The Conduct of the Paxton-Men, impartially represented;
The Distresses of the Frontiers, and the Complaints and Sufferings of the People fully stated; and the Methods recommended by the wisest Nations, in such Cases, seriously consider'd.

With Some Remarks upon the Narrative, Of the Indian-Massacre, lately publish'd.

Interpers'd with several interesting Anecdotes, relating to the Military Genius, and Warlike Principles of the People call'd Quakers: Together-with proper Reflection and Advice upon the whole.

In a Letter from a Gentleman in one of the Back-Counties, to a Friend in Philadelphia.

Si tibi vera videtur,
Dede Manus; et, si falla est, accingere contra.

LUCRET.

The impious Man who sells his Country's Freedom,
Makes all the Guilt of Tyranny his own.

His are her Slaughter's, her Oppressions His.

MARTYN'S TIMOLEON.

Whoever will pretend to govern a People without regarding them, will soon repent it.----Such Feats of Errantry may do perhaps in Asia:---But in Countries where the People are free, it is Madness to rule them against their Wills.---They will know that Government is appointed for their Sakes, and will be saucy enough to expect some Regards and some Good from their own Delegates.---Those Nations who are govern'd in Spite of themselves, and in a Manner that bids Defiance to their Opinions, their Interests; and their Understandings,---are either SLAVES, or will soon cease to be SUBJECTS.

CATO's LETTERS.

Philadelphia:
Printed by A Steuart, and sold by JOHN CREAIG; Shop-keeper in Lancaster. 1764.
A LETTER from a GENTLEMAN in one of the Frontier-Counties, to his Friend in Philadelphia, relating to the Paxton-Men.

DEAR SIR,

THE PAXTON RIOT (as it is called) makes so great a Noise, and is so much the general Topick, that a Man must be but little in Conversation, without having his Opinion ask'd concerning this Affair.—In Truth, Matters are now come to such a Pass, that some People are of Opinion, that an Endeavour to make them worse may probably be the Way to make them better. Refentment rages high, and gathers thick from every Quarter; and where it will hop, I must leave to those that have more Light within them, than I can boast of, to determine.

For my Part, I am no Adept in Politicks, and have but seldom troubled my Head about that Science, beyond the reading of a common News-Paper.—It has long been my unhappy Lot to be a Spectator of the Distresses and Sufferings of my Fellow Subjects; my Heart has often bled for them;—and I should still have continued a secret Mourner for what I had not Power to redress, had not the unaccountable Conduct of your City Quakers provoked me to speak my Sentiments, and unburthen myself to my Friend.—By my Principles as well as Situation in Life, you know, my dear Sir, that I have no political Ends to serve; that I have nothing to hope or fear from Party Connexions; and that I can have no other View in troubling you with this Letter than to rescue the miserable Frontier People, who lately rose in Arms, from the Infamy and Odium thrown upon them, by those whose unfeeling Hearts have never suffered them to look beyond their own private Interest and Party.(a)

The

(a) The Author of this Letter, hopes he will not be understood as approving of those People's having taken up Arms. Such violent Steps can never possibly be productive of any thing, but wild Up-roar and Confusion. Whatever therefore can have a Tendency to promote this; or that offers the least Injult to the Laws and Government of his Country, he will ever think it his Duty to bear his Testimony against, and to discountenance by every Means in his Power.
The insurgents themselves hand about a kind of Manife
 threatened, which contains the following declaration, grievances, complaints, &c. — viz.

That a trifling dispute, between a few English and French traders upon the Ohio, was neglected; the proprietary's offer of £400, for erecting a small fortification there, together with £100 yearly, towards the support of it, were contemnuously rejected, (b) till it kindled the flames of war, which at last spread and raged over half the globe. — That from the neglect of the legislative part of this province, and the horrid doctrines of non-resistance at that time so strenuously maintain'd, such calamities ensued, that near one hundred miles of as thriving a settlement as any in Pennsylvania has been reduced to desolation; many of the inhabitants murdered or carried into captivity, and the rest often drove from their habitations in the utmost distress and want. — And besides these particular effects of this war, some of the best blood in Christendom has been spilt in it — whole kingdoms have been almost depopulated; and misery and ruin entail'd upon millions of their fellow creatures.

That even in the midst of this desolation and carnage, every publick measure was clogg'd — the king's demands for men and money procrastinated — unnecessary, or at least ill-timed disputes, about proprietary instructions and taxes, were brought upon the carpet, in order to divert the reproach and dishonour which the province, thro' quaker measures, had incur'd, and throw the whole blame of the war at the proprietary doors. (c) And that this villainous scheme might carry with it a better face, the late infamous tedyuscung was treated with, and employed to charge the proprietaries with having defrauded the Indians of some lands, and to declare that this was the occasion of all their uneasiness and enmity to the English. — But infamous as tedyuscung was, he own'd at last that his complaints were unjust; publicly renounced his claim, and declared in open treaty.

(b) See governor Morris's message of November 22, 1755.
(c) See the speeches and messages between the governor and assembly, from the year 1753, to the year 1760.
Treaty that he was urged to act this base Part, and that he was only the Mouth of some Persons in Philadelphia; whom he did not chuse to name." (d)

That they have always manifested, and are still upon every Occasion ready to manifest their Allegiance and Loyalty to their most gracious Sovereign King George, whom they have ever esteemed as the kind and careful Father of his People.

That tho' born to Liberty, and all the glorious Rights and Privileges of BRITISH SUBJECTS, they were denied Protection, at a Time when the Cries of Murder and Distress might have made the very Stones re lent; and tho' routed to Vengeance and eager to maintain and defend their Lives and sacred Rights, their Hands were basely tied up!

They could obtain no proper Law to collect their Strength; nor any Sanction or Encouragement to pursue the Enemies of their Country!

That they have suffered and bled in the Cause of their Country, and have done more to protect it from the Violence of a rapacious Enemy than any others in the Province.

That agreeable to the Command of the Prophet, they have "sought for their Brethren, their Sons, and their Daughters, their Wives and their Houses."—That in this Contest, many of them have lost their dearest Relatives; their Houses, their Lands, their all; and from a plentiful independent People have been reduced to Misery and Want.

That they have been treated as Aliens of the Commonwealth, and denied a just and proportionable Share in Legislation:
For that out of 36 Members which the eight Counties in the Province send to Assembly, the three Counties of Philadelphia, Chester and Bucks, where the Quakers are chiefly settled, return 26 of that Number; while the 5 remaining Counties, where these LORDLY RULERS could have no Chance of getting elected, are suffered to send but the other Ten.

That by this iniquitous Policy, the Inhabitants of these free Frontier-Counties, altho' a great Majority, have been rendered

(d) This he declared at the last Treaty at Lancaster.
rendered unable to act in Defence of their Lives and Properties; and therefore have lain for above eight Years at the Mercy of a cruel Savage Enemy and an unrelenting Quaker.Faction: Whereas had they been justly represented in Legislation, instead of presenting pacifick Addresses to the Assembly, telling them that "the raising large Sums of Money, and putting them into Hands of Committees, who might apply them to Purposes inconsistent with their peaceable Testimony, was in its Consequences destructive of religious Liberty". (e) Instead of doing this, I say,—the first great Law of Nature, that of Self-Defence, would have been administred to the People upon the first Alarm of Danger, and the Hands of the Hardy and the Brave would have been set at Liberty, till they had taken ample Vengeance of their Murderers.

That they have often, in the most suppliant Manner, laid their Grievances before the Assembly; and instead of being redress'd, have been abused, insulted, and even by some Members of that venerable House, deem'd as unworthy of Protection, as "A Pack of insignificant Scotch-Irish, who, if they were all killed, could well enough be spared." (f)

That whilst they were thus abused, and thus stript of their Birth-Rights,—Israel and Joseph, two petty Fellows, who ought to have no higher Claims than themselves, were permitted to lord it over the Land; and in Contempt of the Government, and the express Orders of the Crown, forbidding them to hold private Treaties with the Indians, exchange Belts of Wampum with them—make them Presents—all this they have done, and in their own Name, without so much as including the simple Menonists, from whom they had extorted large Sums of Money to Support this Expence. Nay, even with the most matchless Impudence, insinuated to the Indians that they were Rulers and Governors; as plainly appear'd at the late Treaty at Lancaster.

See the Quaker-Address to the Assembly, November 6, 1755.

This unhchristian and ungenerous Speech was made by N———, a Quaker, Member of Assembly for Chester County, and some others.
Caster, where the Principal Chief and Speaker told Mr. H——N, then Governor, "That as he understood there were two Governors in the Province, he would be glad to know which of them he was to treat with." *(g)*

That the Indians were induced to look upon Israel as the first Man, or Chief Sachem of the Province, from seeing the Haughtiness and Contempt with which he treated his Fellow Subjects, and his insolent and arrogant Behaviour to Sir W——M J——N at Easton; and to Governor H——N, at Lancaster: And that this, among other Things, has been productive of manifold Evils, by weakening our Credit with Indians, frustrating the good Intention of holding Treaties with them, and encouraging them, after they return'd from us loaded with Money, Cloaths, Arms and Ammunition, to look with Contempt upon us as a pusillanimous Pack of old Women, divided among ourselves, without Spirit or Resolution to call them to an Account, let them commit what Outrages they pleased upon us.—

That they have been made Tributaries to support the immense Expence of Indian Treaties; to which they cheerfully submitted, in Hopes that their dear Relations and Fellow Subjects, who have been long detained in barbarous Captivity, would have been restored; But that instead of insisting upon the Promises and Engagements made by the Indians to this End, an extensive and valuable Trade was opened with these faithless and

*(g)* That you may be convince'd that such was the Opinion of the Indians, I must observe to you, that one Patrick Agnew, of the Borough of Lancaster, White-Smith, having been duly sworn upon the Holy Evangelists, before the Chief Burgess of that Town, hath depos'd and said, That he, the said Deponent, being a Constable at the last Indian Treaty at Lancaster, was commanded by the Governor, to proclaim, that no Person should sell or give any Kind of Spirituous Liquors to the Indians, on any Pretence whatever; that he proclaim'd this Order thro' the Town accordingly; and that upon his making Proclamation, and saying, by Order of the Governor, an Indian named Te-

**D**yung, cry'd out "Do your G——r, D——n your G——r;" P——t—n is my Governor, P—t—n is our Governor, he allows Rum enough;" and offer'd Violence to this Deponent; who also, upon his Oath, declares that, notwithstanding the Proclamation, the Indians were privately entertain'd at a certain Tavern in the Town.
and perfidious Villains; and their poor unhappy Friends, left to spend perhaps the Remainder of their days, in all the Sorrow and Miseries of Heathenism and Barbarity, and to bow their Necks to the cruel Slavery of Savages.

That at a Time when their ungenerous and merciless Enemies, had again, without the least provocation, invaded the Province, with the very Arms and Ammunition which they received at the late Treaties; and when the Frontiers were yet reeking with the Blood of their Slaughter'd Inhabitants; and the murdered Ghosts of their Friends and Relatives cry'd aloud for Vengeance, a Number of Indians (many of which were concerned in this horrid Butchery) were escorted to the Metropolis, and there protected, cherished, and maintained in Luxury and Idleness, whilst they, the poor Sufferers, were abandoned to Misery, and left to starve, or beg their Bread.

That upon seeing themselves thus abused and thus neglected, and considering that the Influence of a Quaker Faction was the Source from whence all these Evils flow'd; and that pretended Scruples against War and Fighting were the Root from whence all their Calamities and heavy Sufferings sprang, and if yet permitted, might produce worse and more heavy, they were determined to bear no longer.

That Pennsylvania appear'd to them to be really in a dangerous Cachexy; and that at such a Crisis they look'd upon it as their Duty to administer such Remedies (however severe they might be look'd upon by some) as might raise her drooping Head, and restore her to Health and Vigour.—And should their first Trial fail of Success, that in that Case they are determined to double the Potion, (b) which they hope will entirely purge off the peccant Humours, restore the Solids, and secure her hereafter from the Infection of Quaker Non-Resistance.

Such is the Declaration, and such the Complaints of these People. ——And indeed nine Tenths, of the Inhabitants of

(b) By this Expression, I am told, these People mean, that they will renew their Application and Addresses, with double the Number of Signers; and it is said, they are likely to get Ten to One, that they had before, to remonstrate with them.
of the Back-Counties either tacitly, or openly, approve and support them—Every cool and well thinking Man, as well as Men among themselves, are sensibly concern’d that they were reduced to the Necessity of having Recourse to such Methods as might be deem’d an Insult to the Government and Laws of their King and Country.

The Names of Rioters, Rebels, Murderers, White Savages, &c. (i) have been liberally and indiscriminately bestowed upon them: But all this they look up on only as the Effects of disappointed Malice; and the Resentment of a destructive Faction, who see their darling Power in Danger.——The Merciful and the Good however, they trust, will rather pity than condemn them.—And they are pleased with the Thoughts that they have been able at last to lay bare the Pharasaical Bosom of Quakerism, by obliging the Non-Resisting Quality to take up Arms, and to become Professors to the first great Law of Nature.

But this Triumph of theirs is founded upon a false Supposition, that Quakers never us’d Arms before.——Whereas, it can be prov’d that these People have taken up Arms, and fought well too, upon many other Occasions.——Whoever will take the Trouble to read the printed Trials of G. Keith, will find, that when a Quaker-Sloop, belonging to this Province, was formerly taken by some Pirates, and finding it impossible to save both the Sloop, and their so much-cried-up Principle, against outward Force, they at last, resolved to give up the Principle, rather than the Sloop! and so opposed Force to Force—retook their Vessel, and made some of the Pirates Prisoners!

It is plain that the first Quakers were never against Force of Arms, if they thought the Quarrel just.

If you will believe their own Writers, they fought well in the Reign of Oliver Cromwell.—G. Fox, in the Fifth Page of his Letter directed "To the Council of Officers of the Army, &c." complains, That many Quakers were disband’d out of the Army, for no other Fault than their being Quakers, though they were good Fighters and good Soldiers.

(i) See the Narrative, and a Letter from Squirrel Read, the Jersey Demosthenes, &c.
Many valiant Captains, Soldiers and Officers, says he, have been put out of the Army by Sea and Land, of whom it hath been said among you, that they had rather have had One of Them, than Seven Men, and could have turn'd out one of them to seven Men, who, because of their Faithfulness to the Lord God, and it may be for saying Thou to a particular Person, and for wearing their Hats, have been turn'd out from among you.

This same Mr. Fox, in a Book publish'd by him and some others of his Brethren, intitled, West answering to the North, Page 96, 97, exults in these Words,— "Multitudes of People flock'd up to Westminster to complain of their Sufferings—which CHARLES STUART call'd Tunults; and by the Guard one of them was slain, at the Place of the shedding of whose Blood, CHARLES STUART's Head was struck off."—Thus their Enemies are punished.

In Page 102 are these Patriotick Expressions,— "The righteous Ends of War's for Liberty and Laws."—And in Page 16 they boast— "The Defence of them (the Laws) have we in the late Wars, vindicated in the Field, with our Blood."

One Bishop, a Quaker Writer, in a Letter of his to the Council of State, in the Time of the Usurpation, written in the Year 1659, advises them in these Words, "It concerns you, while ye have Time, to bear down this Enemy, (meaning the King) and to secure Places necessary for Defence."—And again he urges them to kill all that should appear in Favour of the Royal Cause; "Do Justice, says he, on those whom God hath given into your Hands, left out of this SERPENT's EGG do come a COCKATRICE, and his Fruit be a fiery flying Serpent."—And in Page 26 he tells them, "There is a Necessity for the continual marching of your Horse up and down in all Parts, especially where these Insurrections have been."

George Fox, in his Council and Advice, a Letter wrote by him to O. Cromwell, dated the 11th Month, 1659, Page 26, 27, &c. tells him, That if he had been directed by his Advice, "The Hollanders (says he to him) had been thy Subjects—GERMANY had given up to thy Will—The SPANIARD had quivered like a dry Leaf—The King
of France should have bowed under thee his Neck—The Pope should have withered as in the Winter—The Turk, in all his Fatness, should have smok'd—Thou should'st have crumbled Nations to Dust—Therefore, (says he) let thy Soldiers go forth with a free and willing Heart, that thou mayest rock Nations as in a Cradle."

Robert Rich, another Author, informs us, "That in the Ufurnation, Friends had such an Interest, that by the Act of Parliament, bearing Date June 28th, 1659, for settling the Militia, the Quakers were made Commissioners to form Troops and Regiments; to nominate the Officers; and to afts Money for buying Horses, Arms, &c.—He names Five by their Names, whom he knew, who were of the Committee for the Militia of Westminster."

But Friends will deny all these Things. — And if you turn over to the Place, and shew them the very Expressions, they will still endeavour to evade you, and will sneer at your Ignorance for taking them in a literal Sense, and tell you with a very grave PhyZ, that they are all to be taken spiritually.

If any Man has a Mind to be imposed upon by such Quibbles, I have no Objection—Let him believe that, no more is meant here, than spiritual Soldiers—spiritual Armies—spiritual Wars—spiritual Regiments and Militias! — Let him believe spiritual Troops, and spiritual Horse too, if he will! — Si uult decipi, decipiatur.

Mr. Barclay, the great Apostle of Quakerism, has indeed taken great Pains in his Apology, to quote the Testimonies of the Fathers against Fighting: — And in Page 515 lays down this Proposition, "That it is not lawful for Christians to resist Evil, or to make war in any Case."

But did not your Philadelphia Quakers take up Arms, and declare they would fight in one Case, namely, In Defence of Friend Indians?

Therefore, these Quakers of Philadelphia have surely either committed a Thing unlawful for Christians; or belied their Apostle, and done Despite to the Spirit of Barclay.—Again in Page 558, St. Robert says; "Whoever can reconcile this, resist not Evil, with, resist Violence by Force; Give also thy other Cheek, with, Strike again; whoever
(12)

"(says he) can find a Means to reconcile these Things, may be supposed also to have found out a Way to reconcile God with the Devil, Christ with Antichrist, Light with Darkness, and Good with Evil.

But did not your Philadelphia Quakers, instead of Resisting not Evil, attempt to Resist Violence by Force: and instead of Give also thy other Cheek, even plant Cannon (and surely not Spiritual Cannon) in Order to Strike again? They opened their most noted Meeting-House in Philadelphia to the Soldiers; and devoted it to War and Revenge.

What can we say or think of such People as these? I am sure if their peaceable and meek Apostle could come upon the Earth again, and see his Esteemed Friends become like other Men, and "clashing with the Potsheds of the Earth. (k)"—he would blush and disown them as his Disciples.

In short, it is evident from the late Conduct of Friends, that the Peaceable Testimony which they have so long born to the World, at the Expense of the Lives and Properties of Thousands of their Fellow Subjects, is now no more—and that they have no more Scruple against taking up Arms and Fighting than any others—Nay, that they can go into more violent Measures to Resist Evil than perhaps were ever heard of in the most Warlike Nations.

Where do we find or read of an Instance of Trenches being thrown up, and Cannon planted, to oppose an insignificant Mob?—And yet this was done by your Philadelphia Quakers, against a Handful of Freemen and the King's Subjects, who thought it their Duty to kill a Pack of villainous, faithless Savages, whom they suspected, and had Reason to believe, were Murderers, Enemies to his Majesty, his Government, and Subjects—Were such violent Proceedings consistent with the Principles which Quakers have professed to the World? Were they consistent with the Lenity and Mercy of an English Constitution? Surely No.—Such severe Measures will never do with a free People, who conceive themselves

(k) A Phrase made use of by a QUAKER TEACHER, to his Congregation in Philadelphia, in exhorting them to adhere to their PEACEABLE PRINCIPLES.
felves oppressed.—Even France and Spain, notwithstanding the arbitrary Government and severe Laws established in them, are not without their Insurrections and Tumults—I hope it will not be suspected that I am a Favourer or Encourager of Mobs and Riots—I solemnly declare I have as great an Aversion to Mobs, and all riotous Proceedings, as any Man can have, as any Man ought to have (/)—But at the same Time, I must own, I shall never be for sacrificing the Lives and Liberties of a free People to the Caprice and Obstinacy of a destructive Faction.

Whoever will examine the Proceedings and Debates of Parliament, especially those in the Year 1737, will find the Sentiments of the wisest and bravest People under Heaven, concerning Tumults and Riots.—As these Things were introduced into the Debates of that Session, I shall trouble you with a few Extracts of the Speeches on that Occasion.

Lord C declared himself thus—The People (says he) seldom or never assemble in any riotous or tumultuous Manner, unless when they are oppressed, or at least imagine they are oppressed. If the People should be mistaken, and imagine they are oppressed, when they are not, it is the Duty of the Magistrate to endeavour first to correct their Mistake by fair Means and just Reasoning; in common Humanity he is obliged to take this Method, before he has Recourse to such Methods as may bring Death and Destruction upon a great Number of his Fellow-Countrymen; and this Method will generally prevail, where they have not met with any real Oppression: But when this happens to be the Case, it cannot be expected that they will give Ear to their Oppressor; nor can the severest Laws, nor the most rigorous Execution of those Laws, always prevent the People’s becoming tumultuous:—You may shoot them—You may hang them—But till the Oppression is removed or alleviated, they will never be quiet, till the greatest Part of them are destroyed. The only effectual Method to suppress Tumults will be, to enquire into the Causes, and to take such Measures as may be proper for removing those Causes: For in the Body Political, as in the Body Natural, while the Cause remains, it is impossible to remove the Distemper.

Lord

(1) See the first Note upon this Letter,
Lord B—spoke to this Effect—"The chief End of a Parliamentary Enquiry is not to discover or to punish the Persons concerned in any Tumult; it is the Conduct of the Magistrate that we are principally to enquire into; and if upon such Enquiry, it should appear, that the Tumult was occasioned by any unjust or Oppressive Conduct, or by Negligence and Indolence, we ought to censure or to punish such a Magistrate—Such an Enquiry, and such an Issue on Enquiry, will satisfy the People, it will remove the Cause of Tumults, and consequently will prevent them for the future: Whereas if we employ ourselves solely in discovering and punishing the Rioters, we do not remove but encrease the Cause of Tumults;—we shall make the People more discontented than they are—The Severity of the Punishment may fear up the Wound for a Time, but it will not be healed; it will fester, and endanger the total Dissolution of the Political Body."

By these Kind of Proceedings (says another noble Lord) we may for a While keep the People quiet, or knock out the Brains of those who shall presume to be otherwise; but we shall never remove their Discontents, or gain their Affections; and this must be done, or our Government must be made Arbitrary; for a free Government cannot be supported but by having the Affections of the Generality of the People."

Now, Sir, had your Quakers, those Children of Peace, adopted these wise Sentiments, and pursued these humane just and truly politic Measures, every Thing might have been easy. But instead of this, they neglected and despised the Complaints of an injured and oppressed People; refused to redress their Grievances; they promoted a military Apparatus; fortify'd the Barracks; planted Cannon, and strutted about in all the Parade of War, as if they chose rather to have the Province involv'd in a Civil War, and see the Blood of perhaps 5 or 600 of his Majesty's Subjects shed, than give up, or banish to their native Caves and Woods, a Parcel of treacherous, faithless, rascally Indians, some of which can be proved to be Murderers. But if they were all innocent, by what Law are we obliged to maintain 140 idle Vagabonds? Must Pennsylvania work for murdering Savages as their Lords and Masters? But
But in the Name of Wonder! What could be meant by all these warlike Preparations? Surely the Quakers did not intend to make Use of Musquetry and Cannon too, in case the Rioters had proceeded! If they did, they must either be very ignorant or very desperate and cruel—It has often been declared in Parliament, That "the Liberty of Firing at Random, upon any Multitude of his Majesty's Subjects, is a Liberty which ought to be most cautiously granted; and never made use of but in Cases of the most absolute Necessity—And in this Way of thinking (says one of the great Speakers upon the Subject) I am supported by the whole Tenor of the Laws of England—It is now 3 or 300 Years since Fire-Arms came in Use amongst Us, yet the Law has never suffered them to be made Use of by the common Officers of Justice—Pikes, Halberts, Battle-Axes, and such like, are the only Weapons that can be made Use of according to Law by such Officers. It is well known that by a late Statute, which is in Force in Scotland as well as in England; the Power of the Civil Magistrate, in the Cases of any Mob or riotous Assembly, is fully and distinctly regulated; yet even by that Law (which I have often heard complained of as a Law not tolerable in a free Country) there is no express Order given to the Magistrate or his Assistants, to make Use of Fire-Arms; so cautious was the Legislature of giving a legal Authority for making use of such Weapons.

I know it will be said that Officers of Justice and their Assistants, especially his Majesty's Troops, when they happen to be called to the Assistance of the Civil Magistrate, are in a very unlucky Situation, if they are not allowed to make use of the Arms in their Hands to prevent their being knocked on the Head—Their Situation, I shall readily grant, may be unlucky enough; but we are to consider the Law as it stands; and as the Law stands in England as well as in Scotland, if a Person suffers Death by firing, the Person that fired, and he who gave him Orders to fire, might both be prosecuted for Murder; and I am afraid neither of them would have any Resourse, but in the King's Mercy. The Soldiers may upon such Occasions make Use of their screw'd Bayonets, for dispersing or seiz-
ing the Rioters; by so doing they can hurt none but those
that resist them; but I would not advise them to fire, un-
less they should find themselves in very great Danger of be-
ing overpower'd, and perhaps murdered by the Mob.”

Such was the Sense of the greatest Men in England,
and such the Caution and Lenity of a British Parliament.

But what will the World say, or Posterity think of
your meek and peaceable Quakers, who thro' pretended
Scruples against Resistance! thro' Obstinacy and Love of
worldly Power, which they themselves would neither ap-
ply to the Ends for which it ought to be used, nor re-
sign into the Hands of those that would; who have so
long suffer'd the Province to bleed beneath the Savage
Knife, its fairest and most fruitful Fields to be deluged in
Gore, and laid waste and desolate by Barbarian Spoilers! when
they have been frequently supplcated, entreated and conjured,
by all the ties of brotherly Love, Friendship, Humanity and
Justice, to consider the Misery and Distraftion of their Coun-
try—-but could never be prevailed upon to stand up
in its Defence, or to use proper Means to rescue it from
these sad Calamities: Yet have lately appeared with
Arms and all the dread Machinery of War, to fight their
beggar'd, ruined, miserable Fellow Subjects; and to afford
that Protection to their cruel Enemies and Murderers,
which their Unhappy Countrymen, in their most deplora-
able Circumstances, could never obtain from them?—
O ungenerous, unfeeling Men! Was this the way to
treat a ruined, despairing People?—Will not Religion,
Reason, Humanity, Justice, Charity, answer No?—
Who was it that reduc'd them to the disagreeable Neces-
sity of proceeding in the Manner they did?—From
what Source are they to derive their Misery? and, Who
was it that provok'd and moved them to Resentment?
Who is it that has made them Rioters, and then Reproach-
es, and defires they may be Shot or Hang'd for being so?
Who is it that has thrown so many Obstacles in the Way
of their Protection and Security? Who is it that has screened
and supported the Enemies of their Country, and pours out
Vengeance and Destruction upon those that attempt to chaf-
tise and punish them? These are Questions which every Body, with a Moments Reflection, may answer.

A mighty Noise and Hubbub has been made about killing a few Indians in Lancaster-County; and even Philosophers and Legislators have been employed to raise the Holloo upon those that killed them; and to ransack Tomes and Systems, Writers ancient and modern, for Proofs of their Guilt and Condemnation! And what have they proved at last? Why, that the White Savages of Paxton and Donnegall have violated the Laws of Hospitality! I can sincerely assure the ingenious and worthy Author of the Narrative, that a Shock of Electricity would have had a much more sensible Effect upon these People than all the Arguments and Quotations he has produced.

For my own Part, I utterly abhor and disclaim every Act and Species of Cruelty, and I do solemnly declare, that I disapprove of the Manner of killing the Indians in Lancaster, as it was a Kind of Insult to the Civil Magistrates, and an Encroachment upon the Peace and Quiet of that Town; and I wish that the Women and little Ones at least, could have been spared.—But no doubt the Actors in that Affair, thought with Friend Bishop, whom I quoted before, that the best Way was, while their Hands were in, to kill all, "left out of the Serpent's Egg, "there should come a Cockatrice, and his Fruit should "be a fiery flying Serpent."

However, Matters of this Kind will always be told with shocking Aggravations---- I am persuaded had not Things been misrepresented, some Circumstances in the Narrative would never have been sent into the World.

The Public have indeed received there a very amiable Character of these Indians, and have been told that "The "Universal Concern of the neighbouring white People on "hearing of their being killed, cannot well be express-"sed." Now I have been frequently inform'd, for many Years, by sundry of their nearest Neighbours in the CaneIsogoe Mannor, that they were a drunken, debaucb'd, insolent, quarrelsome Crew: and that ever since the Commencement of the War, they have been a Trouble and Terror to all around them—as for Will Soc and his Bro-
ther, I am told there are undoubted Proofs of their Guilt and Treachery—That they have threatened and drawn their Knives upon People who have refused to comply with their Demands, is a Fact well known to Hundreds. (m) The

(m) ABRAHAM NEWCOMER, of the County of Lancaster, one of the People call'd Mennonites, and by Trade a Gun-smith, hath personally appeared before the Chief-Burgess of Lancaster, and upon his solemn Affirmation hath declared, "That divers Times within these few Years, "BILL SOC and INDIAN JOHN, two of the Caneillose Indians, threaten'd to scalp him, for refusing to mend their Tomahawks, and swore "they would scalp him, the Affirmant, as soon as they would a Dog."

He further affirms, "that a few Days before the Indians were killed in the Manor, BILL SOC, aforesaid, brought a Tomahawk to him "to be fleel'd, which this Affirmant refusing to do, the said BILL SOC "threatened, and said, you will not! you will not!—I'll have it mend'd "to your Sorrow.—From which Expressions this Affirmant hath declared, that he apprehended Danger from said SOC."

Mrs. T——n, a Lady of Character, of the Borough of Lancaster, also personally appeared before the Chief-Burgess, and upon her solemn Oath on the Holy Evangelists, hath declared, "That sometime in the "Summer of the Year 1761, BILL SOC came to her Appartment, and "threaten'd her Life, saying, I'll kill you, and all Lancaster cannot catch "me; which put her into great Terror. And this Lady hath further depos'd, that said BILL SOC, added, this Place (meaning Lancaster) is "mine and I will have it yet."

Capt. JOHN HAMBRIGHT, a Gentlemen of Reputation, and an eminent Brewer of the Borough of Lancaster, personally appeared before ROBERT THOMPSON, Esq, one of the Justices for the County of Lancaster, and made Oath on the Holy Evangelists, that "about August, "in the Year One Thousand, Seven Hundred and Fifty-Seven, he, "this Deponent, being an Officer in the Pay and Service of the Province of Pennsylvania, was sent with a Party from Fort Augusta to "Hunter's, for Provision for that Garrison: That on his way down he "halted, under cover of the Bank of the River Susquehanna, to rest and "refresh his Men, at Mr. Kees old Place, having a Centry fixed on the "Bank, behind a Tree, to prevent a Surprize: That the Centry, after "some time, informed that there were Indians coming up the Road; "upon which this Deponent crawled up the Bank, and discovered two "Indians, one of which he knew to be BILL SOC (one of the Indians lately "killed at Lancaster:) That he suffered them to come pretty near, and "then discovering himself, called to BILL SOC to come to him, imagin-"ing he was going, as usual, to Fort Augusta, where he had often "seen him among the Indians: That the Indians then immedi-"ately halted, and after consulting about a Minute, ran off with "their greatest Speed, which at that Time much surprised this Depo-"nent, as the said SOC had always pretended Friendship, and no Violence"
of Lancaster sent to collect the remaining Indians,—brought them into the Town, comforted and promised them Protection."

If they did this, they must be very silly indeed—For how was it possible for Men destitute of a Militia, without Men, Arms, or Ammunition to protect them?—But I am credibly informed that the Truth of the Matter was, That

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or Threats were then offered to them, and neither this Deponent or his Party had any Intentions to injure them: That upon this Deponent's proceeding down to Hunter's, he was informed that an old Man had been killed in that Neighbourhood the Day before; and, as no other Mischief was at that Time done in those Parts, nor no Account of any other Indians being seen or heard of, on that Quarter, at that Time, the said Bill Soc, and his Companion, a strange Indian, were suspected and believed to be the perpetrators of that Murder. That he this Deponent, before this Time, had frequently seen Bill Soc with his Brothers and others of the Conosholoe Indians, at Fort Augusta, and often met them on the Communication, carrying up Kegs of Whisky and other Things, to trade with the other Indians there; but that after this Murder the said Bill Soc did not appear at that Garrison for near four Months, and then came there with a Number of other Indians from up the River above the Fort; at which Time he behaved in a different Manner than usual, not coming into the Fort, nor being so familiar as formerly." And further this Deponent faith not.

Sworn and subscribed, the 28th of )

February 1764, before me

ROBERT THOMPSON.

CHARLES CUNNINGHAM, of the County of Lancaster aforesaid, personally appeared before THOMAS FOSTER, Esq; one of the Magistrates for said County, and being duly qualified, according to Law, doth depose, and say, That he (the said Deponent) heard an Indian, named Joshua James, say, since the last War, that he never killed a white Man in his Life; but fifteen Dutchmen that he killed in the Minisinks." And further faith not. Sworn and subscribed before THOMAS FOSTER, by

CHARLES CUNNINGHAM.

N. B. Said Joshua James was one of the Conosholoe Indians.

ALEXANDER STEPHEN, of the County of Lancaster, personally appeared before THOMAS FOSTER, Esq; one of the Magistrates for said County, and being duly qualified, according to Law, doth depose and say, That an Indian Woman, named Cannahah Sally, told the said Deponent, since the last War, that the Conosholoe Indians killed Jegree, an Indian Man, because he would not go to war, with the said Conosholoe Indians, against the English: And that James Cottes told the said Deponent, since
That these Magistrates being apprehensive of the Danger of the Indians, were very desirous to have them removed immediately to Philadelphia, as a Place of much greater Security—through which Neglect to remove thither they must have lost

"since the last War, that he was one of the three that killed old James
"(or William) Hamilton, on Sherman’s Creek, the Beginning of last War,
"and another Man, with six or seven of his Family. And farther
"this Deponent faith, that after the late War, said James Cottes de-
"manded of said Deponent a Canoe, which he had found, or Payment
"in lieu thereof, which Canoe the said Murderers had left, as Cottes
"said, at the Time said Murder was committed." And farther faith not,

Sworn and subscribed before Thomas Foster, by

Alexander Stephen.

N.B. Jegrea was an old Indian that had formerly been a Warrior, but had now quit going to War, and was threatening the Canealogoe Indians, if they would go to War against the white People, and discharging and commanding them from it.

Ann-Mary LeRoy, of the Town of Lancaster, appear’d likewise before the Chief-Burges, and being sworn on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, did depose and say, "That in the Year 1755, when her Father, John Jacob LeRoy, and many others were murdered by the Indians, at the Great Mahannoy, she, this Deponent, her Brother, and some others were made Prisoners, and taken to the Kittanning Town, and that during her four Years Captivity, the French Officers were fur-

nish’d weekly, or once in two Weeks, with the Pennsylvania Gazette.

That she saw strange Indian Messengers come frequently, whom the French Officers and Interpreters told this Deponent, were the Canealogoe Indians—and that at the same Time they assur’d this Deponent, that the English had not one Indian in their Interest, except Isaac; and that the Canealogoe Indians were willing to take up the Hatchet a-

gainst the English, whenever the French would request them to do it"—This Woman hath moreover declar’d on her Oath, that since her Return from Captivity, BILL SOC’s reputed Mother came to her, this Deponent, at Lancaster, and after some Enquiry about the Indian Family, with which she was a Prisoner; this Deponent ask’d said SOC’s Mother, if she had ever been out in the Back-Parts? who replied, she had not; but that her Son BILL had been out often, and would again: and that he was good for Nothing; or Words to that Effect." [There are many more Depositions (I am told) to the same Purposel, which I have not seen. But surely these are sufficient to "satisfy the Publick," that not only "Will Soc, but the whole Tribe, were really Guilty of those Offences against us, which were laid to his Charge." And that "the Makers and Venders of these Accusations can produce that "Evidence" which the Author of the NARRATIVE has so publicly call’d for.

The foregoing are true Copies of the Affidavits passed.
loft their Lives, and not through any Misconduct of the Magistrates—For it seems the Affair was accomplish'd so unexpectedly and suddenly, that not one Half of the Magistrates knew any Thing of the Matter till they were all kill'd; and thofe that did, could do nothing, unless it was to go at the Peril of their Lives, among an enraged and armed Multitude, and attack them with Stones and Brickbats.

I have indeed heard it alleged against thofe Magistrates, that there were some Soldiers in the Place, which they might have called to their Assistance—But I have heard it positively declared, by many of the Inhabitants of that Town, who were Eye-witnesses of the whole Transaction, that if there were Ten Thousand Soldiers dispers'd and ftrolling about in the Manner that thofe were at the Time, it would have been impossible to have got them to their Arms, and properly drawn up, before the Indians were killed; fo dextrous and expeditious were the Paxtonians in executing their Purpofe.

The Author of the Narrative proceeds with all the Path of Language and Expression, and tells us, "That when the "poor Wretches faw that they had no Protection nigh, they "divided into their little Families, the Children clinging to "their Parents; --- They fell on their Knees, proteltd "their Innocence, declared their Love to the Englith, and "that in their whole Lives, they never had done them any "Injury; and in this Poffure they all received the Hatchet! "Men, Women and little Children !"--- This was cruel in- deed, if it was fo--- But I would be glad to know who could give this Gentleman fo very particular an Account—- I have been told, that not a single Circumftance happened which could have given rise to it; and that the above Story was pick'd up from among a Parcel of old Papers in a Hop-Garden or a Hemp-field (I forget which) upon Susquehanna.—

And indeed this feems most likely to have been the Cafe:--- For who could possibly tell what pafs'd, or how these Indians behaved in the short Interval between their being attacked and all killed, which is faid not to have been above Two Minutes: (n) No one had any Kind of Intercourfe with them, nor even faw them during that Time, except thofe that kil-

(n) It is confidently faid, that the Paxtonians were not above twelve Minutes altogether in the Town, and not above two Minutes in dispatching the Indians.
led them, and they declare, that not one of them appeared in that Posture, nor spoke a Word; and that if they had, it would have been impossible to have heard them for the Noise of the shouting of the Multitude.

It is also asserted in the Narrative, "That the Bodies of the murdered were brought out and exposed in the Street." — This appears likewise to have been misrepresentation. I have been informed by some of the most reputable Inhabitants of Lancaster, that they were never removed out of the Work-house and Work-house-yard, where they were shot, till they were brought out to be carried to their Graves.

The next Charge usher'd in by the Narrative to blacken these unhappy People, is, "That with the Scriptures in their Hands and Mouths, they can set at nought that express Command, Thou shalt do no Murder; and justify their Wickedness by the Command given to Joshua, to destroy the Heathen." — And then follows a dreadful Exclamation in these Words, — "Horrid Perversion of Scripture and of Religion!" I am really amazed that the Philosophic Writer of this Paper should suffer himself to be so much imposed upon, and influenced by the malevolent TITTLE TATTLE of every lying Sycophant. Every Body knows that this Asperion is the reputed Offspring of the Curled-Lock Lawyer, who wrote the Dialogue between Andrew, Esq. — A Creature, who by his Debaucherries, and immoral Life, has done more Dishonour to the Scriptures and Religion, than all these Men put together; and who has been endeavouring for a Series of Years to sow the Seeds of Discord and Dissention among his Fellow-subjects, and has even in print propagated groundless and wicked Insinuations among the Germans, that the English intended to reduce them to a State of Vassalage and Slavery. (o) — Surely the ex parte Relations of this poor drunken Fellow should have been below the Notice of the worthy Author of the Narrative. But it seemsthis Gentleman was determined to avail himself of any Thing that he thought might bring Infamy and Odium upon the Paxton People; and for this End he has not scrupled to call the killing the Indians MURDER! — I should be glad

(o) See some Papers published by him in the German Language, and dispersed thro' Berks County.
to know, who appointed him a Judge or Jury upon this Affair? Does he find that the Government has call’d it Murder in either of the Proclamations he has quoted? I have already declared, that I disapprove of the Manner of killing these Indians; and yet I am persuaded this Writer, with all his Ingenuity, will find it too hard a Talk to prove it Murder.

The Faith of Government, we are told, was pledged to these Indians——No doubt of it:——And so it is to every Robber and Villain before he becomes such: (p) But will any Man suppose that a Robber and Villain should rely upon that Faith, when he has forfeited it; and claim Protection from the Gallows or the Gibbet, or from being shot down if he cannot be brought to Punishment any other Way? Now whatever might have been the Behaviour of these Indians to the first Settlers of Pennsylvania, it is notorious that their Conduct of late has been such, as could give them no Manner of Claim to the Faith, Friendship, or Protection of this Government——That they have been Spies upon all our Actions——have treacherously held a Correspondence with our avowed Enemies——and have often lent a helping Hand to bring Ruin and Dofolation upon the Province——and yet to such Wretches as these, it seems we ow’d Protection!——and it was Murder to put them to Death! The Author of Catō’s Letters very justly observes, that ‘It is a most wicked and absurd Position, to say, that a People can ever be in such a Situation, as not to have a Right to oppose a Tyrant, a Robber, or a Traitor, who, by Violence, Treachery, Rapine, infinite Murders and Devastations, has deprived them of Safety and Protection.’

‘It was a known Maxim of Liberty amongst the great, the wise, the free Antients, that a Tyrant, or a Traitor, was a Beast of Prey, which might be killed by a Spear as well as by a fair Chace; in his Court as well as in his Camp; that every Man had a Right to destroy One, who would destroy

(p) Notwithstanding the solemn Engagements and Articles of Agreement into which these Indians had entered with William Penn, they often broke thro’ them, even in his Time.—In Governor Keith's Time, about the Year 1719, these Indians were accused by one John Cart- lidge, of many Misdemeanors, and among the rest of having furnished our Enemies with Ammunition, which obliged Mr. Keith to write to them, and threaten them, if they did not behave better. These are Facts well known to many now living.
destroy all Men; that no Law ought to protect him who took away all Law; and, that like Hercules's Monsters, it was glorious to rid the World of him, whenever, and by what Means forever, it could be done.'

If we read the Stories of the most celebrated Heroes of Antiquity, (Men of whom the present World is not worthy) and consider the Actions that gained them their highest Reverence and Renown, and recommended their Names to Posterity with the most Advantage, we shall find those in the first Rank of Glory, who have resisted, destroy'd or expell'd Traitors and Tyrants, the Peis, the Burthens, and the Butchers of Mankind. — And indeed such an Action could never have been censured in the World, if there had not lived in all Ages, abject Flatterers, and servile Creatures of Power, always prepared to sanctify and abet the most enormous Wickedness, if it were gainful: And these are they who have often misled good Men in the worst Prejudices.'

Timoleon, one of the wisest and most virtuous Men that ever blessed the Earth, spent a long and glorious Life in destroying Tyrants: He killed, or caused to be kill'd, his own Brother, in order to save his Country.

Did not the Roman Senators kill Julius Cæsar, even in the Senate-House, in order to free their Country of a Tyrant and an Oppressor? Did not Brutus, the Elder, put his own Sons to Death for a Conspiracy to restore Tarquin? Did not Murius Scævola gain immortal Honour for an Attempt to kill Porfenna by Surprize, who was a foreign Enemy, making unjust War upon Rome? Did not L. Quintus Cincinnatus, a brave and virtuous Dictator of Rome, order Spurius Martius to be slain, though there was no Law subsisting, by which he could be put to Death; and though imploring the publick Faith, to which he had been a Traitor and sworn Enemy.

Have we not read of Men who have killed themselves, rather than become a Prey to a merciless Enemy — Brutus and Cassius, the Deci, Otho, Celanus, Cato, and many others, have done this, preferring Death to Slavery. — Most strange then! that the killing of a few treacherous Savages, who by their Perfidy, had forfeited their Lives, should be esteemed so enormous a Crime! — But we are told that this Action was
was a Breach of the Rites of Hospitality, which, Heathens, Turks, Saracens, Moors, Negroes and Indians, have held more sacred than the Paxtonians. The Author here prostitutes his own good Sense, and contrary to the known Rules of Logic and sound Reason, draws an universal Conclusion for particular Premises: As well might he argue that Goliab was a Giant, and so were all the Soldiers in the Army of the Philistines; or David spared Saul asleep in the Cave, and therefore he spared all his Enemies.

Would the Limits I have prescribed to myself in this Letter allow me, I could easily shew you, that every one of those Nations have, in a Thousand Instances, violated the Laws of Hospitality, and Faith too, in a much higher Degree than these People could possibly have been guilty of. — But without carrying you through Homer, old Legends, and fabulous Travels and Voyages — if you look into your Bible, you will find a very notable Instance, which will set this Matter right. — We read in the 4th Chapter of Judges, that when Israel was sold into the Hands of Jabin, King of Canaan, the Captain of whose Army was Sisera, who had nine hundred Chariots of Iron, and had mightily oppressed the Children of Israel for 20 Years; the Lord at last, by his Instruments Deborah and Barak, delivered Israel from Jabin and Sisera. — "And the Lord discomfited Sisera, and all his Chariots, and all his Host with the Edge of the Sword, before Barak; so that Sisera lighted down off his Chariot, and fled away on his Feet, to the Tent of Jael, the Wife of Heber the Kenite: For there was Peace between Jabin the King of Hazor, and the House of Heber the Kenite. "And Jael went out to meet Sisera, and said unto him, "Turn in, my Lord, turn into me, fear not: And when he had turned in unto her into the Tent, she covered him with a Mantle," (or Blanket, as you find it express'd in the Margin.) "And he said unto her, give me, I pray thee, a little Water to drink; for I am thirsty; and she opened a Bottle of Milk, and gave him Drink, and covered him.
"Again he said unto her, stand in the Door of the Tent, and it shall be when any Man doth come and enquire of thee and say, Is there any Man here? that thou shalt say, "No. "Then
"Then Jael, Heber's Wife, took a Nail of the Tent, and took an Hammer in her Hand, and went softly unto him, and smote the Nail in his Temples, and fastened it into the Ground; (for he was fast asleep and weary) so he died."

Now was this Action (which has every Appearance of Cruelty in it) deemed a Breach of Faith, or a Violation of the Rites of Hospitality? No.—— In the 5th Chapter we find the Angel of the Lord pronouncing a Blessing upon her; no doubt for ridding the World of an Oppressor, and a cruel Villain—— "Blessed above Women shall Jael the Wife of Heber the Kenite be, blessed shall she be above Women in the Tent."

"He asked Water, and she gave him Milk; she brought forth Butter in lordly Dish.

"She put her Hand to the Nail, and her right Hand to the Workman's Hammer; and with the Hammer she smote Sisera, she smote off his Head, when she had pierced and stricken through his Temples.

"At her Feet he bowed, he fell, he lay down, there he lay down dead."

In the Apocrypha, we have another Instance no less remarkable than the above—— We find that Judith killed Holofernes even deceitfully, when it could be done no other Way.—— Holofernes was the chief Captain of the Army of Assyria, who made War against Israel; and when he was going out against them, he threaten'd in these Words:—— I will go forth in my Wrath, and will cover the whole Earth with the Feet of my Army, and I will give them for a Spoil unto them:— So that their Slain shall fill their Valleys and Brooks, and the River shall be filled with their Dead, till it overflow— And I will lead them Captives to the utmost Parts of the Earth."

But Judith, a Widow, of whom it was said—— "There was none that gave her an ill Word; for she feared GOD greatly"—— I say, this good Woman, having humbled herself, and prayed to God to prosper her Purpose, went over to the Camp of the Enemy; and being taken by the Watch and conducted to Holofernes, she declared to him that she had fled from her own Nation—— "Now therefore, my Lord,
Lord, (says she) I will remain with thee, and thy Servant will go out by Night into the Valley, and I will pray unto God, and he will tell me when they have committed their Sins.

And I will come and shew it unto thee: Then thou shalt go forth with all thine Army, and there shall be none of them that shall resist thee.

And I will lead thee through the Midst of Judea, until thou come before Jerusalem, and I will set thy Throne in the Midst thereof, and thou shalt drive them as Sheep that have no Shepherd, and a Dog shall not so much as open his Mouth at thee.

Yet notwithstanding these Declarations, we find that when she was left alone in the Tent, and found Holofernes drunk, and lying upon his Bed—" She came to the Pillar of the Bed which was at Holofernes' Head, and took down his Faulchion from thence, and approached to his Bed, and took hold of the Hair of his Head, and said, Strengthen me, O Lord God of Israel, this Day. And she smote twice upon his Neck with all her Might, and she took away his Head from him."

Upon which Ozius said unto her, "O Daughter, blessed art thou of the most high God, above all the Women upon the Earth; and blessed be the Lord God, which hath created the Heavens and the Earth, which hath directed thee to the cutting off the Head of the Chief of our Enemies.

And God turn these Things to thee for a perpetual Praise, to visit thee in good Things, because thou hast not spared thy Life for the Affliction of our Nation, but hast revenged our Ruin, walking a straight Way before our God. And all the People said, So be it, So be it."

But no doubt it will be objected here, that these were not Christians— And perhaps I might be challeng'd to produce an Example from any "civilized Nation in Europe"— Let you should be prevailed upon to believe that it was not in my Power to answer such a Challenge, I shall give you an Instance of the horrid Cruelty and Inhumanity of a civilized Nation, whose Honour and Hospitality the Author of the Narrative has taken great Pains to applaud and extol; and I am
I am induced to point out this Fact in particular, as it happened in our own Time, and in our own Country.

In the Year 1746, or 1747, a Spanish Privateer entered the River Delaware, and proceeded almost up to Newcastle. The Crew went on Shore, and plundered two or more Plantations—On their Return they met with, and attacked, an English Ship commanded by Captain Brown, who gallantly defended himself, till being overpowered, he was obliged at last to strike and submit; but the Spanish Officers were so exasperated at the gallant and brave Defence he made, for which a generous and merciful Enemy would have esteem'd and honour'd him, that they barbarously stab'd and murder'd him, tho' an humble Suppliant on his Knees, begging Quarter, and praying them to spare his Life!

What need I adduce any further Instances than these? If killing the Indians in Lancaster County, was a Violation of the Laws of Faith and Hospitality, I must then declare it, as my Opinion, that every Nation under Heaven, have been guilty of this Crime in a much higher Degree than the Paxton People, and with less Provocation.

The Author of the Narrative tells us, that "One Hundred and Forty Indians yet remain (he should have said "are yet maintained, cared for and cherish'd) in this Government."

I do not pretend to know the Motives of the Government for so doing; they perhaps knew little of the true Character of these Savages; perhaps they were hurried into it by the Importunities of a Faction; but this we firmly believe, that no other Colony on this Continent would chuse to follow their Example. The Province of New York, with great good Sense and Policy, and with a proper Spirit of Indignation against such pernicious Wretches, refus'd them even a Passage through their Territories. — But the humane, the merciful, the charitable Pennsylvania, can receive these Villains and Murderers into her Bosom, (q) disoblige three Fourths

(q) It is well known to some of the Officers now in Philadelphia, that many of those Indians were engag'd against Colonel Bouquet and his brave Men.—The Murderer of Stinson, has been visited and comforted; a warm Bed and Stove have been set up for him, while many of our Fellow-Christians, less criminal than him, have been neglected; and left to struggle
Fourths of her own Children, rather than part with them—make them Tributaries to support their Enemies in Luxury and Extravagance, whilst they themselves have scarce Bread to eat—and threaten to knock them on the Head, if they should offer to strike these Darlings, or even murmur at their hard Fate.—— Surely this is no aggravated Representation, but a melancholy Fact!

Is it any Wonder then if the unhappy Frontier People were really mad with Rage, (as they express themselves) under such cruel Treatment?—— Shall Heathens, shall Traitors, shall Rebels and Murderers be protected, cloathed and fed? Shall they be invited from House to House, and riot at Feasts and Entertainments? (r) Shall they be supported in Ease and Indolence, and provided with Physicians and Medicines whenever they complain?—— And shall the free born Subjects of Britain, the brave and industrious Sons of Pennsylvania, be left naked and defenceless—abandon'd to Misery and Want—to beg their Bread from the cold Hand of Charity—and for

struggle with their Misery and Chains, in the Dungeon.—— That the Moravian Indians have been Traitors to us, is prov'd by the Deposition of one Thomas Moore, who being sworn on the Holy Evangelists, before the chief Burgel's of Lancaster, has declar'd, that during his four Years Captivity with the Indians, they had frequent Intelligence and Advice of the Motions of the English, from the Bethlehem Indians, who came constantly among them, and kept up a Correpondence with them.

(r) It is said that Israel, that great Patron and Friend of Indians, hath kept his House and Stable open for these Wretches and their Horses, whilst the beggar'd Frontier-People have been drove from his Door, without Pity or Relief.

It is well known that the Indians in this War, have cruelly massacred our Traders, and seized their Goods; and is it any Wonder, when they are represented by the Heads of a Faction (who inflamed the Indians at these Treaties against the Traders) as Rogues that cheated them out of their Skins.

The following Anecdote was extraced from the Diary of Conrad Weifer, Esq; written in his own Hand.

July 3d, 1762.

"These Indians told me that the French Indian (to they called him) "that was last Winter in Philadelphia, pretending to be a Messenger "from the Ohio Indians, reported on his Return, That the Quakers in "Philadelphia gave him a Rod for the Indians on Ohio, to chajse the Peo "ple settling on the Indian's Lands on the other Side the Apalachin "Mountains; and to take Courage, the Majority of the People of Penn "sylvania was on the Indians Side of the Question, and disappove of the "Proceedings of Ones in settling the Indian Country."
for want of Medicine or Relief from a Surgeon or Physician, to linger out a miserable Life, and perish at last under the Wounds received perhaps from these very Villains?—

My Soul rises with Indignation at the Thought!—This is a Consideration that must give Bitterness to every humane Spirit, though it should suffer no other Way than by Sympathy! What good Man is there, whose Heart does not bleed, when he sees a Set of Men amongst us embracing Barbarians, with more Tenderness and Hospitality than ever they shew'd to their distressed Countrymen and Fellow-subjects?—When he hears them express more Sorrow and Compassion for the Death of a few Savage Traytors, than they ever expressed for the Calamities of their Country, and the Murders of their Fellow-Christians?—When he sees them take up Arms to protect these cruel Monstres, which they would never do to protect their own Neighbours and the King's Subjects, from the most inhuman Butcheries?—When a Waggon-Load of the scalped and mangled Bodies of their Countrymen were brought to Philadelphia and laid at the State-House Door, and another Waggon-Load brought into the Town of Lancaster, did they rouse to Arms to avenge the Cause of their murder'd Friends?—Did we hear any of those Lamentations that are now so plentifully poured forth for the Conestogoe Indians?—O my dear Friends! must I answer—No? The Dutch and Irish are murder'd without Pity.

I am no Stranger to your Fellow-feeling and Humanity:—I well know that you have a Tear for Diftress, and a Sigh for Misery—And if it were not criminal, I should envy you your happy Lot, in being placed by Providence at some Distance from the Scenes of Destruction and Desolation, at which, I and my Neighbours have been melancholy Witnesses—To use the Words of the Poet;

—if we could recount

Our baleful News, and at each Word's Deliverance
Stab Poinards in our Flesh, till all were told,
The Words would add more Anguish than the Wounds.

Shakespear.

The Miseries of the back Inhabitants are really beyond the Power of Description—Nor are the dreadful Barbarities committed upon such of our unhappy Brethren as fell into the
the Paws of the Enemy, to be equalled in all the Volumes of History. Figure to yourself some Thousands of Families, seated in Ease and Plenty, enjoying every Necessary of Life, which hard Labour and Industry had procured for them; without a Moment's Warning, and in the Shades of Night, driven from their Habitations; and obliged to flee through a lonely tractless Wilderness, without so much as knowing whither they directed their trembling Steps!—When the Morning arrives—O what a Scene does it discover!—The Husband lamenting his murder'd faithful Wife!—The Wife tearing her Hair in all the Horror of Distress, shrieking, and calling upon her breathless Husband to hasten to her Relief!—Rachel weeping for her dear Children, who are now no more!—Here lies the provident Father weeping in his own Blood, his Scalp tore off, his Body ript up, his Bowels dragg'd out, and his private Parts stuffed into his Mouth!(s) —There the virtuous tender Mother lies stretched on her Bed, dreadfully mangled, with her new-born Infant Scalp'd and placed under her Head for a Pillow, and a Stake drove into her—---Modesty forbids me to name it! (t)—On this Side lie the Bodies of a numerous Family, half devoured by Wolves and Swine!(u)—On that Side lie the mangled Limbs of Men, Women, Children, and Brute Beasts, promiscuously scattered upon the Earth,(x) scarce to be distinguished from one another!—Or perhaps the Bodies of these unhappy People, with their Horses, their Cattle, their Houses and their Grain, all burnt to Ashes in one general Flame!(z)

Who, my dear Sir, that sees these Things, but must be filled with Grief and Horror?—Or,

(1) These are no aggravated Scenes, in order to raise the Commiseration of the Reader; they are shocking Matters of Fact: It was done in the Great Cove.

(2) This was near Shippensburg.

(u) In Sheerman's Valley; all in Cumberland County.

(x) James Smith, Son of Robert Smith, late of Chester County, who was a Captive four Years and an half among the Indians, reports, that he at sundry Times saw the Remains of mangled Bodies in the Woods; that were burnt by the Indians; and that the Captives told them they were Witnesses to these horrid Cruelties exercised towards their Fellow Captives, sometimes only for attempting to escape; and that this was done even by the Tawawas, the gentlest of the Savages.

(z) This was the dismal Fate of Gnadenhutten, a Moravian Village, in Northampton.
Quis talia fando temperet à Lachrymis?

I may well cry out in the Language of the Narrative, "Unhappy People!—to have liv'd in such Times, and by such Neighbours!"—If the Characters of the several Nations, with which the Author of this Piece has furnish'd us, be just—I am sure these unhappy Frontier-People would have been safer and better protected in any of those Nations, than they have been in a Quaker Government—"They would have been safer among the antient Heathens," by whom, it seems, "they would have been considered as Guests of the Publick, and the Religion of the Country would have operated in their Favour—They would have been safer, if they had submitted to Turks," or had come under their Protection—"They would have been safer among Saracens, if they had once drank Water with them—They would have been safer among the Moors of Spain, if Faith had once been pledg'd to them, and a Promise of Protection given—They would have been safer among Popish Spaniards, if they had been in Distress—They would have been safer among the Negroes of Africa, where at least one manly Soul would have been found, with Sense, Spirit, and Humanity enough to stand in their Defence—In short, it appears that they would have been safe in any Part of the known World—except in the Neighbourhood of the relentless and obstinate Quakers of Pennsylvania!"

But, Complainings (you will say) cannot mend the Matter. What then is to be done!—Have there been any Remedies provided against future Misfortunes?—Must these unhappy People still crouch beneath their Sufferings?—Or will not the Government go into any Measures to redress them?—It would be cruel as well as absurd, to suppose it will not.—To stifle the Notions of Revenge, is prudent and religious in private Persons—And I hope these People will never again be reduced to the disagreeable Necessity of proceeding as they did.—The executive Part of the Government, at least, deserves their Esteem and Affection. I trust therefore, they will never do any Thing that may bring their Obedience and Regards to the Laws and Magistracy of their Country in Question.—But at the same
fame Time, it is undoubtedly true, that a proper Spirit of Jealousy, and Revenge too, in a People who are oppress'd and injur'd, is a politick and commendable Virtue; without which they will never be valued or respected.——

Upon such Occasions, I think they should roufe the Spirit of a FREE People, and make it appear by all lawful and loyal Methods, that they scorn to be any longer the Property of a Faction—— And that they have a Right to demand, and to receive Protection.

Salus Populi suprema Lex esto; is a Sentence that deserves to be written in Letters of Gold—— It is a Sentence that should be the Motto of every Government, where Liberty and Freedom have any Existence.

We are told that in the wise, the free Cities of Athens and Rome, "The awful Authority of the People, the sacred Privileges of the People, the inviolable Majesty of the People, the unappealable Judgment of the People, were common Phrases.

But it seems that there are Men in PENNSYLVANIA, who (to use the Words of the great ALGERNON SIDNEY) look upon the People "like Asses and Mastiff Dogs, who ought "to work and to fight, to be oppress'd and kill'd for them."——

And that they have neither Privilege or Authority to complain of their Sufferings, or remonstrate their Grievances.

However, I would have such Men know, that (whatever contracted Sentiments they may entertain) as a Patriot Writer justly observes, "It is the undoubted Right of the People, and acknowledg'd to be so in the Bill of Rights pass'd in the Reign of King CHARLES I. and since by the Act of Settlement of the Crown at the Revolution, to reprefent their publick Grievances, and to petition for Redrefs to those whose Duty it is to right them, or to see them righted: And it is certain, that in all Countries, the People's Misfortunes are greater or less, in Proportion as this Right is encourag'd or check'd."

It is indeed the best and only just Way that they can take to breathe their Grievances; and whenever this Way has been taken even Kings have always accepted their Application.— The Parliaments of GREAT-BRITAIN too, who are the grand Barriers of our Liberty, have always shewn
shown themselves ready and willing to receive the Complaints of their Principals, and to apply quick Remedies to the Grievances contain'd in them.— It has, indeed, been always thought highly imprudent, not to say dangerous, to resist the Groans of the People, utter'd in this Manner.

This has been a Method, which has always had great Weight with good Men, and has always been a great Terror to Bad.— It has therefore always been encourag'd or discourag'd, according to the Innocence or Guilt of Men in Power.

Titus and Trajan, conscious of their own virtuous Administration and worthy Purposes, encourag'd Addresses and Informations of this Kind, from their People:— They wisely knew, that if the Roman People had free Leave to speak, they would not take Leave to act;— and that whilst they could have Redress, "they would not seek Revenge."

I shall now conclude, Sir, with this Request to you, that you will advise your visionary Quakers and DonQuixotes, to consider these Things—— And, that instead of yoking themselves to Cannon, and dragging them along to defend Barracks, and fight Wind-Mills, they will suffer the Complaints of the People to be heard, their Grievances redress'd, and their Country rescued from total Ruin.— That they will immediately remove the Indians, or whatever else may create their Jealousy, and give them Cause to murmur.— And then we may expect to feel the happy Effects resulting from Liberty and Law—to see the Quiet of the Province restored—and the Harmony and good Order of Government re-establish'd amongst us.

I am, &c.

Dated from my Farm-House, March 17th, 1764. A Day dedicated to Liberty and St. Patrick.

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