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CONDUCT

OF THE

PAXTON-MEN,

IMPARTIALLY REPRESENTED;

WITH SOME

REMARKS

ON THE

NARRATIVE.

By the Rev. Thos. Barton

PHILADELPHIA:

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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.

Interspers'd with several interesting Anecdotes, relating to the
MILITARY GENIUS, and WARLIKE PRINCIPLES of the
People call'd QUAKERS : Together-with proper Reflec-
tion 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 falsa est, accingere contra. — — —

LUCRET.

The impious Man who sells his COUNTRY'S FREEDOM,
Makes all the Guilt of Tyranny his own. — — —
His are her SLAUGHTERS, 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 ap-
pointed for their Sakes, and will be saucy enough to expect some Re-
gards 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.

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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. Resentment rages high, and gathers thick from every Quarter; and where it will stop, 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 Connections; 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 these People's having taken up Arms. Such violent Steps can never possibly be productive of any thing, but WILD UPROAR and CONFUSION. Whatever therefore can have a Tendency to promote this; or that offers the *least Insult* 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 *Manifesto*, 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 profer’d
 ‘ Mediation and Assistance of the Indians to end the Quarrel,
 ‘ and the Proprietary-Offer of £.400, for erecting a small
 ‘ Fortification there, together with £.100 yearly, towards
 ‘ the Support of it, were contemptuously 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 *Legis-*
 ‘ *lative 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 thriv-
 ‘ ing 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 Habi-
 ‘ tations 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 en-
 ‘ tail’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 incurr’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; publickly renounc’d 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 Loy-
 ‘ alty 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 relent; and tho’ roused
 ‘ 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 Enc-
 ‘ mies of their Country!’

‘ That they have suffered and bled in the Cause of their
 ‘ Country, and have done more to protect it from the Vio-
 ‘ lence of a rapacious Enemy than any others in the Pro-
 ‘ vince.’

‘ That agreeable to the Command of the Prophet, they
 ‘ have “ fought 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 plenti-
 ‘ full independent People have been reduced to Misery and
 ‘ Want.’

‘ That they have been treated as *Aliens* of the Common-
 ‘ Wealth, 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 *Philadel-*
 ‘ *phia, 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
 ‘ five 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 Pro-
 perties; 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 COMMIT-
 TEES, who might apply them to Purposes inconsistent
 with their PEACEABLE TESTIMONY, was in its Consequen-
 ces destructive of RELIGIOUS LIBERTY." (e) Instead of
 doing this, I say,—the first great Law of Nature, that of
 SELF-DEFENCE, would have been administered to the Peo-
 ple upon the first Alarm of Danger, and the Hands of the
 HARDY and the BRAVE would have been set at Liberty,
 til 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 unwor-
 thy 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 pet-
 ty 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 ex-
 press Orders of the Crown, forbidding them to hold
 private Treaties with the Indians, exchange Belts of Wam-
 pum with them—make them Presents—all this they have
 done, and in their own Name, without so much as in-
 cluding 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 Go-
 vernors; as plainly appear'd at the late Treaty at LAN-
 CASTER,

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

(f) This unchristian and ungenerous Speech was made by N—L
 G—B, 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 ar-
 rogant 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 Relati-
 ons and Fellow Subjects, who have been long detained
 in barbarous Captivity, would have been restored; But
 that instead of *insisting* upon the Promises and Engage-
 ments made by the Indians to this End, an extensive
 and valuable Trade was opened with these faithless
 and

(g) That you may be convinc’d that such was the Opinion of the *In-
 dians*, I must observe to you, that one PATRICK AGNEW, of the Bo-
 rough of *Lancaster*, White-smith, having been duly sworn upon the
 HOLY EVANGELISTS, before the CHIEF BURGESS of that Town,
 hath deposed 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 Pro-
 clamation, and saying, *by Order of the Governor*, an Indian named TE-
 DYUSCUNG, cry’d out “D—n your G—r, D—n your G—r;
 “P—m—t—n is my Governor, P—m—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 *Bar-*
 ' *barity*, 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, in-
 ' vaded the Province, with the very Arms and Ammuni-
 ' tion 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 Idle-
 ' ness, 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 ne-
 ' glected, and considering that the Influence of a *Quaker Fal-*
 ' *tion* 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 Suffer-
 ' ings 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 Suc-
 ' cess, that in that Case they are determined to *double the*
 ' *Potion*, (*b*) which they hope will intirely purge off the pec-
 ' cant 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 Man 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 upon 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 pleas'd 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 Pro-felytes 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 resolv'd to give up the *Principle*, rather than the *Sloop!* and so oppos'd 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 disbanded out of the Army, for no other Fault than their being *QUAKERS*, though *they* were good *Fighters* and good *Soldiers*.

B

“ Many

(i) See the NARRATIVE, and a Letter from 'SQUIRE 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,— “ Multi-
 “ tudes of People flock'd up to *Westminster* to complain of
 “ their Sufferings—which CHARLES STUART call'd *Tumults*;
 “ 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

“ 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
 Usurpation, 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 as-
 sess Money for buying Horses, Arms, &c.—He names Five
 by their Names, whom he knew, who were of the Com-
 mittee 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 *spi-*
ritually.

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 vult 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 ei-
 ther 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 recon-
 “ cile this, *resist not Evil*, with, *resist Violence by Force*;
 “ Give also thy other Cheek, with, *Strike again*; whoever
 “ (says

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

But did not your Philadelphia Quakers, instead of *Re-
 sist not Evil*, attempt to *Resist Violence by Force*: and in-
 stead 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 Phila-
 delphia 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 Pot-
 “ sheards 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 Expence 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 hear'd 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, faith-
 less Savages, whom they suspected, and had Reason to be-
 lieve, were Murderers, Enemies to his *Majesty*, his Govern-
 ment, and Subjects—Were such violent Proceedings consist-
 ent 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 Mea-
 sures will never do with a free People, who conceive them-
 selves

(k) A Phrase made use of by a QUAKER TEACHER, to his Con-
 gregation in *Philadelphia*, in exhorting them to adhere to their PEACE-
 BLE PRINCIPLES.

elves 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 (1)— 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——r 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———st 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 Tu-
 ‘ mult 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 disco-
 ‘ vering and punishing the Rioters, we do not remove but
 ‘ encrease the Cause of Tumults;—we shall make the Peo-
 ‘ ple more discontented than they are—The Severity of the
 ‘ Punishment may sear up the Wound for a Time, but it will
 ‘ not be healed; it will fester, and endanger the total Dissol-
 ‘ ution 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 Af-
 ‘ fections; and this must be done, or our Government must
 ‘ be made Arbitrary; for a free Government cannot be sup-
 ‘ ported 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 per-
 haps 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 2 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

ing the Rioters ; by so doing they can hurt none but those that resist them ; but I would not advise them to *fire*, unless they should find themselves in very great Danger of being 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 apply to the Ends for which it ought to be used, nor resign 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 supplicated, entreated and conjured, by all the ties of brotherly Love, Friendship, Humanity and Justice, to consider the Misery and Distraction of their Country-----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 deplorable 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 Necessity 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 Reproaches, and desires 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 chastise

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 expressed.” Now I have been frequently inform’d, for many Years, by sundry of their nearest Neighbours in the *Canestogoe Mannor*, that they were a *drunken, debauch’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 Brother,

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 *Menonists*, 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 *Canestogoe Indians*, threaten-

ed 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 kil-

led in the *Mannor*, Bill Soc, aforesaid, brought a Tomahawk to him "to be steel'd, which this Affirmant refusing to do, the said Bill Soc "threatened, and said, *you will not! you will not!---I'll have it mended "to your Sorrow.---* From which Expressions this Affirmant hath de- "clared, that he apprehended Danger from said Soc."

Mrs. T---P---N, a Lady of Character, of the Borough of Lancaster, also personally appear'd 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 Apartment, and "threaten'd her Life, saying, *I 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 Pro-

vince 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 M^r Kee's 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-

" or

The Public are also informed, that " The Magistrates 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

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 *Conestogoe* *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 saith not.

Sworn and subscribed, the 28th of)
February 1764, before me)

JOHN HAMBRIGHT

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 six Dutchmen that he killed in the *Minisinks*." And farther saith not. Sworn and subscribed before THOMAS FOSTER, by

CHARLES CUNNINGHAM.

N. B. Said *Joshua James* was one of the *Conestogoe* *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 *Cannayah Sally*, told the said Deponent, since the last War, that the *Conestogoe* *Indians* killed *Jegrea*, an Indian Man, because he would not go to war, with the said *Conestogoe* *Indians*, against the English: And that *James Coltes* 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 saith, 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 saith 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 *Connestogoe* Indians, if they would go to War against the white People, and dissuading and commanding them from it.

ANN-MARY LEROY, of the Town of *Lancaster*, appear'd likewise before the Chief-Burgess, 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 Mabannoy*, she, this Deponent, her Brother,
 “ and some others were made Prisoners, and taken to the *Kittaning* 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 *Canestogoe*
 “ *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 *Canestogoe* *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 Purpose, 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 publickly
 “ call'd for.

The foregoing are true Copies of the Affidavits passed,

lost 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 those 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 alledged against those 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 strolling about in the Manner that these 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; so dextrous and expeditious were the PAXTONIANS in executing their Purpose.

The Author of the *Narrative* proceeds with all the *Pathos* of Language and Expression, and tells us, “ That when the
 “ poor Wretches saw that they had no Protection nigh, they
 “ divided into their little Families, the Children clinging to
 “ their Parents; --- They fell on their Knees, protested
 “ their Innocence, declared their Love to the *English*, and
 “ that in their whole Lives, they never had done them any
 “ Injury; and in this Posture they all received the Hatchet!
 “ Men, Women and little Children !”--- This was cruel indeed, if it was so— But I would be glad to know who could give this Gentleman so very particular an Account—— I have been told, that not a single Circumstance 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 seems most likely to have been the Case: --- For who could possibly tell what pass'd, or how these Indians behaved in the short Interval between their being attacked and all killed, which is said not to have been above Two Minutes: (n) No one had any Kind of Intercourse with them, nor even saw them during that Time, except those that killed

(n) It is confidently said, 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 impos'd upon, and influenc'd by the malevolent TITTLE TATTLE of every lying Sycophant. Every Body knows that this Aspersion is the reputed Offspring of the *Curled-Lock Lawyer*, who wrote the *Dialogue* between *Andrew*, &c.—A Creature, who by his Debaucheries, 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 Dissension 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 seem'd this Gentleman was determin'd 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 Task 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 Desolation 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 *CATO'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 CARTLIDGE, 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 soever*, it could be done.’

‘ If we read the Stories of the most celebrated Heroes of
 ‘ Antiquity, (Men of whom the present World is not wor-
 ‘ thy) and consider the Actions that gained them their high-
 ‘ est 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 *Pests*, 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 Crea-
 ‘ tures 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 Caesar*, 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 *Mu-
 tius Scaevola* gain immortal Honour for an Attempt to kill
Porfenna by *Surprize*, who was a foreign Enemy, making un-
 just War upon *Rome*? Did not *L. Quintus Cincinnatus*, a
 brave and virtuous Dictator of *Rome*, order *Spurius Maelius* 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 Traytor and sworn Enemy.

Have we not read of Men who have killed themselves, ra-
 ther than become a Prey to a merciless Enemy — *Brutus*
 and *Cassius*, the *Decii*, *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 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 *Goliath* 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 Bot-
 “ tle 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 shall say,
 “ No. “ Then

“ Then *Jaël*, *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 *Jaël* the Wife of *He-*
 “ *ber* 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 re-
 markable than the above— We find that *Judith* killed *Holo-*
fernes even deceitfully, when it could be done no other
 Way.— *Holofernes* was the chief Captain of the Army of
Assur, who made War against *Israel*; and when he was go-
 ing 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 Cap-
 “ tives 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*, un-
 “ til 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 *Ozias* 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 di-
 “ rected 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 “ *civiliz'd Nation in Europe*”—— Lest
 you should be prevailed upon to believe that it was not in my
 Power to answer such a Challenge, I shall give you an In-
 stance 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 *stabb'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, carested 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 perfidious 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 melancholly 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 *Traytors*, 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 Traytors to us, is prov'd by the Deposition of one *Thomas Moore*, who being sworn on the Holy Evangelists, before the chief Burgess 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 Correspondence 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 extracted from the *DIARY* of *Conrad Weiser*, Esq; written in his own Hand.

July 3d, 1760.

“ These Indians told me that the French Indian (so 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 chastise the People settling on the Indian's Lands on the other Side the *Apalachian* Mountains; and to take Courage, the Majority of the People of *Pennsylvania* was on the Indians Side of the Question, and do disapprove of the Proceedings of *Onas* 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 *Monsters*, 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 Distress, 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, of which, I and my Neighbours have been melancholy Eye-Witnesses — To use the Words of the Poet;

——— *If we could recount*
Our baleful News, and at each Word's Deliverance
Stab Poignards 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

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!—*Rachael* weeping for her dear Children, who are now no more!—*Here* lies the provident Father welt'ring 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, *Quis*

(s) 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.

(t) 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 him 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 *Tawawass*, the gentlest of the Savages.

(z) This was the dismal Fate of *Gnadenhutten*, a *Moravian Village*, in *Northampton*.

Quis talia fando temperet à Lacrymis ?

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 fur-
 nish’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 a-
 “ mong *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 Dis-
 “ tress—— 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 *OB-*
 “ *STINATE QUAKERS* of *PENNSYLVANIA* !”

But Complainings (you will say) cannot mend the Matter,
 —— What then is to be done !—— Have there been any Re-
 medies 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 Go-
 vernment, 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 *MA-*
GISTRACY of their Country in Question.—— But at the

same

same 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 rouse 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 represent their publick Grievances, and to petition for Redress 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 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 restor'd—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.

F I N I S.