join the three armies in the west and crown the campaign with the capture of Fort Niagara. Hence the nature of many of the questions asked. Then too the more one could find out about the enemy's location and resources, the better. (Eventually Washington dropped his emphasis on the Brodhead campaign to the point where it was almost entirely on Brodhead's initiative.)

Despite Delaware friends, white deserters from Fort Niagara, and other stray travelers, surprisingly little knowledge about the region above the state line or the location of the later Cornplanter Grant was forthcoming. Or at least surprisingly little was located and considered by Washington.

This failure of American intelligence is interesting. On the one hand there must have been white traders, captives, French deserters, friendly Indians etc. who had crossed the Chautauqua route. In November of 1777, while at Fort Pitt, General Hand had sent Simon Girty, the Revolutionary War's second best known turncoat, to the present location of Warren, Pa. where he obtained detailed information about raids, past, present, and future, local Indian leadership and allegiance, captives, etc. The Indians were going to take Girty to Niagara, but he escaped. This was only five months before he defected to the British' side. Girty was superbly qualified to gather and understand information. He lived at the location of the later Cornplanter Grant as a captive from the ages of 11 to 14 (1756-1759) and part of that time may even have been at Cattaraugus Creek.

Even better, in the spring of 1776, George Morgan, the American Indian agent, and General Hand managed to send a white spy from Fort Pitt to Niagara, with a large body of Indians. When he got there, he served as interpreter at a conference with the British. Unfortunately, we don't know his exact route or his name.

Brodhead, who replaced McIntosh March 5, 1779 at Fort Pitt sent out spys and scouts from time to time as far as Meadville and Warren. He also was constantly receiving information from friendly Delaware Indians in the Ohio country by one channel or another. He had a small contingent of Delaware volunteers accompanying him. His top Indian (actually mixed blood) guide was John Montour whose family had served Pennsylvania as interpreters and Indian diplomats for three generations. Montour's mother was a Delaware. (His grandmother may have been the first American woman, surely the first Indian woman, to demand and get equal pay for equal work.)

But despite all this, nobody seemed to know anything about the upper Allegheny and its tributaries or the route to Niagara.

What was going on here was two things. Firstly, after, and immediately before, the French cut their road between Presque Isle and Le Boeuf, the Indians, and also any deserters, couriers, traders, captives, or other stray travelers probably favored that route. (Previously they had probably favored the Chautauqua route. In 1732 an alcoholic chief planned to move to Presque Isle to be alone and away from temptation, but in 1753 when the French arrived there, the harbor was full of Indians fishing.) Even when it became badly deteriorated, for foot travel, the French Creek route was probably still by far the most convenient.

Secondly, the western branch of the Senecas, the Chunesseos, were keeping travelers off the "Forbidden Path" and their territory in general. This half tribe may have been one of two major formerly independent groups that united pre-historically to form the Seneca tribe. It may have been composed largely of assimilated captives and descendants of captives from many tribes fought in historic times. Or it may have been a group of villages that had been pro-French, perhaps under the early influence of Joncaire. Whatever the historical background reason, the territory of the western Senecas, especially since the 1730's when Mud Eater or Gaystarax became influential, was closed to the whites and thus delayed in its entrance to recorded history.

Also, our historical literature often fails to distinguish between the Delawares and the Munsees. In the late 1770's, the lower Allegheny was populated mostly by Unami Delawares and the upper Allegheny mostly by Munsees. The two were not politically united with each other and had different languages.

The route from the upper Allegheny Seneca and Munsee towns, i. e. Junnesedaga (state line) and upstream, would not have gone over French Creek. It would have been through Chautauqua Lake, the Cassadaga or Conewango valleys, or by several Cattaraugus County routes to Cattaraugus Creek and the Buffalo area. But for whatever reason knowledge of those routes did not reach Washington and his staff.

This discouraging failure of military intelligence surely, in part, influenced Washington, and more to the point the generals in the field, to abandon the slender hope of taking Niagara. Thus was abandoned the prospect of the expedition being really effective. So by default or omission our area played a crucial, but not decisive, strategic role in the war. Actually more immediate reasons for jettisoning the Niagara attack were the impossible supply problems for the armies and the inability to bring artillery larger than 500 pounds, i. e. over six inch, through the wilderness to attack the British post.

This is a good place to dispel two common errors associated with the Sullivan-Clinton-Brodhead Campaign.

Firstly, it is usually stated that Washington's "Indian name," the name the Indians called him, Hanodaganears, or Conotocarious, or any number of other spellings, meaning "Town Destroyer," was given to him as a result of the Sullivan Campaign. Actually, he was given that name in his youth before he even became a military man. The name was transferred from his great-grandfather, John Washington, who earned it in now forgotten fashion a hundred years earlier. As early as 1754 George was signing letters he wrote to Indians "Conotocarious."

The name became strongly associated with Washington because of the Sullivan campaign. Cornplanter alluded to it in his December 1, 1790 speech (see below). The name was since used for any President of the United States. Indeed, it is now used by the Senecas for their own president or even the president of any organization.

Secondly, it is usually stated that Jenuschshadego, the name of Cornplanter's village on the Cornplanter Grant, was bestowed as a result of Brodhead's burning that village. Mid 20th century Cornplanter Senecas were among the many who believed that. The name means "burnt house" and Brodhead did burn the town, but it had that name for an unknown period before 1779.

#### INTEREST IN A TRANSPORTATION ROUTE

In 1775 Washington had planned to visit a settlement his employees were trying to establish on his land holdings on the Great Kanawha. But he was called away at that point to lead the Continental army.

When the war was over, 1783, Washington resigned, intending with complete resolve to devote the rest of his life to his own private pursuits.

He set about the very large task of correcting neglect both at Mount Vernon and on his western holdings. Things were so bad that he was having trouble paying his bills. Hence he set out on another trip to the west September 1, 1784 and returned October 4.

Washington was a private citizen, but a responsible one keenly concerned about the future of his new nation and particularly his Commonwealth of Virginia. Everything about the new United States was uncertain and untried, nothing more so than the future of the thinly populated turbulent west beset with numerous Indian tribes and surrounded by conniving English and Spanish. Add to this the weak central government under the Articles of Confederation and it was obvious why most Europeans and many Americans expected the United States to have a short life.

As a land speculator with interest in the west, Washington

had been firmly convinced since his youth that the west was the future, a future on which smart gentlemen could also profit. That meant the west had to be bound somehow to the older settlements and kept from fragmenting off or getting snapped up by those British or Spanish.

Washington had dreamed from his days of youth of directing commerce, particularly at that time the fur trade, from a developing west past his door on the Potomac. In the early 1770's he had advocated improvement of the river navigation.

Thomas Jefferson shared these visions. He asked Washington to scout out and consider, on his trip, possibilities for portage roads, canals, and improving navigation (dredging and clearing obstructions). Washington hardly needed this extra urging.

Navigation canals with double locks were invented in China exactly 800 years previously in 984. They were used in Europe in the 15th century and came in earnest to England with the Industrial Revolution in the 17th century. A horse that could pull 1200 pounds on an unpaved road could pull 50 tons or more on a canal. That's an 8,000% plus gross technological advantage.

Canals and related "internal improvements," though still untried in America, were the great exciting technological hope for progress in the 18th century. Plans were just stirring before the Revolution, as early as 1725 in New York. Christopher Coles had begun lecturing on canals in Philadelphia in 1772. Now that the war was over a great burst of canal building and other "internal improvements" was set to take off.

In New York there was an obvious route from Lake Ontario through Wood Creek and Oneida Lake to the Mohawk and thus the Hudson. That route later became the seed of the New York canal movement and is still in use by the New York Barge Canal System. In 1785 and 1786 Coles tried unsuccessfully to get approval from the New York legislature to work on this route.

However, between the Revolutionary War and the Jay Treaty (1783-1794) the British held on to Fort Oswego (among others) at the northwest end of the route, so for the time being, the idea of major improvement in that area was unrealistic. Virginia had an opportunity to get the jump.

Washington had been to Oneida Lake in 1783 and he had noticed the potential.

While on the 1784 western trip, at Bath, Virginia, Washington met an inventor, James Rumsey, who showed him a working model of a strange looking boat that could use the power of flowing water to actually walk up stream. Washington nearly jumped for joy. This was the clincher. He could see the nation ultimately bound together with a vast network of canals, improved rivers, and short connecting roads. So much the better three years later when Rumsey unveiled an early form of steam boat.

Keep in mind this was 40 years before the advent of railroads.

In any event, it should be no surprise that on October 4, 1784, the day Washington returned from his western trip, he sat down and tabulated the distances and features of numerous possible connecting routes between the Atlantic and Mississippi drainages. He included calculations for a route from Detroit to Philadelphia via Presque Isle and French Creek, based on his own experience in 1753. He also considered the route around Niagara Falls and then from Lake Ontario through Oneida Lake to the Mohawk River. Washington did not calculate the Chautauqua route that day.

Washington was chosen as the first president of the Potomac Company when it was organized in 1785. The company's goal was to improve navigation on the Potomac River. It is an interesting side story that because that river was the boundary between Virginia and Maryland, starting in 1785 Washington called commissioners from both states to meet annually at Mount Vernon. To make a long story short, this actually grew into the Constitutional Convention.

Washington was chosen to chair the Constitutional Convention which began in May of 1787. In September the completed Constitution was sent to the states for ratification. Washington returned to Mount Vernon but was busy keeping track of the ratification process. He also built a brick kiln, made the bricks, and built a brick barn among other agricultural tasks that summer of 1788.

In June the necessary number of nine states had been reached in the Constitutional ratification process and the tide of opinion for acclaiming Washington as the first President got rolling. He began to seriously prepare himself for the daunting task. He was inaugurated at the end of April, 1789. One would not think the future President would find time for many other concerns in 1788.

Such was not the case. For one thing, he continued to attend meetings of the Potomac Company where he observed some small, ultimately unsuccessful, canals, being attempted around falls and rapids.

Also, Washington corresponded through the year 1788 with General William Irvine. Irvine was born in Ireland in 1741. He came to Pennsylvania during the French and Indian war and he practiced medicine in Carlisle. Early in the Revolution he was held prisoner in Canada. He took command at Fort Pitt in early November, 1781 and was there for two years (to October 1, 1783) while the war ground to an end.

After the war, Pennsylvania granted him a tract of land in Warren County. Also, he was appointed to explore the Donation Lands Pennsylvania intended to award other soldiers. This he did between March and November, 1785.

At that time, neither the southern nor the western boundary of New York State had been surveyed so neither Irvine nor anyone else was sure where one state ended and the next began. In his January 27, 1788 letter to Washington, it sounds like he came up to the head of Chautauqua Lake (Young's History of Chautauqua County, 1875, p. 56). But his official report from the time of the exploration, printed in Schenck's History of Warren County 1887, p. 89, is explicit that he "went only a small distance up this creek" meaning the Conewango. But he asked his companions, Elijah Mathews and either Captain Crow or All Face about the lake and its surroundings and the portage. Mathews was a white captive who had lived for years in the Delaware town where Meadville is now. Crow was a Seneca, Cornplanter's son-in-law. All Face was a village chief.

The state line survey, running west from the Delaware River, was completed in 1787. It left the Erie Triangle a federal no state's land and gave Pennsylvania only two miles of rocky Lake Erie shoreline. Within the next two months, Irvine and others suggested Pennsylvania acquire the Triangle. At that time, most authorities thought the New York west line would come down closer to the present east boundary of Chautauqua County than to the actual west boundary. This still put Chautauqua Lake erroneously in Pennsylvania, as Pennsylvania would be once it acquired the Triangle.

Irvine had first learned of Chautauqua Lake in the Revolutionary War. He had taken command at Fort Pitt immediately after Daniel Brodhead. Brodhead, it will be remembered, commanded the western adjunct to the Sullivan-Clinton campaign out of Fort Pitt in 1779. That campaign was successful in a strange sort of way. It accomplished everything it set out to do in terms of villages destroyed, but it did little to diminish the number or ferocity of Indian attacks on the frontier. Soon it was apparent that unless Fort Niagara could be taken, there would be little relief. Consequently Washington and Irvine kept making and modifying plans to accomplish that objective plus revisit all or part of the Sullivan expedition's devastation on remaining or rebuilt Indian villages.

The surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown on October 19, 1781 did not end the war in the west.

Hence on March 22, 1782 Washington wrote to Irvine:

"You will be pleased to make yourself acquainted as accurately, but with as much secrecy as possible, with the nearest and best route from Fort Pitt to Niagara, whether up the Alleghany river and thence through the woods, or by the river Le Boeuf, and along the side of the lake (Erie). You will in both cases mention the different distances of land and water transportation. The Indians and traders who have been used to traverse the country above mentioned, must be well acquainted with it."

Washington further instructed Irvine to gather the information while giving the impression he was more interested in the way to Detroit, still an active center of British support for Indian frontier deprivations. This should sound very reminiscent of the questionnaires leading up to the Sullivan Campaign. But now there was at least an inkling of Chautauqua Lake in the air, so to speak.

It took Washington's letter over a month to reach Irvine. He answered two days later, May 2, 1782.

"I shall observe your directions respecting the roads, etc. leading to Niagara. As yet, I have not been able to fall in with any person who has even a tolerable knowledge of them. There has been very little communication with that quarter since last war (meaning the French and Indian War); and few of the people who were then employed are now living. Several of the officers who went with Colonel Brodhead, in 1779, up the Allegheny, say they marched about one hundred and seventy miles to a creek called Connewango. They were informed that it took its rise about thirty miles from that place in a small lake; that, at this lake, the waters divided; other small streams run out of it towards Niagara, and that thence the country was pretty level and neither rivers nor morasses of any consequences in the way..."

Irvine also reported that the route up the lower Allegheny was very difficult both by water and by land, that French Creek was badly obstructed by fallen trees, and that the old French portage road from Le Boeuf to Presque Isle was so badly decayed that it was impractical for artillery or heavy baggage.

So by May 22, 1782, George Washington had heard, correctly and incorrectly, about some of the geography of Chautauqua County, but not by name.

The water route from Chautauqua Lake to the mouth of the Conewango is just about 29 miles, which fits Irvine's account exactly. It is much less likely, but possible, that his informants (Delaware Indians with the troops, one would have to assume) had in mind, perhaps partially in mind, either Cassadaga Lake or West Mud Lake. In any event, Washington's intense interest in the missing geography between the Allegheny and the Niagara Frontier was here finally satisfied in a first partial fashion. He replied to Irvine to keep trying and keep him informed (on May 22).

Irvine remained on the defensive. The Indian raids continued including one on July 13 at Hannastown, 30 miles southeast of his fort. That one passed through Chautauqua Lake although Irvine didn't know that at the time. But four and a half months after that, the war was over.

(The Hannastown attack was led by Old Smoke, not Guyasuta despite what all the history books say.)

Six and a half years later, and two years after his journey of exploration, Irvine was finishing a two year term as Congressman from the Cumberland district. Washington wrote to him on January 10 of the busy year 1788 with questions about the same water divides and portages he had considered on the day he returned from his western journey in 1784. He seems to have forgotten what Irvine had written in 1782 about the route above Conewango. Obed Edson in Young's History prints this exchange (pp. 54-60) as alluded to above. (Obed Edson, not Andrew Young or Elial T. Foote wrote the first chapter of Young's History.) In it, Irvine tells Washington of the Chautauqua and Conewango portages by name and recommends the Chautauqua route. He refers to Hutchins' map (which like several others shows it as Jadague) as very poor. He was right about that. On October 6 Irvine sent Washington a map, made by or copied from the men in the state line survey. Edson mistakenly reports this map to show "Lake Chautaug." Actually it makes the narrows too long and puts "Chautaug" in the upper lake and "que" in the lower lake.

(Map #7 "Map sent to Gen. Washington by Gen. Irvine" from "Chautauqua Lake in the Revolution" by Obed Edson in The Chautauquan, July, 1912, p. 16, Original in Library of Congress.)

In his last reply on October 31, Washington even repeats the name Chautauqua, which he spells "Chautaugque" as on the map - this was, at the time, the most common spelling. (The spelling is changed in Young's History.)

(Illustration #8 of Washington's letter with word "Chautaugque" from National Archives microfilm Presidential Papers on Microfilm: George Washington Papers, 1965)

George Washington was inaugurated as our first President the following April and died just a few days short of the end of the century. It was a decade and a half later that canal building hit its stride. (Although in Washington's life time, specifically Nov. 17, 1795 and almost yearly there after improvements were enaugurated on the Wood Creek and Oneida Lake route in this state.) The Erie Canal, the first and by far most successful of the major canals, was begun in 1817 and finished in 1825. In those years and immediately following, there were proposals for canals everywhere. Charles Whippo made a survey of the route mentioned to Washington by Irvine through Chautauqua Lake. But in the same year that the Erie Canal had been completed, a self educated Welsh mechanic perfected the railroad in England. A railroad reached Chautauqua County 26 years after that, Chautauqua Lake in nine years more. The rails took traffic away from the water routes. No transportation canal was ever dug in this county. But the canal and "internal improvements" movement had brought Chautauqua, the name and the place, to the attention of George Washington.

Incidentally, Washington's Potomac Company only paid a dividend once and only one short canal was built along

Washington's beloved river and that long after his death.

### THE FATAL ROOT

Among the nearly dozen contending meanings and origins of the name "Chautauqua" is "the place of easy death." Our 19th century local historians probably all got this from Orsamus Turner's Pioneer History of the Holland Purchase (p. 336). It became a starting point and a godsend to the local poets and story tellers of the Victorian age.

Turner introduced this in a foot note to a speech Coruplanter gave to George Washington in 1790. Here is the story behind it.

As soon as the U. S. and Great Britain signed the treaty of peace closing the Revolutionary War, the new American government asserted its advantage to extract harsh terms from the Iroquois, most of whom, including very particularly the Senecas, had supported the British. Although the British held on to several frontier posts, including Niagara and Oswego, for 11 years and constantly made suggestions and promises to the Indians, it became apparent that when push came to shove, the Indians were on their own. The U. S. government wanted to shove. American patriots and their families had suffered horribly in the war and the memory was both fresh and painful.

Threats, falsehoods, bribes, arbitrary and illegal procedures, and a variety of other high handed techniques were practiced under the "conquest theory." New York State, at first, even had thoughts of shoving the Senecas out of the state entirely. (Of course this was tried much later, 1838.)

The Iroquois made a try at holding the line from the pre-war first Treaty of Fort Stanwix, but the Second Treaty of Fort Stanwix (1784) (actually two treaties, one with the U. S. and the next day one with Pennsylvania), forced the Iroquois to cede all their lands outside of western New York. This was followed in subsequent years by numerous treaties that took nearly all the remaining land of the four eastern tribes. Then on November 30, 1787 the Leasee Company of well positioned shysters circumvented the state's constitutional prohibition of unregulated Indian land sales by persuading the Iroquois to sign 999 year leases. These were voided February 16, 1788 by the state, but at the same time Oliver Phelps, representing the Phelps and Gorham syndicate, was on the scene demanding sale of all of the remaining Seneca land, which is to say, western New York. The Indians seemed really confused by this juxtaposition and they were firmly convinced Phelps shorted them in payments for the smaller tract of land they did sell him.

In 1789 the Indians were induced to sign away the Erie Triangle at the Treaty of Fort Harmer. (Although it had all ready been relinquished at Fort Stanwix.) At about this point,

the Indians began to recover some of their equilibrium and develop more sophistication.

Enormous anger had built up. Iroquois society was pre-literate so inconsistent recollections about the specifics of treaties and sales were inevitable. The Indians resented the idea of permanent sales. Title and individual ownership of land were totally alien ideas to them. They thought agreements should be periodically and ceremonially renewed with exchanges of gifts.

Iroquois government was consensual (as opposed to either coercive or majority rule). Thus there were always disagreements over who had been authorized to commit the tribe to treaties and land sales. Whites often high handedly and sometimes forcibly took advantage of this characteristic of native society.

On top of this, the Indians were constantly subjected to criminal attacks, murders, thefts, and dishonest dealings. Cornplanter and probably every other local Seneca had been victimized in his own family. Also Cornplanter's life had been threatened by some of his own people for signing some of the treaties (and taking some of the bribes).

That is the situation in which his visit to George Washington at Philadelphia developed.

Ever since the Treaty of Fort Stanwix the Senecas had issued occasional formal complaints. In May, 1790 they wrote another to Pennsylvania's council president, Thomas Mifflin.

Mifflin replied immediately inviting Cornplanter, Half Town, and New Arrow to Philadelphia. He had numerous motivations. Pennsylvania hoped to take prompt and uncontested possession of the Erie Triangle. It also hoped, in the process, perhaps to rid itself once and for all of Indian problems by riding itself of Indians. Immediately to the west in the Old Northwest, an Indian war was brewing and it was obvious the Senecas could be pivotal in determining its outbreak and its results. Also, Pennsylvania was putting together a reward for Cornplanter because of his role at the Treaty of Fort Harmer. This was to be the Cornplanter Grant which endured until submerged by the Kinzua Reservoir in the mid 1960's. So for many reasons both parties wanted a Philadelphia Indian summit.

Cornplanter and five others: Half Town, Big Tree, James Hutchins, Seneca Billy, and John Decker, plus translator Joseph Nicholson arrived October 22 after being delayed by still another murderous attack.

Most, perhaps all, these men knew the Chautauqua region well. Cornplanter had hunted the shores of the lake with his two sons summer after summer in the late 80's. Half Town was regional chief before Cornplanter moved in. Later he was chief of the tiny village at Kiantone. John Decker was a veteran of the Hannastown raid which passed over Chautauqua Lake in 1782. He was

born near Franklin, Pa. and was probably Cornplanter's cousin. He spoke some English. Nicholson was a captive who had lived with the Senecas most of his life. He had piloted Brodhead up the Allegheny in 1779 and was wounded in the skirmish below Warren. He all ready knew Washington. Nicholson was Washington's guide down the Ohio in 1770. He spoke seven languages.

Cornplanter addressed the Pennsylvania Council October 23 and asked for time to prepare his speech. The speech was given October 29. The signed version in the Pennsylvania records has the mark of all five Indians, but Cornplanter delivered it in the first person singular and submitted a written copy in English carefully prepared ahead with a translator. Big Tree, a better orator than Cornplanter, may have been an equal co-author.

The recently concluded Treaty of Fort Harmer had been prepared with the assumption the New York State line would fall at or east of Chautauqua Lake. Hence the treaty had wording in it to let the Indians retain the east half of the lake and outlet and half the fish. One group of issues Cornplanter brought up now was related to this "Chatochque" Lake reservation.

Otherwise, the speech dealt mainly with the criminal attacks to which the Senecas had been subject.

The Pennsylvania council replied, mostly positively, the next day and hoped the Indian summit might prove brief and economical. However, Big Tree somehow got shot in the leg and actually got a doctor's excuse saying he couldn't travel. So the entire party stayed on at state expense and decided to speak to George Washington when he came to town.

Philadelphia replaced New York City as the national capitol at this time.

On December 1, 1790, Cornplanter delivered his rehearsed and memorized 2800 word speech to George Washington. It is signed by Cornplanter, Half Town, and Big Tree (as Great Tree) and written in first person plural this time. This speech was largely about the harsh terms imposed at treaties, including Fort Stanwix, Fort Harmer, the Livingston 999 year leases, and the Phelps and Gorham sale. Cornplanter essentially appealed to Washington's honor and mercy. He also indicated the Indians were resigned to adopting white farming methods and needed help. Early in the second half, after most of the specifics were taken care of, Cornplanter brought up the fatal root.

"Father, You have said we are in your Hand and by closing it you would crush us to nothing. Are you determined to crush us? If so tell us so, that those of our Nation who have become your Children and have determined to die so may know what to do.

"In this Case, one Chief has said, he would ask you to put him out of Pain. Another, who will not think of dying by the Hand of his Father or of his Brother, has said he will retire to the

Chateaugay, eat the fatal Root and sleep with his Fathers, in Peace."

Now this is a strange thing. The version of the speech in the printed New York Indian records (Hough, Franklin B. Proceedings of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, Albany: Munsell, 1861) refers not to Chautauqua, but to "Cheaugay."

Upper and Lower Chateaugay Lakes and the Chateaugay River are in Franklin County, near the Clinton County line. The river runs north into Quebec where it and a county and a town are spelled Chateaugay.

"Chateaugay" appears to be a French name. "Chateau" derived from the Latin meaning "castle" is found in many French names. The "guay" doesn't mean anything apparent. It was a French Canadian surname in the 18th century as was Chateaugay, itself.

However, William Beauchamp in Aboriginal Place Names of New York quotes the "New York Historical Society (Journal)" for 1821 (p. 337). "Hon. Samuel Jones said: 'The true name is Chateuaga which was the name given the town when first erected, but I remember one of the members of the Assembly then observed to me that the town would soon lose its name, for that it was of Indian origin, and very few of the members of the Legislature gave it the proper pronunciation, the most of them calling it Chateaugay.' In sound it suggests an Iroquois quite as much as a French word. It is pronounced Shat-a-ghe."

However, Cornplanter probably never heard of the Chateaugay Lakes and must have meant the familiar Chautauqua.

Curiously, the same mistake was made in the other direction in Alphabetical List of Battles 1754 - 1900, War of the Rebellion, Spanish-American War, Philippine Insurrection, and All Old Wars With Date compiled by Newton A. Strait (Washington, D. C. 1900, p. 232). A War of 1812 (Oct. 26, 1813) battle in Quebec is called "Chatauqua River." The same mistake was made at least once more in the War of 1812, in Governor Thompkins' papers.

There was no agreed spelling for Chautauqua or any other Indian word, or for that matter for many English words, at that time. There is no agreed spelling for Indian words today. Turner, whatever his source, renders it "Jadaqueh" ("Ja-da-qua" in Phelps and Gorham Purchase, p. 144, 1851,) and gives the translation and legend. A 1794 printing of undetermined origin once possessed by Judge Foote gives "Chautaugque" in both speeches mentioned here.

Obed Edson thought the fatal root was May apple. However, we can be confident it was actually wild parsnip, Cicuta maculata L. This grows in wet places and was commonly employed for suicide by the Iroquois, particularly the women, and probably is so to this day. Its affects are much more unpleasant than the

legend implies.

Washington's reply on December 20 attributed past injustices in land treaties to the government under the Articles of Confederation and implied the new American government was blameless and unable to redress any wrongs from that time. He assured Cornplanter the long leases were invalid, but he supported Phelps and Gorham. Phelps had in the interim submitted documentation and testimony supporting his position.

Washington further promised the Indians as much justice as whites in the criminal courts and asked their help in settling the northwest war. He did not say anything about "the fatal root."

Cornplanter and the other chiefs were not satisfied so they presented another speech January 10, 1791. They started by again complaining about the excessive land cessions the Senecas were forced into, particularly Fort Stanwix and Fort Harmer. Speaking of the Erie Triangle, he said, "(T)he Land which you sold and the Senecas confirmed to Pennsylvania, is the Land on which Half Town and all his people live... They grew out of this Land, and their Fathers' Fathers grew out of it, and they cannot be persuaded to part with it. We therefore entreat you to restore to us this little Piece."

He continued the plea at length and it isn't clear whether he meant the whole Triangle, the presumed part east of Chautauqua Lake, or just a square mile to encompass Half Town's village, which was Kiantone.

There was a little exaggeration there because it is doubtful that Half Town's 30 or 40 people lived at Kiantone or anywhere in the Chautauqua area before May of 1782. Half Town, himself had probably moved there much more recently. But they loved that land intensely. They stayed there when they found it actually didn't fall in the Triangle. They begged Joseph Ellicott to mark them off a special reservation under the Treaty of Big Tree. However, in 1799, Ellicott convinced them to trade it for a little land added on as a peculiar appendage to the Allegany Reservation at Cold Spring. Even after that, they liked to camp there and maybe plant a few crops on the land until the settlers arrived in 1808.

Cornplanter again spoke of Chautauqua Lake in this speech. "And if you desire to preserve a Passage through the Conewango, and through Chautauque Lake, and Land for a Path to that Lake to Lake Erie, take it where you best like. Our Nation will rejoice to see it an open Path for you and your Children, while the Land and Water remain. But let us also pass along the same Way, and continue to take the Fish of those Waters in common with you."

Cornplanter also rejoiced that his people could have recourse to the courts, said he was embarrassed they had dealt with Livingston, and said he would take Phelps and Gorham to

court. He promised help in settling the northwest Indian war, and asked for specific help in acquiring civilized skills and tools. This included a request for teachers to teach the children to read and write.

Washington replied with another speech January 19, 1791. He pointed out that while they were complaining about the boundaries drawn at Fort Stanwix, the three Indian petitioners were among those who had signed two further treaties confirming them and they had received compensation for doing so. "The Lines fixed at Fort Stanwix and Fort Harmer, must therefore remain established."

He promised that Half Town and his people would not be disturbed. (This was before their land was sold to the Holland Land Company in 1797.) and that the Indian agents to be appointed would be honest and accountable.

At the same time, February 8 actually, Henry Knox, the secretary of war, replied to the chiefs with further details.

On February 7, Cornplanter, Half Town, and Big Tree gave their farewell speech, a short one, repeating a request for a land grant to Joseph Nicholson, among other things.

Despite the lack of complete agreement, respect and friendship developed between Cornplanter and Washington.

Over the next few years, the western war went badly for U. S. forces. Red Jacket, Farmer's Brother, and especially Brant, with the British of Fort Niagara behind him, agitated increasingly for Seneca support of the western Indian confederacy. Cornplanter was the last holdout for the American side toward their side. But he became increasingly resentful over the loss of the Erie Triangle. The refusal or lack of follow-through regarding land grants and jobs for his favored interpreters must also have been galling. In 1794 he gave in to the arguments of Brant and the others. He prevented American forces from occupying Presque Isle in 1794. Washington knew this was happening and knew Cornplanter was behind it.

The Senecas almost certainly would have joined the war against the U. S. soon except for the decisive victory of General Anthony Wayne at Fallen Timbers August 20, 1794. On that precise moment the Indian era came to an end in northeast North America.

Cornplanter accommodated and only soured toward Washington personally about 1818, long after Washington's death and when he, himself, was in advanced age and suffering depression.

Cornplanter never resided inside Chautauqua County's later borders. Apparently it is accurate to say he and Washington established a friendship. Some sources say Cornplanter visited Washington again more than once, including shortly before his death, or according to another source, shortly before the end of

his presidency.

Washington did not seem to make a personal bond with any of the other Indians in the 1790 group, but it would probably be accurate to say that Half Town, the Kiantone chief, was the Chautauqua County resident whom Washington knew best, little though that may have been. He may well have been the only Chautauqua County resident Washington knew well enough to call by name. The only possible others were soldiers who served under Washington and settled here in later years. As is apparent below, so far as we know, none of them made claims of any serious acquaintance.



### GEORGE WASHINGTON DID NOT SLEEP HERE

If you live on the western edge of the county, no doubt you have heard the assertion that George Washington visited Findley Lake and/or Chautauqua Lake in 1753. I can trace the story back to a local historian named Carlton Robertson. He was active in the County Historical Society in the 1930's and was considered the Town Historian for Mina in the 1940's. He wrote a manuscript before May of 1940, a copy of which is in the Fenton Historical Society library, another is in the Chautauqua County Historical Society archives.

The 10 page (FHS) or 12 page (CCHS) manuscript is "Incidents in the History of the Township(sic) of Mina." I quote from it.

"It seems that when (Washington) was on his famous mission to the French, he originally had orders to go to Fort Niagara, which was the real headquarters of the French army. He visited Fort Labouf(sic), as everyone knows, then set out for Niagara, crossing the northern edge of our town enroute. But when he neared the upper end of Chautauqua Lake, the inclement weather and the hostility of the Indians convinced him that it was both superfluous and foolhardy to continue further. He turned back; night found him and his one companion, probably Christopher Gist, at the shore of a small woodland lake with an island in the middle. They built a crude raft in the storm and managed to reach the island, where they found refuge from the Indians and the weather in a heavy thicket of hemlocks. There they stayed for three days, then walked ashore on the ice which had formed during their visit. The place where they are supposed to have built the raft is at the Point which extends into the Lake towards the Big Island."

On October 6, 1956, state Supreme Court Judge Lee L. Ottaway gave a talk to the Chautauqua County Historical Society. In it he stated:

"There exists a legend that in 1753 George Washington, after his visit to Ft. Leboeuf, now Waterford, Pa. attempted to reach Ft. Niagara and passed through the Mina area but was turned back by winter weather. With his single companion he built a raft and

reached a wooded island where he spent three days in the underbrush. Then a drop in temperature froze the water in the lake and they were able to walk ashore. As Findley Lake is the only body of water in Chautauqua County with a wooded island, if this legend is true it must have been Findley Lake where he spent the three days." This was quoted in the Post Journal at the time. There is an undated clipping in the Fenton Historical Society files. A manuscript of the talk in the County Historical Society archives.

Earlier, May 4, 1940, Ottaway gave another talk to the Historical Society in which he mentioned the "legend that during the year of 1753 when George Washington wintered at Fort Le Boeuf, he came out over this trail and visited Chautauqua Lake." He credits Robertson's paper for his information in general, although not specifically this item.

Ottaway was noted for a razor sharp mind that never forgot a fact, but apparently not for his skepticism and research.

Christie Herbst, apparently relying on the newspaper story reporting Ottaway's 1956 lecture, repeated the account in the August 10, 1974 Tempo. The book Mina Findley Lake Sesquicentennial 1824-1974 by Thjeda Forker, also published in 1974 and reprinted in 1997 quoted Ottaway without comment as did her February 26, 1976 article "Mina Township(sic) One of the Smallest and One of Most Beautiful," apparently in the Westfield Republican. (The clipping in the Chautauqua County Historical Society archives is not identified as to paper.)

In fairness, it should be noted that all those who repeated the story termed it a "legend". This must have started, maybe in the 1920's, as some school boy's joke or confusion.

The primary sources for the days and events of Washington's diplomatic journey of 1753 are the daily journal he kept and the parallel daily journal his guide, Christopher Gist, kept. Washington's original and his original notes are lost, but we have printed versions from the following year on both sides of the Atlantic as I have mentioned earlier. Gist's journal has also been printed. We know exactly where Washington and Gist were every day.

On Dec. 14, 1753 St. Pierre, at Le Boeuf, did suggest to Washington that he take his message to the Marquis Duquesne, the governor of New France, in Quebec. It was a gently sarcastic suggestion at best. Washington flatly refused. He had no authority, let alone orders, to deliver his letter to anyone but the frontier commander nor to go beyond the western outpost. He had stretched the point by going beyond Venango to Le Boeuf as it was. And, incidentally, the temporary headquarters of the French army on the Ohio was at Le Boeuf, the overall headquarters in Canada, not by any stretch at Niagara. Washington didn't even pick up the name Niagara, much less was he ordered or did he try to go there.

Washington and his party stayed three days at Fort Le Boeuf. They did not stay over winter. They returned on the first leg to Venango then left there on December 23rd. Washington and Gist struck out cross country alone on the 26th. They fell in with one treacherous Indian who tried to shoot them on the 27th. After escaping from him, they came to the Allegheny River December 29 and found it full of rushing blocks of ice. That is where they had to make their raft.

The raft got buffeted by the ice. Washington set his pole and was flipped off into the ice water. It was a perilous situation. Gist helped him back on the raft, but they couldn't make it to either shore. Finally they were able to wade off on a small island. They managed to keep from freezing as they slept one night, not three. In the morning the river was completely frozen over and they walked ashore and after a ten mile walk reached the welcome warmth of John Frazier's trading post.

This island was Garrison Island, now in Pittsburgh, nearly at the mouth of the Allegheny.

There can be no doubt about whether they reached Findley Lake or Chautauqua Lake. They did not.

At that time there actually was no Findley Lake as such. There were just two little ponds. Each did have a small island in it, and so did Lake Le Boeuf.

St. Pierre at Le Boeuf, even though he did not redirect Washington to Quebec, of course did have to send Dinwiddie's letter that Washington had brought to that destination. He did so, with a copy of his reply and a cover letter, eight days later. He sent them with a man named Normandville. They arrived January 30, 1754, a half a month after Washington had returned to Williamsburg.

#### GEORGE WASHINGTON AND THE KINZUA DAM

The building of the Kinzua Dam (ceremonial ground breaking October 22, 1961) was the most dramatic event in 20th century local Indian history. The Army Corps of Engineers condemned the land that was to be under and around the reservoir, demolished the buildings, cut the timber, and even moved the graves. A substantial portion of the Allegany Seneca Reservation, most of the habitable land, and nearly all the Cornplanter Grant were inundated (along with considerable land owned and occupied by a larger number of white people including the whole borough of Corydon).

Ten years of court battles and a great deal of publicity has faded in the popular mind with the passage of years. As usual, what remains is folklore with as many inaccuracies as truths.

One can hear statements to the effect that to build the dam, the U. S. government broke a treaty, signed by George Washington, that promised the land to the Indians "as long as the grass shall grow, and as long as the sun shall rise."

The treaty that was at issue in the Kinzua controversy, from its inception, was the Pickering Treaty or Treaty of Canandaigua. As the names imply, this treaty was signed at Canandaigua, N. Y. by 59 Iroquois and by Timothy Pickering, November 11, 1794. Although Pickering officially was Postmaster General at the time, he was also the U. S. government's most experienced Indian negotiator. The following year he became Secretary of War, then Secretary of State.

The treaty is printed on pages 31-37 of volume one of the Historic Annals of Southwestern New York (1940) where it is mislabelled the "Big Tree Treaty." It represented a change of course for U. S. - Indian relations. After many complaints from the Iroquois, an Indian war in the Old Northwest, and some national maturation, the U. S. had abandoned the harsh conquest theory which had been taken at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix ten years earlier (October 22, 1784) in favor of purchases and finesse. The Pickering Treaty returned lands that became Chautauqua County, an approximately 12 mile eastern strip of Cattaraugus County, and the southwest corner of Erie County. By this time, only the Senecas of the Six Nations had any significant amount of land left and in just under three years, they relinquished these returned lands and nearly all the rest of western New York, which they had not previously yielded, to the Holland Land Company in the Treaty of Big Tree.

The Pickering Treaty promised "the United States will never claim the same, nor disturb the Seneca nation, nor any of the Six Nations... until they choose to sell the same to the people of the United States."

By the 20th century, the Pickering Treaty was relevant, publicity to the contrary notwithstanding, in only a distant sense. I have not seen any justification for the emphasis upon it in the Kinzua dispute. The Senecas had signed the Treaty of Big Tree September 15, 1797. Then on January 15, 1838 (Treaty of Buffalo Creek), they sold their reservations to the Ogden Land Company and were on the verge of being removed from the state until the reactions to the monumental high handedness and illegality of that treaty produced a backlash resulting in the restoration of the Cattaraugus and Allegany reservations (and parts of some others) by another Treaty of Buffalo Creek on May 20, 1842.

That 1842 treaty is overwhelmingly the most relevant to the Seneca Nation of the 20th century. (The nearly adjoining Cornplanter Grant in Pennsylvania was private property by an act of February 1, 1791 and not a reservation nor subject to federal jurisdiction or treaty.)

Although the Buffalo Creek Treaty guarantees the Senecas their land until they choose to sell it, it nowhere says anything about "as long as the grass shall grow or the sun shall rise." None of the treaties mentioned here contain any such poetic language.

Such language was used by New York governor George Clinton September 5, 1784 in the discussions preceeding the Treaty of Fort Stanwix. Speaking of the symbolic council fire at which agreements between the Iroquois and New York had been reached for 130 years, he hoped "that You and We and the offspring of Us both, may enjoy its benign Influence, as long as the Sun shall shine or the Waters flow." Cornplanter was present at the time.

When Cornplanter went to Philadelphia the first time, in 1786, and on to New York where he addressed Congress, he got an official reply from David Ramsey, Chairman of the Congress, which included similar language. "Congress hopes to enjoy the friendship of the Indian nations and to live with them like brothers as long as the sun and moon shall last." That was May 5. To this date I have found only white men resorting to these artistic depictions of eternity. But it is still possible this was an old formula.

Be that as it may, next Cornplanter wrote a letter from his home on the Grant December 3, 1795 to Major Isaac Craig at Pittsburgh about a purchase of lumber. "We have made peace with the United States as long as the watter runs, which was the reason that I built a mill in order to support my family by it."

(Perhaps Cornplanter was indulging in an intentional joke here regarding his water powered saw mill. If so, it is the first joke recorded in the region since 1749 when the Indians at Buckaloons told Celoron the warehouse they were building for the English traders would be used strictly for a youth recreation center.)

Cornplanter repeated the phrase entirely July 13 or 14, 1812, the day the people of Warren heard that the War of 1812 had broken out. They immediately sent a delegation to see where the old chief stood. He replied, "Our forefathers made an agreement which we hoped would be lasting... You have come forward to renew our agreement with the United States, that we should have our land together and should always be friends as long as the sun shines and the water runs." Perhaps by then it had become an old Indian cliché.

In 1964, when the controversy over the dam was at its most intense, Johnny Cash issued an album, Bitter Tears (Columbia CL 2248) consisting of Indian protest songs written by himself and Peter La Farge. On this album was a song "As Long As the Grass Shall Grow." The chorus is:

As long as the moon shall rise  
As long as the river flows

As long as the sun will shine  
As long as the grass shall grow

The verses depict Cornplanter going to Independence Hall and signing the treaty. One could conclude from listening to the song that George Washington also signed it there. He is mentioned several times and "he gave his signature."

The song also labels the reservoir "Lake Perfidy" and asks the question, "Cornplanter, can you swim?"

That question became the title of a classic article about the dam and all that led up to it by Alvin M. Josephy, Jr. in the December, 1968 American Heritage magazine ( Vol. XX, No. 1, pp. 4-9, 106-110).

Actually, Washington signed the treaty of Canandaigua only in the sense that the President signs all treaties and acts of Congress. Cornplanter signed it at Canandaigua. It was, in some measure, the fruit of his efforts including his 1790 trip to Philadelphia where he did see Washington. But he and Washington signed no treaties together in Philadelphia in 1790, nor the previous time Cornplanter was in Philadelphia, 1786, nor, so far as I know, any other time.

But songs are art, not history. It is still a powerful recording.

The dam was built. The Seneca nation received money (\$15,000,573) and services but not land in compensation for the over 9,000 acres inundated. The Cornplanter heirs, for their Grant, all but 165 inaccessible acres inundated out of an original 907.75 acres, received 8.42 isolated acres of steep land and 695 burial plots. Cornplanter's remains were the last to be removed from the cemetery on the Grant, August 26, 1964. The last seven living residents left about the same time. The dam was officially dedicated at 2:30 PM, September 16, 1966.

#### MEMENTOES AND ARTIFACTS

It both amazes and thrills me to think that at one time there were people in this county who had seen or known George Washington. Most of these were our Revolutionary War veterans. Benjamin Parker of Ellery saw Washington several times. Paul Davis of Kiantone was discharged with an autographed commendation from General Washington. Simon Loomis, according to his family, served Washington in the crossing of the Delaware and at Yorktown. Oliver Stetson of Ripley celebrated the 4th of July, 1778 near Poughkeepsie when Washington was present. (Actually, Washington and his forces celebrated July 4, 1778 at Brunswick, New Jersey, 60 miles from Poughkeepsie.) William Wallace of Stockton and Chautauqua served under Washington in the New York City area in the second half of 1776. He saw Washington frequently and stood guard for him twice. Robert Whitmore Seaver of Sinclairville saw Washington frequently at the time of

the battle of King's Bridge, also in the New York area. Levi Stedman of the Town of Chautauqua had discharge papers signed by Washington, June 12, 1783. All of these are from Rev. Frederick Kates' book (Patriot-Soldiers of 1775-1783 1981) and its sequel ( Vol. II, 1987, edited by Virginia Barden). Several other local veterans are recorded as having served under Washington.

It would be most interesting to know what ever became of the signed papers and possible other memorabilia of George Washington these veterans brought to our county.

In 1873 and 1874 Old Settlers reunions were held at three locations in the county. Young's History gives partial listings of the artifacts that were displayed. The only Washington item mentioned, aside from the ever present newspapers announcing his death, were "a cravat, diamond pin and brooch and cue worn by Judge James Prendergast at one of Washington's receptions in New York City." There were numerous other items relating to the Revolutionary War, Lafayette, and other figures of the time.

On June 24 and 25, 1902, the centennial of the settlement of Chautauqua County was celebrated. In the then new Westfield High School building, all but three towns (Busti, Kiantone, and Villenova) exhibited "relics of the pioneer period." The artifacts relating to Washington were largely newspapers and other printed or indirect items.

From the Town of Chautauqua, Mr. and Mrs. John Prendergast exhibited a "white stock and pin worn to Washington reception by James Prendergast April 19, 1789." This was apparently the same item noted in 1874. The date could not be right because on April 19, 1789 Washington was uneventfully enroute from Baltimore to Wilmington, Delaware and ultimately to New York City April 22 for his inauguration April 30.

While serving as President in New York City in 1789 and 1790, Washington typically held receptions or levees at 3 PM at his residence when anyone could walk in and see him. Probably the pin was worn on such an occasion. Mrs. Washington similarly held levees Friday evenings from 8 to 10. The President often unofficially attended.

Other items at the centennial less directly related to Washington include the following:

Mrs. Dolly Martin from Cherry Creek exhibited a "spur worn by a soldier under General Washington in the Revolutionary War."

There were numerous copies and reprints of newspapers announcing Washington's death plus such items as a sampler with Washington's coat of arms made by a local woman, and a plaster bust of Washington by a local man.

One might fairly say that Chautauqua County's most treasured memento of George Washington was the Marquis de Lafayette when

he visited here in 1825. But that is another story.

### ODDS AND ENDS

Six Chautauqua County towns are named for signers of the Declaration of Independence. Washington was acquainted with five of these: Richard Stockton, Elbridge Gerry, Roger Sherman, George Clymer, and Charles Carroll.

In Europe people were named for places. In America places were named for people. The name "Washington" derives, many generations back, from a place in Durham(shire), England. Many, many more generations back, it meant the town of Wassa's people, Wassa being an otherwise forgotten Anglo-Saxon who had that name because he or one of his ancestors lived near the water or in a swamp. And so it goes around: places named for people, people named for places, places named for people...

Washington is the most popular person-derived place name in the United States. A state, the nation's capital city, and over 100 other cities and towns or up to a thousand total places depending on how you count have that name.

Jamestown, Frewsburg, and Silver Creek have Washington Streets. Dunkirk, Fredonia, Mayville, and Westfield have Washington Avenues, Harmony has Washington Road. The city projected at Irving in 1836 had a Washington Street and Washington Square. But there is no Washington, as such, place name in Chautauqua County. The nearest one is Washington Township in Erie County, Pa., containing Edinboro. It was created and named in 1834. George Washington never passed through Washington Township.

George Washington was mentioned among the members of the spirit committees invoked by the leaders of Kiantone Harmonia, that strange Spiritualist community of the 1850's. But his intended posthumous influence on our county seems to have been smaller than that of the more intellectual founding fathers such as Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Paine.

When Silver Creek's giant hollow walnut tree was on exhibit in New York City in 1827, a four foot table was set up inside it. On this, as an additional attraction, was a letter signed by George Washington. (Hanover Historical Newsletter, December 1, 1990)

Washington was assigned a happy mansion and a dog by the religion of Handsome Lake. Otherwise (except for Jesus. The Senecas were unsure of His race because the Quakers hadn't given

them an entirely straight answer.) this religion makes no provision for an after life, good or bad, for white people.

Handsome Lake, Cornplanter's half brother, originated the Iroquois Longhouse religion when he experienced visions starting June 15, 1799 (in what would today be called a "near death experience") at the Cornplanter Grant, just 10 miles from Chautauqua County. (Of all the existing independent religions in the world, this is the one that originated closest to Chautauqua County.)

George Washington died December 14, 1799. News of his death came to the Cornplanter Senecas January 31, 1800 in letters to the Quakers who were living among them.

Anthony F. C. Wallace (in The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca, 1969) attributes the Washington-in-Heaven anecdote to Handsome Lake's second vision which occurred August 7, 1799. Wallace is deservedly the most quoted authority on this period of Seneca history, but he is sometimes too facile with his sources. Presumably he places the Washington item in the second vision because it appears as part of the Sky Journey in A. C. Parker's classic version of the Code of Handsome Lake published in 1913 and written down from oral tradition just after the turn of the century. However, it is not mentioned by the Quakers who were living nearby in 1799 and 1800. They briefly recorded the first three visions. Furthermore, it seems strange that Washington should be in Heaven four and a half months before he died, six months before Handsome Lake could have known he was dead.

The Code is not in strict chronological order. The chronology in it is sometimes confusing and wrong. It places the first vision in May, 1800, for example, after Washington had died. The Washington story must have grown up and accreted to the Code by the folk process. There are associated Seneca legends recorded by Parker about Cornplanter and Washington consistent with this. Lewis H. Morgan, who published in 1851, mentions the story, with Washington's mansion "just by the entrance of heaven." Parker has it at a "spot midway between the earth and the clouds."

Predictably, coming down to the present day there are confused Cornplanter-Washington traditions among the Senecas. For example, "Cornplanter had this land given to him for fighting on the side of George Washington," and "A couple of hundred years ago, Handsome Lake went to Washington, D. C. to preach the Handsome Lake Code. George Washington heard it..." (pages 119 and 43 respectively from Ne Ho Niyo De:No That's the Way It Was, edited by Alberta Austin (1986). Of course Washington and Cornplanter were the leaders of opposing armies in the Revolution and never fought on the same side. It was Thomas Jefferson who heard and endorsed Handsome Lake after Washington was dead.

The mention of Washington's death by one of the Quakers, Halliday Jackson, on the Allegheny Reservation is the only

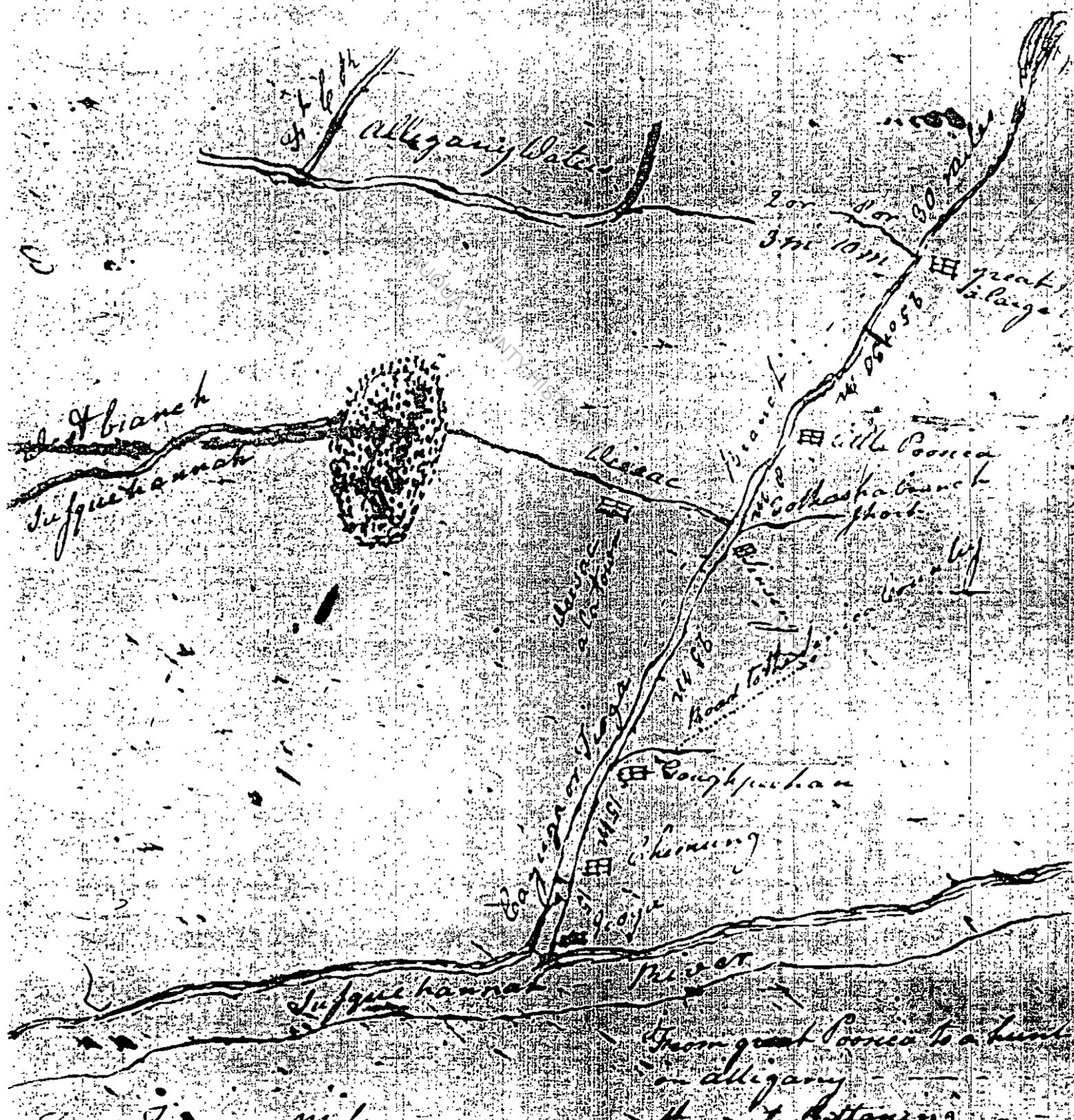
response recorded from the time close to Chautauqua County. Jackson was at Old Town, just ten miles from Chautauqua County. There were Indians living closer to Chautauqua County, probably even in it at the Cattaraugus Reservation, which was then considerably larger than it is now. Amos Sottle may have been present (after an absence) in 1800. But whoever was here, we have no record of their response to George Washington's death.

In Jackson's diary, he did not record the feelings of the local Senecas nor his own sentiment.

"Now the New year being come in the first month on the last day of the month I received letters from my kinspeople in the land of my Nativity and from the Great City and their was many sayings written therein, and it was made known unto me that George who in the days of Old was Chief Ruler of the people of the Provinces was dead and his death was lamented sore in the Great City and thro' out all the Cities of the people of the provinces because his fame was great and his worthy acts was known among the Nations -- And the Great Sanhedrim ceased from their Counselling, & put on their mourning apparel and all the Rulers and Councillors in the Great City and those that were in public offices under the great Sanhedrim, did cease to execute Judgement in those days, and their countenance was Sad, and the voice of mourning was heard in the Streets, because the Champion of the people of the Provinces was dead.

Norman P. Carlson  
January, 1999

an account in B. ... letter of the ...  
 1779 - as given to him by an old Gentle  
 Northampton County in Pennsylvania who fo  
 ed at Charming - but had not been in that  
 for 23 years.



October 1980

The only cement that can bind those people to  
as for any length of time and we shall, I think, be  
deficient in foresight and wisdom if we neglect the  
means to effect it. - Our interest is so much in  
union with the policy of the measure that nothing  
but that ill timed and misapplied parsimony and  
contracted way of thinking which intertwines so  
much in all our public councils can counteract  
it.

If the Chautauque Lake at  
the head of Canewango River, approximates Lake Erie  
as nearly as in said dam in the draught, you  
have sent me it presents a very short Portage in  
need between the two and an access to all those a  
bove the latter.

I am &c

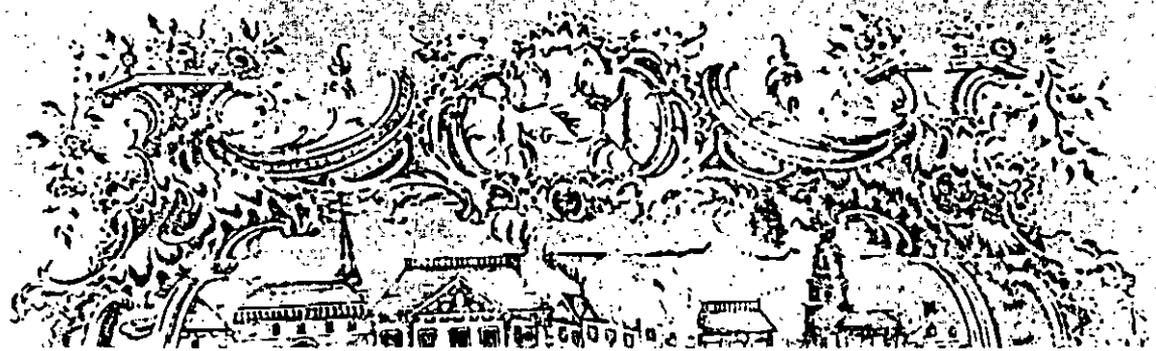
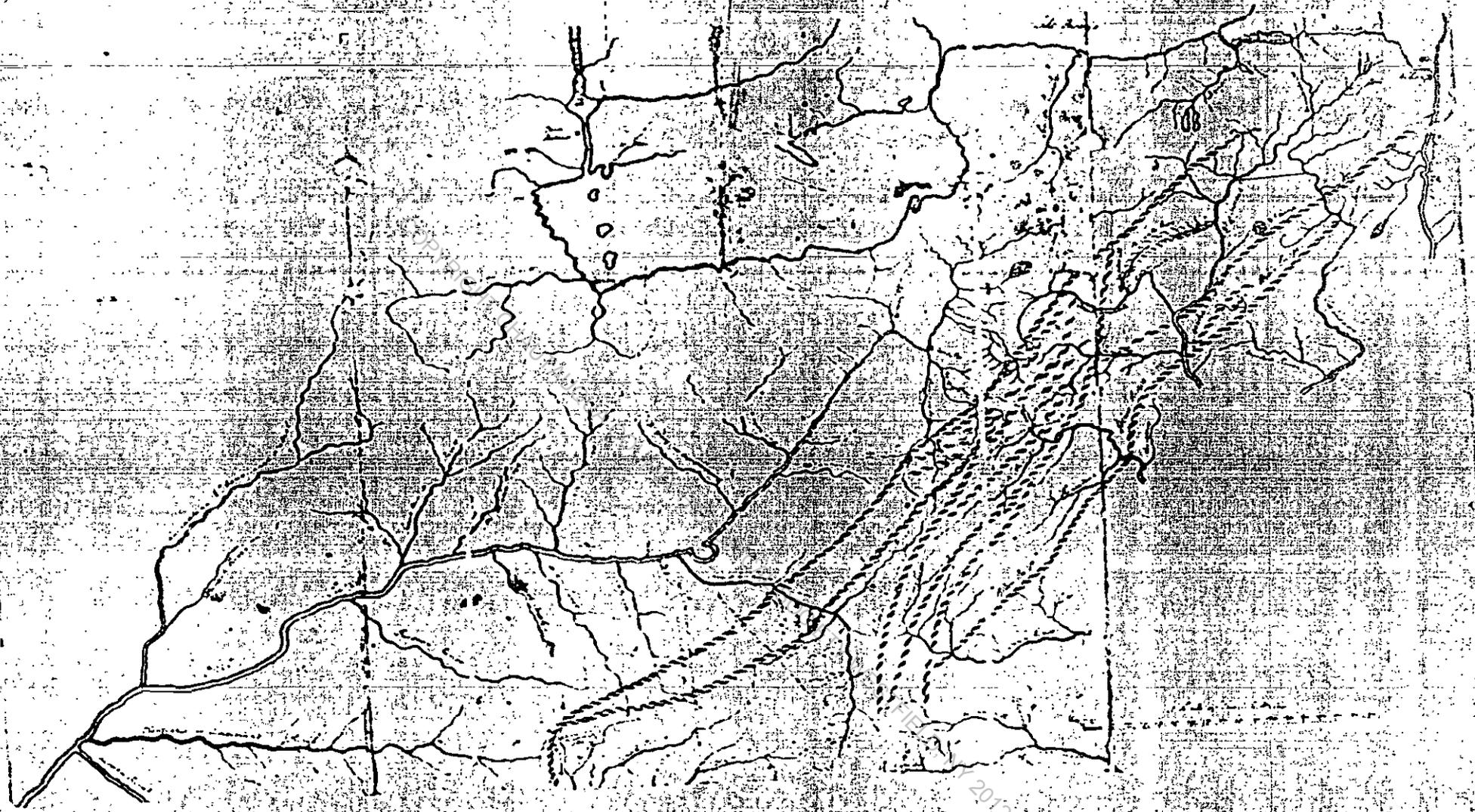
Honourable Member  
October 31<sup>st</sup> 1788  
a.m.m.m.m.

Wm. Washington

M. Le Comte de Beauvoir

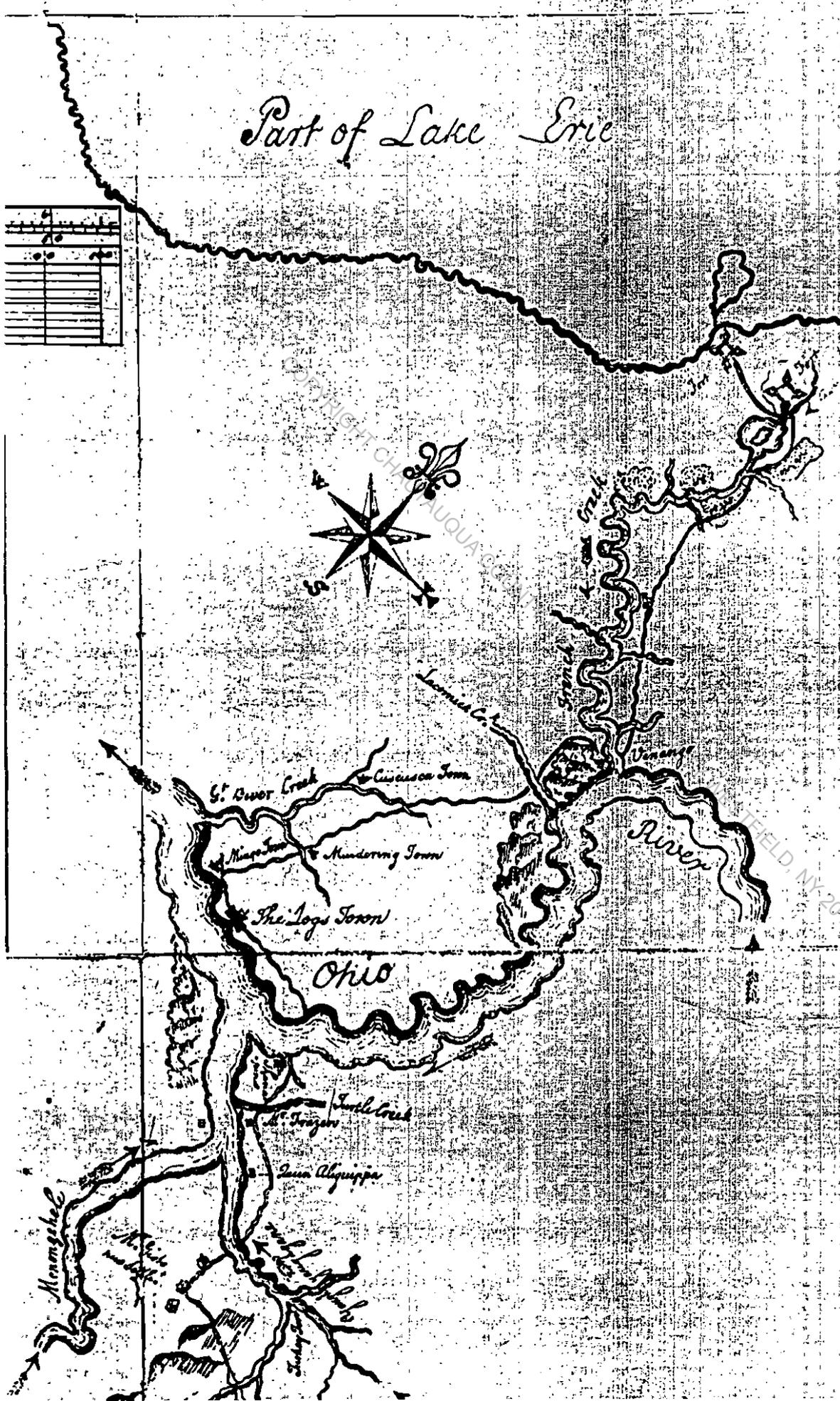
Sir,

I have had the honor to receive  
your two books upon Hydrostatics which you were so  
polite as to transmit to me through the hands of  
M. de Beauvoir.



In 1772 Father Crespi, having  
with the explorer Pedro Fages,  
San Francisco Bay. They continued  
through the area that was later  
tively accurate map of the bay.

# Part of Lake Erie



St. River Creek

Cassaca Town

Maumee

Mundaring Town

The Logs Town

Ohio

Sand Creek

St. Trojans

Sand Alquiappa

Maumee

St. Trojans

Sand Creek

Sand Creek

Sand Creek

Lewis C.

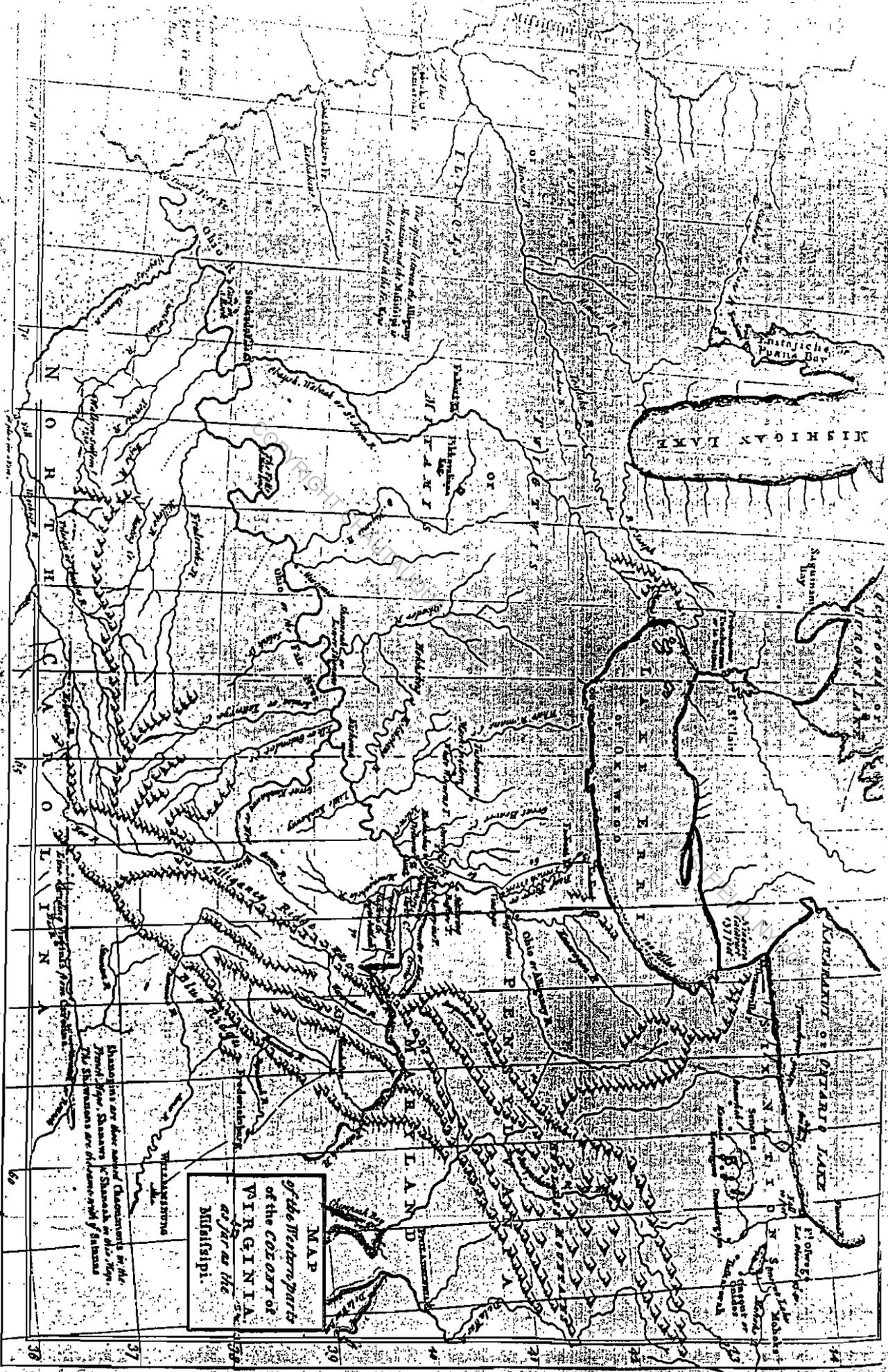
Sandusky River

River

Vinango

FIELD, NY 2014





MAP  
of the Western part  
of the COLONY of  
VIRGINIA  
as far as the  
Mississippi.

The Mountains are here shown of the same height as they are in the West, and the Rivers are shown of the same course as they are in the West.

The great Lakes and Allegheny River, and the Mountains of the West, are not shown in this Map.

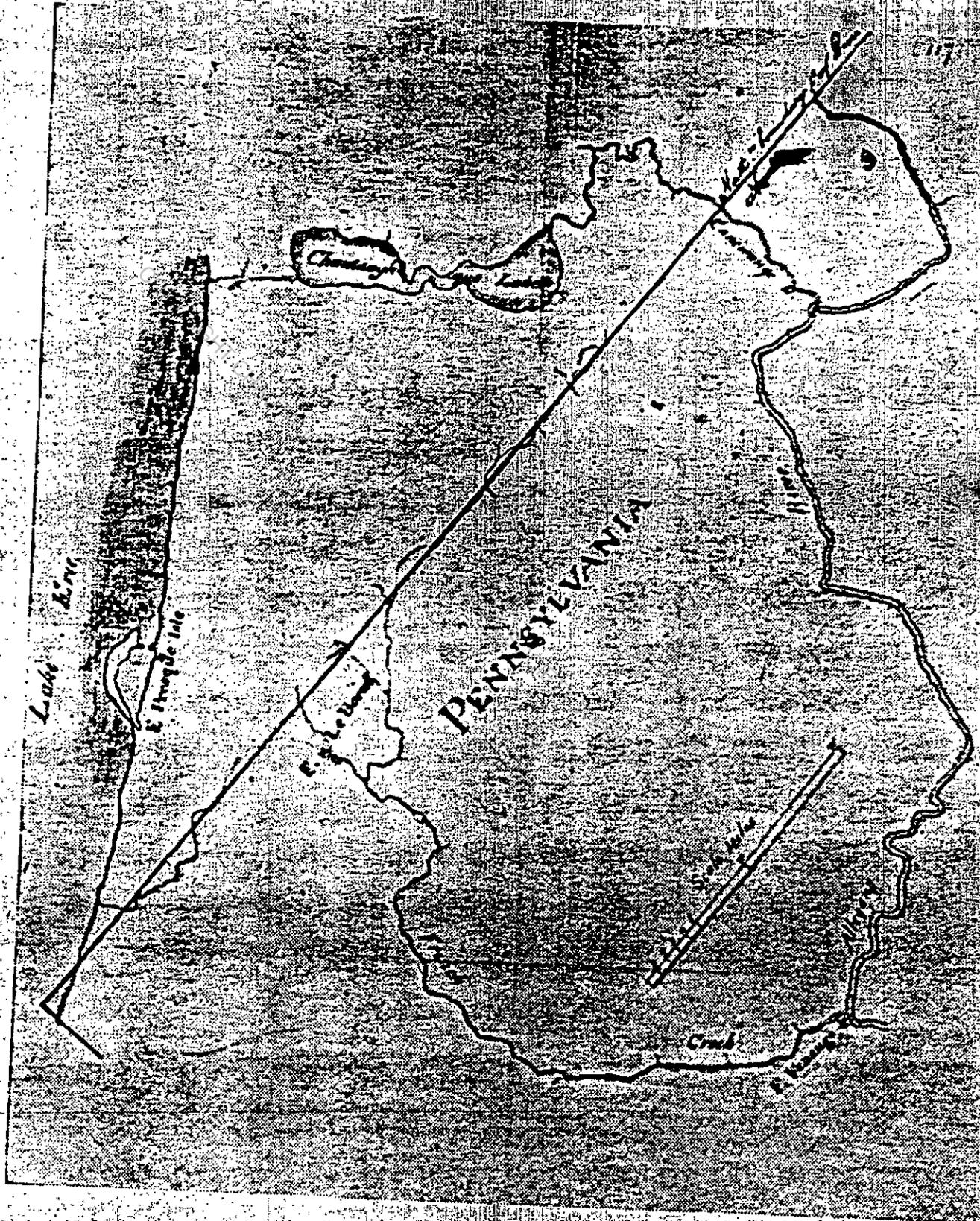
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KISHIKIAN LAKE

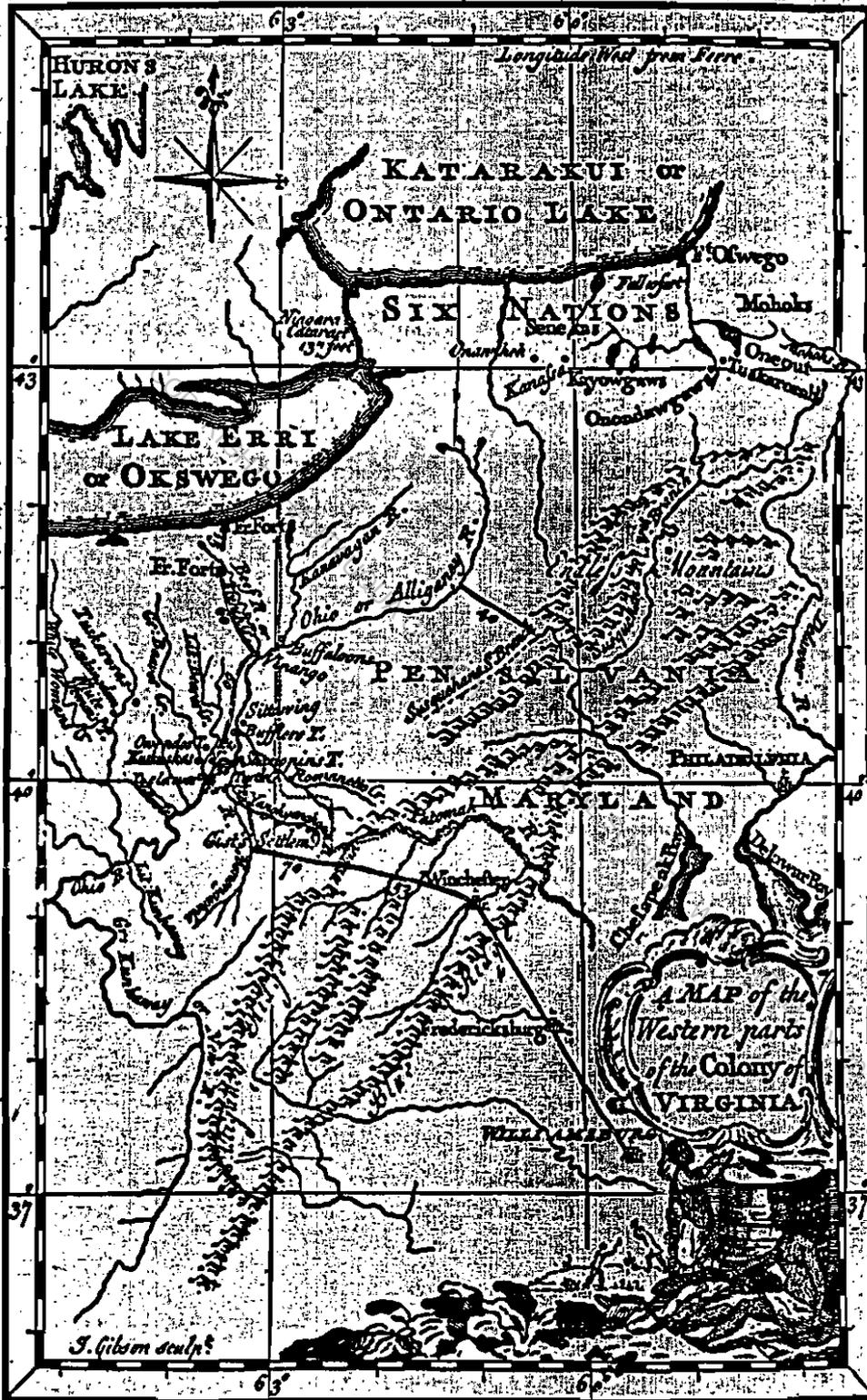
LAKE OF ONTARIO

ILLINOIS

37  
38  
39  
40



For the London Magazine 1754.



Printed for R. BALDWIN, in Peter Noster Row.