

General John Steele Lancaster County's Distinguished Patriot

By Lisa A. Haldy

During the American Revolution, Lancaster County produced many patriotic heroes. Among this select group were Edward Hand, George Ross, William Atlee, Henry Muhlenberg, and William Henry. One of the most outstanding families which contributed to the fight for independence were the Steeles of southern Lancaster County. Several members of this exceptional family were involved in the struggle against their mother country, with General John Steele, the most distinguished.

The first Steele to arrive in Lancaster County was Captain William Steele, born in 1707. He was the youngest son of Ninian Steele who was of Scottish descent and one of the many Scotch-Irish who came to America from northern Ireland at that time. Ninian located with his family in New London, Chester County.¹ William settled near Chestnut Level in Drumore Township. He married Rachel Carr, who had been born in 1726, and raised in Maryland. As early as 1730, William took up 200 acres of land west of the Octorara Creek and established a tannery. In 1756, at the time of the French and Indian War, he was chosen Captain of a company of Lancaster County's militia. In the subsequent decades William was a staunch Presbyterian patriot, but due to his age and poor health, he did not become actively involved in the colonies quest for independence. His sons however were among the most renowned local heroes to fight in the Revolutionary War. William and Rachel had four sons: Archibald;

William Jr.; John, who is the principal subject of this paper; and James. They also had two daughters, Amy, who married Major Thomas Jordon, and Rachel, who married Jacob Bailey, son of a prominent printer in Lancaster County.

The oldest son, Archibald, was born in 1742. He was known as a man of great courage. When the Revolutionary War broke out he helped raise a Company of men in Lancaster County and marched to Boston, where they were put under the command of Benedict Arnold. In the winter of 1775, his regiment made the famous march from Maine to Quebec. Archibald was given command of a seven-man scouting party which selected the path for the army. They had underestimated the distance and therefore suffered from hunger and the freezing weather. He participated in the attack on Quebec, and was taken prisoner when the American attempt failed.² He had been badly wounded by a musket shot which took two of his fingers but he wrapped up his hand and kept fighting. Three months after he was captured, he made his way to Washington's troops in New Jersey. Afterwards, he was appointed Deputy Quartermaster General, a position he held from 1777 to 1781. During that time, General Washington named him Colonel of a western expedition but illness prevented him from accepting the command. Later, he served as a Military Storekeeper in Philadelphia until 1816. In 1775 Archibald had married Jane Gibson of Lancaster County, who was a cousin of Pennsylvania Chief Justice John Bannister Gibson. They had three sons, George, William, and Matthias, all who served in the navy during the War of 1812.

The second son of William and Rachel was William Jr., born in 1750. He was one of the early local supporters of American independence and achieved the rank of Lieutenant in the Revolutionary Army. William commanded a company and fought on Long Island, New York. He married Elizabeth Bailey in 1775.

James, the youngest son, was born in 1763 and was therefore too young to join the Continental Army. But he still, as a boy, enlisted later in the war and had marched with his company as far as Baltimore where they heard of the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. At the time of the War of 1812, he rose to the rank of Brigadier General in the American Army. In 1820, he erected two cotton factories in what later became Steeleville, named after the Steele family. His older brother John had already established a paper mill in this same area, near the Octorara Creek. In 1800 he had married Mary H. Hume. James Steele died in 1847 and was buried in a cemetery at Harrisburg.

John Steele was born on June 5, 1758 in Drumore Township, Lancaster County. He was the third son of William Sr. and Rachel and became the most famous of the family during the Revolutionary War. His parents sent him to the Chestnut Level Select School where he received his education from the Reverend James Latta. This was designed to prepare him for college, and an eventual career as a clergyman in the Presbyterian Church. When the war broke out, his brothers Archibald and William enlisted, but because he was still young

his parents did not allow him to join the army. Young Steele left school without parental consent, claiming that until his country was free, he must leave his studies for the camp.³

He was 18 years old when he entered the army as a private. On December 4, 1776 he was made 1st Lieutenant of the 10th Pennsylvania; Captain Lieutenant, May 27, 1778; and Captain on March 21, 1779 under the command of General Hand. When John was 21, Washington made him a Colonel and appointed him to his staff. He was transferred to the 1st Pennsylvania on January 17, 1781 where he was given command of a company, and was later honored with the rank of General after he retired in January, 1783.⁴

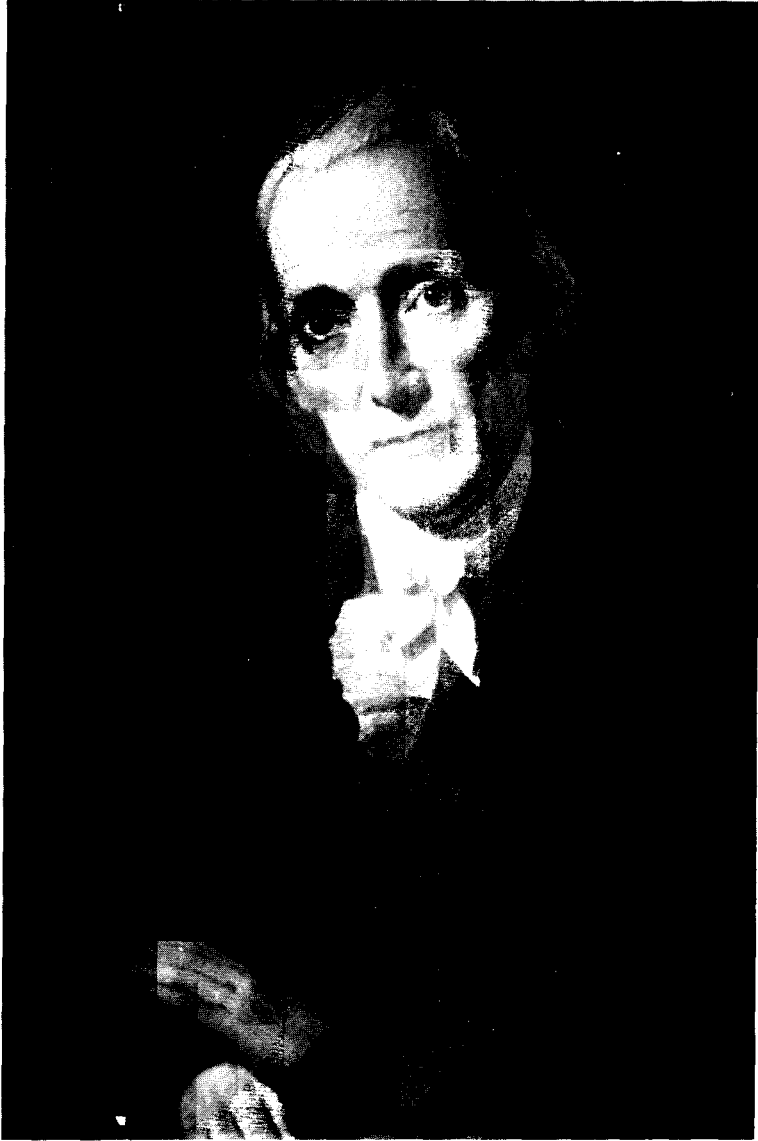
At the battle of Brandywine, September 11, 1777, John was severely wounded in the abdomen by a musket ball, and nearly lost his life. In fact, after the battle, six of his fellow soldiers thought he was dead and carried him on a blanket to bury him in the woods, to keep his body from being mutilated by the British. But when they got to the woods they discovered he was alive so they carried him to the home of two elderly ladies, who nursed him to health. He soon became well and in time regained his strength and returned to his regiment. In action again at Germantown he was injured by a shot which permanently crippled his right arm.

An event which occurred while he was a Captain exemplifies the courage shown by John Steele for his struggling country. While British troops were in Philadelphia, an American regiment was stationed on the Jersey shore just below the city. When it was discovered by intelligence from Philadelphia that the enemy was going to surprise the Jersey regiment, it was feared that they would be destroyed if nothing was done to warn them. Since it was winter, the Delaware River was partially frozen, making it impossible for a boat to cross. Captain John Steele volunteered to swim across the river to warn the troops in New Jersey of the probable attack by the British forces. He wrapped his orders in his neck cloth and tied them to the top of his head, then swam over. He arrived speechless and numbed by the freezing water and the guard had trouble bringing him around. However, the alarm was given in time and the British were thwarted.⁵

In 1780, while a member of Washington's bodyguard, he was put in command of 60 troopers to protect Mrs. Washington in Morristown, New Jersey while the General was away. This was considered an important honor. While serving as bodyguard, he wrote this interesting letter to his brother William:

Dear Will:

I have omitted opportunities of writing, with a daily expectation of seeing you and my brother (ie, friend), Jake, which I now cease to hope for, as we have taken the field several days, in consequence of a sudden and unexpected invasion of the enemy from Staten Island into Jersey, who have as usual committed the most cruel and wanton depredations, by burning and destroying the houses and property of many peaceable and defenseless



Portrait of General John Steele by Jacob Eichholtz owned by the Lancaster County Historical Society.

inhabitants; but the most striking instance of their barbarity, was in taking the life of a most estimable lady, wife of Parson Caldwell, of Springfield, who left nine small children, the youngest eight months old, which sat on its mama's lap a witness to the cruel murder, though insensible of its loss; nor did their barbarity end there, for after several skirmishes (in which it is thought we killed at least 150 and a proportionable number wounded, together with several officers, one of which was General Stirling) they retired to Elizabethtown Point, where they remained, fortifying, and possessed themselves of part of the town; and tis said that two nights ago they made in indiscriminate sacrifice to their brutish appetites, of all the — in the place, as well as those that had been nipped with the frost, as those that had escaped the severity of the winter, a cruel slaughter indeed. Yesterday a Captain from the British army deserted to us, the cause to me unknown; but he is, beyond doubt, a damned rascal, but it all conspires to make glorious the once dreaded (though now ignominious) Arms of Britain. I at present enjoy myself incomparably well in the family of Mrs. Washington, whose guard I have had the honor to command since the absence of the General and the rest of the family, which is now six or seven days. I am happy in the importance of my charge, as well as in the presence of the most amiable woman on earth whose character should I attempt to describe, I could not do justice to, but will only say I think it unexceptionable. The first and second nights after I came, it was expected that a body of the enemy's horse would pay us a visit. But I was well prepared to receive them, for I had not only a good detachment of well disciplined troops under my command, but four members of Congress, who came volunteers, with their muskets, bayonets and ammunition. I assure you they now dispose of a greater share of spirits than you ever saw in that body, or perhaps will ever see as long as they exist. I leave you to judge whether there is not considerable merit due their commander. I only wish I had a company of them to command for a campaign, and it would not see an alternation in the constitution of our army —, I would suffer to lose my ears and never command Congressmen again. The rations they have consumed considerably overbalance all their services done as volunteers, for they have dined with us every day since, almost, and drank as much wine as they could earn in six months.

Make my best love to my dear sister (ie, friend) Betsy, parents, brothers and sisters, as well as to all my good neighbors; but in a most particular manner to somebody I can't write to, for fear of miscarriage.

I am your affectionate brother,
John Steele.

Headquarters, Morristown, N. J. June 14th, 1780⁶

Throughout the war, John followed General Washington through many battles, the most memorable one being on October 19, 1781 when he was field officer of the day at Yorktown when Cornwallis surrendered. General Steele later served in South Carolina.⁷

When the war concluded, John returned home to marry Abigail Bailey also of Lancaster, who was the sister of Francis Bailey, the official printer for the Continental Congress and the State of Pennsylvania.⁸ They had planned to marry before the war, so while John was off fighting for independence, she patiently waited eight years for him and during that span, taught herself the printing trade. John and Abigail were finally married on March 4, 1784.

At the time of his return from the war he was penniless and disabled. Even so, he refused a pension to which he was entitled for his injuries received in the Revolution. The adjustment from military life to civilian life was difficult, especially since he was not trained in any specific business. He and Abigail resided at their farm in East Drumore Township, near Unicorn, Lancaster County, where he took up his favorite pursuit, farming.

With the influence of the Bailey family, John became involved in the publishing business and moved to Philadelphia in 1784. General Steele cast the type (which he and Abigail set) for the first American edition of Dillsworth's Spelling Book and also a copy of the New Testament, of which he published several editions.

*H*e later returned to Lancaster where he built a paper mill and manufactured paper for many years. By 1801, General Steele had retired from the paper mill and was elected to the Pennsylvania House of Representatives. In 1802, he was nominated and elected State Senator by the Jeffersonian Republican party. When the Speaker of the Senate, Robert Whitehall, resigned in March, 1805, General Steele was elected to fill that position. In December he ran on his own for Speaker but was defeated because the Democratic-Republicans were no longer the majority. John Steele decided to run for United States Senator in December, 1806, but was narrowly beaten by Andrew Gregg after four ballots before the joint convention of the House of Representatives and the Senate. As chairman of a legislative commission, he was successful in settling difficulties between those who claimed land in Luzerne County. He was also involved in negotiating a peace treaty with the Indians who had been fighting against the whites of Virginia and western Pennsylvania. On this account, the Indian chief, Logan, directed a speech to General Steele in appreciation for his efforts in ending the conflict.

In 1808, President Jefferson appointed General Steele Collector of the Port of Philadelphia which was a way of reimbursing him for his previous service to the country. This was a newly established position which required a person with a good organizing ability. John had no problem filling this qualification and remained Collector of the Port, becoming quite a prosperous man, until 1826 when he retired due to declining health. While holding this position, his family lived in Philadelphia but spent their summers in Lancaster County where he owned a beautiful summer home near Bird-in-Hand.⁹ Eventually they got tired of moving back and forth so they decided to make this mansion their permanent home. To the best of my knowledge, this house is still in existence today.

General Steele was a man of great stature who firmly believed in and supported his government. At the time of an embargo, while Collector of the Port, his clerks were unpaid so he advanced their salaries to them from his own

money. In 1814 and 1815 he loaned the government the sum of fourteen thousand dollars. The General also invested in stocks, bonds, and mortgages in the United States Bank and in the North American Bank, totaling six thousand four hundred dollars.¹⁰

Upon the conclusion of the Revolutionary War when Washington said farewell to his officers at Newburg, General Steele along with the other officers had formed the Society of the Order of the Cincinnati. It was established to continue their friendships and memories of the war. The membership can only be inherited by the oldest son in each family. This organization is still in active existence today.

Throughout his entire life, General Steele was a devout Christian, as were his ancestors. He was an elder in the Presbyterian Church at Chestnut Level, in Lancaster. While living in Philadelphia, he worshiped at the Third Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia where he was a trustee.

General John Steele died on February 22, 1827, with Abigail dying only two weeks later. They were buried in the churchyard at the Third Presbyterian Church, unlike most of his relatives who were buried at the graveyard at Chestnut Level. A simple memorial was erected in his memory. His death was mourned by many, who respected this remarkable patriot.

Philadelphia's Poulson's advertiser was among the papers that eulogized him:

On Wednesday last, the flag at the custom-house, and those of the shipping, in port, were suspended at half mast as a mark of respect to the memory of General Steele. He was an officer of the Revolutionary army, and served for many years as collector of the port of Philadelphia. In his death we are deprived of a useful citizen, whose character for integrity and benevolence will be long and deservedly remembered.¹¹

A monument was raised by the Lancaster County Historical Society in 1921 in honor of four of Lancaster County's finest Revolutionary War heroes. These men were John Steele, Archibald Steele, Dr. David Ramsey, and Colonel Thomas Porter. The memorial is located along the Robert Fulton Highway at Unicorn. It sits on ground which at one time was part of John Steele's farm land. See next page for the bronze plaque dedicated to him.

The farm house is approximately one-half of a mile from the monument, in East Drumore Township. It still stands today and is currently owned by Paul M. Herr. Through the courtesy of Mrs. Herr, I had the privilege of touring the home once occupied by General Steele. The house was built from stone with a mortared surface, possibly added at a later date. Also, it has a slate roof, wooden spouts, and a long front porch. It is an attractive two story eight room house with four rooms on each floor. This cozy home has many fine features

GENERAL JOHN STEELÉ
 BORN 3 MILES N-1758 OWNER AND
 RESIDENT OF THIS FARM
 VOLUNTEER AT 18.
 CAPTAIN AT 19.
 COLONEL ON WASHINGTON'S STAFF AT 21.
 GENERAL
 WOUNDED AT BRANDYWINE AND GERMANTOWN
 PENNA. LEGISLATURE, HOUSE 1801
 SPEAKER OF SENATE 1806
 COLLECTOR OF PORT PHILADA. 1808-25.
 AS COMMISSIONER TO TREAT WITH WARRING
 TRIBES TO HIM WAS ADDRESSED THE
 FAMOUS SPEECH OF LOGAN THE INDIAN CHIEF
 DIED 1827

including: a large center hall with a front and back door; an open stair way with a landing window; ceilings nearly ten feet high; original random-width pine floors and steps, twenty inch deep windowsills, most with the original frame work and windows; fan windows above the formal door and porch door; unique iron latches and handles which are still in use on the doors; and hand-hewn beams and rafters with wooden pegs connecting them. One of the most interesting characteristics of this historic home is the enclosed spiral staircase which starts in the northwest corner of what is believed to have been the kitchen and leads up to the second floor, then continues on to the attic.

John and Abigail Steele raised a family of seven children during their 43 years of marriage. Their names were John Jr., William A., Robert, Margaret, Harriet, Rachel, and Abby. It is known that John Jr. was a Captain and commanded a regiment during the War of 1812, continuing the family tradition of serving his country. He later held the position of Collector of the Port of Philadelphia, following in the footsteps of his father.

In 1824, John and Abigail had seven pairs of portraits painted by Jacob Eichholtz, a prominent artist of that era. These portraits are oil paintings done on canvas, 30 x 25. One set was given to each of their children. Today, most of these portraits are still accounted for. My family has inherited one of these priceless paintings of the General. It is proudly displayed in our living room as it may have been years ago in my great-great-great-grandmother Rachel's home. It is in the original goldleafed frame and is in excellent condition. The matching portrait of Abigail is owned by my uncle, James M. Haldy of Lancaster.

This Scotch-Irish patriot was a man truly dedicated to the American cause. He displayed love for his country throughout his life whether he was

fighting on a battlefield, voting on an issue in the state legislature, or conversing with a shipping master at the Port of Philadelphia. With the government being susceptible to failure as a newly independent country, General Steele contributed greatly in the success of the nation at this vital time in its infancy. □

Notes

1. *Steele File Folder*. Lancaster County Historical Society.
2. *Ibid*.
3. *Historical Papers and Addresses of the LCHS*. Vol. XXV. By Susan C. Frazer. 1921, p. 20-23.
4. *Steele File Folder*. Lancaster County Historical Society.
5. *Ibid*
6. *Ibid*
7. *Lancaster Sunday News*. December 14, 1975. Article, "Lancaster's Steele Family" By James A. Jolly.
8. *Lancaster New Era*. C. 1976. Article, "Bailey Preeminent As Colonial Printer" by Jim Kinter.
9. *Steele File Folder*. Lancaster County Historical Society.
10. *Receipt Book on Estate of General John Steele*. By John Steele Jr., acting executor. 1827.
11. *Steele File Folder*. Lancaster County Historical Society.

About the Contributor

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Columbia Sublime: The Collaboration of Thomas Moran and Lloyd Mifflin

By Betsy Fahlman

*T*hroughout the course of nineteenth-century American art there may be noted numerous instances in which prominent painters were commissioned to execute illustrations to accompany works of literature such as poetry or novels, and for magazine articles that reached a broader popular audience. Thomas Moran (1837-1926) (Figure 1), whose reputation was based both on the popularity of his sublimely monumental paintings of the western American landscape and on his skill as a graphic artist, was no exception to this and often provided illustrations.¹ One such opportunity came to him in 1895 when he produced nineteen pen and ink and wash illustrations to accompany several volumes of poetry written by a former student and an old friend of his Lloyd Mifflin (1846-1931) (Figure 2). Now owned by Franklin and Marshall College in Lancaster, the drawings came to the College in 1947 through the generosity of Elizabeth Zahm Minich, Loretta Rebekah Minich, and Grace Walton Minich.² The Minichs, three sisters from Mifflin's native Columbia, had been long-standing friends of the Mifflin family. The Moran drawings constitute only part of a rich store of Mifflin material possessed by Franklin and Marshall, which includes

The author, Betsy Fahlman, is a native of Lancaster, currently working with the Department of Art, Old Dominion University, Norfolk, Virginia.

numerous copies of Mifflin's published works, as well as his family papers. Although Mifflin never attended Franklin and Marshall, located not far from his Columbia home, he remained throughout his career a prominent figure in the area and was well-acquainted with the activities and the history of the College. A strong bond was established between Mifflin and Franklin and Marshall when the College honored him with a Doctor of Letters Degree in 1903, the same year during which he wrote the Sesquicentennial Ode celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of Franklin and Marshall College.³

The wonders of the American landscape were thoroughly and enthusiastically explored by American painters throughout the nineteenth century and their productions were well appreciated by the public. Beginning early in the century, our artists concerned themselves with what they saw within the more circumscribed boundaries of the Hudson River, but by the end of the century had expanded their interests to encompass the entire American continent, stretching from the North Pole to South America. For the better part of the century, the American landscape provided artists with seemingly inexhaustible inspiration. The American West, in particular, was a fruitful source of subject matter for our artists. One of the earliest of these artists to rely largely on western subjects for his works was the painter Albert Bierstadt (1830-1902). Many other artists came to share his interest in these natural beauties, including Thomas Moran, who was one of the last important American painters to take his inspiration from the West.

Born in England into a family of artists, Thomas Moran arrived in America with his parents in 1844, eventually settling in Philadelphia.⁴ Here Moran learned the craft of printmaking and studied painting with his elder brother Edward (1839-1901). He continued his studies at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in Philadelphia in 1861, leaving there in 1862 to make what would be the first of several trips to Europe with the purpose of painting and studying the Old Masters. When he visited England, the work of the great English painter, J. M. W. Turner (1775-1850) made a lasting impression on him. Turner's grand style, rich color, atmospheric effects, and broad brushwork affected him deeply. His European travels included a stay in Venice and works resulting from this visit reveal the considerable impact Turner had upon him. Moran later found that what he learned from studying Turner was especially adaptable to the depiction of the awesome western views for which he became famous. Moran eventually became one of the leading American followers of Turner.

Moran first traveled to the West when he was invited in 1871 to accompany the Geological Survey to the Yellowstone region conducted by Ferdinand V. Hayden (1829-1887). Moran made a second western exploration in 1873, this time to the Grand Canyon. Later journeys took him to further western sites. The panoramic canvases resulting from these travels brought him both fame and fortune, for they represented for many Easterners the earliest



Figure 1, Thomas Moran in the 1890s. Collection: The Long Island Collection, East Hampton Free Library, East Hampton, N. Y.

glimpses they had seen of the spectacular scenery of these largely unexplored regions. Part of their success resulted from Moran's close observation of nature. However, he did not copy what he saw slavishly. Rather, he interpreted his views, feeling that to convey the truth of the impression he had gained of the scene to be more important than presenting to the viewer an overwhelming mass of realistic detail. The interest generated not only by Moran's work, but also from paintings and photographs by other artists, eventually caused Congress to create National Parks in many of the areas they had depicted.

Lloyd Mifflin spent his entire life in Columbia, Pennsylvania, where he was born, leaving only for periods of travel and study, and these largely early in his career.⁵ Born into an old Pennsylvania family which traced its ancestry back to an early governor of Pennsylvania, Thomas Mifflin (1744-1800), his father John Houston Mifflin (1807-1888) too was a well-known figure in the area. The elder Mifflin had begun his career as an artist, studying first in Philadelphia at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts with Thomas Sully, John Neagle, and the Peales, and later in Europe where he was a student of the American painter George Peter Alexander Ealey. However, he decided to give up what boded to be a promising career as a portrait painter when his wife became ill. In this era, such a profession would have required a considerable amount of travel and he wished to remain near his wife. His father never lost his interest in the arts and he conveyed his enthusiasm to his son. Not surprisingly, young Mifflin began to draw while still in his teens. His father, who gave him his first art lessons, sparked his son's interest in poetry as well, for he was a poet himself. He had published a volume of verse in 1835 titled *Rhymes of an Artist*, which Lloyd Mifflin reissued in 1900 under the title *Lyrics*.

When Mifflin initially decided to become an artist, his father tried at first to discourage him. At this time it was not the most reliable profession open to a young man embarking on a career. His son, however, was determined to become an artist, and eventually his father relented. To gain further training, Mifflin decided to go to Philadelphia. Here he studied briefly with Isaac Williams, a little-known painter. More significant was the time he spent as a student with Thomas Moran over the course of a year, between 1868 and 1869. Moran exerted the greatest artistic impact on Mifflin's painting style of any single artist. Many of his works clearly show Moran's influence in their choice of landscape as subject matter, the lighting effects used to depict them, and the handling of the paint. Moran conveyed to Mifflin his admiration for the English painter J. M. W. Turner. During the course of their separate travels, both artists had made copies of this master's works.

Mifflin later recalled how much he had gained from Moran, who provided him with both criticism and encouragement:

He says the power will dawn suddenly after a while . . . As to his composition, he thinks I have a good feeling for it . . . Says, I must hide the Artifice more than I do; must use beautiful curves as I do, but must make them out of minor irregularities . . . like a ring in the posts on a wharf.⁶

The last year of Mifflin's studies with Moran coincided with his first public exhibition at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts.

Mifflin now decided to leave Philadelphia and go abroad to continue his studies. Europe was the goal of any serious art student at this time, and during the second half of the nineteenth century numerous American artists regarded foreign travel as essential to their art studies and development. Mifflin spent the years 1872-1873 in Europe and the experiences he had here influenced him greatly. He became a student of the German painter Herman Herzog in Dusseldorf, then an important art center. It attracted many Americans and imparted to its students a solid technical training. In addition to his studies, he traveled throughout other parts of Germany, as well as journeying to England, France, Italy, and Belgium.

The tall mountains of the Alps in particular impressed Mifflin greatly, and Moran, himself known for his visionarily magnificent mountains, urged him to paint more of their sublime grandeur.⁷ As it turned out, Mifflin did not become a great painter of mountains as had Moran, but the deep impression they made upon him is revealed in a sonnet titled "On a Painting," published in 1905 in *Collected Sonnets*. Mifflin's lines could easily have been inspired by the effects he admired in one of Moran's paintings:

You mark at eve, far outward to the sea,
Enormous cliffs that rise and grandly loom,—
Monsters portentous of some direful doom,
Guarding the gateways to immensity.

Low down the scarlet clouds are drifting free
Where dying roses of the sunset bloom;
And voices, as of phantoms from the gloom,
Reverberate the things that are to be.

Darkness is coming from the caves of sleep
To soothe the restless breezes, and to lull
The crimson billows that unceasing roll;
And silence broods upon the purpling deep
Where, like a disembodied, wandering soul,
Wavers the pinion of the lonely gull.⁸

Still later in 1913, Mifflin painted *The Grand Canyon—After Thomas Moran* (Figure 3). In its grand scale and awesome view, it is clear that Moran's influence on Mifflin could scarcely extend further than this. In a sonnet titled "Thomas Moran, N.A.," published in 1909 in *Flower and Thorn*, his only poem specifically inspired by his former teacher and friend, he eulogized his admiration:

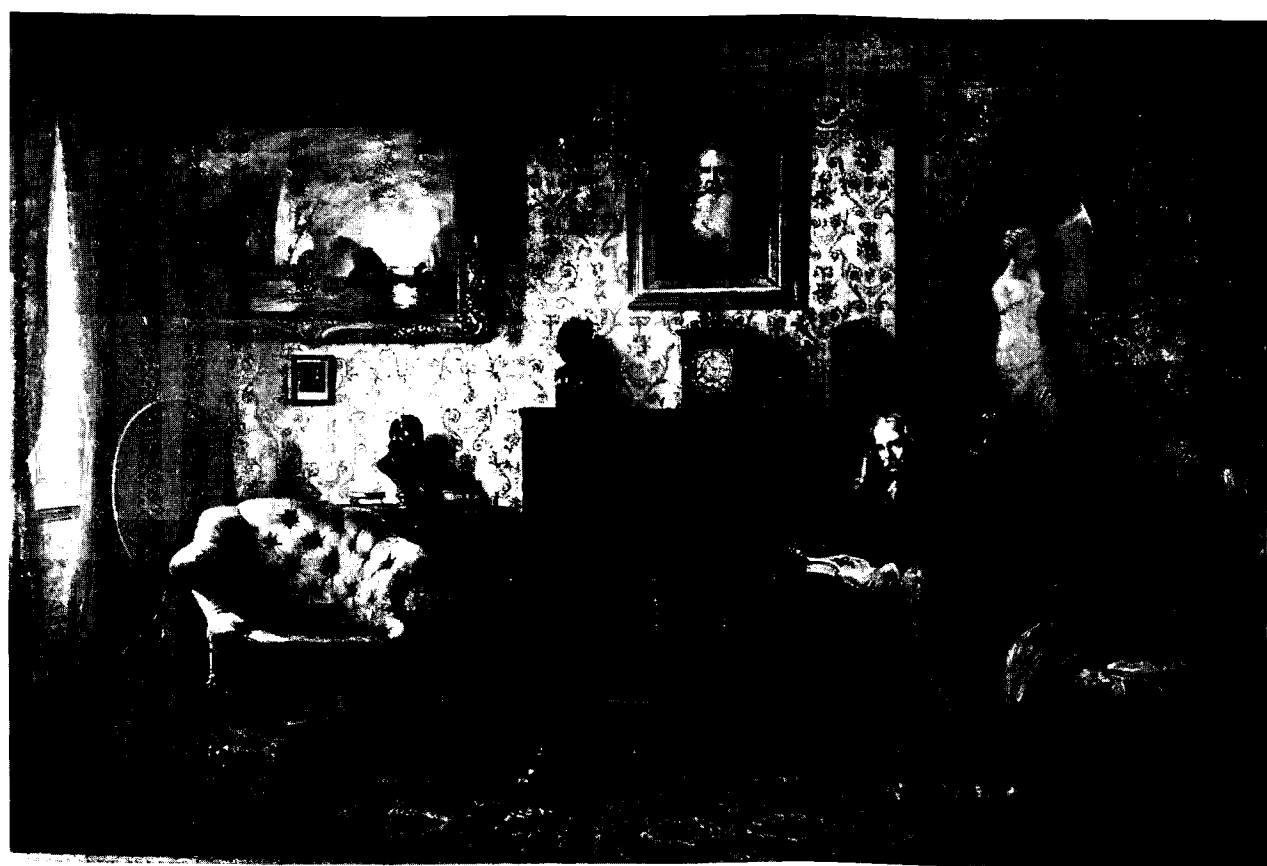
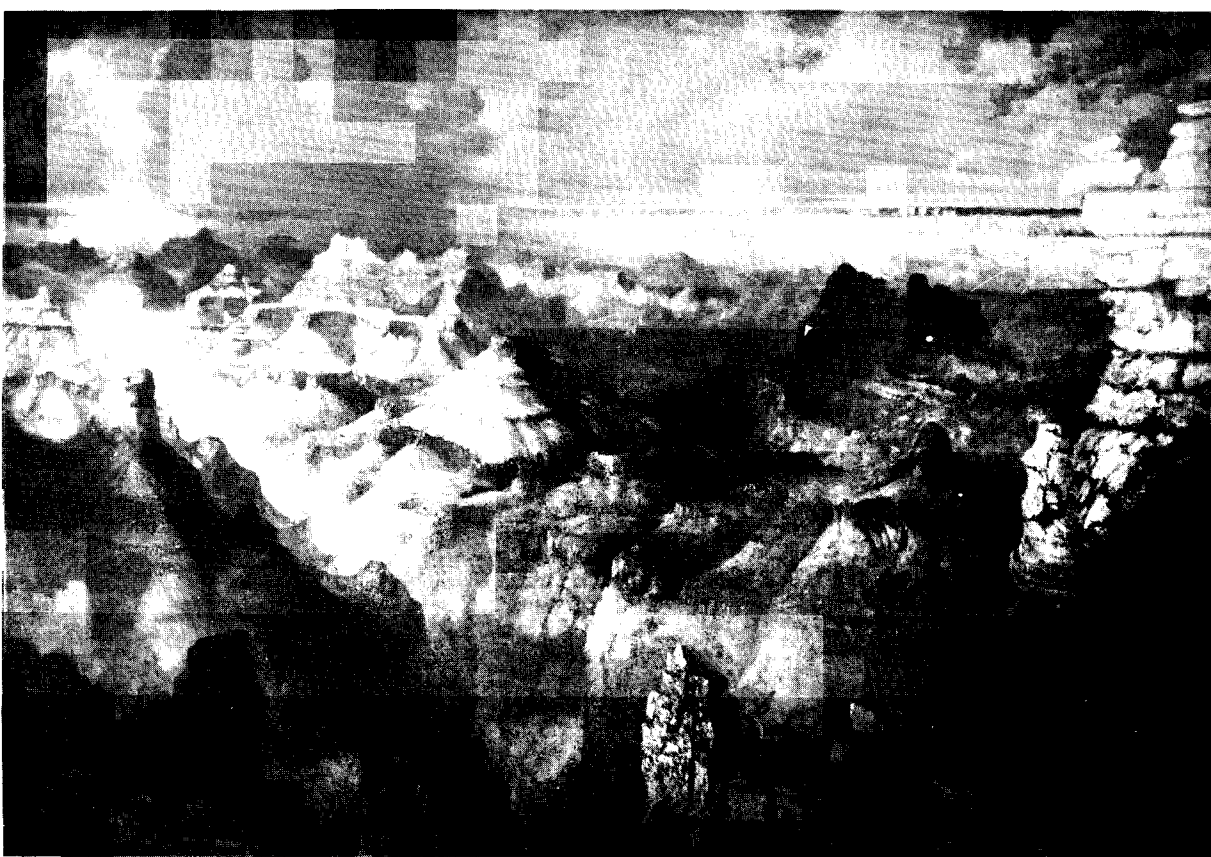


Figure 2, Embers by Franklin L. Kirkpatrick. Oil on canvas, 20" x 30", 1892. Collection: William Penn Memorial Museum, Harrisburg, Pa. This depicts the front room of Lloyd Mifflin's home in Columbia, Pa. Mifflin is seated in the chair by the fireplace, a portrait of his father, John Houston Mifflin, hangs over the mantel, and a painting of Mifflin hangs to the left of the fireplace.



*Figure 3, The Grand Canyon – After Thomas Moran by Lloyd Mifflin, 1913.
Collection: William Penn Memorial Museum, Harrisburg, Pa.*

Lover of grandeur! lo, thy canvas teems
 With crag and cloud where sovereign color glows;
 Canyons abysmal; swift torrential snows;
 And peaks ensanguined by impassioned gleams:
 Then, thwart our sight, the sea-girt City streams
 Sumptuous with golden sail and domes of rose
 Above the sunset wave . . . And still there flows
 Thy pictured pageant of enchanting dreams.
 Ambered in sweet remembrance these shall live
 Than truth more fair, being so finely feigned . . .
 They never die, who, from the spirit, give
 Works of Ideal Beauty to their kind:
 Ethereal loveliness in Art attained
 Is throned, for ever, in the intemporal mind.⁹

Mifflin continued to actively pursue his painting career, as well as produce works in other media such as drawings, etchings, and sculpture, until 1895, the year in which his first volume of poetry, *The Hills*, was published. However, at this time the poor health that had plagued him all his life now forced him to sharply reduce his production in the visual arts in favor of the less strenuous task of writing. He now concentrated his energies on poetry, something he had already been doing.

Figure 4, left, "And Winter Reigns Where Summer Failed" by Thomas Moran, 1895, for Lloyd Mifflin, Slopes of Helicon and Other Poems (1898). Figure 5, right, "But High Upon Some Cloudy Crest" by Thomas Moran, 1895, for Lloyd Mifflin, The Hills (1895). Collection: Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa.



Moran and Mifflin first collaborated in 1895 when Moran provided four pen and ink drawings as illustrations to Mifflin's first book of verse, *The Hills*, a slim volume of sixteen verses. Mifflin's poems, which reveal his devotion to the natural beauties of the landscape bordering the Susquehanna River, were complemented by Moran's sensitive drawings (Figures 4, 5). These drawings were later combined with four others, executed at the same time,¹⁰ to accompany *The Slopes of Helicon and Other Poems*, a collection of eighty-five lyrics that appeared in 1898.¹¹ This volume also included two of Mifflin's drawings as illustrations.¹² Mifflin's style is more delicate than Moran's assured and vigorous touch. One other illustration is inscribed "T. Moran after L. M.,"¹³ but the style is so similar to Moran's other illustrations that the final drawing owes little to Mifflin. Mifflin's earliest efforts at illustration came in 1872 when he provided eight drypoints to accompany *Aldonere, and Two Other Pennsylvania Idylls, Together With Minor Poems* by Howard Worcester Gilbert (1819-1894), which appeared in 1872. Their most ambitious project together came with the publication of *At the Gates of Song*, appearing in 1897. (Figures 6, 7, 8) Moran executed eleven wash drawings on a variety of themes for this. His other illustrations for Mifflin's verse treated largely landscape themes, but here Moran's illustrations are more exotic and complex, encompassing Venetian and Egyptian motifs, in keeping with the themes of the poems, in addition to more characteristic landscape views.

Although Mifflin did not publish any of his poetry until he reached the age of forty-nine in 1895, following this year he continued to regularly bring out volumes.¹⁴

By the time of his death he had achieved the distinction in the minds of some of his admirers as "America's greatest sonneteer," although the proof of this claim must ultimately be made in terms of quantity rather than quality. Throughout his career, Mifflin remained steadfastly devoted to the sonnet form, writing more than six hundred of them. The greater number of these were published in the fourteen books of verse that appeared before his death. In his poems, nature always remained his favorite theme, as it had been in his paintings. In nature, the area near the Susquehanna River not far from Columbia provided his strongest inspiration. That he deeply loved the area in which he lived is always evident. Mifflin's last book titled *As Twilight Falls* appeared in 1916, the same year in which he suffered a stroke. His final years were, unfortunately, ones of illness. In 1921, he died at his beloved home, "Norwood," the Italianate mansion that he had build in Columbia in 1902.¹⁵



Figure 6, "Frontispiece" by Thomas Moran, 1895 for Lloyd Mifflin, At the Gates of Song (1897)
Collection: Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa.

Figure 7, "Across the Midnight of the Hushed Lagoon" by Thomas Moran, 1895 for Lloyd Mifflin, At the Gates of Song (1897)
Collection: Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa.



Figure 8, "A Phantom Ship Across the Sunset Strand" by Thomas Moran, 1895 for Lloyd Mifflin, At the Gates of Song (1897)
Collection: Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa.



For their assistance in my research, I would like to thank Dorothy T. King of the East Hampton Free Library; Nevin Stauffer of Columbia; Catharine Stover, Archivist of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts; Edward Teitelman; and Don Winer of the William Penn Memorial Museum in Harrisburg.

¹ For a listing of these, see Thurman Wilkins, *Thomas Moran, Artist of the Mountains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969): 157.

² Loretta was the supervisor of music in the Columbia schools. Elizabeth was the Principal of the Taylor School in Columbia. In 1934 the Minichs were living at Norwood which they had inherited from Lloyd's brother, Dr. Houston Mifflin. The Moran drawings were the subject of an exhibition held at the Steinman College Center of Franklin and Marshall College, 12-24 February 1978. Moran's preliminary sketches for these drawings are in the collection of the Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art in Tulsa, Oklahoma.

³ The University of Pennsylvania also awarded Millfin an honorary degree in 1908.

⁴ The main published sources of information on Thomas Moran are: Fritiof Fryxell, ed., *Thomas Moran, Explorer in Search of Beauty*, East Hampton, NY, East Hampton Free Library, 1958; Fritiof Fryxell and Amy Bassford, *Home-Thoughts From Afar: Letters of Thomas Moran to Mary Nimmo Moran*, East Hampton, NY, East Hampton Free Library, 1967; Thomas S. Fern, *The Drawings and Watercolors of Thomas Moran (1837-1926)*, exhibition catalogue, Notre Dame, Indiana, University of Notre Dame, 4 April - 30 May 1976; William H. Gerdtts, Louise Nelson and Samuel Sachs II, *Thomas Moran 1837-1926*, exhibition catalogue, Riverside, University of California Picture Gallery, 17 April - 7 June 1963; William H. Gerdtts, "The Painting of Thomas Moran: Sources and Style," *Antiques*, vol. 85, no. 2, February 1964, pp. 202-05; *The Moran Family*, exhibition catalogue, Huntington, NY., Heckscher Museum, 5 June - 25 July 1965; William H. Truettner, "'Scenes of Majesty and Enduring Interest': Thomas Moran Goes West," *Art Bulletin*, vol. 58, no. 2, June 1976, pp. 241-259; Thurman Wilkins, *Thomas Moran, Artist of the Mountains*, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1966.

⁵ The most useful sources concerning Lloyd Mifflin are: *The Crimson and Gold*, Columbia, Pennsylvania, High School, vol. 4, no. 4, May 1928, Lloyd Mifflin Number; John C. French, "Lloyd Mifflin," *Dictionary of American Biography*, NY, Scribner's, 1933, vol. 12, pp. 605-06, E. Hershey Sneath, *America's Greatest Sonneteer*, Columbia, PA, Clover Press, 1928; and Paul A. W. Wallace, *Lloyd Mifflin: Painter and Poet of the Susquehanna*, Harrisburg, PA, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1965.

⁶ From a paper by Mifflin, "A Talk With Thomas Moran (Under Whom I Studied Art)," quoted in Wallace, *Lloyd Mifflin*. Wallace did not identify where the original of this was located and I have been unable to locate it. The largest collection of paintings by Mifflin is to be found at the William Penn Memorial Museum in Harrisburg.

⁷ Wallace, *Lloyd Mifflin*, quoting from a fragment of a letter, probably from Moran.

⁸ Lloyd Mifflin, "On a Painting," *Collected Sonnets* (London: Henry Frowde, 1905): 281.

⁹ Lloyd Mifflin, *Flower and Thorn, Later Poems* (New York: Henry Frowde, 1909): 23.

¹⁰ All the Moran drawings were executed in 1895, proven by the signatures on the originals. When some were published, the signatures and dates were eliminated.

¹¹ Eight drawings used as illustrations to *The Hills and The Slopes of Helicon and Other Poems* were shown at the 65th Annual Exhibition of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1895-96. Some of the drawings still bear the original tags from this exhibition. They were 558. When Sumptuous Autumn Strews the Sod; 559. Field of Frozen Sleet; 560. November, Dull and Sere; 561. A Thousand Sheaves of Golden Grain; 562. High Upon Some Cloudy Crest; 563. And Rest Them on My Paradise; 564. Spring Comes

Back in All Her Green; and 565. Though in the Laurel Underbrush.

¹² These are "Where Cyparissus Shot the Stag," p. 9; and "Oh Not by Arethuran Fountains Fair," p. 26.

¹³ This is "And Gracious Girlhood Blossomed and Blossomed There," p. 83.

¹⁴ These include *The Hills* (1895), *At the Gates of Song* (1897), *The Slopes of Helicon* (1898), *Echoes of Greek Idylls* (1899), *The Fields of Dawn* (1900), *Castalian Days* (1903), *The Fleeing Nymph* (1905), *Collected Sonnets* (1905), *My Lady of Dream* (1906), *Toward the Uplands* (1908), *Flower and Thorn* (1909), and *As Twilight Falls* (1916).

¹⁵ Norwood is still standing. It replaced his father's earlier house. □

Indian Remains Reburied With Reverence

By Dr. W. Fred Kinsey and Others

During the digging of a trench for a new water pipeline in Lancaster County Central Park in May, 1979, workmen uncovered the bones of what appeared to be human beings. Work stopped immediately while professional counsel was sought. The police, district attorney's office, pathologists, archaeologists from North Museum, and the nation's "Dr. Quincy," our own renowned forensic anthropologist, Dr. Wilton M. Krogman, director of research at the Lancaster Cleft Palate Clinic, were involved. Archaeological research was begun under the direction of Dr. W. Fred Kinsey III, director of the North Museum, and his associate, Dr. Jay Custer. After five weeks of digging, the archaeologists found no less than eleven Indian graves along with painted glass beads, a clay pipe, small bottles containing shell beads, steel buttons and several pipestone beads, the latter believed to have come from a Minnesota tribe. One of the skeletal remains was that of a small child whose fingers were clutched around the glass handle of a jar (missing).

Following the archaeological "dig" the material was examined carefully. As to the identity of the Indians Dr. Custer concluded they were not Conestogas inasmuch as that group did not arrive in Lancaster County until the mid-1700s. One of the graves held three bodies which had been defleshed when buried, a custom practiced by Nanticokes or the Powhatan tribes. Dr. Krogman and Dr. John W. Staubach, who is a York dentist, investigated the bones.

After analysis was completed the question of what to do with the bones arose. In Lancaster County, where reverence for life and those who have lived is

viewed with greater sensitivity by many persons including those in the professions and county government, the answer was not long in coming. The remains would be transported back to the park not far from their original burial place, and there be returned to the earth reverently.

Edward L. Schwar, Jr., executive director of the county park, suggested the reburial be performed with all the care and decency one would expect at the burial of a newly-deceased person, and that precautions be taken to prevent vandalism. Accordingly, this was done under Mr. Schwar's supervision. After the task had been completed, the bones buried beyond the reach of vandals, and the immediate area returned to its natural beauty, the County Commissioners and the Lancaster County Park Board announced a "Dedication of the Indian Memorial Site" would take place on Sunday, 16 November 1980, at 2:00 p.m.

Dr. Kinsey presented a brief paper on the Indians, which we are pleased to publish herewith:

Park Site Dedication

Today's program is really a rededication since the initial burial and associated ceremonies of these twelve Native American Indians were conducted some 250 years ago. However, with the passage of time the graves were forgotten and unrecognized. In fact they were never "marked" by the Indians.

In May 1979 these Indian burials were accidentally rediscovered, and this event led to a limited archaeological investigation of this small plot. It was soon determined that a burial site dating from 1700 to 1720 had been unearthed. Twelve individuals were interred in ten graves, one of which was a multiple burial containing three individuals. The twelve Indians included:

- 3 – adult females
- 2 – adult males
- 1 – adolescent
- 3 – children
- 1 – infant
- 2 – were too fragmentary to make a determination

Who were these Indians? Archaeologists normally answer this question by studying the artifacts buried with the dead, the physical remains of the people, their house types and the burial customs.

For one reason or another this information is wanting at the Park site. The artifacts are too generalized and not sufficiently diagnostic to reveal who once possessed and used them. The skeletal sample is too fragmentary for making this determination and no house outlines were found. Finally the mode of the Park

site burials does not conform to 17th century Susquehannock Indian practices. Neither do these burial practices correspond to the customs of other contemporary refugee Indian groups living in Lancaster County during the first half of the 18th century.

The historical record can be an important source of information. Two early 18th century letters refer to events relative to the land we now identify as the Park site. In one letter (1714) there is a reference to Christopher Schlegel, a miller, complaining about a white squatter living on his property who might provoke trouble with the nearby Indians. In a second letter dated 1716, a settler, Anthony Pretter, expressed an interest in acquiring this land if the Indians who lived thereabouts would be gone by spring as promised. Still another and potentially important reference occurs in the form of a 1720-2 map by the surveyor Issac Taylor. The words "Indian Town" appear in Taylor's hand writing at a bend in the Conestoga. This is the area called Sunnyside which is only one mile from our present location. This may be the village for the Indians who are buried here.

In the eyes of these white observers all Indians were the same regardless of their heritage and cultural affiliation.

However, we do know that from the last quarter of the 17th century through the first half of the 18th century Lancaster County was a haven or

The bronze plaque, attached to a large native boulder, in Lancaster County Central Park, is located along Golf Road near the Fitness Trail southeast of Rockford Plantation, and on a hill between Conestoga River and Mill Creek.



sanctuary for many diverse Indian groups; especially southern Algonquians from the Middle Atlantic and tidewater regions. Residing in the county were such diverse Indian groups as Delaware, Conoy, Nanticoke, Shawnee, Seneca, Cayuga, and Conestoga-Susquehannock. Our best guess is that a mixed cultural tradition is represented by the Park site Indians and that they were acculturated Conestoga-Susquehannocks. European and other Indian customs had been assimilated into their cultural practices.

No Conestoga-Susquehannock Indian is with us today; they have long since departed. We have their symbols present in the form of a blanket, clay pots, smoking pipes, a European trade kettle, a steel axe, glass beads as well as some of their crops in the form of corn and squash and wild forest products such as hickory nuts, walnuts and persimmons.

Two constituencies are being served by this rededication. The needs of history and archaeology are met by the scientific research related to the Park site investigation and the paper which has been prepared and submitted for publication.

The other constituency is the Indian and his care and concern for the dead. This memorial plaque and our presence acknowledges our respect for Indian contribution to our heritage.

Clayton Shenk, senior member of the Park Board then unveiled the plaque.

W. Fred Kinsey
Director, North Museum
Franklin and Marshall College
Lancaster, PA

Additional Indian Practices

In 1797-1798 Robert Proud published *The History of Pennsylvania in North America, 1681-1742*, with additional material for the years 1760 to 1770.

Proud was interested in the friendly relationship William Penn cultivated with the Indians in Pennsylvania. He described in great detail the customs of the Indians including their religious practices. Excerpts are given:

That formality, which, in the European style or acceptation of the term, constitutes what is commonly called religion, seems to have made but little appearance among them, though probably they had some customs no less irrational and ridiculous, in the eye of reason; but they were acquainted with the principle of justice and truth; which, by their conduct, they demonstrated, in a high degree, so far as the most judicious among the first and early



A DEDICATION

THIS HIGH POINT OF LAND OVERLOOKING THE CONESTOGA RIVER AND MILL CREEK WAS USED BY CERTAIN AMERICAN INDIANS AS A CEMETERY DURING THE FIRST QUARTER OF THE 18TH CENTURY. THE ACCIDENTAL DISCOVERY OF THIS IMPORTANT ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SITE WAS MADE IN MAY 1979 BY COUNTY PARK CONSTRUCTION WORKERS WHILE LAYING A WATER LINE. ARCHAEOLOGISTS WERE CALLED IN AND THEIR CAREFUL EXCAVATION REVEALED THAT AT LEAST TWELVE INDIAN MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN WERE BURIED HERE.

PRESENT STUDIES HAVE FAILED TO POSITIVELY IDENTIFY EXACTLY WHO THESE INDIANS WERE, BUT CONESTOGA-SUSQUEHANNOCK IS THE MOST LIKELY POSSIBILITY. HOWEVER, DURING THE EARLY 1700S MANY DIFFERENT INDIAN GROUPS INCLUDING DELAWARE, NANTICOKE, SHAWNEE, CATAWBA, AND OTHERS WERE PRESENT IN LANCASTER COUNTY.

UPON COMPLETION OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDY, THE REMAINS OF THESE INDIANS WERE RETURNED TO THEIR ORIGINAL RESTING PLACES.

ERECTED BY THE LANCASTER COUNTY PARK BOARD

Bronze plaque erected by the Lancaster County Park Board to mark the burial site of the re-interred Indian remains.

English settlers observed, and inform us.

And it were to be wished that what notions they had of a Deity, and their actions relative to their duty to him, had not, in part, been misrepresented by any; who, by attempting to give an account of what they did not, or could not, fully understand, have supplied that deficiency with conjectures, perhaps without design of misrepresentation, and thereby, in some things, disguised, or obscured, what was really known respecting some of them, in this case.

They are thought (says William Penn) to have believed in a God and immortality; and seemed to aim at a public worship; in performing this, they sometimes sat in several circles, one within another; the action consisted of singing, jumping, shouting, and dancing; which they are said to have used, mostly as a tradition from their ancestors, rather than from any knowledge, or enquiry of their own into the serious parts of its origin.

They said the great King, who made them, dwelt in a glorious country to the southward; and that the spirits of the best should go thither, and live again

But in late years it is less to be admired that the Indians in these provinces and their vicinity, have shown so little regard to the Christian religion, but rather treated it, as well as its professors, with contempt and abhorrence, when it is duly considered what kind of Christians those generally are, with whom they mostly deal and converse; as the Indian traders, and most of the inhabitants of the back counties of this province, who have chiefly represented the professors of Christianity among them, for many years, *viz.* such of the lowest rank, and least informed, of mankind, who have flowed in from Germany, Ireland, and the jails of Great Britain, and settled next to them, as well as those, who flee from justice in the settled. . . parts of the country. . . *

Proud then included the speech of an Indian chief, supposedly made in the Conestoga Valley, in reply to a Lutheran missionary who was so impressed with it that he had the speech published in Latin in Europe. The speech also is reprinted in I. Daniel Rupp's *History of Lancaster County* (1844), pp. 59 to 64.

If any reliance can be placed on the following tradition, for it should be considered such, the Swedes also, as well as others, felt interested in the spiritual welfare of the Indians of Lancaster county, and sent missionaries among them to instruct them in the doctrines of the christian religion. One of their missionaries, who resided a few years at Conestogo, either at the time of Governor Gookin's first visit to the Indians at Conestogo, or when Colonel French and Henry Worley, went on a message in 1710, was present, and preached a sermon to the Indians at Conestogo, in which sermon he set forth original sin, the necessity of a mediator, and endeavored, by certain arguments, to induce the Indians to embrace the christian religion. After he had ended his discourse, one of the Indian chiefs made a speech in reply to the sermon; the discourse on both sides was made known by interpreters. The missionary, upon his return to Sweden, published his sermon and the Indian's answer; having written them in Latin, he dedicated them to the University of Upsal, and desired them to furnish him with arguments to confute such strong reasoning of the Indian. The Indian's speech, translated from the Latin, is as follows:

"Since the subject of his errand is to persuade us to embrace a new doctrine, perhaps it may not be amiss, before we offer him the reasons why we cannot comply with his request, to acquaint him with the grounds and principles of that religion he would have us abandon. Our forefathers were under a strong persuasion (as we are) that those who act well in this life, will be rewarded in the next, according to the degree of their virtues. And on the other hand, that those that behave wickedly here will undergo such punishments hereafter as were proportionate to the crimes they were guilty of. This has been constantly and invariably received and acknowledged for a truth through every successive generation of our ancestors: it could not then have taken its rise from fable; for human fiction, however artfully and plausibly contrived, can never gain credit long among people where free enquiry is allowed, which never was denied by our ancestors: who, on the contrary, thought it the sacred inviolable natural right of every man, to examine and judge for himself.

*Robert Proud, *The History of Pennsylvania in North America*, (1797: Philadelphia) pp. 309-312. The entire work has been reprinted by photo-offset from the original pages by the Reprint Company, Spartanburg, South Carolina, 1967. (LC:66-25101)

Therefore, we think it evident that our notions of future rewards and punishments were either revealed from Heaven immediately to some of our forefathers, and from them descended to us, or that it was implanted in each of us at our creation by the Creator of all things, Whatever the method might have been, whereby God has been pleased to make known to us his will and give us a knowledge of our duty, it is in our sense a divine revelation. Now we desire to propose to him some questions. Does he believe that our forefathers, men, eminent for their piety, constant and warm in their pursuit of virtue; hoping thereby to merit eternal happiness, were all damned. Does he think, that we, who are zealous imitators in good works, and influenced by the same motives, as we are, earnestly endeavoring with the greater circumspection to tread the path of integrity, are in a state of damnation? If that by his sentiments, it is surely as impious as it is bold and daring. In the next place we beg that he would explain himself more, particularly concerning the revelation, if he admits of no other, than what is contained in his written book, the contrary is evident from what has been shown before. But if he says, God has revealed himself to us, but not sufficiently for our salvation, then we ask, to what purpose should he have revealed himself to us in any wise. It is clear, that a revelation insufficient to save, cannot put us in a better condition than we be without revelation at all. We cannot conceive that God should point out to us the end we ought to arrive at, without opening to us the way to arrive at that end. But supposing our understanding to be so far illuminated as to know it to be our duty to please God, who yet has left us under an incapacity of doing it; will this missionary therefore conclude we shall be eternally damned? Will he take upon him to pronounce damnation against us for not doing those things which he himself acknowledgeth were impossible by us to be done. It is our opinion, that every man is possessed with sufficient knowledge for his own salvation. The Almighty, for any thing we know, may have communicated himself to different races of people in a different manner. Some say, they have the will of God in writings; be it so, their revelation has no advantage above ours, since both must be equally sufficient to save, or the end of revelation would be frustrated; besides, if they both be true, they must be the same in substance, and the difference can only lay in the mode of communication. He tells us there are many precepts in this written revelation, which we are entirely ignorant of; but those written commands could only be assigned for those who have the writings, they cannot possibly regard us. Had the Almighty thought so much knowledge necessary for our salvation, his goodness would not so long defer the communication of it to us. And to say in a matter so necessary he could not at one and the same time reveal himself to all mankind, is nothing else than an absolute denial of his omnipotence. Without doubt he can make his will manifest without the help of any book, or the assistance of any bookish man whatever. We shall, in the next place, consider the arguments which arise from the consideration of Providence.

If we be the work of God, (which we presume will not be denied) it follows from thence, that we are under the care and protection of God; for it cannot be supposed that the Deity should abandon his own creatures, and be utterly regardless of their welfare. Then to say that the Almighty has permitted us to remain in a fatal error through so many ages, is to represent him as a tyrant.

How is it consistent with his justice to force life upon a race of mortals without their consent, and then to damn them eternally without ever opening to them a door to salvation? Our conceptions of the gracious God are much more noble, and we think that those who teach otherwise, do little less than blaspheme. Again it is through the care and goodness of the Almighty, that from the beginning of time through so many generations to this day, our name has been preserved unblotted out by our enemies, and un-reduced to nothing. By the same care we now enjoy our lives, and are furnished with the necessary

means of preserving these lives. But all these things, compared with our salvation, are trifling. Therefore, since God has been so careful to us in matters of little consequence, it would be absurd to affirm that he has neglected us in cases of the greatest importance; admit he has forsaken us, yet it could not be without a just cause.

Let us suppose that some heinous crimes were committed by some of our ancestors, like to that we are told of another race of people, in such a case, God would certainly punish the criminal, but would never involve us that are innocent in the guilt; those who think otherwise must make the Almighty a very whimsical evil-natured being.

Once more: are the christians more virtuous? or rather, are they not more vicious than we are? if so, how came it to pass that they are the objects of God's beneficence, while we are neglected? does he daily confer his favors without reason, and with so much partiality?

In a word: we find the christians much more depraved in their morals than we are—and we judge from their doctrine by the badness of their lives.

Shortly after Governor Gookin's visit to the Indians, he sent two messengers, Col. John French and Henry Worley, to them. After a friendly interview, they returned to Philadelphia, and laid before the board of council, in session, June 16, 1710, their report.

“At Conestogo, June 8, 1710.

