

I. Aspinquid

Early newspaper texts related to Aspinquid, Nova Scotia 1770's

Here are four items in the Halifax *Gazette* (an overall title for a series of newspapers printed by Anthony Henry in the latter 1700's under several different titles). In the transcripts, spelling has been modernized and Americanized. Spelling of Native names, insofar as I could decipher them, have been left character-for-character as I found them. Capitalization, paragraphing and punctuation have been modified for ease of reading. Some words were indecipherable, and what I could make of them was placed in square brackets, [...]. Some Native names are plainly not real names, and are apparently parodies. Lengthy instances of these have also been placed in square brackets. Square brackets are also used for pointers to notes and to modern synonyms for some archaic words.

It was only possible to search those issues of the paper which still exist and have made their way online. There may have been other years' feasts which were covered. Following is a table of what was checked. "No" means the issue preceding and the issue following the calculated feast date, as presented online, were found to contain no Aspinquid story. The table also shows whether the Nova Scotia *Calender* (sic), an almanac with the same printer as the *Gazette*, told St Aspinquid's day for the year.

Year	Feast Date	Halifax Gazette	NS Calender
1770	June 1	Yes	?
1771	May 21	?	?
1772	May 9	?	Yes
1773	May 28	Yes	Yes
1774	May 19	Yes	Yes
1775	June 5	No	?
1776	May 24	?	Yes*
1777	May 14	?	Yes
1778	June 2	?	No
1779	May 23	No	?
1780	May 11	No	Yes*
1781	May 30	?	?
1782	May 19	?	?
1783	May 8	?	?
1784	May 26	?	No
1785	May 15	?	?
1786	June 3	?	Yes**
1787	May 24	?	No

* As Aspinquid, rather than St Aspinquid. ("St. Pat" kept his honorific those years; it is not that saints went out of favor.)

** According to the report of Thomas Beamish Akins, *History of Halifax City*, 218 (footnote), 1895. In an earlier prize essay, Akins reported having checked specific years, including 1786 (page 41 footnote). In neither source did Akins say which almanac he used; the assumption made here is that he meant the *Calender*. The 1895 work is available from archive.org; the prize essay is at Hathi Trust, the pdf link is: <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/imgsrv/download/pdf?id=aeu.ark%3A%2F13960%2Ft14n03g3t>

Except for 1753 (the first year of publication for the newspaper), 1770 was the first year the *Uncertaintist* succeeded to check the *Gazette* both the week before and the week after the holiday. There was no mention found in 1753. The almanac began publishing for the year 1769, but 1770 is the earliest edition of which any copies are known to be extant. In addition to the dates on the table below, archive.org has the 1789, 1791, 1797 and 1800 editions, none of which has St Aspinquid's feast noted. According to Anne Dondterman ("Anthony Henry, Lilius, and the Nova-Scotia Calender"), the almanac was published from 1769 through the end of the 18th Century, when Henry died in 1800.

<http://jps.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/bsc/article/view/17808/14741>

Nova Scotia Chronicle and Weekly Advertiser, May 29 to June 5, 1770

p. 184, leftmost column

<https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=4p3FJGzjgAC&dat=17700529&printsec=frontpage&hl=en>

Halifax June 5

On Thursday last, being the 31st of May [see note 1], the Festival of St Aspinquid was celebrated at Northwest Arm, at Mr Nathan's and Mr Jordan's, both fishermen, where elegant dinners at both places were provided, consisting of various kinds of fish &c. After dinner at Mr Nathan's were discharged a number of cannon, and at Mr Jordan's, muskets, and many loyal toasts were drunk in honor of the day. At Mr Jordan's, the toasts after the usual manner were the twelve sachems chiefs of the twelve tribes who were general friends and allies to the English, and are as follows [see note 2 for the names and titles used in the toasts]:

To the memory of St Aspinquid, chief sachem of all the tribes of Indians in the Northern District of North America,

Sachem Hindrick, chief of the Mohawks,

Sachem Unkess, chief of the Mohegans

Sachem [Woonpakkooaniugh], chief of the Narragansetts

Sachem Massasoiett, chief of the Wompanoogs

Sachem Waban, chief of the Naticks

Sachem Peagan, chief of the [Assooomisscoos]

Sachem [Wookooconoought], chief of the Poonkkapoogs

Sachem Boombareen, chief of the Norridgewoaks

Sachem [Wewookkadondona], chief of the Penobscotts

Sachem Egeeremmitt, chief of the Passamaquada

Sachem Pier Thomas, [Woopakkamunnyquassen], chief of St John's

1. May 31st was the First Quarter of the moon after the first full moon of May, consistent with the algorithm mentioned in the second newspaper story below.

2. **Aspinquid**: There was no overall Native American-First Nation sachem for all tribes north of

Virginia (that is, the British colonial Northern District), and Aspinquid's "title" in the toast is fanciful. There had been a (British) Superintendent of Indians in the Northern District of North America since 1755, Sir William Johnson.

<http://treatiesportal.unl.edu/planof1764/>

(Throughout the toast, the word rendered here as *sachem* was typeset as sacham).

Hindrick: There were two Mohawk chiefs named Hindrick, both allied with Great Britain. One died in 1735, and the other in 1765.

<http://www.adirondackalmanack.com/2010/05/the-two-hendricks-a-mohawk-indian-mystery.html>

Uncas: Mohegan chief Uncas died in 1698, and was allied with Great Britain.

<http://mohegan.nsn.us/heritage/our-history/sachem-uncas>

Narragansett: The chief's name may be fanciful. The Naragansett were friendly with Great Britain.

Massasoit: Chief of the Wompanoags, friend to the English since *Mayflower* times. He died in 1661.

Waban: not a sachem, but reputedly the first recorded Native American convert to Protestant Christianity in Massachusetts, by Reverend John Eliot in 1646. (Another candidate for that "first" is Hiacoomes of Martha's Vineyard, who also vies for being the first Native ordained pastor.) Waban came to live in Natick, a place name (a "praying town" established for Native converts).

Peagan: It is unclear who, if anybody in particular, is meant. The tribal name is either fanciful or untranscribable.

Ponkapoag: Also a place name, another "praying town" (like Natick, mentioned above in the entry for Waban). It was also used as a tribal name by the English for some Massachusetts tribe members. The sachem's name appears fanciful.

Bomazeen: A Norridgewock chief, who signed peace treaties with the British, but who was also a prominent attacker of British settlements, especially after he was treacherously seized at Pemaquid during a truce in 1694 and imprisoned at Boston. He died in 1724, in a raid by the British colonists against his tribe.

Penobscots: More typically allied with the French than the British, The chief's name appears fanciful.

Egeremet: The name of two Passamaquoddy leaders. The better documented elder died in 1696 at Pemaquid, killed under flag of truce along with Ahenquid (not to be confused with the 1694 incident at Pemaquid in which Bomazeen was captured, see above). A younger Egeremet supposedly (and so possibly relevant in the context of the toast to friends of the English) joined the British and a mostly Mohawk Native force in the 1724 attack on the Norridgewocks in which Bomazeen died.

Pierre Tomah: The name of a chief of the St John's (Malecite) tribe at the time of the toast.

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Nova Scotia Gazette and Weekly Chronicle May 25, 1773

unnumbered page, in Google, begins on right of their third page and ends on left of their second
<https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=4p3FJGzxjgAC&dat=17730525&printsec=frontpage&hl=en>

Mr Henry

Please insert the following piece in your next Gazette and you'll oblige one of your constant readers.

What immortal honors has Nova Scotia acquired from the due observance of the anniversary feast of the great, the good, the wise, the just, the pious and the most exemplary Saint Aspinquid! The other colonies justly revere his memory & piously keep his festival; but this can boast of its more numerous converts; every year produces a great many new votaries to this most excellent pattern of saintship.

Here we behold English, Welch, Caledonians, Hibernians, Gauls, Dutch, Germans, Russians, Swiss &c., all meeting together on this incomparable occasion, perfectly united in principle and sentiment to celebrate the praises of our American saint. How pleasing the sight! How happy the day! where his pious and immortal memory is duly and reverently observed according to the rubric of our American ancestors.

There are indeed some bigots among us, who pretend to patronize a long list of calendared mock saints, who envy us the happiness of keeping this day and vainly endeavor to blacken the character of our immaculate hero, but maugre [= despite] all their uncharitable reflections, we will pursue this laudable custom, and pity those who pretend to honor the names of such as ought justly to be deemed tyrants and the butchers of mankind.

It is indeed to be lamented that on the anniversary of our saint there was a great defection in King's County, as the day was not observed with the usual solemnities, and it is worthy of particular notice that on the night following, those of that county seemed to be marked out and punished in an extraordinary manner by suffering the effects of a tremendous storm wherein numbers of homes and barns were blown down, much cattle destroyed, with other incredible damage, whereby many of the followers of our saint were made sensible of their impious neglect and conscious of having failed in an essential point of duty. A numerous company of them met a few days after at Brother York's in Falmouth, and kept the festival in the usual manner.

Now, as this is a moveable feast which always happens seven days after the first new moon in the month of May, and as everyone is not furnished with Lilius' Almanac [see note 1], in which the day is marked in capitals, the brethren are hereby informed that it falls out this year on Friday the 28th instant, and this seasonable notice is given so that none may plead ignorance of the same.

And it is devoutly wished that all labor and business might be laid aside on that day, that no occasion of offence be given to the conscientious observers of a feast thus piously observed in commemoration of this unparalleled personage, to whom all other saints must veil [probably *vail* was intended, a sign of respect].

Much [Oil...e] labor has been spent in characterizing this truly great person, whose life and labors will shine in the annals of fame to the latest posterity, and sorry should I be that any should yet entertain any remaining doubt of the truth of what has been annually published about his canonization. If there are any such, I advise that the next year they join the pious company who perform the annual pilgrimage to visit the tomb of our saint on Mount Agamenticus, and they may be perfectly satisfied by applying to [Ouulahpatulaatpotoagah] Sachem to the Amariscoggan tribe and Grand Librarian to the Aboriginies through all North America.

There they may find in those famous archives and sacred repositories the large folio library of our saint's life and labors, a work of inestimable value, compiled by Bomazeen [Woohoaulahampagaalah] Sachem to the tribe of Wompanoags. This famous history is very curiously wrote or marked in hieroglyphics [note 2], the leaves are of birch bark twenty foot square containing nine hundred and ninety nine pages. It was first deciphered and rendered into English by the learned [Mawhonteenwoodandallah] Sachem to the [Alliaahwultuwduuly's] alias Mohawks, a person of [profound?] erudition. From this piece of antiquity, the learned and curious may expect many useful discoveries as soon as we can obtain an authentic copy for the press.

As the number of Aspiquidians is greatly increased, and as the company this year will be too numerous to be entertained at one house, it is determined by the stewards appointed on this occasion that there be two places of resort at Sandwich River, one at Captain Jordan's, the other at Nathan Ben Saddi Nathan's [note 3], where everything necessary will be provided for the celebration of this grand festival.

[signed] Aspinquidinus

1. The actual title of "Livius' Almanac" is the *Nova Scotia Calendar*, and it was published by Anthony Henry, who also published the newspaper. It is thus more than possible that "Aspinquidinus" is Mr Henry, or someone in his employ, giving a plug for his firm's other offerings. "Archive.org" has several years' editions; be sure to search onsite for both spellings, *calender* as well as *calendar*.

In 1773, May 28th is indeed marked with ST ASPINQUID, and the new moon was the 21st.

2. Mi'kmaq people native to greater Nova Scotia used inscribed symbols ("hieroglyphics") which, by the 1740's, had been adapted for the writing of prayers by the French missionaries. Birch bark scrolls were convenient for this purpose.

3. Nathan Ben Saddi was the pseudonym of Robert Dodsley (1704-1764) used in his 1740 *The Chronicle of the Kings of England*, a history written in the style of the King James Bible Old Testament. There was also an American satirical book in similar style, *A Fragment of the Chronicles of Nathan Ben Saddi*, published in Phildelphia during 1758 by Benjamin Franklin's business partner, James Chattin. In both works, the pseudonymous Nathan is supposedly a Jewish priest or rabbi.

Nathan Nathans (the apostrophe in the article is misplaced) is a searchable name. He was a Jewish immigrant to Halifax from Rhode Island. He was the Secretary of the No. 2 Masonic Lodge in Halifax. After a colorful career as a merchant, he had become a fisherman by the time of this article..

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Nova Scotia Gazette and Weekly Chronicle June 1, 1773

Last column after a heading found low in the previous column: "Halifax, June 1."

<https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=4p3FJGzxjgAC&dat=17730601&printsec=frontpage&hl=en>

Friday last being the anniversary of St. Aspinquid the same was observed here according to the usual custom, at Captain Jordan's & Nathan Ben Saadi Nathan's; after dinner (which consisted of bear and venison hams, moose tongue and various kinds of fish) the following loyal toasts were drank.

The King, the Queen, the Prince of Wales and Royal Family; The Governor and Province; and success to fishing and agriculture; the memory of St. Aspinquid, Grand Sachem of all North America.

Sundry toasts usually drank by the Sachems at the different treaties of peace with the English, viz.

[C + about 20 letters]; In English, Our good friend and brother the English King.

[C + about 27 letters]; My good friend the Governor I bury the hatchet.

[C + about 16 letters]; Englishman my brother all one me.

[W + about 32 letters]; Me fight for my brothers the English when war.

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Nova Scotia Gazette and Weekly Chronicle May 10, 1774

Leftmost column under a heading "Halifax, May 10."

<https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=4p3FJGzxjgAC&dat=17740510&printsec=frontpage&hl=en>

Tuesday next being the Feast of Saint Aspinquid, the [latter?] will be observed at Capt. Jordan's, at the North West Arm with the usual solemnities.

Note. The March 15, 1774 edition of the *Gazette* included an ad for the rental of Russell's Island that had "lately" been Nathans' place of business, a fishery. That item suggests an interruption of Nathans' business, which would explain why he didn't cohost the 1774 feast.

<https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=4p3FJGzxjgAC&dat=17740315&printsec=frontpage&hl=en>

Nathans reportedly died in 1778. (p.149, note #17 on page 266; S.J. and J. Godfrey, *Search out the Land*) <https://books.google.com/books?id=ajizw3pz8IIC&pg=PA266&lpg=PA266>

The succinct legend of Aspinquid, as of 1824

The following item comes from a periodical which collected tid-bits published in newspapers, and other literary material of general interest. The *Salem (Massachusetts) Observer* began publishing in the 1820's, and so it is not the "old newspaper" referred to, but rather the paper to which the material was first addressed as a "letter to the editor," before being republished in the *Collections*.

For this item, one comment and two pointers to notes are enclosed in curly brackets { ... }, because square brackets appear within the item itself (just after the headline).

John Farmer and Jacob Bailey Moore (eds.), *Collections Historical and Miscellaneous*, volume 3 appendix, pp.85-86, 1824

<https://archive.org/details/collectionshisto00farmer>

ANTIQUITY.

[I have found among the papers of an aged friend, lately deceased, the following account of a celebrated Aboriginal, transcribed from an "old newspaper." Believing it may afford amusement to the younger class of your readers, I send it to you with the hope of seeing it published. - *A Constant Reader*.]

Saint Aspinquid. - He was born in the year 1588, was more than forty years of age when converted to christianity; he died May 1, 1682 {see note 1}, on Mount Agamenticus, where his sepulchre remains to this day. On his tomb-stone is still to be seen this couplet :-

Present useful; absent wanted;
Lived desired; died lamented. {see note 2}

The Sachems of the different tribes attended his funeral obsequies; and made a collection of a great number of wild beasts. to do him honor by a sacrifice, on the occasion, agreeably to the custom of those nations; and on that day were slain accordingly, 25 bucks, 67 does, 99 bears, 36 moose, 240 wolves, 82 wild cats, 3 catamounts, 482 foxes, 32 buffaloes, 400 otters, 620 beavers, 1500 minks, 110 ferrets, 520

raccoons, 900 muskquashes, 501 fishers, 3 ermines, 38 porcupines, 50 weasels, 832 martins, 59 woodchucks, and 112 rattlesnakes. Total 6,711. {Note: that is the correct sum of the numbers reported.}

He was a preacher of the gospel to sixty-six different nations, for forty years, from the Atlantic Ocean to the California Sea. - *Salem Obs.*

1. May 1, 1682 according to the English calendar then in force would be May 13, 1682 under the Gregorian calendar, which the English would adopt in 1752, a bit before we have any indication of a Feast of Saint Aspinquid. The first new moon in May 1682 (Gregorian calendar) was on the 6th and 7th. Seven days later, then, would be May 13 or 14.

2. Phrases expressing the sentiment "While (s)he **lived**, she was **desired** and when (s)he **died**, she was **lamented**," using the four bolded words, in that order, can be found on both sides of the Atlantic around the 1600's. "Useful" was also a common virtue to include in epitaphs and eulogies. The distinctive couplet mentioned in the item was composed by Dorchester (Massachusetts) preacher John Danforth for the gravestone of his church's elder and deacon, Hopestill Clap, who died in 1719. The couplet also appears on some other New England gravestones in the years following. Danforth was famous for his epitaphs and eulogies, so it is not surprising that his work would be imitated.

Recent monumental signage related to Aspinquid

Given below is the text of a sign that was maintained atop the First Hill at Mount Agamenticus during the late 20th Century and into the first decade of the 21st by the York, Maine Masonic lodge named after St Aspinquid. A durable green version of the sign was removed by authorities in 2006. It was replaced by a similarly phrased white sign for a while through 2009. The wording given here was extracted from an incomplete photo of the green sign and, for the last several words (beginning at "with stones"), from a challenging to decipher photograph of the white sign. The transcription here preserves some minor phrasing oddities of the green sign version (for examples, *believed* in the first paragraph, where the sense suggests *beloved*, which oddity is also seen on the white sign, and the apparent omission of the word *as* in the second-to-last paragraph, just *and was* instead of *and as was*, and the slightly wrong tally of animals at the funeral, 6,723 instead of 6,711.)

Finally, there is the text of a plaque placed on the granite base of the statue of Passaconaway in the Edson Cemetery at Lowell, Massachusetts. The monument was erected in 1899 by the "Improved Order of Redmen," a fraternal group with a Massachusetts chapter. The plaque mentioning Aspinquid was apparently affixed to the base sometime after the statue was erected, possibly during renovations in the 1960's or maybe those made in 2011 (although the racially and religiously blunt phrasing strongly suggests an earlier date). Passaconaway's name has been inscribed in the stone base since 1899, according to contemporaneous reports.

Former signage atop Mount Agamenticus

St. Aspinquid

Died 1682

Age 94

Aspinquid was an Indian medicine man who was believed by all the tribes of Indians and lived in this vicinity.

He was converted to the Christian faith and thereafter was known as St. Aspinquid.

When he died, Indians came from hundreds of miles away to pay tribute to his memory and it's alleged that 6,723 wild animals were sacrificed here to celebrate his funeral on this mountain.

He was buried here, on Mt. Agamenticus and was the Indian custom his grave was covered with stones to prevent the wolves from digging up his remains.

For centuries it has been customary for visitors to Mt Agamenticus to add a stone to his grave and you are invited to do tribute to an Indian who was a Christian gentleman by adding a stone.

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Plaque on the base of the statue in the Edson Cemetery, Lowell Massachusetts

Chief of the Penacooks

Great warrior and friend to the White Man

Embraced Christianity

Died at the age of 122

Known as

Aspinquid - The Indian Saint

Property of the Improved Order of Red Men of Massachusetts

II. Tammany

The mock canonization of Tammany recalled, 1771

In the collection *Letters from America*, William Eddis, Annapolis Maryland.

https://books.google.com/books/about/Letters_from_America_historical_and_desc.html?id=rSATAAAAYAAJ

Letter IX, not addressed to a person, dated Annapolis, December 24, 1771, begins on p. 111 (132 physical). From p. 114-115 (135-136):

There are few places where young people are more frequently gratified with opportunities of associating together than in this country. Besides our regular assemblies, every mark of attention is paid to the patron Saint of each parent dominion ; and St. George, St. Andrew, St. Patrick, and St. David, are celebrated with every partial mark of national attachment. General invitations are given, and the appearance is always numerous and splendid.

The Americans on this part of the continent, have likewise a Saint, whose history, like those of the above venerable characters, is lost in fable and uncertainty. The first of May is, however, set apart to the memory of Saint Tamina, on which occasion the natives wear a piece of a buck's tail in their hats, or in some conspicuous situation. During the course of the evening, and generally in the midst of a dance, the company are interrupted by the sudden intrusion of a number of persons habited like Indians, who rush violently into the room, singing the war song, giving the whoop, and dancing in the stile of those people; after which ceremony a collection is made, and they retire well satisfied with their reception and entertainment.

An interregional discussion of Tammany

This is from correspondence between Jeremy Belknap, writing from Dover, New Hampshire and Ebenezer Hazard of Philadelphia. Their letters are chatty, they are friends. Belknap's and Hazard's letters were published by the Massachusetts Historical Society. We are quoting from Part I, which can be downloaded from <https://books.google.com/books?id=lrAUAAAAYAAJ>

In a letter dated Dover, May 24, 1784, Belknap, apparently appropos of nothing from earlier in the correspondence, inquires of Hazard:

Pray who was Tammany? and what was the origin of St. Tammany's day? and by what order of men is it kept?

Hazard replied to the query, along with other matters, in a letter dated Philadelphia, June 14, 1784

Tammany was an Indian Sachem, whether real or fictitious I do not know ; but the first of May has long been considered as his day. When I was a boy, I used to wear in my hat upon that day a buck's tail, gilded, and a picture of an Indian (Tammany, no doubt) shooting a deer with a bow and arrow. We used to talk of King Tammany then ; but it seems he has been canonized since the Declaration of Independence, and has now become a saint. He will make as good an one as any in the Calender; though I have not heard that he has been approved by his Holiness. However, as he is, I suppose, to be the tutelar saint of Pennsylvania, and Pennsylvania is one of the United States, Congress ought to have been consulted about it. Should the " balance of power " between the States be destroyed by this accession of weight to the Pennsylvanian scale, it would be a sad affair. This same saint's day is kept principally by natives of this State ; but I apprehend that anybody might be admitted who would pay his club towards a good dinner and liquors to get drunk with.

Belknap, in a letter dated Dover July 2, 1784

I thank you for the account of King or St. Tammany, who is a being of about as much importance to your bucks as St. Patrick is to the Hibernians, or St. Cuffee to the negroes; i.e. he serves to give them a yearly feast; but I dare say his votaries are not content with such fare as St. Tammany himself lived on.

It is interesting that Hazard seems unaware of the celebrations in neighboring Maryland, and that Tammany's sainthood had been achieved there before the Revolution. On the other hand, kingship may have been the Pennsylvania variant, and the title changed there just when Hazard says.

It is also interesting for tracing the *Aspinquid* legend that Belknap wrote from Dover, New Hampshire, where he had been a clergyman since 1767. Dover is about 20 miles (about 32 km) west from Mount Agamenticus, and yet Dr Belknap makes no mention of the salient parallels between Tammany and Aspinquid, despite noting parallels with other saints whose feasts are annually observed.

The not-so succinct legend of Tammany, 1809

Portions of a "Traditional Account of the Life of Tammany, an Indian Chief" prepared as an address to the Tammany Society or Columbian Order of Rensselaer County, NY, by William Learned Marcy; published in 1809.

<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433023468030;view=1up;seq=7>

Selected portions from the oration are presented in plain font, introduced with topical prompts not in

the oration in *italics*. Parenthetical notes not in the oration appear in square brackets.

Sources of information: I would also observe, before I commence the life of Tammany, that our information of this subject is derived from the uncertain light of tradition, which often bewilders the most inquisitive researcher, by the apparent inconsistency of facts, and seeming irreconciliation of chronology.

Summary qualities. Beyond the Alleghenies, and on the pleasant banks of the Ohio, lived this illustrious chief, renowned for fortitude in adversity, prudent courage in war, and consummate wisdom in council... he became a distinguished Chief of a powerful nation... He improved the arts of hunting and fishing, he taught his people to erect more permanent and commodious habitations, he made great advances in agriculture. His attention was often directed to the contemplation of the astonishing works of the GREAT SPIRIT... Crimes were punished with a severity proportionate to the magnitude of the offence. Contending parties, seeking the redress of grievances, were patiently heard, and had their rights ascertained by solemn adjudications. JUSTICE, EQUALITY, and MERCY, sat upon the same bench, and mingled their respective and proper influence in every decision, Their power was as free from bias or control in this Indian tribunal, as it ever was in the Roman forum, or the Grecian areopagus.

Religious perspective: They soon discovered, that there was a material difference between their religion and that of the Europeans. Some were disposed to renounce their own and their fathers' worship, and adopt that which the settlers had introduced among them; others thought it would be an impious apostacy to cast off a religion established by the wisdom of ancestors, sanctified by the practice of ages, and ratified by the will of the GREAT SPIRIT... each party applied for the interposition of TAMMANY, in their favour. He told them, so long as they respected the general customs of the country, and did not destroy the tranquility of the public, he could not interfere; but, "if my advice," said he, "can in any way restore peace ... Moderation of conduct, candour of sentiment, and charity, of remark, are the unerring characteristics of a virtuous and exalted mind. Your belief is independent of your will, and beyond the control of external force; therefore, not a subject of correction or punishment. It knows no controlling power, but reason—no chastising monitor, but conscience. As the GREAT SPIRIT dictates, so you should shape your course. With His own finger has he traced the lines of your duty upon the tablets of your hearts; and if these should vary, We should not quarrel. It can not disturb our peace, or destroy the natural obligations of rendering mutual kindnesses, and promoting the general happiness. Will any embrace a different religion than that of his forefathers? If it be the will of the GREAT SPIRIT, let him do it—let each follow the dictates of his own reason, and discharge the claims of his own conscience"

Funerary arrangements: Wherever he appeared in public, reverence and attention waited upon him. In every enjoyment, which a life spent in acts of virtue and goodness could secure, did TAMMANY, the illustrious Chieftain, end his useful and glorious career of existence. The tribute of affection paid by a grateful people to his memory, appears to this day in a monument unequalled by the mighty ruins of that early period.

[There was at least one traditional grave site in Bucks County, Pennsylvania. There is a recent non-grave rock-arrangement that includes the names of Tammany and four of his family members. The tribute is located in the Tamanend Park, Upper Southampton Township, Bucks County, Pennsylvania.]

Relations with Europeans. [Speech supposedly given to a council of war, where Tammany urges peace]

"BROTHERS," said he, "this is an important consultation. We ought to conform to the will of the GREAT SPIRIT, who gave us this island, and who, if he chooses, can give it to another people, or sink it beneath the waters, whence it came. The wisdom of counsellors is manifested,

in forming practicable designs, and adopting means best fitted for their speedy execution... Is not the contemplated object unattainable? Are not death and destruction in the very means for its accomplishment? Truly has our brother told the story of the white men; but can we drive them from our country, even if we could assemble all the warriors scattered over the extended territory of our great Island, and rush in one furious storm upon them? Suppose we succeed, even beyond all probable calculation, and drive them to the ocean's edge, can we follow them in their big canoes, ...? They would soon return strengthened by an increase of numbers, and more terrible by new instruments of warfare. Before these dreadful engines, which belch forth fire and death—before their matchless skill and superior numbers, we must retire even from the lands we now possess, or perish in hopeless opposition...

"BROTHERS!— ... Let us forgive past injuries, and cultivate friendly intercourse. Let us bind, in one chain of union, all the children of the GREAT SPIRIT!"

Relationship with other Native Americans. [The speech just quoted supposedly turned the other nations against Tammany, but he and his tribe prevailed in the ensuing war against them. Here is his "farewell address" to his tribe, when he retired as chief, after years of peace, prosperity and good governance.]

"BROTHERS!- Many are the moons I have lived. Many times have I seen the leaves fall; and the night of nature cast his fleecy mantle over the face of the sleeping world, since the GREAT SPIRIT placed me among you... At one time, peace has blessed us with its cheering smiles. At another, intestine broils have disturbed our serenity, and enveloped us in clouds and darkness. Then war, with the violence of a tempest, has blasted our present happiness, and involved in its fury all the enjoyments of life. It has ever been my anxious care, since your welfare depended on my exertions, to promote the blessings of the former, and avert the horrors of the latter. ...

"... Love and cherish peace. It is a blessing worthy any sacrifice, but your honour and your rights. Be hospitable and generous to strangers. Extend the chain of amity, until within its multiplied links are contained all the tribes upon this great island. Let wars cease, as far as practicable, among brothers of the same common FATHER. Love and assist each other in all conditions, and under whatsoever afflictions. Preserve your character unimpeached, and your sincerity unsuspecting; that you may attach to yourselves esteem and confidence. Never infringe the rights of others because they are weak, nor shrink from the maintenance of your own, because your enemy is strong—unite in peace for happiness, and in war for defence. Follow these directions, and you may be respected and powerful—neglect them, and your present prosperity will vanish away; internal distractions, and external invasions, will weaken your power, and hasten your final destruction."

III. Some Aspects of Georgian British-American Culture

The Anonymous Native as British America, an early example from Britain

From a collection of British political cartoons, pp. 33-34, detail

<http://acmeofskill.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/02/British-Cartoons-American-Revolution.pdf>

TITLE: The great financier, or British economy for the years 1763, 1764, 1765

SUMMARY: Print shows George Grenville holding a balance with scales "Debts" and "Savings", the debt far outweighs savings; among those in line to contribute their savings is a Native American woman representing America, she wears a yoke labeled "Taxed without representation". A melancholy Britannia sits on the far right. {The Native American woman on one knee, on the left of the drawing,

principal inhabitants gave an elegant entertainment at the State House, at which his honor, the Governor, and the officers of government, the military gentlemen, Captain Hawker, of His Majesty's Ship *Sardine*, the other gentlemen of the Navy, and the strangers in the city were present. The honors of the table were performed by the worshipful mayor of the city, assisted by some of the aldermen; and considering that not less than three hundred plates were laid, the whole was conducted with the greatest elegance and decorum, so that Detraction itself must be silent on this occasion. After dinner, the following toasts were drank, in flowing glasses, viz.

1. The King
 2. The Queen
 3. Prince of Wales, and Royal Family
 4. May the illustrious House of Hanover preside over the United British Empire, until the end of time.
 5. The House of Lords
 6. The House of Commons
 7. The present worthy ministry
 8. The glorious and immortal Mr Pitt
 9. That lover and supreme justice, Lord Camden
 10. The London Committee of Merchants
 11. America's friends in Great Britain
 12. The Virginia Assembly
 13. All other assemblies of the continent, actuated by the like zeal for the liberties of their country
 14. Prosperity to the spirited inhabitants of St Christioher's
 15. Navy and Army
 16. Daniel Dulany, Esquire
 17. May the interest of Great Britain and her colonies always be united.
 18. Trade and navigation
 19. America's friends in Ireland
 20. Prsoperity to the Province of Pennsylvania
 21. The liberty of the press in America
- With many others [!!], of the same public nature.

The cannon belonging to the Province, being placed in the State House yard, the royal salute was fired on drinking to the King, and seven guns after every succeeding toast. The whole concluded in the evening with bonfires, ringing of bells, and strong beer to the populace, and gave general satisfaction to every person concerned.

The following resolution was unanimously agreed to by the company, viz.

That to demonstrate out affection to Great Britain, and our gratitude for the repeal of the Stamp Act, each of us will, on the 4th of June next, being the birthday of our most gracious sovreign George III, dress ourselves in a new suit of the manufactures of England, and give that home-spun we have to the poor.

On this occasion, the public are much obliged to Captain Hawker, of His Majesty's Ship *Sardine*, as he brought her up before the town, and dressed her off with a variety of colors.

In a letter from Barbados, dated April 28, it is said, that a packet from England was arrived there in five weeks' passage, which brought an account of the repeal of the Stamp Act; and that in a speech made by His Majesty at the repealing of the law, he was most graciously pleased to declare, "That could he have conceived the act would have been so injurious and disagreeable to his subjects, he never would have given his assent to it, therefore most cheerfully repealed it."

Use of mock Native names; The second Boston Tea Party

From the *Boston Gazette* of March 14, 1774, front page.

http://www.masshist.org/revolution/doc-viewer.php?old=1&mode=nav&item_id=448

Boston March 14.

His Majesty Oknookortunkogog King of the Narraganset Tribe of Indians, on receiving information of the arrival of another cargo of that cursed weed tea, immediately summoned his Council at the Great Swamp by the River Jordan, who did advise and consent to the immediate destruction thereof, after resolving that the importation of this herb, by ANY persons whatever, was attended with pernicious consequences to the lives and properties of all his subjects throughout America. Orders were then issued to their Seizor & Destroyer General, and their deputies to assemble the executive body under their command, to proceed directly to the place where the noxious herb was. They arrived last Monday evening in town, and finding the vessel, they emptied every chest, into the Great Pacific Ocean, and effectually destroyed the whole, (twenty-eight chests and an half.) They are now returned to Narragansett to make report of their doings to his Majesty, who we hear is determined to honour them with Commissions for the Peace.