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PRINCETONIANS

== 1784-1790 ==

A BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY

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Virginia. The son could have received his early education in the classical school in Warrenton, Fauquier County, which was organized by Hezekiah Balch (A.B. 1766) in 1777, and incorporated as Warren Academy by 1788. Here Thomson could easily have been influenced to attend the College of New Jersey. See C. S. McCarty, *Foothills of the Blue Ridge in Fauquier Cnty., Va.* (1974), 86, 124; H. C. Groome, *Fauquier During the Proprietorship* (1927), 150, 213; E. L. Goodwin, *The Colonial Church in Va.* (1927), 311.

At least two Philadelphians named John Thompson could be considered in identifying the Princetonian, and a John Thompson of Petersburg, Virginia, who attended William & Mary in 1792, could have matriculated at the College earlier. A John Thompson who graduated from Dickinson College in 1790 became a journalist in Frederick, Maryland, and died in 1855. Nothing is known about when he entered Dickinson, or from whence he came, and there is nothing to suggest that he transferred from the College of New Jersey (letter from Dickinson College Archivist, 19 Apr. 1982, PUA).

RLW & JMM

George Morgan White Eyes

GEORGE MORGAN WHITE EYES was the son of the Delaware Indian sachem White Eyes or Koquethagachton, and a descendant of Chief Tamanens, or Tammany. Said to be half-white, young White Eyes was born in 1770 or 1771, probably in the area in the upper Muskingum Valley in present Ohio then known as White Eyes Town or White Eyes Plain. In 1774 Chief White Eyes made an extensive journey which included stays in New Orleans, New York, and Philadelphia. The impressions he gained on this trip made him resolve to obtain for his own people the benefits that he had observed. He has been described as brave and virtuous, but his eloquence and leadership are the traits most frequently mentioned.

Never baptized himself, White Eyes nevertheless urged his people to accept the teachings of the Moravian missionaries who founded the town of Goshen, if only as the best means of acquiring an education. White Eyes was able to maintain the neutrality of the Delawares during the Indian disturbances that followed Lord Dunmore's attempts to settle English colonies on the Ohio River, even though it gained him the deep hatred and personal enmity of the Shawnees. At the outbreak of the Revolution he still endeavored to remain neutral, but finding this impossible he signed a treaty with the Americans on September 17, 1778 in the hope that eventually there might be an Indian state in the new confederation. When Henry "Hair Buyer" Hamilton, the British governor of Detroit, incited the other tribes in the Ohio area against the colonists and tried to convince the Delawares that they had embraced the losing side, only White Eyes's strong leadership kept his people in line. He was given the title of captain in the American army and acted as a scout and messenger. He

offered to guide General Lachlan McIntosh's troops through the forest in McIntosh's unsuccessful attempt to capture Detroit. On November 10, 1778 he was killed by the American soldiers he was guiding, but both his tribesmen and the Moravian missionaries were told that he had died of smallpox. McIntosh, commandant at Fort Pitt, had been persistently aggressive toward the Indians, and was denounced before Congress for White Eyes's murder by Col. George Morgan, the Indian agent, who resigned his post after learning the truth of White Eyes's death.

Morgan had first become acquainted with the western Indians when he traveled to the Illinois country for the Philadelphia firm of Boynton, Wharton, and Morgan, fur traders and land speculators. Among the assets of the partnership was its share of the Indian grant made by the Six Nations to traders whose goods had been destroyed by Indians. Morgan quickly established rapport with the Indians, and in 1776 he was appointed agent of Indian Affairs with the rank and pay of a colonel of the Continental Army. In 1777 he was appointed deputy commissary general for the Western District and served in this capacity until the end of the war. Morgan and Chief White Eyes, who had frequent contact and admired each other, vowed an agreement of friendship "as long as the Sun shall shine." White Eyes traveled to Philadelphia in September 1777 to deliver to Congress the message that the Delawares wished to remain friendly, even though other Indians were on the warpath. He affirmed to Congress that he had always found Morgan to be true, upright, and faithful. During the chief's stay in Philadelphia, Morgan served as his guide and counsellor. Sometime during this period, White Eyes's son was given the name of George Morgan White Eyes.

After White Eyes's death Congress asked the Delaware Indians to send a delegation of chiefs to visit the government as a sign of their continuing peaceful disposition. Through Morgan, Congress requested the Delawares to elect a replacement for White Eyes and to send the dead chief's children to be educated in the ways of white men so that they might become better leaders for their people. Congress expected the Delaware nation to repay this kindness through a land grant to the United States. Nevertheless, this act was probably the first instance of federal aid to education, antedating the Land Ordinance of 1785. By the time the Indians arrived in the spring of 1779, Morgan had moved to his farm, "Prospect," which adjoined the College grounds. Ten chiefs and their retainues pitched their camp on his side of the turf walk that separated the farm from the campus. Along with eight-year-old George White Eyes, the Delawares brought sixteen-year-old John Killbuck, son of White

Eyes's cousin Chief Killbuck, and eighteen-year-old Thomas Killbuck, Chief Killbuck's half-brother. The three boys were left in Morgan's care, and he temporarily made arrangements for them to board with Thomas Moody, whose home was on Nassau Street across from the President's house. Mr. Moody accommodated them "at the rate of 13.4 for each, per week, for Board, Washing & Lodging—The United States to find them Bedding and to pay in Produce at the Current Prices in the Year 1777."

At about this time Thomas Hutchins (A.B. 1789), for whom Morgan acted as unofficial guardian, moved from Philadelphia to join the Morgans at "Prospect." The Indian boys were later absorbed into the Morgan household, where there were also three Morgan children, with four more to be born during the family's residence at Princeton. It is not known whether the Indians had received any education under the Moravian missionaries who had settled in their part of the country, but they at least knew how to speak English. George Merchant (A.B. 1779), then teaching at the Nassau Hall Grammar School, was hired to tutor them in preparation for entry into the grammar school. And according to Morgan's account book they were almost immediately fitted for trousers by Josiah Harned, two pairs for John, two for Thomas, and one for George. That year and again in 1782 Thomas Wiggins (A.M. 1758, A.B. Yale 1752), a local physician, sent Morgan statements that separately itemized medicines and attendance for his family and for the three Indians.

Samples of the Indians' first attempts at penmanship and their early efforts at translating Caesar are preserved in the National Archives. It soon became apparent, however, that Thomas Killbuck was not at all interested in his studies. Even without the added burden of cultural displacement, he was far too old to feel comfortable with the grammar school boys. According to Morgan he was addicted to "Liquor and Lying." He was first sent to work on a farm in Bucks County and later apprenticed to a blacksmith, probably receiving more practical training than the two who remained in school. Overwhelmingly homesick, he made repeated requests to Congress to be allowed to rejoin his people. John Killbuck, more quiet and studious, was mastering geography, mathematics, and Latin until the summer of 1783 when it was discovered that he was responsible for the pregnancy of one of the Morgan maids. Morgan brought this complication to the attention of Robert Morris, United States superintendent of finance. John was willing to be married but also wanted to continue his studies. After much consideration a congressional committee directed Morgan to provide for Killbuck's family and to continue to oversee his education, along with that of George White Eyes. In

1785 the Killbucks finally received permission to return to Ohio. It is not clear what sort of education John received in the interim since, as a married man, he would certainly not have been welcome in the grammar school. However, when he started home he asked for additional books for his "little Library." In October 1785 the two Killbucks, along with John's wife and child, left for Ohio, properly provisioned for the journey by the largesse of Congress. Before leaving, John wrote a letter to Congress expressing appreciation for the education he had received. Thomas is said to have become a blacksmith and John to have helped found the settlement that grew into the city of Cleveland, where he became a merchant.

During this period White Eyes had apparently been doing well in the grammar school. In the fall of 1784, as a member of the second class, he placed second in the competitions for premiums, and he was reading Virgil and beginning the study of Greek. Morgan, meanwhile, had been experiencing difficulties in obtaining remuneration from Congress for the financial needs of the Indians. In the summer of 1781 he forwarded to the Board of War, which maintained jurisdiction over the Indians, bills amounting to £137 to cover tuition, board, and maintenance. The matter was referred to Congress, which passed the bills on to the Board of Treasury, instructing them to devise ways and means of reimbursing Morgan. The solution of the Board of Treasury was to instruct President John Witherspoon to pay Morgan "out of moneys placed in his hands by the North Carolina provincial prisoners of war, exchanged in the year 1778, to discharge the demands of the United States against them for subsistence." Witherspoon protested this use of the funds, and the matter went back to a committee. By October they had solved the problem by directing Witherspoon to close the account for the said funds by forwarding them to the superintendent of finance. Presumably he then reimbursed Morgan. Morgan received \$512.30 in November and further payments at irregular intervals without any further complications.

In May 1784 Morgan had written to Congress urging that the two Killbucks be allowed to return home because they were too advanced in age to receive much benefit from a common school, but at the same time he asked for continued support for White Eyes, describing him as the best scholar in his class. "His mildness of disposition is equal to his capacity; and I cannot but take the liberty to entreat a continuance of the patronage of Congress to this worthy orphan, whose father was treacherously put to death at the moment of his greatest exertions to serve the United States." Morgan assured the members of Congress that he was continuing to conceal from young

White Eyes the circumstances of his father's death, and he urged them to grant the boy 30,000 acres of land on the Muskingum River which his father had settled and farmed. On May 20, 1785 Congress reserved 10,000 acres for the Moravian Brethren and "Killbuck and his descendants, and the Nephew and descendants of the late Captain white Eyes, Delaware Chiefs who have distinguished themselves as friends to the cause of America."

White Eyes began his freshman year at the College in the fall of 1785, at about the time that the Killbucks were leaving Princeton. He too was probably homesick after six years, but Morgan had taken particular interest in his namesake, the son of his special friend. White Eyes and Thomas Hutchins became roommates on the upper floor of Nassau Hall. Morgan's account book shows that David Lyall and Jonathan Tinsley were paid for "waiting on" White Eyes and Hutchins, that John Clark whitewashed their room, and that Caesar Trent cleaned the room and cut and carried up firewood. In the fall of 1786 White Eyes was ill, for Morgan was billed by Dr. Benjamin Stockton (Class of 1776) for medicine and "attendance at Sundry Times." It is impossible to determine whether there was any discrimination against the Indian youth. If one were looking for it, an entry in Morgan's account book for June 21, 1784 might be so construed. It records a suit of clothes for Hutchins and "turning a coat & trimmings" for Whiteeyes, but perhaps Morgan was simply being a good steward of congressional funds by not ordering new clothes for White Eyes. More suggestive is an entry in the diary of James Gibson (A.B. 1787) for February 28, 1786 saying that "Whiteys spoke at prayers." Gibson always noted who spoke at prayers, but other members of the College were given the title "Mr." White Eyes is not known to have joined either of the societies on the campus.

Whether or not he was happy, his college career seems to have proceeded uneventfully until December 23, 1787, when along with Christian DeWint (Class of 1789), John Heriot (Class of 1789), and Charles Ross (Class of 1791), he was called before the faculty and convicted of insolent behavior to one of the tutors. All four were sentenced to be admonished in the presence of their class. This is the only record of White Eyes being called before the faculty, but apparently it was not his only lapse from acceptable behavior. In the fall of 1788 Morgan was making plans to leave for Missouri to attempt to establish a colony at New Madrid, and although White Eyes was about to become a senior at the College, Morgan did not consider him responsible enough to remain after his own departure. He therefore sent him to New York, placing him under the care of Robert Cox (Cocks), a "merchant taylor" at 4 William Street, while awaiting fur-

ther instructions from Congress. White Eyes carried with him a letter from Morgan to the Board of Treasury, written September 25, 1788, explaining his absence and adding:

The murder of Col White Eyes as mentioned in my letter to Congress 12 May 1784 recommends his son for further protection; notwithstanding he has lately been much deranged in his studies and conduct; which I impute to my absence and to the news of the murder of his mother, said to be by a party of white men painted like Indians, for the sake of the pelts she was bringing to market, which some officious person has told her son of. He has neglected his studies several months past, and associated with other lads in College, who have been expelled; and has been induced to sell all his cloths, books, maps, instruments, etc. with an intention to go off to the Western Country; but as he really is, or pretends to be, conscious of his error and promises future attention; and as his mistakes and misconduct have been far surpassed by white boys of his age, who have the superior advantage of enlightened and tender parents to guard over them I presume to solicit Congress on his behalf that he may compleat his school education for which his abilities, sprightliness yet mildness of temper is in every way equal.

Morgan added his belief that with a good education White Eyes might be of considerable service to the United States and to his Indian nation but recommended that he continue his studies at Yale or some other institution, rather than return to Princeton where he would be subject to temptation from his former undesirable companions. As an alternative, Morgan suggested employment as a writer, presumably a clerk, in some government department, as a means of gaining knowledge. But if Congress thought it advisable to return White Eyes to his nation, he concluded, then he would arrange to accompany him and would wait until October for an answer. But Congress, or its committees, did not move that fast.

On June 2, 1789, apparently after repeated appeals to the Board of Treasury, White Eyes went straight to the top and presented his problems in a letter to President George Washington. Not until he came to New York, he claimed, did he realize that he was under the protection of Congress. "I never knew who maintained me & was taught to look upon myself as a poor Outcast, & depending for Food & Raiment &c. on the Goodness of that Gentleman [Morgan]." He mentioned his happy moments at college but also the cruel usage which he had experienced at Morgan's home, often for boyish faults that were overlooked in other children. He had anticipated attending

school in New York but had heard nothing of it, nor had he even been provided with necessities. The Board of Treasury had furnished him with a few articles of clothing, although not enough to keep him comfortable through the winter. After repeated vain appeals he walked to Princeton to get the extra clothing he had left with the Morgans, only to find that Mrs. Morgan had let her son John (Class of 1789) use them until they were worn out, "but that is nothing new for he always wore my Cloaths when he thought proper." Reprimanded by the Board for going to Princeton without permission, White Eyes tried to apologize but was not given a chance to be heard. He pleaded that if he was too much of a burden to educate, he would like to be given employment.

The most puzzling thing about this letter is not the degree of congressional procrastination and neglect, but White Eyes's description of his treatment by the Morgans. George Morgan is invariably described as a good, even an ideal, Indian agent. He was familiar with their language and habits and was described as being frank, generous, and honest in his dealings with them. He argued that not only good policy but simple justice demanded that the Indians be treated as equals. His fairness won him the respect of the Indians and prompted the Delawares to make him an honorary chieftain. His letters reflect concern for White Eyes, and it is difficult to imagine him taking advantage of the boy. With Colonel Morgan away from home a great deal, Mrs. Morgan may have resented the extra burden on her household. And the unhappy experience with the Killbucks may have inclined her to be much more strict with White Eyes than with her own children.

By the time he wrote Washington again on July 8, White Eyes was no longer interested in further schooling but rather wished to go home "to live in Contentment & Quietude [rather] than a life [of] Contempt & Ignominy." By this time he claimed to be almost naked and declared that his sponsors "are tired of doing any thing for me & I am tired waiting for their duty which is incumbent on them by a resolve of Congress."

Although no direct answer from the president has been found, Washington apparently made arrangements for White Eyes to receive credit until such time as Congress came through with funds. On August 11, 1789 Atcheson Thompson of New York City petitioned Congress for payment for clothing and supplies that he had furnished to White Eyes "by order of the President of the United States." Despite this order, there was quibbling about the bill, and when White Eyes again wrote to Washington on August 8, he asked him to use his influence to see that Thompson was not left with this debt. He

complained that the Board of Treasury had objected to every article of clothing that he had bought, making him feel "not of as much Consequence as a Dog." He concluded by saying that he was grateful for his education, "But I am very sorry that the Education you have given & Views that you must have had when you took me into your Possession, & the Friendship which my Father had for the United States (which I suppose is the chief Cause) are not sufficient Inducements, to your further providing for me." Thompson was presumably not immediately reimbursed, for Elizabeth Thompson also wrote to Washington saying that she had given White Eyes credit only by the particular order of Tobias Lear, Washington's personal secretary. Records show that White Eyes's tuition was paid to September 30, 1788, and on March 1, 1790 the secretary of war was reimbursed \$452.52 "for sundry Articles of Cloathing a Horse and money supplied him [White Eyes] to carry him back to his own Country." There was also a payment of \$110.72 to Andrew G. Fraunces of 69 Crown Street for "board etc. of G. M. White Eyes." On August 12, 1790 Congress approved additional compensation to reimburse the secretary of war for advances made to White Eyes.

This ignominious end to a dozen years spent among the white men, completely dependent upon their philanthropy, would certainly have embittered White Eyes. And he was to have yet another encounter with his former classmate John Morgan, which could only have increased his resentment of that young man. The incident is described in a letter addressed to White Eyes, written by John Morgan on April 26, 1793, at the instigation of Colonel Morgan. It appears that John, serving under General Josiah Harmar, was part of the American force that burned an Indian town and five smaller villages in Ohio at the junction of the St. Joseph and St. Mary's rivers in October 1790. John Morgan, on the information of another Indian, assumed that White Eyes was among those killed in the conflagration. However, on the chance that White Eyes might still be alive, Colonel Morgan had his son write a letter, to be carried by Timothy Pickering (LL.D. 1798), the postmaster general, who was a member of a commission sent to attempt to negotiate peace with the Indians of the Old Northwest Territory. John's letter recommended Colonel Pickering as trustworthy and assured White Eyes that the attack on his community had been a mistake, entirely due to the difficulty of distinguishing hostile from friendly Indians. John sent the regards of his family and mentioned twice the "Peace and Friendship" that he and White Eyes had enjoyed as boys and which he would be happy to resume. Although his sentiments may have been sincere, the letter was written almost three years after the event and only because

Pickering requested it. It remains questionable whether John Morgan harbored any real affection or concern for White Eyes.

There is no indication that Pickering had an opportunity to deliver the letter, but the report of White Eyes's death was certainly exaggerated. A great deal of misinformation about his later life has been published. To have stepped into his father's position of leadership after such a long absence from his people would have required a strength of character that White Eyes apparently did not possess. He has been described as a scholar and gentleman who became a noted chieftain, and also as a dissipated son, an unworthy descendant of his father, who squandered his inheritance in debauchery and drunkenness. Unfortunately, the only firm evidence available points to the latter as the true picture. An autobiography by Thomas Ewing describes a fishing trip that Ewing took with his father and brother as a young boy in the summer of 1796. Their canoe was hailed by an Indian who gave them a command invitation to visit a nearby Indian camp. It turned out to be the camp of George White Eyes and George Girty, the half-Indian son of the renegade Simon Girty, probably not the most desirable type of companion. White Eyes is said to have taken pride in exhibiting his college books, including a greasy copy of Aeschylus's tragedies in the original Greek. His wife is described as a beautiful half-Indian, not more than fifteen, whose robe was decorated with a number of silver brooches, and whose moccasins were "richly wampumed." Much to their distress, the guests were served a stew concocted of venison and young puppies.

On May 27, 1798 White Eyes was shot by William Carpenter, Jr., at West Point, now in Columbiana County, Ohio. While intoxicated White Eyes ran at Carpenter with an uplifted tomahawk. He may have intended only to intimidate, not assault Carpenter, but evidently this distinction was too fine for Carpenter. When White Eyes gained on him, Carpenter turned and shot him, hitting him upon the chin and under the jaw, killing him instantly. On August 14, 1798 an indictment was brought against William Carpenter, Jr., for killing an Indian in time of peace, and against William Carpenter, Sr., for aiding, helping, abetting, comforting, assisting, and maintaining his son. If there was a trial, records seem to have been lost, but tradition maintains that a trial was held and both Carpenters acquitted. Settlers in the area, apprehensive that a desire for vengeance might grow into a full-scale Indian war, showered the Indians of the neighborhood with a number of gifts, including \$300 for White Eyes's widow.

Several sources claim that White Eyes signed the Treaty of Greenville on August 3, 1795, by which the Indians ceded the eastern and southern portion of the state of Ohio to the United States, but his

name does not appear among the representatives of the twelve tribes who signed. The Moravian missionaries recorded the baptism of Mary, widow of Chief White Eyes and wife of Joseph Pemahoaland, along with her son Joseph White Eyes and his wife. This information accords with Morgan's account of the death of George White Eyes's mother only if Chief White Eyes had more than one wife. In any case Joseph White Eyes seems to have taken over his father's position in tribe. He and John Killbuck "inherited" the title of captain which their fathers had had in the American Army. Another source claims that White Eyes fought in the War of 1812 on the British side and was involved in the peace negotiations at the end of the war. Joseph White Eyes may have participated in the War of 1812, or this may have been presumed because of his use of "Captain." Joseph did sign the treaty in 1818 which reestablished peace with the Indians. Finally, the George White Eyes killed by an Osage war party in Missouri in February 1826 was with a group of "young Delaware hunters" who were all slaughtered. He may have been a son of George Morgan White Eyes. If so, his death culminated a tragic tradition. In three succeeding generations, the heads of this family of Indians died violently. Two were slain by American citizens whose culture they had tried to share.

SOURCES: Transcript of V. L. Collins, "Indians at Princeton" file, PUA; E. E. Gray & L. R. Gray, *Wilderness Christians: Moravian Mission to the Delaware Indians* (1956), 52-53, 61, 85, 303, 309; B. W. Bond, Jr., *Foundations of Ohio* (1941), 1, 57, 347-49; E. A. DeSchwenitz, *Life & Times of David Zeisberger* (1971), 390-91; R. G. Thwaites & L. P. Kellogg, *Dunmore's War* (1905), 29, 384; R. G. Thwaites, *Chronicles of Border Warfare* (1917), 150, 179, 302; *WPHM*, 15 (1932), 97, 103; R. G. Thwaites & L. P. Kellogg, *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777-78* (1912), 95-97, 100-01; R. C. Downer, "George Morgan, Indian Agent Extraordinary, 1776-79," *Pa. Hist.*, 1 (1934), 202-16; L. H. Gipson, ed., *Moravian Indian Mission on White River ...* (1938, vol. 23 of *Indiana Hist. Collections*), 23, 25, 27, 33; *DAB* (sketches of Chief White Eyes & George Morgan); V. L. Collins, *Princeton* (1914), 84; M. Savelle, *George Morgan, Colony Builder* (1932); J. A. Harding, "Col. George Morgan, a Biog. Sketch," ms in NjP; A. Morgan, *Hist. of the Family of Morgan* (1937), 185-86; George Morgan Account Book, June 1779-8 Oct. 1788 *passim* (quotes), ms in NjP; *N.J. Gazette*, 4 Oct. 1784; Gibson Diary, 28 Feb. 1786; Hancock House mss; Min. Fac., 23 Dec. 1787; V. L. Collins, "Indian Wards at Princeton," *Princeton Univ. Bull.*, 13 (May 1902), 101-06; Julian Boyd memo re George Morgan exhibit, 27 Jan. 1963, PUA; I. Craig, "Koquethagaeelon, or Colonel White Eyes," *Hist. Reg.*, 1 (1883), 232-33; W. C. Ford et al., eds., *Journals of the Continental Cong., 1774-89* (1904-37), xxv, 660-61; xxxvii, 410-11, 467-68; xxxiii, 429-30 ("Killbuck and his descendants"), 513; J. Bioren & W. J. Duane, *Laws of the U.S.A.* (1815), 1, 606; C. E. Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers of the U.S.* (26 vols., 1934-62), II: *Territory Northwest of the River Ohio, 1787-1803*, 63-64, 525-35; *Hamilton Papers*, v, 585, 406; *N.Y. Dir., & Reg.* (1789), 21 ("merchant taylor"); W. W. Abbot, D. Twohig, et al., eds., *Papers of G. Washington: Presidential Series* (1987-), II, 433-35 ("I never knew," "wore my Cloaths"); III, 152 ("Contentment & Quietude"), 403-04 ("by order," "not of as much"), 493-94; L. G. DePauw et al., *Documentary Hist. of the First Federal Cong. of the U.S.* (1972-), III, 144, 607; C. A. Weslager, *Delaware Indians* (1972), 296, 306, 318, 326, 352, 365; W. H. Hunter, "Pathfinders of Jefferson Cnty.," *OSAHQ*, 6 (1900),