The Trail through Shadow of Death Gap.
From a photograph made by the Author in September, 1909.
The Wilderness Trail

Or

The Ventures and Adventures of the Pennsylvania Traders on the Allegheny Path

With Some New Annals of the Old West, and the Records of Some Strong Men and Some Bad Ones

By

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With Eighty Maps and Illustrations

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CHAPTER XII

THE OHIO MINGOES OF THE WHITE RIVER, AND THE WENDATS

PIERRE JOSEPH DE CELORON, Commandant at Detroit in 1743, wrote in the month of June of that year to Beauharnois, the Governor-General of Canada at Quebec, respecting some Indians "who had seated themselves of late years at the White River." These Indians, he reported, were Senecas, Onondagas, and others of the Five Iroquois villages. At their urgent request, Celoron permitted some residents of Detroit to carry goods thither, and had recently sent Sieur Navarre to the post, to make a report thereupon. Navarre's account was transmitted to Quebec with this letter. Celoron's letter has been printed in the New York Colonial Documents, but the accompanying report of Sieur Navarre has not heretofore been published. Following is a portion of that report:

"Memoir of an inspection made by me, Navarre, of the trading post where the Frenchman called Saguin carries on trade; of the different nations who are there established, and of the trade which can be developed there. . . .

"The tribe of the Senecas, who had come to ask for Saguin, has fulfilled its promises. Since last autumn, they had told the English who traded in their territory that they did not wish them to return; that they [the English Traders] should confine themselves to their trade among their own Shawnees. . . . This had been told to the English at Saguin's

Robert Navarre, Intendant at Detroit from 1730 to 1760, was born at Villeroy, in Brittany, 1709, of an illegitimate branch of the royal house of Navarre. He died at Detroit in 1791, leaving nine children.

The town of Navarre, in Stark County, Ohio (established about 1839), is not far from the centre of the district which was served by Saguin's post. Peter Navarre, son of Robert (1739–1813) and grandson of the above named Robert Navarre, died in Toledo, Ohio in 1874 (?), at the age of eighty-eight. He was a noted frontiersman of his time, lived many years among the Indians, and served as scout to General Harrison in the War of 1812. For some years before his death he was President of the Maumee Valley Pioneer Association. See Waggoner's History of Toledo and Lucas County, p. 657; Howe's Historical Collections of Ohio, ii., p. 152; Denissen, Family of Navarre (Detroit, 1897); Hamlin, Legends of Detroit (Detroit, 1884).
House in the autumn of 1742; a Frenchman who lived among the English acting as interpreter.

"There are ten different tribes settled upon that river, numbering altogether about five or six hundred men, namely, the Senecas, Cayugas, Oneidas, Onondagas, Mohawks, Loups, Moraignans, Ottawas, Abenakis of St. Francis, and Sauteaux of the lower end of Lake Ontario. Forty leagues from the French house, going down towards the River Oyo (because by this river one reaches the Mississippi, as by the Miamis River, it is the same thing) there is an English blacksmith, whom five or six families of the Loups have stopped. This blacksmith was afraid to settle there, as much on account of the French as on account of the English governor, whose instructions were, not to go farther than the Shawnee settlements. These English Traders have themselves admitted the fact, and say, moreover, that if their expeditions were known, they would be punished. Upon which Saguin told them: 'You are then trying to get yourself plundered by the French.' To this, the English replied: 'If they plunder us here, we shall be well able to revenge ourselves upon the French [Traders] among the Shawnees.' It is difficult to pursue these Woods Traders, because they are all scattered among the winter quarters of the Indians; as soon as spring comes, they start for their cities, and their governors or masters think they come from points within the Shawnee territories.

"M. de Noyans had sent a notice to the English governor in a letter, to inform him of the behavior of his people. This letter was never delivered; the bearer, knowing it to be injurious to himself, had destroyed it. One named Maconce offered to deliver a letter to the English which we might wish to entrust to him, and bring back an answer, provided he was paid for it.

"The number of Indians who have settled on this river increases every day; since hunting there is abundant; while on the other hand, at their former homes, there is no more game.

"The powder and balls which Saguin asks that we send him, are very necessary, as ammunition is scarce at this time, when deer hunting begins; while besides, there have come from afar some Indians loaded with peltries, in order to buy powder from Saguin. He made them wait, telling them that some was then coming from Detroit, where he had written for it.

"As soon as the people knew of my arrival, they hurried in to ask if I had brought powder. Saguin answered them that I had brought nothing; for the letter which he had sent to Detroit by an Indian never

1 See page 334. One Maconse acted as guide to a party of French and Indians from Fort Machault (Venango) who attacked the Susquehanna settlements in September, 1757. See Penna. Archives, iii., 295.
was delivered. That if they would wait several days longer, I would inform M. de Celoron of their wants, and entreat him to permit powder to be brought to them. They have all besought me not to forget them; as, otherwise, they would buy from the English as soon as they should arrive; that to go to Niagara was too long and too difficult a voyage for them.

"Saguin knows well how to conduct himself towards these tribes. He understands them perfectly, and his good conduct towards them causes them to gather in increasing numbers, which will render this post a considerable one. And it would be grievous if the English should come and profit from the work of Saguin, through the little regard the French may have for the place.

"It would be necessary for the maintenance of this post that we should send two canoes of merchandise each year.

"We cannot with reason reproach the Senecas for having failed to keep their word to M. de Celoron; for they were not powerful enough to drive away the English. If they tell the English to leave, another tribe will tell them to stay. The Indian is never provoked by seeing merchandise abundant where he lives, knowing that it will enable him to buy cheaper; besides, they are no more culpable than the Hurons of Detroit, who do not scruple to go for the English and guide them as far as their winter quarters [at Sandusky Bay], to trade with them.

"Last spring, as Saguin did not sow corn, as was his wont, some Indians asked him his reason for not cultivating his field, as usual; and he answered them that he hesitated to work on it, fearing that he might not be allowed to come back. The chiefs assembled, in order to discuss the matter, saying, that 'if we find you are not to come back, we will start at once for Detroit, and tell M. de Celoron... "you have given us our brother, Saguin, and now you call him back to you again."... So, Saguin, our brother, work your field, we will guard it while you are going to Detroit. It is necessary that you should cultivate the land, because we are not able to furnish you with grain for the sustenance of yourself and the Frenchmen who live with you. If we sell you our grain, our wives and children, with the old people, whom we leave behind in summer, in going to war, would run the risk of dying of hunger; so do not count on us for grain. . . .'

"Saguin makes his arrangements in order to return to Detroit in accordance with M. de Celoron’s order. However, he charges me to represent clearly that it is a great hardship to him to [be obliged to] abandon his building and his post, which have cost him so much. The rum which is on the way from Oswego will place his goods in great risk. The drunkards break everything. The English will arrive from the Shawnees during his absence, and will insinuate that the French are
abandoning them. Saguin says further, if we do not want him to return there to trade, we should send another Frenchman; that he would not, like the people of Detroit, be angry at seeing one established there.

“The merchants of Detroit have made a great mistake in accusing Saguin of trying to gain over the Ottawas of Detroit. There was found there of that nation five or six cabins, who have asked the Iroquois Senecas for a small piece of land, in order to light a little fire; which has been granted them. The greater part of these Ottawas are bad people who only established themselves in this place in order to be able to go more easily to Choueghen [Oswego trading post]. No one can prevent them. The people of Detroit to whom they owe money can never catch them to make them pay. Besides, the road from there is very much shorter. It is this which likewise causes a part of the Hurons to remain in their village of Sandoske. On returning from Saguin’s place we have seen their preparations for their voyage to the English.”

In June, 1744, the Chevalier de Longueuil, who, several months before, had succeeded Celoron as Commandant at Detroit, gave the war hatchet to the four nations of Indians seated near that post—the Ottawas, Hurons (Wyandots), Pottawattomies, and Mississagas, and incited them to make war against the English Traders of the White River. “It is neither to Montreal nor his territory that I direct your first steps against him. It is in your own immediate vicinity, where he for several years hath quietly made his way with his goods. It is to the White River or to the Beautiful [Ohio] River that I expect you will immediately march in quest of him and when you destroy him, you will seize and divide all his goods among you.” On the 19th of the same month Longueuil sent a similar message to the chiefs of the post of the White River: “Children, I answer your speech and send Saguin back to you, with some Frenchmen, who convey your necessaries to you. . . . Your brothers at Montreal, as well as those at Detroit, are ready to start, tomahawk in hand, to go and avenge the insult the English have offered me. It is for you to imitate them, in order to parry and anticipate the blows Assaregoa wishes to give me. Wait not till he strikes you first. Commence by

1 This sets back the date of the Huron settlement at Sandusky three years before 1745—the date usually given. It really began before 1739. See Wis. Hist. Collections, xvii., 286, 287, 333.

2 Assarigoa, usually translated “long knife,” was an Onondaga term, meaning “big knife” (Zeisberger spells it Asharigouna), first applied by the Five Nations to Lord Howard, the Governor of Virginia in 1684, and to all the Provincial Governors of Virginia who succeeded him. In the minutes of a Council held by Governor Spotswood with the chiefs of the Five Nations at Albany, September 6, 1722, it is explained that “Assarigoa is the name of the Governor of Virginia, which signifies a simeter, or cutlas, which was given to the Lord Howard, Anno 1684, from the Dutch word, Hover, a cutlas.”—N. Y. Col. Doc., v., 670.
binding and pillaging all the English who will come to your parts and to
the Beautiful River; divide the goods among you, and bring the men here
to Detroit; let your warriors penetrate even as far as the land of Assaregoa
himself. Toyaraguindiaque and Canante-Chiarirou; chiefs of the na-
tions of the White River, I rely on you, and on the promise you have
given me of your fidelity and attention for the success of the good work.”

Longueuil wrote to Beauharnois again in September, 1744, that,
“on receiving intelligence of the arrival of several Englishmen at
the White River, he immediately raised a party of thirty-five picked
Ottawas to plunder and kill them, or to fetch them prisoners to him;
and they set out on the 17th of September with every desirable demon-
stration of joy.” Longueuil adds, “that he is much the more deter-
mined to urge on this party, as he is informed that the English were loaded
with powder and ball, and were resolved to annihilate the French Traders
who were going to that quarter; that he also sent messages² to the
Indians seated on this White River, in answer to their request to him
to send them back some Frenchmen, and that they would not suffer any
Englishmen there; whereby he prevails on them in like manner, to take
up the hatchet and join their brethren of Detroit.”

The result of this expedition does not appear in any of the contem-
porary documents that the writer has been able to discover; but that
the English were not driven away from the White River permanently is
evidenced by the fact that Beauharnois wrote to Longueuil so late as
the fall of 1746, recommending him to induce his Indian allies “to make
some incursions during the winter, against the settlements the English
have made in the direction of the Beautiful River and of the White River.”

Meanwhile, Beauharnois had written as follows to the Ministry at
home (October 14, 1744), concerning the Indian settlements on the
White River:

With regard to the settlement established by a number of Indians of
different nations in the region of the White River, and about which,
Monseigneur, you have deigned to inform us regarding the intentions
of his Majesty, it appears to us, as we have had the honor to explain it
last year, that it is more suitable to the interests of the Colony to let it
exist, rather than to attempt to break it up by compelling the Indians to

1 Canante-Chiarirou was evidently the same chief who was known to the English
from 1747 to 1754 as Canajachieera, Conagaresa, Onidadehara, Conageriwa, Canajac-
kanah, Conajarca, and Canajachresera. His hostility to the French will be shown
in the course of the present chapter. He was one of three “chiefs of the Seneca Nations
settled at Ohio,” who attended a conference with Secretary Richard Peters at George
Croghan’s house in Pennsboro Township, Cumberland County, June 7, 1750. See
Penna. Archives, i., 742; ii., 59; Penna. Col. Rec., v., 358, 438, 531, 686; Doc. Hist. N. Y.,
ii., 750, 757.

2 On the 19th of June, as stated above.
return to their villages. Indeed, besides that one cannot hope to succeed in this, there can result no advantage to the Colony; neither by commerce, which the French might be permitted to continue to carry on there; nor by the [probability of the] Indians being induced, not only to drive away the English, as they even this year reiterated to M. de Longueuil, but also to make raids on the settlements which they have in the vicinity of the White River.

We enclose the words of these Indians, which M. de Longueuil has addressed to M. de Beauharnois, through which Monseigneur will be able to judge, so far as it is possible to count on them, as to their situation, and of which M. de Beauharnois will do the most he possibly can to make them feel how grateful they should be for the attentions shown them in supplying them their necessaries. For this purpose, there will be sent two licenses every year, based upon those of Detroit, counting from next spring, and amounting to five hundred livres each, for the profit of his Majesty. This appears to us even now as advisable to put in practice, until the circumstances and advantages which can be derived from this post demand that there should be a larger number of licenses.

On the second day of November, 1747, Captain Raymond, an officer at Quebec, also wrote to the French Ministry concerning the reports which had been previously sent “that the Hurons of Detroit and the Yrocois at the outlet of La Riviere Blanche have killed some Frenchmen at Sandoske.” He adds: “As your Grace must have remarked in the Memorial I had the honor of sending you from Niagara on this subject in 1745, in which I took the liberty of pointing out to you all the evil there was to fear for the Upper countries from the English Traders, who were allowed to establish themselves at La Riviere Blanche, in the vicinity of Detroit and of other posts, that the English would infallibly corrupt and win over the savage nations that live with them on that River. And this has not failed to happen as I had predicted to you. They have succeeded so well in making them their devoted creatures that it is these same savages who, at their instigation, have killed the French at Sandoske; who wished to surprise Detroit, to put these same English there. . . . I beg you to observe, Monseigneur, that the cause of all the ills and agitation of the Upper country is due to the English who have been left in peace at La Riviere Blanche; and that all that evil was fomented there.”

Where was the White River, on which these Indians were settled?

The Marquis de la Jonquiere, who became Governor-General of Canada in 1749, in a letter to Governor Clinton of August 10, 1751, refers to a certain Huron or Wyandot Town on Sandusky Bay, as “Ayonontout, the place selected in 1747 by Nicolas, the rebel Huron Chief, as his stronghold, near the little lake of Otsanderket [misprint for Otsandesket, i.e., Sandusky], that is to say, within ten leagues of the town of Detroit.” This town was identical with that called “Junundat” (i.e., Wyandot) on Lewis Evans’s map of 1755, and located on the east
side of the Sandusky River, a short distance from its mouth.\textsuperscript{1} The Indian Town of "Sunyendand" or "Junqueindundeh," where James Smith lived during a part of the year 1756, was above the site of the other village. Langueil's letter from Detroit of October 22, 1747, contains "news brought from Ostandousket 20th October, by two Hurons, deputed by the sachems." One item of this news was to the effect "that fear of the Iroquois war party has obliged the Hurons of Sandusky to collect together at the White River, twenty-five leagues from Detroit, to entrench themselves there, and examine in safety the conduct of the Iroquois."

A very circumstantial account of some of the leading incidents of the conspiracy of Nicolas has been written by Mr. Alfred T. Goodman in his history of the Miami Confederacy, printed in 1871 as an introduction to that writer's edition of the \textit{Journal of Captain William Trent from Logstown to Pickawillany A. D. 1752}. This account has been followed by Mr. Butterfield in his \textit{History of Ohio},\textsuperscript{2} by Mr. Knapp, in his \textit{History of the Maumee Valley} and by many other writers since.\textsuperscript{3} Both Goodman and Butterfield have made the mistake of giving as the dates

\textsuperscript{1} Darlington thinks Nicolas's town was between Sandusky River and Green Creek. See Darlington's \textit{Gist}, p. 110; also \textit{Journal of Sir William Johnson}, Sep. 22d, 1761 (in Stone's \textit{Life}, ii., 466), who visited two Wyandot towns, one nine miles west and the other three miles south of Fort Sandusky. In Appendix IV. of Smith's \textit{Historical Account of Bouquet's Expedition} are given the distances on the Trail from Ft. Pitt to Junqueindundeh, as follows: From Ft. Pitt to the mouth of Big Beaver Creek, 25 miles; to Tuscarawas, 91; to Mohicken John's Town [in what is now Mohican Township, Ashland County], 50; to Junundat or Wyandot Town [meaning the town on the site of what is now Castalia, Erie County], 46; to Sandusky [now Venice, Erie County], 4; to Junqueindundeh [now Fremont, Sandusky County], 24; total, 240 miles. While this location of Junundat four miles south of the English Fort Sandusky may be the correct one, I am inclined to think the earlier site, or at least the site of Chief Nicolas's stronghold, was the Wyandot village visited by Sir William Johnson in 1761 on the southwest shore of the bay, nine miles west of Fort Sandusky. Major Robert Rogers and his Rangers, also, on their return from Detroit in January, 1761, in crossing Sandusky Bay from the north, arrived at a town of the Wyandots on the south shore, and thence proceeded southeast seven and one quarter miles to "a small Indian Town at a large bubbling spring," being the same town three or four miles south of Fort Sandusky, which is called Junundat in Smith's \textit{Bouquet}. Ayonontout, like Junundat, may have been a synonym for Wyandot, or, possibly for Anioton, the name of a Huron chief who was associated with Nicolas in his rebellion, and whose name was applied to the village of Nicolas on Sandusky Bay by the French of Detroit.

\textsuperscript{2} \textit{Magazine of Western History}, vols. iv., v., and vi.

\textsuperscript{3} Mr. Charles E. Slocum, in his recent \textit{History of the Maumee Basin} (Defiance, Ohio, 1905), also follows the same inaccurate account of Goodman. Dr. Thwaites, likewise, in volumes xvii., and xviii., of the \textit{Wisconsin Historical Collections}, attempts to make various identifications of La Riviere Blanche of 1745 with the White River of Indiana, White Oak Creek, the Little Miami, and the Sandusky; neither one of which is correct, although the same name was applied to a stream near the Wabash by Beauharnois so early as 1733—a stream on which some of the Miamiis had settled.
of two of the principal occurrences of that little war, the dates of the letters from the Detroit Commandant reporting those occurrences. Both writers have likewise made the serious mistake of locating the White River district in Indiana, when it was really the seat of the most important early eighteenth century Indian settlements in Ohio. It is possible that these writers have also made other mistakes in their accounts of the operations of Nicolas's band. Mr. Goodman's account may be summarized as follows:

In 1745 [before 1740], a large, powerful, and unscrupulous body of Huron Indians, belonging to the tribe of the war chief Nicolas, removed from the Detroit River to the lands on the north [southwest] side of Sandusky Bay. Late in the same year, a party of English Traders from Pennsylvania visited the village of Nicolas, who had become an implacable enemy of the French; and he permitted the Traders to erect a large block-house, and to remain and dispose of their stock of goods. Once located, the English established themselves at the place, and acquired great influence with Nicolas and his tribe.

On the 23d of June, 1747, five Frenchmen with peltries arrived at the Sandusky Town from the White River, a small stream falling into the Wabash [Lake Erie] nearly opposite the present town of Mt. Carmel, Ill. They were received by Nicolas with pronounced evidences of hostility. The English Traders, noticing this feeling, urged the chief to seize the Frenchmen and their peltries. This was accomplished on the afternoon of the day of their arrival. Nicolas condemned them to death, and they were tomahawked in cold blood. Their peltries were sold to the English Traders, and by the latter disposed of to the Senecas.

On the 7th of April, 1748, Nicolas destroyed his village and forts, and on the following day, at the head of 119 warriors and their families, left for the White River in Indiana [Ohio]. Soon after, they removed to the Illinois [Allegheny] Country, locating on the Ohio, near the In-

1 Longueuil's report of the massacre was of that date; the French Traders were killed more than a month before.

2 French Traders on their return from Indiana posts to Detroit descended the Miami (Maumee) River from Fort Miami, the present site of Fort Wayne, to the Maumee Bay, and thence northwards along the west coast of Lake Erie to Detroit River. Sandusky Bay is some forty miles east of the outlet of the Maumee; so that it is very improbable that any French Trader on his return trip to Detroit with peltries from an Indiana post would go so far out of his way to the east as Sandusky would be. The village of Nicolas, however, was on the direct trail westward from the White River to Detroit.

The messenger who brought the news from Sandusky to the French reached Detroit on that date; the migration had taken place before.

4 The White River of Indiana is called the Otisikaming on Franquelin's map of 1684 (which see, in vol. ii.). The first two syllables of this word are the French equivalent for what would be written in English, wapi, or wabi, the Algonquin term for "white"; but the White River of Indiana was not the White River to which Nicolas retreated.
diana line [on the Shenango branch of Beaver Creek, which latter stream
flows into the Ohio at Beaver, Pennsylvania, near the Ohio State line].

Now, let us see if a closer examination of some of the contemporary
documents relating to this occurrence will not make it appear that Mr.
Goodman’s account will have to be still farther corrected.

The killing of the French Traders, for which Nicolas was blamed,
may have been in part due to the instigation of George Croghan. This
man was an Irish Trader from Pennsylvania, of scanty education but
great natural abilities, whom this episode now, for the first time, brought
to the notice of the Provincial authorities of that Colony. He was a
strong and fearless man, and during the ten years following 1742, his
active and unceasing efforts to push and develop his trade with the Ohio
River and White River Indians, did more than any other one cause to
extend and increase the English influence far to the westward of the
Alleghanies. In trade, Croghan competed with, rivalled, and outstripped
the French on their own ground. In diplomacy, he was more than a
match for the younger Joncaire, the astute, insinuating, and highly
trusted Indian agent of the Canadian Government. In results, the effect
of Croghan’s commerce and intercourse with the Ohio Indians between
1741, the time of his first appearance on the pages of American his­
tory, and 1752, were so far-reaching and important as to cause the
Governor-General of Canada to report to the French Ministry, three
years before Braddock’s defeat, “that the Indians of the Beautiful River
are all English, for whom alone they work; that they are all resolved to
sustain each other; and that not a party of Indians goes to the Beautiful
River but leaves some there to increase the rebel force.”

George Croghan wrote from his house in Pennsboro to the Prov­in­cial
Secretary of Pennsylvania, May 26, 1747: “I am just returned from the
Woods, and has brought a letter, a French scalp, and some wampum,
for ye Govemor, from a part of ye Six Nation Ingans that has their
dwelling on ye borders of Lake Arey. Those Ingans were always in the
French interest till now, but this spring almost all the Ingans in the
Woods have declared against ye French; and I think this will be a fair
opportunity, if pursuued by some small presents, to have all ye French
cut off in them parts; for the Ingans will think a great dail of a little
powder and lead att this time; besides, it will be a mains of drawing
them that has nott yeet joyned.”

The letter which Croghan brought with him from the “Woods,”
was dated May 16, 1747, and signed by three chiefs of the Mingoes (as
the western Iroquois were called by the Traders). The names of these
Six Nations’ chiefs were Canajachrera, Sunathoaka, and Conaroya.

*This was during the progress of the Old French War, of 1744-48.
Canajachrera, the chief first named, is the same as one of the two "chiefs of the French Post at the White River" in 1744, to whom Longueuil sent a message, quoted above, on June 19th of that year; the French spelling of this chief's name in that document being Canante-Chiarirou. Through an error on the part of the editor of the New York Colonial Documents, this message of Longueuil, sent by him from Detroit on June 19, 1744, to the White River Indians, as well as the account of his conference with the Four Nations' chiefs at Detroit, instead of being printed in connection with Beauharnois's letter of November 7, 1744 (which appears on pages 111, 112, vol. ix, of the Colonial Documents, and in which reference is made to the message), have been wrongly dated as of the year 1700, and printed among other papers of that year, on pages 704 to 708 of the same volume.

The letter of the Mingo chiefs, Canajachrera (he was a Seneca), Sunathoaka, and Conaroya, to Governor Thomas of Pennsylvania, was written from near "Canayahaga" (now Cuyahoga), and transcribed for these chiefs by the hand of George Croghan. After correcting Mr. Croghan's eccentric spelling, this letter reads as follows:

**Brother Onass, Giaboga:**

Last fall, when our kings of the Six Nations were down at Albany, you and our brother of New York gave them ye hatchet, to make use of against ye French; which we very willingly and with true hearts took hold of, and has now made use of it, and killed five of ye French hard by this Fort, which is called Detroit; and we hope in a little time to have this Fort in our possession. We can assure you, Brother, we shall take all methods to cut off all ye French in these parts. We are likewise joined by ye Missisagas and Tawas, which are all as one with us. We now take this opportunity of presenting you by ye bearer, one of those Frenchman's scalps, assuring you it shall not be ye last of them. You shall see more of them as soon as we have completed a victory over them all in these parts, which we hope will be very soon done. We hope, Brother, you will consider that we shall be in need of some powder and lead, to carry on ye expedition with a vigor. We hear you have sent an army against Canada, to reduce it, which army we wish may have as good success as that you sent against Cape Breton. In assurance of our sincere wishes for ye success over all your and our enemies, we present you this string of wampum, and remain ye everlasting Brothers.

**Conagarera,**

Sunathoaka,

Kinnera.

1 *Onas*, an Iroquois word, signifying a "quill," or "pen," was the name given by the Five Nations to Governor William Penn, and to all the Provincial Governors of Pennsylvania succeeding him. See Penna. Arch., iii, 199.

2 *Penna. Archives*, i, 741 (where, in one place, it is misprinted "Conagaresa"), 751; ii., 59; *Penna. Col. Records*, v., 86, 136, 148, 150, 151, 189, 358 (where it is written
Endorsed—"Letter from the Indians, dated May 16th, 1747; an Indian Nation on the borders of Lake Erie. Conajacherrera, in English: 'A Broken Kettle.' Conaroya. Read in Council, 8th June, 1747."

In a letter written by Anthony Palmer, President of the Pennsylvania Council, to Governor Gooch, of Virginia, January 25, 1748, he states that the foregoing letter from the Indians was sent to the Pennsylvania Government "by some of the Six Nations and other Indians seated at Canayahaha, a place on or near the River Conde, which runs into the Lake Erie."

On July 9, 1747, the Provincial Secretary had laid before the Pennsylvania Council a number of letters he had received from Conrad Weiser, in which the latter relates the details of several conferences held by him on June 17th and following, with Shekallamy and Scaientes, two Iroquois chiefs, at the house of Joseph Chambers in Pextang. "The five French Indian Traders," writes Weiser, "that were killed on the south side of Lake Erie, have been killed by some of the Six Nations (there called Acquanushioony, the name which the Six Nations give their people—signifys, a confederate). Another French Trader has since been killed in a private quarrel with one of the Jonontachiroanu [Wyandots], between the River Ohio and the Lake Erie—the Frenchman offering but one charge of powder and one bullet for a beaver skin to the Indian; the Indian took up his hatchet and knocked him on the head." In this correspondence Weiser also reports that he is sorry to add that there are great complaints against James Dunning and John Powell, two of the Pennsylvania Traders. Dunning was accused by the Indians of having stolen forty-seven deer-skins and three horses from a Delaware, living on the heads of the Juniata. "James Dunning," continues Weiser, is gone down Ohio River, and will stay out long. The Indian was content that I should inform the Council of his misfortune. He not only lost his skins and horses, but pursued James Dunning in vain to the place called Canayiahagen, on the south side of Lake Erie; from thence back again to the place where he left the skins; and from thence again to Ohio; but all in vain, for he could not find or come up with James Dunning."

Conrad Weiser also, in a letter to the Provincial Council written from Tulpehocken, October 15, 1747, reports, that either the Zisgechas...
(Mississagas) or the Jonontadys (Wyandots) had sent a large black belt of wampum to all the Delawares and Shawnees of the Ohio and Susquehanna, inviting them into the war against the French; that "100 men of the Delawares were actually gone to meet the Jonontadys about Deoghsaghronty, where seventy or eighty of the Six Nations living at Canoyinhagy were also expected; they intend to cut off a French settlement to the south of Lake Erie."

Besides the above accounts of the killing of the French Traders, which Croghan and Weiser sent to the Pennsylvania Council, we have the official French version of the same; as well as an account carried to New York by an Iroquois warrior, who was an eye-witness, and may have been also a participant therein. These relations are, briefly, as follows:

Longueuil writes from Detroit on the 23d of June, 1747, that "some Hurons of Detroit, belonging to the tribe of the war chief Nicolas, who, some years since, had settled at Sandoske, have killed five Frenchmen who were on their return from the post at the White River, and stolen their furs; that all the Indians of the neighborhood, except the Illinois, had formed the design to destroy all the French of Detroit on one of the holidays of Pentecost; but that some Hurons having struck too soon, the plot had been discovered by a Huron squaw."

"This conspiracy," he adds, "is the fruit of the belts the English have had distributed among all the tribes by the Iroquois of the Five Nations."

Other Hurons, belonging to the tribes of the two friendly chiefs, Sastartetsy and Taychatin, came to Detroit to assure the Commandant that they had no share in the misconduct of Nicolas's people; "meanwhile, asking pardon, they endeavor to exculpate themselves, and propose settling near Detroit. Nicolas's tribe continues, nevertheless, to reside at Sandoske, where they doubtless expect not only to maintain themselves, but even to harass Detroit by small war parties. They have attached to them several families of vagabond Iroquois, Loups, &c. "

"It is even asserted that there are some Saut Indians among them."

In transmitting this intelligence to France, in the "Journal of Occurrences in Canada, 1746-47," the Governor-General adds: "Private letters mention the murder of the five Frenchmen with circumstances which show that the Hurons of Sandoske have perpetrated the greatest cruelties on this occasion."

In a conference held at Albany on July 17, 1747, between Governor Clinton and some of the Six Nations' chiefs, the latter informed the Governor, "that one of their Indians, in his way down from the Quitways [either the Quatoghees, i.e., Hurons, or, more probably, Twightwees, i.e., Miamis], met with three other different nations at Kichaga [Cuyahoga],

1 Detroit; see N. Y. Col. Doc., v., 694, 709.
2 See N. Y. Col. Doc., x., 83.
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where they lodged all together. As they lay there, came a battoe with nine Frenchmen, and landed near them. After they had landed, a nation called Younondadys called a council of all that were present, and told them they knew the Five Nations had taken up the axe against the French from our Governor, but that they had not taken the axe, but desired to use their own weapons; which was granted by the rest of the nations then present. Then they immediately killed eight [five], and took the commander prisoner, whom they have resolved to return in the place of a great Trader from Philadelphia, who was killed two years ago by the French, or his directions; and the scalps they resolved to send where his Excellency, our Governor, had hung over the war kettle, in order to see if they would not give the broth a good relish to the pleasing of his Excellency’s palate. The Ottawauways and other nations thanked them, and said they intended in a short time to make tryal, if they could not boil the same broth.”

Longueuil writes again from Detroit, August 24, 1747, that “the Hurons of Sandosket, and of Nicolas’s band, continue insolent; this chief not ceasing in his efforts to gain allies. The same Nicolas sent back the people of the White River who were on their way to Detroit, on account of the death of the five Frenchmen killed by the Hurons. He likewise persuaded twenty-seven Shawnees to turn back, who were coming to answer M. de Longueuil’s message; and as the sole result of the expenses incurred for that nation (of the village of Sonnioto), he [Longueuil] saw one Shawnee arrive on the 23d of August.” Kinousaki, an Ottawa chief attached to the French interest, informed the Detroit Commandant that no matter how things might turn, the Shawnees could not be induced to leave their village of Scioto and settle nearer the French. At the same time, from another source, the Commandant learned that two Englishmen had come to Sandosket, with ammunition for Nicolas and his men. Six months later, in February, 1748, Longueuil again informed the Governor of Canada that the Pennsylvania Traders had visited Nicolas twice during the winter, to trade, and were well received. He writes, finally, on June 5th of the same year, that Kinousaki, the friendly Ottawa chief, had returned, on the 7th of April, 1748, from the lower end of the Miami, whether he had gone to bring back the Hurons

1 Wyandots, or Hurons; their town, Ayonontoul of the French, Junundat on Lewis Evans’s map of 1755, was named for the tribe.
2 Possibly, by the Ottawa war party sent from Detroit by De Longueuil in September, 1744 (see ante); or by Peter Chartier’s Shawnee band.
3 Captain Raymond wrote the French Minister from Quebec, November 2, 1747: “The Hurons of Detroit and the Yricois at the outlet of La Riviere Blanche have killed some Frenchmen at Sandoske.”
4 Scioto; near the present town of Portsmouth, Ohio.
5 Now called Maumee, a corruption of Miami.
and Ottawas who had deserted from the village of Ostandosket. This messenger reported that "Nicolas, with 119 warriors of his nation, men, women, and baggage had taken the route to the White River, after having burnt the fort and cabins of the village." At the same time, two Hurons, who had been sent by Sastaredzy, the Huron chief of a loyal tribe, returned to Detroit, confirming the departure of Nicolas and his people "for the White River, to seek shelter among the Iroquois there, or among the Mohegans who are near Orange; and that only seventy men of all their nation would come back. The scalps of the Frenchmen who were killed by Nicolas have been conveyed to the Mohegans."

From Longueuil’s correspondence it will be seen that in the early spring of 1748, some 119 warriors of Nicolas’s band, with their families and belongings, had left Sandusky for the White River, in order that they might be nearer the tribes there, who were in the English interest. Seventy more warriors of the same band, partly Ottawas, had previously deserted from the Sandusky village, and taken up their residence at the lower end of the Maumee.

On September 8, 1748, Pierre de Celoron arrived at Quebec, on his return from Detroit, whither he had conducted a convoy sent to that post. From his information, and from letters received, La Gallisoniere, the Governor, concluded, that "the Hurons who are at Point Montreal appear again too convenient to Nicolas, who has removed to the Beautiful River." The Governor accordingly writes to the Commandant at Detroit (October 3d) that "though we be at peace, every attempt of the English to settle at River a la Roche [the Great Miami], White River, the Beautiful River, or any of their tributaries, must be resisted by force."

In June of the following year, Celoron, with a force of about two hundred and forty men, started on his expedition down the Ohio, going by way of Lake Chautauqua. His purpose was to drive off the English Traders; but he found the Indians along the Ohio and Miami so friendly to the English that he was unable to accomplish it.

Let us turn again to Croghan’s correspondence with the Pennsylvania Government in behalf of the Six Nations Indians of Cuyahoga, who had requested that powder and lead be sent them, to enable them to continue their war against the French. Croghan, September 18, 1747, wrote his factor, Thomas Lawrence of Philadelphia, a member of the Provincial Council, telling him that one of his men, who had just come "down from ye Woods," informs him that the Indians at this side of the Lake Erie are "making war very briskly against the French, but is very impatient to hear from their brothers, ye English, expecting a present of powder and lead; which, if they don’t get, I am of opinion, by the best accounts, that

*One or more of the scalps, as we have seen, was conveyed to Pennsylvania by George Croghan and others. See Penna. Archives, 1., 742; Col. Rec., v., 138.*
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... If there be nothing sent, I will not send out any goods or men this year, for fear of danger."

On November 11, 1747, ten Indian warriors from Ohio arrived in Philadelphia, and at a conference held with the Governor and Council two days later, they informed the English that they had taken up the hatchet against the French in their behalf. Their speaker, Canachquasy, the son of old Queen Alliquippa, addressed the Council as follows: "We who speak to you are warriors living at Ohio, and address you on behalf of ourselves and the rest of the warriors of the Six Nations. . . . You know when our Father, the Governor of Canada, declared war against our brethren, the English, you . . . sent to inform the Council at Onondago of it, and to desire that they would not meddle with the war. . . . But some time after this, messengers were sent to Onondago by all the English, to tell us that the French had begun the war on the land in the Indian countries, and had done a great deal of mischief to the English; and they now desired their brethren, the Indians, would take up the hatchet against the French. . . . The old men at Onondago, however, refused to do this, and would adhere to the neutrality. . . . At last, the young Indians, the warriors and captains, consulted together, and resolved to take up the English hatchet against the will of their old people. . . . This the young warriors have done—provoked to it by the repeated applications of our brethren, the English. And we are now come to tell you that the French have hard heads, and that we have nothing strong enough to break them. We have only little sticks and hickories, and such things that will do little or no service against the hard heads of the French. . . . When once, we, the young warriors, engaged, we put a great deal of fire under our kettle, and the kettle boiled high; and so it does still, that the Frenchmen's heads might soon be boiled, but when we looked about us to see how it was with the English kettle, we saw the fire was almost out, and that it hardly boiled at all, and that no Frenchmen's heads were like to be in it. . . . This has not a good appearance, and therefore we give you this string of wampum to hearten and encourage you, to desire you would put more fire under your kettle."

The Indians were encouraged to continue the war against the French, and told that a present had been prepared for them and for the Canayiahaga (Cuyahoga) Indians. Canachquasy then thanked the Council in behalf of the Indians present, and for the Canayiahaga Indians, "who, being their own flesh and blood, they were pleased for the regard shown to them."

Acting on Croghan's information, the Council had purchased some £200 worth of goods for the Indians in November, and sent them by wagon carriage as far as John Harris's Ferry on the Susquehanna, where they were held until the following spring. Additions having been
made thereto, so as to bring their total value up to about £1000,\textsuperscript{1} arrangements were made to have Conrad Weiser accompany the convoy to Logstown, carry a message to the Indian nations of the Ohio, and deliver to them the present of goods. Weiser was delayed in setting out until August, 1748; so that George Croghan was sent to Logstown in April, with a portion of the goods, to the value of £200. In Council with the Indians at Logstown May 28, 1748, Croghan announced that he had been sent by the Pennsylvania authorities to return thanks to the Indians for the French scalp they had sent down in the spring of the year before, and to bring to them sufficient supplies to enable them to kill meat for their families until the rest of the goods could be brought out. As he found some 1500 Indians about Logstown in great want of powder and lead, and the present sent by the Province was insufficient to supply half of them with ammunition, Croghan was obliged to supplement it by adding goods from his own storehouse at that point, to the value of £169 more.

Weiser set out from his house in Tulpehocken August 11th, and reached Logstown on the evening of the 27th inst. His Journal of the trip out and back has been printed in a preceding chapter. On the 30th, he went to Beaver Creek Village (afterwards known as Sauconk, at the mouth of the Beaver), eight miles beyond Logstown, and lodged there at George Croghan’s trading house. His companion, Andrew Montour, in the meanwhile had gone to carry a message to Coscosky (Kuskuskie), a large Indian Town about thirty miles from Logstown, which was the seat of the Six Nations regency in those parts. On September 3d, Weiser, having returned to Logstown, relates that he “set up the Union flagg on a long pole, treated all the company with a dram of rum; the King’s health was drank by Indians and white men. Towards night, a great many Indians arrived to attend the Council. There was great firing on both sides; the strangers first saluted the Town at a quarter of a mile distance, and at their entry the Town’s people returned the fire; also, the English Traders of whom there were above twenty.”

On September 8th Mr. Weiser held a council with the “Wondats, otherways called Ionontady Hagas.... Enquired their number, and what occasioned them to come away from the French.... They informed me their coming away from the French was because of the hard usage they received from them; that they would always get their young men to go to war against their enemies, and would use them as their own people; that is, like slaves; and their goods were so dear that they, the Indians, could not buy them; that there was one hundred

\textsuperscript{1} £200 had been contributed meanwhile by the Government of Virginia.
fighting men that came over to join the English; *seventy were left behind* at another Town a good distance off, and they hoped they would follow them.” Further on in his *Journal*, Weiser says of the Wyandot chiefs with whom he conversed, “They behaved like people of good sense and sincerity; the most of them were grey headed.” On the day of this conference with the Wyandots, he requested “the deputies of all the Indians settled on the waters of Ohio” to give him a list of their fighting men. “The following is their number,” Weiser writes, “given to me by their several deputies in Council, in so many sticks tied up in a bundle: the Senecas, 163; Shawanese, 162; Owendaets, 100; Tisageecheano, 40; Mohawks, 74 (among whom were 27 French Mohawks); Mohichons, 15; Onondagers, 35; Cajuckas, 20; Oneidos, 15; Delawares, 165; in all, 789.”

From the foregoing, it is apparent that when Nicolas’s band of 119 warriors left their village at Sandusky in the early spring of 1748, and took the route for the White River, leaving seventy of their companions at another town a good distance off, who had previously deserted from the village, and whom Sastaredzy’s messengers reported as being willing to return to Detroit, the larger party travelled eastward from Sandusky, and some finally settled on an eastern branch of the Beaver River, above what is now Newcastle, Pa. This “Owendoes” village is located on the Shenango in Dr. John Mitchell’s map of 1755, a short distance northeast of “Kuskusksies,” and was probably identical with the “Shaininggo’s Town” of Lewis Evans’s map of the same year. At Logstown, as we have seen, Weiser found that this village of the Wyandots contained 30 (?) warriors; and that the Wyandots had left seventy of their men behind in another town some distance to the westward. The location of that town will be considered in a subsequent chapter. Nicolas’s band did not long remain at the White River, by the French account, it will be remembered; but located at the Ohio.

1 See Evert’s *History of Lawrence County, Penna.*, p. 120; Darlington’s *Gist*, p. 108; De Schweinitz’s *Life of Zeisberger*, p. 361; Loskiel’s *Mission of the United Brethren*, part iii., ch. iii; Smith’s *Bouquet*, App. iv; Darlington’s *Fl. Pitt*, p. 84.

2 Hutchins (maps in Smith’s *Bouquet* and Darlington’s *Fl. Pitt*) locates Shaininggo Town in 1764 as a little more than half way between the Kuskusksies Town at the mouth of the Shenango and Pymatuning Town at the mouth of a creek of the same name which enters the Shenango Creek near Clarksville Station, Pymatuning Township, Mercer County, Penna. This would place Shaininggo Town in the present township of Shenango, Mercer County. Mr. Darlington in his *Gist’s Journals* (p. 108) states that an old Wyandot Town stood on the site afterwards occupied by Zeisberger in 1770 for his Indian village of Friedenstadt. This is still the site of Moravia post-office in Taylor Township, Lawrence County, on the east bank of the Beaver three miles below the mouth of the Shenango. Mr. Darlington thought that wherever the name “Chenango” occurs on an early map it marks the site of a Wyandot settlement or of a place where the tobacco plant was largely cultivated.
The truth seems to be, that the term, "White River," as used by the Detroit commandants from 1743 to 1749, really applied to the district in which the "Indians of the White River" were settled; and that the exact identity or location of that stream was not very clear in the minds either of Longueuil or Celoron.

Longueuil, as we have seen, wrote in 1747 that the menaces of the Iroquois had obliged the Hurons "to collect and entrench themselves at the White River, twenty-five leagues from Detroit," probably meaning the Cuyahoga terminus of the White River portage route.

Celoron while on his expedition down the Ohio River in August, 1749, applied the name, White River, to the Little Miami, and that stream is called Riviere Blanche on the map of Father Bonnecamps, the geographer of that expedition: both of them evidently taking it for the stream that led to the Ohio from the White River country, and not knowing that the Muskingum, or, as they called it, the Yanangue, was really that stream. The territory of what is now northeastern Ohio, Bonnecamps states, "is all unknown."

Baron de Longueuil, acting Governor of Canada, in a letter written to the Ministry in the spring of the year 1752, refers to a report received from the Commandant of the Miamis [Maumee] Fort, in which that officer tells of his unsuccessful efforts at bringing back a revolted band of Miami Indians from the White River, referring either to the band of La Demoiselle, who had built the large town of Pickawillany, on the Great Miami, or to the band of Le Baril, whom Celoron found located near the mouth of the Little Miami (by him then called the White) River in 1749.  

D'Anville, in his 1746 map of North America, applies the name "Riviere des Femmes Blanche" to the Muskingum; and in his map of 1755, he calls the Sandusky the White River; as does also Dr. John Mitchell, in his London map of the same year, which was largely copied from maps of the French, and particularly from that of Robert de Vaugondy (1755). Mitchell, following Vaugondy, locates "Canahogue" as the district between the Sandusky (which they both call "River Blanche") and the "Gwahage" (Cuyahoga); and he calls it "the seat of

1 In J. N. Bellin's 1755 map of the Western Part of New France, the Little Miami is called the Riviere Blanche, and the Great Miami, the Riviere a la Danoiselle, the village of Le Baril being located at the mouth of the former, on the east bank, and the village of La Danoiselle on the west bank of the stream of the same name. Mr. Berthold Fer· now, in his Ohio Valley in Colonial Days, refers to another of Bellin's maps of 1755, in which he locates the village of Le Baril at the mouth of White Woman's Creek, thus erroneously applying two names (White River, and White Woman) to the Little Miami, one of which seems to have belonged to the present Wallhonding or White Woman's River, the stream that unites with the Tuscarawas at Coshocton, Ohio, to form the Muskingum.
war, the mart of trade, and chief hunting grounds of the Six Nations on the Lake and the Ohio." Vaugondy locates the Iroquois village of "Gwahago" on the Cuyahoga River a short distance above the mouth of a tributary which seems to be the stream now known as Tinker’s Creek.

Broadly speaking, the White River country was really that between Lake Erie, the Forks of the Beaver, and the Upper Muskingum. The term, "White River," apparently, was applied to include not only the Cuyahoga, but also, at times, the Mahoning, the White Woman (or Walhonding) and Tuscarawas branches of the Muskingum, the Sandusky, and the Huron. The Cuyahoga connected almost directly with the Upper Tuscarawas by means of a portage (in what are now Portage and Coventry townships, Summit County), and with the Mahoning Branch of the Beaver; while the Sandusky, the Huron, and the White Woman rivers were connected by similar portages in what are now Plymouth and Sharon townships, Richland County, Ohio.

The 1755 map of Lewis Evans was the first approximately correct map of the Ohio country ever made. It shows a "French House" twenty-five miles below (north of) the portage, on the left bank of the Cuyahoga River. There was no house standing there at the time Evans made his map; because James Smith, the Indian captive, travelled up and down the Cuyahoga in the winter of 1756–57; and makes no mention of any French post or Indian village on the river at that time. Lewis Evans says the information in his map concerning "the routes across the country, as well as the situation of Indian villages, trading places, the creeks that fall into Lake Erie, and other affairs relating to Ohio and its branches, are from a great number of informations of Traders and others, and especially, of a very intelligent Indian called The Eagle, who had a good notion of distances, bearings, and delineating." The "French House" on Evans's map could have been none other than the approximate site of Saguin’s trading post, referred to in the report of Navarre, in 1743. A short distance south of this post, on the same side of the Cuyahoga, Evans shows a Mingo, or Seneca, Town; while, on the opposite bank of the river from the "French House," he locates a town of the Tawas (Ottawas). Mr. Charles Whittlesey, in his Early History of Cleveland, identifies the latter point with the "site of the old Ottawa Town," on which site, on Sunday, June 18, 1786, 

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1 The Portage Path between the Cuyahoga and Tuscarawas in 1797, as surveyed by Moses Warren in that year, left the Cuyahoga at the point where it crosses the line between Northampton and Portage townships, proceeding thence southwards to a point on the Tuscarawas nearly opposite the mouth of the outlet of Long Lake, in Coventry Township. In 1797, this trail measured 8 miles, 4 chains, 55 links, in length. See map in Hulbert’s "Indian Thoroughfares of Ohio," Ohio Arch. and Hist. Soc. Publications, vii., 291.
berger and John Heckewelder settled, with their Christianized Delaware Indian followers, on their return to Ohio from Detroit. The point at which they located was on the east bank of the Cuyahoga, just north of the mouth of Tinker's Creek, in what is now Independence Township, Cuyahoga County. On the opposite, or west, side of the river, they found a plat of good cleared ground, covered with a dense growth of rank weeds, where they tilled and planted. This was very probably the site of Saguin's house, and as, in the early part of the eighteenth century, the main trail from the Forks of the Ohio westward led to the portage between Cuyahoga and Tuscarawas, it will be seen that his location was near the centre of the Indian settlements in Ohio in 1742.

Proceeding southwards, up the Cuyahoga, from Saguin's house to the portage, crossing thence to the head waters of the Tuscarawas, and down that stream past the site of the present town of Navarre, in Stark County, Lewis Evans depicts, on his map of 1755, the Indian Town "Tuscarawas," as between the forks of that stream and the Big Sandy Creek. Christopher Gist, the surveyor in the employ of the Ohio Company, who visited this town, December 7, 1750, found it at that time to be "a Town of the Ottaways, a nation of French Indians; an old Frenchman, named Mark Coonce, who had married an Indian woman of the Six Nations, lived here." The town of Bolivar, Tuscarawas County, on the west bank of the Tuscarawas River, nearly opposite the mouth of Big Sandy Creek, is just below the former site of Tuscarawas Town, as located on the 1764 and 1778 maps of Thomas Hutchins, the geographer of Bouquet's expedition to the Forks of the Muskingum in

1 Gen. L. V. Bierce, in his *Historical Reminiscences of Summit County* (Akron, Ohio, 1854), refers to a former Seneca village as having been located near the north line of Boston Township, Summit County, on the east side of the Cuyahoga; and to another former Indian village, known as "Ponty's Camp, about half a mile northwest, on the west side of the river." He also refers to an Ottawa Town, in what is now Northampton Township, and on the opposite, or west, side of the river, a Mingo Town. General Bierce adds, "If there is any correctness in Evans's map, the French House there laid down was undoubtedly Ponty's Camp." It is quite possible that one of the sites mentioned by General Bierce, on the west side of the Cuyahoga, may have been that of the "Mingo Town" of Evans. One of the two sites on the east bank was that of the "Cayahoga Town," of Hutchins's maps of 1764 and 1778. Saguin's house and the Tawa Town were farther down the river (north), as already shown.

2 This man was probably the "Maconce" of Navarre's Memoir; and he may have been the French interpreter for the English Traders at Saguin's House, referred to in that Memoir, who had lived among the English. One, Maconse, guided a party of French and Indians from Fort Machault to the English settlements on the Susquehanna in the summer of 1757, he having a brother living among the English at that time. It is uncertain whether he was a Frenchman or an Indian, however, the Chippewa name for "bear cub" being *makons*, or *mackonse*. It may have been that that was the Indian name for the Frenchman whom Gist found at Tuscarawas Town in 1750. See *Penna. Archives*, iii., 294, 304; *Long's Voyages*, Thwaites's edition, 241.
The Site of Saguin’s Trading House on the Cuyahoga River. Looking West from the Mouth of Tinker’s Creek.

From a photograph furnished by Mr. Charles Starek.
October, 1764. In 1764, the Indian village was called "King Beaver's Town at Tuscarawas," and it was then occupied by Delaware Indians, who had removed from the vicinity of Fort Duquesne before the time of its evacuation by the French in 1758. King Beaver's Town stood on the west bank of the Tuscarawas, nearly opposite the mouth of Big Sandy Creek.

Evans's map of 1755 does not show any portage between the Cuyahoga and the West Branch of Beaver (Mahoning); but it does show a land trail leading eastward eighty miles, from the French House on the Cuyahoga (Saguin's) and the "Mingo Town," to "Kishkuskees" Indian Town, below the mouth of the Mahoning, on the Beaver. A trail thirty-five miles long, running along the south bank of the West Branch of Beaver, is also shown, leading from Kishkuskees to the "Salt Spring," a locality within the present township of Weathersfield, Trumbull County, Ohio, still known by that name down to the time of its first settlement by the Connecticut pioneers.

The true "White River" of New France in the fourth decade of the eighteenth century therefore, was the Cuyahoga. The district called "Canayahaga" or "Canahogue" was that part of the present state of Ohio lying south of Lake Erie, and almost entirely surrounded by the Cuyahoga River. That river, it will be remembered, rises not far from the mouth of the Grand, and after flowing south and west, doubles on itself, and flows north into Lake Erie, at a point farther south than its source. The peninsula formed by the stream includes the greater part of Geauga County, the northwest corner of Portage, the northeast corner of Summit, and the eastern half of Cuyahoga counties. Flowing north through the centre of this peninsula is another small river, the eastern branch of which heads near the sources of the Cuyahoga itself. This second river has been incorrectly named on the maps during the past hundred years as the "Chagrin" River.

On Rufus Putnam's 1804 map of Ohio, the name "Shaguin," from which Chagrin has been corrupted, is correctly given, although Putnam applied it to a river which really never existed. Putnam copied this portion of his map from that of Thomas Hutchins, made in 1778; and the latter may have copied it from the French (1754) and English (1764) accounts of the stream which was the true Shaguin River.

But Hutchins and Putnam both made the mistake of applying the name to an imaginary river between the Riviere La Biche (i.e., Elk, now the Chagrin) and the Cuyahoga, instead of to the Cuyahoga itself, to which latter stream the name Saguin, Shaguin, or Sequin had been

1 See Penna. Col. Rec., vii., 381; Penna. Archives, iii., 81.
2 "In Iroquois, s frequently sounds like sh."—Horatio Hale, quoted by Ruttenber in New York State Hist. Assoc. Collections, vi., 183.
given by the French of Detroit after 1742, to commemorate the residence there of the French Trader, Saguin.

On both Hutchins's and Putnam's maps, three rivers are shown between the Chagre, or Grand, and the "Cayahoga," all bearing their French names—Biche (or Deer, or Elk), Saguin, and Roche (or Rocky), and all east of the Cuyahoga. Inasmuch as the Rocky River is some half a dozen miles west of the Cuyahoga, it is plain that these cartographers, being ignorant of the fact that Saguin was a French name for the same stream of which the Indian and English name was Cuyahoga, imagined a river to lie between the Biche, or Elk (the present Chagrin River), and the Cuyahoga, to which belonged the name Saguin or Saguin; and so they inserted at this place on their maps a river which never existed. And further, knowing from their accounts of the shore of Lake Erie that the Rocky River was the stream next west of the Saguin, Hutchins and Putnam made the second mistake of placing the Rocky River east of the Cuyahoga, instead of making the Saguin identical with the Cuyahoga, and the latter east of the Rocky, as they should have done. The river now doubly miscalled the Chagrin, Hutchins and Putnam both called by its French name, Biche, meaning Deer, or Elk, River.

Lewis Evans's map of 1755 gives a true representation of these various rivers, and shows only three streams (the Chagre or Grand, the Elk, and the Cayahoga), where Hutchins and Putnam show five. Evans gives an Indian name to the Grand River, calling it "Cherage." This is the same stream which Major Robert Rogers called the "Chogage" in 1760; which Parkman, in his Pontiac, erroneously identified with the Cuyahoga; and from the Indian name of which comes the word, "Geauga," the name of an Ohio county to-day, in which the Grand River has one of its sources. "Cherase" is a variant of the Onondaga word, tsko-eragak, meaning "raccoon." From this word seems to have been derived the name Eriga, or Erighek, which the Iroquois applied to the people who lived or hunted on the banks of the Cherage, and who were known to the French and English as the Erises, or Nation of the Cat.

The Chagrin River, which Evans called Elk Creek, now bears a name which is simply a corruption of Saguin, a Detroit French name for the Cuyahoga. The river Cuyahoga Evans called "Cayahoga" (its Indian name), he not being familiar in 1755 with the personal name

1 Zeisberger's *Onondaga Dictionary*. Mr. Gateschet, in his article on the Massawomekks (Peet's *American Antiquarian*, iii., 323), gives tsco-eragak as the Onondaga word for "wild-cat." This is the definition given in the *Onondaga-French Dictionary* of the seventeenth century, and definitely fixes the Cherage of Evans's map, now the Grand, as the River of the Raccoon, or Cat, or Eric Tribe, in whose country it was.
which had been applied to it some ten years before by the French settlers at Detroit, to commemorate Saguin’s trading post, established on its banks by one of their fellow citizens about the year 1742.

However, the Shaguan River on Putnam’s map perpetuated, until 1804, the name of the French Trader, Saguin, whom Navarre visited at his trading post on the Cuyahoga in 1743. The name, “Chagrin,” as now applied to what Thomas Hutchins and Rufus Putnam called the Biche River, is a corruption and a misnomer, and wholly devoid of the historical significance attached to the true name of the French Trader, Saguin or Shaguin, which the Connecticut pioneers corrupted and erroneously applied to this river instead of to the Cuyahoga where it originally belonged.

Lieutenant John Montresor, who accompanied Colonel Bradstreet’s army from Fort Erie to Detroit, August 8th to 27th, 1764, has left a very complete Journal of the movement of the army along the south shore of Lake Erie. Under date of August 14th he writes: “The whole set sail for Presque Isle... and arrived there at nine—twelve miles. Halted a short time, and continued to the Carrying Place, being four miles further, and there encamped.” On the 16th, the army proceeded on its voyage, and encamped at “La Riviere de Villejoint—seventeen miles.” On the 17th, the expedition started at six o’clock in the morning, and arrived in the evening at “La Grand Riviere, or Cuyahuga, sixty-two miles.” This was the present Grand River, and not the present Cuyahoga. Montresor’s estimate of the distance covered that day was much too large.

“18th. The whole proceeded at seven o’clock this morning... The canoes with the Indians not arrived. Detained till this hour by frivolous excuses of the savages, in which they are never wanting. At nine o’clock the wind sprang up at NNE. The whole fleet set sail. After some time the wind rose at NW. by N. and blew fresh, the sea running high, and the whole bore away into the River de Seguin [Cuyahoga or Saguin], with a little difficulty, as there is a spit off the entrance, but no bar in the mouth of it. This is a remarkable river, where the Upper Nations hunt, and also paddle six leagues up this river, land on the east side, and from thence march loaded to Fort Duquesne, now Fort Pitt, in six days. Great party of the Ottawas hunted and saved corn here last year. Gained thirty-six miles this day. The River Assequesix [au Seguin] is navigable for birch canoes sixty miles up.

“19th. Continued our route at daylight. The wind moderate, but rose with a fresh swell. Signals were made for making a harbor.

1 “All of the parties [of surveyors, in 1796], when they reached the Chagrin, supposed they were at the Cuyahoga.”—Whittlesey, Early History of Cleveland, p. 213.
The whole bore away into the River de Roches [Rocky River]—the wind at NE.—seven miles one-half from the last encampment.

"21st. At six o'clock this morning orders were given for the whole to proceed. Arrived at La Riviere de la Culiere, twenty-one miles, and there halted. At two o'clock this afternoon continued to the Riviere de Vermillion, thirteen miles further; thirty-four miles this day."

The detachment of troops accompanied by Lieutenant Montresor to Detroit left there to return to Sandusky on September 14th. On the 18th of that month the army left Sandusky for Niagara. Montresor writes: "This morning, at half-past eight o'clock, the whole decamped and embarked for Niagara, consisting of 1400 men, besides 150 Indians—59 long boats, one barge, and nine birch canoes. . . . Continued this whole day on Lake Erie. Passed by the Rivers Huron, Vermillion, and Culiere, and encamped on a sandy beach to the westward, one mile off the Riviere au Roche. . . . 19th. . . . Offered my services this morning to Colonel Bradstreet to command and conduct a party to Fort Pitt, as provisions was so scarce—the route by the portage from the River de Seguin. . . . 21st. . . . At twelve o'clock opened the dam and all the boats proceeded, being thirty-six in number, and arrived at the River de Seguin at two o'clock. . . . 22d. At seven o'clock a detachment of three hundred and eighty men, with two days' provisions marched off for the River au Biche [Deer or Elk River], and if they should not find our boats there, to continue their route to Grande River, as per written instructions. At eight o'clock this morning continued our route (the same number of boats). . . . Attempted to disembark on a sandy beach, but found it not practicable, being in danger every instant of filling by a prodigious surf. Could not enter into the River au Biche, so were obliged to keep the sea and push for Grande River, which we reached about two o'clock. . . . 23d. . . . I went up the Grand Riviere, or Cayahage Creek to discover how far it was navigable; found it so for five miles for a barge at a place called le petit rapide. Arrived, the party that marched from the River de Seguin."

These extracts from the Journals of Montresor thus afford absolute proof of the identity of the White River (on which Saguin's Trading House stood in 1742) with the Cuyahoga River of to-day.

The last reference to this White River contained in the records of the English colonies appears to be that found in a letter from one Smith, transmitted by Governor William Shirley, of Massachusetts, to the Governor of Pennsylvania in March, 1754. Smith's letter to Governor Shirley was written from Cape Cod, December 24, 1753. He had left Quebec on the 18th of the preceding August. Mr. Smith writes: "September the
29th, 1752, the Castor or Beaver Company of Quebec petitioned the Governor and Council of Canada to have a Fort erected on or near a river called by the French, La Riviere Blanche, for the support and strength of their Indian commerce, which they alleged was encroached upon by the English Traders. This was forthwith granted by the Governor and Council, and an army of six thousand men to be [raised] forthwith, and ready to march by the first of January, 1753. . . . They were to be divided into three parties, and to march as follows, the first party . . . on the first of January, 1753; . . . the second party . . . to be ready on the first of March; . . . and the third party, consisting of the regulars and the rest of the militia to be ready to embark at Quebec on board of boats which were to be provided for them by the first of May. . . . The first party began their march on New Year's Day, 1753; the second party in March; and the remainder I saw embarked at Quebec on the first of May, on board 100 flat-bottomed boats built for the expedition. . . . The Indian Traders with whom I conversed inform me that La Riviere Blanche is 500 leagues from Quebec, and that it is in the British territories."

This was the expedition sent by Governor Duquesne in the spring of 1753 to build the French forts on the Ohio, three of which were nearly completed when Washington carried Governor Dinwiddie's letter to their commander in December of that year. These were Forts Presqu' Isle, Riviere aux Boeufs, and Venango. A fourth fort—Duquesne—was built during the next spring; and with the completion of these posts, the efforts which the French had been making for the past ten years to drive the English Traders away from the country of the White River and La Belle Riviere, were finally, for a brief period, successful.

1 See deposition of J. B. Pidon, a French deserter, in Penna. Archives, ii., 124.