

Gc
929.2
G3735w
1800634

REYNOLDS HISTORICAL
GENEALOGY COLLECTION

ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY



3 1833 03576 8834

57
NARRATIVES OF CAPTIVITIES

THE CAPTIVITY AND SUFFERINGS OF
BENJAMIN GILBERT AND *& Family*
HIS FAMILY, 1780-83

REPRINTED FROM THE ORIGINAL EDITION OF 1784
WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY

FRANK H. SEVERANCE



CLEVELAND
THE BURROWS BROTHERS COMPANY
1904

1800634
FRONTISPICE.



BENJAMIN GILBERT'S FAMILY
CARRIED OFF BY INDIANS!

COPYRIGHT, 1904

BY

THE BURROWS BROTHERS COMPANY

CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	7
GILBERT NARRATIVE	19
Preface	23
A Narrative of the Captivity of Benjamin Gilbert and his Family	25
Thoughts Alluding to, and in Part occa- sioned by the Captivity and Sufferings of Benjamin Gilbert and his Family	147
ANCESTRY OF BENJAMIN GILBERT	155
MEMOIRS OF THE CAPTIVES	163
BIBLIOGRAPHY	191
INDEX	199

ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
" BENJAMIN GILBERT'S FAMILY CARRIED OFF BY INDIANS" <i>Frontispiece</i> Frontispiece from the edition of 1813.	
FACSIMILE OF TITLE-PAGE, EDITION OF 1784	21
GILBERT HOMESTEAD, BYBERRY, PA. <i>facing</i> 25 Erected 1722 and still standing. Alvan T. James, who was born there in 1852, says he understood that the oldest part of the house was built in 1708. Engraved from a photograph by Gilbert Cope, West Chester, Pa.	
RECORD OF BENJAMIN GILBERT'S REMOVAL FROM RICHLAND MONTHLY MEETING, 1749-50 <i>facing</i> 166 Reduced facsimile, photographed from the original by Gilbert Cope, West Chester, Pa.	
FACSIMILE OF TITLE-PAGE, EDITION OF 1813	194
MAP, ROUTE OF THE CAPTIVES	<i>End of volume</i>

INTRODUCTION

THE narrative of Indian captivity which follows is one of the best examples of a class of literature to which no original additions are likely hereafter to be made. Almost from the day of discovery to the close of the nineteenth century, abduction by Indians has been a feature of American history. From the year 1529, when John Ortiz began his eleven years of captivity among the aborigines of Florida, down to such episodes as the capture of Joe Brown's family at the time of the Sioux uprising in Minnesota in 1862, or the attack on a Kansas-Pacific station in 1868, when several white men were carried off, only to be speedily put to death, the experiences of white men and women in the hands of Indian captors have been a conspicuous and melodramatic feature of our nation's history. It is now a finished chapter. The North American Indians today are no more likely to capture white men than are the shorn occupants of a sheepfold likely to pursue and tear a horde of surrounding wolves. Not even in the Alaskan wilds or the jungles of the

Philippines can the American pioneer and soldier find adventures which shall duplicate this phase of the experiences of their ancestors.

It should be noted however that most of the captivities which figure in American history came about through the alliance of the red man with white foes of the American settler. In the old French war, Indians from Canada carried off people who were their enemies only because they lived in British colonies. In the American Revolution, the rebel colonists, pioneers, and soldiers were captured by Indians, not because of any grievance which the Indians had against them, but in the ordinary (Indian) course of warfare, in the British interest. It is to this class of incidents that the captivity of the Gilbert family belongs.

Many of the stories of Indian captivity which were household classics in the days of our grandfathers, are unknown to the younger generation, which feeds its imagination on the feeble inventions of the concocters of "historical novels," few of which equal in tragic adventure and vitality of interest these true tales of olden times. In the narrative of the Gilbert captivity we have all the elements of a romance of adventure, combined with a pathetic exhibition of patient endurance which marked the patriot, and forms a realistic and instructive page of our country's history.

The regions in which captivities have occurred varied according to the period. As every reader of colonial New England history knows, many a frontier hamlet was attacked and the wretched prisoners carried northward into Canada, "whence they came not back," as many an old chronicle records. As settlement pushed westward, and the conflict between France and Great Britain was carried into the valley of the Ohio, the course of captivities ran westwardly, from the borders of Virginia and Pennsylvania into the wilds of Kentucky and Ohio. French officers at their posts on the Ohio and the Great Lakes ransomed from Indian hands many a white prisoner.

But the Indian captivity, as a feature of American warfare, did not reach its greatest development until the days of the Revolution, when the British, established in the lake and western posts from which they had ousted the French, made alliance with the greater part of the Six Nations and employed them with dire effect upon the American frontiers. From no spot in the long chain of wilderness outposts was this sort of warfare waged more fiercely or more successfully than from Fort Niagara, on the south shore of Lake Ontario at the mouth of the famous river. Here, throughout the Revolution, the British maintained a garrison. Here was the principal rendezvous of their most efficient

Indian allies, the Senecas; and from this spot, year after year, were sent out raiding expeditions, sometimes under joint British and Indian leadership, sometimes conducted solely by the Indians. They moved swiftly over the forest trails, eastward to the valleys of the Mohawk and upper Susquehanna, or southeasterly into Pennsylvania, fell upon the frontier farms, burned the buildings, slaughtered the cattle, stole the horses, and brought away such prisoners as they did not kill, back over the hundreds of miles of lake and river valley and forest upland, to the old seats on the lower Genesee or the Tonawanda, or to the base of supplies and encouragement, Fort Niagara. From this old "hawk's nest" went forth those savage expeditions which made the names of Wyoming, Cherry Valley, Harpersfield, Bowman's Creek, and many another scene of slaughter memorable in the history of the "back country" during the Revolution. Probably, during that period, at least a thousand white prisoners were brought hither. Many of them spent years of arduous servitude among the natives who adopted them. To this class belong several of the members of the Quaker family Gilbert.

In the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for May 3, 1780, appeared the following announcement, the first which made known to the public the captivity of the Gilberts:

“ Philadelphia, May 3d. By a gentleman who arrived yesterday afternoon from Northampton County, we have the following disagreeable intelligence, viz.: On Tuesday morning, the 25th ult., Mr. Benjamin Gilbert's house and mill, on the Mahony, about 4 miles above Gnaden Hutten, 28 miles from Bethlehem, were burnt, and the whole family, viz.: Benjamin Gilbert and his wife, with two daughters and a boy, Jesse Gilbert and his wife, lately married, Andrew Huger, a day-labourer, and two or three persons going to the mill are either killed or carried off. Another son of Mr. Gilbert, with his wife and a child, who lived half a mile higher up on the creek, are also missing, and his house burnt. Samuel Dodson's daughter, going that morning to fetch some meal, has not returned, and it is supposed that she fell into the hands of the murderers likewise. The families around them were ignorant of the whole until all was over; they saw the smoke, but as they knew Mr. Gilbert was clearing some land, they supposed the fire was from that; the barn was left, the horses gone, one bull and one cow stab'd and half burnt, the other cattle running in the fields. The report of but one gun was heard, which was in the house, and discharged itself in the fire. Daily reports of mischief done by the Indians.”

Newspaper methods in 1780 were not those

of the present day; this abduction of a numerous and prominent family occasioned little if any further comment in the press. It was war, and an expected condition of the times. The official reports, illiterate and incoherent as some of them are, clearly show the inability of the Government adequately to protect the frontiers. Thus, two days after the attack on the Gilberts, Lient.-Col. Nicholas Kern made the following report, here printed *verbatim*:

Lt. Nicholas Kern to Lt. Sam'l Rea, 1780.

Northampton County, Tomension township.

Sir,

Excuse haste, we have this meinet returned from a scout, where we found mr. Benjamin Gilberts house And gice mill & saw mill totally consumed with phire, and likewise Benjamin Peirts house, and the people Carryed of prisoners fifteen in Number by the enemy, But as the were taken the 25th instant in the morning, We were not able to over take them, but we could have Followed there tracks to Sasquehannah; the 15th instant Benedick Sneider & son was also taken and carryed of by the Indians, who has spread a general sleight in three townships, Penn, tomension, & Cheusnut Hill. Now we earnestly Beg your relievf by calling out the melittia on our frontere as the people on this side of the mountain is all Fled except a few

families, and the begin to move on your side of the blu mountain. We have had some scouting partyes But as Vallenteers will not stay above two or three Dayes from home at once, it is of no use to the inhabitants as security. We find now the want of not haveing our new officers elected & we hardly know now who to apply to, but by report; but our case is deploreable At present, not knowing the moment that we shall be either killed or taken and all we have consumed with Phire, it is now out of my power to embody five men in all this town-ship, but I think if there were proper Gards sent up soon the people would com back, much Depends on your activity in the matter, I am with Grate respect your very Humble Servant
NICHOLAS KERN.

April 27th, 1780.

Directed,

To Samuel Ray, County Leivtanenant.

It is needless here to recall the familiar fact that Pennsylvania was greatly handicapped in her efforts at defense, as were other States, by the stubborn refusal of the militia to give reliable service. The Quaker aversion to bearing arms added to the embarrassment of the situation, which was not lightened by the fact that in this instance the blow had fallen on a non-resisting Quaker settlement. The efforts of President

Reed and the Committee of Public Safety at this period to protect the frontiers of their State, and to give the expected quota of help to Washington, make a long chapter in the history of Pennsylvania. One phase of their perplexities is further illustrated by the following letters:

Samuel Rea, to President Reed.

Northampton County.

Gentlemen,

By this I beg leave to inform Council of the alarming and distressed situation of the frontiers of this County, since the account Transmitted from Mess^r. Depui, Stroud & Vancampen.

By express sent from Lieut Col Kern of the 4th Batalion who says that, this moment I returned from a Scout and that they found Benjamin Gilberts House, Grist mill & Saw Mills, totaley burnt by the Enemy, and likewise Benjamin Peerts house and the People 15 in number carried of Prisoners, taken on the 25th ult., in the morning and Benedict Snyder and Son were Captured on the 15th of last Month By the Indians,— By the late Repeated Incur-sion's greatly alarmed the inhabitants of the Townships of Tomensing, Penns and Chestnut Hill so that (by the above relation) was entirely evacuated the extent of the Frontiers intirely abandonded, so that at this Critical juncture the

Inhabitants may be justly looked as in a most deplorable Situation And as the Militia of this County is not as yet properly arranged, Our present Officers do not seem to act with as much vigor as I would wish, nor the Privates as cheerfully to obey as might be expected. The Lieu^t Chambers & Burkhalter have they inform me, called upon the Militia Agreeable to the Orders of Council Sent Mr. Kaghlin but have been universally disobeyed.

Therefore must beg leave to Request of Council as speedy Relief as Possible from the adjacent Lower Countys. As the Commission You have been pleased to honor me with came but lately hands have not had Time to have the Militia properly arranged and will still require some farther Time before it can be regularly compleated: And from the prevailing Panick & Terror on the verge of the Frontiers, will not be almost impracticable if not impolitic to impose any duty that can be avoided upon those who are daily exposed to the Savage Fury of the Enemy.

I must further Request that a Suply of Fire Arms may be sent and an additional Suply of Amunition as soon as may be, as the Number already will not be adequate to the present necessity, and unless there be a Speedy Relief of Men from some of other Countys & Amunition the Frontier Inhabitants will repair back

and in a little time it may be hard to know where the Frontiers of this County may be; please to excuse haste & incoherence.

I am Gent your most obedient
and most Hum^{ble} Servant,
SAMUEL REA.

Mountbethel 1st May 1780.

P. S. Please to communicate your pleasure by the bearer Mr. Peter Middagh, which will be my Government.

In a subsequent letter (undated) to President Reed, Lieut. Rea wrote:

"I am likewise to inform your Excellency, that when the Alarm of the Inhabitants when Gilbert's Mills was burnt, and the People Captivated, the Sub Lieut. in that Quarter have called upon and placed near 100 Men, and stationed them near the Lehi Gap, under Col. Kern. . . . I must again renew my request to Council for a supply of Ammunition, as what hath come to hand is nearly exhausted to the needy Inhabitants, that lived most exposed to danger; so that but very little remains to supply the Militia in future."

As the student knows, much was said but little accomplished in the way of protecting the frontier, which lay ravaged and helpless until the war was over and the peaceful occupation of the upper valleys was possible.

Something of the renown that attached to the captivity of the Gilberts was due to the fact that the family were very well known, especially among the Quakers of eastern Pennsylvania. Their ancestors were among the best of Quaker blood that came to America. Benjamin Gilbert's wife, Elizabeth, was born May 27, 1725, daughter of Benjamin and Rebecca Walton of Byberry. Nov. 30, 1752, she married Bryan Peart; he died Dec. 27, 1757, and on Aug. 17, 1760, his widow married Benjamin Gilbert. Bryan Peart, her first husband, was a descendant by his mother's line from John Rush, who commanded a troop of horse in Cromwell's army, embraced the principles of the Quakers in 1660, and came to Pennsylvania in 1683. A descendant was Dr. Benjamin Rush, the most celebrated physician of his time in America, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. In 1800 Gen. James Irvine compiled a genealogy of the descendants of John Rush, in which record is made of the capture of the Gilberts by the Indians in 1780. A copy of it is preserved by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Further genealogical data of the Gilberts will be found in the memoirs which supplement the principal narrative in this volume.

No commentary on the experiences of the Gilbert family during their captivity can rival in graphic interest the naïve, straightforward

account that was written, soon after their return, by William Walton, a relative. Originally published in Philadelphia in 1784, the work has long been one of the very scarce but highly-prized narratives of the "good old days" which are, happily, passed away forever. The narrative presented in the following pages is a faithful reproduction of the text and style of the first edition. The biographical data which supplement it are in part drawn from the rewritten edition of 1848, in part from other sources.

FRANK H. SEVERANCE

BUFFALO, January 15, 1901.

GILBERT NARRATIVE

PHILADELPHIA: JOSEPH CRUKSHANK, 1784

Reprinted from a copy of the original edition
in the possession of the Editor.

NARRATIVE

OF THE

CAPTIVITY

AND

SUFFERINGS

OF

BENJAMIN GILBERT

AND HIS

FAMILY;

WHO WERE SURPRISED BY THE INDIANS, AND TAKEN FROM
THEIR FARMS, ON THE FRONTIERS OF PENNSYLVANIA,

IN THE SPRING, 1780.

PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED AND SOLD BY JOSEPH CRUSHMAN, IN MARKET-STREET,
BETWEEN SECOND AND THIRD-STREETS.

M DCC LXXXIV.

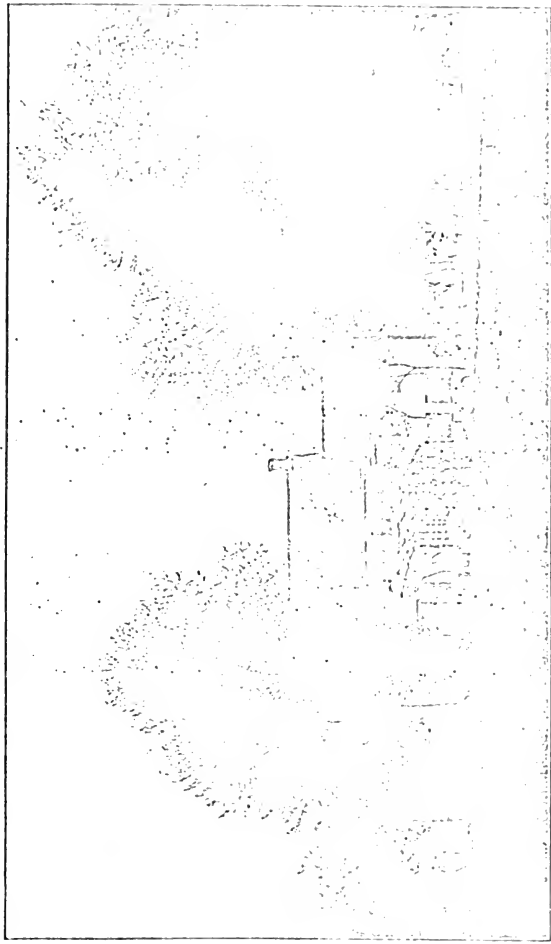
Preface.

AS the Captivity of Benjamin Gilbert's Family has been a Subject of much Inquiry, and many of their Friends were anxious to have a particular Account of their Sufferings; the following Narrative is presented to them and the Public, reciting the Transactions as circumstantially as could be furnished from Memory, after comparing Accounts with each other on their Return from Canada.

That their Lives were preserved through the many threatening Scenes they passed, whilst in the Hands of the Indians, is to be ascribed, with Gratitude and Thankfulness, to the great Ruler of the Universe, who can say unto the Sea, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no further." And though Benjamin Gilbert, the Elder, was permitted to sink under the Weight of his Fatigue and Afflictions, he lived to be restored to Liberty, and breathed his last in the Arms of his affectionate Wife.

To be cast into the Power of Savages, who, from Infancy, are taught a Hardness of Heart, which deprives them of the common Feelings of

Humanity, is enough to intimidate the firmest Mind: But when we hear of helpless Women and Children torn from their Homes, and dragged into the Wilderness, we shudder at the Thought, and are bound to acknowledge our infinite Obligations to the Almighty, that *we* are so much more enlightened than these unhappy Wretches of the Desert; to most of whom; the Glad-Tidings of the Gospel remains yet to be proclaimed: "Glory to God in the Highest; on Earth Peace and good Will to Men."



GILBERT HOMESTEAD, BYBERRY (NOW PART OF PHILADELPHIA), PA.

[Viewed from the south. Erected 1722, and still standing. At present, the property of Miss Tacie James, daughter of Thomas James son of Thomas James and Bethiah Gilbert, daughter of Joshua Gilbert, son of Benjamin Gilbert the captive. After a photograph by Gilbert Corp., West Chester, Pa.]

A Narrative of the Captivity of Benjamin
Gilbert and his Family.

BENJAMIN GILBERT, Son of Joseph Gilbert, was born at Byberry,* about 15 Miles from the City of Philadelphia, in the Year 1711, and received his Education among the People called Quakers.

He resided at or near the Place of his Nativity for several Years; during which Time of Residence he married, and after the Decease of his first Wife, he accomplished a second Marriage with Elizabeth Peart, Widow of Bryan Peart, and continued in this Neighbourhood until the Year 1775, when he removed with his Family to a Farm situate on Mahoning Creek, in Penn Township, Northampton County, being the Frontiers of Pennsylvania, not far from where

**Benjamin Gilbert's birthplace.* The house is still standing, and has been occupied most of the time to the present day by descendants of its builder, the father of Benjamin Gilbert. The homestead is in what was Byberry Township, now a part of the city of Philadelphia, since the act of consolidation. It is still a farming community, the nearest railway station being Cornwells, eighteen miles from the Broad street station of the Pennsylvania Railroad.

Fort Allen was erected.* The Improvements he carried on here were according to the usual Manner of new Settlements, Convenience being principally attended to; his House and Barn

**Scene of the capture.* Benjamin Gilbert's house stood on the north side of Mahoning Creek, "on an elevated bank about forty perches from the main road leading from Lehigh-ton and Weissport to Tamaqua, and about four miles from the former" (Egle's *History of Pennsylvania*, p. 493). Lehigh-ton and Weissport are on opposite sides of the Lehigh. Henry's *History of the Lehigh Valley* (1860) says: "The premises where stood the dwelling and improvements of the Gilbert family, were in 1833 occupied by Septimius Hough, but now (1859) are owned and occupied by Michael Garber, and there is now there erected a valuable grist and sawmill, and brick dwellings, and is one of the most valuable properties in Mahony [Mahoning] valley, in Carbon County." Fort Allen stood where the town of Weissport is now, on the Lehigh River some ten miles above Lehigh Gap. The following record of Benjamin Gilbert's title is from the *Northampton County Papers*, Pennsylvania Historical Society:

"Warrant Dated y^e 8th Day of february 1775 and Surveyed to Benjamin Gilbert Sen^r y^e 13th day of November 1775 Begining at a stone Peter Harragar's Corner on his Line N 15 W 28 to run out 66 to s^d run in 78 to s^d run out in all 131 to stone corner of s^d Harragar's Land on his Line N 75 E 40 to stone in haragars Line Vac^t Land

"N 15 W 44 to stone Due West 34 to stone N 50 W 118 to stone S 15 E 37½ to stone in Sam^l Dodsons Line on his Line S 40 E 104 to stone Dodsons Corner in s^d Gilberts Line on Gilberts old Line N 74 E 58½ to place of Begining.

"2° . . . 15' Variation

Penn Township
Northampton County"

Endorsement: "Benjamin Gilberts Field Notes Penn Township Northampton County T^o Sam^l McNeill."

being of Logs, to this he had added a Saw-Mill and a commodious Stone Grist-Mill, which, as it commanded the Country for a considerable Distance, conduced in some Measure to render his Situation comfortable.

This short Account may not be improper, in order to interest our Feelings in the Relation of the many Scenes of Affliction the Family were reduced to, when snatched from the pleasing enjoyment of the Necessaries and Conveniencies of Life. The most flattering of our Prospects are often marked with Disappointment, expressly instructing us that we are all Strangers and Sojourners here, as were our Forefathers.

This Family was alarmed on the 25th Day of the 4th Month, 1780, about Sun-rise, by a Party of eleven Indians, whose Appearance struck them with Terror; to attempt an Escape was Death, and a Portion of Distress not easy to be supported, the certain Attendant on the most patient and submissive Conduct. The Indians who made this Incurſion, were of different Tribes or Nations, who had abandoned their Country on the Approach of General Sullivan's Army, and fled within Command of the British Forts in Canada, promiscuously settling within their Neighbourhood, and, according to Indian Custom of carrying on War, frequently invading the Frontier Settlements, taking Captive the weak and defenceless.

The Names of these Indians, with their respective Tribes, are as follow:

1. Rowland Monteur, 1st Captain.
2. John Monteur,* second in Command, who

**The Monteurs* (often spelled *Montour*, also *Monture*). No satisfactory record of this extraordinary family has yet been made. William L. Stone in his *Life of Sir William Johnson* and other writers have assembled some facts, drawing chiefly on documents relating to the colonial history of New York and Pennsylvania. Lord Cornbury wrote to the London Board of Trade (New York, August 20, 1708): "There is come to Albany one Montour, who is the son of a French gentleman, who came above forty years ago to settle in Canada; he had to do with an Indian woman by whom he had a son and two daughters; the man I mention is the son, he had lived all along like an Indian, some time ago he left the French, and had lived among the farr Indians, and it is chiefly by his means that I have prevailed with those farr nations to come to Albany," etc. The theory that the "French gentleman" above alluded to was Count Frontenac lacks both proof and probability. The American progenitor was more likely the "Mons. Montour" in the French service who was wounded by the Mohawks on Lake Champlain in 1694. His son it may have been who was in Albany in 1708; and probably it was the same man, "one Montour, a Frenchman by birth, but entirely devoted to the English, and in their pay," who was killed by Joncaire, somewhere in the interior of New York State, in October or November, 1709. The "Mrs. Montour" who was an interpreter at Albany in 1711, and the Sally Montour mentioned in Samuel Kirkland's *Journal*, as residing near Fort Stanwix in 1764, are supposed to have been sisters of this murdered man. Kirkland also mentions a Lucy Montour, as related to the Oneida chief Skenando. Capt. Andrew Monteur, Henry Monteur, both interpreters, and Catharine Monteur, are supposed to be of the same family, but the present editor finds no data for fixing their relationship with certainty. Catharine, who came to be known as Queen Catharine, was probably born about 1700; she was an old woman when

was also styled Captain: These two were Mohawks descended of a French Woman.

3. Samuel Harris, a Cayuga Indian.

General Sullivan broke up her home south of Seneca Lake, in 1779. She retreated with her people to the Niagara, and there disappears from history. Esthertown, near the confluence of the Chemung and Susquehanna, is said to have been named for her daughter, called Queen Esther. There are vague, confused, and untrustworthy accounts of the participation of one or the other of these women in the battle and massacre of Wyoming, and other border tragedies. The stories of Catharine's fiendish delight in blood and torture do not accord with other accounts, according to which she was handsome, gentle in manner, and popular with the American women in Philadelphia, where she sometimes went with chiefs of the Six Nations for the holding of treaties. Catharine was the mother of Rowland and John Monteur, leaders of the expedition which captured the Gilberts. Both were long conspicuous for their zeal in this kind of warfare, in the British interest. Rowland Monteur was wounded in a foray near the confluence of the Tioga and Conhocton, and died in September, 1781. According to one account the painted post which was planted to mark his grave gave its name to the old town of Painted Post, near Corning, Steuben County, New York. Rowland's brother, John Monteur, at the opening of the Revolution was living at Catharine's Town, a few miles south of the head of Seneca Lake. The place was later named Jefferson. Monteur removed to the Genesee country and after the peace of 1783 settled at Big Tree village, west of the river, opposite the present site of Geneseo. More is known of him than of the other Monteurs, except Andrew. He was with the British under Col. John Butler, between the Genesee and Conesus Lake, when Sullivan approached, and retreated to Fort Niagara. "While at Fort Niagara, it is said the British gave the Indians some flour that contained a poisonous element. Many died. Monteur lived, but the poison resulted in an ulceration of his upper lip, which was quite eaten away, leaving both teeth and jaw exposed. This gave him a fierce look,

4. John Huston, and his Son } Cayugas.*
5. John Huston, Jun. }
6. John Fox, of the Delaware Nation. The other 5 were Senecas.

At this Place they made Captives of the following Persons:

1. Benjamin Gilbert, aged about - 69 Years.
2. Elizabeth, his Wife, 55
3. Joseph Gilbert, his Son, 41

though he was quiet and good-natured. 'At first thought,' a prisoner adds, 'one would be led to expect him to take a scalp at a moment's notice.'" Lockwood L. Doty, who relates the foregoing in his *History of Livingston County, New York* (Geneseo, 1876), gives numerous anecdotes of John Monteur, and adds that in 1830 he was killed in a drunken brawl at Squakie Hill (on the Genesee near Mount Morris), and was buried at Big Tree village. When Mr. Doty wrote, the grave could still be seen, and old residents remembered his wife, an estimable woman, and his two children, Judy and "Bill."

**The Hustons*. Name often printed *Hudson*. Little is known of these men, though they have a fame far beyond that of the ordinary Indian or half-breed of their day. At the beginning of the Revolution there was among the Cayugas an aged man, famous for his deeds in war, who was known to the whites as Huston; he had taken to himself the name of a white friend. His first name, John, was probably given him by whites who could not pronounce his Indian name; a common custom, which has endowed Iroquois history with such names as John Hudson, John Blacksmith, John Luke, John John (Stumpfoot), etc. Many chiefs were called John to distinguish their rank, and in time, in the usage of the whites, they lost their native appellations. Huston, or Hudson, at the opening of the Revolution, was an hereditary sachem, living at Canadea ("Gah-ne-ya-de-o," "where the heavens rest upon the earth"), and very active in war expeditions. His eldest child is said to have been living with a white family at

4. Jeffe Gilbert, another Son,	19
5. Sarah Gilbert, Wife to Jeffe,	19
6. Rebecca Gilbert, a Daughter,	16
7. Abner Gilbert, a Son,	14
8. Elizabeth Gilbert, a Daughter,	12
9. Thomas Peart, Son to Benjamin	} 23
Gilbert's Wife,	
10. Benjamin Gilbert, a Son of	} 11
John Gilbert of Philadelphia,	

Hah-nee-jo-ney, "Red Banks," on the Allegheny, twenty miles above Pittsburg when, in 1756, the family were massacred and their house burned. Huston's boy escaped, and was taken back to the Genesee by a band of Senecas. When Huston heard his child's story he vowed vengeance, and hastened to the scene with a party of warriors. Friends of the guilty savages delivered into his hands two white men and a woman. The captives expected torture, and one of them, George Woods by name, offered Huston half of all he was worth if the Indian would spare him. In July, 1756, Huston delivered the three prisoners unharmed to the French at Fort Du Quesne, now Pittsburg. After the French war Huston visited Woods at Bedford, Pennsylvania, and received from him a deed of a house and lot in Bedford, and other valuable presents. The two families continued friendly until the Revolution. Huston's son who escaped the massacre at Red Banks died about 1770; it was a second son, also called John in the *Gilbert Narrative*, who shared with his father in the capture of the Quaker family. He was known as "Hah-yen-de-sch," variously interpreted "Dragging Wood" and "Hemlock Carrier," and became a leader in the attacks on the frontier settlements during the Revolution. It is impossible to distinguish the deeds of the father from those of the son, during the years of the Revolution; but it was probably the elder John Huston who adopted Abner and Elizabeth Gilbert, and who lived for a time on the west side of the Niagara and called the Englishman, John Secord, his "brother."

11. Andrew Harrigar, of German Descent, hired by Benjamin Gilbert, } 26

12. Abigail Dodson, (Daughter of Samuel Dodson, who lived on a Farm near one Mile distant from the Mill) } 14
who came that Morning with Gift,

They then proceeded to Benjamin Peart's Dwelling, about Half a Mile further,* and brought himself and Family, viz.

13. Benjamin Peart, Son to Benjamin Gilbert's Wife, } 27

14. Elizabeth Peart, his Wife, 20

15. Their Child, about nine Months old.

The Prisoners were bound with Cords which the Indians brought with them, and in this melancholy Condition left under a Guard for the Space of Half an Hour, during which Time the rest of the Captors employed themselves in plundering the House, and packing up such Goods as they chose to carry off, until they had got together a sufficient Loading for three Horses which they took, besides compelling the distressed Prisoners to carry Part of their Plunder. When they had finished plundering, they began their Retreat, two of their Number being detached to fire the Buildings, which they did without any Exception of those belonging to the unhappy Sufferers; thereby aggravating their Distresses,

* Benjamin Peart lived half a mile further up Mahoning Creek, and about a fourth of a mile from it, on the south side.

as they could observe the Flames, and the falling in of the Roofs, from an adjoining Eminence called Summer Hill. They cast a mournful Look towards their Dwellings, but were not permitted to stop, until they had reached the further Side of the Hill, where the Party sat down to make a short Repast; but Grief prevented the Prisoners from sharing with them.

The Indians speedily put forwards from this Place; as they apprehended they were not so far removed from the Settlements as to be secure from Pursuit. Not much further was a large Hill called Mochunk,* which they fixed upon for a Place of Rendezvous: Here they halted near an Hour, and prepared Shoes or Sandals, which they call Mockafons, for some of the Children: Considering themselves in some Degree relieved from Danger, their Fears abated so that they could enjoy their Meal at Leisure, which they ate very heartily. At their Removal from this Hill, they told the Prisoners that Col. Butler was no great Distance from them, in the Woods, and that they were going to him.

Near the Foot of the Hill flows a Stream of Water called Mochunk Creek, which was crossed, and the second Mountain passed; the steep and difficult Ascent of which appeared very great to the much enfeebled and affrighted Captives: They were permitted to rest themselves for

**Mochunk.* Mauch Chunk.

some Minutes, and then pressed onwards to the Broad Mountain, at the Foot of which runs Nescacannah Creek.

Doubly distressed by a Recollection of past Happiness, and a Dread of the Miseries they had now to undergo, they began the Ascent of this Mountain with great Anguish both of Mind and Body. Benjamin Gilbert's Wife, dispirited with the increasing Difficulties, did not expect she was able to pass this Mountain on Foot; but being threatened with Death by the Indians if she did not perform it, with many a heavy Step she at length succeeded. The Broad Mountain is said to be 7 Miles over in this Place, and about 10 Miles distant from Benjamin Gilbert's Settlement. Here they halted an Hour, and then struck into the Neskapeck Path; the Unevenness and Ruggedness of which, rendered it exceedingly toilsome, and obliged them to move forwards slowly. Quackac Creek runs across the Neskapeck Path, which leads over Pismire Hill. At this last Place they stopped to refresh themselves, and then pursued their March along the same Path, thro' Moravian Pine Swamp, to Mahoniah Mountain, where they lodged, being the first Night of their Captivity.

It may furnish Information to some, to mention the Method the Indians generally use to secure their Prisoners: They cut down a Sapling as large as a Man's Thigh, and therein cut

Notches, in which they fix their Legs, and over this they place a Pole, crossing the Pole on each Side with Stakes drove in the Ground, and in the Crotches of the Stakes they place other Poles or Riders, effectually confining the Prisoners on their Backs; besides which, they put a Strap round their Necks, which they fasten to a Tree: In this Manner the Night passed. Their Beds were Hemlock Branches strewed on the Ground, and Blankets for a Covering, which was an Indulgence scarcely to have been expected from Savages: It may reasonably be expected, that in this melancholy Situation, Sleep was a Stranger to their Eyelids.

Benjamin Peart having fainted in the Evening, occasioned by the Sufferings he endured, was threatned to be tomhawked by Rowland Monteur.

26th. Early this Morning they continued their Route, near the Waters of Teropin Ponds. The Indians thought it most eligible to separate the Prisoners in Companies of two by two, each Company under the Command of a particular Indian, spreading them to a considerable Distance, in order to render a Pursuit as impracticable as possible. The old People, overcome with Fatigue, could not make as much Expedition as their severe Task-masters thought proper, but failed in their Journey, and were therefore threatned with Death, by the Indian under whose Direction they were placed: Thus circumstanced, they resigned

themselves to their unhappy Lot, with as much Fortitude as possible. Towards Evening the Parties again met and encamped, having killed a Deer, they kindled a Fire, each one roasting Pieces of the Flesh upon sharpened Switches. The Confinement of the Captives was the same with the first Night, but, as they were by this Time more resigned to the Event, they were not altogether deprived of Sleep.

27th. After Breakfast a Council was held concerning the Division of the Prisoners, which being settled, they delivered each other those Prisoners who fell within their several Allotments, giving them Directions to attend to the particular Indians whose Property they became. In this Day's Journey they passed near Fort Wyoming,* on the Eastern Branch of Susquehanna, about forty Miles from their late Habi-

**Fort Wyoming.* There were at least six forts and three stockades in the Wyoming Valley region: On the easterly side of the Susquehanna, proceeding from the south by the main trail, the party would have come first to Fort Durkee, dating from 1769, probably abandoned at the time of our narrative; some sixty rods northeast of it was Fort Wyoming, about eight rods southwest of what is now the junction of Northampton and River streets, Wilkes-Barre; the original fort, built here in 1771, was replaced by another on the same site in 1778; it was undoubtedly this fort, usually well garrisoned during the Revolution, that the Gilbert captors were so wary of approaching. A little further up the river, on the same side, were Fort Ogden and the three Pittstown stockades. Forty Fort and Wintermoot's Fort were across the river; the former is often called Fort Wyoming.

tation. The Indians, naturally timid, were alarmed as they approached this Garrison, and observed great Caution, not suffering any Noise, but stepped on the Stones that lay in the Path, lest any Footsteps should lead to a Discovery. Not far from thence is a considerable Stream * of Water, emptying itself into Susquehanna, which they crossed with great Difficulty, it being deep and rapid, and continued here this Night. Benjamin Gilbert being bound fast with Cords, underwent great Sufferings.

28th. This Morning the Prisoners were all painted according to the Custom among the Indians, some of them with red and black, some all red, and some with black only: Those whom they smut with black, without any other Colour, are not considered of any value, and are by this Mark generally devoted to Death: Although this cruel Purpose may not be executed immediately, they are seldom preserved to reach the Indian Hamlets alive. In the Evening they came to Susquehanna, having had a painful and wearisome Journey through a very stony and hilly Path. Here the Indians sought diligently for a private Lodging-place, that they might be as secure as possible from any Scouting-parties of the white People. It is unnecessary to make further Mention of their Manner of Lodging, as it still remained the same.

* Lackawanna Creek.

29th. They went in Search of the Horses which had strayed from them in the Night, and after some Time found them. They then kept the Course of the River, walking along its Side with Difficulty. In the Afternoon they came to a Place where the Indians had directed four Negroes to wait their Return, having left them some Corn for a Subsistence: These Negroes had escaped from Confinement, and were on their Way to Niagara, when first discovered by the Indians; being challenged by them, answered "They were for the King," upon which they immediately received them into Protection.

30th. The Negroes who were added to the Company the Day before, began cruelly to domineer and tyrannize over the Prisoners, frequently whipping them for their Sport, and treating them with more Severity than even the Indians themselves; having had their Hearts hardened by the Meanness of their Condition, and long Subjection to Slavery. In this Day's Journey they passed the Remains of the Indian Town, Wyaloosing.* The Lands round these Ruins have a remarkable Appearance of Fer-

* *Wyaloosing*. Near the present town of Wyalusing, Bradford County, Pennsylvania. The old Indian town was a thriving settlement in 1763 when John Woolman visited it. In his *Journal* will be found a graphic account of its condition under the fostering care of the Moravians, who however abandoned it in 1772.

tility. In the Evening they made a Lodgement by the Side of a large Creek.

5th Month 1st. After crossing a considerable Hill in the Morning, they came to a Place where two Indians lay dead. A Party of Indians had taken some white People, whom they were carrying off Prisoners, they rose upon the Indians in the Night, killed four of them, and then effected their Escape. The Women were sent forwards, and the Men Prisoners commanded to draw near and view the two dead Bodies, which remained; (the other two being removed) they staid to observe them a considerable Time, and were then ordered to a Place where a Tree was blown down. Death appeared to be their Doom; but after remaining in a State of sad Suspense for some Time, they were ordered to dig a Grave; to effect which, they cut a Sapling with their Tomhawks, and sharpened one End, with which wooden Instrument one of them broke the Ground, and the others cast the Earth out with their Hands, the Negroes being permitted to beat them severely whilst they were thus employed. After interring the Bodies, they went forwards to the rest, and overtook them as they were preparing for their Lodging. They were not yet released from their Sapling Confinement.

2^d. Having some of their Provisions with them, they made an early Meal, and travelled

the whole Day. They crossed the East Branch of Susquehanna towards Evening, in Canoes, at the Place where General Sullivan's Army had passed it in their Expedition.* Their Encampment was on the Western Side of this Branch of the River; but two Indians who did not cross it, sent for Benjamin Gilbert, jun. and Jesse Gilbert's Wife, and as no probable Cause could be assigned why it was so, the Design was considered as a very dark one, and was a grievous Affliction to the others.

3d. The Morning however dispelled their Fears, when they had the Satisfaction of seeing them again, and understood they had not received any Treatment harder than their usual Fare. The Horses swam the Susquehanna, by the Side of the Canoe. This Day the Indians in their March found a Scalp, and took it along with them, as also some old Corn, of which they made a Supper. They frequently killed

**Sullivan's Crossing.* This was about a mile below the junction of the Chemung River (on old maps often called Cayuga Branch) with the Susquehanna, some four or five miles south of the present town of Athens, Pennsylvania, formerly Tioga Point. General Sullivan's army in 1779 continued from the point of crossing, along the west side of the river to the Chemung, which was crossed and the route pursued along the northerly side, past Newtown (Elmira), twenty-one miles to Fort Reed at the confluence of Spring Creek, thence northerly to the head of Seneca Lake. (*Erskine's map, archives N. Y. Hist. Soc.*) It is difficult to tell from the *Gilbert Narrative* just what route was followed in this portion of the journey, especially as the captors avoided the main trail.

Deer, and by that Means supplied the Company with Meat, being almost the only Provision they ate, as the Flour they took with them was expended.

4th. The Path they travelled this Morning was but little trodden, which made it difficult for those who were not acquainted with the Woods to keep in it. They crossed a Creek,* made up a large Fire to warm themselves by, and then separated into two Companies, the one taking the Westward Path, with whom were Thomas Peart, Joseph Gilbert, Benjamin Gilbert, jun. and Jesse Gilbert's Wife Sarah; the others went more to the North, over rich level Land. When Evening came, Enquiry was made concerning the four Captives who were taken in the Westward Path, and they were told, that " These were killed and scalped, and you may

* Presumably Cayuga, the Chemung of modern maps; but confusion is caused by the statement further on in the narrative that Thomas Peart and three other captives were taken along the westward path, and on their second day's journey after the separation, crossed the Cayuga. They would not have crossed it twice; and may have been taken along a little used path on its southern side. The Tioga, above the mouth of the Canisteo, was originally called the Kaygen, probably the same afterwards given by Sir William Johnson as the Cayuga. On the earliest map of this region which names the streams—Pouchot's, 1758—the Canisteo is marked *Rivière de Kanastio*, designating not merely the present stream, but the whole waterway down to what is now Athens (junction with the Susquehanna); the name applied, in early documents, as far as the present Sunbury.

expect the same Fate to Night." * Andrew Harrigar was so terrified at the Threat, that he resolved upon leaving them, and as soon as it was dark, took a Kettle with Pretence of bringing some Water, and made his Escape under Favour of the Night: He was sought after by the Indians as soon as they observed him to be missing.

5th. In the Morning the Indians returned; their Search for Andrew Harrigar being happily for him unsuccessful: The Prisoners who remained, were therefore treated with great Severity on Account of his Escape, and were often accused of being privy to his Design. Capt. Rowland Monteur, carried his Resentment so far, that he threw Jesse Gilbert down, and lifted his Tomhawk to strike him, which the Mother prevented, by putting her Head on his Forehead, beseeching him to spare her Son: This so enraged him, that he turned round, kicked her over, and tied them both by their Necks to a Tree, where they remained until his Fury was a little abated; he then loosed them, and not long after bid them pack up and go forwards. They passed through a large Pine Swamp, and about Noon reached one of the

* Andrew Harrigar endured many Hardships in the Woods, and at Length returned to the Settlements, and gave the first authentic Intelligence of Benjamin Gilbert and his Family, to their Friends. [Note in original — *Ed.*]

Kittareen Towns,* which was desolated. Not far from this Town, on the Summit of a Mountain, there issues a large Spring, forming a very considerable Fall, and runs very rapidly in an irregular winding Stream down the Mountain's Sides. They left this Place, and took up their Lodging in a deserted Wigwam covered with Bark, which had formerly been Part of a Town of the Shipquagas.†

6th, 7th, 8th. They continued these three Days in the Neighbourhood of these Villages, which had been deserted upon General Sullivan's Approach. Here they lived well, having

**Kittareen Towns.* Catharine's Town. Approximately the site of the present village of Catharine, Schuyler County, New York. Some four miles to the north of it the village of Montour's Falls, formerly Havana, preserves the family name of this famous but somewhat indistinct personage. Catharine Montour, whose residence there gave name to the place, is said by one recent writer to have married Thomas Hudson (?Huston), whose Indian name was Telemut, and to have had two daughters and a son, Amachol. The authority for these statements, and also for the statement that "Queen" Esther was Catharine's daughter, is uncertain. See *ante* pp. 28 *et seq.*; also, letter of Thomas Maxwell in Schoolcraft's *History of the Indian Tribes*, vol. v., *appendix* (1855).

†*Shipquagas.* Elsewhere given as "Sheoquagas." The name was given to the Iroquois of several villages in the region between the north branch of the Susquehanna and the midland lake region of New York. The Oghquagas (many forms of spelling) were Iroquois, chiefly Mohawks whose principal village was near the site of Windsor, Broome County, New York. Ouaquaga, on the Susquehanna some five miles north of Windsor, preserves the name on the modern map.

in Addition to their usual Bill of Fare, plenty of Turnips and Potatoes, which had remained in the Ground, unnoticed by the Army. This Place was the Hunting-Ground of the Shipquagas, and whenever their Industry prompted them to go out hunting, they had no Difficulty to procure as many Deer as they desired.

Roast and boiled Meat, with Vegetables, afforded them plentiful Meals; they also caught a wild Turkey, and some Fish, called Suckers. Their Manner of catching Fish, was, to sharpen a Stick, and watch along the Rivers until a Fish came near them, when they suddenly pierced him with the Stick, and brought him out of the Water.

Here were a Number of Colts, some of them were taken, and the Prisoners ordered to manage them, which was not easily done.

9th. When they renewed their March, they placed the Mother upon a Horse that seemed dangerous to ride, but she was preserved from any Injury. In this Day's Journey they came to Meadow Ground, where they staid the Night, the Men being confined as before related, and the Negroes lay near them for a Guard.

10th. A wet Swamp, that was very troublesome, lay in their Road; after which they had to pass a rugged Mountain, where there was no Path. The Underbrush made it hard Labour for the Women to travel; but no Excuse would

avail with their severe Masters, and they were compelled to keep up with the Indians, however great the Fatigue: When they had passed it, they tarried awhile for the Negroes who had lagged behind, having sufficient Employ to attend to the Colts that carried the Plunder. When all the Company met together, they agreed to rendezvous in an adjoining Swamp.

11th. A long Reach of Savannas and low Ground, rendered this Day's Route very fatiguing and painful, especially to the Women: Elizabeth Peart's Husband not being allowed to relieve her by carrying the Child, her Spirits and Strength were so exhausted that she was ready to faint; the Indian under whose Care she was, observing her Distress, gave her a violent Blow. When we compare the Temper and Customs of these People, with those of our own Colour, how much Cause have we to be thankful for the Superiority we derive from the Blessings of Civilization.

It might truly be said, Days of bitter Sorrow; and wearisome Nights were appointed the unhappy Captives.

12th. Their Provisions began to grow scant, having past the hunting Grounds: The Want of proper Food to support them, which might render them more capable of enduring their daily Fatigue, was a heavy Trial, and was much increased by their Confinement at Night.

Elizabeth Gilbert was reduced so low, that she travelled in great Pain all this Day, riding on Horse-back in the Morning, but towards Evening she was ordered to alight, and walk up a Hill they had to ascend; the Pain she suffered, together with Want of Food, so overcame her, that she was seized with a Chill: The Indians administered some Flour and Water boiled, which afforded her some Relief.

13th. Last Night's Medicine being repeated, they continued their March, and after a long Walk, were so effectually worn down, that they halted. The Pilot, John Huston, the Elder, took Abner Gilbert with him, (as they could make more Expedition than the Rest) to procure a Supply of Provisions to relieve their Necessity.

14th. The Mother had suffered so much, that two of her Children were obliged to lead her. Before Noon they came to Canadosago,* where they met with Benjamin Gilbert, jun. and Jesse Gilbert's Wife Sarah, two of the four who had been separated from them ten Days past, and taken along the Western Path: This Meeting afforded them great Satisfaction; the Doubt and

* *Canadosago.* Kanadesaga, the famous "Seneca Castle," the Indian town near the foot of Seneca Lake, not far from the present town of Geneva, New York. It was a great meeting-point of old Iroquois trails, and there were much-traveled paths leading to it from the south, on both sides of the lake. General Sullivan's army passed over the eastern path, in 1779; but the main body of the Gilbert captives appear to have been taken along the west side of the lake.

Uncertainty of their Lives being spared, often distressing their affectionate Relations.

John Huston, jun. the Indian under whose Care Benjamin Gilbert was placed, designing to dispatch him, painted him black; this exceedingly terrified the Family, but no Intreaties of theirs being likely to prevail, they resigned their Cause to him whose Power can controul all Events. Wearied with their Weakness and travelling, they made a Stop to recover themselves, when the Pilot returning, Assured them they should soon receive some Provisions. The Negroes were reduced so low with Hunger, that their Behaviour was different from what it had been, conducting with more Moderation. At their Quarters in the Evening, two white Men came to them, one of which was a Volunteer amongst the British, the other had been taken Prisoner some Time before; these two Men brought some Hommony, and Sugar-made from the sweet Maple, the Sap being boiled to a Consistency, and is but a little inferior to the Sugar imported from the Islands: Of this Provision, and an Hedge-Hog which they found, they made a more comfortable Supper than they had enjoyed for many Days.

15th. In the Morning the Volunteer having received Information of the rough Treatment the Prisoners met with from the Negroes, relieved them, by taking the four Blacks under

his Care. It was not without much Difficulty they crossed a large Creek which was in their Way, being obliged to swim the Horses over it. Benjamin Gilbert began to fail; the Indian, whose Property he was, highly irritated at his Want of Strength, put a Rope about his Neck, leading him along with it; Fatigue at last so overcame him, that he fell on the Ground, when the Indian pulled the Rope so hard, that he almost choked him: His Wife seeing this, resolutely interceded for him, although the Indians bid her go forwards, as the others had gone on before them; this she refused to comply with, unless her Husband might be permitted to accompany her; they replied "That they were determined to kill the old Man," having before this set him apart as a Victim: But at Length her Entreaties prevailed, and their Hearts were turned from their cruel Purpose: Had not an overruling Providence preserved him from their Fury, he would inevitably have perished, as the Indians seldom shew Mercy to those whom they devote to Death, which, as has been before observed, was the Case with Benjamin Gilbert, whom they had smeared with black Paint from this Motive. When their Anger was a little moderated, they set forwards to overtake the Rest of the Company: Their Relations, who had been Eye-witnesses of the former Part of this Scene of Cruelty, and expected they would both

have been murdered, rejoiced greatly at their Return, considering their Safety as a Providential Deliverance.

16th. Necessity induced two of the Indians to set off on Horse-back, into the Seneca Country, in Search of Provisions. The Prisoners, in the mean Time, were ordered to dig up a Root, something resembling Potatoes, which the Indians call Whoppanies. They tarried at this Place, until towards the Evening of the succeeding Day, and made a Soup of wild Onions and Turnip Tops; this they eat without Bread or Salt, it could not therefore afford sufficient Sustenance, either for young or old; their Food being so very light, their Strength daily wasted.

17th. They left this Place, and crossed the Genesee River,* (which empties its Waters into Lake Ontario) on a Raft of Logs, bound together by Hickory Withes; this appeared to be a dangerous Method of ferrying them over such a River, to those who had been unaccustomed to such Conveyances. They fixed their Station near the Genesee Banks, and procured more of the wild Potatoe Roots before mentioned, for their Supper.

18th. One of the Indians left the Company,

**The Genesee Crossing.* At a point near the present town of Geneseo. On the west side of the river were the Seneca villages of Big Tree and, to the south, Little Beard's Town, whence ran the great trail to Fort Niagara.

taking with him the finest Horse they had, and in some Hours after, returned with a large Piece of Meat, ordering the Captives to boil it; this Command they cheerfully performed, anxiously watching the Kettle, fresh Meat being a Rarity which they had not eat for a long Time: The Indians, when it was sufficiently boiled, distributed to each one a Piece, eating sparingly themselves. The Prisoners made their Repast without Bread or Salt, and eat with a good Relish, what they supposed to be fresh Beef, but afterwards understood it was Horse-Flesh.

A shrill Halloo which they heard, gave the Prisoners some Uneasiness; one of the Indians immediately rode to examine the Cause, and found it was Capt. Rowland Monteur, and his B[r]other John's Wife, with some other Indians, who were seeking them with Provision. The Remainder of the Company soon reached them, and they divided some Bread, which they had brought, into small Pieces, according to the Number of the Company.

Here is a large Extent of rich farming Land, remarkable for its Levelness and beautiful Meadows. The Country is so flat, that there are no Falls in the Rivers, and the Waters run slow and deep; and whenever Showers descend, they continue a long Time muddied.

The Captain and his Company had brought with them Cakes of Hommony and Indian Corn;

of this they made a good Meal. He appeared pleased to see the Prisoners, having been absent from them several Days, and ordered them all round to shake hands with him. From him they received Information respecting Joseph Gilbert and Thomas Peart, who were separated from the others on the 4th Instant, that they had arrived at the Indian Settlements, some Time, in Safety.

The Company staid the Night at this Place. One of the Indians refused to suffer any of them to come near his Fire, or converse with the Prisoner, who in the Distribution had fallen to him.

19th. Pounding Hommony was this Day's Employment, the Weather being warm, made it a hard Task; they boiled and prepared it for Supper, the Indians setting down to eat first, and when they had concluded their Meal, they wiped the Spoon on the Soal of their Mockasons, and then gave it to the Captives: Hunger alone could prevail on any one to eat after such Filth and Nastiness.

20th. Elizabeth Gilbert, the Mother, being obliged to ride alone, missed the Path, for which the Indians repeatedly struck her. Their Route still continued through rich Meadow. After wandering for a Time out of the direct Path, they came to an Indian Town, and obtained the necessary Information to pursue

their Journey: the Indians ran out of their Huts to see the Prisoners, and to partake of the Plunder, but no Part of it suited them. Being directed to travel the Path back again, for a short Distance, they did so, and then struck into another, and went on until Night, by which Time they were very hungry, not having eat since Morning; the Kettle was again set on the Fire, for Hommony, this being their only Food.

21 *th*. The Report of a Morning-Gun from Niagara, which they heard, contributed to raise their Hopes, they rejoiced at being so near. An Indian was dispatched on Horse-back, to procure Provisions from the Fort.

Elizabeth Gilbert could not walk as fast as the Rest, she was therefore sent forwards on Foot, but was soon overtaken, and left behind, the Rest being obliged by the Indians to go on without regarding her. She would have been greatly perplexed, when she came to a Division-path, had not her Husband lain a Branch across the Path which would have led her Wrong: An affecting Instance of both Ingenuity and Tenderness. She met several Indians, who passed by without speaking to her.

An Indian belonging to the Company, who was on the Horse Elizabeth Gilbert had rode, overtook her, and, as he went on slowly, conversing with her, endeavoured to alarm her, by saying that she would be left behind, and perish

in the Woods; yet, notwithstanding this, his Heart was so softened before he had gone any great Distance from her, that he alighted from the Horse and left him, that she might be able to reach the Rest of the Company. The more seriously she considered this, the more it appeared to her, to be a convincing Instance of the overruling Protection of him, who can "turn the Heart of Man, as the Husbandman turneth the Water-Course in his Field."

22d. As the Indians approached nearer their Habitations, they frequently repeated their Hailloos, and after some Time, they received an Answer in the same Manner, which alarmed the Company much; but they soon discovered it to proceed from a Party of Whites and Indians, who were on some Expedition, though their Pretence was, that they were for New-York. Not long after parting with these, the Captain's Wife came to them; she was Daughter to Siangoroecti, King of the Senecas,* but her Mother being a Cayuga, she was ranked among that

**Siangoroecti*. Many spellings, usually now written *Sayenqueraghta*, "The Smoke has Disappeared," called by the English "Old King," "King of Kandesaga," "King of the Senecas," or "Old Smoke." The appellation of "king" for an Iroquois chief or sachem, like that of "castle" for a native village, though exceedingly inapt and inexpressive, was very common. The Old King, whose daughter, wife of Rowland Monteur, is called in the text the "Princess," was the originator and Indian leader of the expedition against Wyoming. When Sullivan advanced against the western New

Nation, the Children generally reckoning their Descent from the Mother's Side. This Princess was attended by the Captain's Brother John, one other Indian, and a white Prisoner who had been taken at Wyoming, by Rowland Monteur; she was dressed altogether in the Indian Manner, shining with Gold Lace and Silver Baubles: They brought with them from the Fort a Supply of Provision. The Captain being at a Distance behind, when his Wife came, the Company waited for him. After the customary Salutations, he addressed himself to his Wife, telling her that Rebecca was her Daughter, and that she must not be induced, by any Consideration, to part with her; whereupon she took a Silver Ring off her Finger, and put it upon Rebecca; by which she was adopted as her Daughter.

They feasted upon the Provisions that were brought, for they had been for several Days before pinched with Hunger, what Sustainance they could procure not being sufficient to support Nature.

23d. Their Spirits were in some Degree revived, by the Enjoyment of Plenty, added to the pleasing Hope of some favourable Event

York Indians, Old King left his home on the shores of Seneca Lake and fled to Fort Niagara. After the war he built his wigwam on a little stream that flows into Lake Erie near the southern limits of the city of Buffalo, since called in his honor Smoke's Creek, and there, about 1800, he died and was buried, no trace of his grave now being known

procuring their Release, as they were not far distant from Niagara.

The Indians proceeded on their Journey, and continued whooping in the most frightful Manner. In this Day's Route, they met another Company of Indians, who compelled Benjamin Gilbert, the Elder, to sit on the Ground, and put several Questions to him, to which he gave them the best Answers he could; they then took his Hat from him and went off.

Going through a small Town near Niagara, an Indian Woman came out of one of the Huts, and struck each of the Captives a Blow. Not long after their Departure from this Place, Jesse, Rebecca, and their Mother, were detained until the others had got out of their Sight, when the Mother was ordered to push on; and as she had to go by herself, she was much perplexed what Course to take, as there was no Path by which she could be directed: In this Dilemma, she concluded to keep as straight forward as possible, and after some Space of Time, she had the Satisfaction of overtaking the others. The Pilot then made a short Stay, that those who were behind might come up, and the Captain handed some Rum round, giving each a Dram, except the two old Folks, whom they did not consider worthy of this Notice. Here the Captain, who had the chief Direction, painted Abner, Jesse, Rebecca, and Elizabeth Gilbert, jun. and

presented each with a Belt of Wampum, as a Token of their being received into Favour, altho' they took from them all their Hats and Bonnets, except Rebecca's.

The Prisoners were released from the heavy Loads they had heretofore been compelled to carry, and was it not for the Treatment they expected on their approaching the Indian Towns, and the Hardship of a Separation, their Situation would have been tolerable; but the Horror of their Minds, arising from the dreadful Yells of the Indians, as they approached the Hamlets, is easier conceived than described, for they were no Strangers to the customary Cruelty exercised upon Captives on entering their Towns: The Indians, Men, Women, and Children collect together, bringing Clubs and Stones, in order to beat them, which they usually do with great Severity, by Way of Revenge for their Relations who have been slain; this is performed immediately upon their entering the Village where the Warriors reside: This Treatment cannot be avoided, and the Blows, however cruel, must be borne without Complaint, and the Prisoners are sorely beaten, until their Enemies are wearied with the cruel Sport. Their sufferings were in this Case very great, they received several Wounds, and two of the Women who were on Horse-back, were much bruised by falling from their Horses, which

were frightened by the Indians. Elizabeth, the Mother, took Shelter by the Side of one [of] them, but upon his observing that she met with some Favour upon his Account, he sent her away; she then received several violent Blows, so that she was almost disabled. The Blood trickled from their Heads, in a Stream, their Hair being cropt close, and the Cloaths they had on, in Rags, made their Situation truly piteous: Whilst they were inflicting this Revenge upon the Captives, the King came, and put a Stop to any further Cruelty, by telling them "It was sufficient," which they immediately attended to.

Benjamin Gilbert, and Elizabeth his Wife; Jesse Gilbert, and his Wife, were ordered to Captain Rowland Monteur's House,* the Women belonging to it, were kind to them, and gave them something to eat: Sarah Gilbert, Jesse's Wife, was taken from them by three Women, in Order to be placed in the Family she was to be adopted by.

Two Officers from Niagara Fort, Captains Dace, and Powel,† came to see the Prisoners, and prevent (as they were informed) any Abuse that might be given them: Benjamin Gilbert informed these Officers, that he was apprehensive they

**Rowland Monteur's house.* Evidently at or near the present site of Lewiston, New York; though it may have been some distance east of Lewiston, on the heights.

†*Dace and Powel.* "Dace" was probably the John Dease, often mentioned in the *Haldimand Papers* as at Fort Niagara at this period. "Powel" was Capt. John Powell.

were in great Danger of being murdered, upon which they promised him they would send a Boat, the next Day, to bring them to Niagara.

24th. Notwithstanding the kind Intention of the Officers, they did not derive the expected Advantage from it, for the Indians insisted on their going to the Fort on Foot, although the Bruises they had received the Day before, from the many severe Blows given them, rendered their Journey on Foot very distressing; but Capt. Monteur obstinately persisting, they dare not long remonstrate, or refuse:

When they left the Indian Town, several issued from their Huts after them, with Sticks in their Hands, yelling and screeching in a most dismal Manner; but through the Interposition of four Indian Women, who had come with the Captives, to prevent any further Abuse they might receive, they were preserved: One of them walking between Benjamin Gilbert and his Wife, led them, and desired Jesse to keep as near them as he could, the other three walked behind, and prevailed with the young Indians to desist. They had not pursued their Route long, before they saw Capt. John Powel, who came from his Boat,* and persuaded (though with

* From Lewiston on the Niagara to Fort Niagara at the mouth of the river, is seven miles. A trail ran along the east bank; hence the Gilberts could readily embark, wherever they met Captain Powell coming up the river in his boat.

some Difficulty) the Indians to get into it, with the Captives, which relieved them from the Apprehensions of further Danger. After reaching the Fort, Capt. Powel introduced them to Col. Guy Johnson, and Col. Butler,* who asked the Prisoners many Questions, in the Presence of the Indians. They presented the Captain with a Belt of Wampum, which is a constant Practice amongst them, when they intend a Ratification of the Peace. Before their Connexion with Europeans, these Belts were made of Shells, found on the Coasts of New-England and Virginia, which were sawed out into Beads of an Oblong Shape, about a Quarter of an Inch long, which when strung together on leathern Strings, and these Strings fastened with fine threads made of Sinews, compose what is called, a Belt of Wampum: But since the Whites have gained Footing among them, they make Use of the common Glass Beads for this Purpose.

The Indians, according to their usual Custom and Ceremony, at three separate Times, ordered the Prisoners to shake Hands with Col. Johnson.

25th. Benjamin Gilbert, Elizabeth his Wife, and Jesse Gilbert, were surrendered to Col. Johnson: This Deliverance from such Scenes of Distress, as they had become acquainted with,

* *Cols. Johnson and Butler.* Col. Guy Johnson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and Col. John Butler of the Queen's Rangers.

gave them a more free Opportunity of close Reflection than heretofore.

The many sorrowful Days and Nights they had passed, the painful Anxiety attendant on their frequent Separation from each other, and the Uncertainty of the Fate of the Rest of their Family, overwhelmed them with Grief.

26th. Expression is too weak to describe their Distress, on leaving their Children with these hard Masters; they were not unacquainted with many of the Difficulties, to which they would necessarily be exposed in a Residence amongst Indians, and the Loss which the Young People would sustain, for Want of a civilized and Christian Education.

27th. In this desponding Situation, the Kindness of Sympathy was awakened in one of the Indian Women, who even forgot her Prejudices, and wiped away the Tears which trickled down Elizabeth Gilbert's Cheeks.

The particular Attention of Col. Johnson's Housekeeper to them, from a Commiseration of their Distress, claims their Remembrance: Benjamin, his Wife, and Jesse Gilbert, were invited to her House, where she not only gave the old Folks her best Room, but administered to their Necessities, and endeavoured to sooth their Sorrows.

Jesse Gilbert was favoured to get Employ, which, as it was some Alleviation of his Misfor-

tunes, may be considered as a providential Kindness.

28th. A few Days after they came to the Fort, they had Information that Benjamin Peart was by the River Side, with the Indians; upon hearing this Report, his Mother went to see him, but every Attempt for his Release was in Vain, the Indians would by no Means give him up. From this Place they intended to march with their Prisoner, to the Genesee River, about an Hundred Miles Distance. As the affectionate Mother's Solicitations proved fruitless, her Son not only felt the afflicting Loss of his Wife and Child, from whom he had been torn some Time before, but a Renewal of his Grief, on this short Sight of his Parent: She procured him a Hat, and also some Salt, which was an acceptable Burden for the Journey.

Benjamin Gilbert, conversing with the Indian Captain who made them Captives, observed that he might say what none of the other Indians could, "That he had brought in the oldest Man, and the youngest Child;" his Reply to this was expressive; "It was not I, but the great God who brought you through, for we were determined to kill you, but were prevented."

The British Officers being acquainted that Jesse Gilbert's Wife was among the Indians, with great Tenderness agreed to seek her out, and after a diligent Enquiry, found that she

was among the Delawares, they went to them, and endeavoured to agree upon Terms for her Releasement; the Indians brought her to the Fort the next Day, but would not give her up to her Relations.

29th. As the Cabbins of the Indians were but two Miles from the Fort, they went thither, and Jesse and the Officers used ever[y] Argument in their Power to prevail upon them, representing how hard it was to part these two young People; at Length they consented to bring her in next Day, with their whole Tribe, for a final Release.

30th. They accordingly came, but started so many Objections, that she was obliged to return with them.

31st. Early next Morning, Capt. Robeson generously undertook to procure her Liberty, which, after much Attention and Solitude, he, together with Li[e]utenant Hillyard, happily accomplished. They made the Indians several small Presents, and gave them thirty Pounds as a Ransom.

When Sarah Gilbert had obtained her Liberty, she altered her Dress more in Character for her Sex, than she had been able to do whilst amongst the Indians, and went to her Husband and Parents at Col. Johnson's, where she was joyfully received.

Col. Johnson's Housekeeper continued her kind Attentions to them, during their Stay here,

and procured Clothing for them from the King's Stores.

6th Month 1722. About this Time, the Senecas, among whom Elizabeth Peart was Captive, brought her with them to the Fort; as soon as the Mother heard of it, she went to her, and had some Conversation with her, but could not learn where she was to be sent to; she then enquired of the Interpreter, and pressed on his Friendship, to learn what was to become of her Daughter; this Request he complied with, and informed her that she was to be given away to another Family of the Senecas, and adopted among them, in the Place of a deceased Relation. Capt Powel interested himself in her Case likewise, and offered to purchase her of them, but the Indians refused to give her up; and as the Mother and Daughter expected they should see each other no more, their Parting was very affecting.

The Indian Woman who had adopted Rebecca as her Daughter, came also to the Fort, and Elizabeth Gilbert made Use of this Opportunity to enquire concerning her Daughter, the Interpreter informed her, there was no Probability of obtaining the Enlargement of her Child, as the Indians would not part with her: All she could do, was, to recommend her to their Notice, as very weakly, and of Consequence not able to endure much Fatigue.

2d, and 3d. Not many Days after their Arrival at Niagara, a Vessel came up Lake Ontario to the Port, with Orders for the Prisoners to go [to] Montreal. In this Vessel came one Capt. Brant,* an Indian Chief, high in Rank amongst them. Elizabeth Gilbert immediately applied herself to solicit and interest him on Behalf of her Children who yet remained in Captivity; he readily promised her to use his Endeavours to procure their Liberty. A short Time before they sailed for Montreal, they received Accounts of Abner and Elizabeth Gilbert the younger, but it was also understood that their Possessors were not disposed to give them up. As the Prospect of obtaining the Release of their Children was so very discouraging, it was no Alleviation to their Distress, to be removed to Montreal, where, in all Probability, they would seldom be able to gain any Information respecting them; on which Account, they were very solicitous to stay at Niagara, but the Col. said they could not remain there, unless the Son would enter into the King's Service; this could not be consented to, therefore they chose to submit to every Calamity which might be permitted to befall them, and confide in the great Controller of Events.

Here they became acquainted with one Jesse Pawling, from Pennsylvania, who was an Officer

* *Capt. Brant.* Joseph Brant, "Theyendanegea," the noted Mohawk chief, brother-in-law to Sir William Johnson.

among the British, and behaved with Kindness and Respect to the Prisoners, which induced them to request his Attention also to that Part of the Family remaining in Captivity; it appeared to them of some Consequence to gain an additional Friend. The Col. also gave his Promise to exert himself on their behalf.

After continuing ten Days at Col. Johnson's, they took Boat in the Forenoon of the 2d, being the sixth Day of the Week, and crossed the River Niagara, in Order to go on Board the Vessel (which lay in Lake Ontario) for Montreal. The Officers procured Necessaries for their Voyage in great Plenty, and they were also furnished with Orders to draw more at certain Places, as they might have Occasion: These Civilities may appear to many, to be too trivial to be mentioned in this Narrative, but those who have been in equal Distress, will not be insensible of their Value.

4th, The Vessel sailed down the Lake, on the sixth Day of the Week, and on First-day following, being the fourth Day of the Sixth Month, 1780, came to Carlton Island,* where

* *Carlton Island.* Properly *Corleton*. Prior to 1778 known as Deer, also Buck Island; renamed by the British, May, 1778, in honor of Gen. Guy Carleton. Here was located Fort Maudslund, and it continued an important point in military operations during the Revolution, and in lake traffic for years afterward. Now a part of Jefferson County, New York, and one of the most attractive of the "Thousand Islands."

there were such a Number of small Boats, which brought Provisions, that it had the Appearance of a Fleet. Benjamin Gilbert, and Jesse, went on Shore to obtain Leave from the commanding Officer, to go to Montreal in the small Boats, as the Vessel they came in could proceed no further: They met with a kind Reception and their Request was granted.

5th. On Second-day following, they left Carlton Island, which lies at the Mouth of Lake Ontario, and took their Passage in open Boats down the River St. Laurence, and passed a Number of small Islands. There is a rapid Descent in the Waters of this River, which appears dangerous to those unacquainted with these Kind of Falls. The French Men who rowed the Boats, kept them near the Shore, and passed without much Difficulty between the Rocks.

6th, 7th, and 8th. Benjamin Gilbert had been much indisposed before they left the Fort, and his Disorder was increased by a Rain which fell on their Passage, as they were without any Covering. They passed Oswagatchy,* an English Garrison, by the Side of the River, but they were not permitted to stop here; they proceeded down the St. Laurence, and the Rain continuing, went on Shore on an Island in Order to secure themselves from the Weather: Here they made a Shelter for Benjamin Gilbert, and when

* *Oswagatchy.* Ogdensburg, New York.

the Rain ceased, a Place was prepared for him in the Boat, that he might lie down with more Ease. His bodily Weakness made such rapid Progress, that it rendered all the Care and Attention of his Wife necessary, and likewise called forth all her Fortitude; she supported him in her Arms, affording every possible Relief to mitigate his extreme Pains: And although in this distressed Condition, he, notwithstanding, gave a satisfactory Evidence of the Virtue and Power of a patient and holy Resignation, which can disarm the King of Terrors, and receive him as a welcome Messenger: Thus prepared, he passed from this State of Probation, the eighth Day of the Sixth Month, 1780, in the Evening, leaving his Wife and two Children, who were with him, in all the Anxiety of deep Distress, although they had no Doubt but that their Loss was his everlasting Gain. Being without a Light in the Boat, the Darkeness of the Night added not a little to their melancholy Situation. As there were not any others with Elizabeth Gilbert but her Children, and the four French Men who managed the Boat, and her Apprehensions alarmed her, lest they should throw the Corps overboard, as the[y] appeared to be an unfeeling Company, she therefore applied to some British Officers who were in a Boat behind them, who dispelled her Fears, and received her under their Protection.

9th. In the Morning they passed the Garrison of Coeur de Lac,* and waited for some considerable Time, a small Distance below it. Squire Campbell, who had the Charge of the Prisoners, when he heard of Benjamin Gilbert's Decease, sent Jesse to the Commandant of this Garrison to get a Coffin, in which they put the Corps, and very hastily interred him under an Oak not far from the Fort. The Boat-men would not allow his Widow to pay the last Tribute to his Memory, but regardless of her Affliction, refused to wait; her Distress on this Occasion was great indeed, but being sensible that it was her Duty to submit to the Dispensations of an over-ruling Providence, which are all ordered in Wisdom, she endeavoured to support herself under her Afflictions, and proceeded with the Boat-men.

Near this Place they passed by a Grist-mill, which is maintained by a Stone Wing extended into the River St. Laurence, the Stream being very rapid, acquires a Force sufficient to turn the Wheel, without the further Expence of a Dam.

The Current carried their Boat forwards with amazing Rapidity, and the Falls became so dangerous that the Boats could proceed no further; they therefore landed in the Evening, and went to the commanding Officer of Fort

* *Coeur de Lac.* Printed elsewhere in the Narrative *Coeur de Lac.* The place intended was probably Coteau du Lac, near the foot of Lake St. Francis.

Lasheen* to request a Lodging, but the Houses in the Garrison were so crowded, that it was with Difficulty they obtained a small Room belonging to the Boat-builders to retire to, and here they stowed themselves with ten others.

10th. The Garrison of Lasheen is on the Isle of Jesu, on which the Town of Montreal stands, about the Distance of nine miles; hither our Travellers had to go by Land, and as they were entirely unacquainted with the Road, they took the Advantage of an empty Cart (which was going to the Town) for the Women to ride in.

The Land in this Neighbourhood is very stony, and the Soil thin; the Cattle small, and ill favoured.

When they arrived at Montreal, they were introduced to Brigadier General M'Clean, who after examining them, sent them to one Duquesne, an Officer amongst the Loyalists, who being from Home, they were desired to wait in the Yard until he came; this Want of Politeness, gave them no favourable Impressions of the Master of the House; when he returned, he read their Pass, and gave Jesse an Order for three Days Provisions.

Daniel M'Ulphin received them into his House; by him they were treated with great Kindness, and the Women continued at his House and worked five Weeks for him.

* *Fort Lasheen.* La Chine.

Jesse Gilbert met with Employ at Thomas Busby's, where he lived very agreeably for the Space of nine Months.

Elizabeth Gilbert had the Satisfaction of an easy Employ at Adam Scott's, Merchant, having the Superintendence of his Kitchen, but about six Weeks after she engaged in his Service, Jesse's Wife Sarah, was taken sick at Thomas Busby's, which made it necessary for her Mother to disengage herself from the Place where she was so agreeably situated, in Order to nurse her. These three were favoured to be considered as the King's Prisoners, having Rations allowed them; this Assistance was very comfortable, but Elizabeth's Name being erased out of the List at a Time when they needed an additional Supply, they were much straightened: Upon an Application to one Col. Campbell, he, together with Esquire Campbell, took down a short Account of her Sufferings and Situation, and after preparing a concise Narrative, they applied to the Brigadier General, to forward it to General Haldimand at Quebec, desiring his Attention to the Sufferers, who speedily issued his Orders, that the Releasement of the Family should be procured, with particular injunctions for every Garrison to furnish them with Necessaries as they came down.*

* In the *Haldimand Papers* in the British Museum (copies in the Canadian Archives Office at Ottawa) are numbered

As soon as Sarah Gilbert recovered from her Indisposition, her Mother returned to Adam Scott's Family.

Thomas Gomerson * hearing of their Situation, came to see them; he was educated a Quaker, and had been a Merchant of New-York, and travelled with Robert Walker † in his religious Visits; but upon the Commencement of the War, had deviated from his former Principles, and had lost all the Appearance of a Friend, wearing a Sword: He behaved with Respect to the Prisoners, and made Elizabeth a Present.

References to the Gilberts. Richard Murray, Commissioner of Prisoners, wrote to R. Mathews (Montreal, June 27, 1782) that Elizabeth Gilbert, a Quaker woman, "taken by the savages near the Blue Mountains two years ago," had applied for leave to remain with her family "until the disturbances to the southward are at an end." July 1st Murray wrote: "His Excellency [Haldimand] consents to Mrs. Gilbert's request, she will soon have a visit from her son or relative who is at Castleton on his way to this Province on a tour of charity to his brethren in distress." Murray was ordered to give relief as needed to the Gilberts. A general order for prisoners who had been sent down from Detroit and Niagara, including the Gilberts, was that they be supplied "with shirts and shoes . . . but not until some short time before their departure, when they will also receive such other little matters as may be necessary to their comforts."

* *Thomas Gomerson*. Name elsewhere given as "Gomersal." This is the person whose statement regarding his agency in the flight of Sir John Johnson, from Johnstown, was made in 1776.

† *Robert Walker*. A ministering Friend from England, who made a "religious visit" to Friends in America, about 1772.

The particular Attention of Col. Clofs,* and the Care he shewed by writing to Niagara, on Behalf of the Captives, as he was entirely a Stranger to her, is remembered with Gratitude.

As there was an Opportunity of hearing from Niagara, it gave them great Pleasure to be informed that Elizabeth Gilbert was amongst the white People, she having obtained her Release from the Indians, prior to the others.

Sarah Gilbert, Wife of Jesse, becoming a Mother, Elizabeth left the Service she was engaged in, Jesse having taken a House, that she might give her Daughter every necessary Attendance; and in Order to make their Situation as comfortable as possible, they took a Child to nurse, which added a little to their Income. After this, Elizabeth Gilbert hired herself to iron a Day for Adam Scott; whilst she was at her Work, a little Girl belonging to the House, acquainted her that there were some who wanted to see her, and upon entering into the Room, she found six of her Children; the Joy and Surprise she felt on this Occasion, were beyond what we shall attempt to describe. A Messenger was sent to inform Jesse and his Wife, that Joseph Gilbert, Benjamin Peart, Elizabeth his Wife, and young Child, Abner and Elizabeth Gilbert, the younger, were with their Mother. It must

* *Col. Closs.* Col. Daniel Claus, son-in-law of Sir William Johnson.

afford very pleasing Reflections to any affectionate Disposition, to dwell awhile on this Scene, that after a Captivity of upwards of fourteen Months, so happy a Meeting should take Place.

Thomas Peart, who had obtained his Liberty, and tarried at Niagara, that he might be of Service to the two yet remaining in Captivity, viz. Benjamin Gilbert, jun. and Rebecca Gilbert.

Abigail Dodson, the Daughter of a neighbouring Farmer, who was taken with them, having inadvertently informed the Indians she was not of the Gilbert Family, all Attempts for her Liberty were fruitless.

We shall now proceed to relate how Joseph Gilbert, the eldest Son of the deceased, fared amongst the Indians: He, with Thomas Peart, Benjamin Gilbert, jun. and Jesse Gilbert's Wife Sarah, were taken along the Westward Path, as before related; after some short Continuance in this Path, Thomas Peart and Joseph Gilbert were taken from the other two, and by a different Rout through many difficulties, they were brought to Caracadera,* where they received the Insults of the Women and Children, whose Husbands or Parents had fallen in their hostile Excursions.

* *Caracadera*. Location uncertain. The name, not given by Morgan or other authorities, suggests the modern Caneadea, to which it may refer. The present villages of Caneadea and Nunda are about thirty miles apart.

Joseph Gilbert was separated from his Companion, and removed to an Indian Villa, called Nundow,* about seven Miles from Caracadera; his Residence was, for several Weeks, in the King's Family, whose Hamlet was superior to the other small Huts. The King himself brought him some Hommony, and treated him with great Civility, intending his Adoption into the Family, in the Place of one of his Sons, who was slain when General Sullivan drove them from their Habitations. As Nundow was not to be the Place of his Abode, his Quarters were soon changed, and he was taken back to Caracadera; but his Weakness of Body was so great, that he was two Days accomplishing this Journey, which was only seven Miles, and not able to procure any other Food than Roots and Herbs, the Indian Oeconomy leaving them without any Provisions to subsist on. Here they adopted him into the Family of one of the King's Sons,† informing him, that if he would marry amongst them, he should enjoy the Privileges

* *Nundow*. More correct Seneca form, *O'-non-da-oh*; in early documents often written *Nundey*; modern form *Nunda*, now a village in Livingston County, New York, some five miles east of the Genesee River. The exact site of the old Indian town is undetermined; the Indians half a century ago located it some two miles nearer the river than the present town. Further on in the Narrative it is spoken of as "on the Genesee River."

† *One of the King's Sons*. Presumably the chief known as "Young King."

which they enjoyed; but this Propofal he was not difpofed to comply with, and as he was not over anxious to conceal his Diflike to them, the Sufferings he underwent were not alleviated. The Manner of his Life differing fo much from what he had before been accuftomed to, having to eat the wild Roots and Herbs before mentioned, and as he had been lame from a Child, and fubject to frequent Indifpofitions, it was requifite for him to pay more Attention to his weak Habit of Body, than his Captors were willing he fhould. When the Matter of the Family was at Home, the Refpect he fhewed to Jofeph, and his Kindnefs to him, rendered his Situation more tolerable than in his Abfence. Frequently fuffering with Hunger, the Privilege of a plenteous Table, appeared to him as an ineflimable Bleffing, which claimed the warmeft Devotion of Gratitude: In fuch a diftrefled Situation, the Hours rolled over with a Tedioufnefs almoft infupportable, as he had no agreeable Employ to relieve his Mind from the Reflections of his forrowful Captivity: This Manner of Life continued about three Months, and when they could no longer procure a Supply by their hunting, Necessity compelled them to go to Niagara Fort for Provifion. The greater Number of the Indians belonging to Caracadara attended on this Journey, in Order to obtain a Supply of Provifions; their Want of Oeconomy

being so great, as to have consumed so early as the eighth Month, all they had raised the last Year, and the present Crops unfit to gather: Their profuse Manner of using their scant Pittance of Provision, generally introducing a Famine, after a short Time of Feasting. They compute the Distance from Caracadera, to Niagara Fort, to be of 130 Miles; on this Journey they were upwards of five Days, taking some Venison in their Route, and feasting with great Greediness, as they had been a long Time without Meat.

When they reached the Fort, they procured Cloathing from the King's Stores for Joseph Gilbert, such as the Indians usually wear themselves, a Match-coat, Leggings, &c. His Indisposition confined him at Col. Johnson's for several Days, during which Time, the British Officers endeavoured to agree with the Indians for his Release, but they would not consent. The afflicting Account of the Death of his Father, which was here communicated to him, spread an additional Gloom on his Mind. After continuing at the Fort about four Weeks, the Indians ordered him back with them; this was a sore Stroke, to leave a Degree of Ease and Plenty, and resume the Hardships of an Indian Life: With this uncomfortable Prospect before him, added to his Lameness, the Journey was toilsome and painful. They were five

Days in their Return, and when they arrived, their Corn was ripe for Use; this, with the Advantage of hunting, as the Game was in its greatest Perfection, furnished a present comfortable Subsistence.

Joseph had Permission to visit his fellow Captive, Thomas Peart, who was at a small Town of the Indians, about seven Miles Distance, called Nundow, to whom he communicated the sorrowful Intelligence of their Mother's widowed Situation.

At the first Approach of Spring, Joseph Gilbert and his adopted Brother employed themselves in procuring Rails, and repairing the Fence about the Lot of Ground they intended to plant with Corn; as this Part of preserving the Grain was allotted to them, the planting and Culture was assigned to the Women, their Husbandry being altogether performed by the Hoe.

The Indian Manner of Life was by no Means agreeable to Joseph Gilbert; their Irregularity in their Meals was hard for him to bear; when they had provisions in Plenty, they observed no Plan of domestic Oeconomy, but indulged their voracious Appetites, which soon consumed their Stock, and a Famine succeeded.

In the early Part of the sixth Month, 1781, their Corn was spent, and they were obliged to have Recourse again to the wild Herbage and Roots, and were so reduced for Want of Provision, that

the Indians having found the Carcase of a dead Horse, they took the Meat and roasted it.

An Officer from the Fort came down to enquire into the Situation of the Indians, upon observing the low Condition Joseph was in, not being likely to continue long without some Relief, which the Officer privately afforded, he being permitted to frequent his House, he advised him by Flight, to endeavour an escape from the Indians, informing him that he had no other Expedient for his Release; this confirmed him in a Resolution he had for some time been contemplating, but his Lameness and weak Habit, for Want of proper Sustenance, rendered it impracticable to make such an Attempt at that Time, and it would require much Care and Attention to his own Health and Strength, to gather sufficient for such an Undertaking; he therefore made Use of the Liberty allowed him to visit the Officer, and partake of his Kindness and Assistance, that he might be prepared for the Journey.

Embracing a favourable Opportunity, when the Men were generally from Home, some in their War Expeditions, and some out hunting, he left them one Night whilst the Family slept, and made the best of his Way towards Niagara Fort, following the Path, as he had once before gone along it. Having a small Piece of Bread which he took from the Hut, he made a hasty

Repast, travelling Day and Night, in Order to escape from the further Distresses of Captivity. As he neither took any Sleep, or other Food by the Way than the Piece of Bread mentioned, for the two Days and Nights he pursued his Journey, he was much fatigued when he reached the Fort, and he experienced the Effects for several Days. Upon his applying to Col. Johnson, he was hospitably entertained, and the next Day saw three of the Indians whom he had left at the Town when he set off.

After a few Days Stay here, as most of the Family were discharged from Captivity, and waiting for a Passage to Montreal, a Vessel was fitted to take them on Board, in Order to proceed down the Lake.

We come next to Benjamin Peart, who remained the first Night after his arriving at the Indian Huts, with his Wife and Child, but was separated from them the next Day, and taken about a Mile and an Half, and presented to one of the Families of the Seneca Nation, and afterwards introduced to one of their Chiefs, who made a long Harrangue which Benjamin did not understand. The Indians then gave him to a Squaw, in Order to be received as her adopted Child, who ordered him to a private Hut, where the Women wept over him in Remembrance of the Relation in whose Stead he was received: After this, he went with his

Mother (by Adoption) to Niagara River, about two Miles below the great Falls, and staid here several Days, then went to the Fort on their Way to the Genesee River, where he had the Pleasure of conversing with his Mother, and receiving Information concerning his Wife and Child; but even this Satisfaction was short lived, for he neither could obtain Permission to visit his Wife, nor was he allowed to converse freely with his Mother, as the Indians hurried him on board their Bark Canoes, where having placed their Provisions, they proceeded with Expedition down the Lake to the Mouth of the Genesee River; the computed Distance from the small Village to the Mouth of the River, being one Hundred Miles, and from thence up the Genesee to the Place of their Destination, thirty Miles; in their Passage up the River they were about five Days, and as the Falls in this River near its Entrance into Lake Ontario, has made a Carrying-place of about two Miles, they dragged their Canoe this Distance to the Place of Boating above the Falls.* There were nine Indians of the Party with them. They frequently caught Fish by the Way.

It no Doubt was a fore Affliction to Benjamin, to be so far removed from his Wife and Child whilst amongst the Indians: Patience and Resignation alone could endure it.

**Falls of the Genesee.* Now Rochester, New York.

When the Party arrived at the Place of their designed Settlement, they soon erected a small Hut or Wigwam, and the Ground being rich and level, they began with their Plantation of Indian Corn. Two white Men who had been taken Prisoners,* the one from Susquehanna, the other from Minisinks, both in Pennsylvania, lived near his new Settlement, and were allowed by the Indians to use the Horses and plant for themselves: These Men lightened the Toil of Benjamin Peart's Servitude, as he was frequently in their Company, and he had the Liberty of doing something for himself, tho' without much Success.

His new Habitation, as it was not very healthy, introduced fresh Difficulties, for he had not continued here long, before he was afflicted with Sickness, which preyed upon him near three Months, the Indians repeatedly endeavouring to relieve him by their Knowledge in Simples, but their Endeavours proved ineffectual; the Approach of the Winter Season afforded the Relief sought for. Their Provision was not

**Two white prisoners.* Although the stories of many prisoners in the Genesee and Niagara regions during the Revolution are known, it is impossible from the reference in the Narrative to identify these men. Joseph Smith was living at Little Beard's Town in 1780, but he was captured at Cherry Valley. Horatio Jones, taken on the Juniata, was carried to the Genesee in 1781. It is probable that some of the Gilberts knew these men, and many another white prisoner, during their long captivity.

very tempting to a weakly Constitution, having nothing else than Hommony, and but short Allowance even of that, infomuch that when his Appetite increased, he could not procure Food sufficient to recruit his Strength. The Company of his Brother Thomas Peart who visited him, was a great Comfort, and as the Town he lived at was but the Distance of eighteen Miles, they had frequent Opportunities of condoling with each other in their Distress.

The Indian Men being absent on one of their War Excursions, and the Women employed in gathering the Corn, left Benjamin Peart much Leisure to reflect in Solitude.

Towards the Beginning of the Winter Season the Men returned, and built themselves a Log House for a Granary, and then removed about twenty Miles from their Settlement into the hunting Country, and procured a great Variety of Game, which they usually eat without Bread or Salt. As he had been with the Indians for several Months, their Language became more familiar to him.

Hunting and feasting after their Manner being their only Employ, they soon cleared the Place where they settled of the Game, which made a second Removal necessary, and they are so accustomed to this wandering Life, that it becomes their Choice.

They fixed up a Log Hut in this second Hunt-

ing-place, and continued until the second Month, when they returned to their first Settlement, tho' their Stay was but a few Days, and then back again to their Log Hut.

A heavy Rain falling melted some of the Snow which had covered the Ground about two Feet deep.

The whole Family concluded upon a Journey to Niagara Fort by Land, which was compleated in seven Days. At the Fort he had the Satisfaction of conversing with his Brother Thomas Peart, and the same Day his Wife also came from Buffaloe Creek, with the Senecas to the Fort; this happy Meeting, after an Absence of ten Months, drew Tears of Joy from them. He made an Inquiry after his Child, as he had neither heard from it or the Mother since their Separation. The Indians not approving of their conversing much together, as they imagined they would remember their former Situation, and become less contented with their present Manner of Life, they separated them again the same Day, and took Benjamin's Wife about four Miles Distance; but the Party with whom he came, permitted him to stay here several Nights, and when the Indians had compleated their Purpose of Traffic they returned, taking him some Miles back with them to one of their Towns; but upon his telling them he was desirous of returning to the Fort to procure

something he had before forgot, in Order for his Journey, he was permitted. As he staid the Night, his adopted Brother the Indian came for him, but upon his complaining that he was so lame as to prevent his travelling with them, they suffered him to remain behind.

He continued at the Fort about two Months before the Indians came back again, and as he laboured for the white People, he had an Opportunity of procuring salt Provision from the King's Stores, which had been for a long Time a Dainty to him.

When one of the Indians (a second adopted Brother) came for him, Benjamin went with him to Capt. Powel, who with earnest Solicitations and some Presents prevailed upon the Indian to suffer him to stay until he returned from his War Expedition; but this was the last he ever made, as he lost his Life on the Frontiers of New-York.

After this another Captain (a third adopted Brother) came to the Fort, and when Benjamin Peart saw him, he applied to Adjutant General Wilkinfon to intercede for his Release, who accordingly waited upon Col. Johnson and other Officers, to prevail with them to exert themselves on his Behalf; they concluded to hold a Council with the Indians for this Purpose, who after some Deliberation surrendered him up to Col. Johnson, for which he gave them a valuable Compensation.

Benjamin Peart after his Release was employed in Col. Johnson's Service, and continued with him for several Months. His Child had been released for some Time, and his Wife by earnest Entreaty and Plea of Sickness, had prevailed with the Indians to permit her Stay at the Fort, which proved a great Consolation and Comfort after so long a Separation.

About the Middle of the eighth Month, there was Preparation made for their Proceeding to Montreal, as by this Time there were six of the Prisoners ready to go in a Ship which lay in Lake Ontario, whose Names were Joseph Gilbert, Benjamin Peart, his Wife and Child, Abner Gilbert, and Elizabeth Gilbert the younger: These went on Board the Vessel to Charlton Island, which is as far as the large Vessels they use in the Lake can proceed; the Remainder of the Way (on Account of the frequent Shoals) they are obliged to go in smaller Boats.

The commanding Officer at Niagara procured a suitable Supply of Provision, and furnished them with Orders to draw more at the several Garrisons, as Occasion required.

In two Days they arrived at the upper End of Charlton Island,* and went to the Commander in Chief to shew their Pass, and obtain what they were in Need of. Afterwards they continued on to the Garrison of Oswagotchy by the Side

* *Charlton Island*, i.e., Carleton Island. See note on p. 65.

of the River St. Laurence, in an open Boat rowed by four Frenchmen, this Class of People being chiefly employed in laborious Services.

The Stream was so rapid and full of Rocks, that the Prisoners were too much alarmed to remain in the Boat, and concluded to go on Shore until they passed the Danger; but the Frenchmen, who had been accustomed to these wild and violent Rapids, (the longest of which is known by the Name of the long Sou) kept on Board: This surprising Scene continued for the Distance of six Miles, and they viewed it with a Degree of Horror, their Heads becoming almost giddy with the Prospect. When the Boats had shot the Falls, they again went on Board and continued down the River to Cour de Lac. No great Distance below this they anchored, and landed at the Place where their Father was interred, shedding many Tears of filial Affection to his Memory. They afterwards applied to the commanding Officer of the Garrison for Provisions and other Necessaries; they then bid Adieu to this solemn Spot of Sorrow, and proceeded to Lafheen, which they reached the twenty-fourth Day of the eighth Month, having been eight Days on their Voyage.

After refreshing themselves at this Garrison, they set forward on Foot for Montreal, which they reached the same Day. They went to the Brigadier General and shewed him their Pass-

port, and as soon as at Liberty waited on their Mother at Adam Scott's, as has been already related.

The Situation of Elizabeth Peart Wife of Benjamin, and her Child is next to be related;

After she and the Child were parted from her Husband, Abigail Dodson and the Child were taken several Miles in the Night to a little Hut, where they staid till Morning, and the day following were taken within 8 Miles of Niagara, where she was adopted into one of the Families of Senecas; the Ceremony of Adoption to her was tedious and distressing; they obliged her to sit down with a young Man an Indian, and the eldest Chieftain of the Family repeating a Jargon of Words to her unintelligible, but which she considered as some form amongst them of Marriage, and this Apprehension introduced the most violent agitations, as she was determined, at all events, to oppose any step of this Nature; but after the old Indian concluded his Speech she was relieved from the dreadful Embarrassment she had been under, as she was led away by another Indian.

Abigail Dodson was given the same day to one of the Families of the Cayuga Nation, so that Elizabeth Peart saw her no more.

The Man who led Elizabeth from the Company took her into the Family for whom they adopted her, and introduced her to her Parents,

Brothers and Sisters in the Indian stile, who received her very kindly, and made a grievous Lamentation over her according to Custom. After she had been with them two Days, the whole Family left their Habitation and went about two Miles to Fort Slusher,* where they staid several Days: This Fort is about one Mile above Niagara Falls.

As she was much indisposed, the Indians were detained several Days for her; but as they cared little for her, she was obliged to lie on the damp Ground, which prevented her speedy Recovery. As soon as her Disorder abated of its Violence, they set off in a Bark Canoe which they had provided, intending for Buffalo Creek; and as they went slowly, they had an Opportunity of taking some Fish.

When they arrived at the Place of their intended Settlement, they went on Shore and built an House.†

* *Fort Slusher.* Properly Fort Schlosser, named for Capt. John Joseph Schlosser in the British service, 1759. The site is now embraced in the city of Niagara Falls, New York, near where the power-house stands.

† This house was probably at the site of what became known as the Seneca village of Buffalo Creek, some four miles from its mouth on Lake Erie. There were really two villages, both in the vicinity of the junction of the Cazenove and Buffalo creeks. Today their sites are included in the southwestern part of the city of Buffalo. Beyond question Elizabeth Peart and Rebecca Gilbert were the first white women to visit or reside at what is now Buffalo.

A few Days after they came to this new Settlement, they returned with Elizabeth to Fort Slusher, when she was told her Child must be taken away from her; this was truly afflicting, but all Remonstrances were in vain.

From Fort Slusher she travelled on Foot, carrying her Child to Niagara, it being eighteen Miles, and in sultry Weather, rendered it a painful Addition to the Thoughts of parting with her tender Offspring. The Intent of their Journey was to obtain Provisions, and their Stay at the Fort was of several Days Continuance. Capt. Powel afforded her an Asylum in his House.

The Indians took the Child from her, and went with it across the River to adopt it into the Family they had assigned for it, notwithstanding Capt. Powel, at his Wife's Request, interceded that it might not be removed from its Mother; but as it was so young, they returned it to the Mother after its Adoption, until it should be convenient to send it to the Family under whose Protection it was to be placed.

Obtaining the Provision and other Necessaries they came to Niagara to trade for, they returned to Fort Slusher on Foot, from whence they embarked in their Canoes. It being near the Time of planting, they used much Expedition in this Journey.

The Labour and Drudgery in a Family falling

to the Share of the Women, Elizabeth had to assist the Squaw in preparing the Ground and planting Corn.

Their Provision being scant they suffered much, and as their Dependence for a sufficient Supply until the gathering their Crop, was on what they should receive from the Fort, they were under the Necessity of making a second Journey thither.

They were two Days on the Road at this Time. A small Distance before they came to the Fort, they took her Child from her, and sent it to its destined Family, and it was several Months before she had an Opportunity of seeing it again. After being taken from her Husband, to lose her darling Infant, was a severe Stroke. She lamented her Condition and wept sorely, for which one of the Indians inhumanly struck her. Her Indian Father seemed a little moved to behold her so distressed; and in Order to console her, assured her they would bring it back again, but she saw it not until the Spring following.

After they had disposed of their Peltries, they returned to their Habitation by the same Route which they had come.

With a Heart oppressed with Sorrow, Elizabeth trod back her Steps, mourning for her lost Infant, for this Idea presented itself continually to her Mind; but as she experienced how

fruitless, nay how dangerous, Solicitations in Behalf of her Child were, she dried up her Tears and pined in Secret.

Soon after they reached their own Habitation, Elizabeth Peart was again afflicted with Sicknefs. At the first they shewed some Attention to her Complaints; but as she did not speedily recover so as to be able to work, they discontinued every Attention, and built a small Hut by the Side of the Corn-field, placing her in it to mind the Corn. In this lonely Condition she saw a white Man, who had been made Prisoner among the Indians: He informed her that her Child was released and with the white People; this Information revived her drooping Spirits, and a short Time after she recovered of her Indisposition, but her Employment still continued of attending the Corn until it was ripe for gathering, which she assisted in. When the Harvest was over, they permitted her to return and live with them.

A Time of Plenty commenced, and they lived as if they had Sufficient to last the Year through, faring plentifully every Day.

A drunken Indian came to the Cabbin one Day, and the old Indian Woman complaining to him of Elizabeth, his Behaviour exceedingly terrified her; he stormed like a Fury, and at Length struck her a violent Blow which laid her on the Ground; he then began to pull her about and

abuse her much, when another of the Women interposed, and rescued her from further Suffering: Such is the shocking Effect of Spirituous Liquor on these People, it totally deprives them both of Sense and Humanity.

A tedious Winter prevented them from leaving their Habitation, and deprived her of the Pleasure of hearing often from her Friends, who were very much scattered; but a Prisoner, who had lately seen her Husband, informed her of his being much indisposed at the Genesee River, which was upwards of one Hundred Miles Distance: On receiving this Intelligence, she stood in Need of much Consolation, but had no Source of Comfort, except in her own Bosom.

Near the Return of Spring their Provision failing, they were compelled to go off to the Fort for a fresh Supply, having but a small Portion of Corn which they allowanced out once each Day.

Through Snow and severe Frost they went for Niagara, suffering much from the excessive Cold. And when they came within a few Miles of the Fort, which they were four Days accomplishing, they struck up a small Wigwam for some of the Family with the Prisoners to live in, until the Return of the Warriors from the Fort.

As soon as Capt. Powell's Wife heard that the young Child's Mother had come with the

Indians, she desired to see her, claiming some Relationship in the Indian Way, as she had also been a Prisoner amongst them.* They granted her Request, and Elizabeth was accordingly introduced, and informed that her Husband was returned to the Fort, and there was some Expectations of his Release. The same Day Benjamin Peart came to see his Wife, but could not be permitted to continue with her, as the Indians insisted on her going back with them to their Cabbin, which, as has been related, was some Miles distant.

Elizabeth Peart was not allowed for some Days to go from the Cabbin, but a white Family who had bought her Child from the Indians to whom it had been presented, offered the Party with whom Elizabeth was confined a Bottle of Rum if they would bring her across the River to her Child, which they did and delighted the Fond Mother with this happy Meeting, as she had not seen it for the Space of eight Months.

She was permitted to stay with the Family where her Child was for two Days, when she returned with the Indians to their Cabbin. After some time she obtained a further Permission to go to the Fort, where she had some

* *Capt. Powell's wife.* She was Jane Moore, taken prisoner in the famous raid on Cherry Valley, New York, November 11, 1778, and was married to Captain Powell at Fort Niagara in 1779.

Needle work from the white People, which afforded her a Plea for often Visiting it. At length Capt. Powell's Wife prevailed with them to suffer her to continue a few Days at her House, and work for her Family, which was granted. At the Expiration of the time, upon the coming of the Indians for her to return with them, she pleaded Indisposition, and by this means they were repeatedly dissuaded from taking her with them.

As the time of Planting drew nigh, she made use of a little Address to retard her Departure; having a small Swelling on her Neck she applied a Poultice, which led the Indians into a Belief it was improper to remove her, and they consented to come again for her in two Weeks.

Her Child was given up to her soon after her Arrival at the Fort, where she lodged at Capt. Powell's, and her Husband came frequently to visit her, which was a great happiness, as her Trials in their Separation had been many.

At the Time appointed some of the Indians came again, but she still pled Indisposition, and had confined herself to her Bed. One of the Women interrogated her very closely, but did not insist upon her going Back. Thus several Months elapsed, she contriving Delays as often as they came.

When the Vessel which was to take the other five, among whom were her Husband and Child,

was ready to fail, the Officers at Niagara concluded she might also go with them, as they saw no reasonable Objection, and they doubted not but it was in their Power to satisfy those Indians who considered her as their Property.

Abner Gilbert, another of the Captives, when the Company had reached the Indian town within three miles of Niagara Fort, was, with Elizabeth Gilbert the Younger, separated from the rest, about the latter part of the fifth Month 1780, and were both adopted into John Hufton's Family, who was of the Cayuga Nation. After a Stay of three Days at or near the Settlement of these Indians, they removed to a Place near the Great Falls, which is about eighteen Miles distant from the Fort, and loitered here three Days more; they then crossed the River and settled near its Banks, clearing a Piece of Land and prepared it by the Hoe for Planting. Until they could gather their Corn their Dependance was entirely upon the Fort.

After the space of three Weeks they packed up their Moveables, which they generally carry with them in their Rambles, and went down the River to get Provisions at Butlersbury, a small Village built by Col Butler and is on the opposite Side of the River to Niagara Fort. They staid one Night at the Village, observing great Caution that none of the White People should converse with the Prisoners. Next Day, after transacting

their Business, they returned to their Settlement, and continued there but about one Week, when it was concluded they must go again for Butlersbury;* after they had left their Habitation a small distance the Head of the Family met with his Brother, and as they are very ceremonious in such Interviews, the Place of Meeting was their Rendezvous for the Day and Night. In the morning the Family, with the Brother before mentioned, proceeded for Butlersbury, and reached it before Night. They went to the House of an Englishman, one John Seecord,† who was styled Brother to the Chief of the Family, having lived with him some time before.

After some Deliberation it was agreed that Elizabeth Gilbert should continue in this Family till sent for; this was an agreeable Change to her.

Abner returned with them to the Settlement; his Employ being to fence and secure the Cornpatch; sometimes he had plenty of Provisions but was often in want.

**Butlersbury*. Now Niagara, Ontario, usually written Niagara-on-the-Lake, to distinguish it from Niagara Falls, Ontario.

†*Seecord*. John Seecord. The family (name originally Seacord) were among the earliest of the Loyalist refugees from the United States to settle in the neighborhood of Niagara; the family has long been prominent in the region, perhaps the most distinguished member being the Laura Seecord (born Ingersoll) who in June, 1813, walked twenty miles through the woods to notify the British of an attack which the Americans proposed.

The Mistrifs of the Family one Day intending for Butlersbury, ordered Abner to prepare to go with her; but she had not gone far before she sent him back. Notwithstanding he had long been inured to frequent Disappointments, he was much mortified at returning, as he expected to have seen his Sister. When the Woman came Home she gave him no Information about her, and all Inquiries on his Part would have been fruitless.

The Place they had settled at served for a Dwelling until Fall, and as it was not very far Distant from the Fort, by often applying for Provision, they were not so much distressed between the failing of their old Crop and the gathering of the new one, as those who lived at a greater Distance.

In the Fall John Hutton, the Head of the Family, went out hunting, and in his Return caught Cold from his careless Manner of lying in the Wet, and thereby lost the Use of his Limbs for a long Time. On being informed of his Situation, the Family moved to the Place where he was; they fixed a Shelter over him (as he was unable to move himself) and continued here about a Month; but as it was remote from any Settlement, and they had to go often to the Fort for the Necessaries of Life, the[y] concluded to return to their own Habitation. Abner, one Indian Man, and some of the Women carried

the Cripple in a Blanket about two Miles; this was so hard a Task, they agreed to put up a small House and wait for his Recovery: But not long after they had an Opportunity of conveying him on Horse-back to the Landing,* about nine Miles above the Fort. As this was their Plantation and the Time of gathering their Crops, they took in their Corn, which, as has been before observed, is the Business of the Women. Then they changed their Quarters, carrying the lame Indian as before in a Blanket, down to the River Side, when they went on board Canoes, and crost the River in order to get to their Hunting-Ground, where they usually spend the Winter.

Abner Gilbert lived a drowsy Indian Life, idle and poor, having no other Employ than the gathering of Hickory-Nuts; and although young, his Situation was very irksome.

As soon as the Family came to the Hunting-Ground, they patched up a slight Hut for their Residence, and employed themselves in hunting. They took Abner along with them in one of their Tours, but they were then unsuccessful, taking nothing but Rackoons and Porcupines.

**The Landing.* Queenston, Ont. When settlement was begun there, about 1789, the place was called West Landing, to distinguish it from the Landing on the east side, now Lewiston. The name Queenston was given it in 1792, in honor of Queen Charlotte.

The Crop of Indian Corn proving too scant a Pittance for the Winter; Abner, on this Account, had some agreeable Employ, which was to visit the Fort, and procure a Supply of Provisions, which continued to be his Employment for the Remainder of the Season.

In the Spring John Hufton, the Indian who had been lame the whole Winter, recovered, and unhappily had it in his Power to obtain a Supply of Rum, which he frequently drank to Excess; and always when thus debauched was extravagantly morose, quarreling with the Women who were in the Family, and at Length left them. Soon after his Departure the Family moved about forty Miles, near Buffalo Creek, which empties its Waters into Lake Erie. At this Place Abner heard of his Sister Rebecca Gilbert, who still remained in Captivity not far from his new Habitation. This was their Summer Residence, they therefore undertook to clear a Piece of Land, in which they put Corn, Pumpkins and Squashes.

Abner, having no useful Employ, amused himself with catching Fish in the Lake, and furnished the Family with frequent Messes of various Kinds, which they eat without Bread or Salt; for the Distance of this Settlement from the Fort prevented them from obtaining Provisions so frequently as necessary. Capt. John Powell and Thomas Peart (the latter had by this

time obtained his Release from the Indians) and several others came among the Indian Settlements with Provision and Hoes for them. The Account of their coming soon spread amongst the Indians. The Chiefs of every Tribe came, bringing with them as many little Sticks as there were Persons in their Tribe, to express the Number, in Order to obtain a just Proportion of the Provision to be distributed. They are said to be unacquainted with any other Power of explaining Numbers than by this simple hieroglyphic Mode.

It was upwards of a Year since Abner had been parted from his Relations, and as he had not seen his Brother Thomas Peart in that Space of Time, this unexpected Meeting gave him great Joy, but it was of short Duration, as they were forced to leave him behind. During the Corn Season he was employed in tending it, and not being of an impatient Disposition he bore his Captivity without repining.

In the seventh Month, 1781, the Family went to Butlersbury, when Col. Butler treated with the Woman who was the Head of this Family for the Release of Abner, which she at Length consented to, on receiving some Presents, but said he must first return with her, and she would deliver him up in twenty Days. Upon their Return, she gave Abner the agreeable Information that he was to be given up. This

added a Spur to his Industry, and made his Labour light.

Some Days before the Time agreed on, they proceeded for Butlersbury, and went to John Secord's where his Sister Elizabeth Gilbert had been from the Time mentioned in the former Part of this Narrative.

Abner was discharged by the Indians soon after his Arrival at the English Village, and John Secord permitted him to live in his Family with his Sister. With this Family they continued two Weeks, and as they were under the Care of the English Officers, they were permitted to draw Cloathing and Provisions from the King's Stores.

Afterwards Benjamin Peart and his Brother Thomas, who were both released, came over for their Brother and Sister at John Secord's, and went with them to Capt. Powell's in Order to be nearer to the Vessel they were to go in to Montreal.

The next of the Family who comes within Notice is Elizabeth Gilbert the Sister. From the Time of her being first introduced by the Indian into the Family of John Secord, who was one in whom he placed great Confidence. She was under the Necessity of having new Cloaths, as those she had brought from Home were much worn. Her Situation in the Family where she was placed was comfortable. After

a few Days Residence with them she discovered where the young Child was, that had some Time before been taken from its Mother Elizabeth Peart, as before mentioned; and herself, together with John Secord's Wife with whom she lived, and Capt. Fry's * Wife went to see it, in Order to purchase it from the Indian Woman who had it under her Care; but they could not then prevail with her, though some Time after Capt. Fry's Wife purchased it for thirteen Dollars. Whilst among the Indians it had been for a long Time indisposed, and in a lingering distressing Situation; but under its present kind Protectress, who treated the Child as her own, it soon recruited.

Elizabeth Gilbert, jun. lived very agreeably in John Secord's Family rather more than a Year, and became so fondly attached to her Benefactors, that she usually stiled the Mistress of the House her Mamma. During her Residence here, her Brother Abner and Thomas Peart came several Times to visit her.

The afflicting Loss of her Father, to whom she was affectionately endeared, and the Separation from her Mother, whom she had no Expectation of seeing again, was a severe Trial, although moderated by the kind Attentions shewn her by the Family in which she lived.

**Fry*. A Canadian historian, Miss Janet Carnochan, gives this name as *Freyes*.

John Secord having some Business at Niagara, took Betty with him, where she had the Satisfaction of seeing six of her Relations who had been Captives, but were most of them released: This happy Meeting made the Trip to the Fort a very agreeable one. She staid with them all Night, and then returned.

Not long after this Visit, Col. Butler and John Secord sent for the Indian who claimed Elizabeth as his Property, and when he arrived they made Overtures to purchase her, but he declared he would not sell his own Flesh and Blood; for thus they style those whom they have adopted. They then had Recourse to Presents, which, overcoming his Scruples, they obtained her Discharge; after which she remained two Weeks at Butlersbury, and then went to her Mother at Montreal.

Having given a brief Relation of the happy Release and Meeting of such of the Captives as had returned from among the Indians, excepting Thomas Peart, whose Narrative is deferred, as he was exerting his endeavours for the Benefit of his Sister and Cousin who still remained behind.

It may not be improper to return to the Mother, who with several of her Children were at Montreal. The Nurse-Child which they had taken, as related in the former Part of this Account, dying, was a considerable Loss to

them, as they could not, even by their utmost Industry, gain as much any other Way.

In the Fall of the Year 1781, Col. Johnson, Capt. Powell, and some other Officers came to Montreal upon Business, and were so kind in their Remembrance of the Family, as to inquire after them, and to make them some Presents, congratulating the Mother on the happy Releasement of so many of her Children. They encouraged her with the Information of their Agreement with the Indians, for the Releasement of her Daughter Rebecca, expecting that she was by that Time at Niagara; but in this Opinion they were mistaken, as the Indian Family who adopted her, valued her too high to be easily prevailed with, and it was a long Time after this before she was given up.

Elizabeth Gilbert and her Daughters took in Cloaths to wash for their Support, and being industrious and careful, it afforded them a tolerable Subsistence.

Jesse Gilbert obtained Employ in his Trade as a Cooper, which yielded a welcome Addition to their Stock.

Elizabeth Gilbert suffered no Opportunity to pass her, of inquiring about her Friends and Relations in Pennsylvania, and had the Satisfaction of being informed by one who came from the Southward, that Friends of Philadelphia had been very assiduous in their Endeavours to gain

Information where their Family was, and had sent to the different Meetings, desiring them to inform themselves of the Situation of the captivated Family, and, if in their Power, afford them such Relief as they might need.

It gave her great Pleasure to hear of this kind sympathizing Remembrance of their Friends, and it would have been essentially serviceable to them, could they have reduced it to a Certainty.

Deborah Jones, a Daughter of Abraham Wing, a Friend, sent for Elizabeth Gilbert in order to attend her as a Nurse; but her Death, which was soon after, frustrated the Prospect she had of an agreeable Place, as this Woman was better grounded in Friends Principles than most she had met with; which Circumstance united them in the Ties of a close Friendship: And as Elizabeth Gilbert had received many Civilities and Favours from her, her Death was doubly afflicting to their Family.

A Person who came from Crown-Point, informed her that Benjamin Gilbert, a Son of the deceased by his first Wife, had come thither in order to be of what Service he could to the Family, and had desired him to make Inquiry where they were, and in what Situation, and send him the earliest Information possible.

A second agreeable Intelligence she received from Niagara, by a young Woman who came

from thence, who informed her that her Daughter Rebecca was given up to the English, by the Indians. This Information must have been very pleasing, as their Expectations of her Release were but faint; the Indian, with whom she lived, considering her as her own Child.

It was not long after this, that Thomas Peart, Rebecca Gilbert, and their Cousin Benjamin Gilbert came to Montreal to the rest of the Family. This Meeting, after such Scenes of Sorrow as they had experienced, was more completely happy than can be expressed.

Reflection, if indulged, will steadily point out a protecting Arm of Power to have ruled the varied Storms which often threatened the Family with Destruction on their Passage through the Wilderness, under the Controul of the fiercest Enemies, and preserved and restored them to each other, although separated among different Tribes and Nations: This so great a favour, cannot be considered by them but with the warmest Emotions of Gratitude to the great Author.

Rebecca Gilbert and Benjamin Gilbert, jun. were separated from their Friends and Connexions at a Place called the Five Mile Meadows,*

**Five Mile Meadows.* Still so called, and appropriately. for here, about five miles from the mouth of the Niagara, the meadow-land slopes to the river, which elsewhere has high banks.

which was said to be that Distance from Niagara. The Seneca King's Daughter, to whom they were allotted in the Distribution of the Captives, took them to a small Hut where her Father Siangorochti, his Queen, and the Rest of the Family were, eleven in Number. Upon the Reception of the Prisoners into the Family, there was much Sorrow and Weeping, as is customary upon such Occasions, and the higher in Favour the adopted Prisoners are to be placed, the greater Lamentation is made over them.

After three Days the Family removed to a Place called the Landing, on the Banks of Niagara River: Here they continued two Days more, and then two of the Women went with the Captives to Niagara, to procure Cloathing from the King's Stores for them, and permitted them to ride on Horse-back to Fort Slusher, which is about eighteen Miles distant from Niagara Fort. On this Journey they had a Sight of the Great Falls of Niagara.

During a Stay of six Days at Fort Slusher, the British Officers and others used their utmost Endeavours to purchase them of the Indians; but the Indian King said he would not part with them for one thousand Dollars.

The Indians who claimed Elizabeth Peart, came to the Fort with her at this Time, and although she was very weakly and indisposed, it was an agreeable Opportunity to them both

of conversing with each other, but they were not allowed to be frequently together, lest they should increase each others Discontent.

Rebecca being dressed in the Indian Manner, appeared very different from what she had been accustomed to: Short Clothes, Leggings, and a gold laced Hat.

From Niagara Fort they went about eighteen Miles above the Falls to Fort Erie,* a Garrison of the English, and then continued their Journey about four Miles further, up Buffalo Creek, and pitched their Tent. At this Place they met with Rebecca's Father and Mother by Adoption, who had gone before on Horse-back. They caught some Fish and made Soup of them, but Rebecca could eat none of it, as it was dressed without Salt, and with all the Carelessness of Indians.

This Spot was intended for their Plantation, they therefore began to clear the Land for the Crop of Indian Corn. While the Women were thus employed, the Men built a Log House for their Residence,† and then went out hunting.

**Fort Erie.* On the west, now Canadian, side of the Niagara, at the outlet of Lake Erie. A British post since 1763, save for a short time during the War of 1812, when it was held by the Americans. Now a picturesque ruin, guarded by the Ontario government as a park.

†*The "King's" residence.* The site, not definitely known, was probably east of and near to the present Seneca-street bridge over Buffalo Creek, in the city of Buffalo.

Notwithstanding the Family they lived with, was of the first Rank among the Indians, and the Head of it styled King, they were under the Necessity of labouring as well as those of lower Rank, although they often had Advantages of procuring more Provisions than the Rest. This Family raised this Summer about one Hundred Skipple of Indian Corn (a Skipple is about three Pecks) equal to seventy-five Bushels.

As Rebecca was not able to pursue a Course of equal Labour with the other Women, she was favoured by them by often being sent into their Hut to prepare something to eat; and as she dressed their Provisions after the English Method, and had erected an Oven by the Assistance of the other Women, in which they baked their Bread, their Family fared more agreeably than the others.

Benjamin Gilbert, jun. was considered as the King's Successor, and entirely freed from Restraint, so that he even began to be delighted with his Manner of Life; and had it not been for the frequent Counsel of his Fellow-Captive, he would not have been anxious for a Change.

In the Waters of the Lakes there are various Kinds of Fish, which the Indians take sometimes with Spears; but whenever they can obtain Hooks and Lines they prefer them.

A Fish called Ozoondah, resembling a Shad in Shape, but rather thicker and less bony, with

which Lake Erie abounded, were often dressed for their Table, and were of an agreeable Taste, weighing from three to four Pounds.

They drew Provisions this Summer from the Forts, which frequently induced the Indians to repair thither. The King, his Daughter, Grand-daughter, and Rebecca went together upon one of these Visits to Fort Erie, where the British Officers entertained them with a rich Feast, and so great a Profusion of Wine, that the Indian King was very drunk; and as he had to manage the Canoe in their Return, they were repeatedly in Danger of being overfet amongst the Rocks in the Lake.

Rebecca and Benjamin met with much better Fare than the other Captives, as the Family they lived with were but seldom in great Want of Necessaries, which was the only Advantage they enjoyed beyond the Rest of their Tribe.

Benjamin Gilbert, as a Badge of his Dignity, wore a Silver Medal pendant from his Neck.

The King, Queen, and another of the Family, together with Rebecca and her Cousin Benjamin set off for Niagara, going as far as Fort Slusher by Water, from whence they proceeded on Foot carrying their Loads on their Backs. Their Business at the Fort was to obtain Provisions, which occasioned them frequently to visit it, as before related.

Rebecca indulged herself with the pleasing

E[x]pectation of obtaining her Release, or at least Permission to remain behind among the Whites; but in both these Expectations she was disagreeably disappointed, having to return again with her Captors; all Efforts for her Release being in vain. Col. Johnson's Housekeeper, whose repeated Acts of Kindness to this captived Family have been noticed, made her some acceptable Presents.

As they had procured some Rum to carry Home with them, the Chief was frequently intoxicated, and always in such unhappy Fits behaved remarkably foolish.

On their Return, Thomas Peart, who was at Fort Niagara, procured for Rebecca an Horse to carry her as far as Fort Snusher, where they took Boat and got Home after a Stay of nine Days.

Soon after their Return, Rebecca and her Cousin were seized with the Chill and Fever, which held them for near three Months. During their Indisposition the Indians were very kind to them; and as their Strength of Constitution alone, could not check the Progress of the Disorder, the Indians procured some Herbs, with which the Patients were unacquainted, and made a plentiful Decoction; with these they washed them, and it seemed to afford them some Relief: The Indians accounted it a sovereign Remedy.

The Decease of her Father, of which Rebecca

received an Account, continued her in a drooping Way a considerable Time longer than she would otherwise have been.

As soon as she recovered her Health, some of the Family again went to Niagara, and Rebecca was permitted to be of the Company. They staid at the Fort about two Weeks, and Col. Johnson exerted himself in order to obtain her Release, holding a Treaty with the Indians for this Purpose; but his Mediation proved fruitless: She had therefore to return with many an heavy Step. When they came to Lake Erie, where their Canoe was, they proceeded by Water. While in their Boat a Number of Indians in another Canoe came towards them, and informed them of the Death of her Indian Father, who had made an Expedition to the Frontiers of Pennsylvania, and was there wounded by the Militia, and afterwards died of his Wounds; * on which Occasion she was under the Necessity of making a Feint of Sorrow, and weeping aloud with the rest.

When they arrived at their Settlement, it was the Time of gathering their Crop of Corn, Potatoes, Pumpkins, and preserving their Store of Hickory-Nuts.

* *Death of Rebecca's Indian father.* This was Rowland Monteur who died, as already noted, of wounds received near where Painted Post, New York, afterwards stood, and was buried there, according to credible tradition, in September, 1781. See *note*, pp. 28, 29.

About the Beginning of the Winter some British Officers came amongst them, and staid with them until Spring, using every Endeavour for the Discharge of the two Captives, but still unattended with Success.

Some Time after this, another British Officer, attended by Thomas Peart, came with Provision and Hoes for the Indians. It afforded them great Happiness to enjoy the Satisfaction of each others Conversation, after so long an Absence.

Rebecca and her Cousin had the additional Pleasure of seeing her Brother Abner, who came with the Family amongst whom he lived, to settle near this Place; and as they had not seen each other for almost twelve Months, it proved very agreeable.

Thomas Peart endeavoured to animate his Sister, by encourageing her with the Hopes of speedily obtaining her Liberty: But her Hopes were often disappointed.

An Officer amongst the British, one Capt. Latteridge,* came and staid some Time with them, and interested himself on Behalf of the Prisoners, and appeared in a fair Way of obtaining their Enlargement; but being ordered to join his Regiment, he was prevented from further Attention until his Return from Duty; and afterwards was commanded by Col. Johnson to

**Latteridge.* Capt. Robert Lottridge.

go with him to Montreal, on Business of Importance, which effectually barred his undertaking any Thing further that Winter.

It afforded her many pleasing Reflections when she heard that six of her Relatives were freed from their Difficulties, and Thomas Peart visiting her again, contributed, in some Measure, to reanimate her with fresh Hopes of obtaining her own Freedom. They fixed upon a Scheme of carrying her off privately; but when they gave Time for a full Reflection, it was evidently attended with too great Danger, as it would undoubtedly have much enraged the Indians, and perhaps the Lives of every one concerned would have been forfeited by such Indiscretion.

During the Course of this Winter she suffered many Hardships and severe Disappointments, and being without a Friend to unbosom her Sorrows to, they appeared to increase by Concealment; but making a Virtue of Necessity, she summoned up a Firmness of Resolution, and was supported under her Discouragement beyond her own Expectations.

The Youth and Inexperience of her Cousin did not allow of a sufficient Confidence in him, but she had often to interest herself in an Attention to, and Oversight of, his Conduct; and it was in some Measure owing to this Care, that he retained his Desires to return amongst his Friends.

Col. Butler sent a String of Wampum to the

Indian Chief, who immediately called a Number of the other Indians together upon this Occasion, when they concluded to go down to Niagara, where they understood the Design of the Treaty was for the Freedom of the Remainder of the Prisoners; for especial Orders were issued by General Haldimand, at Quebec, that their Liberty should be obtained. At this Council-Fire it was agreed they would surrender up the Prisoners.

When they returned they informed Rebecca that Col. Butler had a Desire to see her, which was the only Information she could gain: This being a frequent Custom amongst them to offer a very slight Surmise of their Intentions.

After this the whole Family moved about six Miles up Lake Erie, where they staid about two Months to gather their annual Store of Maple Sugar, of which they made a considerable Quantity.

As soon as the Season for this Business was over, they returned to their old Settlement, where they had not continued long, before an Indian came with an Account that an astonishing Number of young Pigeons might be procured at a certain Place, by falling Trees that were filled with Nests of young, and the Distance was computed to be about fifty Miles: This Information delighted the several Tribes; they speedily joined together, young and old, from different Parts, and with great Assiduity

purfued their Expedition, and took Abundance of the young ones, which they dried in the Sun and with Smoke, and filled feveral Bags which they had taken with them for this Purpofe. Benjamin Gilbert was permitted to accompany them in this Excursion, which muft have been a curious one for whole Tribes to be engaged in. On this Rarity they lived with Extravagance for fome Time, faring fumptuously every Day.

As the Time approached, when, according to Appointment, they were to return to Niagara and deliver up the Prifoners, they gave Rebecca the agreeable Information, in order to allow her fome Time to make Preparation. She made them Bread for their Journey with great Cheerfulnefs.

The Indians, to the Number of thirty, attended on this Occafion with the two Captives. They went as far as Fort Slufher in a Bark Canoe. It was feveral Days before they reached Niagara Fort, as they went flowly on Foot. After attending at Col. Butler's, and conferring upon this Occafion, in Confideration of fome valuable Presents made them, they releafed the two laft of the Captives Rebecca Gilbert, and Benjamin Gilbert, jun.

As fpeedily as they were enabled, their Indian Drefs was exchanged for the more customary and agreeable one of the Europeans; and on the third of the fixth Month, 1782, two Days

after their happy Release, sailed for Montreal.

The Narrative of the Treatment of Thomas Peart, another of the Family, still remains to be given:

He was taken along the Westward Path with the Prisoners before mentioned, viz. Joseph, Sarah, and Benjamin Gilbert jun.

Thomas was compelled to carry a heavy Load of the Plunder which the Indians had seized at their Farm. When separated from the rest, they were assured they should meet together again in four Days.

The first Day's Travel was in an exceeding disagreeable Path, across several deep Brooks, through which Thomas had to carry Sarah and Benjamin Gilbert, jun. This Task was a very hard one, as he had been much reduced for Want of sufficient Nourishment.

The first Night they lodged by the Banks of Cayuga Creek, the Captives being tied as usual. The next Morning they took a Venison, and this, with some decayed Corn which they gathered from the deserted Fields, served them for Sustenance. This Day's Journey was by the Side of Cayuga Creek, until they came to a steep Hill, which they ascended with Difficulty.

When Night came on, they sought a Wigwam which had been deserted precipitately upon General Sullivan's March against the Inhabitants of these Parts.

The Land in this Neighbourhood is excellent for Cultivation, affording very good Pasture.

Thomas Peart assured the Indians, that he, with the other Captives, would not leave them, and therefore requested the Favour to be freed from their Confinement at Night; but one of them checked his Request, by saying he could not sleep if the Captives were suffered to be untied.

Their Meat being all exhausted, Thomas and three Indians went near three Miles to gather more decayed Corn; and this, mouldy as it was, they were obliged to eat, it being their only Food, excepting a few Winter Turneps which they met with. They went forwards a considerable Distance by the Side of Cayuga Creek, and then with much Difficulty crossed it; immediately afterwards they ascended an uncommon miry Hill, covered with Springs. Going over this Mountain they missed the Path, and were obliged to wade very heavily through the Water and Mire.

In the Close of the Day they came to a fine Meadow, where they agreed to continue that Night, having no other Provisions than the Mouldy Indian Corn they accidentally met with in the Indian Plantations, which had been cut down and left on the Ground by General Sullivan's Army.

Next Morning they set forwards, walking

leisurely on, so that the Company who went by the other Path might overtake them, and frequently stopped for them.

When Night approached, they came to a large Creek where some Indians were, who had begun to prepare the Ground for planting Corn. At this Place they staid two Nights, and being too indolent to procure Game by hunting, their Diet was still very poor, and their Strength much exhausted, so that they became impatient of waiting for the others, which was their Intention when they first stopped.

After travelling till near Noon, they made a short Stay, stripped the Bark off a Tree, and then painted, in their Indian Manner, themselves and the Prisoners on the Body of the Tree; this done, they set up a Stick with a Split at the Top, in which they placed a small Bush of Leaves, and leaned the Stick so that the Shadow of the Leaves should fall to the Point of the Stick where it was fixed in the Ground; by which Means the others would be directed in the Time of Day when they left the Place.

Here they separated the Prisoners again, those to whom Thomas Peart and Joseph Gilbert were allotted went westward out of the Path, but Sarah Gilbert and Benjamin Gilbert jun. with one Indian, continued in the Path. This was very distressing to Sarah to be torn from her Relations and deprived of all the Comforts

and even Necessaries of Life. These two, with the Indian who had the Care of them, after they had parted with the other two and travelled forward a few Miles, came to some Indians by the Side of a Creek, who gave them something to eat. The next Day the Indian who was their Pilot exerted himself to obtain some Provisions, but his Endeavours proved fruitless, they therefore suffered greatly. At Night the Indian asked Sarah if she had ever eaten Horse-Flesh, or Dog's; she replied, she had not; he then further surpris'd her by asking whether she had ever eat Man's Flesh; upon her expressing her Abhorrence, he replied that he should be under the Necessity of killing the Boy, for he could not procure any Deer. This Threat, altho' perhaps not intended to be executed, terrified her exceedingly. He hunted with great Diligence, leaving the Captives by themselves, and appeared to shudder himself at what he had threatned, willing to try every Resource; but notwithstanding his Exertions, her Fears prevailed in a very great Degree. They went forwards slowly, being very weak, and in addition to their Distress there fell a very heavy Rain, and they were obliged to continue in it as they were without Shelter. In this reduced Situation they at Length came to one of the Huts at Canodofago, where they dressed the Remains of their Mouldy Corn, and the Day after were

joined by the Part of the Company whom they had left ten Days before.*

As the few Days solitary Sufferings of Sarah Gilbert had been before unrelated, the foregoing Digression from the Narrative of Thomas Peart's, may not be thought improper.

To return to the two who were separated from the Path, and had to go forwards across Mountains and Vallies, Swamps and Creeks.

In the Morning they eat the Remainder of their Corn. The Indians then cut off their Hair, excepting a small round Tuft on the Crown of the Head; and, after painting them in the Indian Manner, in Order to make them appear more terrible, they took from them their Hats. Being thus obliged to travel bare Headed in the Sun, they were seized with violent Head-achs; and this added to a Want of Provisions, was truly distressing.

When they approached the Indian Settlements, the Indians began their customary Whooping, to announce their Arrival with Prisoners, issuing their dismal Yells according to the Number brought in.

**Route of Sarah and Benjamin Gilbert.* They were evidently taken up the west side of Seneca Lake, reaching Nundesaga a day ahead of a part of the main company. Thomas Peart and Joseph Gilbert, continuing westward "out of the path," pursued a course little followed, reaching "Nundow," some thirty miles south of where the main party ultimately crossed the Genesee.

After some short Time an Indian came to them: With him they held a Discourse concerning the Prisoners, and painted them afresh, part black, and part red, as a distinguishing Mark. When this Ceremony was concluded, the Indian who met them returned, and the others continued their Route.

As they were not far from the Indian Towns, they soon saw great Numbers of the Indians collecting together, though the Prisoners were ignorant of the Motives.

When they came up to this disagreeable Company, the Indian who first met them, took the String that was about Thomas Peart's Neck with which he had been tied at Night, and held him whilst a Squaw stripped off his Vest.

Joseph Gilbert was ordered to run first, but being lame and indisposed, could only walk. The Clubs and Tomhaw[k]s flew so thick, that he was sorely bruised, and one of the Tomhaws struck him on the Head and brought him to the Ground, when a Lad of about fifteen Years old run after him, and, as he lay, would undoubtedly have ended him, as he had lifted the Tomhawk for that Purpose, but the King's Son sent Orders not to kill him.

After him, Thomas Peart was set off; he seeing the horrid Situation of his Brother, was so terrified, that he did not recollect the Indian still kept hold of the String which was round

his Neck; but, springing forwards with great Force and Swiftnefs, he pulled the Indian over, who, in Return, when he recovered his Feet, beat him feverely with a Club. The Lad who was ftanding with a Tomhawk near Jofeph Gilbert, as he paffed by him, threw his Tomhawk with great Dexterity, and would certainly have ftruck him, if he had not fprung forwards and avoided the Weapon. When he had got oppofite to one of their Huts, they pointed for him to take Shelter there, where Jofeph Gilbert came to him as foon as he recovered. In the Room were a Number of Women who appeared very forrowful, and wept aloud; this, though customary amongst them, ftill added to the Terror of the Captives, as they imagined it to be no other than a Prelude to inevitable Deftruction.

Their Hair cropt clofe, their Bodies bruifed, and the Blood guffing from Jofeph Gilbert's Wound, rendered them a horrid Spectacle to each other.

After the Lamentations ceafed, one of them afked Thomas Peart, if he was hungry; he replied, he was: They then told him, "You eat by and by." They immediately procured fome Victuals, and fet it before them, but Jofeph Gilbert's Wounds had taken away his Appetite.

An Officer, who was of the French Families

of Canada, came to them, and brought a Negro with him to interpret. After questioning them, he concluded to write to Col. Johnson, at Niagara, relative to the Prisoners.

The Indians advised them to be contented with their present Situation, and marry amongst them, giving every Assurance that they should be treated with the utmost Respect: But these Conditions were inadmissible.

After this, Joseph Gilbert was taken from his Brother, as related in the Narrative of his Sufferings.

Thomas Peart continued at the Village that Night, and the next Day was given to the Care of a young Indian, who went with him about two Miles, where several Indians were collected, dressed in horrid Masks, in Order, as he supposed, to make Sport of his Fears, if he discovered any: He therefore guarded against being surprised, and when they observed him not to be intimidated, they permitted him to return again. Not long after his arriving at the Village, Capt. Rowland Monteur came in, who gave Thomas Peart some Account how the others of his Family had suffered, and told him that he had almost killed his Mother and Jesse, on Account of Andrew Harrigar's making his Escape. He had come in before the others, in Order to procure some Provisions for the Company, who were in great Need of it.

When the Captain returned, Thomas Peart accompanied him Part of the Way, and the Capt. advised him to be cheerful and contented, and work faithful for the Friend, for so he styled the Indian under whose Care Thomas Peart was placed, promising him that if he complied, he should shortly go to Niagara.

They employed him in chopping for several Days, having previous to this taken the String from his Neck, which they had carefully secured him with every Night.

The Plantation on which they intended to fix for a Summer Residence, and to plant their Crop of Corn, was several Miles down the Genesee or Little River. Prior to their removing with the Family, some of the Men went thither and built a Bark Hut, which was expeditiously performed, as they executed it in about two Days, when they returned to their old Habitation.

Thomas Peart was the next Day given to the chief Indian, who endeavoured to quiet his Apprehensions, assuring him he should meet with kind Treatment.

The Indian Manner of Life is remarkably dirty and lousy; and although they themselves disregard their Filth, yet it was extremely mortifying to the Prisoners to be deprived of the Advantages of Cleanliness: And this was by no Means among the Number of smaller Difficulties.

As Thomas Peart had been accustomed to Industry, and when first among the Indians was constantly exerting himself, either in their active Diversions or useful Labour, they were much delighted with him. When they had concluded upon sending him to the Family he was to reside with, they daubed him afresh with their red Paint. He was then taken about seven Miles, where he was adopted into the Family, and styled "Ochnufa," or Uncle. When the Ceremony of Adoption was performed, a Number of the Relatives were summoned together, and the Head of them took Thomas Peart into the Midst of the Assembly, and made a long Harrangue in the Indian Language. After this he was taken into the House, where the Women wept aloud for Joy, that the Place of a deceased Relation was again supplied.

The old Man, whose Place Thomas Peart was to fill, had never been considered by his Family as possessed of any Merit; and, strange as it may appear, the Person adopted, always holds in their Estimation the Merits or Demerits of the deceased, and the most careful Conduct can never overcome this Prejudice.

As soon as the Ceremony of Adoption at this Place was finished, he was taken by the Family to Nundow, a Town on the Genesee River. The Head of this Family was a Chief or King of the Senecas. But before Thomas was fully

received into the Family, there was a second Lamentation.

Their Provisions, notwithstanding it was a Season of great Plenty, was often Deers Guts, dried with the Dung, and all boiled together, which they consider strong and wholesome Food. They never throw away any Part of the Game they take.

Thomas Peart's Dress was entirely in the Indian Style, painted and ornamented like one of themselves, though in a meaner Manner, as they did not hold him high in Esteem after his Adoption.

Greatly discontented, he often retired into the Woods, and reflected upon his unhappy Situation, without Hopes of returning to his Relations, or ever being rescued from Captivity.

He continued in this solitary Seclusion about five Weeks, when their Corn was mostly consumed; and as their Dependence for a fresh Supply was on Niagara Fort, they concluded to go thither, but at first would not consent that Thomas should accompany them; but he was so urgent, they at length consented, and the next Day they had an Indian Dance preparatory to their Expedition.

In the Route Thomas Peart got a Deer, which was an acceptable Acquisition, as they had been for some Days without any Meat, and their Corn was likewise expended.

When they came within two Miles of the Fort they halted, and staid there until Morning.

A white Prisoner, who came from the Fort, gave Thomas Peart a particular Relation of his fellow Captives: This was the first Account he had of them since their Separation at the Indian Towns. As soon as he came to the Fort, he applied to some of the Officers, requesting their exertions to procure Thomas's Liberty, if possible; but he was disappointed, as nothing could be then done to serve him.

He eat some salt Provisions, which, as he had tasted but little Salt since his Captivity, (although pleasing to his Palate) affected his Stomach, it being difficult for him to digest.

As he was to return with the Indians in about a Week, it was very distressing, being much disgusted with the Fare he met amongst them.

They returned by Way of Fort Slusher, and then along Lake Erie, up Buffalo Creek, taking some Fish as they went. They passed by the Place where Elizabeth Peart and Rebecca Gilbert were, but he had not an Opportunity of seeing them.

The Stores they took Home with them, consisted of Rum, Salt, and Ammunition.

Lake Erie is about three hundred Miles long from East to West, and about forty in Breadth: It receives its Supply of Waters from Lakes Superior, Michigan and Huron, by a North-west

Passage, called the Streights of Détroit. A very long narrow Piece of Land lies on its North Side, which projects remarkably into the Lake, and has been noticed by most Travellers and is known by the Name of Long Point. There are several Islands in it, which, with the Banks of the Lake, were more infested with different Kinds of Snakes, particularly the Rattle-Snake, than other Places.

The Navigation of this Lake is allowed to be more dangerous than the others, on Account of the high Lands projecting into it; so that when sudden Storms arise, Boats are frequently lost, as there are but few Places to land, and seldom a Possibility of finding a Shelter near the craggy Precipices.

The Waters of Erie pass through a North-east Communication into the River Niagara, which, by a Northerly Course of near thirty-six Miles, falls into Lake Ontario.

At the Discharge of this River into Lake Ontario, on the East Side, stands Fort Niagara; and at the Entrance from Lake Erie lies Erie Fort; between these two Forts are those extraordinary Falls which claim the Attention of the curious, and are amongst the most remarkable Works of Nature.

This stupendous Cataract is supplied by the Waters of the several Lakes, and their distant Springs; which, after traversing many hundred

Miles, rush astonishingly down a most horrid Precipice, and which, by a small Island, is separated into two large Columns, and each near one hundred and forty Feet perpendicular, and in a strong, rapid, inconceivable Foam and Roar, extends near nine Miles further; having in this Distance a Descent nearly equal to the first.

The Streight of Niagara is esteemed dangerous for a Mile or upwards above the Falls. The Water of the Falls raises a very heavy Mist, somewhat resembling a Continuation of the River, and this Deception, together with the rapidity of the Current, frequently hurries the Ducks and Geese down this dreadful Precipice.

This vast Body of Water, after passing through the Streight of Niagara, is received by Lake Ontario, or Cataraqui, which is nearly of an oval Form. Its greatest Length is from North-east to South-west, and is generally allowed to be six hundred Miles in Circumference. And although the least of the five great Lakes of Canada is much the safest for Shipping, as the Channel is less obstructed by Rocks or Islands, than the other Lakes. The South Side is the most commodious for Batteaux and Canoes, having a moderately shelving Bank and Shore on that Side: The other is more rocky.

Many of the Rivers which fall into it, are

barred in their Entrances by broken Hills, but the Vallies are uncommonly fertile.

On the South the most considerable Rivers which fall into this Lake, are, the great and little Seneca. The Falls of these Rivers, render them not navigable near the Lake; but after the Carrying-Places are passed, they run slow and deep.

In Order to keep up the Communication between the different Parts of Canada, there is a Portage from the Landing below Niagara Falls, to the Landing above, up three sharp Hills, along which, the Road for about eight or nine Miles, has been made as easy for Carts as it possibly could; (thence to Lake Erie is about eighteen Miles) but the Stream is so swift here, that it is almost impossible to stem it for a Mile or two in a Ship with the stiffest Gale; though Batteaux and Canoes pass along without much Danger, as the Current is less rapid near the Shore. On the North-east it empties itself into the River Cataraqui.

From this short digressive Account of the Lakes, we may return to the Situation of the Prisoner, and the Indian Family:

When they had consumed their last Year's Stock of Corn, they lived very low, and were reduced to great Necessity, digging what wild esculent Roots they could find; this was so different from what he had been accustomed to,

that he could not bear it with that Cheerfulness with which the Indians met such Difficulties. His painful Reflections, and the Want of Necessaries, reduced him exceeding low.

Whilst in this Distress, he happily obtained the Use of a Testament from a white Woman, who had been taken Captive, and afterwards married amongst them: With this solacing Companion, he frequently retired into the Woods, and employed himself in reading and meditating upon the Instruction couched in it.

The Indians directed a white Girl to inform him, that they intended a Hunt of twenty Days, and were desirous he should attend them; to this he agreed, and the whole Family accompanied the Hunters. They passed by the Town where Joseph Gilbert was, who informed his Brother that he was going to Niagara: Thomas Peart replied he had already been there, and then informed him how the others of their Relations were dispersed.

On their Way up the Genesee River, where they intended to hunt, they took a Deer.

The fourth Day, as Thomas Peart was beating for Game, he lost his Company; but at Length came to some Indians who directed him. When he came to the Family, much fatigued, and told them he had been lost, they were very much delighted at the perplexing Situation he had been in.

The next Day they moved further, hunting as they went, and in the Evening fixed their Quarters, where they staid two Nights.

Thomas Peart, not endeavouring to please them, they took Umbrage at his Neglect: This, added to a Fit of the Ague, induced them to leave him in the Woods, he being so weak he could not keep up with them, and was obliged to follow by their Tracks in the Leaves.

Their Provisions soon began to waste, and it was not long before it was entirely consumed; and as they took no Game, they were under the Necessity of eating wild Cherries.

The Prospect appeared very gloomy to our Captive, to be thus distressed with Hunger, and to be from Home near one hundred Miles with the whole Family: But this Situation, though so alarming to him, did not appear to reach their Stoic Insensibility. In this Extremity one of the Indians killed a fine Elk, which was a long wished-for and delightful Supply; but as the Weather was very warm, and they had no Salt, it soon became putrid, and filled with Maggots, which they, notwithstanding, eat without Reserve.

After they had been out upwards of thirty Days, the Indians changed their Course, towards their own Habitation, making but little Progress forwards, as they kept hunting as they went. And as Thomas had long been uneasy, and

desirous to return, not expecting to have been absent more than twenty Days, they gave him some Directions and a small Share of Provisions; he then left them after an unsuccessful Hunt of forty Days: And, although weak and unfit for the Journey, he set off in the Morning, and kept as near a North-west Course as he could, going as fast as his Strength would permit over large Creeks, Swamps and rugged Hills; and when Night came on, made up a small Fire, and being exceedingly fatigued, laid himself down on the Ground, and slept very soundly: In the Morning he continued his Journey.

When he considered the great Distance through the Woods to the Indian Towns, and the Difficulty of procuring Game to subsist on, it dejected him greatly. His Spirits were so depressed, that when his Fire was extinguished in the Night, he even heard the wild Beasts walking and howling around him, without regarding them, as with all his Exertions and Assiduity, he had but small Hope of ever reaching the Towns, but providentially he succeeded.

On the Journey he eat a Land Tortoise, some Roots and wild Cherries.

When he reached the Town, the Indians were pleased with his Return, and inquired the Reason of his coming alone, and where he had left the Family he went with; which he fully informed them of.

This being the Time for feasting on their new Crop of Corn, and they having plenty of Pumpkins and Squashes, gave an agreeable Prospect of a short Season of Health, and frequent, though simple, Feasts.

About ten Days after this, the Family returned; they soon inquired if Thomas Peart had reached Home, and upon being informed that he had, replied that it was not expected he ever could.

The Indians concluding to make a War Excursion, asked Thomas to [go] with them; but he determinately refused them, and was therefore left at Home with the Family; and not long after had Permission to visit his Brother Benjamin Peart, who was then about fifteen or eighteen Miles distant, down the Genesee River.

Benjamin Peart was at that Time very much indisposed: Thomas, therefore, staid with him several Days, and, when he recovered a little Strength, left him, and returned to his old Habitation.

He was thoroughly acquainted with the Customs, Manners and Dispositions of the Indians, and observing that they treated him just as they had done the old worthless Indian, in whose Place he was adopted, he having been considered a Perquisite of the Squaws; he therefore concluded he would only fill his Predecessor's Station, and used no Endeavours to please them,

as his Business was to cut Wood for the Family; notwithstanding he might easily have procured a sufficient Store, yet he was not so disposed, but often refused, and even left it for the Squaws sometimes to do themselves, not doubting if he was diligent and careful, they would be less willing to give him his Liberty.

Joseph Gilbert came to see him, and, as has been mentioned, informed him of the Decease of their Father.

Some Time in the Fall, the King (whose Brother Thomas was called) died, and he was directed to hew Boards and make a Coffin for him; when it was compleated, they smeared it with red Paint. The Women, whose Attention to this is always insisted on amongst the Indians, kept the Corps for several Days, when they prepared a Grave, and interred him; it being considered amongst this Tribe, disgraceful for a Man to take any Notice of this solemn and interesting Scene. A Number of Squaws collected upon this Occasion, and there was great Mourning, which they continued for several Days at stated Times. As the Place of Interment, as well as that appointed for weeping, was near the Hut Thomas Peart resided at, he had an Opportunity of indulging his Curiosity, through the Openings of the Logs, without giving Offence.

Soon after this, one of the Women who was

called Thomas's Sister, desired him to accompany her about fifty Miles towards Niagara. Some others of the Family went with them, and in their Way they took a Deer and other Game.

They were from Home on this Journey about six Days; during the Time, there fell a very heavy Snow, which made their Journey toilsome. The Women were sent homeward before the rest, to prepare something against they came.

When they had loitered at Home a few Days, they set about gathering their Winter Store of Hickory-nuts: From some of them they extracted an Oil, which they eat with Bread or Meat, at their Pleasure.

Frequently before they set off on their Hunting Parties, they make an Indian Frolick; when, commonly, all the Company become extravagantly intoxicated: And when they intend to go off this Winter, they first give the preparatory Entertainment.

After they were gone, Thomas Peart and the Mistress of the Family disagreeing, she insisted upon his joining to the Hunters, and living on the Game, that she might save more Corn. He plead the Coldness of the Season, and his Want of Cloathing, but it would not avail; he was therefore turned out, and upon finding the Hunters, he built them [a] Hut, where they staid for some Weeks, taking the Game, and eating

wild Meat without Corn, as the Supply they had raised was short.

: When they were weary with their Employ, they moved to their old Hut, and lived in their idle Manner for a long Time. They then again returned to their Hut, and staid about ten Days, and took several Deer.

A few Days after their Return from hunting, they acquainted Thomas that they should set off for Niagara; which was truly grateful to him. There were fifteen of them on this Visit. The old Woman gave Thomas Peart a strict Charge to return.

Although the Prospect of seeing or hearing from his Relations was delightful, yet the Journey was excessively painful; the Snow covering the Ground to a considerable Depth, the Cold increased, and they had to wade through several deep Creeks, the Water often freezing to their Legs; and Thomas Peart, as well as the Rest, were unclothed, excepting a Blanket and Pair of Leggings.

In five Days they came to Fort Slusher, and at the Treats they there received, were most of them drunk for the Day.

Next Morning they went to Niagara, where he immediately made Application to the British Officers to solicit his Release. Capt. Powell informed Col. Johnson, who requested it of the Indians; they required some Time to deliberate

upon the Subject, not willing to disoblige the Col. and at Length concluded to comply with his Request; telling him, that however hard it might be to part with their own Flesh, yet, to please him, they consented to it, hoping he would make them some Present.

Col. Johnson then directed him to his own House, and desired him to clean himself, and sent Cloaths for him to dress with. Here he had Plenty of salt Provisions, and every Necessary of Life: This, with the happy regaining of his Liberty, gave a new Spring to his Spirits, and, for a few Days, he scarcely knew how to enjoy sufficiently, this almost unlooked-for Change.

When recruited, he went to work for Col. Johnson, and a few Weeks after had the Satisfaction of his Brother Benjamin Peart's Company; who, though not released, yet was permitted to stay at the Fort, and worked with his Brother until Spring; when Capt. Powell, Lieutenant Johnson, and Thomas Peart went up Buffalo Creek, with two Boats loaded with Provisions, and a Proportion of planting Corn, together with Hoes, to be distributed among the Indians.

In this Expedition Thomas had the Satisfaction of seeing and conversing with his Sister Rebecca, which was the first of their Meeting together, after a Separation of a Year.

At the Distribution of the Corn and Hoes, the Indians met and made a general Feast; after which, they dispersed; and the Officers, when they had compleated their Business, returned to Niagara, after an Absence of eight or nine Days.

Thomas Peart was settled at Col. Johnson's, to work for him at two Shillings and six Pence per Day, till the eighth Month, when six of the Captives were sent to Montreal, and Thomas also had Permission to go, but he chose rather to stay, to afford his Assistance to his Sister Rebecca Gilbert, and his Cousin Benjamin Gilbert, jun. who yet remained in Captivity; exerting himself as strenuously as possible on their Behalf.

In the Fall, he went up again to Buffalo Creek, where he saw his Sister and Cousin a second Time, and assured his Sister that the Col. intended to insist on her being rel[e]ased: This encouraged her to hope.

The Indians are too indolent to employ sufficient Pains to preserve their Grain in the Winter; therefore, those who plant near the Fort, generally send the greater Part to the English to preserve for them, and take it back as they want it: Therefore, what this Neighbourhood had more than for a short Supply, they carried with them in their Boats to the Fort.

In the Winter, Thomas Peart undertook to chop Wood for the British Officers, and built

himself a Hut about two Miles from the Fort, in which he lodged at Night. A drunken Indian came to his Cabbin one Evening with his Knife in his Hand, with an Intention of Mischief; but, being debilitated with Liquor, Thomas Peart easily wrested his Knife from him.

A Wolf came one Night up to the Door of his Cabbin, which he discovered next Morning, by the Tracks in the Snow; and, a few Nights after, paid a second Visit, when he fired at him, and, by the Blood on the Snow, supposed he had mortally wounded him.

Next Spring, Thomas went with the Officers again up Buffalo Creek, when he afresh animated his Sister, by informing her that General Haldimand had given Orders to the Officers, to procure their Liberty.

As they returned by Fort Erie, their Boats were in Danger from the Ice in the Lake and River. It continues in these Parts until late in the Spring; sometimes as late as the fifth Month; and, as soon as melted, the Vegetation is astonishingly quick.

About two Weeks after they returned, Thomas Peart went back again with some Officers, who were going to the Indians.

After a Tour of fifteen Days, he came again to the Fort, where he staid for several Weeks, and received several Letters from his Relations, at Montreal, by some Officers who were on their

Way to Cataraguors,* on Lake Erie, about eighty Miles from Niagara; who, in their Way, saw Rebecca and Benjamin Gilbert, jun. with a Number of Indians, going for Niagara. Thomas Peart made as quick Dispatch as possible, to meet them, delighted with the Prospect of their obtaining their Liberty.

They took a Porcupine, which is somewhat larger than a Rackoon, and covered remarkably with Quills of Bone, about eight or nine Inches long, which they can discharge with such Force, as to penetrate through a Man's Hand at a considerable Distance.

A few Days after he returned from this Expedition, the Captives were delivered up: These two had been with the Indians upwards of two Years.

In a short Time after their Release, Thomas Peart procured Permission for them and himself to proceed to Montreal, and was furnished with a Pass, containing an Order to obtain what Provisions they might be in Want of in their Passage.

The second Day of the sixth Month, 1782, they went on Board the Ship Linner, and proceeded towards Montreal. When they came against the Place where their Father was interred, those whom they were with, gave Thomas and Rebecca Notice, though they did not land, but pursued their Voyage: and, after

* *Cataraguors.* Cattaraugus Creek.

being seven Days on the Water, they reached Fort Lafheen, where they staid that Night, and the next Day went to Montreal to their Relations: Soon after which, a Letter was received from the before mentioned Benjamin Gilbert, then at Castleton, acquainting them of his being so far on his Way to Montreal, in Order to give them Assistance in getting Home, and requesting that Permission might be obtained for his Coming in; which, Elizabeth immediately applied to the Officers for: Who, with great Cheerfulness, wrote in her Behalf to General Haldimand, at Quebec, who readily granted her Request, together with other Favours to Elizabeth, worthy of her grateful Remembrance; by which Means, Benjamin's Arrival at Montreal was soon effected, where he had the Pleasure once more of seeing and conversing with his Relations and nearest Connexions, to their great Joy and Satisfaction, after an Absence of near three Years; during which Time, they had but little if any certain Account of each other.

After some Time spent in inquiring after their Relatives and Friends, and conversing on the once unthought-of and strange Scenes of Life they had passed through since their Separation, it became necessary to prepare for their Journey homewards, which was accordingly done, and in about five Weeks from the Time of Benjamin's Arrival, they took Leave of the Friends and

Acquaintances they had made during their Residence there; whose hospitable and kind Treatment, merits their grateful and sincere Acknowledgements, and most ardent Desires for their Welfare in every Scene. And on the twenty-second Day of the eighth Month, 1782, attended by a great Number of the Inhabitants, they embarked in Boats prepared for them, and took their Departure. Having crossed the River, and Carriages being provided, they proceeded on their Journey without much Delay, until they came to St. John's, where they went on Board a Sloop; but the Winds being unfavourable, rendered their Passage in the Lake somewhat tedious.

They did not arrive at Crown-Point, until about two Weeks after their Departure from Montreal. They continued here several Days, and from thence went in open Boats to East-Bay in about two Days, where they landed and staid all Night, and were next Day delivered up to the Officers of Vermont. Here some of the Company staid two Nights, on Account of Benjamin Peart's Child being very ill; by which Time it so recovered, that they proceeded on to Castleton, where those that went before had halted, and near that Place staid all Night, and in the Morning Elizabeth the Mother having engaged to do an Errand for a Friend, was under a Necessity of riding about thirty-five

Miles, which occasioned her to be absent two Nights from the Family, who were at Capt. Willard's; at which Place Benjamin provided Horses and Waggon for the Remainder of the Journey, together with some Provisions. Here they were very civilly treated, and generously entertained free of Expence.

The Family then proceeded on, and met their Mother at the House of Capt. Lonson, where they staid that Night, and until Noon next Day, and were also kindly treated by him.

Continuing their Journey, they met with John Bracanage (who, together with Capt. Lan-son, were Passengers with them to East-Bay) he gave them an Invitation to his House, which they accepted, and arrived there about Noon next Day, and continued with him two Nights, and were respectfully entertained.

Having prepared for prosecuting their Journey, the[y] proceeded on for the North-River, where they met with Lot Trip and William Knowles, who kindly conducted the Women to the House of David Sands, where they lodged that Night. The rest of the Family came to them in the Morning, and several of them attended Friends Meeting, not having had the like Opportunity for several Years before.

In the Afternoon they pursued their Journey, the before mentioned Lot Trip and William Knowles accompanying them, and being in a

Waggon, kindly took Elizabeth and her younger Daughter Passengers with them, which proved a considerable Relief.

In a few Days they came into Pennsylvania, where they met with some of their Relations and former Acquaintances and Friends, who were unitedly rejoiced at the happy Event of once more seeing and conversing with them.

The next Day, being the twenty-eighth Day of the ninth Month, 1782, they arrived at Byberry, the Place of their Nativity, and the Residence of their nearest Connexions and Friends, where Elizabeth and her Children were once more favoured with the agreeable Opportunity of seeing and conversing with her ancient Mother, together with their other nearest Relatives and Friends, to their mutual Joy and Satisfaction; under which happy Circumstance we now leave them.*

**The route home.* The *Narrative* contains no data for determining the exact route followed, from Castleton, Vermont, to Byberry. The route traced on the map is, for this portion, only approximate.

Thoughts Alluding to, and in Part occasioned
by the Captivity and Sufferings of Ben-
jamin Gilbert and his Family.*

AS from the forest issues the fell boar,
So human ravagers, in deserts bred,
On the defenceless, peaceful hamlet pour
Wild waste o'er all, and sudden ruin spread!

Here undisguis'd, War's brutal spirit see,
Its venom'd nature to the root laid bare,
In which (trickt up in webs of policy)
Professing Christians vindicate their share.

Pompous profession, vaunting in a name,
Floats lightly on an ostentatious shew,
Nor dips sincere, in resignation's stream,
To bring memorials from the depths below.

Sophisticated dogmas of the schools,
The statulent, unwholesome food of strife,
With zeal pedantic, for tradition's rules,
Still crucify the principle of life.

The woes of this probationary state,
Through life so mingled and diversified,
Derive their chief malignity and weight,
From murmuring discontent and captious pride.

Transient is human Life, all flesh as grass,
The goodliness of man but as a flower.
Fine gold must through the fervid furnace pass;
Through death we immortality explore:

* Said to have been written by John Drinker of Philadelphia.

Through judgment must deliverance be known,
From vile affections, and their wrathful sting;
True peace pertains to righteousness alone,
That flows, through faith, from life's eternal spring!

Should man (to glory call'd, and endless bliss)
Bewail his momentary adverse doom?
Or in deep thankful resignation kiss
The rod that prompts him on his journey home?

Unsearchable the providence of God,
By boasted wisdom of the son of dust;
Lo! virtue feels oppression's iron rod,
And impious spirits triumph o'er the just?

Shall hence a self-conceited reptile dare
Th' omniscient Ruler's equity arraign?
Say here thy wrath is fit, thy bounty there,
Good to promote, and evil to restrain?

Believing souls unfeignedly can say,
Not mine, but thy all-perfect will be done;
If best this bitter cup should pass away,
Or be endur'd, to thee, not me, is known.

Deep tribulation in the humbly wife,
Through patience to divine experience leads;
The ground where hope securely edifies,
Furg'd of the filth whence conscious shame proceeds.

Affliction is Bethesda's cleansing pool,
Deep searching each distemper of the mind;
The poor way-farer, though esteem'd a fool,
Baptizing here, immortal health may find.

Though for the present grim adversity
Not joyous is, but grievous to sustain;
Humbling the Shepherd's call — "Come learn of me"
In lowly meekness to endure thy pain;

Yet shall it work a glorious recompence;
Nor can the heart of Man conceive in full,
The good by infinite Beneficence,
Stor'd for the patient unrepining Soul.

Some feeble ones sustain the galling yoke,
With firmness no ferocious tempers know;
Calm resignation mitigates the stroke
Of ills, tremendous to the distant view!

If disappointment blast thy sanguine hope,
Indulg'd in sublunary prospects fair,
Conclude thy guardian angel made thee stop,
To check thy blind, thy dangerous career.

The captive family in savage bonds,
Trace through each rugged way and trackless wild;
Through famine, toils unknown, and hostile wounds,
The tender Mother with her infant child;

Then with thy lighter griefs their sorrows weigh,
Nor let thy own demerits be forgot;
Impartial Inference deduce, and say
Whence thy exemption from their heavy lot:

Is it thy wisdom shields thee in the hour,
When mighty dangers o'er thy head impend?
Can thine, or other mortal arm of power,
From famine, pestilence, or storm defend?

Confess 'tis mercy covers thee from harm,
A care benign, unmerited by thee;
And if the grateful sense thy bosom warm,
Small price is paid for such felicity.

If the hard Indian's wild ferocity,
Against their race thy indignation move,
Think on the example due to them from thee,
Professing Christian equity and love:

So shall their cruel, their abhorred deeds,
Instruction to the humble mind convey,
Remind us whence all violence proceeds,
And strengthen to pursue the peaceful way.

Vengeance with vengeance holds perpetual war;
Love only can o'er enmity prevail;
Sulphur and pitch, absurdly who prepare,
To quench devouring fire, are sure to fail.

Hear ye vindictive! be no longer proud,
The high decree is past, gone forth the word;
No vain illusion — 'tis the voice of God!
"Who use the sword must perish by the sword;"

Perish from that divine ennobling sense
Of heavenly good, which evil overcomes;
That light, whose energetic influence,
With piercing ray dispels bewildering glooms.

From whence come mortal jarrings! come they not
From lust, from pride, from selfish arrogance?
In which, from peace and freedom far remote,
The blind goad on the blind, a slavish dance.

What! cries the zealot, shall not Christian faith
O'er heathen infidelity prevail?
—Yes—but the means is not thy will, thy wrath
Means which confederate with death and hell.

Did ever tyger-hearted Spanish Chief,
By those dire massacres in story told,
Vanquish Peruvia's stubborn unbelief,
Or add one convert to the Christian fold?

Vindictive man will still retaliate,
Evil for evil, and still rack his brains,
For arguments the cause to vindicate;
Nor knows what spirit in his bosom reigns.

Messiah is the love of God to man!
Reveal'd on earth, not to destroy, but save;
By wisdom's peaceful influence to maintain,
Dominion over death, hell and the grave.

But why for Christian purity contend?
Who hath, alas! believ'd the glad report?
How many boast the name, the name defend;
Yet make the virtual life their scoff and sport?

Deal forth their censures with unsparing zeal,
'Gainst savage violence and cruel wrong;
Nor dream the real essential infidel
Holds o'er their spirits his dominion strong.

What Turkish rover, or what heathen foe,
Shews more contempt of gospel equity,
Than those, to sultry climes remote who go,
T' enslave their fellow men, by nature free?

The yelling warrior, with relentless hand,
Leaves parent childless, fatherless the son;
Their griefs our tender sympathy demand;
But what have distant Afric's children done?

Will still the pick-thank, temporizing priest,
Give this oppression pharisaic aid?
Will civiliz'd believers still persist
To vindicate the abominable trade? *

Th' extensive, deep, unrighteous t' unfold,
West-India's dark, inhuman laws explore;
What gross iniquity we there behold,
In solemn acts of legislative power?

*An allusion to the African slave-trade, still flourishing when this "poem" was written.

Britons who loud for liberty contend,
Affect to guard their nation from the stain;
Yet sordidly in Mammon's temple bend,
And largely share in the ungodly gain.

What ardent execrations do we hear,
'Gainst barb'rous Mohoc's, bloody Shawanese?
From father's arms their hopeful sons who tear;
From mother's breasts love's tender pledges seize.

O Christian! think with what redoubled force,
'Gainst which fallacious artifice is vain,
On thee recurs thy aggravated curse,
Heav'n's righteous Judge pronouncing—"Thou art the
Man."

Think for what end the Mediator came,
On earth an ignominious death to die;
Thy foul from wrath's dominion to redeem,
And to himself a people purify.

FINIS.

ANCESTRY OF BENJAMIN GILBERT
MEMOIRS OF THE CAPTIVES
BIBLIOGRAPHY
BY
FRANK H. SEVERANCE

ANCESTRY OF BENJAMIN GILBERT

IN tracing the ancestry of Benjamin Gilbert, we can only refer to his grandfather John Gilbert, who resided in the county of Cornwall, in the west of England, and was one of the persecuted sufferers in 1663, for his faithfulness in attending the religious meetings of the people called Quakers. For that supposed offense, he was imprisoned in Launceton jail for some time. It is highly probable that, by reason of the severity exercised towards Friends on account of their religious principles and testimonies, in his native land, John Gilbert and many others, early after the grant of Pennsylvania to William Penn, determined to emigrate to America, where they might worship their Creator without molestation.

With this object in view, John Gilbert is believed to have been one of the early adventurers who came over sea with William Penn in 1682, or soon after; and, among other Friends, located himself and family near Poquessing Creek, in the southern part of Bucks County. With him and his wife Florence Gilbert, came

also his sons, John and Joseph, the latter being about seven or eight years of age. How many other children they had at the time of their immigration, we are not informed; but an additional son, Joshua, was born to them in the 6th month, 1684, and his name recorded in Abington monthly meeting-book. The records of births and deaths, previous to the separation in the Society that was made by George Keith, being in the hands of John Hart who went off with Keith, were probably kept by him from coming into the hands of Friends; and much valuable historical information thus forever lost. Hence, we have no account of the decease of John Gilbert; it is believed however that he did not leave the Society of Friends with the deluded followers of George Keith, but continued faithful to the end of his days.

In the 4th month, 1685, Thomas Holmes, the surveyor-general, having obtained a patent for six hundred acres of land in Byberry, Philadelphia County, bounded on the east by Poquessing Creek which separates it from Bucks County, sold the same to one Nicholas Rideout. And on the 19th of the 12th month, 1695, John Gilbert purchased the said tract of land of Nicholas Rideout; and having sold about one-half of it to John Carver, divided the rest between his two sons, Samuel and Joseph; and on the 5th of June, 1701, he made a deed to his

son Joseph Gilbert for two hundred and fifty acres, part thereof.

On this tract of land, Joseph Gilbert settled, having married Rachel Livezey of Abington or Lower Dublin, by whom he had several children; namely, Sarah, born 4th month 21st, 1700; Phebe, born 12th month 7th, 1701; and Joseph, born 10th month 13th, 1703. The names of these were inserted in Abington monthly meeting records. Besides which, they had other children, among whom were Rebecca and Benjamin; the latter was born in 1711, and is the subject of the annexed narrative.

Of the above children, Sarah married John Baldwin in the 8th month, 1725; Phebe married Henry Comly in 1728; and Rebecca married Patrick Ogilby of Long Island, in 1735. Joseph, junior, died in the year 1730.

In early years and previous to his marriage, Joseph Gilbert was said to be fond of strong drink; but becoming sensible of the evil and hurtful tendency thereof (though then a common beverage among the new settlers), he relinquished the use of spirituous liquors, and openly condemned his intemperate habits, by an acknowledgment of his error, to Abington monthly meeting. He then became an example of strict temperance; drinking only water, and that mostly from a running brook in the sunshine. By this course, he obviated and refuted

the common argument for using spirits to prevent the ill effects of drinking cold water.

In those early days of clearing and improving the country, large crops of wheat were raised, and gathered solely with the sickle. Joseph Gilbert, being a strong, healthy man, was also considered a great reaper in the harvest-field, and could reap with such ease and dexterity that no other man in the neighborhood could exceed him, although many had contested the point with him. It has been traditionally reported that two men who were esteemed to be great reapers, came ten miles in order to prove him. But Joseph, without seeming to be on strife, went on his regular course with his sickle, and they both yielded the point long before night.

As Joseph Gilbert used no ardent spirits himself, so he allowed none to be used among his laborers and hired hands; and in this respect, he carried out his testimony for temperance beyond the age in which he lived; but his example was undoubtedly of use in that day of increasing intemperance, as a check to many others.

Another trait in the character of Joseph Gilbert that indicated the justice and humanity of his heart, and the firmness of his mind, was his testimony against slavery. It is said, that in his first engaging in business, he held some slaves; for it was then thought a man could not get along

on a farm without slaves to do his work, or assist in the labor. Hence, it was a general practice, even for Friends, to buy negroes and hold them as slaves. The preaching and eccentric conduct of Benjamin Lay on this subject, aroused the indignation of the selfish; but his pleading the cause of the enslaved Africans found entrance into humane and reflecting minds: and of this number Joseph Gilbert appears to have been one, whose judgment was early convinced of the injustice and inhumanity of keeping his fellow creatures in bondage. He therefore set all his slaves free; and Benjamin Lay (*now* considered as one of the first great advocates for the rights of man) used frequently to visit him when he came to Byberry; considering Joseph as one of his converts, and a fellow laborer in the just cause of freedom.

Joseph Gilbert had also a testimony to the public and social worship of the Almighty, which he was scrupulous to maintain. He suffered no ordinary business, nor even the infirmities of age, to prevent his regular attendance of religious meetings. Nor was his concern for the support of this important testimony confined to himself: for it was related of him, that in harvest-time when he had a number of reapers employed, a traveling Friend appointed a meeting at Byberry, and Joseph informed his workmen they were at liberty to

go to the meeting; but to show them that his work should not hinder them, he enjoined that in case they declined to go, no labor should be performed by them during his absence.

In the year 1738, he was appointed one of the overseers of Byberry meeting, and was frequently chosen to other services in the church, being zealous for the due support of order and discipline among the members. He also filled the station of an elder many years.

Another part of the Christian character of Joseph Gilbert was, that he frequently loaned money without interest to such as were in necessitous circumstances. Hence it is obvious that he was a friend to the industrious poor, and used his substance for their aid and encouragement.

His bodily and mental powers retained their energies even to old age. When upwards of seventy, he led his harvest-reapers; and such was the agility of his muscular strength that he could, by putting one hand on a five-rail fence, leap over it with ease. Some of these circumstances may seem of little account to be recorded; but if they are considered among the evidences of his temperance and moderation, and the effects of those correct principles by which his physical powers were regulated, they are encouraging fruits of a healthful and happy old age. And indeed, so remarkably even and calm

was the temperament of his mind, that it is testified of him, in his later days he was seldom if ever seen to be ruffled by passion; although some circumstances in his family must have been very trying.

Some time after the decease of his first wife, Joseph Gilbert had a certificate from Abington monthly meeting, directed to that of Goshen in Chester County, dated the 24th of the 7th month, 1744, in order to proceed in marriage with Sarah Jones, a member of that monthly meeting.

Joseph Gilbert devised all his real estate in Byberry to his son Benjamin Gilbert; and departed this life the 20th of the 8th month, 1765, aged about ninety years.*

*The farmhouse which Joseph Gilbert built in 1722, is still standing. The property now belongs to the heirs of Thomas James.

MEMOIRS OF THE CAPTIVES

BENJAMIN GILBERT, SENIOR

BENJAMIN GILBERT, son of Joseph and Rachel Gilbert, married Sarah Mason, daughter of Richard Mason, in the 6th month, 1731.* They appear to have settled on a tract of land which his father purchased for him at Richland in Bucks County. In the 6th month, 1732, a certificate was granted to Benjamin Gilbert and his wife recommending them to "Gwineth" (Gwynedd) monthly meeting, of which Richland meeting was then a branch.

* Prior to 1752, the year began March 25th. "Sixth month, 1731," was therefore August. The year 1752, which is reckoned by New Style, began with January 1st. January 1st, however, had been considered as the beginning of the historical year from the Norman Conquest, A. D. 1066, and perhaps in recognition of this fact it was customary to use a double form of dating between January 1st and March 25th, giving both years, thus: February 16, 1743, or, among Friends, 12th month 16, 1743. This was not always done, however; one may find journals which give only the number of the old year up to March 24th, and the next day add one to the number of the year.

While they resided at Richland, the following named children were born to them:

Rachel,	born	the	14th	day	of	11th	month,	173 $\frac{1}{2}$
Abigail,	"	"	3rd	"	"	9th	"	1734
Sarah,	"	"	24th	"	"	2nd	"	1737
Joseph,	"	"	10th	"	"	12th	"	173 $\frac{1}{2}$
Benjamin,	"	"	31st	"	"	1st	"	1741
John,	"	"	23rd	"	"	5th	"	1743
Sarah,	"	"	26th	"	"	4th	"	1745
Joshua,	"	"	19th	"	"	12th	"	174 $\frac{1}{2}$

Rachel married Ezekiel Atkinson of Bucks County, and had five children, Thomas, Benjamin, Watson, Rachel, and Elizabeth. After the decease of her first husband, she married William Walton, son of Isaac, and had two children, Sarah and William. She died at Byberry in the 2nd month, 1791.

Abigail married Benjamin Walton, son of Benjamin, and had seven children, Benjamin, Nathan, Rebecca, Joseph, Sarah, Rachel, and Elizabeth. She died at Fallowfield, Chester County.

Sarah Gilbert (first) died in her infancy.

Joseph was one of the captives. He died in 1807, unmarried.

Benjamin married Rebecca Watson of Bucks County, and after her decease he married Margaret Anderson. Benjamin died in Westmoreland County, Pa., Jan. 11, 1809.

John married, in 1768, Ann Stackhouse, daughter of Isaac, of Middletown, Bucks County. They had eight children: Mary, Sarah, Martha, Isaac, Benjamin, Rachel, Elizabeth, and Ann. John Gilbert removed to Chester County, and died there.

Sarah married Daniel Walton, son of Benjamin, and had seven children, Rachel, Rebecca, Sarah, Lydia, Jesse, Asa, and Gilbert. She died in the 7th month, 25th, 1785.

Joshua Gilbert married Mary Randall, daughter of Nicholas Randall. Their children, Benjamin, Phebe, Tacy, Thomas, Agnes, Joshua, David, Beulah, Ezra. Joshua Gilbert died at the old homestead place in Byberry, in the 6th month, 18th, 1833.

Some irregularities occurred in the life and conversation of Benjamin Gilbert while he lived at Richland, so that he was taken under dealing; and as a monthly meeting had been then recently established there, he was disowned from Society in the 11th month, 174 $\frac{1}{2}$. It is related of him, that he was sometimes addicted to drinking spirituous liquors to excess, and this was probably the cause of his disownment. But in the intervals, it is said he was often affected with remorse, and formed resolutions to refrain from the use of intoxicating liquors. The customs of the age and country were however unfavorable to those who labored under this

meeting, dated in the 7th month following. Besides working his father's land, he purchased of John Foster, in the spring of 1758, a tract of about 136 acres of land, in Byberry (being part of the Ellis tract). For this he gave eight dollars and a half an acre; and there being a stream of water and mill-seat thereon, he engaged in building an overshot grist-mill, which was finished in the early part of the year 1759, and Benjamin removed thither soon after. This being located in a central part of Byberry, within a mile of his father's and about the same distance from Friends' meeting-house, was a considerable improvement and accommodation to the neighborhood. *

In the 12th month, 1759, Sarah Gilbert, wife of Benjamin, departed this life; and shortly after, through some irregularities in his conduct and deportment, Benjamin became involved in difficulties with his Friends, so as to be disowned from the Society in the 6th month, 1760. In the year 1761, he married Elizabeth Peart, widow of Bryan Peart, and daughter of Benjamin Walton of Byberry. By her he had four children :

Jesse, born in 1761, married Sarah Harding; Rebecca, born in 1763, married Joseph Rakestraw; Abner, born in 1766, married Ann Cooper; Elizabeth, born in 1767, married David Webster.

* This property is now owned by Edward, son of Charles Comly.

· In the spring of 1768, his son John was married to Ann Stackhouse, of Middletown, Bucks County, and settled on part of the homestead farm.

In the year 1770, Benjamin Gilbert attempted a reconciliation with the monthly meeting, by a written acknowledgment of his offense; but Friends thought prudent that he remain for further probation of his conduct. In 1771 his son Joshua married Mary Randall, daughter of Nicholas and Agnes Randall; and settled on part of the old homestead farm. In the latter part of the same year, his son Benjamin had a certificate to the Falls in order to proceed in marriage with Rebecca Watson; and in the summer following a certificate of removal was granted him to Philadelphia monthly meeting.

Benjamin Gilbert, the father, appears to have been a man of an active, enterprising mind, both in civil and religious concerns. In the latter, his pen was again employed in illustrating the principles of truth, in a series of discourses which he published in four parts, making two volumes; the first containing about 250 pages, octavo, was printed in 1769, entitled, first part, *A Discourse, showing that there can be no Salvation to that Soul who doth not know a being made perfect in this Life*; second part, *A Discourse on Universal Redemption, wherein it is proved (by Scripture and Reason) that it is impossible.*

The second volume contains 139 pages, composed of "Part Third" and "Part Fourth," the contents of the third part being, *A Further Discourse upon Perfection and Universal Redemption*; also, *A Discourse upon what is called Original Sin*, and *A Discourse upon Election and Reprobation*. The fourth part contains, *A further Discourse on Baptism, in answer to two Sermons on Water Baptism*. Printed in Philadelphia, 1770.

In the first volume, Benjamin Gilbert gives the following account of his religious experience: "I was visited in the early part of my life, with the tender love of God; so that I could never get clear of that lively impression; though I often rebelled against it, and fell into practices that were destructive to body and soul to divert myself from this Divine Teacher. And although this served my turn for a time, until the cool of the day came, and then I would hear the voice of the merciful God again, reproving me for sin: and sometimes I have given up to it, joined with it, and took up a resolution to mend my ways by forsaking my sins, and living a more circumspect life. And in this state I found joy and peace with God.

"But for want of watchfulness I sustained loss; that is, by not taking care to keep from looking back on my former delights with a hankering mind. So I gradually fell into my former lusts and pleasures, and went into greater ex-

tremes than before. In this state I was like the troubled sea whose raging waves cast up mire and dirt. In this way I continued, until I was met in a narrow lane, as Balaam was, so that I could not turn to the right hand, nor the left. I saw that I must give up to the known will of God in my heart, or I must be shut out of his favour to all eternity. This was a time of sore trial indeed. Although the merciful God opened the way to heaven for me, yet it appeared afar off, and the way hard and difficult for me to walk in. And when I looked the other way, I saw nothing but torment to be my portion forever; and that I must be hurried into it in an ignominious manner, if I did not give up to God's will.

“In this deplorable state the great and blessed God had compassion upon me, and drew the eye of my mind to himself (in the very same manner that I had beheld him in the days of my youth, and at times ever since), and gave me some ease, by refreshing my soul with His tender love, and also renewed my hopes of salvation. In this state, I was willing to give up all—I was willing to forsake all. I thought if the Lord would preserve me from sinning against Him, I did not care what I suffered, or where my lot was cast. In this disposition, I found access to God, through His dear Son, my Saviour; and a blessed time it was. I prayed

to God to preserve me from sinning, and (if He pleased) to forgive all my past sins. And I think I have not passed one day since, without feeling more or less of His Divine goodness in my soul."

Benjamin Gilbert, though possessed of an ample patrimonial estate in Byberry, appears to have been a man of a disposition to love change, or else that he wanted to provide large landed property for his younger children. Whatever might have been his motive, at the age of sixty-four, after having settled two of his sons, John and Joshua, on part of the old homestead farm,* and erected a grist-mill that must have been a source of profit to him, he sold the latter to Richard Walton in the spring of 1775, and soon after removed with his family (or the principal part of his children) to settle in the wilderness, back of the Blue Mountain, on lands which he had purchased on Mahoning Creek in Northampton County, about nine miles from the Lehigh River, being on the frontiers of the settlements of Pennsylvania.

* On the 25th of the 6th month, 1774, Benjamin Gilbert and Elizabeth his wife, executed a deed to his son John Gilbert, for about fifty-seven acres of the old homestead farm, located next to Poquessing creek, and on the same day a similar deed was made to his son Joshua Gilbert, for about fifty-two acres adjoining; on which was the mansion house of his father, Joseph Gilbert; the remainder he still held, being about one hundred and fifty acres.—*Note in edition of 1848.*

It is due to the character and standing of Benjamin Gilbert to state that besides his application to be reinstated in the Society in 1770, he continued his efforts to become reconciled to his Friends until his removal to the mountain. The difficulties which had impeded this business were then in good measure removed. But inasmuch as he was about moving with his family to a great distance from any meeting of Friends, his case was deferred.

In the 4th month, 1776, Benjamin came on a visit to his friends, and again attended the monthly meeting. He now made another acknowledgment; which being duly considered, was received, and he reinstated in his right of membership. His wife Elizabeth was also received at the same time.

At the next monthly meeting, on his request, his four children, Jesse, Rebecca, Abner, and Elizabeth, were received as members, and a certificate granted the family to Richland monthly meeting, that being the nearest Friends' meeting to their settlement in Mahoning Valley.

Here, at this new settlement, he erected a dwelling-house and barn, a grist-mill, and saw-mill; and though it was a time of political difficulty and much unsettlement in the minds of the people, and some of his friends were apprehensive there would be danger from the Indians, in the warlike preparations that were making,

yet Benjamin Gilbert is said to have had such confidence in his own friendly and pacific feelings towards the natives, and in their deference and regard for Friends as the descendants of William Penn, that he felt no fears of being molested by them.

In his new settlement at Mahoning, he went on prosperously for a few years. Benjamin Peart, the son of his last wife, had married and settled in that neighborhood; Thomas Peart, his brother, had also gone there to reside; and his son Jesse Gilbert had married a young woman from Bucks County, and taken his wife up to his father's, in expectation of settling there, when, in the midst of all these pleasing prospects and enjoyments, they were suddenly surprised to see a party of Indian warriors at their doors on the 25th of the 4th month, 1780.

[Here follows, edition of 1848, an epitome of the Narrative, which we omit.]

ELIZABETH GILBERT

Elizabeth Gilbert, daughter of Benjamin and Rebekah Walton, was born May 27, 1725. She was the eldest of nine children, six of whom were daughters; and all of them were brought up to habits of industry. Her first husband was Bryan Peart, by whom she had three children, Benjamin, Rebecca, and Thomas. Bryan Peart died December 27, 1757, and his widow married

Benjamin Gilbert about the beginning of 1761. During their residence at the mill in Byberry she had four children, Jesse, Rebecca, Abner, and Elizabeth. When they removed to Northampton County in the spring of 1775, her youngest child was only in her eighth year. After her return from captivity she resided among her children and relatives at Byberry; and it is recorded that in spite of the sorrows and hardships she had experienced, she still retained her cheerful disposition. In April, 1783, she produced a certificate of her right of membership among Friends, from Richland monthly meeting in Bucks County. When, in 1791, her son Jesse removed to Fallowfield, she accompanied him, transferring her beloved Friends' membership to Bradford monthly meeting. Her principal home was with her son Jesse until he removed to Lampeter. "When seventy years of age, such were her active habits and bodily strength, that she could ride on horseback with ease and thus perform journeys of many miles with but little fatigue.

"Some time before Jesse Gilbert removed to Lancaster County, Elizabeth his mother got a fall, by which her hip joint was dislocated, or otherwise bruised, so that she suffered great pain, and could not be removed to Lampeter. She was therefore taken to her nephew, Joseph Walton's, in Fallowfield, where she remained a

cripple unable to walk; and had her granddaughter Rebecca Peart to wait on and nurse her. In this helpless state she continued for several years; and at length departed this life on the 5th of the 8th month, 1810, and was buried at Fallowfield, aged upwards of eighty-five years."

JOSEPH GILBERT

Joseph Gilbert, after his return from captivity, resided mostly about Byberry and Abington, occasionally following his trade as a cooper, until his death, March, 1807, in his sixty-ninth year.

JESSE GILBERT AND SARAH HIS WIFE

Jesse Gilbert married Sarah Harding, daughter of Isaac Harding of Bucks County. After the death of Isaac, his widow married Amos Strickland, and they settled near Benjamin Gilbert's farm and mill, where Jesse and Sarah became acquainted when quite young. The troubles of the American Revolution coming on, and the Indians being hostile, Amos Strickland prudently removed his family to Bucks County. Jesse and Sarah were married when each was about nineteen years old, and went back to Mahoning to settle there. This was only three weeks before they were taken captives. After their return in the fall of 1782 they remained among their relatives until a house was ready

for them on part of his father Benjamin Gilbert's estate in Byberry. Several years of prosperity followed. In the spring of 1791 Jesse removed with his wife and three children to Chester County. After seven years of struggle with a poor stony farm in Fallowfield he sold it, removing to Lampeter in Lancaster County. Here he thrived; raised a large family, and in 1804 bought still another farm. Becoming lame, he turned from farming to making plows. "The demand for his ploughs became so pressing, that he soon had more to do in this line than he was able to accomplish without the aid of his sons, who were now grown up towards manhood. With the occasional assistance of his three sons, who all remained with him until mature age, he made many hundreds of ploughs, well suited for turning under the stubborn soil in the section of country where they were constructed and used."

In 1828, business being slack and his health poor, "he and his son John concluded to take a journey to the mountains, in order to visit the place from which the Gilbert family had been taken captives. This visit was one of great interest to Jesse Gilbert, as it revived the recollection of the scenes of his younger days; and he viewed the grounds, the hills, and waters that had been familiar to him fifty years before. He could even show his son the site and foun-

dation of the house about to be erected for him when they were taken by the Indians. They found also that the Mauch Chunk coal mine with all its complicated yet well adapted fixtures and apparatus, was situated within about four miles of Benjamin Gilbert's mill and settlement at Mahoning." In a little more than six months after this visit, Jesse Gilbert died — yielding to "rheumatic pains and a complication of diseases" — on March 10, 1829, in his sixty-eighth year. He was buried in the Friends' burial-ground at Lampeter.

Sarah his wife survived him until April 4, 1833, when she was laid by his side, being seventy-two years old. They had eleven children, four of whom died in infancy, including the one born at Montreal. Sarah's health was broken by her captivity, and was ever afterwards delicate; in her last years she was a cripple.

REBECCA GILBERT

Three years after her return from captivity, Rebecca Gilbert married Joseph Rakestraw of Philadelphia. He was a carpenter; but they settled in Northampton County, within sight of the place where she had been taken captive — probably on the tract which her father had owned. Here nine children were born to them. Later they removed to Lancaster County, where they lived about twenty years and Rebecca

became the mother of two more children, making eleven in all. It is said, some of their sons settled in Ohio. The parents and most of the other children followed and settled in New Garden township, Columbiana County, Ohio. Jacob Rakestraw died in an apoplectic fit, about the spring of 1829, and was buried in the Friends' burying-ground at New Garden. After his death Rebecca removed to Marlborough, Stark County, Ohio, and died there, August 23, 1842, aged about seventy-nine years.

ABNER GILBERT

Abner Gilbert was in his seventeenth year when he returned from captivity. He worked as a mason, and at coopering; received a share of his father's land at Byberry, sold it, and removed with Jesse and his family to Fallowfield in 1791. His half-brother, Benjamin Gilbert, having purchased lands in Westmoreland County, had removed and settled there some time before. "Benjamin owned a mill and farm in those parts, and being advanced in years, and having no children, he persuaded Abner to come and superintend his business, with expectation of making him his principal heir. Abner about this time married Ann Cooper, and accepted his brother's offer. He resided at a place called Sewickly, in Westmoreland County, during the remainder of his days,

and realized the inheritance of a large portion of Benjamin's estate. He had seven children, Benjamin, George and others." Abner died May 31, 1831, aged about sixty-five years. He was of a fine character and an upright man.

BENJAMIN PEART

After his return from captivity, Benjamin Peart built a house on land belonging to his aunt Mary Peart, on the west side of Byberry. He was sometimes farmer, sometimes shoemaker, sometimes day laborer for others; for several years he was supervisor of roads; but his great pleasure for many years was, as the old record says, "gunning, or hunting game," a habit which did not add to his worldly prosperity. He married Elizabeth Jones, who was taken captive with him when her first child, Elizabeth, was nine months old. This child grew up sickly, became subject to St. Vitus dance, and died in January, 1796, in her seventeenth year. Two other children, Thomas and Mary, were born to Benjamin Peart and wife. They grew up and married. "After the commencement of emigrations to Ohio, Benjamin Peart had a strong inclination to remove thither, but it was not until about the year 1813 or 1814 that his children and family became willing to go to the western country. They then sold out their possessions in Byberry and removed to

Salem, Columbiana County, Ohio. Benjamin Peart died in the spring of 1840, in the eighty-eighth year of his age, having survived his wife Elizabeth two or three years.

BENJAMIN GILBERT, JUNIOR

Benjamin Gilbert, junior, was a son of John Gilbert of Philadelphia, who was probably a grandson of the first settler of the name, and had married a relative. It is stated that his mother, being left a widow, was anxious to place him out of the way of the exposures and temptations of a city life, and therefore prevailed upon her cousin, Benjamin Gilbert, to take him under his care. In this way he became a member of the family, and removed with them over the mountains, where he was made a captive among the rest.

After his return from the Indians he lived with Jonathan Knight, whose wife Margaret was a relative of his mother. "He went to Byberry school for several years, and was accounted a clever boy by the other scholars. During this time he generally went under the name of Indian Ben." He enlisted as a soldier under General Wayne, and shared in the Western campaign of 1794. "Having been a captive among the Indians, and learned some of their war shouts, it is said that he and some others were sometimes employed in hazardous exposures. Being dis-

guised as Indians, they were sent as near the Indian camp as they dared to go, and then set up an Indian war whoop in order to lead the Indians into an ambuscade that was prepared for them, when the natives were cut to pieces by the soldiers and the decoys escaped as well as they could. Such," adds the serious-minded and disapproving Quaker chronicler, "such is the treachery and wickedness of the war spirit!"

"When the war was over, Benjamin Gilbert junior returned to Byberry; but he had become intemperate, and therefore was of but little use in social life. He made some attempts to cure deafness, by remedies which he pretended to have learned among the Indians; but they failed of success — and Benjamin left the parts."

ELIZABETH GILBERT, JUNIOR

Elizabeth Gilbert, junior, married David Webster of Abington, in the year 1786. They lived in the neighborhood of Abington for several years, Elizabeth becoming the mother of eight children, several of whom died young. Her husband died in 1839.

"Elizabeth always retained an affection toward John Huston, her Indian father (as she called him), for she remembered his kindness to her when in captivity. About the year 1822 or 1823 an opportunity occurred of making inquiry after him. Elizabeth happened to be in Phila-

delphia when those two noted chiefs, Red Jacket and Cornplanter, were there with their interpreter. Elizabeth was introduced to them as one of the captives of the Gilbert family. Red Jacket said he remembered the circumstance of the captives being brought to Niagara, but declared that he had nothing to do with it. In the interview it appeared that the interpreter (being also an Indian) was acquainted with John Huston, their farms adjoining each other. He told Elizabeth that her Indian father's head was as white as wool with old age. After Elizabeth's inquiries concerning John Huston were answered by the interpreter, she asked him whether he would carry a present to her Indian father from her, in token of her remembrance of him. This he readily agreed to do, and promised to deliver it faithfully. She then procured beads, oranges, confectionaries and a silk handkerchief; and with them sent a message that the present was from his child Betsey. Some time afterward she heard of his death at a very advanced age, supposed to be near a hundred years old."

In 1839, Elizabeth Webster went to Ohio to visit her sister Rebecca Rakestraw and other relatives. Two of Thomas Peart's children accompanied her. From that time till her death, which was subsequent to 1848, she resided in her native neighborhood, often nursing the

sick and always making life pleasanter for others. Her happy disposition was well described in the testimony of one of her relatives: "Although she has always lived beneath a clouded sky, with tempests or thick fogs lowering in its horizon, yet she always appears as if she were basking in the sunshine."

THOMAS PEART

The career of Thomas Peart, son of Benjamin Gilbert's wife by her first husband, warrants an extended notice. As written out and published in 1848 it supplements with some interesting details the general story of the captivity originally written by William Walton. This account is here condensed.

Thomas was born at Byberry, September 9, 1756. His father dying when the boy was in his second year, he was placed with his mother's brother, William Walton, who brought him up. In his twenty-fourth year he went to live with his stepfather, Benjamin Gilbert, at Mahoning, county of Northampton. Within two weeks of his advent at the Gilbert home, the Indians fell upon the place. The fortunes of other members of the family, during their captivity, have already been indicated. Thomas was taken to what is now Nunda near the Genesee River, where he was adopted into an Indian family, to replace a lost member, as was the custom.

“ Whilst there, the man and his wife who claimed him went on a hunting expedition, and took him with them. They proceeded a considerable distance through the wilderness in search of game, without much success. One day he observed the squaw said something privately to her husband; and, after a short conference between them in the Indian language, the man told him he must leave them, and go back to their settlement. From what Thomas observed, he judged the woman was approaching a state of parturition, and that she wished he might not be with them at that crisis. He was furnished with some provision, and set out to return according to directions.

“ As he was traveling on, it occurred to him that an opportunity now offered to make his escape; and that, by steering his course southward, he might reach the white settlements on the waters of the Juniata, and from thence he could make his way to his native place. He accordingly turned his course in that direction till night came on. He then encamped in the woods, kindled a fire, made his bed of the branches of trees, placed his feet to the fire, and wrapped himself in his blanket.

“ Although it was not new to him to lodge in the woods, he soon found there was no inclination to sleep at that time; so he lay ruminating upon his prospects. His desire was

strong to escape from his irksome and disagreeable situation; but difficulties and dangers presented to his imagination. He might miss the settlements he had in view. If he found them, they might be broken up and the inhabitants dispersed; or he might on the way fall into the hands of some straggling party of Indians, who would discover his attempt to escape, and in such case no mercy was to be expected. After dwelling awhile on some such considerations, his mind became composed, and settled in the conclusion that he had better return to the Indians; and that if he did so, he should be liberated from his captivity, and might be able to assist in procuring the release of other parts of the family then in bondage; and that ultimately they should return to the place of their nativity. Under these views he rested quietly till morning; and then set out to retrace his steps, and readily found his way back to Nundow (Nunda).^{*} A few days after, the Indian and his squaw returned also, and brought a

^{*} This incident is strikingly like an experience of Horatio Jones, a prisoner among the Senecas at this period. Jones had an opportunity to escape and started for the Juniata; changed his mind at his first night's camp, and voluntarily returned to the Indians, with whom he lived contentedly until the treaty of 1784, which compelled the Indians to give up their prisoners. For many years he was United States interpreter in western New York. He knew many of the prisoners, probably Peart and some of the Gilberts among them.

little papoose with them. They seemed quite rejoiced when they found he had reached the settlement, as they had apprehended he would be lost in the wilderness."

Something of Thomas Peart's adventures has been related in the Narrative; the following illustrative incidents may be added, from the memoir which supplements the edition of 1848:

"Thomas Peart was detained among the Indians till the next winter, when he was released through the interference of Colonel Johnson, a British officer at Niagara. He had divers times been out with the Indians on their hunting expeditions, and also had accompanied them to Niagara, where they obtained supplies of corn and other necessaries. On one of these visits at Niagara, a white man there used some abusive language to him, calling him a Yankee rebel; and told him it was good enough for him that he was a captive among the Indians. Thomas observed to the man that he thought he ought not to abuse him; that he had taken no part whatever in the war; and that he had been to the Philadelphia market when the city was occupied by the British army. Upon this information the stranger immediately changed his tone, and asked him to go with him to the commander of the garrison. He did so, and was introduced as a friend to Government, who had unfortunately fallen into the hands of the

Indians. The officer asked him if he was one of the Quaker family that had been taken; and told him that orders had been given by the British authorities for the release of all that family. A conference was had with the Indians who claimed him, and they finally consented to give him up; tho' they expressed some regret at parting with their own flesh and blood. Thomas thought to himself that that 'flesh and blood' did not bind hard on his side.

"A part of the family that were previously released were sent, by order of the Government, to Montreal; several others who were released about the time Thomas Peart was, were also sent there. But he had permission to remain at Niagara, with a hope that he might be of use in procuring the liberation of some of the younger branches who yet remained with the Indians. In pursuance of this object, he continued there until the next year, when those young persons were released, and they were all conveyed to Montreal; and from thence way was made for their return to their native place; and Thomas had the great satisfaction of seeing fully realized all that opened to him when lodged in the woods.

"Thomas Peart used to relate, that when he was a captive among the Indians he frequently had dreams, when he thought he was in his old walks on the farm of his Uncle William; that

the house, barn, fences, fields, woods and hedges were as plain to his view in all their particulars as he had ever seen them; but when he awoke he found to his regret, that he was still among the Indians.

"The winter he tarried at Niagara he was employed in chopping wood for the officers about two miles from the fort. For his own convenience he built himself a hut, and lodged in it alone. One evening a drunken Indian came in and sat down by him. Thomas watched his motions, and discovered he was slowly drawing a knife from under his matchcoat; he suddenly snatched it from him, and the first impulse he felt was to cut off the Indian's head. He said it was the first time he had ever been tempted to kill a man. But quickly taking the second thought he laid hold of the fellow, put him out of the cabin, and secured the door. It was much to his satisfaction, whenever he adverted to this circumstance, that he had not acted on the first impression."

After his return from captivity Thomas Peart married Mary Roberts, daughter of Lewis Roberts of Abington, and, says the chronicler from whom we quote, "was disowned by Horsham monthly meeting in the 9th month, 1785." He moved from Byberry to Abington and worked in his father-in-law's mill; invested his small paternal inheritance in the milling business, and

lost most of it. In 1789 he rented the Byberry mill for a year; then he removed to Fallowfield, Chester County, where he bought a farm but soon leased it, and went to a mill near Doe Run, where he made money. "Thence he removed to William Daniels' mill at Lampeter, where everything seemed to work against him. His horses died, his flour was scratched, and he lost all he had before gained, so that he was forced to sell his Fallowfield farm, and with the proceeds he barely paid off his debts; so that he had only the remnant of his stock of horses, cattle, &c., left."

At this time he considered following other members of the family to Ohio, but his final decision was against the move. "I tried the matter of going to the Ohio State," he wrote to a friend in the quaint phraseology of his people, May 14, 1816, "as much as was possible for me to do; and the more I tried it the more my mind became darkened; so that I could see no way for me to travel in." He went to farming for Daniel Gibbons, then removed to a farm near Columbia, Pennsylvania, in 1816, and once more "began to get forward in the world." Later in life he bought a farm near Lampeter, where he ended his days, March 19, 1831, aged seventy-five years.

Mary Peart, his first wife, died at the farm near Columbia, July 23, 1823. They had nine

children, six sons and three daughters, most of whom "grew up to be respectable and religious-minded men and women." About four years before his own death Thomas Peart married Sarah Cooper, a widow, with whom he lived on his farm at Lampeter. Especially in his later years he was active in the conduct of Friends' meetings, filling the office of overseer for both Lampeter and Columbia. His biographer says much in his praise, but sums up adequately in his concluding words: "His example in his neighborhood was probably the most impressive preaching of practical righteousness."

SOME DESCENDANTS OF THOMAS PEART

A granddaughter, Mary Peart, daughter of Thomas, Jr., is an artist, and resides with her cousin John Peart (son of Daniel?), a lumber merchant, at No. 1901 Vine Street, Philadelphia. This Mary Peart married an Englishman by the name of Peart, who is dead without issue.

Thomas Peart, Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, is a son of Lewis Peart, the youngest son of Thomas Peart, Sr., and his mother was a sister to Howard Worcester Gilbert, deceased.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1784

A | narrative | of the | captivity | and | suffer-
ings | of | Benjamin Gilbert | and his | fam-
ily; | who were surprised by the Indians, and
taken from | their farms, on the frontiers of
Pennsylvania, | in the Spring, 1780. | Phila-
delphia: | Printed and sold by Joseph Cruk-
shank, in Market-street, | between Second
and Third-streets. | MDCCLXXXIV. 8vo
(3¼ x 6¼ in.), pp. iv-96.

Exceedingly scarce; no sale at auction reported
by *American Book Prices Current*, 1896-1902.

1785

A | narrative | of the | captivity | and | suffer-
ings | of | Benjamin Gilbert | and his | fam-
ily, | who were surprised by the Indians,
and taken from | their farms on the frontiers
of Pennsylvania, | in the Spring, 1780. | Phila-
delphia printed: London, reprinted and sold
by James Phillips, MDCCLXXXV. 12mo,
pp. 123.

A reprint of the original Philadelphia edition.
(Clogston sale, 1899, \$6.)

1790

A | narrative | of the | captivity | and | suffer-
ings | of | Benjamin Gilbert | and his | fami-
ly; | who were surprised by the Indians,
and | taken from their farms, on the fron-
tiers of Pennsylvania, | in the Spring,
1780. | Philadelphia, Printed: London: Re-
printed and sold by James Phillips, George-
Yard, Lombard-street. M. DCC. XC. 12mo
(5 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 3 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.), pp. iv-124.

Text identical with first Philadelphia edition,
save in the spelling of a few words. An addi-
tional 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ pages, advertising "Books printed
and sold by James Phillips."

1808

On the | Captivity | of | Benjamin Gilbert &
Family, | By the Indians in 1780. | Composed
by the late Paul Preston | Doylestown, 1808.
Printed by Asher Miner. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ in., pp. 5.

Not the original narrative, but an effusion
prompted by it.

1811

A Narrative of the Captivity and Sufferings of
Benjamin Gilbert and his family; who were
surprised by the Indians, and taken from their
farms, on the frontiers of Pennsylvania, in
the Spring of 1780.

A reprint of the complete narrative, including

the long poem at the end, but without the Preface, contained in the second volume of Archibald Loudon's *A Selection of some of the most interesting Narratives of Outrages committed by the Indians*, etc., Carlisle, [Pa.,] 1811. (First volume, 1808.) The excessive rarity of this the original edition of Loudon makes this the rarest publication of the Gilbert narrative. Thomas W. Field notes in his *Indian Bibliography* (1873): "A large correspondence with book collectors, and not a little familiarity with the best of public and private libraries, have brought to my notice but three perfect copies of this work." Sabin says only half a dozen perfect copies are known. Field's copy sold (1875) for \$200, Brinley's (1896) for \$150. A perfect copy would probably bring today twice that amount.

1813

A | narrative | of the | captivity and suffer-
ings | of | Benjamin Gilbert and family; | who
were surprised by the Indians, and taken |
from their farms, on the frontiers | of Penn-
sylvania. | Philadelphia: Printed for the Pub-
lisher. 1813. 12mo (3¼ x 6 in.), pp. viii-96.
*Crude woodcut frontispiece: "Benjamin Gilbert's
family carried off by Indians!"*

A scarce edition, printed on thin soft bluish paper. Text complete. Not mentioned by Sabin.

A

NARRATIVE

OF THE

CAPTIVITY AND SUFFERINGS

OF

BENJAMIN GILBERT AND FAMILY;

WHO WERE SURPRISED BY THE INDIANS, AND TAKEN
FROM THEIR FARMS, ON THE FRONTIERS
OF PENNSYLVANIA.

PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED FOR THE PUBLISHER.

1813.

1829

Captivity of Benjamin Gilbert and his Family.

From the account published a few years after.

In Samuel Hazard's *Register of Pennsylvania*, vol. iii. (May 16, 23, and 30), 1829. At the end of the last instalment is printed, "To be continued," but it does not appear to have been finished. About one-half of the narrative is given, complete as far as it goes, save for the omission of one unimportant paragraph.

1848

A narrative | of the | captivity and sufferings |
of | Benjamin Gilbert | and his family, | who
were taken by the Indians | in the Spring of
1780. | Third edition, | revised and enlarged. |
To which is prefixed | a short account of the
Gilbert family | who settled at Byberry. | And
an appendix, | giving some account of the
captives | after their return. | Philadelphia:
Printed by John Richards, No. 299 Market
Street. 1848. 16mo (2 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 4 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.), pp. 240.

The narrative largely rewritten and expanded, some statements of fact corrected, but as regards its style, not at all to its betterment. There is a new preface, and biographical memoirs of the several captives. This edition was edited by John Comly, a teacher of Byberry, Philadelphia, and author of some educational works. It was

issued for the benefit of Elizabeth Webster, the last survivor of the captives.

1888

A narrative of the captivity and sufferings of Benjamin Gilbert and his family, who were surprised by the Indians, and taken from their farms, on the frontiers of Pennsylvania, in the Spring of 1780.

Given complete, pp. 69-159, vol. ii. of London, reprint of the original edition, Harrisburg, [Pa.,] 1888. The reprint is a small edition, now scarce and much valued. (Deane sale, 1898, \$19.50; sales in 1902, \$16.50, \$18.00.)

1890

A narrative | of the | captivity and sufferings | of | Benjamin Gilbert | and | his family. | Who were Surprised by the Indians and Taken from their Farm, on Mahoning Creek, in Penn Township, Northampton County, not far from where Fort Allen was built, on the Frontier of Pennsylvania, in the Spring of 1780. Only 150 copies — privately printed. Lancaster, Pa., 1890. *8vo* (4 x 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.), pp. 38.

The narrative rewritten and much abridged; the poem omitted.

VARIOUS

For biographical sketch of Benjamin Gilbert, see Appleton's *Cyclopedia of American Biography*,

vol. ii., 1887. See also: *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania in the Olden Time*, by John F. Watson, Philadelphia, 1830 (8vo, pp. 820); 2nd ed., 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1844; in vol. ii., pp. 195-205 are devoted to the Gilberts; Atkinson's *Casket*, 1835, a communication by Mark Bancroft; the same narrative abridged, Day's *Historical Collections of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1843), pp. 189-191; *A History of the Townships of Byberry and Moreland, in Philadelphia, Pa.*, . . . by Joseph C. Martindale, M.D., Philadelphia, 1867; new and revised edition, edited by Albert W. Dudley, B.S., Philadelphia, n.d. [1902]; Doty's *History of Livingston County, N. Y.*, Geneseo, N. Y., 1876; *Early History of Geneva, N. Y.*, by George S. Conover, 1880; *Old Trails on the Niagara Frontier*, by Frank H. Severance (first edition, Buffalo, 1899; second edition, Cleveland, 1903); Ketchum's *Buffalo and the Senecas*, Buffalo, 1864-65; and numerous local histories, pamphlets, etc., relating to southeastern Pennsylvania and western New York.

SOME DESCENDANTS OF BENJAMIN GILBERT

CHILDREN

GRANDCHILDREN

GREAT-GRANDCHILDREN

Abigail Walton. . . Sarah Hayes. . . Benjamin Hayes. . . Dr. Isaac I. Hayes, polar explorer and legislator; born Chester, Pa., March 5, 1832; died N. Y. City, Dec. 17, 1881.

Joshua Gilbert. . . Thomas Gilbert. . . Charles Gilbert. . . George Gilbert, Chester, Pa., educator.

Beulah James. . . Thomas James, late owner of the Byberry homestead. . . Mary Elizabeth Tomlinson, wife of Augustus T. Tomlinson, Byberry, Philadelphia.

Amos Gilbert. . . { Barclay C. Gilbert. . . Lucien L. Gilbert, attorney-at-law, Pittsburg, Pa.

Jesse Gilbert. . . { Howard W. Gilbert, scholar, teacher and poet; born July 13, 1819; died March 5, 1895.

Benjamin Gilbert. . . Isaac B. Gilbert, Cambridge, Chester Co., Pa.

John Gilbert. . . { J. Harding Gilbert. . . Edwin M. Gilbert, attorney-at-law, Lancaster, Pa.

Rebecca Rakestraw Joseph Rakestraw. Yarnall (?) Rakestraw. . . Edwin Wellman Rakestraw, Toledo, Ohio.

Abner Gilbert. . . { Benjamin Gilbert. . . Samuel C. Gilbert, Voltagany, Pa.

Elizabeth Webster. . . Eliza Cope. . . Gilbert Cope, West Chester, Pa., historian and genealogist.

George Gilbert. . . Joshua Gilbert. . . Edwin Gilbert, architect, Germantown, Philadelphia.

Jesse G. Webster. . . Hugh Webster, Hulmeville, Bucks Co., Pa.

NOTE: For the above, and some other genealogical data in this volume, the editor is indebted to Mr. Gilbert Cope, West Chester, Pennsylvania.

INDEX

- ABINGTON, 175, 181, 188.
 Allen, Fort, 26, 26 *note*.
 Atkinson, Benjamin, 164.
 Atkinson, Elizabeth, 164.
 Atkinson, Ezekiel, 164, 166.
 Atkinson, Rachel, 164.
 Atkinson, Thomas, 164.
 Atkinson, Watson, 164.

 BALDWIN, John, 157.
 Bedford, 31 *note*.
 Bethlehem, 11.
 Big Tree Village, 29 *note*, 30 *note*.
 Bowman's Creek, 10.
 Bracanage, John, 145.
 Brant, Capt. Joseph, 64, 64 *note*.
 Brown, Joe, 7.
 Burkhalter, Lieut., 15.
 Busby, Thomas, 70.
 Butler, Col. John, 29 *note*, 33, 59, 59 *note*, 95, 100, 101, 103, 114, 115, 116.
 Butlersbury, 95, 95 *note*, 96, 96 *note*, 97, 100, 103.
 Byberry Township, 17, 25, 25 *note*, 156, 159, 160, 161, 164, 165, 167, 171, 174, 175, 176, 178, 179, 180, 181, 188, 189
 CAMPBELL, Col., 70.
 Campbell, Squire, 68, 70.
 Canadosago (*see* Kanadesaga).
 Canadea, 30 *note*.
 Caracadera, 73, 73 *note*, 74, 75, 76.
 Carbon County, 26 *note*.
 Carleton, Gen. Guy, 65 *note*.
 Carleton Island, 65, 65 *note*, 66, 85, 85 *note*.
 Carver, John, 156.
 Castleton, 143, 144.
 Catharine's Town (later Jefferson), 29 *note*, 43 *note*.
 Cattaraugus Creek (Cattaraugus), 142, 142 *note*.
 Cayuga Creek, 41, 41 *note*, 117, 118.
 Chambers, Lieut., 15.
 Chemung River, 29 *note*.
 Cherry Valley, 10, 81 *note*, 93 *note*.
 Chestnut Hill Township, 12, 14.
 Claus, Col. Daniel, 72 *note*.
 Closs, Col. (*see* Claus), 72.
 Cœur de Lac, 68, 68 *note*, 86.
 Columbia, 189.
 Comly, Henry, 157.
 Cooper, Ann, 167, 178.

- Cooper, Sarah, 199.
 Cornberry, Lord, 28 *note*.
 Cornplanter, 182.
 Cornwall (England), 155.
 Cornwells, 25 *note*.
 Crown Point, 144.

 DACE, Capt. John, 57, 57 *note*.
 Daniels, William, 189.
 Dease, Capt. (*see* Dace).
 Depui, —, 14.
 Dodson, Abigail, 32, 73, 87.
 Dodson, Samuel, 11, 26 *note*.
 Doe Run, 189.
 Doty, Lockwood L., 30 *note*.
 Duquesne, Fort (*see* Pittsburg).
 Duquesne, —, 69.
 Durkee, Fort, 36 *note*.

 ERIE, Fort, 108, 108 *note*, 110, 129, 141.
 Esthertown, 29 *note*.

 FALLOWFIELD, 164, 174, 175, 176, 178, 189.
 Falls of the Genesee, 80 *note*.
 Five Mile Meadows, 106, 106 *note*.
 Forty Fort, 36 *note*.
 Foster, John, 167.
 Fox, John, 30.
 Frontenac, Count, 28 *note*.
 Fry, Capt., 102, 102 *note*.

 GARNER, Michael, 26 *note*.
 Genesee Crossing, The, 49 *note*.
 Genesee River, 10, 49, 92, 121 *note*, 126, 132, 135, 183.
 Genesee, 49 *note*.

 Gibbons, Daniel, 189.
 Gilbert, Abigail, 164.
 Gilbert, Abner, 31, 31 *note*, 46, 55, 64, 72, 85, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 113, 167, 172, 174, 178, 179.
 Gilbert, Agnes, 165.
 Gilbert, Ann, 165.
 Gilbert, Benjamin, 11, 12, 14, 17, 23, 25, 25 *note*, 26 *note*, 30, 31, 37, 41, 41 *note*, 47, 48, 55, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 66, 68, 110, 155, 157, 161, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 171, 171 *note*, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 183.
 Gilbert, Benjamin, son of John Gilbert, 31, 40, 41, 46, 73, 105, 106, 109, 116, 117, 119, 121 *note*, 140, 142, 143, 145, 179, 180, 181.
 Gilbert, Beulah, 165.
 Gilbert, Caleb, 165, 166.
 Gilbert, David, 165.
 Gilbert, Elizabeth, 17, 25, 30, 31 *note*, 34, 46, 48, 51, 52, 55, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64, 67, 70, 71, 71 *note*, 72, 96, 101, 104, 105, 124, 144, 146, 165, 167, 171 *note*, 172, 173, 174, 182, 183.
 Gilbert, Elizabeth, the younger, 31, 55, 64, 72, 85, 95, 101, 102, 103, 110, 143, 172, 181, 182.
 Gilbert, Ezra, 165.
 Gilbert, Florence, 155.
 Gilbert, Howard Worcester, 190.

- Gilbert, George, 179.
 Gilbert, Isaac, 165.
 Gilbert, Jesse, 11, 31, 42, 55, 57, 58, 59, 60, 62, 66, 68, 69, 70, 72, 104, 124, 167, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178.
 Gilbert, John, 155, 156, 164, 165, 168, 171, 171 *note*, 175, 180.
 Gilbert, John, Jr., 156.
 Gilbert, Joseph, 25, 30, 41, 51, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 85, 117, 119, 122, 123, 124, 132, 136, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 163, 164, 166, 171 *note*, 175.
 Gilbert, Joshua, 156, 164, 165, 168, 171, 171 *note*.
 Gilbert, Martha, 165.
 Gilbert, Mary, 165.
 Gilbert, Phebe, 157, 165.
 Gilbert, Rachel, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167.
 Gilbert, Rebecca, 31, 54, 55, 56, 63, 73, 83 *note*, 99, 106, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 115, 116, 128, 139, 140, 142, 157, 167, 172, 174, 177.
 Gilbert, Samuel, 156.
 Gilbert, Sarah (first), 164.
 Gilbert, Sarah, 31, 40, 41, 46, 57, 61, 62, 70, 71, 72, 73, 117, 119, 121, 121 *note*, 157, 164, 165, 167, 175, 177.
 Gilbert, Tacy, 165.
 Gilbert, Thomas, 165.
 Gilbert's mill, 16.
 Gomerson, Thomas, 71, 71 *note*.
 Gnaden Hutten, 11.
 Gwynedd, 163.
 HALDIMAND, Fort, 65 *note*.
 Haldimand, General, 70, 71 *note*, 115, 141, 143.
Haldimand Papers, 57 *note*, 70 *note*.
 Harding, Isaac, 175.
 Harding, Sarah, 167, 175.
 Harpersfield, 10.
 Harrigar, Andrew, 11, 32, 42, 42 *note*, 124.
 Harrigar, Peter, 26 *note*.
 Harris, Samuel, 29.
 Hart, John, 156.
 Hillyard, Lieut., 62.
 Holmes, Thomas, 156.
 Hough, Septimius, 26 *note*.
 Huger, Andrew (*see* Harrigar).
 Huston, John, 30, 30 *note*, 31 *note*, 46, 95, 97, 99, 181, 182.
 Huston, John, Jr., 30, 47.
 IRVINE, Gen. James, 17.
 JOHNSON, Col. Guy, 59, 59 *note*, 60, 62, 65, 70, 79, 84, 104, 112, 113, 124, 138, 139, 140, 156.
 Johnson, Sir John, 71 *note*.
 Johnson, Sir William, 64 *note*.
 Jones, Deborah, 105.
 Jones, Elizabeth, 179.
 Jones, Horatio, 81 *note*, 185 *note*.
 Jones, Sarah, 161.
 KAGHLIN, Mr., 15.
 Kanadesaga, 46 *note*, 120, 121 *note*.

- Keith, George, 156.
 Kern, Lieut. Col. Nicholas,
 12, 13, 14, 16.
 King's Sons, 74, 74 *note*.
 Kirkland's, Samuel, *Journal*,
 28 *note*.
 Kittareen Towns (*see* Catharine's Town).
 Knight, Jonathan, 180.
 Knowles, William, 145.
 LACKAWANNA Creek, 37 *note*.
 Lampeter, 174, 176, 177, 189,
 190.
 Landing, The, 98, 98 *note*,
 107.
 Lasheen, Fort, 69, 69 *note*.
 Lay, Benjamin, 159.
 Lehigh, 26 *note*.
 Lehi[gh] Gap, 16.
 Lehigh River, 26 *note*, 171.
 Leighton, 26 *note*.
 Lewiston, 57 *note*, 58 *note*, 98
 note.
 Livezey, Rachel, 157.
 Lottridge, Captain, 113, 113
 note.
 Lonson, Captain, 145.
 McCLEAN, Brig. Gen., 69.
 McNeill, Samuel, 26 *note*.
 M'Ulphin, Daniel, 69.
 Mahoning Creek, 11, 25, 26
 note, 32 *note*, 171.
 Mahoning Valley, 26 *note*, 172,
 173, 175, 183.
 Mahony (*see* Mahoning Creek).
 Makefield, 166.
 Marlborough, 178.
 Mason, Benjamin, 163.
 Mason, Sarah, 163.
 Mathews, R., 71 *note*.
 Mauch Chunk, 33 *note*, 177.
 Middagh, Peter, 16.
 Middletown, 165, 165.
 Mochunk (*see* Mauch Chunk).
 Mohawk Valley, 10.
 Monteur, "Bill," 30 *note*.
 Monteur, Capt. Andrew, 28
 note.
 Monteur, Queen Catharine, 28
 note, 29 *note*, 43 *note*.
 Monteur, Esther, 29 *note*, 43
 note.
 Monteur, Henry, 28 *note*.
 Monteur, John, 28, 28 *note*, 29
 note, 43 *note*, 54.
 Monteur, Judy, 30 *note*.
 Monteur, Lucy, 28 *note*.
 Monteur, Mons., 28 *note*.
 Monteur, Mrs., 28 *note*.
 Monteur, Rowland, 23, 28
 note, 29 *note*, 35, 42, 43 *note*,
 50, 54, 57, 57 *note*, 58, 112
 note, 124.
 Monteur, Sally, 28 *note*.
 Monteur's Falls, 43 *note*.
 Montreal, 64, 65, 66, 69, 79,
 85, 86, 101, 103, 106, 114,
 117, 140, 142, 143, 144, 177,
 187.
 Moore, Jane, 93 *note*.
 Mountbethel, 16.
 Murray, Richard, 71 *note*.
 NEW GARDEN, 178.
 Niagara, Fort, 9, 10, 29 *note*,
 54 *note*, 57, 57 *note*, 58 *note*,
 76, 78, 107, 108, 111, 116,
 129.

- Northampton County, 11, 12, 14, 25, 26 *note*, 171, 174, 183.
 North River, 145.
 Nunda (*see* Nundow).
 Nundow, 74, 74 *note*, 77, 121 *note*, 126, 183, 185.
 OGDEN, Fort, 36 *note*.
 Ogdensburg, 66 *note*.
 Ogilby, Patrick, 157.
 Ontario, Lake, 9, 64, 66, 85, 129, 130.
 Ortiz, John, 7.
 Oswagatchy, 66, 66 *note*, 85.
 Onaquaga, 43 *note*.
 PAINTED POST, 29 *note*, 112 *note*.
 Pawling, Jesse, 64.
 Peart, Benjamin, 12, 14, 32, 32 *note*, 35, 45, 61, 72, 79, 81, 82, 84, 85, 93, 101, 135, 139, 144, 173, 179, 180.
 Peart, Bryan, 17, 25, 167, 173.
 Peart, Elizabeth, 25, 32, 45, 63, 72, 83, 85, 87, 88 *note*, 89, 99, 91, 93, 102, 107, 128, 167, 179, 180.
 Peart, John, 199.
 Peart, Lewis, 199.
 Peart, Mary, 179, 183, 199.
 Peart, Rebecca, 173, 175.
 Peart, Thomas, 31, 41, 41 *note*, 51, 73, 77, 82, 83, 99, 109, 101, 102, 103, 111, 113, 114, 117, 118, 119, 121 *note*, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 132, 133, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 173, 179, 182, 183, 184, 185 *note*, 186, 187, 188, 199.
 Peart, Thomas, Jr., 199.
 Peert (*see* Peart).
 Peirt (*see* Peart).
Pennsylvania Gazette, 10.
 Penn Township, 12, 14, 25, 26 *note*.
 Penn, William, 155, 173.
 Philadelphia, 25 *note*, 29 *note*.
 Pittsburg, 31 *note*.
 Powell, Capt. John, 57, 57 *note*, 58, 53 *note*, 59, 63, 84, 85, 89, 94, 99, 101, 104, 138, 139.
 RAKESTRAW, Joseph, 167, 177, 178.
 Rakestraw, Rebecca, 182.
 Randall, Agnes, 163.
 Randall, Mary, 165, 165.
 Randall, Nicholas, 165, 168.
 Red Banks, 31 *note*.
 Red Jacket, 182.
 Reed, Lieut. Samuel (or Ray), 13, 14, 16.
 Reed, President, 14, 16.
 Richland, 163, 164, 165, 172, 174.
 Rideout, Nicholas, 156.
 Roberts, Lewis, 188.
 Roberts, Mary, 188.
 Robeson, Captain, 62.
 Rush, Dr. Benjamin, 17.
 Rush, John, 17.
 St. John's, 144.
 St. Lawrence River, 66, 68, 86.
 Salem, 180.
 Sands, David, 145.
 Schlosser, Fort, 88, 83 *note*, 89, 107, 110, 111, 116, 128.

- Scott, Adam, 70, 71, 72, 87.
 Seecord, John, 31 *note*, 96, 96 *note*, 101, 102, 103.
 Seecord, Laura, 96 *note*.
 Senecas, The, 10, 30, 63, 83, 87, 185 *note*.
 Seneca Lake, 54 *note*, 121 *note*.
 Sewickly, 178.
 Shipquagas, 43, 43 *note*, 44.
 Siangorocthi, 53, 53 *note*, 107.
 Six Nations, The, 9, 29 *note*.
 Skenando (Oneida chief), 28 *note*.
 Slusher, Fort (*see* Schlosser).
 Smith, Joseph, 81 *note*.
 Smoke's Creek, 54 *note*.
 Sneider, Benedick (*or* Snyder), 12, 14.
 Squakie Hill, 30 *note*.
 Stackhouse, Ann, 165, 168.
 Stackhouse, Isaac, 165.
 Stanwix, Fort, 28 *note*.
 Stone, William L., 28 *note*.
 Strickland, Amos, 175.
 Stroud, —, 14.
 Sullivan's army, 27, 29 *note*, 40, 40 *note*, 43, 46 *note*, 53 *note*, 74, 117, 118.
 Sullivan's Crossing, 40 *note*.
 Susquehanna River, 29 *note*.
 Susquehanna Valley, 10, 12.
 TAMAQUA, 26 *note*.
 Tennent, Gilbert, 166.
 Tomensing (*see* Tomension Township).
 Tomension Township, 12, 14.
 Tonawanda River, 10.
 Trip, Lot, 145.
 VANCAMPEN, MOSES (?), 14.
 WALKER, Robert, 71, 71 *note*.
 Walton, Asa, 165.
 Walton, Benjamin, 164, 165, 167, 173.
 Walton, Benjamin, Jr., 164.
 Walton, Daniel, 165.
 Walton, Elizabeth, 164.
 Walton, Gilbert, 165.
 Walton, Jesse, 165.
 Walton, Joseph, 164, 174.
 Walton, Lydia, 165.
 Walton, Nathan, 164.
 Walton, Rachel, 164, 165.
 Walton, Rebecca, 17, 164, 165, 173.
 Walton, Richard, 171.
 Walton, Sarah, 164, 165.
 Walton, William, 164, 183.
 Watson, Rebecca, 164, 168.
 Wayne, General, 180.
 Webster, David, 167, 181.
 Webster, Elizabeth, 182.
 Weissport, 26 *note*.
 Wilkesbarre, 36 *note*.
 Wilkinson, Adjutant-Gen., 84.
 Willard, Captain, 145.
 Wing, Abraham, 105.
 Wintermoot's Fort, 36 *note*.
 Woods, George, 31 *note*.
 Woolman, John, 38 *note*.
 Wyaloocing, 38 *note*.
 Wyoming, 10, 53 *note*, 54.
 Wyoming, Fort, 36 *note*.
 Wyoming Massacre, 29 *note*.

