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House erected and occupied by the Rev. Jacob Johnson.

It stood at the northeast corner of River and Union Streets, and in later years was owned and occupied by Dr. C. F. Ingham.

From a photograph taken in 1887.

Kindly loaned by Oscar J. Harvey, Esq.

Rev. Jacob Johnson, M. A.

Pioneer Preacher of
Wyoming Valley (Wilkes-Barre, Pa.)
1772-1790

First Settled Pastor, First Presbyterian Church,
Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

— By —

Frederick C. Johnson, M. D.

Historiographer Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.

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JACOB JOHNSON, M. A.

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FREDERICK C. JOHNSON, M. D.

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PREFACE.

Doubtless of all the pioneers of the Wyoming section of Pennsylvania, no one, excepting Hon. Timothy Pickering, has left material for reminiscences of his times so full and so varied as has the Rev. Jacob Johnson, whose interesting experience as a pioneer missionary and pastor is narrated in the following pages.

The author, his great grandson, has been for years patiently gathering this material together for presentation by publication. The matter covers fully thirty years of active work in the sacred ministry of the Gospel among the Indians of Connecticut and New York, and among the early settlers of North-Eastern Pennsylvania.

That grand old church, the First Presbyterian Church of Wilkes-Barre, founded by Jacob Johnson, with its many daughters throughout this section, is his best monument. In his connection with this church more historical material

touching his history will be found in the third volume of the "History of Wilkes-Barre," by Oscar Jewell Harvey, Esq., now in press.

The genealogy of Jacob Johnson has already been published in a pamphlet of thirty-two pages, entitled

"Rev. Jacob Johnson of Wallingford (Conn.) and Wilkes-Barre (Pa.) by F. C. Johnson, M. D., Wilkes-Barre, Pa. Member of Wyoming Historical Society; New England Historical and Genealogical Society, etc. 1904."

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY LIFE IN CONNECTICUT.

Rev. Jacob Johnson, the pioneer preacher of Wilkes-Barre, Pa., was born April 7, 1713, at Wallingford, Conn., of which place his great-grandfather, Thomas Johnson, the emigrant, and his grandfather, William Johnson, were founders in 1670. He was a son of Jacob and Abigail (Hitchcock) Johnson. Of his early life we have little information. It was his father's desire that he be educated for the ministry of the Congregational Church and he was accordingly sent to Yale College, from which he graduated in 1740 with twenty others as Bachelor of Arts, one-third of them becoming clergymen. The college in 1763 conferred on him the degree of Master of Arts.

His father, also named Jacob, was born at Wallingford, September 25, 1674, and died July 17, 1749.* He was a deputy to the General Assembly in 1763 and is mentioned in some of the Wallingford records as "Sergeant" Jacob Johnson. The mother of Rev. Jacob Johnson was Abigail, daughter of John and Abigail Hitchcock. Abigail, born 1654, was the daughter of Lieut. Nathaniel

*A fuller genealogy of the family has been published by the present writer in a pamphlet entitled "Rev. Jacob Johnson of Wallingford, Conn., and Wilkes-Barre, Pa.," pp. 32. 1904.

Merriman, one of the original proprietors of Wallingford, founded in 1670.

The elder Jacob was a well-to-do farmer, who at his death in 1749 left an estate valued at about £14,000. The inventory of the estate and its distribution to the heirs, recorded at New Haven, shows that Jacob received as his share a piece of land valued at £1,351 and two slaves, "the negro man Dick and the negro woman Deft," valued at £800. With the land was "1-3 part of the mines and minerals in the Hanging Hill woods farm." It is likely that these values were in the inflated currency of that time. In 1768 Rev. Jacob was so poor that it was difficult for him to clothe his family, then resident at Groton, Conn.

The grandfather of Rev. Jacob was William, sometimes mentioned in the ancient records as "Wingle" Johnson. He was a prominent New Haven man and was a deputy to the General Assembly several times. William was one of the original proprietors of Wallingford, and died in 1716. His wife was Sarah, daughter of John and Jane (Wollen) Hall. Her father, John Hall, lived in Boston in 1639, but resided in Wallingford in 1671 and was chosen selectman in 1675. He died in 1676, aged 71 years. William was one of the sons of Thomas Johnson of New Haven, who emigrated to Connecticut from Kingston-upon-Hull, England, and met his death by drowning in New Haven Harbor in 1640.

Of Rev. Jacob Johnson, Dexter's "Graduates of Yale College" says: "He was elected to a Berkeley scholarship at graduation, but if he resided at all on this foundation left soon to complete his theological studies with the Rev. Jedediah Mills (Yale 1722), of Ripton Parish, now Huntfield East Association, April 29, 1742." It is also recorded of him in "Contributions to Ecclesiastical History of Connecticut," pp. 300 and 415: "He sympathized strongly with the New Lights or Revival party, and early in 1743 preached to the seceders from the First Church in Milford, Connecticut, and was invited to become their pastor. He accepted

the call and in April the Presbytery of New Brunswick, New Jersey, met to examine him, with a view to ordination. The Presbytery, however, advised instead a reconciliation with the First Church; and the attempt to settle Mr. Johnson was abandoned."

This matter is referred to more fully later thus:

"On the 10th of March, 1749, the North Society in Groton, Connecticut, now the town of Ledyard, voted Mr. Johnson terms of settlement, and on the 10th of June he was ordained there."

The town of Groton, Mr. Johnson's field of ministerial labor for twenty-three years, was originally a part of New London and took its name from the town in England, the birthplace of Governor John Winthrop, who founded New London in 1646. Groton, Mass., was similarly named by a member of Governor Winthrop's family. Groton, Conn., was at the time of the advent of the whites the home of the Pequot Indians. They and their allies, the Narragansetts, had their stronghold here on Fort Hill and this soil was made the battlefield of the first regular warfare in New England. Capt. John Mason in 1637 captured and destroyed the Indian defenses at Mystic Fort on Pequot Hill, and putting King Sassacus to flight ended the dreadful Pequot war in the colonies. Thirty-nine years after Mason's victory a remnant of the Pequots was led in the war against King Philip by Capt. James Avery of Groton.

The Great Awakening during the decade following Jacob Johnson's graduation was a religious movement which shook New England to its foundations under the fervid preaching of Revs. George Whitefield, Gilbert Tennant and James Davenport. Ministers of the gospel were urged to remember their obligations to the Indians, and one of the fruits of this pleading was to prepare the way for the subsequent missionary effort of Dr. Eleazer Wheelock to evangelize the Six Nation Indians. Rev. Jacob Johnson was one of those who became aroused on the subject of converting

the Indians and he labored among the Groton Pequots, and subsequently the Iroquois of the Mohawk Valley in the colony of New York.

Indeed for a century the Pequots had been the objects of solicitude on the part of the church at Groton, whose pastors preached to them and aided in the maintenance of schools. They never had a separate congregation, but worshiped with the white people. However, they had a school house in which services for the Indians were sometimes held, with preaching by Samson Occom, Samuel Ashbow, Jacob Fowler and other Indians. The land was poor and the Groton Pequots never prospered. While in 1725 they numbered 322 souls, Jacob Johnson took a census in 1766 and found they had dwindled to 164 souls, one-half of whom were children under 16 years of age.

"The Assembly in this year appointed a committee to repair to the town of Groton and inquire into the condition of the Indians. The committee reported them poor and needy and that they appeared to be disposed to attend preaching and to send their children to school and that some further assistance was necessary." It was also "Resolved that there be paid out of the public treasury of this Colony to the Reverend Mr. Jacob Johnson, the sum of five pounds lawful money for his services in preaching to and among said Indians the year ensuing." (Col. Records of Conn., xii, 525.)

The church at Groton, Conn., was destined to receive a terrible baptism of blood during the Revolutionary War, when in 1780 the British troops under Benedict Arnold attacked Fort Griswold and mercilessly exterminated the garrison, leaving sixty widows and three times as many orphans to mourn.

The terms of Rev. Jacob's settlement over the North Society in Groton, now Ledyard, are thus indicated in an action of the town meeting held in March previous to his coming:

"Voted that Mr. Johnson shall have four hundred pounds settlement and £300 in old tenor bills salary yearly as long as he continues to be our Gospel preaching minister." It was customary in Connecticut in those early times to give the pastor what was called a "settlement." The £400 for the first two years was doubtless considered by the people as a sufficient sum to begin official life with. Judging from Rev. Mr. Tuttle's History of the Ledyard church this seems to have been a uniform amount at that time, at least on the part of Congregational churches.

These "old tenor" bills of public credit were paper currency then in use and their depreciation is shown in the following additional resolution, passed at the same meeting, the reader bearing in mind that six shillings Connecticut currency were equivalent to a dollar:

ADDITIONAL RESOLUTION.

"Voted, that said £400 settlement and \$300 salary shall be paid in the following articles, or bills of public credit equivalent thereunto at the time of the annual payment, viz.: pork at 2s. per pound, beef at 1s. per lb., wheat at 30s. per bu., sheep's wool at 8s. per lb., indian corn at 15s., rye at 20s., cheese at 2s. per lb., butter at 4s., oats at 7s. 6d. per bu., flax at 4s., the payment of money to be regulated by an equal portion of each article; always provided, and it is to be understood that if Mr. Johnson should withdraw himself to any other persuasion, he shall return the said £400 settlement to the society in the same value as he received it." The society was probably led to make this provision as to withdrawal, by the fact that Mr. Johnson's predecessor, Rev. Ebenezer Punderson, had resigned, to enter the Episcopal Church.

In Mr. Woodhull's historical pamphlet on the Groton Church it is noted that while Mr. Johnson was laboring in the second or North Society he on June 21, 1767, "preached ye first sermon ever was preached in the new meeting house in ye first [or South] society of Groton."

The edifice in which Mr. Johnson labored at North Groton is thus described:

"The frame was raised in 1727, by individual subscription. Previous to this time meetings had been held for public worship on the Sabbath at private dwellings in various parts of the neighborhood. The building stood 116 years and was in shape like many of the meeting houses of former days, with the main door on the front side, with the pulpit opposite to it on the other side of the house, and with a door at each end, and having neither porch nor steeple. For the purpose of raising funds for its construction the ground floor was sold to individuals, and they erected pews for their own accommodation, holding same as their property. These pews were like square boxes or pens, with seats on all sides within, except in the doorway. The high upright sides of the pews afforded no very convenient place for sleepers in the time of worship. That there was no demand for ornamentation in those days is shown by the fact that during three successive pastors there was no inside plastering except on the right and left of the pulpit; and it was open above to the ridge. The timbers of the house, above the ground floor, were all visible. It was not until 1790 that the pew owners relinquished their rights and made the house common property so that the pews might be rented. The old house resisted the elements until 1843, when it was replaced by a new edifice."

Mr. Tuttle continues: "In regard to Mr. Johnson's theology scarcely anything remains to show what it was. Very few productions were left by him in print, but from what I have seen I am led to believe that he was a little visionary. He published an account of the religious experience of a little daughter of his, at the age of eight years, in which there was something stated bordering on the marvelous. But, perhaps some allowance should be made in view of the ardent affection of a doting parent. [This was his daughter Lydia, who became the wife of Col. Zebulon Butler at Wyoming, Pa.] It does not appear, however, that his orthodoxy was ever questioned.

"It was some time during his ministry that the Rogerene Quakers (named for John Rogers of New London)

manifested their zeal in opposition to the regular ministrations of the gospel. Mr. Johnson, as well as other ministers in the vicinity, was often annoyed by them in the time of worship. Both men and women sometimes brought their work to the meeting house for the purpose, it would seem, of disturbing the congregation and of seeking what they considered persecution. Sometimes they would speak out and charge the ministers with falsehood. Mr. Johnson conceived a plan by which he hoped to put an end to their disturbance. As they were present on one occasion he said, addressing himself to the leader: 'As friend W—— seems to be fond of meetings, I will, with his leave, appoint a meeting at his house.' The man gave his consent. At the appointed time Mr. Johnson dressed himself in his meanest garb (for the Quakers were opposed to any appearance of what they considered pride in dress), girded himself with a strap, and went to the place of meeting. His audience being assembled he commenced his sermon without first praying audibly, for audible prayer was contrary to their creed. The conversation turned upon the pride of dress, and George Whitefield, the revivalist, was mentioned as thus showing his pride. The Quaker wore on his head a checked linen cap. Mr. Johnson reaching forth his hand took hold of it and said, 'I do not think Mr. Whitefield is any more proud of his dress than you are of this cap.' Thus the interview ended and Mr. Johnson had no more annoyance of that kind."

In October, 1772 at a Society meeting Mr. Johnson asked for a dismissal, and his request was granted. The purpose of his resignation was to enable him to accept a call to Wilkes-Barre, he having been in correspondence with a view to removal to the Susquehanna.

CHAPTER II.

NEW ENGLAND THEOLOGY IN JACOB JOHNSON'S TIME.

The period during which Jacob Johnson was educated at Yale College and during the quarter century which followed, was characterized by great theological unrest throughout New England. It was a time of upheaval, and the Presbyterian Church was for a time divided against

itself. "It was," as Jacob Johnson wrote in his pamphlet on Sarah Williams, "a time of feuds, animosities, divisious and discords among brethren."

All denominations suffered and many new sects sprang up. In a pamphlet published in 1754 by Jacob Johnson, then minister at Groton, he says that little town had "Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Saybrookalians, Baptists, Quakers, Rogerenes, Friends, Separates, Independents, Levellers, Freethinkers, Seekers, Heathen, Solitudinarians and I know not how many more."

There were many dissensions as to whether the Confession of Faith or the Westminster Catechism was the true basis of faith, and in 1741 a schism occurred, due to the following causes:

(1) The quarrel between the Revivalists and their opponents. The Revivalists came to be known as New Lights, or New Side, in distinction from the conservatives, who were called Old Lights or Old Side.

(2) Demand of Synod that all candidates for the ministry undergo examination at its hands. The New Lights resented the interference of Synod as an infringement on individual liberty.

(3) Protest of Synod against itinerant preachers was another cause of the rupture. In 1737 it was ordered that no minister of one Presbytery be allowed to preach in the bounds of another, without the permission of the latter. The Revivalists defied the Synod by their itinerant evangelism and they claimed the right to speak to whatever congregations desired to hear them.

"The coming of Whitefield was the breeze which fanned the smouldering fire of discontent into a flame. His power was that of a tornado, which swept all before it. He preached to thousands. So profound an impression did he make in Philadelphia that for a whole year daily services were held. The Old Side partisans ranged themselves in opposition, and closed their pulpits against him. The New Side was in strong sympathy with the revival. The Pres-

byteries were in open rebellion against Synod. New Brunswick ignored Synod's rule of examination and licensed candidates on its own account, and evangelists went everywhere regardless of the edict against itinerants. Rival pamphleteers kept the presses busy with their fulminations. Some of these writers were surprisingly bitter. They denounced one another as heretics, Pharisee preachers, wolves in sheep's clothing, devouring monsters, babbling ignorant priests, devil's advocates. Jacob Johnson was a contributor, though not a radical one, to the controversy and several of the libraries of the country contain rare copies of his pamphlets.

"It was a sorry spectacle, this contest of ungenerous partisans. The New Side claimed that vital religion was dead among clergy and people. The Old Side criticised the revival methods as sensational, disorderly and demoralizing. Both sides considered union as 'monstrously absurd' and in 1741 the New Brunswick Presbytery withdrew and Synod found itself divided."

Gillett, in his History of the Presbyterian Church, says:

"As to the Revival the verdict of impartial history must pronounce it, with some qualifications, a powerful movement for good. If it sometimes burned the standing corn, it consumed an immense mass of stubble. Vital religion all over the land was strengthened by it. Thousands of souls were converted. The pulpit was armed with a new power and a dead orthodoxy was quickened to life. But neither the movement nor the opposition to it was confined to the Presbyterian Church. Some of the Boston ministers opposed the revival.

"The Legislature of Connecticut in 1742, at the instigation of certain ministers, enacted that any clergyman who should preach outside of his own parish, without invitation of the settled minister, should forfeit his salary and be bound over to court in the sum of £100, to peaceable and good behavior. Nonresident preachers, not licensed by an association, were liable to arrest as common vagrants, to be expelled from the colony. In 1743 all the pulpits of New Haven County were closed against the ministers of New Brunswick Presbytery. It was not until 1758 that harmony was restored."

As showing the intolerance of that period, the following from "The History of the Presbyterian Church in

America," by Rev. Richard Webster, father of Rev. Richard B. Webster of Wilkes-Barre, gives an incident in which Jacob Johnson was a participant:

"In 1737 difficulties arose in the congregation of Milford, New Haven County, in relation to the settlement of Mr. Whittlesey as pastor, a respectable minority regarding his doctrine as Arminian and his preaching as unedifying. They urged their objections so strongly and with such apparent concern and conscientiousness that the Council declined to ordain, but the majority of the people, headed by the Deputy Governor, insisted on their rights, and it was finally agreed to ordain him, and that the minority should hear him for six months, and, if not satisfied, should settle a colleague according to their liking. They heard him two years, but were more dissatisfied, and in 1740 applied to the church and then to the town for relief according to the agreement. Finding them intractable they asked advice of the Association: but they obtained neither advice nor countenance. They then—according to the 'statute for conscientious scruplers'—declared 'their sober dissent from the Standing Order' established in the colony, professing themselves to be Presbyterians according to the church of Scotland, and agreed November 30, 1741, to set up a separate society, if thirty heads of families would unite for that purpose. On the following Sabbath they met for worship at the house of George C. Clark, Jr., and on the last Tuesday in January, they qualified themselves before the county court according to the Toleration Act, thirty-nine persons taking part. The Rev. Benajah Case of Simsbury was fined and imprisoned for having preached for them. Whittlesey refused his pulpit, on Sabbaths when he did not use it, to the ministers who came to preach to them. One of them preached from the doorstone to an assembly of a thousand. Whitefield had preached here with unusual success in October, 1740, and Gilbert Tennant was there in the next spring. The people made preparations to build a meeting house in May, 1742, but the town refused to allow them to erect on the common. The county court, however, granted them liberty to build, and in November it was raised. The Rev. John Fels of Canaan preached the first sermon in it, and the constable was ordered to apprehend him; a like order was issued against the Rev. Elisha Kent of Newtown, but they both escaped his search.

"Jacob Johnson of Groton, Conn., who graduated at Yale in 1740, preached to them, having taken the necessary oaths. Having made him a call, they applied to New Brunswick Presbytery to receive them and take Mr. Johnson on trial with a view to ordination. They constituted themselves a church and elected ruling elders.' Accordingly said members did send to him pieces of trial; a sermon on Romans 8:14 ['For as many as are led by the spirit of God, they are the sons of God'] and a Latin exegesis—'*An regimen ecclesia presbyteriale sit Scripturae et rationi congruum?*' [Concerning the regimen of the Presbyterian Church, is it in accord with Scripture and reason?]

"The New Brunswick Presbytery met April 6, 1743, to hear the exercises, and after proceeding some length in the examination of Jacob Johnson the Presbytery paused and advised that a further attempt be made toward a reconciliation with the First Church. The effort was unsuccessful.

"Samuel Finley preached two Sabbaths * * * and for this offense he was prosecuted, tried and condemned. Governor Law ordered him to be transported, as a vagrant,—disturbing the peace of the community—from town to town out of the colony. This treatment was considered by some of the ablest civilians in Connecticut and the city of New York to be so contrary to the spirit and letter of the British Constitution that had complaint been made to the King in Council it would have vacated the colonial charter."

As illustrative of the revival spirit of that period we insert an account of a later revival in Lebanon, Conn., as written by Dr. Eleazar Wheelock to Jacob Johnson while the latter was on a missionary visit to the Oneida Indians. The original letter is in the library of Dartmouth College:

"LEBANON, CONN., JAN. 30, 1769.

"The work of God in this place, which began before Mr. Cleveland went up to ye Indian congress [at Fort Stanwix], is now glorious indeed; it has spread into all parts of ye parish; their conference meetings (which are very frequent) fil ye houses where they are held: five of which we had last evening—at these meetings scarcely a word is heard but of ve things of ye kingdom; great solemnity, eagerness & affection in hearing the Word whenever

they have opportunity for it. And it is yet increasing daily, very fast. Accounts every day of new conversions & souls newly wounded—And hitherto, by the goodness of God, such hath been ye order, regularity, & decency through ye whole, that ye Accuser of ye Brethren himself, han't yet been able, that I know of, to form one plausible objection, either against the work itself, or the subjects of it. Convictions are remarkably genuine, conversions clear, & ye fruits very good. Near 30 have been hopefully converted within a few weeks—Several of my Family and school, I hope, thro ye Grace of God, are ye happy subjects of this work, and just at this juncture as ye Indian boys begin to appear concerned, they are sent for home, and in all human probability will lose their convictions, & and I fear their souls too by ye means. I verily believe the old destroyer of souls is at ye Bottom, whoever were the instruments. I have taken care to forward your letters. I heard that your Family were well about 10 days ago. Mr. Barber is dismissed, as is also Doctor Whitaker. Mr. Occum preaches with great success of late both to English & Indians; many appear concerned under his ministry. I would send you money, but you said nothing to me about it, nor am I advised for our dear Mr. Kirtland. I beg of you to be a father to him—

“Accept my best Respects. The Lord be with you, my dear Brother, farewell,

“Yours in the dear Jesus—

[Rev. Jacob Johnson.] ELEAZAR WHEELOCK.

CHAPTER III.

JOURNEY TO THE SIX NATIONS.

The year 1768 was marked by a notable event, one in which Jacob Johnson was unexpectedly a participant. This was the treaty at Fort Stanwix, in the heart of the Six Nation country, in the province of New York. The event was of national importance, as it was there that England fixed a permanent dividing line between the English colonies and the Indian domain. French rule had fallen at Quebec

and the English ascendancy in America was now well established. The Indian country was being more and more encroached upon and it became necessary to establish a boundary beyond which the whites should not make settlement.

Accordingly a council or congress was held at Fort Stanwix, now Rome, Oneida Co., N. Y., in the autumn of 1768, at which there were present Sir William Johnson, the governors of New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey and 3,200 Indians of the Six Nations. Twenty boatloads of blankets, goods and rum were provided to propitiate (Jacob Johnson says "decoy") the Indians. (See letter *infra*.) Six days were consumed in private conferences before the Indians agreed to a boundary line. The sum of \$10,000 in goods and money was then paid to the Indians, an insignificant sum for a piece of territory nearly 1,000 miles long, covering large parts of New York, Pennsylvania, Kentucky and West Virginia.

Not only was the Fort Stanwix treaty of national importance, but it was of equally great concern to the projectors of the Connecticut migration to Wyoming Valley, since it was at this Fort Stanwix treaty that a former sale of the Wyoming lands to Connecticut (at Albany in 1754) was repudiated and a new sale made to the Proprietors of Pennsylvania. The Penns dominated the Fort Stanwix council, and it was only natural that they would use their power to crush the Connecticut movement towards the disputed lands in Pennsylvania. The Connecticut people would not recognize the 1768 sale as valid and thus there ensued the Pennamite War, which was to occupy a third of a century and deluge the valley of the Susquehanna with blood.

Having then in mind a purpose to wrest the old 1754 title to Wyoming from the Connecticut claimants, Sir William Johnson and the royal Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, John and Thomas Penn, saw to it that Connecticut

received no invitation to the Fort Stanwix council. But it happened that Jacob Johnson was there, having been sent on a missionary journey to the Oneida Indians by Dr. Eleazar Wheelock, who also gave him authority to present to the assembled Indians, and to the representative of the Crown the needs of the educational movement. Mr. Johnson was an impulsive man and in his zeal for the rights of the Indians, and in his fearless utterances of some "rebel" sentiments, he incurred the displeasure of Sir William Johnson and the Penns and they excluded him from the deliberations with the Indians. As the request of Dr. Wheelock for aid for his Indian school was refused and this refusal was looked upon as the death blow to the Indian school, there was considerable criticism directed against Jacob Johnson in the correspondence of the time. A study of the facts will show that the Connecticut parson was in nowise to blame.

Let us now pass to some details of the missionary journey of Mr. Johnson and his adventures at Fort Stanwix.

In the middle of the eighteenth century there was a powerful revival in New England (see page 6), and as one result of the Great Awakening, as it was called, the clergy felt a heavy burden for the souls of the Indians. Dr. Eleazar Wheelock's propaganda to civilize and Christianize the Indians was one of the great religious movements of our history. In 1741, the year following Jacob Johnson's graduation from Yale, Wheelock preached 500 sermons throughout New England. The movement took hold of Jacob Johnson and hence his connection with the Pequot Indians of the neighborhood, as noted *supra*.

Until recently there was no known material concerning Jacob Johnson's missionary experience except some correspondence published in the Documentary History of New York, but there has lately been found a collection of his letters in the library of Dartmouth College, giving many interesting details of a journey to the Indians and of the

part which Mr. Johnson unexpectedly took in the council with the Indians at Fort Stanwix. Grateful acknowledgment is made to the librarian at Dartmouth College, Mr. M. D. Bisbee, for placing these original manuscripts at the disposal of the compiler.

The following manuscript correspondence appears in "Documentary History of New York, iv, 245." The originals are in vol. 16 of the Sir William Johnson papers at Albany:

Oct. 17, 1768. Letter of Rev. Jacob Johnson to Sir William asking interview with the Indians and requesting that they be informed as to his late arrival at Fort Stanwix.

Letter to Sir William and the Commissioners defining his idea of allegiance to the King.

Oct. 22. Thanking Sir William for restricting the supply of liquor to the armed Indians at such a critical time as the Fort Stanwix conference.

Oct. 30. Asking the Commissioners at Fort Stanwix that the Indians be not sent so far away by sale of their lands as to prevent the continuance of missionary work among them.

Oct. 31. Jacob Johnson's request of the Indians at Fort Stanwix to aid Wheelock's schools.

Nov. 24. Letter of Sir William Johnson charging Jacob Johnson with intrigue among the Indians and obstruction of the proposed boundary of the Indian land.

For reasons not apparent Mr. Johnson signed some of his letters of that period as Jacob W. Johnson and others as Jacob Ws Johnson. But usually his name appears without middle initial.

The evangelizing of the Indians had long occupied the attention of philanthropists on both sides of the Atlantic. Both the Church of England, and the Presbyterians had supported missions among the aborigines, the former as early

as 1701, and the Jesuits much earlier. But Wheelock* undertook to found a school which should remove young Indians from their native environments and bring them in contact with English youth in a mixed school. His design was to educate his Indian pupils especially for missionaries for work among their own people. The school was established at Lebanon, Conn., and was often spoken of as Moor's Indian Charity School, from the man who donated the land.

Out of it grew Dartmouth College. Among Wheelock's pupils were Joseph Brant, and Walter Butler, son of Col. John Butler, who with the Indians and Tories destroyed Wyoming in 1778. Brant, at the age of nineteen had been sent to Wheelock's school by Sir William Johnson and remained two years. Becoming interested in Christianity Brant acted as interpreter on preaching journeys to the Six Nations. Jacob Johnson records in one of his letters that Brant had interpreted for him.

In the spring of 1768 Wheelock heard that Jacob Johnson, now a man of fifty-five, felt drawn towards the Indian field, and he invited him to undertake a missionary journey to the Oneidas. They were the first of the Six Nations to express a desire for missionary effort, and in 1761 Samson Occum, the first of Wheelock's converts, had been sent to them. Occum was the first missionary sent out under the auspices of Connecticut people, his predecessors having been sent out by the Boston "Society for Propagating the Gospel," 1741. While on this journey Occum secured three Indian boys as pupils in Wheelock's Charity School, one being Joseph Brant. The Oneidas heard Johnson gladly.

Wheelock, in addition to the charge of his own parish and extensive itinerating, had early taken Indian boys into his own family to train and educate, and thence conceived

*Rev. Eleazar Wheelock, b. Windham, Conn., 1711, called "The father of Indian Missionaries." See McClure's "Memoirs of Wheelock," Love's "Samson Occum." Dexter's "Yale Biographies."

the plan of fitting them for missionaries among their own people. Wheelock, like William Penn and Count Zinzendorf, was inclined to the belief that the Indians were descendants of the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel, who had migrated from Asia by way of Behring Strait. Jacob Johnson held the same view. One of the earliest to entertain this view was John Eliot, the Apostle of the Indians, who in 1660 founded the first Indian church in America.

Aaron Kinne, who was a teacher in Wheelock's school for the Oneida Indians, wrote to Wheelock, from Groton, Conn., April 1, 1768, as follows, advising him of Jacob Johnson's availability for the Indian work:

"I have lately seen Mr. Johnson, & informed him of your Request—He appears very friendly & determines, extraordinaries excepted, to give a Sabb. for the supply of Mr. Pomroy's Pulpit [in Hebron], viz., the third in April.

"I briefly hinted to him the want of Missionaries at which he was somewhat elated & desires you would write to him, & give information of particulars, as soon as may be that he may have Time for Consideration before he shall come that way.

"AARON KINNE."

Mr. Pomroy was brother-in-law of Wheelock.

WHEELOCK TO JOHNSON.

"LEBANON 26th Apl 1768.

"Revd & dear sir

"Last week I wrote you a line in utmost haste on my being informed by Mr Camp yt you was willing to accept a mission among ye Indians for 6 months. I would pray you to settle your affairs as soon as possible in order to go—And if you can, I pray you would so order your affairs as to preach at Hebron ye Sabbath after next, or they will be destitute so far as I can see or know.

"If you would come at that time prepared to go on your mission I would accompany you to Hartford to ye election, but you will need to spend some days wth me before you go, in order to get Intelligence of Affairs &c.

"Please to let me know as soon as possible wt you will want besides money yt I must provide for you &c—Accept kindest love to you & spouse from my dear sir

"Yours in ye dearest bonds,

"ELEAZAR WHEELOCK.

"Revd Jacob Johnson." [Dartmouth MSS.]

JOHNSON TO WHEELOCK.

"Sr GROTON May 17th, 1768

"I am present reduced to a very low State of Health, by the Great Cold I took, or Some other Cause, so that I was not able to Attend the Service the last L'ds Day—I am a good deal at a loss, whether I shall attempt the journey proposed, if I dont recover my health better by the Time prefixt—But I have had opportunity to confer with Mr. Kenne; who now is in Groton; and seems a good deal inclinable to go—And I hope, either He or I, or both Shall be setting forward at the time proposed—

"I send you enclosed a Funeral Discourse.*

"I wish I could serve the cause of Christ in a better manner, and more extensive way than hitherto I have done. But alas! I am but a poor earthen vessel. O that I might be like one of Gideon's Pitchers, that the more broken I am, the more the Light may Shine out. O I want, or think I want, to do something for Christ, his Cause, & Kingdom; If it were but as Clay and Spittle. But that I must leave with him, who has me in hand. I am for his sake Yours & the

"church's humble Servt

"JACOB JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO WHEELOCK.

"Sr GROTON May 21, 1768

"My health not admitting me at present to go on so long a journey as to the Onoida, I have prevaild with Mr Kinny to go in my Room, who will be with you, Providence permitting. And he proposes to go on that Christian Service of progagating the Gospel among the Indians for the months of June July & August. And if farther helpe be

*This was a sermon preached by Jacob Johnson at Groton at the funeral of Col. Christopher Avery. It was printed by Timothy Green, New London, 1768, in a pamphlet of 36 pages. A copy is to be seen in the library of the Connecticut Historical Society.

needed & can't be had without my going And my health be restored, I propose to go for the months of September, October & November: or even thro' the winter, if there be a prospect of doing much Service. Sr, I heartily wish prosperity to Zion & to every attempt, in a Christian manner, to carry and spread the Gospel among the perishing Natives and am with all proper Respect your Dutiful

"huble sert, JACOB JOHNSON.

"P. S.

"I shall have opportunity to write & and send you my mind farther by Mr Kinny who by the Le've of Providence will come by the way of my House on Monday next. I have had much anxiety & concern of mind in this affair but hope all will issue well & to our mutural rejoyceing in the end, & farther aim of the Gospel which is all my desire and all my joy."

JOHNSON TO WHEELLOCK.

"GROTON, CONN., Agst 29 1768

"Revd & Hond Sr

"Yours of the 25 Inst I received by Mr Kinne* with Some ac't of the State of the Indians at the Onoidas. I laid your request before our chh & society or assembly yesterday being L's D. [Lord's Day]. Conferd some upon it but obtaining no answer, appointed Wednesday next to determine the matter. My going will be attended in many respects with great difficulty my health being yet very poor & several of my Family No ordained Minister in the town when I am out save Mr. Barber** & he yet, & I fear will be to his death, wholly useless & much more & still more weighty that I cannot write, & besides I don't think I could possibly go so soon as next Monday were I to attempt it. However, thro' all the crowd of embarrassments if it be the mind of Divine Providence I will go, & let you know as soon as I can by word or Letter after Wednesday In case some other that might do better can't be obtained.

"I am Sr your very Humle Srt

J. JOHNSON."

*Aaron Klne was born in Connecticut in 1744, graduated from Yale in 1765. Was a teacher in the Oneida school. He was ordained in 1770 and died in Ohio in 1824.—(Allen's Biog. Dic.)

**Jonathan Barber, born 1712, graduated from Yale,—labored with Whitefield in Georgia, was pastor at one of the Groton, Conn., churches, became insane with the delusion that he was a leper.

JOHNSON TO WHEELOCK.

"GROTON September 5 1768

"Rev & Hon. Sr.

"Your Letter by Mr Kinne I further considered, & lay'd before our pp. [people] who have left it to me to go among the Indians if I think it my Duty. I have deliberated upon it (looking to the Great Counsellor) and have by the Leave of Divine Providence concluded to go as soon as I can. The Indians are now upon their Hunt, and will not likely hold their Congress before the Last of the month. It may be not before October. I hope to be on my Journey the beginning of next week; so as to be there in Season to treat with them at their general meeting. Except some other (I heartily wish might) be found to answer better; for it is with great Difficulty I can leave Home; & my selfe (which is worst of all) very unfit for the Service; tho' I would by no means decline if God calls, tho' I were the least of all my Father's children, & unworthy to be Hon'd as your Brother, & Humble Servant,

"JACOB JOHNSON."

Mr. Johnson was then furnished with a commission from Wheelock to proceed to the Indian country and take up the work which Rev. Samuel Kirkland had been compelled to relinquish owing to ill health.* Mr. Johnson was also authorized to attend an Indian Congress about to be held at Fort Stanwix and further the designs of spreading the Gospel among the tribes. The town of Rome, Oneida County, New York, stands where stood Fort Stanwix. It marked the head of navigation on the Mohawk River and was in Tryon County, "the dark and bloody ground" of the Revolution. In this county was Mount Johnson, the fortified seat of Sir William Johnson, at whose beck, says Lossing, a thousand armed warriors would rush to the field.

The home occupied by the Great Confederacy of the Five Nations stretched across New York from the Hudson

*Kirkland was at this time thirty-seven years of age. He was subsequently a chaplain in Sullivan's Army, 1779. In influence among the Indians he is considered as being second only to Sir William Johnson. He was one of the four white lads in Wheelock's Charity School. Though he wrote his name Kirkland it as often appears in the correspondence of the time as Kirtland. He married Wheelock's niece.

to Niagara and was called the Long House, each nation having its own share of this strip of territory, the Mohawks being in the eastern end, the Oneidas at Oneida Lake, the Onondagas at the head of the Susquehanna, etc. The region was named the Long House from its resemblance in form to the dwelling of the Iroquois, which was a long narrow bark structure, perhaps 50 feet long, in which dwelt several families.

JACOB JOHNSON'S COMMISSION.

"Whereas by the Grace and Favour of God towards the Savages of the Six Nations Several Towns have been induced to favourable Sentiments of the proposals made and the endeavours used to promote Religion and Learning among them, and a preached Gospel at Onoida & Kanawarohare has in a Judgment of christian Charity been made effectual for the saving Conversion of a number of them from Idols to God, and for a General Reformation of those Sordid & Brutish Lusts & Vices which have heretofore been unbridled among them, and the Revd. Mr Kirtland whom God has honoured to be a principal Instrument of this Good Work being now removed from them by Sickness before a Chh has gathered & Gospel Ordinance Settled among them, and yet continuing too infirm to return to his Lab's there, and I being also informed of a General Congress about this Time of the Chiefs of all the Tribes under the Inspection & Superintendensy of the Honle Sir William Johnson, when there will likely be a most favourable Opportunity to recommend to that Body of Chiefs together the Grand Design of Spreading the Gospel of Christ among their representative Tribes, and to use Suitable Arguments and Motives to induce them to a favourable opinion of the same and a hearty concurrence of their Endeavours therein.

"I have therefore desired the Revd Mr. Jacob Johnson of Groton whose praise is in ye [colony?] throughout all the Churches to go as Missionary and Supply the place which is now vacant by Mr Kirtland's removal from them, and to gather & form a Chh in that place according to Gospel rule and order and administer the Ordinances of Christ among them according to the Directions which he has given, and to inspect and Regulate the Schools already

set up and form others to be supply'd with Masters from hence as he shall occasion. And also in conjunctn with Mr D. Avery, Missy and Joseph, Thomas, and any other men of Influence in the Tribes to make such application to the Chiefs of the Nations in ye aforesd congress as he shall think with the best advice shall be most likely to Subserve the great Design in View, and to use Such Endeavours with any of the Tribes in those parts as he shall Judge proper and Expedient for that purpose, and bespeake the Favour, Countenance and Assistance of Sir William Johuson and any others whose Favour and Assistance he may find to be needfull in the Prosecution of the Business of his Mission. Commending him to the civilities, kindness and charity of all as he shall have occasion and they opportunity for the Same, and especially to the Protection, Favour and Blessing of Almighty God in whom I hope for the Success of his important mission.

In Testimony and Confirmation of Which I Subscribe, Eleazar Wheelock Founder & President of the Indian Academy in Lebanon." Dated in Lebanon, the 19th Day of Sept'r A. D., 1768.

Wheelock had not been apprised of the Fort Stanwix Congress, but he learned of it accidentally through some Oneida Indians who had visited Lebanon, Conn., and he determined to send an agent to attend it. In view of Wheelock's already established movement among the Indians and Sir William Johnson's familiarity with the same, it seems strange that the baronet had not invited him to send a representative. But as seen elsewhere it was not the desire of Sir William or the Penns to have Connecticut represented at the congress, one of the most important ever held with the Indians.

Mr. Johnson made the journey of 300 miles on horseback in ten days and at Canajoharie he was met by David Avery, who had been teaching the Oneidas. He reported his arrival to Wheelock as follows :

AVERY TO WHEELOCK.

"CANAWAROHARE, Octbr 1st. 1768

"Revd & Hond Dr,

"The Reverend Mr Johnson came to this place 29th last month with the Fullness of the blessing of the Gospel. Was cordially received by the Indians & released their minds from some disquietude occasioned by the long absence of a minister. He came in good season. Sir Wm & a very large number of Gentlemen have been at Fort Stanwix about three weeks—the Indians are come & coming, it is expected they will all arrive in a week or ten Days. Will doubtless be the largest Congress that ever was among the Six Nations. I Design by Divine Leave, to accompany the Revd Mr Johnson over as soon as the Indians go, and to return to New England as soon as the Congress shall be ended.

"Hoping for a continuance of an Interest in the Doctor's Prayers, am with all Duty and Humility, Revd & Hond Dr. Your much obliged and very humble Servant

"DAVID AVERY."

JOHNSON TO WHEELOCK.

"ONOIDA LOWER CASTLE KANAWARO'HE

"Octobr 5th 1768

"Rev d & Dr Sir

"I am safely arrived here in Good Health (thanks to my great & good Protector). I came by the way of Fort Stanwix but the Heads of the Nations were not in general come together. Onely conferd with Col. Butler & left your letter for Sir Wm for He was not then to be seen. I thot best to come up to Onoida & confer with Mr Avery & the chief men of Onoida For I perceived there was a great coldness in Col. Butler & others I conferd with respecting the Propagation of the Gospel among the Six Nations. Was then & am more & more confirmed in my opinion that these Gentlemen are not in mood to do much towards promoting the end you have in view. However if I am mistaken (which I will not Absolutely say I am not) it will appear in Sir Wms the Govr. of Pennsylvania & New York's conduct at the congress where I propose with Mr. Avery & some of the Principal men of this town to attend about the middle of next week. I suppose it will be soon enough after sd

Congress is over that I shall write you more full of that & every thing relative to the grand affair in agitation. Onely thus much at Present I will say if ever there needd help from on high it is now, yea if ever there needd faith in the promise it is now, or at least it so appears to me and in that promise in particular of our blessed Lord to his Apostle Peter 'On this rock I will build my Chh & the gates of Hell shall not prevail.' I have tho't the very Pillars of Heaven trembled & the Mountain were removing out of their places so that there is no Shelter no Safety but in the Lord alone. I know not Scarcely whether I had ever a greater Sense of it. The Lord increase my Faith. Yea the Lord increase yours & every christian's especially the minister's. I use plainness & freedom for the cause requiring it with me to you but the wisdom of the serpent to others. I know you will not cease to pray for me & the cause of Christ which it is not unlike a ship in the midst of a storm. But Christ the great Pilot is in it, whom not onely the Ships but winds & seas obey. Having this hope & assurance I comfort myselfe & am at peace in my soul & hope that you & I may rest and stand in our Lot in the end of the Days. But I must not add further at this Time only. Everything in the Indian town apprs up to, yea beyond my expectation. The greatest danger is from the Mighty Hunters whom the Lord well knows, for they are not out of his sight & the reptile daughters of the Horse leech who never have enough tho they stuff themselves till they burst asunder.

"May Babel's tower fall into confusion & the stone which ye builders reject become the headstone of the corner.

"I am in all dutiful affection

Revd & hond Sir yours in Christ

"JACOB JOHNSON."

Jacob Johnson reported his arrival to Dr. Wheelock as follows:

"FORT STANWIX Oct 10 1768

"Sr

"I have been at Onoida Castle, am now here. Have waited on Sr Wm & other gentlemen of which I cannot now write. But onely assure you that things are in a most critical Scituation, yea wear a very threatening aspect, However speciously covered & conceald. The sum of the

matter is 'That antecedent to ascertaining the Boundaries & Lines betwix the Indian & British claims' a number of great and wealthy Gentlemen from New York, Pennsylvania, Jersey & Virginia Have brought a great sum of Gold & Silver with Bateaus of Blankets & other goods in order to decoy & prevail with the Onoida & other Indians to sell their Lands from the Fort Stanwix to the Lake Ontario & thence in a line down to the Alleganey Ohio & so down or near to Fort Pitt &c., the which if they accomplish, as you Sr must know, the Principal design or designs of this Project you must know what will be the event as to your Schools & designs of propagation of the Gospel among the Indians. Being Sensible of this (tho' kept as a profound secret by the projectors and managers of it) we have more privately consulted the Two Chiefs of the Oneidas in order to aprise them of this design & if possible to fix in them an unchangible resolution & determination upon no consideration to part with their Lands but Hold them as their Birth Rights the great Parent of all things has given them withall, showing them the most dangerous consequences & with many arguments from fact as well as reason.

'But yet after all we are not without a great deal of fear the Indians will be overcome & made a sacrifice to the ambition & avarice of the great Head plotters & Heart haters of the spread of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

"Upon a whole view of the Case & state of things here (a contract specimen of which I have given) we tho't best to send an express to you Sr that you may know what is doing, & politically moving to be done, that you may lay it before the great Counsellor as we have done in the best manner we could & daily do. As also in such a weighty & most concerning affair that you would if you think expedient send your best advice & that the Revd Mr Kirtland would come up if his health will admit & you think advisable, all which may possibly be done before the conclusion of the Congress which will not likely be desolved in 3 or 4 weeks from the date herof.

"Yours in all things for Christ's ch & his cause

"J. JOHNSON."

"P.S.

"Joseph may stay with (if you think fit) till further advise.

"We may hereafter give you an acct of the whole Series of things but now onely hint at them as they are as it were in Embryo.

"I shall continue to wait on the Congress & if opportunity presents send you farther.

"In the mean time we dont speak of these thing openly or let any one know but fr'ds wherefore Jos. goes for New Engd. O pray! pray! pray! as Mr Eliot Apostle to the Indns said in a Letter to—[illegible].

JOHNSON TO WHEELOCK.

"FORT STANWIX Octobr 17th 1768.

"Revd & Hond Sir

"I doubt not but you will be glad to hear from the Congress. I have sir done every thing I could, both by Prayer, Consultation & application. I have consulted Col. Butler & others. I have laid the cause before Sir Wm Johnson personally and by an address in writing subscribed by David Avery and myselfe (For Dr. Tho's went home not well) a copy of which I enclose which you will please to preserve (For I have no other copy & the original is in Sir Wms possession) I have opportunity to converse with the chief Gentn here as Governor Wm Franklin of The Jersie, Governor Penn, Mr Peters of Philadelpa & others, many others. I could be heartily glad you sir was here. You would be received most Honbly & affectionately I can assure you. Your name is often mentioned with a great deal of Respect by Sir Wm Johnson, Govr Franklin & others.

"Govenr Penn is gone home But before He went I took an opportunity to confer with Him about setting up an Indian College on the Susquehanna or somewhere thereabout. He told me He had seen Dr Whittaker [of Norwich] & his request of a considerable Tract of Land and that the affair was sent Home to the Proprietors. I asked Him if He tho't the Proposals woud be granted. He sd He tho't not. I asked Him if the Proprietors would not part with a tract of Land for that purpose. He sd He belivd not as requested. Will they, sd I, upon any terms. He sd yes as they sold it to others. Upon no other terms? replyd I. He answerd no, He belivd not or to that purpose. I askd Him if the Proprietors woud not come to some agreement with the New Engd Purchasers on the Susquehanna.

He said yes as they would with any other purchasers. And upon no other terms sd I. He ansd no. I conferd with Mr Peters of Philadelpa upon the subject. He thot great care should be taken to choose such a place to set up an Indn academie as might not interfere with any other public School or occasion discontent or envy or dislike lest it shouldnt answer the design and besides He thot few of the Indians woud ever do for Missionaries that in general it was not worth while to do more for them than to learn them to read & write & be industrious &c.

“I conferd with Sir William upon the same subject what his opinion was about it. He thot it a laudable & very good design. I asked Him where He thot best to set up the school. His Excellency sd He supposed that affair was sent Home already and determined. I informed his Excellency it was now in agitation & preparation to be sent. But I supposed not yet gone. I asked Him where he thot the most proper place to set it. He replyd He supposed in or near Albany. I mentioned Pensylvania. He sd He supposed the Proprietors woudnt part with their lands for that purpose upon any other Terms than they woud to others. I mentioned Kohoss [Coos, N. H.]. He thot that too much one side. I mentioned Pittsfield. His Excellency askd if they had any considerable of Lands &c for that purpose. I told his Excellency they woud subscribe in Lands and money a thousand pounds & more. He smild and made no reply onely that Coll Williams was proprietor there &&c. Upon laying the enclosed address before Him when He had read it He askd me where I woud have the Bounds of the Provinces Restricted. I told him Here especially at the Onoidas. He sd that was at Indns election Whether they woud part with their Lands or not. At present He cou’dnt tell no more than I cou’d where the Division Lines woud run. When all the chiefs were come together he shoud know and not before and that he shoud be as tender of the Indns Interests as I or any other friend cou’d be to ’em. That twas easy for designing men to get away their Land by insinuating themselves into their favor together with a few Gifts, good words &c., that many, too too many had done it. For the Indns in genll valu’d not their Lands & much more passd betwixt Him and me alone (which I have not time or room to write, for paper is here so scarce that 12

sheets has cost me as much as 2 quire in New Engd & with great difficulty I have got so much and usd Halfe of it Already).

"But sd Sir Wm upon the conclusion He should make open proclamation of the Doings of the Congress that all might know & and in the mean Time that I might have further opportunity to confer upon these things. And sir I must confess that Sir Wm has & does treat me & mankind in the most Handsome and genteel manner Imaginable, which has endeared Him to me very much tho He Has no Grace, yet has no small share of lovely Humanity.

"But sir on the whole the situation of the Indns with respect to their Lands is very ticklish & doubtful. No less than 15 thousands Pounds worth of Goods & a vast deal of Provision with 4 chests of Gold & Silver weighing not less than a barrel weight of Cyder or Pork each is sent as a temptation, with Rum, Wine & high Spirits proportionale if not to Exceed & great numbers of adventurers from all parts especially Albany New York Pennsylvia & Virginia & many beyond. And besides tis that the King has a design to make a large purchase of the natives for some pious use. But this is kept as a secret which has not yet transpird and known to onely a very few. I must leave you as I am, to guess in this matter what it portends but we may be pretty sure something to the chh of England or some Dignitary.

"You will likely sir have a more full acct. & view of these things at the close of the Congress wch I am apt to think will be about the Latter end of next week it may be not before the week after.

I am yours in all Christian Bonds &c &c
JACOB W. JOHNSON." (His. Docs. N. Y., iv, 244.)

JOHNSON TO WHEELLOCK.

"FORT STANWIX Oct. 18 1768

"Rev'd & Dr Sir

"Abraham being delay'd till this morning as I walked abroad seing the natives & others—I could not but make these reflections—Good God! How deplorable is the state of these Nations not onely of Indns but bordering inhabitants who seem to be very much Ignorant of Israel's God of Christ the great and onely Saviour of mankind. My bowels coud do no less than yearn over them. O that the light of the glorious Gospel may shine forth among men.

Oh Good God & compassionate Saviour must they remain as lost Sheep. Do they not many of them belong to thy Fold & oh may not the time be near, or now come, to call them home into thy Family & put them among thy sons & daughters. While I tho't & do think upon this moveing subject my Eyes gush out with Tears & my Heart is rowled over & out of its place. Oh if it be the will of my God I must I will stay some Time among them if not spend even the Remnant of my Days Preaching Christ & salvation to them. Dr Sr it seems to me now & then there is a great work yet to be done here. Oh that these meditations & expectations may not be a morning cloud that passeth away.

"These things will appear one way or the other I believe in a short Time oh may we always keep the hand the Heart of Prayer & give the Lord no Rest till he come & make Jerusalem a joy & praise in the whole earth. But I must not add onely that I am yours in all affection

"J. W. JOHNSON."

"I send this by Abraham Simon, whom I recommend to you if on examination you think best to put Him into your School. I hope the Lord may incline his heart not onely to desire to learn human things but Divine, that He may in some way serve the Interest of Christ's Kingdom. You will perhaps think proper to try Him & retain Him till you are satisfied whether it may be worth while to bestow Labor & cost upon Him for the purpose aforesd—or any other."

The following, which was on a different sheet, apparently came about this time, but whether a part of the same letter there is no indication, save that the fold of the sheets is almost exactly identical:

"Mr. Kirtland (if his Health would admit Him to come) would be very welcome to the Indns & many others who often mention his name & enquire after Him. Your son [Ralph] also whose name Sir Wm has once & again mentioned with a sensible respect. You will please to send your best advise as far as possible and Mr Kirtland if he can possible come. And let us by all means as far as possible know the real state of Boston for we are all in pain to know. It is a trying Time here in many respects. O I need the wisdom of an Angel of God. I never knew how sensible I needed helpe from God on high as I

have done since I came here & yet am sensible & I think more & more & tho Mr David Avery & Dr. Thomas & are in some lesser things helpful the main stress of all lyes upon me. I had need to have the very Sholders of Sampson & the wisdom of Solomon and meekness of Moses. I am not able nor ever shall that I know of be able to tell you what I have endured at Times both in Body and Soul. But O forever blessed be God I have learnt more in some respects than ever I did before of man of whom Christ our Saviour bids us beware. To approve myselfe to God who trys my heart & promote his kindom & glory this is my great concern of which I cant think or write without a flood of Tears the Cause of which God almighty knows. But in paper & ink you cannot know if it be indeed possible in any other way on this side the Eternal world to know. There is need of strong cryes and tears to him yt is help. I have had some agonies of soul which none but they that have felt can tell. Onely this I may say that virtue is in as great danger as Sampson's seven locks were of Delila's Sheers, Daniel's life in the Lyon's Denn or the three Children of the Fiery furnace. I need watch & pray every hour, yea every moment that I enter not into Temptation, blot my sacred Character & mar the work & Cause of God in my hand.

"Johannes that went up with D. Avery this Instant returned, & Let me know Thomas is better but that David Avery had a fit of the Feaver & ague. He proposes to come down (if He is able) when the Onadagaus, Senecas & others that way come which is supposed will be the latter end of this week so that the business of the Congress will be in Agitation next week & likely concluded the week after at lest we hope it will, when David Avery & 3 or 4 Indns will set out immediately for New Engd by whom (*Bene placito Dei*) you will know both by word and writeing what I can now onely by conjecture & uncertainty write you.

"I should Sr be glad you woud let me know the Reports in brief concerning the places tho't of for erecting a college and by no means Sir make a Representation to the Board of trust till the Conclusion of this important Congress & you have Sir heard farther from me."

But let us go back a little. On Jacob Johnson's arrival at Fort Stanwix he and Avery found in waiting with Sir William Johnson, Governor William Franklin of New Jer-

sey, Governor John Penn of Pennsylvania, Col. John Butler and a number more of notables from those provinces and from Virginia with a great sum of gold and silver and numerous boat loads of blankets and other goods, their purpose being to obtain from the Indians the cession of a large tract of their lands, as Chase says, "under cover of a settlement of boundary."

Sir William Johnson was a figure unique in American history. Born in Ireland, he was at the age of twenty-three called by his uncle to America to superintend the settlement of a large tract of land in the Mohawk Valley. Johnson made his home there, learned the Indian language and acquired an influence over the Six Nations greater than that which any other man ever enjoyed. The English Government made him superintendent of Indian affairs, colonel of militia and a baronet.—(Chase History of Dartmouth College.)

Mr. Johnson addressed the baronet as follows:

"FORT STANWIX,

"Fryday evening, Oct. 7, 1768.

"Sir: I am just now returned to the Fort. I should have come sooner, but incidental things prevented. I shall be ready (*Bene placito Dei*) to wait on your Excellency on the morrow at what time and place your Excellency shall please to order my attendance.

"JACOB WS. JOHNSON.

"To Sir William Johnson."

This letter is No. 180 in vol. 16 of the "Sir William Johnson MSS. papers at Albany, N. Y.

In another letter Mr. Johnson asks the baronet to inform the Indian chiefs that he was prevented by illness from attending the opening of the council. He regrets that his absence has been misconstrued by Monsieur Montour to prejudice the Indians not only against him, but against the Protestant religion. He asks the baronet to let them know that he is a sure friend of the Indians and especially interested in their souls' salvation.

He also on Oct. 17 addresses a communication to Sir William Johnson referring to Mr. Wheelock's project for propagating the gospel among the Indians, and asks the baronet to encourage the design. Sir William is asked "as a tender father to these perishing Indians" to prevent them from removing from their lands, as such removal would frustrate the plan of propagating the gospel among them. To that end the baronet is asked to recommend to the heads and chiefs Dr. Wheelock's educational plan, and to give Rev. Jacob Johnson and his colleague, Rev. David Avery, personal audience with the Indians.

So slow were the Indians in assembling, that events dragged along tediously. A fortnight later, under date of Fort Stanwix, Oct. 30, Mr. Johnson addresses a note to "Sir William Johnson, Gov. Wm. Franklin, Col. Graham, Col. John Butler and other respectable gentlemen interested and concerned at their congress." He informs them of his presence there in behalf of Dr. Wheelock in the cause of propagating the gospel among the Indians. He alludes to the labors of Dr. Wheelock, made possible by charitable benefactions on the part of the King and the nobility of England, and fears that if the Indians be allowed to scatter as a result of parting with their lands, that the spread of the gospel may be hindered. He asks that a door may be kept open where the work of preaching and teaching has been carried on, that the missionaries may know where to find the Indians.

Mr. Johnson also addressed a letter to Sir William thanking him for having forbidden the giving of the 3,000 Indians intoxicating spirits at so critical a juncture. He expressed his fear that the Indians, especially the Senecas, were armed, while the whites at the fort and in the vicinity were naked and defenseless. He said he had heard there were priests among the Indians who held it meritorious to kill heretics, as they considered Protestants, "and our sins and provocations may incense heaven to let them loose on

us unawares, if the utmost care and precaution be not taken, which your excellency in his superior wisdom will doubtless well consider and give orders accordingly. As affairs wear a most threatening aspect at this juncture, I think it a time to be serious. As I am a seer, I may be knowing to some things your excellency may not, which occasion me thus to write."

It will be remembered that it was the Senecas who destroyed Wyoming ten years later.

This expression, "I am a seer," and others like it indicate that Mr. Johnson thought his sacred office conferred upon him some occult power of peering into the mysterious or supernatural. This idea always clung to him and in the last year of his life he had some mysterious premonition of the date of his death, and so real was it that he not only made the usual preparations for dissolution, but dug his own grave. He died on the date foretold. Many years later the author of this paper and his father, Wesley Johnson, were present at the opening of the grave near the Memorial Church and the removal of the bones to Hollenback Cemetery, where they now rest.

The fact that Jacob Johnson was a Connecticut man was sufficient to bring him into disfavor with the Pennsylvania proprietaries. Indeed, Conrad Weisser, the celebrated Indian interpreter, much employed in the Pennsylvania interest, wrote to the governor (Miner, p. 94) warning him to look out for "that wicked priest of Canojoharry, lest he defeat our designs." The result was he was excluded, as he says in an affidavit in Miner's History, p. 97, from the various consultations with the chiefs. Miner also gives an affidavit from Rev. Samuel Kirkland (Miner, p. 98), who sets forth the part taken by Mr. Johnson, and the general facts of the treaty, and the questionable methods employed to secure the consent of the Indians, in repudiating the 1754 sale to Connecticut and in making a new sale to Pennsylvania.

While Jacob Johnson was not permitted to participate in the council with the Indians, he was recognized socially and was a participant in a dinner given by the baronet. He made a speech there which had the ring of true patriotism, but which offended some of the baronet's guests.

The people were already beginning to clamor for liberty and for the repeal of the Stamp Act. Jacob Johnson was an impulsive man and when roused was fearless of consequences. So in this stronghold of royalty at Fort Stanwix he did not hesitate to voice the cry for freedom, and to warn the mother country of the impending storm which was to sweep away her American colonies. His fearless words, prophetic of the struggle for liberty, stamp him as one of the earliest as well as one of the bravest of the sons of the Revolution. This lofty patriotism characterized his whole life, and it was appropriate that Charles Miner, the historian of Wyoming, should have prefaced his sketch of Mr. Johnson with these words from Barlow:

“God and my country” through the eventful strife,
Such was the glorious motto of his life.”

This is what he said at the dinner as recorded by himself:

“I drink the Health of King George III of Great Britain, &c.—comprehending New Eng'd & all the British Colonies & provinces in North America. And I mean to drink such a Health to his British Majesty, when occasion serves, so long as his Royal Majesty shall govern his British & American subjects according to Magna Charta, or the great charter of English Liberties, and hears the prayers of his American Subjects, when properly laid before him. But in case his British Majesty (which God in great mercy prevent) should proceed contrary to charter rights & Privileges, & Govern us with a Rod of Iron, & the mouth of Cannons and make his Little Finger thicker than his Father's loyns, and utterly refuse to hear or consider our Humble prayers; then, & in that case I should think it my indispensable Duty to seek a retreat elsewhere; or joyn with my Countrymen in Forming a New Empire in America, distinct from, & independent of, the British Em-

pire: agreeable to a project, & predicted Plan in a late essay, Intituled 'the Power and Grandure of Great Britain, Founded on the Liberties of the Colonies &c.', which in Substance agrees with my mind in these things, & if I am not mistaken, with every true son of Liberty."

He was too much of a patriot to suit the King's representative, the Baronet, and too much interested in the welfare of the Indians to suit the Penns. So he was excluded from the council.

Sir William's reasons for excluding him and for preventing the delivering of his speech to the Indians are told by him in a letter to General Gage (Doc. His. N. Y.), in which he said:

'The New Englanders have had missionaries for some time among the Oneidas and Oquages and I was not ignorant that their old pretensions to the Susquehanna lands was their real object, tho' religion was their assumed object. Two New England missionaries [Johnson and Avery] came up, one of which was strongly recommended to me by Dr. Wheelock and did all in their power to prevent the Oneidas, whose property part of the Susquehanna is, from agreeing to any line. They even had the face, in opposition to His Majesty's commands and the desire of the colonies, to memorial me, praying that the Indians might not be allowed to give up far to the west or north, but to reserve it for the purpose of religion. And they publicly declared to several gentlemen there, that they had taken infinite pains with the Indians to obstruct the line and would continue to do so. I think you should see in what manner the government's favors and indulgences are made use of by these gentry, of which I could give many instances, being possessed of their secret instructions and many other very extraordinary papers.'

The correspondence and papers of Sir William Johnson have been collected at Albany and the same are easily accessible. There is no trace of these "secret instructions and many other very extraordinary papers" which the baronet asserted he had in his possession.

The congress ended early in November. As long as it was in session liquor was withheld, a fact which had

brought out a letter of appreciation from Jacob Johnson to the baronet, and harmony and decency prevailed. When all was over, but before the rum was served to the Indians, Sir William and his family hurriedly left in the night and advised all whites to leave as soon as possible. Within two hours after the liquor was given out the community was filled with drunkenness and hell seemed broken loose. Several were killed. It was Sunday too.

Now that the congress was over, Mr. Johnson was compelled to report to Wheelock that nothing had been accomplished for the school, that the petition for aid for his school had resulted in failure.

As O. J. Harvey, Esq., states in his admirable "History of Wilkes-Barre:"

"The Pennsylvanians were successful, and on the very day that the Fort Stanwix treaty was signed six sachems of the Six Nations—one from each of the several tribes—executed to Thomas and William Penn a deed for all the lands within the bounds of their Province not heretofore purchased from the Indians, and so far as the general boundary with the King had then been settled. This purchase included most of the lands claimed by The Susquehanna Company and The Delaware Company, under their respective deeds from the Indians. The consideration paid by the Penns for the Fort Stanwix deed was 10,000 dollars, and two of the signers of the deed were Tyanhasare, or Abraham, of the Mohawk tribe, and Senosies, of the Oneida tribe, who had signed in July, 1754, the deed to The Susquehanna Company."

JOHNSON TO WHEELOCK.

"FORT STANWIX November 6th 1768

"Revd Sir,

"The business of the Congress is now compleated, all is in confusion. Mr Cleveland, Avery, Mathes will give you a narrative. I expected they would have accompanyd me to Canawarohere this Day & so omitted writing till then. But they viz Mr Kirtland &c suddenly changed their purpose. I have not time to write you for they are parting. Onely

that we have all done what we could to forward the glorious design you have Sir in view. But the business of the Congress being of such a nature it seemed to answer no great purpose at Present. However I believe it is not time lost to any of us & I hope not in genl to the Cause. It may be seed sown in Darkness which may in God's Time Spring up. I wish I had time to write more at large & to the purpose. But I am hurried to the utmost. If it be the Divine will I shall write by Mr Kirtland in short time. I thank you heartily for your kind Letters & all your expressions of love. My enclosed Letter please to forward.

"I am with all due respect yours affectionately
"JACOB JOHNSON."

JOHNSON TO WHEELOCK.

"ONEIDA, Decembr 28th 1768

"Rev & hon. Sr

Your christian & very kind Letter (Dated Lebanon Nov. 21) I received For which & all other Tokens of your Friendship, I return you my Sincere & hearty thanks. And pray the Blessing of Heaven, may long rest on your Person, Family and School, and desired success accompany all your undertakings, to promote the Cause & Kingdom of Christ on earth. I have, Sir, done all within my power, to promote, & set forward, this great, & glorious design, since I came this way. As to what pass'd at the Congress relative hereunto (either as to my Character or Conduct) I desire nothing more, I ask for nothing more, nor indeed wish for anything more than to exhibit that progress, with the Facts, & doings thereon attendant, in their own proper light, which (thanks to God) I am well able to do (without boasting). And at our next Interview, I will (if it please God) let you fully into that affair. And I doubt not you will be satisfied. I did everything that was proper to be done, or Indeed could be done. As to any ill consequences touching yourselfe Sir, or the Laboring Cause, I am by no means whatsoever sufficient to provide against 'em; but most humbly, & meekly submit them to Him, who brings about all things, according to the Council of his own will, & finally for his own glory, & Zion's weal, and prosperity; and without all doubt, or controversie to me, issue the present dependent Cause (as far as it respects my character or Conduct) to the same

happy & glorious purposes: 'For He will (sooner or later) bring forth my judgment as the light, & my Righteousness as the noonday.' As to the present situation I am here with Mr Kirkland most of the time; Preparing and ripening things for action; and waiting a favorable opportunity for embodying, & building up a chh. here; tho I have not been favored with an Interpreter (onely occasionally & Providentially) which in some respects has been a great disadvantage to me, in others perhaps an advantage, for it has put me the more upon studying their Language, customs, &c, and perhaps, I shall be able to speak to them in their own Language, before I leave them; tho I expect an Inter- than regain my seemingly lost time. Upon receiving your last letter, I felt much concerned, lest you Sir, should think hard of me, thro' some inuendo's or false suggestion from some quarter or other and tho't whether it might not (on the whole) be best to come down to New Engd and satisfie your mind Sir in those things; but consulting & advising with Mr K—d, He thinks it will by no means do at this Time. Mr Kirkland will write to you also and you Sir will please to give me your mind farther upon the return of Dr Thomas I am Sir as clay in the hands of the great Potter I have no claim upon the Deity, But for Christ's sake; & none upon you Sir, but in Christ, & for his sake, and the cause of his kingdom, & glory; to which (tho' unworthy) I submit myselfe; & am sir, with great esteem, & hearty affection & brotherly Friendship, yours in all things

"JACOB JOHNSON."

To Dr Eleazr Wheelock
Lebanon

"N. B. I was going to have given you a view of the State & process of ye Congress in writing but perhaps it may be better to do it by a personal Representation at a private Interview If it be the will of God I return to see you Sr."

The above letter of December 28 drew out the following declaration of confidence, and about the same time Kirkland wrote to Wheelock praising Johnson's work as a teacher:

WHEELOCK TO JOHNSON.

"LEBANON 30th Jany. 1769.

"Revd. & dear Sir,

"Your refreshing and brotherly letters, by Thomas came safe—You need give yourself no uneasiness at all about ye affairs of ye Congress; all is right, & well. I han't so much concern about it, as to spend time to hear it if you were here * * *

"ELEAZAR WHEELOCK."

"ONEIDA Jany 9th 1769.

"Revd & Hond Sr

"The enclosed has lain some Time waiting an opperty of Conveyance which has been unexpectedly hinderd by the rains & floods here & at the German Flats. But now we think the way passable so I transmit by Peter* and Dr. Thos I believe Sir tis the Mind & Will of God I continue here, otherwise I had returned before now I believe God has something for me to do here before I return I think not onely by Mr K'ds desire but some light I have had by the Word & Spirit of God It will not do to leave him here alone in his present feeble state of health both of body & mind tho blessed be God he seems to be rather gaining his health every way than declining and it may be will be continued a Light in this wilderness where Light is so much wanting You will sir always consider him (& if you please me too) as but clay & spittle or earthen vessels in the hands of the great Master builder and rather expect great things from him than us who have no strength but our eyes are to the Lord alone for help.

"I trust I hope in the Lord I shall yet praise him for sending me here, yea yt yoursef will too, & that all embarrassments will give way to the pure Light & truth of the Gospel in God's time and that there will be a perfect harmony regained and long [illegible] betwixt all that wish well to Zion & are laboring to promote the glorious Cause of the Gospel

*"Good Peter," Domine Peter, Peter the Priest, was an Oneida chief, born on the Susquehanna River, educated, and the best orator among the Six Nations. He was one of Mr. Kirkland's deacons. He d. 1792.

"Dr. Thos." was a Christian Oneida deacon. The abbreviation may mean "dear Thomas" or "Deacon Thomas."

"I am with great Respect & affection
 "Yours for Christ's sake

"J. JOHNSON."

"N. B. Peter has servd very well for an Interpreter since He came here I propose to get an Interpreter for about 2 months & if I stay any longer interpret for my selfe Mr Kirkland has made surprising proficiency in their Language so that He can preach & pray as occasion calls in their own tongue."

JOHNSON TO WHEELLOCK.

"KANNAQJOHARE Jany 13th 1769

"Revd & Hond Sir

"Yours I received (pr T—r) For which & all other Expressions of your Goodness & beneficence I return you my thanks & pray ev'ry blessing of Heaven upon you sir, yours & all your undertakings to Serve the Cause & kingdom of the Redeemer.

"As to the affair of the Congress I am well afraid you never had it represented in its true and genuine Light And I can by no means do it in a Short Letter Onely this I will say I doubt not you Sir will be fully satisfied my conduct was as good as the nature & circumstances of things woud admit of. I have reflected upon it with the greatest severity I was able & cannot see where I could have mended it or anybody else except they had been unfaithful to their trust which I presume woud think the wrong way of mending As to any ill consequences arising to you sir or the School I must leave to the issue of Divine providence which I doubt not on the whole will be best.

"As to our affairs at Oneida we are obliged to move slowly with 'em at present for reasons too long to write. Were you here you woud be satisfied & will be when I see you or Mr Kirkland whom I can't nor dar'nt leave. We keep Sabbath at Kannaquajohare Expect Johannes will go with me to Oneida for a short season perhaps a month or 6 weeks I hope by then thro' ye goodness of God to interpret for my selfe That I may lose no time but rather regain the time We propose to embody the chh upon Dr Thos return & for several Reasons can't well do it sooner I have Sir sent a paquet of Letters directed to you Sr most of which Letters are to the Ministers round about to desire their

remembrance &c and to sundry Friends in Groton new London &c some compos [itions?] in verse to my children &c. I shall finally deliver the sense of all to you sir viva voce & by my journals if the will of God be so Mr K—d writes to you more at large on some things All our ways are before the eyes of the Lord who tryeth our paths These affairs meet with many difficulties which I can't write even in volumes Were you sir to go on a mission you woud then see & feel what you do but hear of at a distance but never can realize without experience any more sir than a woman that never brought forth can realize what are the pains of child-bearing It is not be wondered at that such as go on a mission have been discouraged or their Constitutions broke, especially when young and unexperienced one older & more seasoned woud undoubtedly wear out tho' it may not be so fast I have had the least tryal for the Time been onely preparing for the Service & yet I am told a good deal of my flesh is worn away by those who saw me when I went up & now see me again I expect to be worn down till I can tell all my bones tho I am as careful of my health as the affair will admit of Mr K—d I believe woud have dy'd (& will yet for ought I know) tho I am with him You will Sir write your mind farther by Dr Thos.

My love to all your [a word here not legible].

“J. J—N.”

“N. B. my Pacquet of letters were accidentally left at Oneida—didn't expect to see them but they were brought along when I had about ½ wrote this, otherwise I should not have wrote it just so You will easily understand the matter & qualifie things if you are so lucky as to read my writing Look through the Rough bark & you will see all things sound & good But stick & be pricked and offended with the burr and you will never see or eat the nut The fool believes every word but the wise look well to other goings look not to the outward appearance but weigh all in the Scales of Truth.

“My rideing beast I send down by Peter because she can't be kept at Oneida and her keeping thro' the Winter woud be too Dear here [Canajoharie]. You will please to send her down by the first opportunity to Groton or otherwise as you think best the ways are so extreme bad here to ride that 'tis to go on foot in general better, especially thro' the woods.”

JOHNSON TO WHEELOCK.

"GERMAN FLATTS Jan'y 16 1769

"Revd Hond Sir

"I am now on my return from Kannajohare where I preached yester Day. I had Joseph Brant for my Interpreter who performed to my surprise Johannes was by, but declined Serving tho' I believe He might have done it well enough had he been well, tho on the whole he promis'd to be at Oneida the next Sabbath when & where I hope he will answer the Intention at lest for 3 or 4 Sabbaths while Mr K—d is absent at Sir Wms & down at Skanactady & Partly for the sake of his health & partly to get some necessaries of Life.

"There is to be another Congress in about a month at Mr Shoemakers where Sir Wm the govr N. York Col. Kraham and Other Gentr will meet the Heads & principals of the Indian Nations to complete what was left unfinished at the Late congress But Sir such meetings dont seem to be very Favourable to the far greater & more Interesting concerns of the Gospel The buyers of Oxen, Farms &c dont lend an ear to the Gospel entertainments as you Sir know well was the Case while Christ was on earth & is not altered to this Day

"You will consider whether it will be worth while to address Sir Wm or any other Genn on such an occasion in Case you have an opportunity of transmitting Letters &c

"I believe Sir the great medium of Propagating the Gospel among the Indians must be apostolic preaching of it to them and that not by the Might and Strength of Human Authority or Recommendation but by the Light & Influence of the Holy Ghost the way it made its progress at first since & ever will do The Indns themselves & even the Chiefs of them seem to be not a little sensible of this & the other human Schemes will be to little purpose However I submit all to the direction of Heaven & am Sir yours in Christ

"J. J—N."

It was charged that the failure of Wheelock's project was due to what had been said and done by Jacob Johnson at Fort Stanwix. Perhaps in his ardor to safeguard the Indians from the encroachments of the land grabbers he

did go too far and in doing so alienated Sir William Johnson, yet Wheelock assured him in a letter, January 30, 1769, that he was satisfied with his course at Fort Stanwix:

"Your refreshing and brotherly letters came safe. You need give yourself no uneasiness about ye affair of ye Congress. All is right and well." (*Supra.*)

In view of this endorsement of Mr. Johnson's course Dr. Wheelock's subsequent harsh words about Jacob Johnson when writing an apologetic letter to the baronet may be overlooked. To lose the approval of King George, Lord Dartmouth and other noble patrons of the school was enough to make any man feel sore, even the good Dr. Wheelock.

As far as the Fort Stanwix boundary line was concerned it was a keen disappointment to Jacob Johnson, as it threw his beloved Oneidas into the Indian country, the very thing he had sought to prevent. The boundary adopted started from the point where the Ohio River empties into the Mississippi (southern limit of Illinois), passed up the Ohio to Fort Pitt (present Pittsburg), thence up the Alleghany to Kittaning, Pa., thence directly east to the West Branch of the Susquehanna River to where Bald Eagle Creek empties in. Here the line was naturally making for the junction of the two branches of the Susquehanna at present Sunbury, but as this would throw the much coveted Wyoming region into the Indian country, the line was so deflected northward as to strike the Susquehanna at present Towanda. Thus the Penns were able to keep Wyoming outside the Indian domain. The line having skirted round Wyoming, passed northward to Owego, then east and north to a point just east of Oneida Lake. This threw all the tribes except the Mohawks into the Indian country. For the details of the line as stated by the deed of 1768, together with a contemporary map by Guy Johnson, see *Documentary History of New York*, i, 377.

Kirkland placed a high value on Jacob Johnson's services, for he wrote to Wheelock, December 29, 1768: "Mr. Johnson should continue if an interpreter can be procured. He has got ye very notion and method of instructing Indians, which is one-half of the battle."

Writing from Kannaquajoharie, January 13, 1769, Mr. Johnson mentioned that he had sent a packet of letters for friends in Groton, New London, etc., and some compositions in verse to his children. He alludes to a journal which he was preparing for Wheelock, but it has not been preserved.

In his letter from German Flats, January 16, 1769, he says he preached at Kannajoharrie the day before, and that he had Joseph Brant for his interpreter. Brant had been a pupil at Wheelock's Indian school and he was the warrior who nine year later was desolating the Pennsylvania frontier with torch and tomahawk. Most of the earlier historians charged Brant with being the leader of the Indians in the battle of Wyoming in 1778, but it is now certain that this was an error, though his cruelties at other points on the frontier were no less atrocious.

Here occurs a break in the Dartmouth letters. The next shows that Mr. Johnson returned from his mission in April, 1769. A letter to Wheelock indicates the poverty of the time. He says he was absent from home seven months, during which time he traveled on horseback and on foot nearly 1,000 miles. He felt that the sum of £30, in addition to a small sum he had already received, would be reasonable. At that time he had seven children, and "several of them could never go to meeting for want of clothing." He tells Wheelock he "would not thus have exposed our own poverty and the people's penury among whom we live" were he not driven to it by necessity.

In June, 1769, a letter to Wheelock indicates that Jacob Johnson was troubled over the perils which threatened the country. "The times look threatening at home and abroad.

Some great adventure seems to be near. The nation and land seem ripening fast for destruction if sovereign grace does not interpose. It will likely be troublesome, if not dangerous, for the missionaries among the Indians this summer. The Oneidas expect war and we hear that foreign Indians are mustering for that purpose about and beyond Detroit. The quadruple alliance carries an ominous aspect. But God will overrule all for Zion's good."

JOHNSON TO WHEELOCK.

"GROTON, Conn., May 3d 1769

"Rev & houbd sir

"I proposed to have been at L—n [Lebanon] and Settled acct's respecting my mission to Onoida eer now But things falling out in D. Providence divers ways have hitherto forbid. my Family unwell my second Daughter dangerously ill & many things to attend & my horse failing & none yt will do to be had I woud have come up this week but one way or another hindered If I can I will come up the beginning of next week but lest I shoud not as I am afraid I cant, things being as they are with me, I think it best to send you a copy of acct's of what money I received & how laid out which you sir or your Bookkeeper may see in the enclosed paper As to my Reward I shoud ask nothing more than what I have receivd did not the necessitys of my family call for it, if not as a debt of hire yet as a reward of Charity to cover their nakedness and stay their hunger Some of which & more than 10 years old never had but one pair of shoes in their life Several of them never coud go to meeting for want of clothing and but one out of 7 can go to at once to meeting for want of decent clothing. I shoud not thus have exposed our own poverty & the people's penury among whom we live but to let you know sir I don't ask or desire anything for the sake of filthy Lucre but pure necessity which has been & is very humbling & cruciating to my mind, even to my soul. As for money I don't want much, 5 or 6£ to pay some out standing debts the rest at Mr Brimmer by your order for clothing to cover my family that they may not suffer & may go to meeting & School which they rarely do for want of Clothing & often suffer for want of other necessaries of

Life which I am sorry to speak of but the painful sensation extorts it out of my mouth As to the sum of what may be tho't Reasonable in my case (who dont expect or desire great things in this life) I have tho't of the addition to what I have received of about 30*l*.

"I was from my House calling & business from the 17th of September 1768 to 7th of April 1769, the bigger part of seven months, in which time I travelld on horse back & foot nearest one thousand mile & never was one day idle but was either studying for the Indians, praying for them or preaching to or conversing with them by an Interpreter or in their own Language which I was able in some measure to do before I came away and were I to be with them about 3 months longer I doubt not but I coud speak their lauge compleat. I mean the Onoida & in 6 months more or less all the langages of the 6 Nations which appear to me to be but a different dialect of one Language, the mohawk & oneida are the same word for word only the R in mohawk is sounded arrh in Onoida arth as for instance Rogarri i. e. my Father in Mohawk Roughtarre in the Oneida [illegible].

"I think it greatly necessary that the Missionaries to the Indians learn their Language or not pretend to go among them I believe sir you woud be sensible of it to a high degree were you to go as a Missionary among them. This I know I was beyond what I coud conceive of before I believe sir in ordinary a faithful Missionary woud do more in 7 months by speaking their langauge than 7 or 17 year by an Interpreter However I believe it best to Instruct them & especially their children in the English tongue as fast as may be & in the mean time for the Missionaries to learn their language as fast as possible

"I have much more to say on these things but I pass them over to your tho'ts sir. As to my reward sir if you think me any way unreasonable bring it down as low as you please & if I am griv'd I will not be offended, but if sir you think me moderate as my necessities are, send an order to Mr Brimmer or who you please so that I may by a line or a word know or the the order to me to take of things I need in Mr Such a one's shop to the amount of 20 or 25*l* in goods & 5 or 6*l* in Cash I shall acknowledge the favour & bless God from whose hand all good things of this life come & more especially those better things yt belong to

the after life I am sir with great sincerity your very much obliged & humble sert

“J. JOHNSON.”

“P. S.

“Sir If you have an opportunity by your son or otherwise to send the enclosed to Oneida I shall count it a favour There is nothing private in't no not in the few Lines wrote in Indian you may read it if you please & seal & send it.

“My sincerest Love & good will to your Son. May God Almighty be with & succeed him in his mission if he goes & all others.”

JOHNSON TO WHEELOCK.

“Rev & Hon.

“GROTON May .13. 1769

“Sir

“I suppose you have received some Letters with the Reasons of my not coming to Lebanon, as I had intended my Family most of 'em are unwell & my 2d Daughter in a critical State of Life & other things so with me, that my Time is wholly took up & several things yet to do of importance that I can't yet attend to I saw Mr Huntington (whom you mentioned to me when at Lebanon) who informs me that He and a School-master are to go soon for Oneida & the Indn Country Perhaps as things are Circumstanced it [might?] be left at present (till you sir see further) to employ more than one Missionery (besides Mr K—d) & a Schoolmaster & perhaps Mr Huntington (as things now are) may do best to go He is indeed young, & has not had much time, or advantage to get acquaintance in these affairs but being, I hope, honestly & heartily inclined to serve the Redeemer, in this most important cause, He may be succeeded and blest in the undertaking There are many difficulties, & dangers, attending of it especially to one unacquainted with the Indn Language, manners &c But God is able to do all things & even out of weakness to ordain strength I believe Sir it would be best (if possible) for one of the Schoolmasters to go as an Interpreter to Mr Huntn for he will be put to difficulty otherwise to get an Interpreter and moreover if Mr Htn proposes to spend his Life among the Indns, to be sure to give his Mind to Learn the Language; the advantage of it is inconceivably great to a Missionary Next to the Grace of God it is the better halfe of a Missionarys qualifications to do service in the

cause. I could wish that all & every one that think of doing service as Missionaries among the Indians would give themselves to the Learning of their Language as one most necessary antecedent qualification for their going among them. And for this most important purpose that you would Sir get as soon as possible a professor of Indian in your School and that the Indian Language may be taught as equally if not even more necessary than Latin Greek or Hebrew as I am indeed certain it is in this Case by my own certain experience. There Language may be reduced to the rules of Grammar & taught as any other Language and be learned as soon or sooner than any other especially by those who have any taste or geneous for the oriental Languages as I could easily show by what I learned of it. Was it the will of God I should spend as much Time among them again as I did the last winter I think I would be master of their Language & be able to reduce it to the Rules of Grammar which I think would be a service of unspeakable advantage whoever does it to effect. And if your son or any other propose to go into the service I hope they will in the mean time give themselves to the study of the Indian Tongue. You see sir the affair is so much on my Mind that I know not how to dismiss it or give over urging it upon your mind, Sir, till you do something to effect about it the which when I hear of my Mind will be easy in that respect but I must not enlarge. May the Father of Lights direct you sir in all things & make his will in these & all respects plain & perfect for the furtherance & upbuilding the Redeemer's kingdom among the benighted Heathen.

"I am Hond sir with all sincerity respect

"yours in Christ Jesus our Lord

"J. JOHNSON."

"P. S. I believe upon the whole it may be best for your son Mr Ralph not to go for the Oneida untill you Sir & yr son have had a personal Interview with Mr K—d at your own House & those affairs subsisting be considered & amicably settled to mutual satisfaction which I hope through the Mercy & Grace of God may be done & well done so that the pathway of Duty may be open & plain that there may be nothing in that respect within or without to hurt or offend in all God's Holy Mountain. It was my Labor there with K—d & prayer to God then & since that [it?] might be done."

"GROTON, May 29, 1769

"R. H. Sir

"I hear Mr Huntington is going for Oneida this week, upon whose arrival I suppose Mr K—d will return to New England—When He comes I expect to see Him at Groton and have a personal conversation with him—And if the case require, meet him at Lebanon at your own House to reconsider those remaining matters of grievance if such there should be. I heartily wish it may be done if yet to do to the mutual satisfaction of all concerned and especially & above all as it concerns the Interest of Religion in gen'l & the propagation of the Gospel among the Indians in Particular. I should have wrote to Mr K—d further but perhaps I have wrote enough in the affair till I see Him or hear from Him I wish you sir, your Family, School, and all attempts to Propagate the Gospel among the Indn Heathen Success I should have seen you Sir before now but ev'ry Day & week fills my head, heart & hands full & even exceeds my own private affairs, chh & socity hang upon me in such a sort, as is uncommon we have chh meeting this week a council at Chelsea next & so on

"I am Sir your very obliged Friends & Ser't in Christ

"J. JOHNSON"

"GROTON June 15 1769

"Rev. & Hon.

"Sir The state of my family & my own very Indifferent state of health has been & is the Reason why I have not seen you Sir at Lebanon e'er now. My wife has been & is poorly & 2d Daughter who is under the Dr's care My negro man and chief stay in my outdoor business Dyed last week after 9 days illness so that I am left weak I have sent 3 or 4 letters to let you know of these things I came as far as [Newent] with my daughter but couldnt come farther the Dr being at Preston &c & I was obliged also to be at home two besides as Mr Huntington is gone to Oneida & Mr Kirtland will probably be down the latter end of this Month or beginning of next I propose to see you then if possible.

"The Times look threatening at Home & abroad Our helpe is in God onely Some great adventure seems to be near The Nation & Land seem ripening fast for destruction if meer sovereign grace does not interpose It will

likely be troublesome if not dangerous for the Missionaries among the Indians this summer. The Six Nations to be sure the Oneidas expect war & we hear the foreign Indians are mustering for that purpose about & beyond Detroit. The quadruple alliance carries an ominous aspect. But our God can, yea we may be sure will, over-rule all for Zion's good & his own and that's enough to quiet our minds

"I am yours &c

"J. JOHNSON."

"P. S. I have Sir heard nothing from you either by word or letter since I came thro' Lebanon. I know not but my Letters have all miscarried. I suppose Mr Kimmi didn't go so far as Lebanon as I expected. I hope Sir however you have heard the reasons of my not coming & so I rest till I see or hear from your Sir."

In a letter of October 28, 1769, Hugh Wallace wrote to Wheelock that Sir William seems satisfied that Wheelock was not to blame for what had taken place at Fort Stanwix, but he could not forget that Wheelock's instructions to Jacob Johnson strongly implied a desire of getting some lands from the Indians for his school.

Chase says Johnson had "secret instructions" to get land for the school, that Johnson let the secret be known, and this made trouble; that Johnson's companion, Avery, sent a special messenger to notify Wheelock. But after the excitement had all subsided Wheelock wrote to Johnson as in the letters of Janury, 1769, not to worry, &c. Chase was in error, because Jacob Johnson distinctly asked for land for school purposes. (v Documentary History of New York, iv, 248.)

Jacob Johnson's arrival at Fort Stanwix had been at an inopportune time. Any New England man Wheelock could have sent would have been equally liable to incur the displeasure of his Majesty's Superintendent of Indian affairs.

Though Sir William Johnson was an Episcopalian he had always treated the Presbyterian missionaries from Con-

necticut with consideration, but a change had gradually come over him in this regard.

"The entry of Wheelock's missionaries into the country of the Six Nations had not been gratifying to the partisans of the English Church and they entered into fresh communication with Sir William Johnson with a view to counteract the Presbyterian influence in the Indian country by occupying the field themselves." (Chase 73.) An itinerant minister from the English Church at Albany had visited Sir William Johnson and had christened several children who had previously been baptized by Presbyterian missionaries. Sir William had not only countenanced this proceeding by permitting it to be done at his home, but he himself had acted as Godfather. Some hot Presbyterian words of protest were spoken, the protest necessarily implying a criticism on Sir William Johnson. Added to this Sir William's natural son had been dismissed from Wheelock's school for some irregularity. So Sir William gave assurance to newcomers missionaries of the English Church that they would be heartily welcomed. Wheelock was promptly warned by friends in England that his movement in the Indian country was to meet with competition, and so he wrote to Whitefield as follows:

"Plans for future operations are at present stopped by the daily expectation of Episcopalians from your side to supply all vacancies there, and (*inter nos*) it is supposed that Sir William Johnson designs none but such shall settle among the Indians in that vicinity. It is 'Indian news' that he has told the Onondagas to keep to their old religion and customs, that God is well pleased with them, and if ministers from New England come among them, to treat them with civility, but not to receive them nor mind what they say; that he is often telling the Indians he expects true ministers, who will baptize them with the sign of the cross; that those they have from New England are but half ministers, etc., and I understand by two of my boys, who came from Mr. Kirkland's to-day, that Mr. Kirkland suspects

something of that nature has had some influence to cool the affections of some towards him and towards this school."

Chase in his *History of Dartmouth College* thinks something of that nature has had some influence to cool the affections of some towards him and towards this school." these rumors exaggerated and says Sir William Johnson assured Wheelock of his continued friendship, persuaded as he was "that Wheelock's pursuits would be dictated by a disinterested zeal and a becoming prudence towards the plans of the Established Church."

It should not be forgotten that an Episcopal movement would necessarily have the endorsement of the Crown, while a Congregational movement would not thus be favored. Sir William's first thought was ever for the Crown, and so we find in *Documentary History of New York*, iv, 282, the following: "Sir William Johnson thinks the Church of England worship of much more influence on the Indians than that of the Dissenters, whose gloomy severity disqualifies them from the task. The Indians should always be taught to place their confidence in his Majesty as their common father and protector, who is disposed to redress their grievances and to contribute a portion of his royal bounty to making them happy, and thus furnishing the best security for their fidelity to the Crown."

The responsibility for the failure of Wheelock's application to the Fort Stanwix council for aid in his religious movement among the Indians, was placed on Jacob Johnson, who was charged with dissuading the Indians from agreeing to the boundary. But there are several factors to be considered:

1st. Sir William Johnson, though personally friendly to Wheelock and up to this time friendly to his work, was no longer in sympathy with the New England Presbyterian evangelistic movement in the Six Nation territory, which he considered as belonging to the Church of England.

It is an interesting coincidence that when Episcopalianism was, a few years later, introduced into the Mohawk

Valley and western New York, it was accomplished mainly by Wheelock's own grandson. This was Davenport Phelps, and he was actively assisted by Joseph Brant.

So with Jacob Johnson's impetuous course at the treaty as an excuse, the New England missionary movement was practically killed. Love in "Samson Occum" says Jacob Johnson's lack of diplomacy alienated Sir William Johnson. But the fact is, Sir William Johnson was already alienated, as Wheelock more than suspected, for he wrote to George Whitefield a year earlier that he had heard Sir William designed to restrict the missionary movement to Episcopalians.

2nd. The Indian school would not have been saved even if the Fort Stanwix council had granted what Wheelock wanted, for it had passed the limit of its usefulness. Wheelock himself had become discouraged at the meagre results, and he was ready to drop it. His English patrons were also discouraged and were withholding their donations. Then, too, Wheelock's son Ralph had acted injudiciously and had alienated the baronet. He had been on a mission to the Western Indians as the representative of his father. He is described as "imprudent, domineering and irascible," quarreled with Kirkland and did much harm to his father's beloved cause. Kirkland and Wheelock became more or less estranged and three years later the latter gave up the Six Nation work, though he for a time continued his efforts among other tribes.

Various localities sought to secure the location of his Indian school. No less than three locations with land were offered him in Pennsylvania on the Susquehanna purchase—on the Susquehanna, on the Delaware and on the Lackawack. This was in 1769, but as the controversy between Connecticut and Pennsylvania rendered the title uncertain, it was necessary to go elsewhere. Hanover, N. H., was finally agreed upon and there in 1770 Dartmouth College had its birth, with all the powers granted by royal charter.

3rd. Sir William Johnson declared that the Connecticut missionaries were more interested in the movement to colonize the Susquehanna at Wyoming than in the evangelization of the Indians, which was not true. Jacob Johnson would not have interfered at the Fort Stanwix council if Connecticut had had a representative there.

4th. The approach of the Revolution made it impossible longer to carry on the Indian school.

5th. The school had gone through its chrysalis stage and was now about to develop into an institution of greater usefulness, namely, into Dartmouth College, and if Jacob Johnson unwittingly hastened that end he is entitled to praise rather than censure.

GOES TO PENNSYLVANIA.

Undismayed by the Fort Stanwix treaty, the Connecticut claimants determined to take possession of Wyoming. They took it for granted that the Fort Stanwix deed of 1768 to the Penns was obtained by fraud and they determined to maintain the ownership conveyed to them by the earlier Albany deed. Remembering how the Indians had destroyed the first settlement of Wyoming in 1763 and fearful, unless subjected to restraint, there might be a repetition of such a tragedy, Rev. Jacob Johnson wrote to Sir William Johnson from his home in Groton, Connecticut, concerning the affairs of the Connecticut claimants on the Susquehanna. This letter is among Sir William Johnson's manuscripts at Albany, and is as follows:

"GROTON, May 29, 1769.

"Sir:

"I have thot good to write a line to your Excellency, relating to the Susquehanna affair—Praying that cause may have a proper Tryal, not by lawless violence, but by the Law of Equity and Right, lest it throw the Governments which ought to be at peace among themselves as well as with the mother country, into a ferment and so the conse-

quences be ill on all hands. I have no interest to serve in the case only as it concerns the common good and peace of my country to which I am a hearty friend but no bigot to any party, religious, civil or commercial. No, I heartily wish well to all mankind and have a feeling concern for Heathen Indians and others. I suppose this, if I may use the freedom, is agreeable to the sentiments of your excellency. Therefore Sir hoping you will not take up for the one against the other nor suffer but restrain the Indians from intermeddling in the affairs, I am Sir,

“Your very humble oblige servt,

“J. W. JOHNSON.

“To His Excellency,
“Sir William Johnson.”

What Sir William Johnson thought of the settlement of the Susquehanna region is told by him as early as 1762 in a letter to Dr. Wheelock, who hoped that as the Connecticut people were about to occupy the new purchase, there might be an open door for the establishment of the Indian school. (Documentary History of New York, iv, 206.) Sir William's warning is as follows:

“It will be highly improper to attempt any settlement in their country as they are disgusted at the great thirst which we all seem to show for their lands, and therefore I must give it as my opinion that any settlement on the Susquehanna River may prove fatal to those who attempt to establish themselves thereon, as the Indians have threatened to prevent such settlement, so that I hope the dangers to which they may be exposed, together with your governor's proclamation against the same, will induce those concerned to drop their undertaking.”

The Susquehanna Company originated in Windham County, Connecticut, as a colonization scheme. In 1753 a petition was laid before the General Assembly for official recognition. The History of Windham says:

“That spirit of enterprise and migratory impulse was early manifested in Windham County, but it was not until 1750 that the spirit of emigration, long smouldering, broke out into open flame. Connecticut's chartered right to a

strip of land, forty leagues wide, extending across the continent to the Pacific Ocean, had never been yielded. The marvelous richness and beauty of the Susquehanna Valley were already celebrated, and now it was proposed to plant a colony in this beautiful region and thus incorporate it into the jurisdiction of Connecticut. The originators of this notable scheme are unknown."

A meeting for forming a company for the colonization of Quiwaumick (Wyoming) was held in Windham in 1753. Great enthusiasm was manifested and more than 250 persons signed the articles of agreement.

However, the warning of Sir William Johnson was unheeded and it was resolved by the Susquehanna Company that five townships, each five miles square, should be granted to 200 settlers, 40 acres to each. That 40 settlers should start at once, the remainder later in the spring.

It is worthy of note that three whole shares in each township were reserved for the support of religion and of schools. The first 40 men who came out were to have the first choice of one of the townships, and to become proprietors on condition of actual settlement and of defending themselves against rival claimants.

When in February, 1769, the first 40 Connecticut settlers arrived in Wyoming Valley they found the Penn government had stolen a march on them and already had its representatives on the ground and in possession of the buildings which had been erected by the ill-fated Connecticut adventurers who had attempted a settlement in 1762 and 1763. It should be mentioned here that among those who perished at the hands of the Indians in 1763 was Rev. William Marsh, a Baptist minister, who had come with the first settlers as their religious teacher. And now when the second attempt at settlement was made the Susquehanna Company again sent a Congregational minister, Rev. George Beckwith, who remained about a year.

At this juncture Jacob Johnson, who from his home in Connecticut had watched the Wyoming movement, deter-

mined to identify himself therewith. He visited the valley in the summer of 1772 (Pearce wrongly says 1770), and was so favorably impressed that he sent the following letter, the original of which is in the possession of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. See also Harvey's "History of Wilkes-Barre," Vol. II, p. 741-742.

"GROTON August 18th 1772.

"To the Comte at Wilks Barre and People there and in the Towns on the Susquehanna.

"Gentlemen and christian Friends.

"All Love & Respect unto you. I lately received a Letter from Capt. Zn. Butler as also one from Col Elpt Dyer and Comte at Windham with an enclosed copy of a letter from Capt Butler to sd Comte Signifying the unanimous Request & Desire of the settlers on the Susquehanna that I would come among them in the character of a Preacher & Minister of christ. I have taken the very Important Request into the most serious consideration And find a compliance therewith is like to be attended with almost Infinite difficulty both in my Family & People under my present care & charge. However this notwithstanding (upon the whole view of the case) I am of the mind 'tis the voice of God in his Holy wise & aldisposing Providence that I should come to you. Shall therefore endeavor by the Will of God to get things in Readiness for that Purpose as fast as conveniently may be.

"You will therefore I hope take some care to provide a House or some convenient place for Religious Worship that may best commode the whole Body of the People for the present, some where near to which you will please to provide me a House or Place of Residence for my selfe & what small part of my Family I shall bring should any of them come with me. As to any other Provision I shall leave the ordering of that to the Comte & People as they may think fit as or as occasion may call for.

"In the mean Time I pray you not to forget the Principle end & design of our Fathers coming into this wilderness—Nor be off your watch & guard & so be exposed to your spiritual or Temporal enemies. But above all by your Holy Lives & conversations Interest yourselves in the Divine Favor and Protection that God Himselfe may dwell with

you & bless you and prepare the way for the Blessing of the Gospel Ministry & ordinances among you.

"So wishes so prays & most sincerely Desires your real Friend & humble sert for chirsts sake with all affection,

[Signed] "JACOB JOHNSON."

"To the People in the
Several Towns on the
East Branch of the
Susquehanna.

"P. S. Possibly the Rumer of Peace & counter orders to Govern [Penn] may be a Devise to put you off your Guard to make you a more easy Prey, be the more watchful that you may not be betrayed. 'Sure bind sure find' Is a Proverb as True as it is old. 'Trust not an Enemy too soon.' Make no man a Friend but upon sufficient Tryal, 'Such as have broken their Promise twice Dont believe tho' they should swear Thrice.' Never trust a Fox out of a cage—or a serpent 'till His Head is broke. When thine Enemy speaketh fair believe Him not, For there are Seven Abominations in his Heart.—*Proverbs of Solomon.* The Lord give understanding in all things.—*St. Paul.*"

This letter was followed three weeks later by another accepting finally the pastorate of the church in Wilkes-Barre. The original has been placed by the present writer in the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. See also Harvey's "History of Wilkes-Barre," Vol. II, pp. 742-743.

"GROTON, Sept 4th, 1772.

"To the People, Setlers in the Towns, on the East Branch of the Susquehanna.

"Brethren & Christian Friends

"The Country where You are now Settleing is undoubtedly within the claim of Connecticut Charter And of vast importance to the Colony and more particularly so to you that are Settleing there not onely on account of your Temporal Interest but more especially so as it Respects the Kingdom of Christ & the Interest of the Christian Religion This hath lain with great weight on my mind for a number of years past that I could have no Rest in my Spirit 'till I made you a visit And I hope my Labors were not in vain in the Lord—

“And whereas You have been pleased to Request & Desire me to come again—as also the Comte at Windham have Shewn their approbation thereof & full concurrence therein—And having opportunity the Day past to Confer with Capt. Butler on these things As also to receive from him a Subscription for my Temporal Support the Present year I do now in Addition to my other Letters Send you this Further to let you know my Purpose & Determination is to come & See you To preach the Gospel of Christ unto you Provided my Way be made plain by the Advise of Counsel & Concurrence of church & people here which I Shall next attend to—Our People have had it under consideration for Some Time past—I have conferd with Some & had the minds of others in the Ministry who all as far as I can learn well approve of & think it my Duty to Remove I have conferd with Several of our Principal People both of church & Society who much Desire my Continuation in the Ministry here But yet appear willing to Submit to my Remove if it may be for the greater benefit & enlargement of Christs Kingdom elsewhere which I doubt not will be sufficiently plain & Evident before a Counsel If anything Should fall out to the Contrary I shall let you know by the first opportunity In the mean time shall be making all convenient Readiness to be on my Journey to you at least by the Middle of the next month or sooner if I can get the way open for my Remove

“You will I hope provide Some Convenient House or Place for Public Worship that may best commode the Several Towns for the Present near unto which a House or Place for my Residence until things are further Settled I heartily thank you one & all for your Regards Shewn and kindnesses bestowed on me when with you As also for the Provisions you have generously made by Subscription Should I again come among You I heartily & sincerely pray a Blessing may descend down from Heaven upon you that the God of all Grace & everlasting consolation may be with you. That He would multiply seed to the Sower & Bread to the eater that you may encrease & fill the Land be a Terror to all your Enemies a comfort to all your

Friends Yea that You may be for a Name & Praise in all
the Earth So wishes So prays Yours in

 “To the People “our Lord Jesus Christ
at Wilks Barre &

The other Towns on [Signed] “JACOB JOHNSON.”
The Susquehanna
East Branch.

At an early day Mr. Johnson had acquired a landed
interest in the Susquehanna purchase, as appears from the
following:

“Deed of Humphrey Avery of Norwich in the County
of New London, Colony of Conn.:

to

“Revd. Mr. Jacob Johnson of Groton in the County
and Colony aforesaid—

for the consideration of the Love and good will I
have and bear toward him, my right to a half right
or share in the land on Susquehanna River called the
Susquehanna purchase.

11 March, 1771—

signed, HUMPHREY AVERY

Witnesses Samuel Avery Christopher Avery acknowl-
edged New London Co—Oct. 22, 1773.

ROBT. GEER, Justice of Peace.”

The story of his removal to Pennsylvania is well told
in an anniversary discourse delivered in 1853, by Rev. John
Dorrance, D. D., on the occasion of the twentieth anniver-
sary of his pastorate over the First Presbyterian Church,
Wilkes-Barre, of which Jacob Johnson was the first pastor:

“That part of Pennsylvania lying north of the 41st
degree of latitude [passing through the southern portion
of Luzerne County] was claimed by the province of
Connecticut. As a natural consequence a portion of this
territory, and especially that which is watered by the Sus-
quehanna and its tributaries, was originally settled by emi-
grants from New England, with the exception of one
township, viz.: Hanover. This was occupied in great part
by emigrants from Lancaster and Dauphin counties, Penn-
sylvania. Those from New England were generally Con-
gregationalists in education and feeling. Those from Lan-

caster and Dauphin were of Presbyterian stock, originally from the north of Ireland. From these two sources was derived the original population of northern Pennsylvania; better sources there are not. The ancestors of both the Puritan and the Scotch Presbyterian had been tried in the furnace of affliction, had suffered persecution in the old world, and endured hardships in the new. Their principles, confirmed by a long and painful experience of oppression, privation, exile and war, were inherited by their children, our fathers. Those were no common men who migrated to this *terra incognita*, through a howling wilderness, and battled with cold and hunger and poverty, with the hostile white man and the lurking Indian waylaying their path. Few in number, without resources and far from aid, they necessarily struggled for years against the power of the great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, against the combined forces of Briton, Tory and savage, and they and their wives and children and aged ones, when forced from the land, after witnessing the terrible Massacre, returned again and again, through trackless forests, invincible in their courage and fortitude, and established for us a happy home. Their labors, their valor, their constancy are above all praise. Their moral virtues, honesty, sobriety, love of order, humanity, and benevolence are abundantly set forth in the laws framed for their government and executed by themselves. They were the sons and daughters of the honest yeomanry of Connecticut,—not the refuse of towns,—not gold hunters, or greedy speculators or reckless adventurers; but the young, the enterprising part of a rural population, whose parents were ministers, deacons and members of evangelical churches. They came to fell the forest, cultivate the land and establish a society on the banks of the Susquehanna, where under a more genial sun and on a more fertile soil, they might enjoy all the privileges of their ancestors and transmit to their posterity a home possessing all the characteristic excellence of New England.

“As early as 1772, when as yet few of the pioneers had ventured to expose their families to the hardships and dangers of frontier life, they sought to obtain the settlement of Rev. Jacob Johnson as their pastor. On September 11, 1772, the proprietors of the town meeting voted to give him and his heirs forever, in case he settled with them, ‘Fifty acres of any land now undivided’ in this township, wherever

he may choose, and subsequently the island below town, then of considerable size, and valuable for culture and as a fishery, was added. Mr. Anderson Dana and Mr. Asa Stevens were appointed to confer with Mr. Johnson and with committees of other towns agreeably to vote of the Company of Settlers of the five towns."

According to the Westmoreland Records, August 23, 1773, after he had preached nearly a year, a formal call to Mr. Johnson was made and the salary was fixed at £60 sterling, *i. e.* \$300, with a promise of raising it as they were able, to £100 (\$333 Connecticut currency). This, with a house and land, was a most liberal provision. This, while it exhibits the solicitude of our ancestors for Gospel privileges, also brings to view another trait of character, freedom from intolerance. The salary was ordered to be assessed on the tax list. This was the invariable practice in Connecticut. They knew no other; but when a few who were not Congregationalists, but Baptists, remonstrated against this measure, the Congregationalists at once rescinded their resolution and raised the sum promised by voluntary subscription. This at the time was unprecedented. It was greatly in advance of the mother State, in which the standing order was continued to a much later period. Having the power of law they voluntarily waived their advantage and took the additional expense and trouble upon themselves. This was Christian charity. Rev. Jacob Johnson was a man of very considerable learning, * * * and eminent for sterling piety.

"At the capitulation of Forty Fort Mr. Johnson was one of the commissioners who obtained, upon the whole, favorable terms from the victorious foe. He preached the Gospel, performed the marriage rite, administered baptism, shared the sufferings of the people in their expulsion by the Pennamites and the savages, comforted the bereaved mourning widow and orphan in their desolation and exile and returned with the afflicted remnant to build again the walls of Zion.

*Marsh and Beckwith, Mr. Johnson's predecessors in the field, were sent out by the Susquehanna Company and were paid out of the company treasury. Mr. Johnson's support was provided by all the citizens alike, by means of rates levied at town-meeting. Marsh and Beckwith were like chaplains, their ministrations were but temporary, not fixed by the inhabitants, but by the parent land company in Connecticut. In a deed dated 1795 Mr. Johnson states that he and his son, Jehoiada P. Johnson, lived at the foot of Union Street, the father on the lower corner and the son on the opposite corner.

"A house of worship, denominated a house for public use, had been commenced and almost completed when the desolating fury of the savage swept away habitation and men. [See *infra*, p. 79.] After the return of the inhabitants, a mere handful of the original number, Mr. Johnson renewed his labors as his advanced age and increasing infirmities permitted, until in the year 1797 he passed from earthly troubles and entered into rest."

The following extracts are from the early records:

"At a meeting held at Wyoming, 2nd Oct. 1772, Capt. O. Gore, Capt. Z. Butler and Maj. Ez. Pierce were appointed a committee to provide a habitation for Rev. Jacob Johnson this winter."

"At a meeting Nov. 18, 1772, voted: 'Mr. Christopher Avery is appointed to collect in those species that the proprietors and settlers have signed for the support of the Rev. Jacob Johnson, the year ensuing.'"

"The Rev. Jacob Johnson is entitled to a settling right in some one of the settling towns."

The method of calling these meetings is shown by the following warning, the original of which is in the possession of the Wyoming Historical Society. The fort referred to was Fort Wyoming, which stood on the river bank, near Northampton street. On the back is a tally list, probably the vote for the moderator of the meeting, of which "Capt. Butler" received 21 and "Capt. Gore" received 8:

"These are to Warn all the Proprietors Belonging to ye Susquehanna Purchase to meet at ye Fort In wilkes-barre on wednesday ye 18th day of this Instant november (1772) at twelve a Clock on sd Day—

1st. to se what meathod is Best to come into for our Guarding & Scouting this winter Season.

2ly. to se what shall Be Done with those Persons that Complaint is made against their not attending their Duty when called upon—

3ly. to appoint a collector to Receive in those Species that was signed by the Proprietors and Setlers for ye Suport of ye Revend Mr. Johnson, ye year Insuing—

4ly. to notify those Persons that Holds Rights and Have ye care of sd Rights to acquaint ye comtee forthwith who manned sd Rights.

5ly. to see what this Company will Do further in Cutting & Clearing a Rode to Delaware River &c:—

6ly. to act upon any other Business that Shall Be thought Proper to be Done Ralative to the settlement of sd Lands &c:—

ZEBULON BUTLER
EZEKIEL PIERCE
STEPHEN FULLER

Committee.

N. B. as their is Some Business of Importance to be acted on at sd meeting it is Hopeful you will Give your attendance."

His labors started out so well that "At a meeting, February 16, 1773, voted to continue the Rev. Jacob Johnson in the work of the gospel ministry among us."

Mr. Johnson was pastor at first, not only of Wilkes-Barre, but of the adjacent towns of Kingston and Plymouth, under engagement from the people in town meeting assembled.

"At a meeting, December 8, 1773, Kingston and Plymouth are willing to dismiss the Rev. Jacob Johnson from his former agreement in dividing his labor in preaching the gospel among us."

"Each town at town meeting shall appoint a committee of two men to confer with the Rev. Mr. Jacob Johnson concerning his preaching the gospel among us, and how his time shall be divided among us."

In laying out the town two lots, containing about 400 acres of back lands, had been set off for the first settled minister and for schools. One of these 400-acre lots and 50 acres previously mentioned, together with a town lot of 40 acres, will show the liberal provision made for Gospel purposes. (Miner.)

Rev. Noah Wadhams, who visited Plymouth about that time, wrote a letter, in which he sad he found Rev. Mr. Johnson in the valley, and he hoped the latter would remain, as the people were as sheep without a shepherd. Mr. Wadhams subsequently accepted a call to the Plymouth

congregation and served until his death in 1806. (See Harvey's History of Lodge 61.)

In 1791 Rev. Nathaniel Thayer, M. A. (Harvard 1789) was pastor of the Wilkes-Barre church for six months.

Following are extracts from the History of the First Presbyterian Church of Wilkes-Barre by Sheldon Reynolds, pp. 47-48:

"We find in the ancient records of the town that the town meeting, composed in its membership of the proprietors and settlers of the district, deliberated upon and decided all business affecting the welfare of the people, whether of secular affairs or that which touched their religious concerns. The minutes of these meetings often contain the action taken to provide for the defense of the settlement against the imminent attack of the enemy, and in the next paragraph record the amount to be paid the "settled minister," and the manner in which his salary is to be raised:

"Nov. 18, 1772. Voted that those who belong to Hanover shall mount guard in ye block-house where Capt. Stewart now lives, and those that live in Kingston shall come over and do their duty in ye fort at Wilkes-Barre until they shall fortify and guard by themselves in Kingston. Voted that Mr. Christopher Avery is appointed to collect in those species that ye proprietors and settlers have signed to ye support of ye Rev. Mr. Jacob Johnson ye year ensuing.

"May, 1773. Voted that there be a constant guard kept at the fort in Wilkes-Barre of 12 men and that they keep it day and night, and that they be relieved every 24 hours; Voted that the ferryman be obliged to carry the guard across on free cost; and the people across on Sundays to meeting on free cost."

The appended deed is an interesting document, inasmuch as it is a conveyance made by the people in town meeting assembled. It settles definitely the claim that while other preachers of the Gospel had come and gone, Rev. Jacob Johnson was the first settled pastor of the Town of Wilkes-Barre. The lot conveyed to him was along the upper side of North street, and reached from Main street to the river. The Memorial Church is on the lot. In the deed books it was spoken of for many years as "the Fifty Acre lot."

“WHEREAS the Susquehanna Company among other regulations for the Settlement of the Town of Wilkes-Barre (now in the County of Luzerne)) Timothy Pickering
John P. Schott &
Zebulon Butler
to
Jacob Johnson
and certain other Towns adjacent, resolved that three rights or shares in each town should be reserved and appropriated for the public use of a Gospel Ministry and Schools in each of said towns one of which rights or Shares was Intended for the first settled Minister in fee simple.

“AND WHEREAS the Reverend Jacob Johnson of Wilkesbarre aforesaid claimed one right or Share of the Tract of Land in Sd Town reserved and appropriated to the publick uses aforesaid, by virtue of his Settlement as the first Gospel Minister therein,

“AND WHEREAS the proprietors of said Town of Wilkesbarre (originally called the district of Wilkesbarre in the Town of Westmoreland) at a meeting regularly warned according to the usages of the said Town or district and held on th seventeenth day of April A. D. 1788 appointed a committee, to wit, Timothy Pickering, John Paul Schott & Zebulon Butler, to search the records and see what Title the reverend Jacob Johnson had to a right of Land in Wilkesbarre and also to State the evidence he should produce of such right and report the same at a future meeting.

“AND WHEREAS at a meeting of the said proprietors regularly warned and held as aforesaid on the eighteenth day of April A. D. 1789, two of the said Committee, to wit, John Paul Schott and Zebulon Butler (the said Timothy Pickering being at that time absent) made report to the said proprietors that having made the Examination and Stated the evidence of the Reverend Jacob Johnson's Title to one of the publick Lots in the said Town, they found he had an undoubted right of one of them by virtue of his call and Settlement there, whereupon the said report being approved by the Said proprietors at their meeting last mentioned, they passed a vote in these words, viz: That Colo. Timothy Pickering, Colo Zebulon Butler & Capt. John Paul Schott committee be empowered and Directed to divide the public Land in this Town into three Lots and put the reverend Jacob Johnson in possession of one of them, which is his property in fee simple, By virtue of his call and Settle-

ment here as the first ordained minister, Now be it Known That the said Timothy Pickering, Zebulon Butler & John Paul Schott, in pursuance of the said vote have divided the Tract of Land in said Wilkesbarre reserved for public uses as aforesaid into three Lots by lines running Straight from front to rear and equally Dividing the front and Rear Lines of the said Tract of Land reserved as aforesaid and assigned the Southern Lot of the said three Lots to the reverend Jacob Johnson aforesaid, and do hereby put him in possession of the same, to hold to him and his heirs as an Estate in fee Simple.

"IN WITNESS WHEREOF the Sd Timothy Pickering, Zebulon Butler & John Paul Schott do hereto set their hands and seals the eighteenth day of December in the year of our Lord one thousand Seven hundred and Ninety.

Signed Sealed & delivered in	}	Timothy Pickering	(Seal)
presence of us—		John P. Schott	(Seal)
by the Sd Timothy Pickering		Zebulon Butler	(Seal)
Putnam Catlin			
Wm Ross			

And by the Sd Zebulon Butler & John Paul Schott in	}		
presence of us—			
Rosewell Welles			
Samuel Pease		Luzerne County ss	

"Two of the Grantors to the foregoing instrument viz. John P. Schott & Zebulon Butler come personally before me and acknowledged the Same to be their free act and Deed Also Putnam Catlin one of the Subscribing Witnesses personally appeared and Solemnly Declared and said that he saw Timothy Pickering sign Seal and as his free act Deliver the foregoing Instrument and the said Putnam Catlin also declared that he saw William Ross subscribe the Same as Witness

Given under my hand and Seal this tenth day of Decr A. D. 1793.

(Seal) Arnold Colt Justice Peace

Recorded Feby 18, 1797. (Book 4, page 420.)

It also appears from Mr. Harvey's History, p. 746, that when the town voted to Mr. Johnson in 1773 the fifty-acre lot it reserved out of the same four acres at the south-

easterly corner for a public burial ground, and that in lieu of this reservation the island known as Wilkes-Barre Island was voted to Mr. Johnson.

"In addition to the "50-acre Lot" and "Wilkes-Barre Island" the proprietors of Wilkes-Barre subsequently granted to Mr. Johnson "Public Lot No. 1" (mentioned on page 656). This lot lay in that part of Wilkes-Barre Township which is now Plains Township, immediately adjoining the present northeastern boundary of Wilkes-Barre Township, and extended from the main, or middle, road near Mill Creek to the southeastern boundary of the township. It was certified under the Act of April 4, 1799, as containing 396 acres. Within eight or ten years after settling here Mr. Johnson acquired other real estate in Wilkes-Barre to a considerable amount. March 8, 1773, the proprietor of Wilkes-Barre bestowed upon him Lot No. 9 in the town-plot. May 12, 1777, Mr. Johnson became the owner of Lot No. 10 in the town-plot, and Lot No. 45 (containing 181 acres) in the 3d Division of Wilkes-Barre. July 1, 1777, Mr. Johnson bought of James Stark, for £8, Lot No. 12 in the town-plot, and later in the same year, or early in 1778, he bought of John Abbott Lot No. 35 in the town-plot.

From the Reynolds History of the First Presbyterian Church, pp. 52, 53, the following is quoted:

"We have no record of the ministry of Mr. Johnson during his long and busy pastorate in Wyoming Valley. Whatever church records had been kept were doubtless destroyed, as were also nearly all other records of the time. We know, however, that services were regularly held when actual war was not being waged. Upon the return of the inhabitants after the flight from the valley they seem to have met for worship in the school houses, of which there were several, and at the humble homes of the settlers. Col. John Franklin, in his journal, says: "Sunday, 28 Feb., 1789, I attended meeting at Mr. Yarrington's, Mr. Johnson preached;" and "Sunday, 28 March, 1789, attended meeting at Yarrington's to hear Mr. Johnson."

"The field of labor to which Mr. Johnson had come was extended, as from his letter it seems he regarded all the

towns of the "East Branch" as within his charge. This would include Lackawanna on the northeast and Plymouth and Hanover on the south and west.

"During these years the Church was self-supporting, the organization was preserved, and its sustaining influences were felt in the community. Much more was probably accomplished, but we have now no means of knowing how much, or in what way, or by what methods its activity was exerted."

After Mr. Johnson had been in Wilkes-Barre a year or two a movement was begun on the part of Connecticut to negotiate with Pennsylvania for the acquisition of the disputed territory of Wyoming. The Connecticut Assembly appointed commissioners to negotiate with Governor Penn a mode of bringing the controversy to an amicable conclusion. One of these commissioners whom Connecticut sent was Dr. William Samuel Johnson, to which distinguished statesman Rev. Jacob Johnson had the honor of being a kinsman. The commissioners eloquently argued the case, but the proposition of Connecticut was rejected, though Governor Penn went so far as to consent that the matter would be laid before the King for decision. The speedy outbreak of hostilities, however, between the colonies and the mother country interrupted this project. In the meantime the Wyoming colonists were so encouraged by the fact that Connecticut had at last recognized the righteousness of their claim, by legalizing what they had done and promising protection for the future, that they entered with increased enthusiasm upon the work of settlement.

The Wyoming region was in 1774 erected into a town, called Westmoreland, and attached to the nearest Connecticut county, that of Litchfield, which was not much more than 100 miles away. Westmoreland had a population of about 2,000. The governor of Connecticut issued a proclamation forbidding all settlements in Westmoreland, except under the authority of Connecticut, while the governor of Pennsylvania warned all intending settlers that the claims

of Connecticut were only pretensions and that no authority other than that of the Penns must be recognized. The Wyoming people, now that Connecticut had assumed jurisdiction, introduced the laws and usages of the civil government of the mother colony and peace and happiness reigned supreme for a time.

This tranquillity was brought to an end by the outbreak of the Revolution. The growing troubles between Great Britain and the colonies had themselves served to strengthen the settlement at Wyoming, first by preventing any unfavorable decision in the Connecticut claim then under consideration by the Crown, and second, by so occupying the time and thoughts of the Pennsylvania Proprietary government as to prevent interference with the Susquehanna settlers. Two resolutions of the people in town meeting assembled soon after the shock of Lexington and Bunker Hill deserve special mention. One was "to make any accommodation with the Pennsylvania party that shall conduce to the best good of the whole, and come in common cause of liberty in the defense of America," and the other was "to act in conjunction with our neighboring towns within this and the other colonies, in opposing the late measures to enslave America and that we will unanimously join our brethren in America in the common cause of defending our liberty."

It is not going too far, perhaps, to venture the opinion that this resolution was written by Rev. Jacob Johnson, for it sounds strangely like the patriotic words which he spoke at the Fort Stanwix treaty seven years before. Certain it is, that Mr. Johnson's voice rang out everywhere for liberty and under his inspiring counsels Wyoming became one of the most active patriotic regions in all the colonies. So offensive did the young settlement become by reason of its aggressive patriotism that three years later (1778) it was made the object of an expedition of British, Tories and Indians and utterly destroyed.

Was Brant at Wyoming? The earlier historians thought he was, but we know now that he had left the main body of Butler's invading army and gone off with a war party to devastate the Cherry Valley region. At Wyoming the Indians were led by Old King, a Seneca warrior, whose name has caused confusion by being spelled Kayingwaurto, Gucingerachton and twenty-five other ways. Some historians thought that the two names mentioned stood for two different Indians, of whom Brant was one. But this long disputed point has now been conclusively settled by several manuscripts whose existence was not known to the early historians. One of these, now in possession of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, gives the terms of capitulation in one of the Wyoming forts, bearing the signatures of the British commander, Col. John Butler, and the leader of the Indians, Kayingwaurto. The whole matter has been covered by Rev. Horace E. Hayden in his pamphlet, "The Massacre of Wyoming." 1895, in which it is proven by documentary evidence that Brant was not at Wyoming. Harvey's History of Wilkes-Barre, Vol. II, pp. 968-974, also conclusively proves this fact. Ten years before Brant was supposed to be a meek and lowly Christian, interpreting Jacob Johnson's preaching to the Indians at Canajoharie, and now in 1778 he was on the warpath against the "rebel" patriots on the frontiers.

Steuben Jenkins, in his historical address July 3, 1878, estimated the number of slain at 300 and of those who perished during the flight across the mountains to Connecticut at 200. The British commander officially reported 227 scalps taken at Wyoming and many fugitives were shot in the river and their scalps were not obtained. Historians differ in their estimates of the loss of life.

After the defeat of July 3, 1778, Mr. Johnson remained with such of the settlers as had not fled from the valley, and it is said that he drew up the articles of capitulation between the contending forces. Miner states in his "Hazle-

ton Travelers" that Judge Scott said he had seen the document and that it was in the handwriting of Mr. Johnson." Col. Jenkins's diary records that Col. Denison and Mr. Johnson capitulated for the inhabitants.

This very interesting series of articles by Charles Miner, "The Hazleton Travelers," appeared in the Wyoming Herald of Wilkes-Barre in 1838, and many of them, but not all, are attached to Mr. Miner's History of Wyoming as an Appendix. As the article devoted to Jacob Johnson is one of those omitted, by reason, as the author says, that the principal events are interwoven in the history proper, it is given in part in this paper (page 91).

The original document of capitulation is probably not now in existence. There is a copy in the British State Paper Office in London, but the names were not accurately transcribed. Col. Denison's name is given as Denniston and Dr. Lemuel Gustin, one of the witnesses, is given as Samuel. The table on which the document was written is still preserved by Philip H. Myers of Wilkes-Barre. An illustration of the table is given in Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution. (Vol. I, p. 359.)

The terms of the capitulation were not respected by the Indians and homes and farms were desolated by the torch. Not even the village of Wilkes-Barre was spared. Historians have stated that among the buildings burned was the little log church in which Mr. Johnson had been wont to preach the gospel, but Oscar J. Harvey, Esq., of Wilkes-Barre has in his possession an original letter written by Gen. John Sullivan in 1779, making it evident that the church was not entirely destroyed, as Gen. Sullivan directs Col. Zebulon Butler to use it for hospital purposes. The effect of the battle had been to leave the settlement naked to its savage enemies, and in consequence most of the settlers sought safety for a time in Connecticut. Those who had the hardihood to remain were exposed to constant danger from lurking Indian foes. It was only a few months

after the Massacre that little Frances Slocum, whose pathetic story has been told in every language, was stolen from her home in Wilkes-Barre and forever lost to her agonized parents, though found by her brothers after she had become an old and wrinkled woman, who knew no other life than that of an Indian squaw.

During the Revolutionary War the Wyoming settlers submitted to the Connecticut Assembly, pursuant to resolve, a bill of losses sustained by them from July 3, 1778, to May, 1780, and Jacob Johnson's share was £459. This amount was exceeded only by the loss of Matthias Hollenback, £671; James Stark, £547; Josiah Stansberry, £603; Elijah Phelps, £550; John Jenkins, £598. The total of these Revolutionary losses was £38,308, and Congress never paid them.

Soon after the battle Mr. Johnson took his family back to Connecticut, and it was not until June, 1781, that he felt it safe to return with them.

"Glowing with ardor," says Miner, "for religion, liberty and the Connecticut claim, the return was welcomed by his flock, indeed by the whole settlement, with cordial congratulations. He went from place to place, awakening sinners to repentance, arousing the people to new efforts and sacrifices against the tyranny of England and exhorting them to adhere to and support their righteous claims to their lands. But the cup of joy, in coming to his devoted people, was almost immediately dashed from his lips by the death of his daughter Lydia, consort of Col. Zebulon Butler.

"The year, like the preceding, was extremely sickly, typhus fever being added to the remittent and intermittent which had previously prevailed."

The Wallingford, Conn., records show that Jacob Johnson made a journey from Wilkes-Barre to Wallingford just a few months prior to the massacre of 1778. The purpose of the journey on horseback across the wilderness was to be present at the settlement of the estate of his brother Caleb, who had died at Wallingford the year previous. The record shows that on March 31, 1778, "Jacob Johnson,

clerk [clergyman], of Westmoreland, State of Conn.," made deed to Miles Johnson for the former's share in Caleb's estate, the consideration being £375, 15s and 7 d. Acknowledgment was made before another brother, Dan Johnson, justice of the peace.

In Deed Book 23, p. 159, Enos and Sherborne Johnson in 1782 convey to Elihu Hall, Jr., land in Wallingford, west of river in South field, so called, containing 25½ acres, being the same and whole that Enos bought of the Rev. Jacob Johnson, as by a deed recorded Liber 12, folio 86, 1782. The latter reference shows that October 25, 1752, in ye county of New London and colony of Connecticut conveyed this land to Enos Johnson for £882. The tract comprised 25½ acres "in ye great field on ye East and South by Capt. Elihu Hall's land on ye West with ye old field fence, on ye North by ye highway, being all ye land in great field as it anciently lay, belonging to Sergeant Jacob Johnson, deceased."

Jacob Johnson of Groton, March 10, 1752, for £371, bills of credit old tenor, had conveyed to Isaac Johnson of Wallingford, 8¼ acres. This tract and the tract sold to Enos probably represented all or nearly all the inheritance from his father, Sergeant Jacob.

By the great kindness of O. J. Harvey, Esq., the following from pages 746 and 747 of Volume II of his exhaustive History of Wilkes-Barre are given here:

It has already been stated that not until June, 1781, did Jacob Johnson and his family return to Wilkes-Barre.

"Having no house of their own which they could occupy they took up their residence at the corner of River and Northampton streets, in a part of the house of Colonel Butler, then occupied by the latter's wife and children—he himself being absent on duty with his regiment at Peekskill, New York. Within three weeks after the arrival of the Johnsons at Wilkes-Barre Mrs. Lydia (Johnson) Butler died. Mr. Johnson soon began the erection of a log house on his town-lot No. 9, at the southeast corner of the present

Union and River streets, and upon its completion in the spring of 1782 he and his family removed into it from the Butler house. (See frontispiece.) In 1791 Jacob Johnson, his wife and two of their children were still residing there, while Jacob Williamson Johnson (the eldest living child of the Rev. Jacob) was living with his newly-wedded wife in a small house across the street on town-lot No. 10. May 1, 1792, the Rev. Jacob Johnson conveyed to his son Jacob Williamson, "in consideration of love and good will," Lot No. 35 in the town-plot, and other lands. Jacob Williamson thereupon removed to the house which stood on "No. 35"—a log house, standing at the southeast corner of the present Main and Union streets, where, many years later, the three-story brick building owned by the late Charles Roth was erected. About 183 the Rev. Jacob Johnson erected on Lot No. 10—at the northeast corner of River and Union streets—a very substantial frame house, in which he and his wife lived until their respective deaths. Then the house was occupied by Jehoiada P. Johnson; then for awhile by Charles Miner; next, for a number of years, by Arnold Colt, and lastly, for upwards of thirty years (having, in the meantime, been renovated and slightly remodeled), by Dr. Charles F. Ingham. In the summer of 1887 Dr. Ingham demolished the old building, and erected on its site the three-story, double building of brick now standing there.

"In July, 1778, after the battle of Wyoming, when the houses of Wilkes-Barre were almost entirely destroyed by the savages, Mr. Johnson's house—which stood on Lot No. 9—was burned. Other property belonging to Mr. Johnson was destroyed at that time, and in the list of losses incurred at Wyoming—prepared and presented in October, 1781, to the Connecticut Assembly, by its orders (see Chapter XIX)—the losses of Mr. Johnson were reported at £459, one of the largest amounts in the list. Mr. Johnson and his family fled from Wyoming, in common with the majority of the inhabitants of the valley, within a day or two after the surrender of Forty Fort, and made their way to Mr. Johnson's native town of Wallingford, where they took up their abode. There, under the date of September 27, 1778, Mr. Johnson wrote to his son-in-law, Col. Zebulon Butler, addressing his letter in "care of Mrs. Butler, at the Public House of Mr. Wadkins, thirteen miles west of the North River—New Windsor." Mr. Johnson wrote: "If you

don't think it advisable for me to come on the Susquehanna this winter I shall engage in other business. How is it with you? Anything saved on the ground, as to the fruits and effects there, or what was *hidden*? Also, how is it with the dead bodies, or bones of the dead? * * Mrs. Johnson wants to know whether her clothes were found by the enemy—if not, that you would take care of them."

"Under the date of November 10, 1778, Mr. Johnson wrote from Wallingford to Colonel Butler at Wilkes-Barre as follows: "I was in great hopes of seeing Colonel Denison, to hear more particularly by him, and write and send to you, but failed. Tho I went and sent to Hartford I could not see him, he being then gone to Windham. * * * We have heard since your letter [of September 25th] that you were again drove off, destroyed, and many of you killed by the enemy, tho this was afterwards contradicted. I have been not a little concerned about you and the people there, lest the enemy should get some advantage against you, there being now, as I am told, about 150 in all—soldiers and inhabitants—and in a little picket fort that could make no considerable defense against 700 or 800 or 1,000 Tories and Indians, and while so many of ye old enemies, the Pennamites, are watching for an opportunity to do you a mischief, and would, no doubt, be glad and rejoice at it. Things being so with you I should by no means at present think it safe to come or *send my negro* or anything of value there where you be. If you had 500 or 700 men with a good strong fort, such as that at Fort Stanwix, and well laid in with all warlike stores, provisions, &c., I should think quite otherwise; and until that be done, as the day now is, it seems rather presumptive than prudence, to venture your lives and fortunes (the little left) in such a weak and defenceless state. * * * Continental Dollars, one thing with another, are at a discount of ten and twelve for one, and rarely answer to buy anything at all."

"February 16, 1779, Mr. Johnson wrote from Wallingford to Colonel Butler at Wilkes-Barre as follows: "I am not determined as yet whether it will be best for me to come or send any part of my family. * * * I have as yet *school*, and occasionally preach here and there as a door opens. I think it would be but reasonable you should have a Chaplain or minister with you in Continental pay. If I could come in that character I don't know but I would come

and *bring my negro* and one of my boys with me. You and the people there may advise upon it and let me know your mind, either by letter or when you come this way. If this can't be effected (tho I don't doubt but that it might by application to Congress, or even to Connecticut State)—I say, if this can't be done, I shall engage in some other way and lay by the thoughts of coming to Susquehannah, at least at present, tho the state of things here are uncommon.

* * * I am concerned for my daughter's health—I mean Miss Butler [Mrs. Zebulon Butler]. If I knew what she might want, and it was in my power to send it, I would not fail to do it. * * * Let her not be concerned for us or her only son, Zebulon, Jr., for he is as our own." Mrs. Butler had, some time before, rejoined her husband at Wilkes-Barre, leaving her only child, Zebulon Johnson Butler, then nearly three years old, with his grandparents at Wallingford, with whom Colonel Butler's daughter Hannah was also then residing.

"September 30, 1779, Mr. Johnson wrote from Wallingford to Colonel Butler at Wilkes-Barre, in part as follows: "Yours by Mr. Sills (18th inst.) I received * * * As to my coming up with my family this Fall: Tho I had (before the arrival of Mr. Sills and your letters by him) concluded otherwise, this notwithstanding I have since determined, by the Leave of Heaven, to come, provided it appears to be the mind of the People that I should come; as also that I come in the character of a Continental chaplain, or be stationed at Wilksbarre or elsewhere in that Public Character, and that one of the Continental waggons be sent here to remove me with my family and necessary effects to Wilksbarre. Otherwise I shall not be inclined to come; altho' for your sake, Miss Butler's sake, and some others of my Particular Friends I should be very glad to come, and bring your dear son and my grandson equally dear to me, to whom your bowells often times yearn towards, and who is so desirous once again to see his Daddy and mammy, and almost overjoy'd to hear there was a prospect of going. * * * I have in this Letter said I would come to Wilksbarre provided it appears to be the mind of the People I should come, for I would come by their desire and good will, & I know not I have any reason to distrust their Good will. I say further I will come provided I come in the Publick office & character of a Continental chaplain.

For *I mean to spend the Remainder of my Days in Preaching the Glorious Gospel of the great saviour of the world,* and so many Doors stand open this way that I should not choose to come to Susquehannah except a Door opens there for Public usefulness."

"About the same time that the Rev. Jacob Johnson wrote the foregoing letter his wife, Mrs. Mary Johnson, wrote to her daughter, Mrs. Zebulon Butler, as follows: "We had concluded to come to Wilksbarre when your father saw Captain Colt and Mr. Goold at Lyme. They told him they had heard eighteen men were a mowing of the Flats; the Indians rose upon them and killed seventeen of them. * * * That put a stop to our thoughts of coming till we heard further. I hope in six or seven weeks to be with you. * * * Zebulon [Johnson Butler] is often talking about his daddy and mammy. You can't think what a man he is. He goes of arrants, cuts wood, husks corn, feeds hogs—does a great deal of work, he says. He is a charming child. I could not have been contented had he not been with me. * * * I hope Colonel will send for us as soon as we have wrote, for it would be beyond account to get horses here for such a journey. * * * Your father went to town for Calico. Could get none. He sent to Hartford and got a patron [pattern] one. If you like it, he can get more. It was 25 Dollars a yard. It was the cheapest I have seen."

THE LAND CONTEST.

The close of the war, following the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown in 1781, brought peace with England, but it brought what was no less serious than the Revolutionary War, a renewal of the strife between Connecticut and Pennsylvania for the possession of Wyoming. However, neither side was desirous of renewing the contest and both joined in an agreement to abide by the decision of a commission to be appointed by Congress. The court, known as the Council of Trenton, was duly appointed and on December 30, 1781, after a sitting of 41 days at Trenton, New Jersey, decided in favor of Pennsylvania.

Though the Decree of Trenton terminated the jurisdiction of Connecticut it did not bring peace, and on the contrary there was to be a re-opening of the civil strife, or the "Pennamite and Yankee War," which the Revolutionary conflict had suspended. The proprietary landholders resorted to various measure to oppress and expel the Connecticut claimants, who while declaring their loyalty to the sovereignty of Pennsylvania, yet maintained the private ownership of their lands. The landholders offered to give the Connecticut claimants temporary use of the lands, but at the expiration of the term they must vacate and disclaim all claims to title under Connecticut. The Connecticut settlers might remain on one-half of their lands, giving up immediate possession of the other half; the widows of those who had fallen by the savages were to be indulged in half their possessions a year longer and Rev. Jacob Johnson was to be shown the special clemency of occupying his lands two years longer.

As an evidence of the feeling of utter helplessness of the people of Wyoming at the time of the transfer of our Valley from the jurisdiction of Connecticut to that of Pennsylvania, it will be of interest to give the following impressive letter from Rev. Jacob Johnson, who was acting in behalf of the settlers, to a committee of Pennsylvania landholders who claimed title to the Wyoming land under Pennsylvania patents. The letter is published in the Pennsylvania Archives. It breathes forth the spirit of Christian forbearance and resignation in a manner creditable to the head and heart of that good old man, who had fought the Christian's fight amid hardships and suffering incident to the pioneer's life, and had received as an evidence of the appreciation in which he was held by his friends and neighbors some wild land, then of little value, but it was all that he possessed to stand between him and utter destitution, as the shadows of night and his failing energies admonished him that his time of labor was past. What a truly eloquent

appeal was this in behalf of the widows of those hardy pioneers, his neighbors, bereaved by the merciless savages in defending the little homes which they suffering and blood had won in this far-off wilderness!*

"To the Committee of the Pennsylvania Land owners, &c:
"Gentlemen:

"I thank you for your distinguished Favor shewed to me the widows, &c., in a proposal of Indulgence, Permitting us to reside in our present Possessions and Improvements for the present & succeeding Year. I cannot Consistently accept the offer, having Chosen a Committee for that purpose, who are not disposed to accept of or Comply with your proposals. However, I will for myself (as an Individual) make you a proposal agreeable to that Royal President, 2d Samuel, 9th, 16th & 19th Chapters; if that don't suit you and no Compromise can be made, or Tryal be had, according to the law of the States, I will say as Mepheboseth, Jonathan's son (who was lame on both his feet) said to King David, yea let him take all. So I say to you Gentlemen if there be no resource, either by our Petition to the Assembly of the State of Pennsylvania or otherwise, Let the Landholders take all. I have only this to add for my Consolation and you Gentlemen's serious Consideration, Viz.: that however the Cause may be determined for or against me (in this present uncertain State of things,) there is an Inheritance in the Heavens, sure & Certain, that fadeth not away, reserved for me, and all that love the Saviour Jesus Christ's appearing.

"I am Gentlemen, with all due Respect, & Good Will
"your Most Obt Humble Servt,

"JACOB JOHNSON.

"Wioming, Apl 24th, 1783."

"N. B. it is my Serious Opinon if we proceed to a Compromise according to the Will of heaven that the lands (as to the Right of soil) should be equally divided between the two Parties Claiming, and I am fully Satisfied this Opinion of mine may be proved even to a demonstration out of the Sacred Oracles. I wish you Gentlemen would turn your thoughts and enquiries to those 3 Chapters above referred to and see if my Opinion is not well Grounded &

*The introduction to this letter is from the pen of Wesley Johnson.

if so, I doubt not but we Can Compromise in love and Peace—and save the Cost and Trouble of a Tryal at Law.”

Nearly four years later, there having been no abatement of the controversy between the Connecticut and the Pennsylvania people, Mr. Johnson addressed the following letter to Timothy Pickering, Esq. The original is among the Pickering Manuscripts in the Massachusetts Historical Society. It was discovered there by O. J. Harvey, Esq., and will be printed in full in the third volume of his History of Wilkes-Barre. It is through his generous kindness that it is permitted to appear first in these pages.

“Sir:

“I am fully persuaded the Lands in controversy appertain both in Law Equity and Justice to the State of Connecticut and Proprietors who hold under that State. Nevertheless for the sake of ending the unhappy controversy in Peace and Love I am rather inclined to come to a Division of the Lands agreeable to the Precedent or Example set us by King David very similar to the present case. The King gave all the Lands appertaining to the House of Saul to Mephebosheth—Afterwards the King gave away The same Lands and even the whole to Ziba, upon which a controversy arose betwixt Mephibosheth and Ziba who was heir in Law to the aforesaid Lands being a grant was equally made to both. The King ends the controversy by ordering a Division to each one as fellow commoners in Law to said Lands.

“This medium of ending the Controversy I have proposed some time ago agreeable to the Divideing Lines drawn by Congress betwixt the East and west branches of Susquehanna Setting off the East branch to Connecticut Proprietors and the west to Pennsylvania.

“This medium of compromisement I would still propose and urge agreeable not only to the Royal Example above But also a late settlement of Massechusetts and New York.

“If it should be objected that the Decree at Trenton was Definitive and gave the Right of Jurisdiction and pre-emption to the State of Pennsylvania consequently the Proprietors of the State of Connecticut have no right to a Division———

"Answr that Decree at Trenton was either Inclusive of the Right of Connecticut in common with that of Pennsylvania or Exclusive.

"If inclusive then we have a Right of Division even by that Decree—or if supposed by the objector to be exclusive—we nevertheless have a Right in Law to plead the most favorable construction wherefore turn the Tables which way Soever the Object or pleases we have still a Right in Law to an equitable Division—And on this Basis we Rest the whole matter.

"Do therefore Petition and plead only for Law Equity and Justice to be done us. If it should be farther objected that to make a Division of so considerable a tract of Country to so few and inconsiderable company of Proprietors would be too much.

"Is it too much to pay for the Price of so much blood spilt and Treasure lost on this hostile and unhappy ground Who—where—is the man in all Pennsylvania would give such a price. I am sure If it was to do again I would not purchase it at so dear a Rate—

"But what a great thing is it! Sperate the Lands of worth from those of wast and worthless what have the Proprietors now on the ground but a moderate farm to be sure if we take in their Posterity with them.

"If it be objected that the State of Pennsylvania can't give away Lands that are the Property of Governor Pen or the Land holder under Him. Answr we want no such Gift But only what we have a Right to in Law equity and Justic. We don't come to the Assembly to begg a Gift but to protect and defend us in the enjoyment of our own.

"Should it be said we are now a County &c Have or may have benefit of Common Law—what need we more—Be it so—As the present state of things are—this will not prevent Hostilities vexatious Law suits Tumults & Confusions among us—But I submit the Cause to the Supreme Arbiter of the universe and wisdom of the Assembly of the State of Pennsylvania—You will please Sir to enforce the Reason Law and equity of dividing these controverted Lands as above proposed. And you will in so doing be an Advocate in the suffering Cause of Right and oblige, &c.,

"JACOB JOHNSON."

"Feb. 7, 1787."

It is needless to say that neither this letter nor any other of the appeals of the Connecticut claimants elicited any pity from the landholders claiming under Pennsylvania. Instead of pity, the oppression became more and more severe and the settlers at Wyoming seriously contemplated an exodus to the northward, with the hope of finding a retreat in the more hospitable government of New York. Indeed a petition was sent by the Wyoming settlers asking the Assembly of New York to grant them a tract of land on which settlement might be made. A copy of this petition, which has never been published, is in the possession of the writer of this paper, and among the signatures is the name of Rev. Jacob Johnson. The petition was conveyed to Albany by Obadiah Gore and a tract of land was granted at a merely nominal sum. In the meantime surveys and explorations had been made by Franklin, Jenkins and others, in the domain of New York. For some unexplained reason, probably because the Wyoming people were becoming more and more accustomed to the new regime, the exodus as a whole was never carried out, though the Gores, Spaldings and others left Wyoming Valley and settled some 70 miles further up the river.

The half dozen years following the Decree of Trenton were marked by a condition of civil war in Wyoming, lives being lost on both sides. Frequent arrests of Connecticut settlers were made and they were incontinently hurried off to the Northampton County jail at Easton, under guard and in irons, or their hands tied behind them. One of the Connecticut men who thus suffered indignities at the hands of the Pennamites and was arrested on a charge of treason was Jehoiada Pitt Johnson, son of Rev. Jacob Johnson. As Miner says :

“The conquest seemed complete, the pacification of the valley accomplished and tenants of the Pennsylvania claimants took possession of the empty dwellings. The only difficulty that remained was how to get rid of the wives and

children of those in jail and of the widows and orphans whose husbands and fathers slept beneath the sod. Two years had elapsed since the transfer of jurisdiction by the Trenton Decree. Peace, which waved its cheering olive over every other part of the Union, came not to the broken-hearted people of Wyoming. The veteran soldier returned, but found no resting place. Instead of a joyous welcome to his hearth and home, he found his cottage in ruins or in possession of a stranger and his wife and little ones shelterless in the open fields or in the caves of the mountains."

Discouraged at the hopeless efforts to secure justice, the Connecticut settlers sought to found a new State, and in this they were aided by Ethan Allen of Vermont. Stewart Pearce says:

"The attempt to establish a new State out of northern Pennsylvania, if not nipped in the bud, would have led to deplorable consequences. All the wild spirits of New England would have flocked to Allen's standard and the people of Pennsylvania would have put forth all the energies of the Commonwealth to crush the efforts to dismember the territory. A violent and bloody civil war would have followed and would possibly have involved the Union in its conflagration."

One of the incidents of this controversy was the abducting of Timothy Pickering by the Yankees at Wilkes-Barre and holding him a prisoner 20 days in the northern wilderness. The participants were arrested, tried and convicted of riot.

"The trials being closed and sentence having been pronounced, the action of the court was denounced by the great body of the population. In particular Rev. Mr. Johnson took occasion to condemn the whole proceedings from the pulpit. By order of Judge McKean he was brought before the court and required to give bonds for his good behavior." (Pearce's Annals, p. 280.)

Miner says: "It is worthy of note that Rev. Jacob Johnson could not or would not suppress the ebullition of his Yankee and patriotic ire at the course of proceedings. He made the pulpit echo with his soul-stirring appeals. So

open were the denunciations of the pious old man that he was arrested, called before Judge McKean and obliged to find security for his peaceable behavior."

Pearce describes Jacob Johnson in the words of Hudibras,

"He was of that stubborn crew,
Presbyterian true blue,
Who prove their doctrine orthodox
By apostolic blows and knocks."

"As the feebleness of advancing years crept over the frame of their beloved pastor, other ministers occasionally came to visit and assist him in his work. Some were Congregationalists from Connecticut, and some Presbyterians from the lower Susquehanna. Rev. Elkanah Holmes, Rev. Noah Wadhams and Deacon John Hurlbut were among those who thus assisted."

"The most important spiritual assistance, however, was by Rev. Elias Von Bunschoten, of the Presbyterian Church at Minisink, who came here about 1790, and in July, 1791, organized a church in Hanover.

He was followed by Rev. Mr. Andrew Gray of Ireland, from Poughkeepsie, who was settled in 1792, a preacher of uncommon eloquence. He married Miss Polly, daughter of Capt. Lazarus Stewart."

During Mr. Johnson's closing years a movement was set on foot through his exertions to build a church to take the place of the old log court house in which services were held, but he did not live to see it completed. So difficult was it to raise funds that in common with the custom of that day it was deemed necessary to resort to the instrumentality of a lottery. But Jacob Johnson had been in his grave 15 years when the new edifice—the Old Ship Zion—after many delays, and after having been struck by lightning three times, was ready for occupancy, in 1812.

In an autobiographic and unpublished diary of Colonel Timothy Pickering, covering about one month in the early part of 1787 and lately discovered by O. J. Harvey, Esq., and to be printed in the third volume of his History of

Wilkes-Barre appears the following account of Jacob Johnson, which Mr. Harvey with his wonted courtesy has permitted to be printed first in these pages :

"Sunday, Jan. 14, 1787. There lives at Wilksborough [Wilkes-Barre] an old gentleman named Johnson, who was formerly a minister to the people here, who at this place had erected a church, which was burnt by Butler and his Indians in 1778. Mr. Johnson still preaches to the people in private houses here, and in all the neighboring settlements on both sides of the river. This day he preaches at Shawanee. He is said to be very constant in performing divine service on Sundays, but receives nothing for it from the people, except now and then a trifling present of a few bushels of grain. Neither are there any school-houses, tho here and there the people have employed a temporary school-master. * * * "

"Jan. 25. * * * Parson Johnson was at the meeting [of inhabitants] to-day. He told Col. Butler that he could answer all my questions, &c. I proposed to the Col. to go and see him this evening. We did so. He immediately began on the subject.

"I found him possessed of all the prejudices of the warm abettors of the Susquehanna Company's claim, and in full belief of all the falsehoods and misrepresentations which have been industriously raised and propagated to support it, and of some absurdities peculiar to himself. He believed the Charter of Conn. was better than that of Penna.; that the Indian deed was a good one; that the original produced at Trenton was not the *fair* one, and was only kept by the Company but not intended to be used. That after receiving that of the Indians the Company got another, in a fuller assembly of Indians, and *this* was perfectly fair. That this had been sent to England. That it had been returned, and fell into the hands of the Pennsylvanians, who kept it and would not produce it at the Federal Court [at Trenton], and that they still had it. * * * I answered all these objections, but the old gentleman would believe no fact however plain or probable, if it contradicted his former belief. He crowned all with this remarkable declaration: 'You are of one opinion and I am of another. I am *fixed*, and shall never change, till the day that Christ comes to judgment!'"

"Sunday, Jan. 28. This morning Mr. Bailey informs me that Parson Johnson has *changed his mind*, and thinks it will be best to hold the election!!!"

How did the civil strife end? The Legislature of Pennsylvania finally, between the years of 1788 and 1800, enacted laws calculated to settle all differences fairly and justly, but the most important was the Compromising Law of 1799. By its provision all Connecticut claimants who were actual settlers on the land prior to the Decree of Trenton, were given title from Pennsylvania, on the payment of nominal sums, ranging from \$2.00 per acre for the best land to 8 and 1-3 cents per acre for the least valuable land. Thus after 30 years of strife there was peace in Wyoming.

In Charles Miner's sketch of Rev. Jacob Johnson in "Hazleton Travelers" he says: An interesting lady, far advanced in years, who was here when the call was given, and knew him well, still speaks with enthusiasm of their old Pastor. "If there ever was a Gospel minister on earth, I do believe Priest Johnson was one. He was so earnest—so sincere; and a very learned man too. The Indians at that early day used to gather round to hear him."

"Was he eloquent as a preacher?"

"The habits of the clergy at that time were, in the pulpit and out of the pulpit, very staid, their style severe, their manners grave and demure. Like the old Puritans, they deemed it wrong to indulge in passionate declamation, or to study the graces of oratory. Argumentative, solemn and impressive, he was, generally, rather than eloquent; that is in his regular discourses; but in prayer his spirit, at times, would seem to break away from earth, warming and glowing with holy zeal, his wrapt spirit would ascend on the wings of hope and faith and carry you with him, as it were, to the very portals of Heaven. He was tall, slender, a little bent forward—very considerate in conversation—mild and sweet tempered. I was at the first wedding ever celebrated at Wilkes-Barre. It was that of Col. Denison. The bride was Miss Betsy Sill"——

"So you had a very sober time of it?"

"Not so very sober either. They tempered a staid general conduct by occasional relaxation. We had a right

merry wedding. Mr. Johnson smiled with the rest, though the fashion of the times hardly allowed a minister to smile, much more, to laugh. But when the young folks began to be noisy, he took his hat and said he 'believed it was time for him to be at home.'"

Mr. Johnson, though he lived long a bachelor, had married before he left Connecticut, a lady of much personal beauty and highly accomplished, Miss Mary Giddings of Preston, Connecticut. She was of one of the old aristocratic families of that State. I have heard the elderly ladies speak of her intelligence, her grace of manner, and with some slight envy of the beautiful gold locket which she displayed pendant to the chain of gold beads which she wore round her neck; and also of the more than common richly suit of curtains, gaily flowered by the needle on fine cambric, which decorated her bed. Their eldest daughter, Lydia, was married, soon after the commencement of the war, to Col. Zebulon Butler, who commanded the American forces in the Wyoming battle. As it was distinctly avowed by the enemy that they would make no terms with any Continental troops, Col. Butler with the 15 soldiers, the whole of that description left and retired through the wilderness to Connecticut. He threw a bed on his horse instead of a saddle, and took Mrs. Butler behind him. It was all they saved

THE IROQUOIS LANGUAGE.

While in the Indian country Mr. Johnson made a study of their language and he had no doubt that with three months' more study he could speak the Oneida language complete, and that with six months' more practice he could speak all the languages of the Six Nations, as they were so similar. Their similarity is referred to by Sir William Johnson (*Documentary History of New York*, iv, 272), who says: "The difference of dialect among the Five Nations is little more than may be found in the provinces of

the large States of Europe." In a letter to Wheelock Mr. Johnson recommended that he get a teacher of the Indian language in his school, as he considered it more important than Latin for the equipment of a missionary. "These languages," he says, "may be reduced to the rules of grammar and be learned as soon as any other, especially by those who have any taste for the oriental languages. Was it the will of God that I should spend another half year with them I think I would be master of the language." Lossing states (*Field Book* i, 349) that at an Indian conference at Wyoming in 1775, Rev. Jacob Johnson acted as interpreter. (*Miner* 183.)

In 1776, when war rumors were afloat and both Americans and British were bidding for the support of the Indians, several chiefs visited Wyoming, ostensibly for conference and presents, but as Miner thinks, to treacherously introduce the savages into the settlement without creating alarm, and then treacherously to destroy the whole. Such a visit was made by a Six Nation chief, whose speech was interpreted by Jacob Johnson. It professed to be friendly to the settlers, but carried suspicion on its face.

Latin he wrote with correctness and ease. I have seen a petition to Congress drawn by him, the original draft of which is partly in Latin—a pardonable vanity in a scholar living so secluded.

In quite advanced life he displayed what to the world might seem some of the eccentricities of genius, yet entirely consistent with the Christian character. For instance, he wore a girdle in imitation of camel hair, like John the Baptist: and his notions in respect to the second coming of our Saviour, to reign a thousand years, were somewhat peculiar. His faith was pure and lively, and he looked to that second advent as a scene the most glorious that imagination could conceive. Instead of regarding death with terror, such was the triumph of his faith, that he spoke of it as a desirable event—selected the spot for his grave; and there he would

sometimes be seen sitting at his devotions with his beloved Bible on his knee. Here the venerable patriarch chose his final resting place till the glad call of his Saviour's coming should arouse him to glory.

JACOB JOHNSON AS A SEER.

It was not unusual at the time in which Jacob Johnson lived to attribute to preachers of the Gospel certain prophetic powers befitting their holy calling. The following words descriptive of William Augustus Muhlenberg (Rev. William G. Andrews in "Standard of the Cross," February 22, 1882) would apply with equal force to Rev. Jacob Johnson, who was wont to speak of himself as a "seer:"

"If he was a saint he was also a seer. More than one of his friends ascribed to him a kind of prophetic gift, without thereby claiming for him supernatural knowledge about things future or hidden. But he undoubtedly possessed a spiritual insight, one fruit of his holiness, and a poetic temperament and activity of imagination, which together enabled him to see and to show with rare vividness, the things which ought to be and might be."

"From early life Mr. Johnson 'claimed to possess the gift of prophecy. He became somewhat visionary, and eccentric in his habits, in the latter years of his life;' he made himself a girdle of hair, which he wore, like John the Baptist, around his loins; he was a devout Second Adventist, and also believed himself to be endowed with a preternatural knowledge of coming events. At length, in the eighty-fourth year of his life, the infirmities of age began to creep upon him and there came to him one night, in a 'vision,' a mysterious forewarning of his death. This was so real and impressive that Mr. Johnson "not only made the usual preparations for dissolution," but set about digging his own grave."

OF HIS DEATH.

Wesley Johnson, Esq., a grandson of Mr. Johnson, thus describes his declining days :

“In extemporaneous pulpit oratory he did not excel, but in prayer, he seemed to throw his whole soul into the effort, forgetting surrounding objects; he was then truly eloquent. Many of his sermons were poetic effusions of no small literary merit, some of which, written in exceedingly neat and accurate chirography, the writer hereof has perused with much pleasure. The people called him Priest, a title they did not accord to the inferior clergy. * * *

“In the fulness of time the infirmities of age creep on; his stooping form and failing strength admonish him of the end of his earthly pilgrimage; and now, a vision came upon him in the night time, informing him that he was about to die, and so certain was he of the truthfulness of the heavenly messenger that he informed his family next morning of the approaching change, with as much calmness and deliberation as though he was only to make preparation for a short journey, and as an earnest of his belief in the certainty of the event, having procured a mattock and spade, with heavy steps he climbed the steep ascent of the ‘Redoubt’ and passed up the ridge. It was in the early spring of 1797; snow lay in spots along the northern exposure, to the south the warm sunshine had quickened the early flowers, and the plants began to put forth tiny shoots of green; the scattered leaves lay dead in the little hollows, or stranded in hazle thickets they rustled to the tread of the timid rabbit in its flight; the bluebird was flitting here and there, and the robin was making a frugal meal from the scarlet cones of the sumac on the declivity; a little glade or platform on the ridge is reached; it is a beautiful spot, just over his family burying place; the old man stopped to admire, as he had never done before.

Looking to the east, he said, 'Here will the earliest beams of the morning as they slant down into the valley carress these slopes,' and raising his hands in rapt admiration of the western prospect, 'Here will departing day linger on this spot, while dark shadows fall across the intervales beyond, and here will I be buried.' His feeble health would not permit of protracted labor, and it required some days to complete the task. At length he had shaped the narrow home appointed for all the living, on the day preceding the one on which he had foretold his end. He informed his son Jehoiada of what he had done, gave some directions for the funeral in a cheerful and unconcerned manner, and retired to rest; but ere the morning sun shone into his window the Angel of Death had passed by that peaceful cottage and breathed in the face of the good old man as he slept, and there was mourning in the little hamlet."

Rev. Jacob Johnson died March 18, 1797. His wife, who was Miss Mary Giddings of Preston, Conn., and whom he married late in life, died January 18, 1805.

Upon the death of Mrs. Johnson nearly eight years later her remains were interred by the side of those of her husband. As years passed these secluded and solitary graves were neglected, yet were not entirely forgotten. The spot was well known, although not marked by any monument or the presence of other graves. Col. W. L. Stone, writing in 1839 of the eminence upon which these graves were situated, said (see "History of Wyoming," page 327): "From its crest the landscape is as beautiful as fancy can paint. Upon the summit of this hill sleep the remains of the Rev. Mr. Johnson, the first clergyman of Wyoming. He was a good scholar and a man of talents—greatly beloved by the flock over which he watched for many years. He was, however, an eccentric man, entertaining some peculiar views in theology. He believed in the second coming and

personal reign of Christ upon earth, and insisted upon being buried here, facing the east, so that he could see the glorious pageant of the Messiah in His second descent." Some thirty-five years ago the remains of Jacob Johnson and his wife were removed from "Westfield's Hill," and now rest in Hollenback Cemetery underneath a substantial and attractive monument.

Rev. Jacob and Mary (Giddings) Johnson had nine children, four of whom grew to maturity, viz.: (i) Lydia, born in 1756; became the wife of Colonel Zebulon Butler; died June 26, 1781. (ii) Jacob Williamson. (iii) Jehoiada Pitt. (iv) Christiana Olive. The last named was born in 1769 at Groton, Connecticut. She was married at Wilkes-Barre, March 25, 1801, by Dr. Matthew Covell, a justice of the peace, to William Russell, Jr. (born February 15, 1774), son of William and Mehetabel (Cowen) Russell. For a number of years William Russell, Jr., owned and carried on a pottery on River street below Union, on a part of Lot No. 9, previously mentioned. He died in Wilkes-Barre June 27, 1830, and his wife died here January 15, 1831, aged 62 years. They had no children.

"(ii) Jacob Williamson Johnson was born at Groton about 1765. Rev. Jacob Johnson sometimes, about the year 1768, signed his name "Jacob Ws. Johnson." It is quite probable that his full name was Jacob Williamson Johnson, and that within a few years after naming his son Jacob Williamson he discarded the "Williamson" from his own name. Jacob Williamson Johnson, Jr., was married, presumably at Wilkes-Barre, about 1790 or '91, to ——— Bailey. He died at his home, corner of Union and Main streets, May 22, 1807, and his wife died there September 2, 1807. They were survived by two daughters: (1) Mary Bailey, who became the wife (1st) of Albon Bulford, and (2d) of Phineas Nash Foster (born at Montpelier, Vermont

(in 1796). (2) Lydia, who in 1822 was married at Groton, Connecticut, to A. Smith of Aurelius, New York.

“(iii) Jehoiada Pitt Johnson was born at Groton in 1767, and was about 6 years old when he came to Wilkes-Barre with the other members of his father’s family. In 1789, at the age of 22 years, he was “Collector of Rates” for the district of Wilkes-Barre. In 1799 he was one of the poor-masters of the town, and prior to 1801 he held the office of Town Clerk of Wilkes-Barre for a year or more. In 1802, ’03, and ’04, and probably in other years about that period, he was Collector of State and County Taxes in the district of Wilkes-Barre. In 1802, and perhaps later, he was engaged in a small way in general mercantile business in Wilkes-Barre. In June of the year mentioned he advertised for sale an “assortment of crockery-ware”—perhaps the output of his brother-in-law’s pottery. About 1810 or ’11 Jehoiada P. Johnson removed from his house at the north-east corner of Union and River streets (which had been conveyed to him by his father, and where he had continued to live after the latter’s death) to Public Lot No. 1, which, also, had been conveyed to him by his father, in April, 1769. Upon that lot, by the side of Laurel Run, within the present bounds of the borough of Parsons, he built in 1817 a small grist-mill, which he operated until 1825—one Holgate being the miller. Later it was leased to and operated by other persons, as explained in a subsequent chapter.

“Jehoiada P. Johnson was married January 19, 1840, by Lawrence Myers, Esq., a justice of the peace, to Hannah (born 1782), daughter of Robert and Sarah Frazer.

WRITINGS OF REV. JACOB JOHNSON.

Although Mr. Johnson was one of the theological pamphleteers of his time only a few of his writings remain.

1754

1. The Voice of God from the Dead to the Living. Being a Brief Account Of a Religious Life, Comfortable Death and last Words of Mrs. Sarah Williams, Who Departed this Life April 10, A. Dom. 1754 in the Eighty Eeighth Year of her Age. And in the evening of our Anniversary First Made Public as a Friendly Monitor to Saints; And a Faithful Warning to Sinners. By Jacob Johnson A B Minister of the Gospel at Grafton in Connecticut in N England in America. Live Well; and thou shalt Dye Well: And Live when thou art Dead. Bible Religion New London. Printed and sold by T. Green 1754 12. mo. pp 2+26+2.

1756

2. Animadversions, with some brief Remarks by way of Answer to John Bolles of New London &c by Jacob Johnson Pastor of a church at Groton Connecticut. Printed 1756 16^o pp 30.

This was a reply to a pamphlet entitled
 "To Worship God in Spirit & in Truth Is To Worship Him in the True Liberty of Conscience; That is in Bondage to No Flesh And in this Spirit of Liberty I have composed the following Treatise And Recommend it to the Reader. John Bolles, a servant of Jesus Christ.

1765

3. Zion's Memorial of The present Work of God. The Two Witnesses. A Vission of Christ. An Essay on Vissions. Three Rules to Know a Work. The present a Work of Grace. An Address to All. By Jacob Johnson A M Minister of Christ at Groton, Connecticut, In New

England This Day shall be for a Memorial, Moses on the Passions. This is the Work of God. Christ on the Gospel. Printed in the Year 1765. 4 to pp 67.

1768

4. Honours due to the Memory and Remains of pious and good Men at Death. Shewed and Applied In a Sermon, Preached at The Funeral of Col. Christopher Avery Esq: Late of Groton, (in the Colony of Connecticut) deceased. By Jacob Johnson A. M. Preacher of the Gospel at Said Groton. "All Judah and Jerusalem did Him honour at his Death." II. Chron 32. New London. Printed by Timothy Green, 1768 8^o pp 30.

No. 1 and 2 are in Princeton University Library, and Yale University Library. No. 3 is in the Libraries of Union Theological Seminary, New York, and the Connecticut Historical Society. No. 4 is in the Connecticut Historical Society and also in the American Congregational Association Library.

Jacob Johnson wrote in one of his Fort Stanwix letters that he was sending to his family some verses he had written. They have not come down to us. In a pamphlet printed by him in 1754 are some verses that are doubtless his, and gloomy specimens of theology they are, but they express the religious spirit of that day. They appear to have been suggested by the death of Mrs. Sarah Williams, described in the funeral pamphlet above alluded to. They are as follows:

THE DEAD WARNING THE LIVING.

I'm come to Warn the Youth ;
 For you muft Die ;
 Thofe fparkling Eyes, that rofy Blufh,
 Muft fink to hollow, change to pale,
 And be a Ghoft as I.—

I'm come to Warn the Man,
 Whofe GOD is Gold ;
 Whofe Heaven is pomp'ous Pride & Scorn ;
 Your golden Scene, to leaden death muft change,
 And gloomy Horrors claip your naked Soul,
 And wreaths of Lightning flaft,
 Inftead of Tempting Gold.

I'm come to Warn the Hoary-Head,
 Whofe envious Soul with Avarice is lean ;
 You'r in the Suburbs of the Damn'd, & Dead,
 While livid Flame, & Darknefs waves between,
 And Ghofts around you hover,
 Waiting tho Unfeen.—

Oh! Youth, Oh! Middle Age, and Old!
 All Souls, (I cry) Awake ;
 To-Day, while it is Day, the Time, Behold,
 The Time to fcape,
 The gify Horrors of the Burning Lake ;
 Redemption to Obtain, and Heaven,
 For JESUS'S Sake.



