

subjected to an investigation to determine whether or not our school is out of date.

The unexpected death of Edward Sawyer, '93, noted elsewhere in this issue of the BULLETIN, deprives Phillips Academy of one of its most reliable supporters. A man of engaging personality, he had made during his life a host of friends and no enemies. Genial, unselfish, and affectionate, he had the rare gift of drawing out all that was

good in others. Physically he was most impressive, with a stature and features that attracted attention in any group. To these blessings were added a discerning mind and a judgment seldom swayed by prejudice. It was, however, his character which most distinguished him from common men. He was not one to

"Lie in wait
For wealth or houses or for worldly state."

But he did attain success, and he leaves behind him the memory of a lovable and a loving soul.

SOME EMINENT ANDOVER ALUMNI

2. John Thornton Kirkland (1770-1840)

By CLAUDE M. FULS

The very intimate relations existing between Phillips Academy, during its early history, and Harvard College, have not always been sufficiently emphasized. Of the twelve original Trustees named in the Andover Deed of Gift in 1778, nine, including Esquire Samuel Phillips, Dr. John Phillips, and Samuel Phillips, Jr., were Harvard graduates. Under the first three principals, out of 371 students going on to higher institutions, 302 chose Harvard. It is noteworthy also that two Andover alumni have become Presidents of Harvard College, one following the other, their combined administrations covering a period of thirty-five years. A brief account of Josiah Quincy, President of Harvard from 1829 to 1845, has been given in a previous article in this series. We now turn to his predecessor in that important position, John Thornton Kirkland, a man as different from the austere and ascetic Quincy as Epimachus was from Zeno.

The strict course of biological law should have made Kirkland a Stoic, capable of great renunciations and indifferent to bodily ease. Born in pioneer territory, upon what was then the western border of our colonial civilization, he opened his eyes from the cradle upon dense forests, tenanted mainly by red men, with a few venturesome and nomad whites. His father, Samuel Kirkland (1711-1808), a

missionary among the Iroquois Indians, had constructed a log house with his own hands at Oneida Castle, near the headwaters of the Mohawk. Later he helped to charter Hamilton Oneida Academy, now Hamilton College, at Clinton, New York, in the cemetery of which he was buried. Kingston and Hamilton were his friends, and he was a man of some importance in the community. The boy's mother, Elizabeth Tugham, was a niece of President Eleazar Wheelock of Dartmouth College, and traced her ancestry back to Miles Standish, from whom she may have inherited her healthy body and vigorous mind.

In 1770, while on a visit in the family at General Herkimer, near what is now Little Falls, Mrs. Kirkland gave birth to twin sons, the elder of whom was promptly christened John Thornton, after a pious and wealthy English gentleman who was supporting Samuel Kirkland's labors among the American Indians. Left in that environment, the child might well have grown up to be a Cooperian hero, of the type of Deerslayer and Hawkeye, inured to privation and famous for incredible feats of marksmanship. But his lines were destined to fall in softer places. Thrown by a kind fate into a less primitive society, he passed his days in comfort and ended them in luxury. Before he died, after

having earned a national reputation as preacher and educator, he had moved far from the hardships of his babyhood.

In 1770, his mother, apprehensive of danger from the war which was even then imminent, transported her family down the valley and over the state line into Windham, Connecticut, and later to Stockbridge, Massachusetts, where, among the wooded Berkshires, the boy played games while the patriots fought for independence and his father strove desperately to keep the Indians on the side of the colonists. The Revolution over, the youngster was sent to Phillips Academy, where the generous Judge Phillips, who knew his father, took him into his own hospitable home, — the recently completed Mansion House, — and helped him to secure an education. The records show that he entered the Academy in March, 1781.

Kirkland was a quick-witted and clever boy, to whom learning was mere play. In an autobiographical fragment written at a later date, he said:

"At this Academy, under the present Professor Pearson, for whom, though generally disliked, I had a sincere respect, I was diligent in my studies and regular in my behavior. He was so obliging as to call me the best scholar, but one, that he ever had. While there I never associated with the loose or unprincipled. I cultivated very assiduously the friendship of Mr. and Mrs. Phillips, to whose generosity I was indebted for a year's board and schooling, and endeavored to be obliging and agreeable to all."

This desire to please, so frankly avowed by Kirkland himself, was a distinguishing characteristic of the man. Without being in any sense a sycophant, he aimed always at making a good impression, — and almost invariably succeeded in his aim. Unlike Quincy, Kirkland was not equipped by temperament to fight for lost causes, or lead hopeless minorities. He was most at home with the rich, the well-born, and the intelligent, especially those who had merited and attained power. He was no craven, but neither was he of the stuff which produces heroic souls.

Kirkland and Quincy naturally drifted together at Andover; indeed at the Exhibition in 1786 it is recorded that they delivered the dialogue of Brutus and Cassius from *Julius Caesar*, Quincy being rightly assigned the part of the "lean and hungry" Roman statesman while Kirkland spoke the lines of the patriotic Brutus. Both boys went to Harvard. Kirkland's matriculating on April 4, 1786; but they belonged to different classes, Kirkland being one year ahead of Quincy. At Cambridge, Kirkland continued to be studious and cir-

cumspect in his behavior. He did, however, have one daring impulse, for, when the Governor called for troops in January, 1787, the young Sophomore volunteered under General Lincoln and marched away to help in the suppression of Shays's rebellion. Nothing can be learned of his adventures on that winter expedition, but he ultimately re-entered college, graduating in 1789, with the second highest honors in his class.

Now a full-fledged Bachelor of Arts, Kirkland returned to Andover, where he had accepted a position as assistant in the Academy — possibly because he felt that he owed a debt to Judge Phillips which could best be repaid by this service. Dr. Pearson was now a Professor in Harvard, and the courteous Ebenezer Pemberton was his successor. Kirkland, who was the only assistant teacher, must have been bound to a very exacting routine. He had hardly been in his new place a month before he wrote to a friend:

"I have not much time for private use, in my employment. Eight hours are devoted to my academical labors, and the rest is but little more than sufficient for necessary recreation and refreshment. I almost pant for a release already." That he did not find his duties congenial is easily deduced from many passages in his correspondence. On October 17, 1789, he said:

"I am at present unfavorably situated for literary progress. The vexations of impertinence, puerilities, and noise in the Academy are enough to waste my spirits, and unfit me for any but amusing studies, novels, newspapers, and the like."

A week later, in a more resigned mood, he added:

"I enjoy but little here; neither do I suffer much. No incidents or vicissitudes agitate my breast. The obscure and even tenor of my days originates but few sentiments. . . . I am at present thrust into obscurity, and confined to a very humble occupation. It is as good, however, as I deserve, or am capable of."

Master Kirkland must have found some excitement in the visit of General Washington, to Andover on November 5, 1789, when Judge Phillips and Principal Pemberton welcomed the "Father of His Country" to Phillips Academy; but he makes no mention of the event. In any case, this was merely a passing diversion, an evanescent burst of sunshine in a cavern of gloom. As the year of tribulation drew to an end, he wrote, June 16, 1790:

"I scarcely know what has become of the time that has passed since I saw you;

so gentle and sleepy is the current of my days here that I do not notice its rapidity. I do not care, however, how insensibly the time goes between this and Commencement. My purgatorial torments will, I expect, be then at an end, and a region more favorable to my enjoyment be allotted me to dwell in. You would laugh, I think, to see me here on my academical throne; sometimes mild and patient, sometimes rough and vengeful; now frowning terror, now smiling benignity. By habit and reflection I am become superior to the vexations of my employment. When I rule, I shall govern upon a very different system from what is preserved here."

These prophetic words were the last which he wrote at Phillips Academy. In July, 1790, a heavy burden off his mind, he withdrew from the school never to return to it. After a few months spent in studying divinity at Stockbridge, he went to Cambridge, where he took regular lectures in theology and, in November, 1792, was appointed a Tutor in the Department of Logic and Metaphysics. Destiny, he complained, seemed determined to make him a pedagogue. At last, in 1794, came welcome relief. He was chosen to succeed the Reverend Oliver Everett as Pastor of the New South Church in Boston, at a salary of 225 pounds, "lawful money". He had found a congenial occupation.

For the next sixteen years Kirkland was known as one of the most popular preachers in New England. A contemporary said of him, — "Probably no minister ever wielded in his community such a powerful and salutary, but at the same time unobtrusive and noiseless influence". He did not belong to a spectacular or melodramatic oratorical school. Although his vocabulary was rich, picturesque, and varied, his style seemed simple and direct. Lowell has left a description of him:

"Praying he leaned forward on the pulpit cushion, as for conversation, and seemed to feel himself, — without irreverence, — on terms of friendly but courteous familiarity with heaven."

He used few gestures and made no attempt at oratorical effort, but spoke with impressive sincerity. He was not a persevering or thorough student. His reading was desultory rather than systematic, but he had a faculty of quickly absorbing whatever came his way, and he could summarize an argument or an appeal with remarkable lucidity. He was soon recognized as a man of sober views and established principles, and his fame, accordingly, was not dependent on the whims of his congregation. Perhaps his finest intellectual

trait was his tolerance. Respecting the opinions of others, he found it difficult to goad himself into partisanship. His was a comprehensive and catholic rather than a profound intelligence. In striving to please his listeners, he succeeded in making religion attractive.

When President Samuel Webber, of Harvard College, died in July, 1810, it was natural that the thoughts of the "solid men of Boston" should turn to John Thornton Kirkland. A bachelor and an inveterate "diner-out", he was a social favorite on Beacon Hill, being an habitual associate of such influential persons as George Cabot, Fisher Ames, Christopher Gore, Judge Parsons, John Lowell, and Judge Davis, — most of them Unitarians in religion and Federalists in politics. It was this group of aristocrats, — called by Quincy "an intellectual, highly cultivated, and public-spirited class of men", — who suggested Kirkland for the vacant presidency, knowing him to be "safe". It is true also that most Harvard graduates in Boston welcomed a man like Kirkland, who was genial and urbane, and little likely to stir into a flame the smouldering fires of theological controversy which had done so much damage only a few years before, when Calvinists, headed by Dr. Eliphalet Pearson, had struggled with Unitarians for the control of the college.

Kirkland, elected on August 7, 1810, entered upon his new duties almost immediately. His administration, which must be reckoned as one of the great periods of Harvard history, has been justly called "the Augustan Age of Harvard College". Entrusted by the corporation with more authority than had hitherto been placed in the President's hands, he displayed much boldness and originality, especially in placing on his faculty men trained in European countries. Under him the college expanded into a university; the Theological School was made a separate institution; the Medical School was reorganized; and the Law School was permanently established. As a consequence of a report by a committee of Overseers in 1825, many significant reforms, some of them first suggested by Kirkland, were adopted. Holworthy, University, and Divinity Halls were erected, and the endowment was materially increased. It is estimated that the college under him received gifts aggregating \$100,000. Furthermore the salaries of professors were raised, fifteen new professorships were added, and the standard of scholarship was made higher. Such men as Edward Everett and George Ticknor brought distinction to the faculty. Among the graduates of this period

who are remembered are George Bancroft, William H. Prescott, Caleb Cushing, Charles Francis Adams, Andrew P. Peabody, Charles C. Felton, Robert C. Winthrop, Jared Sparks, John G. Palfrey, and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

In maintaining discipline, Kirkland was perhaps less successful. It was a turbulent time among undergraduates, when there was a heavy consumption of blackstrap and other not innocuous beverages and when rebellions broke out on trivial pretexts. Kirkland, who was himself rather easy-going, did not have the heart to be severe to others. He liked to sit undisturbed over the walnuts and the wine or to chat comfortably in front of the glowing embers in his well-stocked library. This was his natural environment, and he did not conceive it to be his function to be perpetually cracking the whip over recalcitrant Sophomores. Lowell relates a diverting anecdote illustrative of his character:

"Hearing that Porter's flip, — which was exemplary, — had too great an attraction for the collegians, he resolved to investigate the matter himself. Accordingly, entering the old inn one day, he called for a mug of it, and having drunk it, said, 'And so, Mr. Porter, the young gentlemen come to drink your flip, do they?' 'Yes, sir, — sometimes.' 'Ah, well, I should think they would.' 'Good day, Mr. Porter,' and he departed saying nothing more."

Towards offenders who were brought to him for judgment, he was disposed to be lenient, dispensing warnings rather than punishments.

President Kirkland was not a methodical or punctilious man, and he cared very little for details. Although he could, it is said, call every student in college by name, this was done instinctively, not by a conscious effort of memory. He had breadth of vision, imagination, and a creative mind; he could consider problems in their larger aspects; but he was content to leave their working out to others. This was especially true with regard to financial matters, for he seldom tried to manage accounts or to balance books. With an easy air and careless grace, he disclaimed responsibility for this portion of his duties.

It was this trait which eventually brought criticism upon him. In 1825 and 1826 the college was running into debt, and there was a concerted movement to reduce expenses; indeed the Honorable Nathaniel Bowditch did not hesitate to point out that the finances had been badly administered. While the controversy was going on, Kirkland had a light stroke of paralysis, and was in no physical condition to meet the attacks of his opponents.

On March 28, 1828, he wisely sent in his resignation, and was followed in office by his old school and college friend, Josiah Quincy.

Before his withdrawal, Kirkland, who had always been thought to be a confirmed bachelor, married Miss Elizabeth Cabot, only daughter of his intimate friend, George Cabot, who had died a few years before. Kirkland himself had no money, but his wife brought him a large fortune. They were very happy together, and she watched over him sedulously during his declining years.

In the autumn of 1828, Kirkland and his wife took an extensive tour through the western and southern states, being entertained all along their route by his former pupils. More than twelve hundred men had received their Harvard diplomas from his hands, and had learned to love him. On their return east in the following spring, the Kirklands sailed for Europe, where they spent nearly four years, traversing not only the usual territory, but also Egypt, the Holy Land, Austria, and the Barbary Coast. It was a delightful period of peaceful recreation for a man who realized that his life's work was virtually completed.

Once back in Boston, Kirkland relapsed into a state of confirmed invalidism. The elasticity and energy of his mind seemed to be gone. Now and then he appeared at dinners, dressed in the gay attire which Mrs. Kirkland insisted on choosing for him, but he had little to say, and his face bore the marks of suffering. Death, on April 26, 1840, came as a merciful release from a world which for him had lost its fascination.

Kirkland had earned his fair share of honors. He received an M.A. from Dartmouth in 1792, a D.D. from the College of New Jersey in 1802, and an LL.D. from Brown in 1810. He was a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society and Vice-President of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. His name is listed among the original incorporators of the Boston Athenaeum in 1807.

Lack of leisure and a disinclination to sustained mental or physical labor prevented him from venturing far into authorship, and his only book is a biography of his friend, Fisher Ames, published in 1809. A few of his addresses were printed from time to time, including a memorial lecture on George Washington (1799) and a discourse on the death of George Cabot (1823).

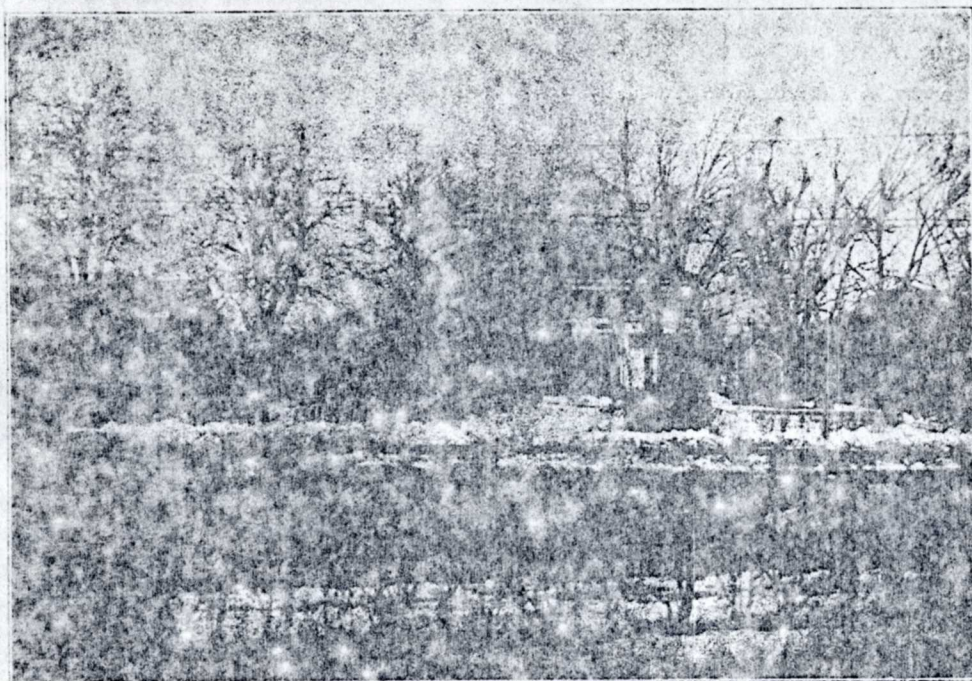
Kirkland, as he appears in the portrait by Gilbert Stuart (a copy of which hangs in the library of Phillips Academy), was a man of handsome features, with ruddy cheeks and a semblance of a twinkle in his eye. He was described by one of his students as "a plump,

cheery, pleasant-faced gentleman". Although he looked like a *bon vivant*, his bearing was always dignified:

"His mien distinguished any crowd,
His credit strengthened when he bowed."

He was decidedly a man of the world, whose inclinations were towards the drawing-room rather than towards forests and fields. In truth, he was a typical 18th century aristocrat, who would have been welcomed by Addison

and his coterie. — courteous, fastidious, well-read and well-bred, self-possessed, and unerring in his conduct towards others. At dinners and public gatherings he made an ideal presiding officer, for he said just the right thing and he was never tedious. Harvard has had more brilliant presidents, but no one who was more universally popular. The wonder is that, with his endowment and his opportunity, he did not fix his place more securely among the immortals.



THE P. A. E. HOUSE AND SURROUNDINGS

John Sergeant to Samuel Kirkland

N. S. March 30th 1790

Reverend and Dear Sir

Thro the care of a kind providence I safely arrived at this place, have been very well till last week. I caught a bad cold in going or returning from Clinton in a cold snow storm. I was hardly able to perform the duties of the Sabath. My people have been attentive in administering their herbs, and now much better. Capt. John has also been very sick, he is also much better. Mr. Occom arrived the same week that I did. he has once visited me and his Tuscarora friends. I expect the old spirit will revive. tis only in the power of the Almighty to overrule things favourable for Indians. on my arrival by Capt. Hendrick I was informed the unhappy state of your poor people. It will be too lengthy to mention particulars. It seems that while the Messengers were absent at N. York, the old Smith's life was threatened by D. and T. Skonnando in revenge for a certain murder, committed by young Peter, who was then on his return from Albany. on his arrival, he offered his life, which was right - but a few days after. the Indian appeared in the warriors dress - went to the house of Daniel S. (who having had previous notice absconded.) tarried there till night - but I have understood that since - the matter has been settled.

I have also heard that the French party brought an evil and as is supposed a false report from the Governor - that after you left them they represented that you had intirely for a considerable time back neglected them - that they were desirfous of having a French Priest, &c. &c. That the Governor blamed you, and seemed to approve of the French Priest if they chose such a one that (illegible word) in religion, harmonized in political matters, etc. I also hear that the Warriors have written to the Governor upon this subject; that they will not suffer a Frenchman to enter their Castle. I heartily wish the Governor knew their situation. it would be in his power to settle the business and quiet their minds.

I also hear that I am to be sent for to spend a Sabath with them; and marry several couple. So much for Indian news. Mr. Goram past thro this place about ten days since, wish you had written me a line by him. long to hear from my family and friends. if you could buy me a ounce of onion seed and bring up with you or send it by Joanna, I will pay you on sight. Give my kindest love to your dear family. conclude you are not unneighborly in your visits to mine..

Your friend and Brother

John Sergeant

N. S. My ink is very poor.
You will excuse te writing.

Revnd Samuel Kirkland

Stockbridge

A General Statement of the Six Nations of Indians
living within the United States

1. The Oneidas, who reside near the Oneida Lake, about 120 m. from Albany, in five small villages, consist of about 550 souls.

Their dependents & allies -	550
viz. Tuscaroras Stockbridge &	38
Mohegan Indians -----	588
	287

2. The Onondago's near the Onondago Salt Lake & about 36 miles west of Oneida - - - - - 184

3. The Cayogaes - residing on the east & west sides of the Cayogoe Lake, about 38 miles west of Onondago 130
1151

4. Senekas residing on the west side of the Genesee River - six small villages - and about 60 miles west of Cayogae - Viz. Kanawages - about 20 miles south of Lake Ontario containing 14 wigwams - Oahgwataiyegh alias Hot-Bread their Chief. 112

(2) Big Trees town about 8 miles farther south containing 15 houses 120

(3) Little Beards town - about 5 miles south & on the great flats - containing 14 wigwams 112

(4) The town upon the hill - about 3 miles south and near the forks of the Genesee River - containing 26 houses under the direction of Big Tree & Little Beard. 208

(5) Onondacough - 12 miles southwardly and lying on the west branch of the Genesee - 6 houses - and under the direction of Big Tree & Little Beard 48

(6) Kalonghyatilong - 12 miles farther south - & on the forementioned Branch containing 22 houses 176

Tuscaroras - situated near Big Trees town - 26 houses
- Aghstigwalesele their Chief 208
2135

1. Senekas, Onondagoes, & Cayogas residing on Buffalo Creek, which empties into the east end of Erie & 34 miles south of Niagara - containing 256 houses in their several respective villages 2048

2. Kadaigeas - about 25 miles west of the Buffaloe - & on the south side of Lake Erie, containing 28 houses, about one half Senekas the other half composed of Delawares & Skwaghkees both subject to the Senekas - Big Log or Big Tree their Chief 224

oahgwataiyegh

Postageville ?

3. Corn Planters Village - on the Allegany - near
the Pennsylvania line - *30 houses

240

total

1647

N. B. The number of warriors in the Six Nations and their dependents I should estimate at about nine hundred, of which the Senecas composed nearly two thirds. In justice to the Corn Planter I must say from my certain knowledge he has been the most active person and influential character in all the Five Nations in bringing about a good understanding betwixt them and the United States since 1784.

P. S. The settlement on Grand River, about 76 miles west of Niagara and on the north side of Lake Erie, contains about eleven hundred souls, composed of emigrants from the whole Six Nations, with some Delawares and "ingoes. They are under the Command of Capt. Joseph Brant-- Chief of the Mohawk Nation. Of the real Mohawks there remain only about 50 warriors.

S. Kirkland, Miss^{ry}Decem^r 24th 1790

* Another draft of this summary reports 38 houses

That draft adds at the end: "Those who lead a wandering life may be about 215 souls."

Big Tree (Seneca Sachem) to Governor Clinton

Kanadasagea, 10 Decembr. 1739

Brother Governor of New York attend!

I have received your message by the mouth of our Friend the Minister. In your speech you wish to know of us Senecas if we have any farther demands upon you for the lands about Newtown on the Teyagea¹ or if our nation have any ancient claim to any lands east of the Line of Cession made by New York to Massachusetts, to which Line Mr. Phelps lately purchased of our nation, and on condition it should be made to appear that our nation have any just claim to any lands east of the aforesaid Line, the Governor is disposed, in behalf of the people of New York, to make them a just compensation, for he would not have the Senecas or any Indians wronged out of one foot of their lands.

Brother Governor, This you desire to know. I thank you, Brother, for the just and good mind you manifest toward the Indians. Brother possess your mind in peace. Our Indians are all on the hunt, only one Chief left at home with me, but I can give you full satisfaction on the subject of your speech. We formerly claimed a small tract of land about Newtown on the Teyagea, and the Cayugas, by ancient tradition, claimed a tract towards Lake Ontario west of the Line of Mr. Phelps's purchase. We Senecas, with the Cayugas, taking this matter into consideration, at our Council held at Buffalo Creek last spring, mutually and unanimously agreed that Mr. Phelps's east line should be the boundary line betwixt us. We Senecas relinquished all claims to any lands east of said Line, and the Cayugas relinquished all their former pretensions to any lands west of said Line. Therefore we have no demands on the people of New York for any lands east of the Line run by Mr. Phelps. We nevertheless expect you will make the Cayugas a reasonable compensation, which in your wisdom and righteousness you will determine. We wish prosperity to your government.

¹ Newtown on the Tioge; now Elmira.

Brother Governor, this is all I have to say. Farewell.

Kalondowdnea alias Big Tree

Sagoyewatha

Translated and wrote by Samuel Kirkland, Missionary, and to the
justness of the translation he can make oath if required.

In presence of

Seth Reed

Joel Prescott

(Hough, Proc. Comrs. of Indian Affairs, 2:356-357.)

The letter was delivered to the Commissioners in New York by
Kirkland, Feb. 2, 1790.)

James Dean to

Oneida Sept: 15th 1785

Sir.

Yesterday a runner arrived here from the Buffalo-Creek, sent by the Six Nations with a Belt & the inclosed Speech for Congress, which I do myself the honor to transmit.

I am Sir with sentiments of Respect

Your Excellency's most obed^t humble Servant

James Dean

Brothers.

A number of our Brethren of the Shawanese & Cherokee Nations have come down to our Council-fire at Buffalo-Creek to hold a conference with us on the subject of peace with the United States. We could not agree in our Conference & adjourned the meeting to Niagara where we resumed the subject, with our Brothers from the Westward & at length came to our agreement. Brothers, the business is very important. We wish You to be present to hear what passes between our Brethren and us on this Occasion. We request You therefore to send Col^l James Monroe, Major Peter Schuyler, and M^r James Dean, that they may be here present and hear the result of our Conferences with our Brethren the Shawanese & Cherokees. We do now, by this ✓ Belt, take them by the Hand & conduct them to our Council-House at Buffalo-Creek. Brethren, they need not be apprehensive of any danger or detention. It is not our Custom to detain those who come to do business with us. Their stay with us will be very short, we only wish them to hear what passes at this Conference, that You may know the most correct information of our proceedings. Brothers, we hope that You will not fail to gratify us in our request by

sending the persons we have named to meet us as soon as possible. Our Messenger will wait at Oneida for your reply to this.

A Belt - of nine rows of wampum -

Joseph Brant - Speaker

Brother.

We have heard the above Speech of our brothers of the Six "ations. We are of opinion that Your compliance with their request may have a tendency to promote that harmony and friendship which we ardently wish may ever prevail between the United States and the Indian Nations on this Island --

(From a draft in Dean's hand)

Stockbridge Jan. 14. 1791.

Rev.^d & Dear Sir,

I have now to acknowledge your favors of the 8th & 30th of Oct^r last. They were some time detained in Stockbridge, as my family were in expectation of my coming down from Oneida sooner than it was convenient for me to leave the Indian country, that I did not receive them till about four weeks ago. Their contents shall be duly attended to, as soon as my situation will admit. Permit me, Sir, to acquaint you, that I am just now returned from a tour to Philadelphia, where I was unexpectedly desired to meet a number of the Seneca Chiefs, who were at Philadelphia on business of importance with Congress; & partly on account of the disturbed & hostile situation of the Indians in the vicinity of the Miamis. I expect to set out early tomorrow morning for Oneida. --

You inform me that the Society in Scotland have determined to erect two Schools in the Indian Country. I congratulate the Hon. Board on this additional fruit of their extensively benevolent institution, which embraces objects of charity & the cause of religion & humanity, at so great a distance as the wilds of America. It will gladden the hearts of many of the poor Indians. May their pious care & liberal benefactions be productive of the most desirable effects, & they hereafter meet a divine reward.

I am apprehensive, however, y^e u will meet with some difficulty in finding persons, who are qualified for the business teaching them & will cheerfully undertake it. I can as yet light of no one, who has the necessary & desirable qualifications for the difficult & self-denying employment, & is willing to make the absolutely un^havoidable sacrifices. And should no one be procured

LETTER FROM SAMUEL KIRKLAND TO REV. MR. THACHAR dated January 12. 1791

by the ensuing summer, the expectations of the Senecas would be greatly disappointed, & the cause thereby injured, which you will readily conceive from the representation I gave of the state & disposition of that nation in my last year's Journal -- since which I have had many long conversations with some of that nation upon the subject. -- I shall write the Hon. Board more particularly & largely upon this head, when I have had an interview with Mr. Sergeant, with whom they desire me to consult on the subject of their letter. In the meantime it might be well to know of Mr. Crosby (whom I mentioned in my Journal). If his usual state of health and bodily firmness be equal to the business, & if he would engage for life his integrity & piety are undoubted. He would be very useful to the Indian Settlements on the West side of the Genesee River; which consist of seven small villages & contain in the whole about one thousand and eighty souls.

In your favor of the 6. Nov^r I have the grateful information that the Society have authorized the Commissioners to make me a consideration for my uncommon expenditures among the Indians, during the famine in the year eighty nine; & you request me to exhibit to the Board an account of those extra expenditures, so that they may compensate me & if the account be reasonable, they will without doubt allow it". I am sorry it is not now in my power to produce a particular & minute account of those expenditures -- as it might probably contribute to the more general satisfaction of the Hon. Board of Commissioners in their result upon the subject. Some of the memorandums I had taken were not reserved after I had made the estimation referred to, mentioned in my Journal, which was to the amount of one hundred & sixty dollars. At that time I was furnished with the means of making a pretty accurate state-

LETTER FROM SAMUEL KIRKLAND TO REV. MR. THACHER? dated January 17, 1791

ment of those extra & uncommon expenditures. All I can now say further upon the subject is that I then endeavoured to make a just but moderate account of those expenses, & what at that time would have made me good, or been considered as a bare reimbursement. And were the disadvantages I was subjected to in consequence of it, & the injury I sustained in my own interest to be considered, the sum I then stated would now be quite inadequate. But I do not wish, it would be most unreasonable in me to expect, that the Society should make up all the losses I am liable to meet with in the course of my mission. The famine, which so generally prevailed among all the Indians at that time was uncommon & distressing. No pecuniary consideration could induce me to be even a spectator of another such scene. I pray God, I may never be subjected to it. -- I shall refer this compensation to the discretion & justice of the Commissioners & contentedly abide their judgement. I would not wish to have it in better hands unless of those who were experimentally taught; in every principle of benevolence would forbid the most feeble wish, that any of that honourable body, might pass thro' the scenes which fell to my lot among the Indians the year before last. I will add one word more; were it a real charge or demand upon the principles of equity, I believe I could not, with any justice to myself; set it lower than I did. - I have distributed for the relief of the distressed, & in some instances for the encouragement of husbandry among them the year past about one half that sum. And I did it voluntarily and cheerfully, & without any expectation of an after consideration. I received a compensation from some gentlemen in the State of New York for some extra services rendered there (not immediately connected with the duties of my mission nor interfering with them.) which furnished me with the means of affording them this comfort and help. I trust a mere exis-

LETTER FROM SAMUEL KIRKLAND TO REV. MR. THACHER; dated January 12, 1791

tence on personal subsistence is not my object in living among the Indians. I must see their good & happiness promoted, or my enjoyments are diminished & my happinesses interrupted. Whenever I have received a charity myself or any consideration for an extra service, I have always considered myself as under peculiar obligations to do so much the more for the Indians; & the poor (emphatically) they have always among them. I am confident however the Commissioners will consider my situation with that candour, tenderness & wisdom, with which their treatment of me has been distinguished. - The charge of a motherless family lies heavy upon me; & my long connection with the Indians & situation in their country exposes me to more expence than a stranger would be exposed to. There are six small villages in the neighborhood Of Oneida (all of which I visit & occasionally preach to) & there is not one, which will not apply to me in cases of difficulty & distress; they have been more or less always accustomed to it. I have born, & must still continue to bear, the burden & heat of the day. -- I have been enabled thro' a kind providence to complete the collegiate education of one Son & the other is now in his third year at College. My orphan family, while they reside at Stockbridge (& without a head) must necessarily be very chargeable. I have been with them but little more than two months for more than two years. These things I mention not by way of complaint, but to assign some reasons for my present embarrassment. Whatever be the reason- whether I have conducted unwisely or done wickedly- I am, by some individuals grossly, if not enviously & wickedly misrepresented, as to property, circumstances & views. My outgoings have been so great, with the disadvantages under which I am obliged to support my family (altogether by hire) & at the distance of 150 miles from my place of general residence, that I have sunke in my

LETTER FROM SAMUEL KIRKLAND TO REV. MR. THAYER, dated January 12, 1791

interest within two years past more than 150 points ^{in d.} M. including those extra expenditures among the Indians during the famine. I am sensible that my situation in the wilderness and influence with the Indians renders me an object of jealousy: but surely no person, who has but a small knowledge of what I underwent & suffered for 26 years in the Indian country (unless of a very selfish & contracted mind) will grudge me or my children the small tract of wild land uncultivated which the Indians and the State of New York made a present of to both them and myself.

If I may but have wisdom & grace to be faithful & be enabled to discharge the trust committed to me, so as to gratify my benevolent employers & meet the approbation of my God & Saviour, all shall work together for good. --- If any person, I am under great obligation to be thankful and humble. I am of late much encouraged in regard to the extending of religious knowledge among the Indians, from the disposition some individuals express, particularly of the Senecas, & they are very influential characters in that nation. ---

I am exceedingly sorry that I have not found leisure to transcribe my Journal in order to forward by this opportunity, I pray the Hon. Board to have patience with me till the next month if I have been apparently negligent in this instance.

As I am obliged to return to Oneida & my want of money is pressing, I have directed my Son Thornton to be the bearer of this to you; by him you will be so kind as to send me the consideration for the above mentioned extra expenditures. I should be very happy in paying my respects to the board in person & am very desirous of an interview with them; but I apprehend it will not be consistent with my situation & the state of things among the Indians, at least

LETTER FROM SAMUEL KIRKLAND TO REV^d MR. THACHER, dated January 12, 1791

sooner than next May or June. My journey to Philadelphia at this season of the year has very much deranged my plan of business for this winter particularly that of translating & composing some Psalms &c. into the Indian language, which are exceedingly wanted, likewise the making further preparations towards moving my family into the vicinity of Oneida, which must now be deferred till the ensuing summer or next autumn. I have concluded by leave of Providence to move my motherless children into the wilderness where I may be able to pay some attention to them, while prosecuting the business of my mission. It is exceedingly difficult for me in their present situation to discharge the duty I owe them & pursue the great objects of my mission with that application, which is necessary and desirable. They must either remove to me or I come to them & leave the Indians, & the situation of the Indians is such & their expectations from me, that I had rather sink half my interest than relinquish my mission at present. My friends are divided in their opinions respecting the propriety & expediency of moving my family. May I have ~~that~~ wisdom, which is profitable to direct & be enabled so to commit my ways to the Lord that he shall direct my steps.

With sentiments of high esteem & sincere affection

I am, Rev^d & Hon. Sir

Your obed^t hum^l Servt.

Sam^l Kirkland

P.S. Upon reading over my letter I find that soon after I began I insensibly slid into a freedom of expression more consonant to the ideas of an intimate friend than an official character. The only apology I can make is that the character of the person to whom I was writing, naturally led to this freedom. You will please, Sir, to suppress ~~my~~ personalities in it which you may think unnecessary or unsuitable to communicate to the Board.

Samuel Kirkland to Peter Thacher.

Jan. 14, 1791

A second draft, incomplete, in K's hand

(Follows the other draft exactly as far as: "& partly on account of the disturbed and hostile state of the Indians in the vicinity of the Mianee.")

It then continues)

I expect to represent and state the abuses the Seneka Nation had recd from the white people -- several of these Indians had been murdered in the back parts of Pennsylvania -- an explanation and adjustment of their boundaries agreed upon by the Commiss^{rs} of Congress and those of Pennsylvania at the conclusion of the war, proposals for introducing the arts of civilized life among the Senekas. The situation of the Indians at the westward and the real grounds of their uneasiness, &c, &c -- I spent about two weeks with this deputation of the Senekas, in the city of Philadelphia. Capt. Abiel, commonly known by the name of Corn Planter, a Seneka Chief, was the head of the party. He has been the most active person and the most influential character among all the Five Nations since the peace, in bringing about a good understanding betwixt the Indians and the United States, and is a person who exhibits uncommon genius -- appears to possess a very strong and distinguished mind, and will bear the most application of any Indian I was ever acquainted with. I am persuaded you would be highly pleased and even entertained with his conversation. Whenever the business he came upon did not require his immediate attention -- he would be incessantly engaged in conversation upon the subject of divine revelation -- was anxious as well as curious in his enquiries -- the evidences of the truth of the Christian scheme of salvation -- and the effects it would produce upon various nations of the world, under the administration of the Son of God, till he should come again for the finishing of his work. No subject appeared to animate his mind and engage his attention and excite his enquiries more than the universal peace and harmony that should take place in the latter day, or the thousand years' triumphant reign of the Saviour. He many times would not leave this subject short of three or four hours' conversation. For the last week I was with him, he would not allow the other Sachems and Warriors to sit down at meal time without having a divine blessing asked upon the food -- or prayer said, as he termed it. In regard to sobriety, he is an exception to the generality of Indians -- he has never once yet been intoxicated with spirituous liquors thro' the whole course of his life. This Indian now resides in a small Seneka village on the Allegheny about two days march from Buffalo Creek. -- he designs the next spring to remove and fix a permanent residence either on the Genesee River or at their capital settlement on the Buffalo Creek. I made him acquainted with the intentions of the Society in Scotland to set up a School in their vicinity for the instruction of their youth, and introducing the arts of civilized life, with which he appeared to be much pleased....

(Here this fragment ends.)

LETTER FROM SAMUEL KIRKLAND TO PRES. WILLARD

Stockbridge 7th June 1791

Rev^d Sir,

A multiplicity of Business in the Indian country, arising from a variety of causes, together with the pleasing expectation I had long indulged of a personal interview this spring, has occasioned my neglect of writing you:- and particularly to acknowledge the honour you have conferred upon me in admitting me a member of the Academy of Arts & Sciences of which the late Hon. Mr. Bowdoin was president. You will please to accept my unfeigned thanks for the respect you have therein shewed me.

I shall feel myself happy, if it may be in my power to contribute anything to that useful & important Institution.

I have nearly completed a pretty accurate census of the six Nations of Indians, with their dependents & allies. The great disproportion of men & children to the women among them compared with that of the white Americans, will afford amusement to the inquisitive, & perhaps be a subject of inquiry as to the cause of the difference by the Phylosopher. Should I be able to finish it the ensuing season I shall transmit a copy either to the President or Professor Pearsons.

The grounds of uneasiness among the Mianis, & hostile state of things in that vicinity, has very much agitated the minds of the Indians in general. They say, the war, on their part ought to be made a common cause. This idea, with great plausibility, is industriously propagated among them, & not without some success. The American, say they, did the same in the beginning of the late war with G. Britain:- It was not, said the Americans, the sum of the tax, but the manner of levying it, which would affect posterity. This aroused and united the former. The Indians now say, 'Tis not the quantity of land, but the manner

LETTER TO SAMUEL KIRKLAND FROM JACOB REED

Oneida Feb^{ry} 22¹. 1791

Dear Father,

This is to Inform you, I have begun teaching the Children Last Monday -- I have twenty four scholars ready, But am sorry that Capt Hendrick could not spare his spelling-books, and likewise I've no paper, & should be glad if you would procure some Books & writing papers and sash for the window, and sent me a few lines to let me know what time I shall expect to have the books, I expect I shall have more scholars if I can only have the English spelling Books,

Sir, the sachem & some of the Chief warriors are to set off tomorrow for Onondago to mourn old Black-Cap, alias Thonwasqwenghton, no more

I am Yours&c

Rev^d
Sam^l Kirkland, Miss^{ry}

Jac Reed

LETTER FROM SAMUEL KIRKLAND TO PRES. WILLARD, dated June 7th, 1791

in which Congress would take possession of it. Viz Conquest which will affect posterity. Therefore, prosecuting the war, will inevitably tend to unite the Indians, more than to divide & destroy them.

I have lately received by two Indian runners, a long letter from the noted Capt. Brant of Grand River. Among other things, he says that in his opinion an accomodation, is practicable, & endeavours to point out the means, by which it may be effected. He writes in high terms, as may be well expected, while his situation exposes him to British influence. I may remark this to you, in confidence, that measures have been devised & pursued for more than ten months, to prevail on Brant to make a visit to Congress you will naturally suppose for humane, & good political purposes. --- he has agreed on the proposed visit, & appointed the time -- I waited near two weeks in expectation of meeting him at Oneida, before I left that country, as I had promised to conduct him safe down as far as Albany. On my way, to Stockbridge, was informed, I might expect to meet him in Albany this week; for which purpose, & to fulfil my engagements, I must set out tomorrow for that place.

The political and temporal concerns of the Indians, partly owing to the unhappy divisions among them, have occupied more than one third part of my time the year past, & at some seasons almost worn me out. But thro' divine goodness, I have been, for the most part, blessed with unusual health - equal to the uncommon hardships which have fallen to my lot. ---The School at Oneida & in one other village, has been for a considerable part of the time, in a very flourishing state, some of the Indians have made great proficiency, especially in reading and writing their own language. Whether the Hon.^{bl} Corporation, or

LETTER FROM SAMUEL KIRKLAND TO PRES. WILLARD? dated June 2th, 1791
Board, will pay the expence of the School, I am not certain; as I cannot recollect, which of them agreed to have me set up the School, upon my representation of the urgency of the case. Dr. Wigglesworth told me there was money sufficient to defray the expence. I have charged it to the Corporation, upon their former vote or resolve.

S.K.,
Permit me, to mention the condition of Good Peter, he has become old, unable to work hard; -- & for a great part of the time the year past, has been taken up in public concerns: & in catechising. It is now more than two years since he has had no help, agreeably to a former vote, except what little assistance + have been able to afford him. Should the Hon. Corporation see fit to send him a small token of their love, it would now be peculiarly acceptable, as he has had such sickness in his family the late winter.

For my own part I have expended considerably more, than my salary the year past, & have no way to extricate myself, but by disposing of my property to a great disadvantage & to the injury of my orphan family --- A few days are wanting to complete the last quarter of my annual allowance, from the Corporation, for which I have now drawn on their treasurer. I hope, it will be in his power to answer the whole of the order, as my necessities are pressing. My great distance renders it difficult to draw my Bills seasonably. --

Shall be always happy to hear of your welfare & that of your family.
I am Rev^d Sir, with sentiments of high respect & sincere esteem, --

Your most obed^t hum^l Serv^t

Rev^d President Willard

Sam Kirkland

Sam^l Kirkland

LETTER TO SAMUEL KIRKLAND FROM HENDRICK AUPAUMUT
July 11, 1791

My Dear father & friend -

I just let you know that by the goodness of God all are well. been used well by this great man and found many friends both white people and Indians - I have heard Various reports from the western nations. Capt Brandt & 40(?) men are at Shawanee Country - the 5 nations received letters from him. 38 nations are engaged for war - they expect a battle every day - if I had a time I would write to you a large letter but I just got ready to set out. Col.^o Pickering have received letters from Gen^l Knox and directions and that he should furnish me & my Companions with all necessaries for pre-sent - Good Peter refuses to go - several of the other Indians offer to go but Col. Pickering thought it would not do - I wish that you would help my family with necessaries of life if they ask for them - Sometimes I feel sorry for the Conduct of my friends toward me & to my friends. Just before I set off from ~~what~~ ^{home. what} still they will do - maybe disagreeable - but I have reason to thank my Lord that he could afford me aid - so that we could trust in him with comfortable hope - pray for me. I feel the weight of my undertaking. I have yet some hopes to do some good in my Journey - the Six Nations are discouraged respecting the Southern Indians but they wished that I might succeed - from here we will rout to Grand River. if I dont have chance to board in vessel from Lake Erie. if the Lord will - I shall be back with in three months - Our brethern will acquaint you all particulars in this treaty - some the Mohawks been doing mischief in taking & killing White people at Westward - therefore the Mediation of the Six Nations will not succeed -if I ever see you I shall have the pleasure to converse with you in many things -

farewell-

Rev^d M^r
S. Kirkland

Hendrick Aupaumut

I wish you would get one smart & faithful man to work for me - 5 or 6 weeks

Near Onondaga Sept^r 1st 1791

Sir,-

A committee or delegation from the Cayogas have requested me to acquaint you, that they are bound to New York on very important business of their Nation respecting the very existence as well as peace of their Nation - that the articles of treaty betwixt the State of New York and their Nation, entered into at Albany, and afterwards ratified in a treaty at Fort Stanwix - is violated by white people whom they consider as the subjects of this State; at the same time they consider a part of their Nation who reside at Buffalo Creek to have been accessory to this violation. Their situation has been wretched and miserable - they have no person to whom they can apply for redress but his Excellency the Governor, who acted in behalf of the State in the Treaties referred to, and therefore hope he will now give them a hearing and redress their grievances. Had I leisure, I should have wrote their speeches at large - although they would have contained several sheets; - but they tell me, letters have been already sent to His Excellency upon the subject. I have advised, that only three of them proceed any farther than Albany, the other three to return from thence. You will act your own discretion in this matter.

The female governesses have annexed a speech to that of the warriors, relative to their distresses, and earnestly praying for the Governor's interposition - with some small charity.

In utmost haste, I am, Sir, Your obedient humble Servant

Sam^l Kirkland.

P. S. They have called upon me to witness what I know respecting their treaty with the State of Albany, and afterwards ratified at Fort Stanwix.

John Taylor, Esq.
Agent for the Commiss^{rs} of Indian Treaties.

The Steel Trap is obliged to remain at Onondaga being taken sick the day after his arrival.

P.S.^{2d} - The Onondagoes join their request in behalf of the Cayogas, that the Governor would redress their grievances. They are to be pitied in their present situation. The Onondagoes also confide in the Great Chief of New York that he will maintain the articles of the treaty with their Cayoga Brethren as well as their own Nation.

In consequence of my writing this speech, the Onondagoe messenger has concluded to return from my house.

New York 6th Jan'y 1791

Dear Sir,

I arrived here the night before last; by Mr. Penfield's conveyance I arrived till this morning in expectation of some intelligence from you by last evening's stage, but as nothing has come to hand, we conclude you to have proceeded to Boston, and it will not be worth my while to attempt a visit to you at Suffield, as the snow is very deep; and Cornplanter has detained me so long in Philadelphia that it is quite time I was upon my return to Onondaga. Nothing further had been discovered respecting your lost papers when I left Philadelphia. After repeated long conversations with Obiel, he appeared to be pretty well satisfied in regard to your purchase and convinced whence the mistake arose. Could he be let alone, and not pushed on by some designing persons, I am confident he would remain perfectly satisfied. he pretends or hath real apprehensions that some of his nation will not be so readily convinced of the mistake of the five thousand dollars. He wishes me to come up to Buffalo Creek next spring, and assist him in settling all their affairs and quieting their minds. I have accordingly given him some encouragement that I will make them a visit for that purpose, but he may depend on my going as far as Genesee. The place of his future residence will be submitted to the Council of his nation upon his return, he does not chuse to determine it without their voice; he has a predilection in favour of Kanawageas, the place of his nativity. This I have recommended to him as my own private judgement.

*Chapin
was
appointed*

It is very uncertain who the Agent will be; for my own part, I have declined on account of my clerical character and duties of a missionary. I could wish Mr. Dean might be introduced if he would reside three fourths of the time in the Senecas Country. I have used my influence on his behalf. But Genl. Knox tells me, it is a matter of importance, that the Agent stands well with Governor

Clinton. I expect Mr. Pickering will be the man. I wish you might have seen him; he arrived the day after you left the city. He says that Smith, the petty interpreter, declared to him, that he sat in the council of the Committee, and never once supposed, or suspected, but what you were to have given ten thousand dollars, till the day the Indians came to Kanandaikwe to receive their money; moreover that I interpreted the writings, deeds, etc; this man must be very forgetful, or guilty of an egregious aberration from the truth; for, in the first place, he was but a few minutes in the Council of the Committee, and in the second place, Capt. Brant interpreted the deeds, etc. in public Council, by Mr. Dean's particular request in order for the greater dispatch.

Extracts from my Journal. -"December 30th. Delivered Mr. Phelps' letter to a Mr. Ewin, by McLain's recommendation. for Coll. Grant Northumberland County, with the inclosed papers per Mr. Phelps' request."

Dec. 29."The President of Congress delivered his speech to Cornplanter etc.; two sentences are here transcribed as follows: 'You complain that John Livingston and Oliver Phelps have obtained your lands, assisted by Mr. Street of Niagara, and they have not completed their agreement.' 'It appears, upon inquiry of the Governor of New York, that John Livingston was not legally authorized to treat with you, and that everything he did with you has been declared null and void so that you may rest easy on that account.' 'But it does not appear from any proofs yet in possession of Government, that Oliver Phelps has defrauded you. If, however, you should have any just cause of complaint against him, and can make satisfactory proof thereof, the federal courts will be open to you for redress, as to all other persons! -!-!'"

I had no time to copy the whole speech. It took me near four hours to in-

terpret and explain it to him. This is all that referred immediately to your case.

S. Kirkland.

Mr. Penfield has delivered me twenty five dollars on your account - for which I shall be accountable to you.

Oliver Phelps, Esqr.

(From the original letter in the New York State Library.)

Cf Phelps papers.

Oct. 15, 1791

of the Number

A Statement^{and} Situation of the Six United Nations of Indians in North America, viz. The Oneidas, Onondago's, Cayogoes, Senekas, Tuscaroras, & Mohawks.

1. The Oneidas, who reside near Oneida Lake in five small villages, about 120 miles west from Albany, consist of 588 Souls

Their dependents and Allies, the Tuscaroras, Stockbridge, and Mohegan Indians, living in their vicinity, consist of 287 Souls

2. The Onondago's near the Oneida Salt Lake, about 36 miles west from Oneida, are 184 "

3. The Cayogoes, living on the east and west sides of The Cayogo Lake, 38 miles west from Onondago, are 130 "

4. The Senekas, residing in six small villages on the Genesee River, 60 and 70 miles west from Cayoga, are as follows:

Kanawages, 20 miles south of Lake Ontario, contains 112 Souls

Oongwtaiyegh, Hotbread, their Chief Bigtree's town 8 miles farther south, of which Bigtree alias Kaondowanea is Chief, contains 15 houses

120 Souls

Little Beard's Town, about 5 miles south on the flats, contains 14 wigwams

112 Souls

The Town upon the Hill, about three miles south, near the forks of the Genesee River, under the direction of Bigtree and Little Beard, contains 26 houses &

208 Souls

Onondaough, 12 miles southwardly, lying on the west branch of the Genesee, under the direction of Bigtree and Little Beard, contains 6 houses and

43 Souls

Number of the Six Nations

Kaloughyatilly, 12 miles farther south on the forementioned branch,
of which Spruce Carrier is Sachem, contains 22 houses 176 Souls

5. Tuscarora's Village, situated near Bigtree's Town, of which
Aghstigwolessele is Chief, contains 26 houses and 208 Souls

Senekas, Onondagoes, and Cayogas, residing on the Buffalo
Creek, which empties into the east end of Lake Erie, have in their
respective villages, about 34 miles south of Niagara, 256 houses and 2048 Souls

Kadaigeas, about 25 miles west of the Buffalo, on the south side
of Lake Erie, composed of half Senekas and the other half Delawares &
Swaghees, both subject to the Senekas, contains 28 houses and 224 Souls

Big-log is their Chief.

Corn-Planter's village on the Alleghany, near the Pennsylvania
line, contains 38 houses and 240 Souls

Total 4685 Souls

The above number resides within the United States.

Without the United States is the Settlement on Grand River,
76 miles west of Niagara and on the north side of Lake Erie, com-
posed of emigrants from the Six Nations, with a few Delawares and Ming-
oes. Their Chief is the noted Capt. Joseph Brant, of the Mohawk Nation,
of which Nation there remain only about 30 warriors. The number in this
settlement is about 1100 Souls

Those who lead a wandering life may be about 215 Souls

Total number of the Six Nations 6000 Souls

Errors excepted

Sam^l Kirkland.

Stockbridge, 15 Oct. 1791

Mr. Kirkland's Estimate for Oneida and Onondaga

	Dollars
Schoolhouse	.250.
2 Schoolmasters at 100	200.
to be { 1 Blacksmith	60
farmers { 1 carpenter and wheelwright	<u>60</u> 120
2 farmers { Tuscarora and }	80
{ Onondaga }	
3 yoke of oxen at 50	150
3 draught chains at 2 1/2 7 1/2	
2 log doil doil at 2 1/2 ---9---	16.50
3 plows(called hog plows) at 9	27.00
1 ox cart 22. 100 axes 100 }	
100 hoes at 2/3	133.66
Superintendent	200.
	<u>1232.16</u>

Extracted from his estimate presented to Genl.

Knox dated Phila. Dec'r 6, 1791

Additions - 3 harrows and 3 grindstones