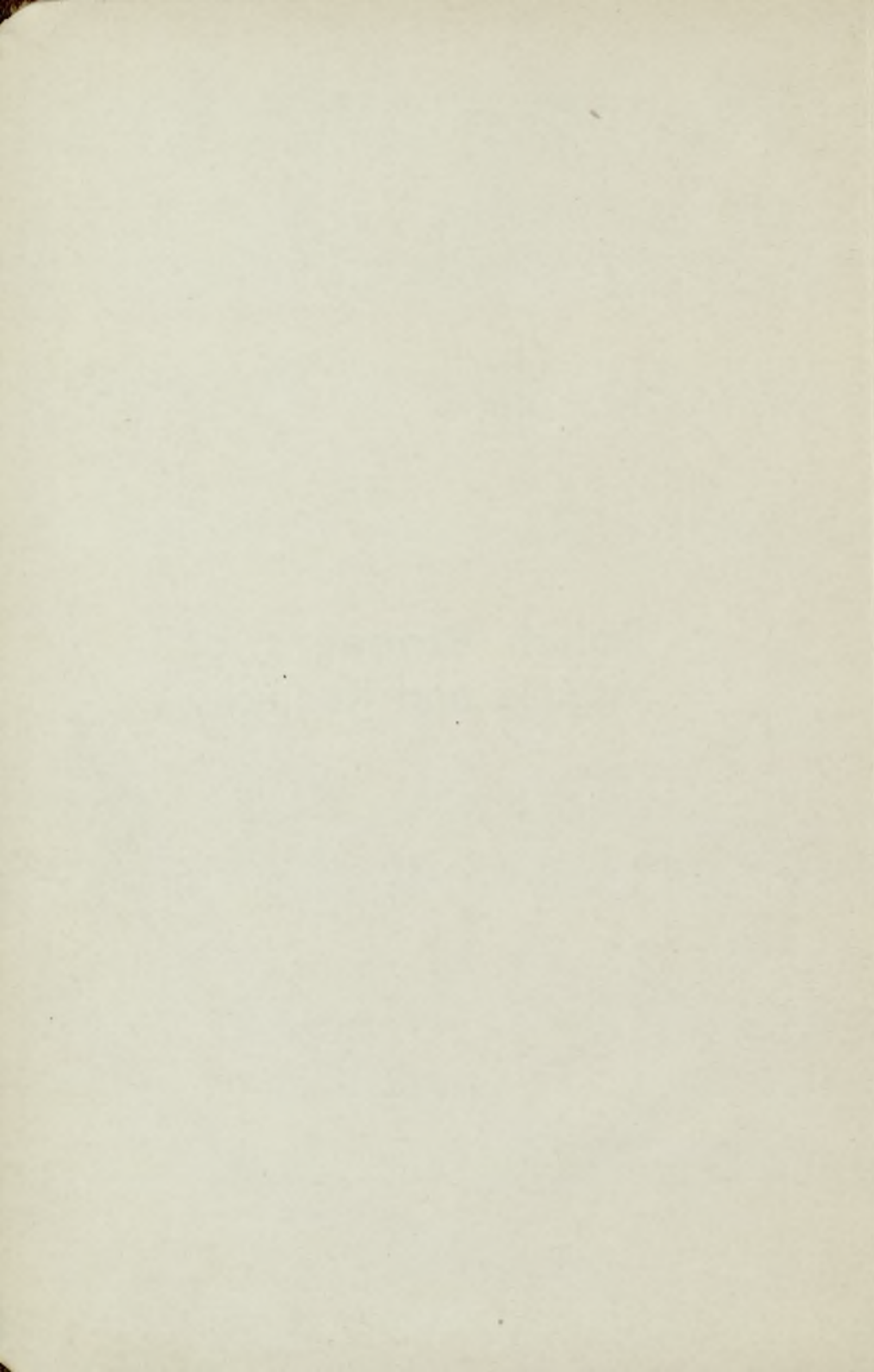
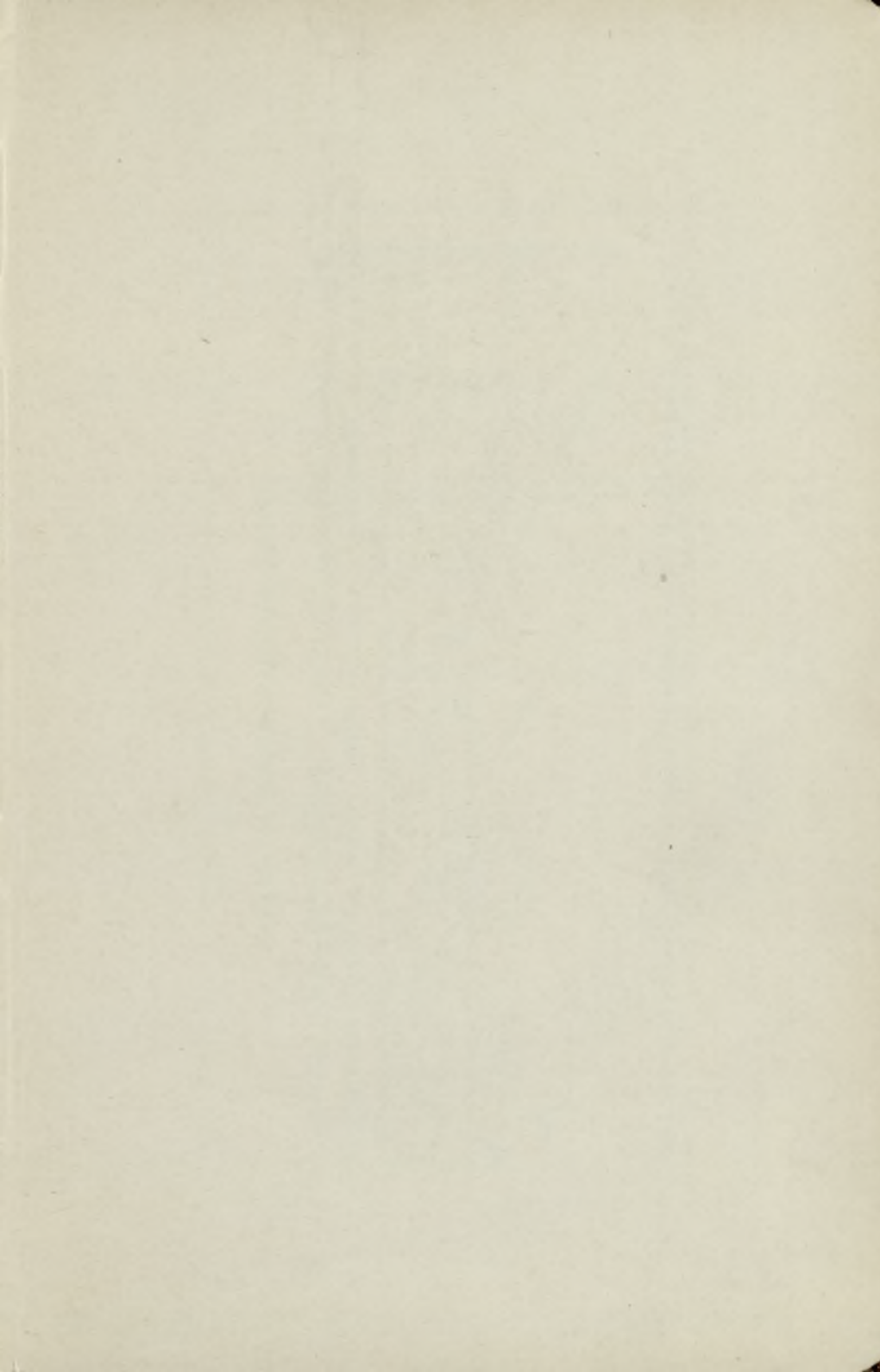


Polish Pioneers of
Virginia and Kentucky





A STRIKE FOR THE FREEDOM OF AMERICA

You (and) all part of the Colonians resident in Virginia, it was
~~known~~ (known) by the way any former ~~known~~ to the country) that they the
 English, and made at first as they in habitant upon the East side
 of the River (2) they said in writing in the 2nd Jan. 1776 that they had not
 any so to them, it is agreed that said young men, they had said that -
 they do know they said is known for the country of
 the country of America.

(over) (Admiral)

St

Annals of the Polish Rom. Cath. Union
Archives and Museum

VOL. II.

1937

Polish Pioneers of
Virginia and Kentucky

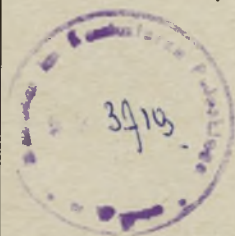
by

MIECISLAUS HAIMAN

with

Notes on Genealogy of the Sadowski Family,

by A. Clay Sandusky



133860

From the Desk of ...
EDWARD C. ROZANSKI, CLJ, OD, PR
DEACON, ST. HYACINTH CHURCH
5319 NORTH DELPHIA AVENUE
CHICAGO, IL 60656 U.S.A.

POLISH R. C. UNION OF AMERICA
CHICAGO, ILL., 1937

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EDWARD G. BOWMAN, CLU, OF PR
DEPT. OF THE HAWAIIAN GOVERNMENT
2410 NORTH BEECH AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILL. 60656 U.S.A.

The P. R. C. U. Archives and Museum

The Archives and Museum of the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America, founded on October 15th, 1935, by the Board of Directors of the Union at the instance of Mr. Joseph L. Kania, President, officially opened its quarters on Tuesday, January 12th, 1937, in the presence of the Hon. Rene Weiller, Consul General of France, the Hon. Dr. Wacław Gawroński, Consul General of Poland, the Hon. Edward J. Kelly, Mayor of the City of Chicago, representatives of Polish-American Organizations and Societies, many distinguished guests and a very large audience. A program adapted to the occasion was executed.

Soon after the Committee of the Museum composed of Officers of the P. R. C. Union and entrusted with the care of the Archives and Museum launched the organization of the Polish Society of History and Museum of America, the purpose of which is to propagate the knowledge of the history of the Poles in America and to act as an auxiliary to the P. R. C. U. Archives and Museum in supporting it financially and by gifts of objects of historical value. The response to the appeals of the Committee in this regard was very satisfactory.

The P. R. C. U. Archives and Museum received many new gifts, some of them of great value, during the period covered by this report. To all donors and to all who helped the cause financially through the Polish Society of History and Museum of America we express our most grateful thanks.

Special thanks are due to the Government of France, which donated a complete uniform and equipment of a soldier of the Polish Army in France, which was mostly organized and recruited in the United States during the World War; to the Hon. Rene Weiller, Consul General

of France, in Chicago and Military Attache of the French Embassy at Washington, D. C., who used their good offices to secure this gift for Museum; to the United States War Department for the donation of two obsolete machine guns and one trench mortar; to the Hon. Mayor Edward J. Kelly, of Chicago, and Hon. Leo Kociołkowski, Member of Congress, who helped to obtain this gift; to the United Councils of the P. R. C. U. of Chicago and vicinity for the donation of a marble statue of Sacred Heart of Jesus which at present adorns the vestibule of the Museum; and to the Światowy Związek Polaków z Zagranicy of Warsaw, Poland, who did much to acquaint Poland with our institution.

One of the first acts of the Polish - American Society of History and Museum was to erect a new monument on the grave of Captain Joseph Głoskowski of the 27th New York Volunteer Infantry during the Civil War and one of the pioneers of the Signal Corps of the United States Army, at the cemetery of St. Michael's Parish in Radom, Ill. This monument was consecrated by the Most Rev. Henry Althoff, D. D., Bishop of Belleville, on Monday, May 31st, 1937, in the presence of many representatives of the Clergy, the American Legion, the Polish Roman Catholic Union and other Polish organizations, and about 4,000 people from Chicago, Madison, East St. Louis, Ill., St. Louis, Mo., and other cities. At the same time a new monument was consecrated at the grave of the late Rev. Theodore Gieryk, the founder of the Polish Roman Catholic Union. This monument was erected by the P. R. C. Union.

The Archives and Museum of the P. R. C. Union is now a member of the Illinois State Historical Society and of the Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne (Polish Historical Society), with headquarters at Lwów, Poland.

Many persons already availed themselves of the material collected by the P. R. C. U. Archives and Museum. This institution strives to be

of the greatest possible service to all seeking any information on the history of the Poles in America. We invite all such students to make free use of these facilities, and the Custodian will gladly make arrangements to suit.

The Archives and Museum is open to the public on Tuesdays from 1 to 5 p. m. and on Fridays from 7 to 9 p. m. Schools and societies may visit it in groups at any time, upon previously notifying the Custodian. Admission is free, no entrance fee being charged.

The P. R. C. U. Archives and Museum collects everything which has any bearing on the history of the Poles in the United States. It will appreciate the donation of any of the following:

Books and pamphlets on the history and biography of the Poles in the United States; reports of Polish - American Societies and Institutions of any kind; books and pamphlets by American-Poles on any subjects; books on Poland or any Polish subjects in any language published in the United States; files of Polish - American newspapers or magazines, complete volumes or single numbers; portraits of Polish American pioneers and eminent persons; photographs and pictures illustrating Polish life in America; autographs and manuscripts, maps, medals, badges, uniforms and banners of Polish - American Societies, etc.

Communications and gifts may be addressed to the Custodian of the P. R. C. U., M. Haiman, 984-986 Milwaukee ave., Chicago, Ill.

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Polish Pioneers of Virginia and Kentucky

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I.

PIONEERS OF AMERICAN INDUSTRY

"They were the first heroes of American history". (Edward Channing, *A History of the United States*, vol. I, p. 170)

Contrary to common belief, the Polish immigration in the United States is as old as the oldest English colonies themselves. Of course, it never assumed large proportions until about 1850, but it existed none the less uninterrupted since the beginning of the 17-th century. A stream of blood flowing from the heart of Poland passed continually into the New World during the three centuries of American history.

The beginnings of Virginia are also the beginnings of the history of Polish immigration on this continent. To some degree, Poland influenced the founding of that oldest English colony.

Early in the 17-th century England suffered a heavy economic crisis. The destruction of her forests for commercial purposes brought not only various natural disasters, as insufficient rains, floods and barrenness of soil, but also threatened the very existence of her industry, especially three of its most important branches: shipbuilding, wool manufactures and foundries. The first of these required lumber for ship hulls and masts, beside other products of wood, as tar, resin, etc.; the second, a great quantity of potash, a wood product; while wood was necessary for the third to supply fuel for furnaces, since the use of coal was as yet unknown.¹

England was forced to supply these needs by imports from foreign countries which still had

1. Thos. J. Wertenbaker, *The Planters of Colonial Virginia*, Princeton, 1922, p. 8 et seq.

large forests, notably from Germany, Poland², Russia and Sweden. Her merchants organized companies for that very purpose to carry on trade with Baltic countries. The vessels of the Eastland Company, also called the Baltic Company, and of the Muscovy Company, sailed to Dantzic and other Baltic ports, bringing to England materials so important for her existence, and exporting mostly woolens.³

2. As to pitch and tar, John Pory called Poland "a principal country for that comodity" in his letter to Sir Edwin Sandys of June 12, 1620 (Susan Myra Kingsbury, *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, Washington, 1906-1935, vol. III, p. 303). A curious *Fyrst boke of the Introduction of knowledge*, by Dr. Andrew Borde, published in London in 1542, described economical characteristics of the contemporary Pole in following verse:

"Bees I do love to have in every place
The wex and the hony I do sel a pace
I do sel flex, and also pyche and tar
Marchaunts commeth to me, fetchying
it a far."

Political relations between England and Poland were, on the whole very friendly during the last decades of the 16-th and the first decades of the 17-th century. The Polish King Stephen Batory (1575-1586) and his wise chancellor, John Zamoyski, took great care to keep up this friendship. Queen Elizabeth, on the other hand, highly prized the friendship of Poland, not only because of her politics directed against the Hapsburgs, but also because Poland was then an important position in the English foreign trade. During the first years of the reign of Batory's successor, King Sigismund III (1587-1632), friendly relations between the two countries were continued. They cooled off for a brief time when Sigismund showed a leaning towards the Hapsburgs, but with the ascension to the throne of King James I they soon improved. King Charles I continued this policy. He even planned to marry his niece to King Ladislaus IV (1632-48), Sigismund's son and successor. "No nation loved and esteemed your Poles more than nations subject to us", wrote he to Ladislaus on Jan. 17-th, 1634. Many Polish nobles visited England and studied there during this period. A noteworthy event too was the Scotch immigration to Poland which assumed quite large proportions in the 16-th and 17-th century. (Stanislaw Kot, "Anglo-Polonica", *Nauka Polska*, Warszawa, vol. XX, p. 49-138).

3. By the end of 16-th century much of this trade was in the hands of the Dutch. Sir Walter Raleigh point-

"Muscovia and Polonia doe yearely receiue many thousands, for Pitch, Tarre, Sope Ashes, Rosen, Flax, Cordage, Sturgeon, Masts, Yards, Wainscot, Firres, Glasse and such like," mentioned Captain John Smith in his memoirs.⁴

The wars which Poland was obliged to wage at that time, seriously threatened these imports. An English pamphlet published on behalf of the colony in Virginia in 1610, said: "The merchant knoweth, that through the troubles in Poland and Muscovy (whose eternal warres are like the Antipathy of the Dragon and Elephant) all their traffique for Mastes, Deales, Pitch, Tarre, Flax, Hempe, and Cordage, are euery day more and more indangered, and the woods of these countries are almost exhausted."⁵ There were still other obstructions. "To come to the Esterlinges" — wrote Richard Hakluyt in 1584 — "and the trades with the cities within the Sounde of Den-

ed out at that time that the English annually dispatched to Elbing, Koenigsberg and Dantzic and other cities in the East countries but one hundred ships, the Dutch three thousand (Philip Alexander Bruce, *The Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, New York and London, 1896, vol. I, p. 57).

4. *The True Travels and Adventures of Captain John Smith*, Richmond, 1819, vol. I, p. 128. See also Bruce's *Economic History of Virginia*, vol. I, p. 41. It is difficult to find exact figures on the English-Polish trade, but the export of Polish ashes through Dantzic alone amounted to about 1,000,000 Dantzic zlotys (1,500,000 Polish zlotys, or about 37,000 pounds) yearly as late as the 17-th century: even in the 18-th century 21,000 barrels of ashes were exported yearly through that port. The export of potash mostly to England, amounted at the same time to about 6,000 to 15,000 barrels yearly at about two pounds per barrel. Export of Polish wood, clapboards and other wood products amounted yearly to 20,000,000 Polish zlotys (about 50,000 pounds) in the 18-th century, but it must have been much higher in the 16-th and 17-th centuries. Polish export of linen and flax to England was proportionally large (Tadeusz Korzon, *Wewnętrzne Dzieje Polski za Stanisława Augusta*, Kraków, Warszawa, vol. II, pp. 124-127).

5. *A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia*, London, 1610, p. 23 (Force's Tracts, vol. III, No. 1).

marke, they being deprived of the old priviledges of Stilliarde here in London, have not only offred our men at home many injuries in their cities, but seeke all the meanes they can devise wholly to cut off all our occupieng that way: and to the same purpose have lately cleane debarred our men of their accustomed and auncient priviledges in all their greate townes. Also the exactions of the Kinge of Denmarke at our passage in and oute by the Sounde to Lubecke, Danske, Elvinge, Rye, Revell and the Narve, besides the power he hath to arreste all our shippes within the Sounde at his pleasure, are two no small inconveniencies and myschiefes.”⁶

All these inconveniences as well as the imminent decay of the fleet which constituted the basis of England’s prosperity and defense, forced her to seek means to ameliorate these conditions as quickly as possible. Thus the thought of founding an English colony in America was born. It was prompted by the example of Spaniards and Portuguese who already settled in the New World and derived much income from their colonies.

Two decades before the actual founding of Virginia Haklyut argued that a colony in America could supply the “whole realme” of England with “Pitche, Tarr, Rosen, Sope ashes”⁷ and even before him Captain Christopher Carleile insisted that the Muscovy Company cease trade with the Baltic countries and turn their attention to the transatlantic territories.⁸

Hakluyt submitted at that time a detailed plan of “some thinges to be prepared for the voyage” to establish the colony, enumerating

6. ‘Discourse on Western Planting,’ **Documentary History of the State of Maine**, vol. II, p. 15. All the obstacles to freedom of trade between England and Baltic countries existed even more serious in the beginning of the 17-th century (P. A. Bruce, **The Economic History of Virginia**, vol. I, p. 43, note).

7. *Ib.*, vol. II, p. 31.

8. Christopher Carleill, **Discourse upon the Intended Voyage**, London, 1581.

among others "Pitche makers, Tarr makers, Burners of asshes for the trade of sope asshes"⁹ and other artisans whom the Virginia Company actually hired from Poland a few decades later. He even wanted to establish there a factory of mead which was a Polish national drink.¹⁰

The proposed colony was to free England not only from economic dependence on Poland and other Baltic countries, but also to supply her with many other products imported from various other, mostly Mediterranean countries, and likewise to open new opportunities for English products which at that time were loosing their European markets. "Whither shall we transport our cloth, and how shall we sustaine our Artisans?" — anxiously asked the author of the above cited London pamphlet of 1610. Mentioning one country after another he found a turn to England's disadvantage everywhere, and said: "Shall we send it... into Poland and Muscovy? the daunger doth ouerballance the gaine in times of contention".¹¹

Under these conditions King James I issued in 1606, charters to two companies of merchants, the Plymouth Company of London for the colonization and exploitation of the northern part, and to the Virginia Company of London for the same purpose in the southern part of North America.

Actuated by the hope of speedy and large profits, and encouraged by reports of rich gold and diamond mines in the New World, the Virginia Company promptly organized an expedition and already in December of 1606 a little flotilla was ready to sail with the first emigrants. It consisted of three vessels: **Susan Constant**, 100 ton; **Good-Speed**, 40 ton, and **Discovery**, a small shallop of 20 tons. Captain Christopher Newport,

9. "Discourse on Western Planting," **Documentary History of the State of Maine**, vol. II, p. 164.

10. *Ib.*, vol. II, p. 167.

11. **A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia**, p. 25 (*Force's Tracts*, vol. III, No. I).

an experienced mariner, commanded the flotilla which carried, besides the crew and materials, 105 future colonists.

This flotilla reached the American shores on April 26th, 1607, and sailed into the Chesapeake Bay, near the mouth of Powhatan River which was renamed James River in honor of the King. After seeking for several days a suitable place to settle on, the colonists finally landed on a peninsula on the northern bank of the river, about 50 miles from its mouth, and decided to build there the first town which they also christened after the King's name, James City, or James Town.

A short stay on the American continent promptly showed of what little value was the human material which the Company intended to use for laying the foundations of the colony. Most of the first colonists among whom there were no women, were famous in history as "vagabond gentlemen"; they were all sorts of social outcasts, who had no conception of discipline, shunned all labor and were accustomed to easy living. They came to Virginia in the hope of finding fabulous gold and diamond deposits, and of returning to Europe with riches.

Little could be done with such men. They spent their time in vain search for gold, in fruitless quarrels and in consuming the provisions which they brought with them. All they did was to build a few homes and to fortify Jamestown.

Hunger, attacks of Indians and diseases caused by impure water, unwholesome and insufficient food and poisonous vapors emitted by surrounding marshes decimated the colonists. Three months after their arrival only sixty were still living, nearly all of them sick and discouraged. The colony seemed to be destined to inevitable ruin.

At this critical moment there appeared a man of iron energy who saved the settlement. He

was Captain John Smith. As an orphaned boy he left his native England and for several years wandered through Europe in quest of adventure. He fought with the Hungarians against the Turks and was decorated for his bravery by Prince Sigismund Batory of Transylvania, a nephew of the famous Polish King, Stephan Batory. Wounded in battle, he became a prisoner of war in Turkey, but, sold into the Tartar captivity, he managed to escape through Russia and Poland.

In his most important work **The True Travels, Adventures and Observations of Captaine John Smith**, published at London in 1629, he mentioned with gratitude the hospitality with which he was received in Poland:

"He went with a safe conduct to Rezechica, upon the River Niper, in the confines of Lithuania, ¹² from whence with as much kindnesse he was conveyed in like manner by Coroski, Duberesko, Duzibell, Drohobus and Ostroge in Volonia: Saslaw and Lasko in Podolia; Halico and Collonia in Polonia ¹³; and so to Hirmonstat in Transilvania. In all his life he seldome met with more respect, mirth, content and entertainment; and not any Governor where he came, but gave him somewhat as a present, besides his charges; seeing themselves as subject to the like calamity."¹⁴

By wit, where possible, and by force, when necessary, Smith managed to appease the Indians and to induce them to supply corn to the starving colony. Above all, he ordered the colonists to work, and introduced a kind of discipline in the community. Historians credit him with saving the young colony.

Together with Captain Smith the Poles appear for the first time on the historical stage of

12. Rzezzyca on the Dnieper River.

13. Korosten, Dubiecko, — ?, Drohobuz and Ostrog in Volhynia; Zaslaw and Olesko in Podolia; Halicz and Kolomyja in Red Ruthenia; all these cities and provinces were Polish.

14. *True Travels*, vol. 1, p. 42.

Virginia and of the United States. It is not unlikely that a few Poles came to Virginia already with the First Supply, if not as laborers, then as soldiers. But setting aside all supposition, there is documentary evidence that there were Poles in Virginia already in October of 1608. At that time Capt. Newport sailed into the port of Jamestown bringing with him the Second Supply of colonists. Among the seventy newcomers there were "eight Dutch men and Poles."¹⁵

These Poles were artisans whom the agents of the Virginia Company induced to leave their cities by promises of good pay, entirely in the same manner as agents lured European immigrants into the United States in the era before the World War. The methods in both cases did not differ greatly, as is witnessed by old pamphlets published by the Company, extolling the colony in superlative terms.¹⁶

As the English High Church was established in Virginia and every colonist pledged himself to observe its canons, and even was obliged to take the Oath of Supremacy which was designed to exclude Roman Catholics from the colony¹⁷, these

15. *Ib.*, vol. I, p. 203; *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. XXIII, p. 16.

16. "Broad-sides, full of allurements and falsehood, were printed and distributed far and wide" (Ed. Channing, *A History of the U. S.*, vol. I, p. 178).

17. Hakluyt wrote as early as 1584: "In choice of all artesanes for the voyage, this general rule were good to be observed, that no man be chosen that is known to be a Papiste, for the special inclynation they have of favour to the King of Spain" (*Documentary History of the State of Maine*, vol. II, p. 167). Martin I. J. Griffin probably errs in considering these first Poles in Virginia as Catholics (vide "Catholics in Colonial Virginia", *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, vol. XXII, pp. 93-94). Henry R. McIlwaine opines, however, that the Virginia Company of London, composed to a large extent, of broad-minded men like Sir Edwin Sandys, and other leaders of the rising popular party in England, can hardly be believed to have required of applicants for patents a strict conformity to the Church at a time when heaven and earth were moving to find colonists. (*Struggle of Protestant Dissenters for*

Poles were probably Protestants which strengthens the supposition that they were Polish burghers. Poland was always a Roman Catholic country. But after the Reformation various Protestant sects spread there, the cities being the chief supporters of the movement.

Being experienced laborers, these Poles came to Virginia under somewhat different conditions than regular colonists. The latter were, at first, subject to a communistic system which reigned in the colony till 1613. The fruits of the colonists' labor, however small, were estimated on one common basis. The laborers were also obliged "to till and manure their ground", but, besides this they were promised some pay in cash, or at least its equivalent.¹⁸ The petition of a certain Adam Dixon, a "master Calker of the Shippe and Vessels" in Virginia, in 1622, shows that he was hired by the Company for three years at 36 shillings monthly. The Polish artisans were probably hired on similar conditions.¹⁹

The intermediary which brought these Poles from their country was probably the Eastland Company which carried on trade with Poland for centuries and had even a "Residence" at Elbing, on the Vistula, and since 1622, at Dantzic.²⁰

In order to develop the colony as soon as possible into a source of large profits, the Virginia Company sent these Poles as specialists and instructors in the manufacture of glass, pitch, tar, and other wood products which Poland supplied to England. The Company staked very high hopes on the undertaking. "As for the making of Pitch Tarr, Turpentine, Sopeashes, Deale, Wain-

Religious Toleration in Virginia, Johns Hopkins Studies, 12-th series, Baltimore, 1894; *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. II, p. 112).

18. E. D. Neill, *History of the Virginia Company of London*, Albany, 1869, p. 107.

19. S. M. Kingsbury, *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, vol. II, p. 43.

20. Maud Sellers, *The Acts and Ordinances of the Eastland Company*, London, 1906, p. XXVI.

scott, and such like, we have already provided and sent thither skillfull workmen from forraine parts, which may teach and set ours in the way, whereby we may set many thousands a worke, in these such like services," declared a statement to the Chief Treasurer of the Company in 1609.²¹

Captain Smith, on the contrary, was pessimistic and openly dissatisfied with the haste with which the artisans were dispatched into Virginia. "As for hyring of the Poles and Dutch-men, to make Pitch, Tar, Glasse, Milles and Sope ashes, when the country is replenished with people and necessaries, would haue done well, but to send them and seuentie more without victualls to worke, was not so well aduised nor considered of, as it should haue beene" — wrote he to the company at London soon after their landing.²²

In contrast to most of the colonists, the Poles conducted themselves creditably. Immediately after their arrival they went to work and with the help of others whom Captain Smith detailed to assist them, built a glass furnace in the woods, on the other side of the peninsula, about a mile from Jamestown.²³ They also started to cut down trees for pitch, tar, soap-ashes, and other wood products at a place about five miles down the River.²⁴ Captain Newport returning to England was able to take along "tryals of Pitch, Tarre, Glasse, Frankincense, Sope Ashes, with that Clapboord and Waynscot, that could be provided".²⁵

Smith, at that time, still warned the Company not to place too exaggerated hopes on these first beginnings of the Virginia industry. "I followed," wrote he to London, "the new begun

21. Alexander Brown, *The Genesis of the United States*, Boston, New York, 1890, vol. I, p. 268.

22. *True Travels*, vol. I, p. 193.

23. *Ib.*, vol. I, p. 223.

24. Wm. Stith, *The History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia*, Williamsburg, 1747, p. 79.

25. *Ib.*, p. 82; *True Travels*, vol. I, p. 200.

workes of Pitch and Tarre, Glasse, Sope ashes, Clapboord, whereof some small quantities we haue sent you.... And though your Factors there can buy as much in a week as will fraught you a ship, or as much as you please; you must not expect from us any such matter, which are but as many of ignorant miserable soules, that are scarce able to get wherewith to live and defend our selues against the inconstant Salvages; finding but here and there a tree fit for the purpose, and want all things.”²⁶

Nevertheless the work of the Polish artisans progressed satisfactorily at first. “The Colony pursued their Business with Alacrity and Success.”²⁷ “We so quietly followed our businesse, that in three moneths wee made three or foure Last²⁸ of Tarre, Pitch, and Sope ashes, produced a tryall of Glasse and did other work,”²⁹ wrote Smith.

By the end of 1609, however, the manufactures in the colony came to a halt. The whole undertaking was planned by the London merchants too hastily and without taking into account the conditions of the colony, still unorganized, too sparsely settled, and cut off from the world. Famine, pestilence and attacks of the Indians forced the Poles to cease felling trees and making wood products. The glass-house also was soon abandoned and the manufacture of glass came to an end, but among the relics of the past still picked up on the shores of Jamestown Island are beads and other trinkets of glass, probably the products of this first American glass factory,³⁰ operated by the laborious and brave Polish laborers.

26. *True Travels*, vol. I, p. 201.

27. Stith, *The History of the First Discovery*, p. 97.

28. Last — 4,000 pounds.

29. *True Travels*, vol. I, p. 227.

30. Lyon Gardiner Tyler, *The Cradle of the Republic*, Richmond, Va., 1900, p. 102. Italians were later employed in making glass in Virginia.

In any event, it does not seem that they were responsible for the failure of the industry. Had they contributed to it by their negligence contemporary documents would, no doubt, mention it. On the contrary, Captain Smith who did not mince words when speaking of his lazy contrymen, spoke of the Poles in terms of highest praise. "They," said he, meaning the colonists generally, "neuer did know what a dayes worke was except the Dutchmen and Poles, and some dozen other. For all the rest were poore gentlemen, tradsmen, serving-men, libertines, and such like, ten times more fit to spoyle a Commonwealth, than either begin one, or but helpe to maintaine one."³¹

Historians question Smith's credibility, but this pertains chiefly to his magnifying his own deeds. As to his praises for the Poles his truthfulness can hardly be questioned. His impartiality in this respect is further shown by the fact that he praises Germans for their diligence in this instance, and more than once condemns them severely for their later association with the Indians.

After Smith's departure the situation in the little colony became worse. Diseases and famine increased and dissensions broke out anew with redoubled strength. The winter of 1609-1610 was dreadful and became known in Virginia's history as "Starving Time". Only sixty colonists survived it. Hunger was so great that horse hides were eaten and even several cases of cannibalism were recorded. "It may be safely accepted that most of the survivors belonged to the industrious, sober working class from the European continent," that is Poles and Germans, "while the English fortune seekers carrying on a dissipate life, perished," justly supposes the German-American historian, Hermann Schuricht.³²

31. True Travels, vol. I, p. 240.

32. H. Schuricht, *History of the German Element in Virginia*, Baltimore, Md., 1898, vol. I, p. 27.

The measure of suffering of the unhappy band was completed by the renewed attacks of the Indians. Filled with despair the colonists decided to leave the unhospitable shores. But just when their vessel was nearing the mouth of James River they sighted the fleet of Lord Delaware, the new Governor of Virginia, coming with a new and better chosen supply of colonists and with provisions. Delaware was able to persuade them to return and from now on, under his administration, the colony experienced a better lot.

The records make no mention of the Poles for several years, though it may be assumed that a handful of them who survived the "Starving Time" lived in the colony and that their number was perhaps augmented by new arrivals.

The first American factories managed by the Poles were evidently out of commission for several years. Sir Samuel Argall reported from Virginia before his expedition to Acadia in 1613, that he spent his time "in helping to repaire such ships and Boats, as I found heere decayed for lacke of Pitch and Tarre."³³

Production of pitch and potash was, however, resumed soon after and in 1615, Sir Thomas Dale, the Governor of Virginia, returning to England "from the hardest taske that ever he undertooke" reported to the government that his "ship hath brought hom exceedinge good tobacco, sassafriz, pytch, potashes Sturgyon and cavyarye and other such lyk commodytyes as yet that contrye yeldes".³⁴

The answer of the Virginia Company to the petition of Alderman Johnson of 1623, shows that besides pitch and potash also "some samples" of soap ashes, clapboards, pipestaves, wainscot and masts "by the Industry of Sir

33. Alex. Brown, *The Genesis of the United States*, vol. II, p. 640.

34. *Ib.*, vol. II, p. 789.

Thomas Dale were sent home" in 1615 and 1616.³⁵

Probably the Poles were also sent to Virginia for raising hemp and flax, and for making cordage about that time, as may be judged from Sir Edwin Sandys' speech in the Quarter Court of the Company of May 17, 1620, in which he mentioned the sending of persons to the colony for that purpose.³⁶ Poland was one of the largest producers of hemp and flax in Europe since her earliest history.

Meanwhile the Virginia Company underwent a thorough reorganization. Many prominent men became its members. Its privileges were greatly enlarged. Undaunted by former disappointments the Company undertook new steps to resurrect the wood industry on a larger scale.

The number of Polish artisans in Virginia was evidently augmented by new arrivals from Poland and in John Rolfe's relation to King James I of 1617, we find a mention that at Bermuda Nether Hundred were laborers "who make pitch and tarr, potashes, charcole and other works".³⁷ How many of these were Polish artisans cannot be ascertained. Generally speaking Rolfe says that about that time "the number of officers and labourers are 205. The farmors 81; besides women and children, in everie place some-which in all amounted to 351 persons".³⁸

The Company deluded itself to the end with the hope of quickly making Virginia a source of wood industry. The "adventurers" believed firmly that "that Mast, Planckes, and Boords, the Pitch and Tarre, the Pot-ashes and Sope-ashes, the Hemepe and Flaxe..., which now we fetch

35. S. M. Kingsbury, *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, vol. II, p. 396.

36. Wm. Stith, *The History of the First Discovery*, p. 176.

37. E. D. Neill, *History of the Virginia Company*, p. 109.

38. *Ib.*, p. 111.

from Norway, Denmarke, Poland and Germany, are there to be had in abundance and great perfection".³⁹ In its instructions to Governor Year-
dley, of May 17th, 1620, the Company complained that "the applying so altogether the planting of Tobacco; and neglect of other more solid commodities, haue not only redounded to the great disgrace of the Countrey, and detriment of the Colony; but doth also in point of profit, greatly deceiue them which haue trusted to it". The Company demanded that "for Pitch and Tarre . . . the Polackers be returned in part to these their works, with such other assistance as shall be necessary. The like we shall desire for Pot-ashes and Sope-ashes, when there shall be fit store of hands to assist them: Requiring in the meane time, that care be generally taken, that Seruants and Apprentices be so trained up in these works, as that the skill doe not perish together with the Masters".⁴⁰

Later again the Company said in its instructions to Governor Wyatt, of July 24, 1621: "Salt Piche and Tarr, Soape Ashes &c. often recomend-
ed and sett vp and for wch fittinge men & Materials haue been sent to the great Charge of the compa and yett daylie complaints come to us of the want of them wee desier you will now prosecute and further wth all dilligence & Care".⁴¹

At the same time the Company made new efforts to secure "fit store of hands" to assist "the Polish masters" in Virginia. In the summer of 1620, Edwin Sandys, then treasurer, recommended to the Company that it make a contract with a certain Mr. Thomas Moore (More), pro-

39. "A Declaration of the state in Virginia" by "His Majesties Counsell for Virginia", June 22, 1620. S. M. Kingsbury, *The Records of the Virginia Company*, vol. III, p. 308. Edward Waterhouse repeated nearly the same words in his "Declaration of the state of the Colony", published in 1622 (*Ib.*, vol. III, p. 544).

40. S. M. Kingsbury, *The Records of the Virginia Company*, vol. III, p. 278.

41. *Ib.*, vol. III, p. 476.

bably one of the many Scotchmen settled in Poland, "to procure men skillfull" in production of "Hemp, Flax, Sope Ashes and Pottashes, Pitch and Tarr . . . from the Easterne parts"⁴² which, of course, included also Poland. Evidently such a contract was signed with Moore and Sandys proposed to spend one thousand pounds to cover the cost of importation of these new laborers.⁴³

The minutes of the meeting of the Council of November 13, 1620, speak of its further efforts for procuring Polish laborers:

"A Certaine writinge was exhibited to the Courte by one Gabriell Wisher a man well knowne to some of this Company who understandinge that divers Staple Comodities are intended to be sett upp in Virginia maks offer to this Company to procure out of Poland, and Sweadland (wher hee is well acquainted) men skillfull in makinge of Pitch, and Tarr, Pottashes, and Sope Ashes, Clapbordes, and Pipestaues, dressers of Hemp and Flax. As allso men skillfull in makinge salt Peter, and Powder, and would bringe them from those parts into England by the End of May next after the rate of 10 pounds 10 shil. a man as many as the Co. shall thinke good. To performe which he desires 60 pounds: in hand to be payd att Hamburrow for which he will put in securitie."⁴⁴

Wischer was probably a merchant from Poland then ruled by Sigismundus III., former Swedish Crown Prince, who after ascending the Polish throne was also crowned as King of

42. Kingsbury, *The Records of the Virginia Company*, vol. I, pp. 365, 393.

43. "For Hempe and Flaxe, Pot-ashes and Sope-ashes, Pitch and Tarre, there is a Treaty already on foote, for procuring of men skillfull in those Trades from the Easterne parts: besides the Polackers yet remaining in Virginia" ("His Maiesties Counsel for Virginia. A Declaration of the State in Virginia", June 20, 1620, S. M. Kingsbury, *The Records of the Virginia Company*, vol. III, p. 315).

44. *Ib.*, vol. I, p. 420.

Sweden; though deprived of the Swedish crown by Charles IX, he never renounced his rights to it. This personal union of the two countries evidently facilitated Wischer's commercial connections in Sweden.

Two days after Wischer's offer was presented the Courtbook notes the acceptance of it in the following terms:

"Touching Gabriell Wishers former offer . . . the Courte have ordered that he shal have 100 pounds allowed him to provide tenn skillfull men as aforesaid butt for the manner of the contract to be made with him and other necessary circumstances incydent therunto they have referred the said Gabriell Wisher to be further concluded with the Committees."⁴⁵

But in the end Wischer's proposition was rejected as too costly. "Gabriell Wisher", says the **Courtbook** under December 13, 1620, "haveinge presented himselfe unto the Courte with offer of his service for procuringe of men skillfull in divers Comodities out of Sweadland and Poland att an easie charge soe he might have his Majesties letters to the Kinge of Sweadland to that purpose itt was aunswered that they held itt unfitt to trouble his Majestie with soe meane a sute; And for as much as they conceived that the Charge of procureinge men that way howe gainefully soever would be too great and to high a rate for them, resolved therfore to take some other course by recommendinge the care hereof to some Marchants tradinge into those parts who might provide them with a farr less charge. In the meane time the Company would content themselves with those they had allreadie in Virginia whome they would supply with more helpinge hands, which was the thinge they cheiflie desyred."⁴⁶

45. *Ib.*, vol. I, p. 423.

46. *Ib.*, vol. I, p. 430.

Besides the scarcity of "helping hands", the Virginia wood industry was impeded then also by the growing scarcity of trees. "Ffor Pytch and tarre, true yt is," wrote John Pory to Sir Edwin Sandys from Jamestown, June 12-th, 1620, "that as some quantety hath heretofore bene made, so may there be some made hereafter, but some here that have lyved longe in Poland doe say, that ye worth will no way contrvaile ye chardge, and one reason is, that whereas in Poland a principall country for that comodity, there be whole forrests of pytch trees and none else, and that for fower and five hundred myles together in this part of Virginia ye same kinde of trees growe but... skatteringe here one and there one, and may indeed be employed to that vse but wth greate labor, and as greate loss."⁴⁷ In January 1622, the Governor and Council of Virginia remonstrated in similar terms: "Pitch and Tarr we are in doupt will neuer proue staple comodities by reason that the trees doe grow soe dispersedlie as they are nott woorth the fetching together."⁴⁸ Of course, this situation was partly caused by ruthless exploitation of the forests since the beginning of the colony. Notwithstanding this bad situation, the Governor and Council still thought that soap ashes and potash migh "hereafter proue a good comoditie," if more and cheaper laborers could be had.

The massacre of 1622 proved disastrous to the Virginian manufactures in general, and to the wood production in particular.⁴⁹ How many Poles perished by the tomahawk of the Indians who unexpectedly and simultaneously attacked all habitations of the whites, is not known. The contemporary relation by Edward Waterhouse mentions only one—"Mathew a Polander", who

47. *Ib.*, vol. III, p. 303.

48. *Ib.*, vol. III, p. 586; E. D. Neill, *History of the Virginia Company*, p. 283.

49. Philip Alexander Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia in the 17-th Century*, vol. II, p. 493.

was killed at Martin Brandon's.⁵⁰ It is probable, however, that more Poles lost their lives for Waterhouse mentions many victims by their first names only, without adding their nationality, and many others only by number.

If any Poles remained in Virginia after the massacre, none of them is mentioned specifically in the **Lists of Livinge and the Dead in Virginia** of February 16, 1623, though these contain several which may be taken as distorted names of Poles.⁵¹

It is more probable, however, that discouraged at last by numerous hindrances in their work and by acts of injustice on the part of their superiors, they left Virginia after the massacre. Edward Butler in his pamphlet **The Unmasked face of our Colony in Virginia**, as it was in y **Winter of ye yeare 1622** mentions that after the massacre "the Furnaces for Glass and Pots" were "at a stay and in a small hope."⁵² No mention of the Polish artisans appears in later Virginian documents.

Perhaps with a bit of ill-will, but quite correctly as to the results of its efforts Alderman Johnson blamed the Company in 1623, that "the many wilde & vast pjects set on foot all at one time, viz 3 Iron works, saw mills, planting of silk-grass, vines, mulbury trees potashes pitch tarr and salt &c all wch were enjoyned to be effected in the space of 2 yeares, by a handfull of men that

50. Neill, *History of the Virginia Company*, p. 344; Thomas H. Wynne and W. S. Gilman, *Colonial Records of Virginia*, Richmond, 1874, p. 64; Kingsbury, *The Records of the Virginia Company*, vol. III, p. 569.

51. So, for instance, John Kullaway of James citie, John Pergo from Over the River and a few others (Wynne and Gilman, *Colonial Records of Virginia*, pp. 42 and 45), Kullaway is also mentioned in John Camden Hotten's *The Original List of Persons of Quality ... who went from Great Britain to the American Plantations, 1600-1700*, New York, 1874, p. 174.

52. Neill, *History of the Virginia Company*, p. 399.

were not able to build houses, plant corne to lodge & feed themseluess & co came to nothing.”⁵³

What seems to be the last chapter in the early association of the Poles with the first English colony in America was played at London where there appeared a certain Albertus Molasco⁵⁴ to seek redress for his own and his compatriots’ sufferings. Sometimes he was accompanied at the Council’s Court by one “Martin, the Armenian”, undoubtedly a Polish Armenian, as Armenians were quite numerous in Polish cities, occupied mostly as traders in Near Eastern goods.

The nature of the injustice suffered by the Poles in Virginia is not known, but it must have been patent and of no small nature since it was recognized at once by the Council of the Company at its meeting of February 19, 1623.

“Molasco the Polander”, says the **Courtbook**, “earnestly besought that his petition might be read alledginge that he had attended aboue a Quarter of a yeare and the Earl of Northampton said that if his case were as he were informed he had suffered much wronge. Mr. Deputy⁵⁵ said that he was not altogether ignorant of the matter but knewe that there was so fowle oppression that had bin used to the poore man, and likewise upon diuers others in the like cases as he was afraide, both the Companies and Plantations did to the waight of their owne sins suffer Gods punishment for these former offenses: Wherefore he thought it most necesssarie to endeavor the rightinge of him, but that was to be donn accordinge to the form prescribed by the Quarter Courte; In this Court it could not be donne⁵⁶ his

53. Kingsbury, *The Records of the Virginia Company*, vol. IV, p. 176.

54. Molasco seems to be a distortion of the Polish name Malewski, or, perhaps, Małyszko.

55. Nicholas Ferrar, one of the most prominent members of the Company.

56. As it was a regular meeting.

case beinge verie longe and somewhat intricate: Whereupon the Earl of Southampton willed mr. Deputy with all convenient speed that might be to call the Committee to whome that matter was referred, that so the Court might doe him justice: Which mr. Deputy promised.”⁵⁷

Notwithstanding this eagerness of the Company to rectify his own and his companions’ wrongs, Molasco had to wait a long time for further action “accordinge to the form”. For a whole year he is mentioned as being often present at the Company’s meetings, but the **Courtbook** is silent as to his case. Meanwhile the affairs of the Company were speedily growing worse. Molasco and “Martin ye Armenian” weren among those who voted to surrender the charter of the Company to the Government at a special meeting in November 1623.⁵⁸ Meanwhile Molasco evidently referred the matter to the Government, and the royal Commissioners also acknowledged the justice of his charges. But at another meeting of February 2, 1624, “Molasco the Polander—Petitioninge for such monney hee said his Majesties Commissioners found due unto him from the Company was answered that the Company had made itt appeare by their answeare to ye said Commissioners that hee was not to be satisfised from them butt from such as have receaved great allowances from the Company for satisfaccion of him and the rest of Polanders as appeared uppon the Companies Accompts, And namely from mr. Woodall whom the Commissioner promised to examyne uppon Oath touching the said monneys, unto whome the Petitioner was to repayre to know what they had done therein.”⁵⁹

57. Kingsbury, *The Records of the Virginia Company*, vol. II, p. 279.

58. Neill, *History of the Virginia Company*, p. 414; Kingsbury, *The Records of the Virginia Company*, vol. IV, p. 290-1.

59. Kingsbury, *The Records of the Virginia Company*, vol. II, p. 510.

The documents do not disclose whether Molasco and other Poles received any satisfaction in the end.

The records of the Company of 1622 contain a mention of an unnamed "Polonian lord" whose interpreter "of his owne creatinge" was Capt. Robert Haswell⁶⁰ who supported Capt. John Martin in his action against the Company. It is possible that this Polish noble had some connection with the colonization of Virginia.

This fact closes the chapter on the earliest commercial relations between Poland and Virginia.

Not discouraged by earlier adverse results, the British government did not abandon the thought of supplanting Polish and other Baltic trade with Virginian production for a long time. A quarter of a century later the Britishers still nursed that hope, though the wood and glass industry in Virginia was dead long ago.⁶¹ Soap ashes and potash, tar and other wood products were exported from Poland to England to the

60. Wm. Stith, *The History of the First Discovery*, p. 224; Kingsbury, *The Records of the Virginia Company*, vol. II, p. 42.

61. See E. W. Gent's *Virginia: More especially the South part thereof, Richly and Truly Valued*, London, 1650, p. 13 (Force's Tracts, vol. III, no. XI). Hugh Jones says in his *Present State of Virginia*, published in London in 1724, (p. 57), that) "of Pitch and Tar they send Home great quantities, though not near so much as North Carolina", this export, however, must have been comparatively small. The petition of the inhabitants of Orange and Rowan counties of North Carolina to Governor William Tryon, about 1769, said in part: "We beseech you to consider of some proper Staple or Staples of the Manufactures or produce of the country to answer foreign Demands, would not (with Submission) pot Ash be a fine Article, to answer the British Market; and in a country abounding in wood, the very Ashes now thrown away, might with encouragement (if manufactured) be a saving, or rather gain, of some thousands per annum to the province. & render voyage to Riga, Narva & Dantzick from Great Britain for that useful commodity needless" (*Colonial Records of North Carolina*, vol. VIII, p. 84).

end of Poland's independent existence. Moreover, Polish potash was sent even to America⁶² together with other products, especially "Poland starch" which, as is shown by advertisements in contemporary newspapers,⁶³ was so popular in the Colonies in the 18-th century that English merchants began to imitate it.⁶⁴ There is also a record that experiments were made with "Poland oates" on Virginia farms in the 18-th century.⁶⁵ Quite popular in colonial Virginia were ornamented "Dantzick cases" which were mostly used for storing liquors, household goods, etc.⁶⁶

Contrary to the wishes of Virginia's founders, tobacco became a staple product of the colony, and Poland, in turn, furnished an early market for it. This export contributed a no small item in Virginia's budget. In fact, the welfare of the Virginia and of the neighboring Maryland tobacco planters depended in a great degree upon the conditions in Poland and in other Baltic countries. A pamphlet of 1708, entitled **The Present State of the Tobacco Plantations in America**, stated that "troubles in Sweden, Poland, Russia etc. have prevented the usual exportation of great quantities to those ports. Virginia and Maryland had severely felt the loss of such exportation, having so far reduced the planters that for several years past the whole product of their

62. T. Korzon, *Wewnętrzne Dzieje Polski za Stanisława Augusta*, vol. II, p. 127.

63. *The Georgia Gazette*, Savannah, May 24, 1769; *The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, August 8, 1786; *Columbian Centinel*, Boston, April 29, 1795.

64. *The Georgia Gazette*, July 5, 1769.

65. "Diary of Col. London Carter". *William and Mary College Quarterly*, ser. I, vol. XXI, p. 275.

66. Many Dantzick cases are mentioned in wills of Virginians during colonial times (*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. I, p. 209; *William and Mary College Quarterly*, ser. I, vol. VII, p. 249; *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. I, p. 259).

tobacco would hardly clothe the servants that made it.⁶⁷

The Dutch took possession of a great part of the tobacco trade in the Baltic, and in 1707, sent about 2,000,000 pounds of it to Dantzic and Koenigsberg. Quantities of Virginia tobacco were, however, brought to Poland by English or directly by American vessels. The latter visited Polish ports quite frequently, even as late as the end of the 18-th century, as may be judged from a "List of American vessels which passed the Sound of Elsinore, from April 6, to May 30, 1792, — for the Baltic."⁶⁸ In these thirty two days thirteen vessels flying the American flag passed that point from New York and New England ports, not counting vessels from southern states. A very early document on the direct communication by ships between Virginia and Poland is the result of a law suit of Edward Prescott, who was engaged in trade between Virginia and Europe, and Col. John Washington, an ancestor of George Washington, entered in the Westmoreland County Court House, Va., about 1657. The suit was the outcome of their earlier common voyage to Dantzic with a shipload of tobacco.⁶⁹ A certain Muscoe Livingston, a Virginian, is mentioned in 1768, as master of the ship **Baltic Merchant**. The name probably symbolized her use.⁷⁰

67. Thos J. Wertenbacker, *The Planters of Colonial Virginia*, p. 148. See also L. C. Gray's "The Market Surplus Problem of Colonial Tobacco", *William and Mary College Quarterly*, ser. 2, vol. VII, pp. 235 and 241.

68. *Columbian Centinel*, Boston, July, 1, 1792.

69. W. G. Stanard, "John Washington on a Trading Voyage in the East Country", *William and Mary College Quarterly*, ser. I, vol. I, p. 184; ser. I, vol. II, p. 137.

70. *William and Mary College Quarterly*, ser. I, vol. XIII, p. 263.

II

PIONEERS OF LIBERTY AND SOLDIERS

Potash and other wood products and tobacco were then the first products which Poland and American colonies exchanged since earliest times. But before these first commercial ties came into being the Poles had the opportunity to play the role of pioneers not only of American industry, but also of American liberty.

In 1619, during the second administration of Gov. Yeardley, an important change occurred in Virginia's public life. The number of inhabitants rose since 1617, to 2,000 souls in eleven settlements and the colony grew in prosperity. Up to this time colonists were ruled by an absolute government, but Yeardley inaugurated a limited autonomy. On July 30, 1619, the first legislative assembly on the American continent met at the church in Jamestown. It was known as the House of Burgesses and was composed of two delegates from every settlement. This assembly became known as the "Mother of the American representative legislature."¹

But not all inhabitants were enfranchised.² Some were denied the right to representation by the Great Charter of 1618, issued by the Company and under which Yeardley acted. Anyhow, the Poles were disfranchised, which made them so indignant, that they decided to cease working till the unjust decree would be changed. This was the first strike in the history of the United States.

The dispute assumed such proportions that Yeardley was forced to report it to the Council at London. The Poles won in the end.

1. Ed. Channing, *A History of the United States*, vol. I, p. 202.

2. Wertenbacker supposes that all adult males, or at least all freemen, were enfranchised. (I. J. Wertenbacker, *Virginia under the Stuarts, 1607-1688*, Princeton, 1914, p. 36).

The **Court Book of the Company** mentions under date of July 3-rd, 1619:

"Upon some dispute of the Polonians resident in Virginia, it was now agreed (notwithstanding any former order to the Contrary) that they shalbe enfranchised and made as free as any inhabitant there whatsoever: and because their skill in making pitch and tarr and soapashes shall not dye with them, it is agreed that some young men, shalbe put unto them to learne their skill and knowledge therein for the benefit of the Country hereafter."³

The concessions of the Company induced the Poles to finish their strike which fact the **Court Book** mentions under date of May 17, 1620: "The Polackers are returned to their works."⁴

"That seems to show that the instincts of liberty were animating force with those Poles and that they revolted at their social condition or the virtual slavery in which they found themselves contrary, no doubt, to the promises made in inducing them to come to the new colony", says Martin I. J. Griffin.⁵

The situation of the Poles in Virginia must have been very hard, indeed. "Little food and much labor kills them..... they live seeing themselves treated as slaves with cruelty," wrote the Spaniard Molino of the lot of the colonists in 1613.⁶ The lot of the Poles was certainly not better than that of the others.

Enlivened by a spirit of freedom these sons of the then most free republic in the world tacitly

3. S. M. Kingsbury, **The Record of the Virginia Company**, vol. I, p. 251.

4. *Ib.*, vol. I, p. 353; the fact is also mentioned in "A Note of the Shipping, Men, and Provisions, sent to Virginia, by the Treasurer and Company in the yeere 1619", *ib.*, vol. III, p. 116.

5. M. I. J. Griffin, "Catholics in Colonial Virginia," **Records of American Catholic Historical Society**, vol. XXII, pp. 93-94.

6. Lyon Gardiner Tyler, **Narratives of Early Virginia, 1606-1625**, N. Y., 1907, p. 220.

suffered hunger and hardships and quietly endured oppression. Even when others idled they worked honestly for the colony. Never did they become traitors to it, as some of the colonists did. Never did they deserve such harsh words, as George Sandys applied to the Italian glass-workers, that "a more damned crew Hell never vomitted."⁷ Never did they quarrel for power nor plot against authority, however bad, as did others. But when they were denied an equal right to participate in the affairs of the colony, when others were given that right, they revolted.

This first strike of the Poles in Virginia, not for economical advantages, but for political rights, constitutes, indeed, one of the most beautiful pages in the history of Polish immigration in the United States. Happening as it did over one hundred and fifty years before the Revolution, it may be justly regarded as the first fight and the first victory for the cause of freedom on this continent.

It must be acknowledged that Polish demands for rights met no serious opposition from the Company which, notwithstanding their strike, was satisfied with the Poles. The best proof of this was the fact that the Company renewed its efforts soon after to bring over a greater number of Polish workers.

The Poles also distinguished themselves as first colonial soldiers. The first instance of their bravery is recorded in 1609, when the Indians set an ambush to kill Captain Smith during one of his visits to the glasshouse. "Returning... from the glass-house alone," narrates Smith "hee incountred the king of Paspaheigh, a most stronge stout Salvage whose perswasions not being able to perswade him to his ambush, seeing him only armed but with a fauchion, attempted to haue shot him; but the President prevented

7. P. A. Bruce, *Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, vol. II, p. 442.

his shot by grappling with him, and the Salvage as well prevented him for drawing his fauchion and perforce bore him into the river to haue drowned him; long they struggled in the water, from whence the king perceiving two of the Poles upon the sandes would have fled; but the President held him by the haire & throat til the Poles came in; then seeing howe pittifully the poore Salvage begged his life, they conducted him prisoner to the fort.”⁸ “Evidently,” comments the distinguished historian, Alexander Brown, “the Poles aided in making capture, and probably saved Smith’s life . . . , but they get neither acknowledgment nor thanks in Smith’s **History**; nor do they appear in the picture” in that book.⁹ Their humane treatment of the Indian deserves another acknowledgement.

In 1616, during Governor George Yeardley’s administration we find another documentary mention of a Polish soldier’s gallantry. Yeardley, forced by a lack of provisions, organized an expedition against the Indians who broke the contract made with Governor Dale for the delivery of corn. In a battle in which the Indians were routed a “Robert a Polonian” took prisoner one of the red chieftains.¹⁰

8. A Map of Virginia, With a Description of the Countrey, Oxford, 1612, (Oxford Tract CCXLV), pp. 80-81.

9. A. Brown, *The Genesis of the United States*, vol. II, p. 599.

10. J. Smith, *True Travels*, vol. II, p. 28.

III.

LATER SETTLERS

It may be taken for granted that the Poles were ever present in colonial Virginia, though in comparatively very small numbers. They were there mostly as "indentured servants".¹ Colonial documents contain a few scores of names of such servants which appear to be distorted Polish names.² Quite Polish in appearance are the names of John Hayicke, who arrived in Virginia in 1652, as servant bound to Lt. Col. John Cheesman,³ and of James Teuricke, who came in 1653, bound to Col. William Clayborne, Secretary of State.⁴

Probably Christopher Pawlur⁵ was also a Pole. He immigrated with his wife in 1717, and received 100 acres of land in Spottsylvania in 1726.⁶

A few supposed Polish names appear on the rolls of the colonial militia, e. g. Adam Lackie, a member of the militia from Albermarle in September 1758.⁷

Undoubtedly Christopher Smolenski (or Sumlinsky) was a Pole. He appears for the first time in the records of Augusta Parish about

1. Their presence as such is noted by James Curtis Ballagh, *White Servitude in the Colony of Virginia*, John Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 13-th ser., vol. VI-VII, p. 40.

2. Such for instance are, as given by George Cabell Greer in *Early Virginia Documents, 1623-1666*, Richmond, 1912: John Binias, year of arrival unknown (p. 34); Mary Bliba, arrived in 1651 (p. 36); John Boran, arrived in 1635 (p. 39); Christopher Donak arrived in 1655 and bound to Southly Littleberry of Northampton County (p. 96); and others.

3. *Ib.*, p. 154.

4. *Ib.*, p. 324.

5. Recorded also as Parlur.

6. *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. XIII, p. 372; vol. XIV, p. 145.

7. William Waller Hening, *The Statutes at Large of Virginia*, Richmond, 1820, vol. VII, p. 204.

1760. Evidently Smolenski was in poor circumstances at that time, most probably as a minor orphan. A certain John Young declared to the "Gentlemen of the Vestry" that: "I took in Christopher Sumlinsky last November and has never been allowed no consideration and kept him till the March Court as he has been upon the Parish before and after I hope you will allow me as men has been allowed and I put something on to keep him warm."⁸ The same Smolenski later served as a soldier in the Revolutionary War.⁹

Alexander Galesky whose marriage is recorded in Augusta county, under the date of March 19-th, 1771, was also a Pole.¹⁰

Other probable early Polish settlers of Virginia were James Loskey¹¹ of Augusta County, and Michael Ayleski who moved from Bath

8. Lyman Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia*, Roslyn, Va., 1912. vol. II, p. 451. All cases of charity were under jurisdiction of parishes in colonial Virginia. Hugh Jones explains in his *Present State of Virginia*, London, 1724, p. 54: "The plenty of the Country and the good Wages given to Work-Folks occasion very few Poor, who are supported by the Parish, being such as are lame, sick, or decrepit through Age, Distempers, Accidents, or some Infirmities; for where there is a numerous Family of poor children the Vestry takes care to bind them out Apprentices till they are able to maintain themselves by their own Labour."

9. Washington MSS, 112, 95, Library of Congress, as listed in the *Special Report of the Virginia State Library*, 1913, Richmond, 1917. Dr. J. F. Jameson, chief, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress, informed the author in this connection, on March 8, 1937: "It is not practicable now to find these documents pertaining to Christopher Smoleński by means of the references given in the report of the Virginia State Library. The compiler of that report was informed that the Washington Papers were to be rearranged and rebound, but choose to give references to the old numbers, not now recoverable."

10. Wm. Armstrong Crozier, *Virginia County Records*, vol. IV, p. 88; *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. VII, p. 422. No name of his wife is given.

11. Loskey appears on the list of "wolf-scalps," District Court Executions, Sept. 1794 (L. Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia*, vol. I, p. 483).

County to Holston in 1796.¹² Joseph Surba is recorded as grantee of a cow pasture in Botetourt County in 1780.¹³ Joseph Mintus lived in Essex county in 1790. His family consisted of nine white persons.¹⁴ John Slavica was one of the commissioners for supervising the presidential election in Pendleton county in 1800.¹⁵

Among the Germans brought over by Gov. Spottswood and settled in Madison County were a few from Poland. In 1736, these Germans sent their delegates to Germany and Poland to collect money for their church and school. The delegates visited Elbing and Dantzig, in Poland, and met with financial success. Besides money they brought over the Rev. George Samuel Klug of Elbing who for many years was pastor of the Hebron Church, in the present county of Madison, then Orange County.¹⁶

12. *Ib.*, vol. II, p. 21.

16. Prof. Wm. J. Hinke, "The Germans in Madison County", *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. XIV, p. p. 136-156; see also *ib.*, vol. XI, p. 230, and vol. XII, p. 72; Albert B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, vol. I, p. 82.

14. *Heads of Families at the first Census of the United States taken in the year 1790*, Dept. of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1907, Virginia, p. 52.

15. H. W. Flournoy, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, Richmond, 1890, vol. IX, p. 125.

13. Lewis Preston Summers, *Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769-1800*, Abingdon, 1929, p. 567.

IV

THE SADOWSKI FAMILY

The most famous Virginia pioneers of Polish origin were the Sadowskis. Early in the 18-th century one of their ancestors was a prominent Indian trader in Pennsylvania. The descendants of the family became early surveyors and first settlers of Kentucky. Quite a numerous family by the end of the century, the Sadowskis covered a large part of the Middle West with their pioneer traces.¹

The Sadowskis originally were Polish nobles. The name is quite common in Poland, but there are two branches of that family, one using a coat of arms called Nałęcz and for the greater part settled in Great Poland, the other with the coat of arms of Lubicz and settled mostly in the neighboring province of Kujawy.² As the American Sadowski came from Great Poland,³ they evidently belonged to the first branch.

German-American historians call Sadowskis "German Poles", or even simply "Germans". This is a very patent inaccuracy. These historians were influenced by the fact that the Sadowskis originally came from that part of Poland which became the booty of Prussia in the partitions of Poland. But this happened in 1772, many decades after Sadowskis appeared in America. Up to that year, Great Poland was an integral part of Poland; and though separated from other parts of the country for a century and half, it preserved its purely Polish character to this day. An additional proof of this error are the family traditions of the American Sadowskis which point to Poland only as the land of their origin.⁴ "My

1. Theo. Roosevelt. *The Winning of the West*, New York & London, 1889, vol. I, p. 164.

2. Kasper Niesiecki, *Herbarz Polski*, Lipsk, 1834.

3. *Der Deutsche Pionier*, Cincinnati, vol. IX, p. 262.

4. The first Sadowski is called "a native of Poland" by W. H. Perrin, J. W. Battle and G. C. Kniffin, Ken-

great-grand-father was from Poland," Mrs. Susan Shanklin, daughter of Jacob Sadowski, the famous Kentucky pioneer, told the Rev. John Shane in an interview about 1854.⁵

The reasons and the accurate date of their emigration from Poland are unknown. Most probably one or more of their ancestors left their native country in the second half of the 17-th century. Some of the Sadowskis in Poland were Protestants,⁶ or dissidents, as they were called. These dissidents associated with Swedes during the invasion of Poland in 1655. After the Swedes were successfully repulsed the dissidents were banished by an edict of the Polish parliament. Evidently this was the primary cause of the emigration of the Sadowskis from Poland.

Family traditions, and even documents, pertaining to the Sadowski family in America, are quite complicated. Their Christian names and degrees of relationship have suffered from such a confusion that they often present a riddle hard to solve.

The first American ancestor of the family furnishes a typical example of this confusion. Isaac Sadowsky and Jacob Sandusky, sons of James, pioneer of Kentucky, referred to him as their grandfather Jonathan in their relation of

tucky, Louisville and Chicago, 1887, p. 839; see also Frank W. Johnson's *A History of Texas and Texans*, New York, 1914, vol. V, p. 2517, and *The Past and Present of Vermilion County, Illinois*, Chicago, 1903, p. 331. The first German-American historian who made the error of calling them "German-Poles" was, it seems, H. M. Rattermann in his "Die Deutschen Pioniere von Kenton County, Ky." "Der Deutsche Pionier, vol. IX, p. 262. Herrmann Schuricht in *History of the German Element in Virginia*, Baltimore, 1898, vol. I, p. 156, and John Walter Wayland "The Germans of the Valley," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. X, p. 114, call the Sadowskis "Germans" altogether erroneously.

5. Draper MSS 11CC220, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

6. S. Orgelbranda *Encyklopedia Powszechna*, Warszawa, 1902, vol. XIII, p. 246.

1843.⁷ But Mrs. Shanklin, their cousin, and niece of James, told the Rev. Shane that the first Sadowski who came to America was her great-grandfather. Ephraim Sandusky, her brother, named this grandfather Andrew in his interview with Shane,⁸ though not mentioning whether this Andrew was the first of the family in America. According to still other versions of the family tradition, the first Sadowski was James, John, or Jacob.⁹

As to the Christian name of the first Sadowski, it is nearly certain that he was neither James, John nor Jacob. Most certainly the father of Jacob and James Sadowski, pioneers of Kentucky, was not Jonathan either, though two of his grandsons called him so. There is an early trace of an Andrew Sadowski in Pennsylvania, but the first of the family appearing in colonial documents was Anthony Sadowski (written also Zadiskey, Zadusky, Zadoroski, Zadouski, Sadowsk, etc), the Indian trader and interpreter in that colony. About 1734, this Anthony disappears from the Pennsylvania documents and two decades later Andrew appears in Virginia.

According to one version of the family tradition, "there were three brothers who were banished from Poland on account of their religious convictions, and emigrated to Virginia."¹⁰ There is a slight possibility that Anthony and Andrew were brothers. In view of the inaccuracy of colonial documents and of the fact, that names are often changed, even in this day, to conform

7. *The American Pioneer*, vol. II, p. 325.

8. Lucien V. Rule, "Shane's Interview with Ephraim Sandusky", *The Filson Club History Quarterly*, Louisville, 1934, vol VIII, p. 217-228.

9. *The Past and Present of Vermilion County, Ill.*, p. 331, calls the protoplast James, while he is called John by H. Rattermann, (*Der Deutsche Pionier*, vol. IX, p. 262). He is mentioned as Jacob by W. H. Perrin, J. H. Battle and G. C. Kniffin, *Kentucky*, p. 839.

10. Frank W. Johnson, *A History of Texas and Texans*, vol. V, p. 2517.

with some documents, or by usage, or for other reasons, it is also possible that both names, Anthony and Andrew, designated one person. Anthony is called "father of the gallant 'Sandusky' boys of our pioneer times" by Lucien Beckner, historian of Kentucky.¹¹

There is also much discrepancy as to the date of Sadowskis' immigration to America. But the assertion of Isaac and Jacob that their grandfather "came to this country . . . in the reign of Queen Anne of England, and landed and settled where the city of New York is now," may be taken as quite correct. Queen Anne reigned from 1702 to 1714 and the first mention of Sadowski in American colonial documents appears a few years later. It is even probable that Sadowski came here before the end of the 17-th century, after spending some time in Holland, where there was at this time quite a large Polish dissident colony, or perhaps in England.

In reality Anthony Sadowski must have appeared in Pennsylvania in the very beginning of the 18-th century, for by the end of the first quarter of that century he reached some prominence. His repeated official missions to the Delaware Indians attest to his good standing with the government of the colony and of his general respectability. During the trouble with the Shawnees in 1728, Governor Patrick Gordon and the Provincial Council commissioned Anthony Sadowski and John Scull, another Indian trader and interpreter, on May 15-th, 1728, to deliver "Six Strouds" to Allumappees, Opekasset and Manawkyhickon, Indian chiefs, and to invite them to a peace meeting at Conestoga.¹² Sadowski and Scull carried on these negotiations for some time. Following is a characteristic letter of

11. Lucien Beckner, "Eskippakithiki, The Last Indian town in Kentucky", *The Filson Club History Quarterly*, vol. VI, p. 366.

12. *Pennsylvania Archives*, ser. 1, vol. 1, pp. 222, 224, 220-221; *Penna. Colonial Records*, vol. III, p. 305.

his, informing John Petty of Philadelphia, also an Indian trader, of Indian unrest on the frontier during that period:

"Adj. 27th, August 1728

"Mr. Petty.

"Sr.—This is to aquent you that, an Indian com to Oly,¹³ to Philip Kerwain & brought Neus from Siamocon¹⁴ that all the Indians have mued from them, & non is ther but Sam Siehar & his famely & Alomapis & also sd Indian told to sd Philip that at Sauanos¹⁵ that is Malson¹⁶ the Sauanos have hangd Thimity Higins¹⁷ upon pol of their cabin, & also sd Indian brough word that the Indians will com to Philadelphia about full of this Mun, & it is fierd that with the Rest of the borders is not well, & if you please to acquaint the Governor with seame & his Counsull for the People in our Parts is freed that thereis som Miscif hacin by the Indians. Mor over, the french woman that com from your Hus-Mingo's wife¹⁸ told me to not go to Indians this fall un till by beter understanding bytwin the Christians & Indians for theris a great dissatisfaction a mongs them. pray John Petty sent to me Briches & Cot that you was to do it by David Hois wife, & in quire if this eny thing doun about the mony going to Indians for Sam¹¹ Cosins and the rest Plegs me aboutit very much & also Sam¹¹ Cosins said that he never gave you order to Reactive any mony from me. No more att present, but Rimaïne your frinde

"Antony Sadowsky

"pray send me an answer

"first opportunity.

13. Oley, furnace in Berks County, Pa.

14. Shamokin.

15. Shawnee.

16. Malson, a Shawnee town on the Susquehanna.

17. Timothy Higgins, Indian trader at Malson.

18. "Moreover, the French woman that came from your house Mingo's wife", Charles A. Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail*, New York and London, 1911, vol. I, p. 189.

LETTER OF ANTHONY SADOWSKI

Mr. Petty

Ad, 22 Aug 1, 23

S^r This is to acquaint you that 2 Indian com belly
 is Philip Kilewain & brought news from Scamolon
 that all the Indians who came from them &
 now is there but Sam Sehan & his family & ab-
 mapis & also S. Indian tells to S. Philip that
 all Sauano town that is Nelson the Sauanos
 have hang Thimit, Kigias upon post off the
 Cabin, & also S. Indian brought word that the
 Indians will com to Philadelphia a boat full
 of this Man & it is said that with the Rest of
 the others is not well, & if you please to acquaint
 the Governor with same. ~~the~~ Council for
 the People in our Parts is free that their
 son Mincif hasin by the Indians, Nor over
 the french Woman that com from your hus-
 mings Wife told me to not to go to Indians
 this fall as till by betes understanding between
 the Christians & Indians for there is a great
 dissatisfaction & among them. John Satt
 sent to Mr. Briches & told that you was to do it
 by David P. Wife, & inquire if this is true
 down about the story of going to Indians for
 Sam Covins & the rest. I say me about it very
 much & also Sam Covins said that he never gave
 you order to Receive any more from the Indians
 at present but remain your friends

Anthony Sadowski

pray send me an answer
 first opportunity

Courtesy of the State Library and
 Museum, Harrisburg, Pa.

"To Mr. Letty Living att Philadelphia"¹⁹

A tendency to spell English words according to Polish phonetics is quite evident in this letter of Sadowski.

In 1728, he had his trading post at Shamokin,²⁰ and a year later at Allegany, in Western Pennsylvania, far away from the then frontier of civilization. The last post was conducted by him in company of his two friends, John Mattox and John Fisher. Their store consisted of "European goods" worth about five hundred pounds. In June of that year Mingoe Indians brought fourteen kegs of rum from Albany and wanted to sell them to the Delawares. These, eager to buy it and having not enough goods, robbed the store of the three companions to the value of one hundred pounds and wounded Mattox severely.²¹ The victims petitioned Gov. Gordon that he would induce the offenders to pay an indemnity. The Governor complied with their request, but his remonstrances with the Delaware chiefs²² were evidently unsuccessful, as Mattox tried to get redress from them as late as 1732.²³ There is no Sadowski's signature on this petition of Mattox, however.

The last vestiges of Anthony in Pennsylvania seem to appear in 1734. He was present as interpreter at the meeting of John and Thomas Penn, the Provincial Council and Oneida Indians at Philadelphia, on September 15-th, 1734.²⁴ In the same year he swore allegiance to the British crown in that city.²⁵

19. Penna. Archives, ser. I, vol. I, p. 227.

20. C. H. Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail*, vol. II, p. 339.

21. Penna. Archives, ser. I, vol. I, p. 265. The petition of the three companions to Gov. Gordon, dated Philadelphia, August 8-th, 1730, and describing the affair, was evidently written by Sadowski.

22. *Ib.*, ser. I, vol. I, p. 266.

23. *Ib.*, ser. I, vol. I, p. 340.

24. Penna. Colonial Records, vol. III, p. 571.

25. Penna. Archives, ser. 2, vol. VII, part I, p. 124; Prof. Daniel Rupp, *A Collection of 30,000 Names of Ger-*

The author was unable to find any later documents pertaining to Anthony Sadowski in Pennsylvania. According to afore mentioned Mrs. Shanklin "he is said to have given the name to Sandusky Bay, and towns: from being the first trader that ever went there to trade with those Indians."²⁶

A similar version of this tradition was given by Jacob J. Green of Cincinnati in 1842. According to him, Sadowski penetrated very early into Ohio as an Indian trader and "established himself near the present site of Lower Sandusky, at the foot of the rapids of the river. His operations in trading for furs . . . with Indians being entirely confined to the river and bay they soon became known to Europeans and afterwards to the Indians, as Sanduski's river and bay."²⁷ Some historians gave credence to this explanation of of the origin of the name Sandusky, so popular in the topography of that section of Ohio, "that it has become more extensively known, perhaps, than any other in the Union." Another theory is that the name Sandusky comes from the Algonquin phrase "Sa, undustee," which means "in cold water".²⁸ Though it also lacks absolute proof, this theory should be accepted rather than the former. The earliest spelling of Sadowski's name as Sandusky appears quite early, but it seems that they changed the spelling of their family name to suit it to this topographical name then so well known on the American frontiers.

There is no documentary evidence, but it may be taken for granted that Anthony Sadowski was in fact one of the first traders in Ohio.

man, Swiss, Dutch, French and Other Immigrants in Pennsylvania from 1727-1776, Phila., 1876, p. 436.

26. Draper MSS.—11CC220.

27. *The American Pioneer*, vol. I, p. 199; vol. II, p. 325.

28. This theory is accepted by C. A. Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail*, vol. II, p. 128; Theo. Roosevelt, *The*

The change in the spelling of his name itself, to some extent, supports this supposition. One of the historians gives the year of 1728, as the date of the founding of the Sandusky Station in Ohio by Sadowski,²⁹ which seems hardly possible. According to Rattermann, Sadowski began to trade in Ohio from his headquarters at Detroit not earlier than the middle of the 18-th century.³⁰ This sounds more truthfully. Lucian Beckner mentions Anthony Sadowski as one of the traders from Pennsylvania and Carolina who were struggling for the trade of the Ohio River and interior peoples between 1736 and the French and Indian War. He even supposes that Sadowski, together with other traders, often visited Eskippakithiki, the Shawnee town, which existed between 1718 and 1754 in the present county of Clark, in Kentucky.³¹

His further lot as well as the date of his death are unknown. Mrs. Shanklin said of Anthony that "he was no hand to labour, but was a great scholar; he was said to be able to speak seven different languages."³² Undoubtedly he was an educated man, well known to all men of prominence in Pennsylvania and the neighboring colonies.

Andrew Sadowski, unless he was identical with Anthony, left only slight traces of his presence in Pennsylvania. The only document mentioning him in that colony which the author was able to find is the will of George Boone of Exeter, grandfather of Daniel Boone, of November 18-th, 1753, bequeathing "Plantation and parcell of land Called Andrew Sanduskies situate

Winning of the West, vol. I, p. 193; Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio*, Columbus, 1891, vol. III, p. 196, and others.

29. Rudolf Cronau, *German Achievements in America*, N. Y., 1916, p. 64; *Drei Jahrhunderte Deutschen Lebens in Amerika*, Berlin, 1909, p. 154.

30. *Der Deutsche Pionier*, vol. IX, p. 262.

31. *The Filson Club History Quarterly*, vol. VI, p. 366.

32. Draper MSS, IICC220.

in Amity Township" to his son Jeremiah.³³ Evidently the plantation was founded by Andrew Sadowski about thirty miles southwest of Pittsburgh, in what is now Washington County, Pa.

In the fourth decade of the 18-th century a tide of immigration from Pennsylvania, especially of Germans, swept down to the Valley of Virginia.³⁴ Most probably Andrew was also carried by this tide. Isaac and Jacob Sadowski said that "it is understood" that "his family were stationed... on Potomac, Virginia." Ephraim Sandusky placed the homestead of his grandfather "in the South Branch of the Potomac." Andrew, indeed, is quite often mentioned in court records of Augusta County, Va. He was one of the purchasers of land from Daniel Love at the Gap of the North Mountain, in the present county of Berkeley, W. Va., on December 5, 1754.³⁵ Again, on March 30, 1758, he is mentioned as one of the purchasers of some other estate,³⁶ and, on August 19, 1761, as purchaser of a part of the estate of William Claypole of that county.³⁷ He evidently also performed duties of a surveyor, as the court of Augusta County ordered him to lay out a road on March 21, 1759.³⁸

This Sadowski is said to have lived also in the old Campbell and Hardy counties, Virginia. One of his sons, James, was born in the last mentioned county, in 1748.³⁹

33. *The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*, vol. XXVIII, p. 365.

34. Faust, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 193.

35. Lyman Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia*, vol. III, p. 40.

36. *Ib.*, vol. III, p. 53.

37. *Ib.*, vol. III, p. 66.

38. *Ib.*, vol. I, p. 83. His name is spelled here Loduskie.

39. Louis A. Burgess, *Virginia Soldiers of 1776*, Richmond, 1927, vol. I, p. 440; National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, *Lineage Book*, vol. LXXVI, p. 101; *Der Deutsche Pionier*, vol. IX, p. 262, is the source which mentions Campbell County as the place of abode of the old Sadowski.

Andrew died about 1774.⁴⁰ His grandson Ephraim gives the following details of his death: He "was watching a lick to catch" his "horses that were running at large in the mountains. Another man was with him. When the Indians came on them he saw a white man whom he knew and thought he would be safe with. That very man tomahawked and killed him probably fearing he would make disclosures on him."

Andrew Sadowski, according to his grandsons, Isaac Sadowsky and Jacob Sandusky, left four sons and one daughter. However, other sources say that he had seven children: James, Jacob S., born in 1750, Samuel, John, Anthony, Emanuel and Hannah.⁴¹ The same confusion which exists with regard to the Christian names of the first Sadowskis exists also with the first names of Andrew's sons. Thus, for instance, James is called Joseph by some historians, though erroneously, as no Joseph appears in any documents.⁴² The records of Kentucky mention often also a Jonathan Sandusky who seems to be a member of the family; it is possible that he was a brother of the former and, if so, would be the eight child of Andrew. Some documents confuse Jacob with Anthony.

All brothers were typical backwoodsmen, animated by that pioneer spirit which won the American West. Especially Jacob and James became most prominent, first as the first surveyors, then as the first settlers of Kentucky. "The men of chain and compass," says Theodore Roosevelt, "played a part in the exploration of the West scarcely inferior to that of the heroes

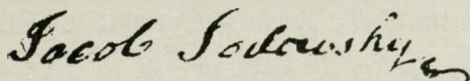
40. *The Filson Club History Quarterly*, vol. VIII, p. 222.

41. W. H. Perrin, J. H. Battle and G. C. Kniffin, *Kentucky*, p. 839.

42. This pertains especially to German-American historians.

of axe and rifle, often, indeed, the parts are combined."⁴³

Jacob and James very early became interested in "the Dark and Bloody Ground", as Indians called Kentucky. Jacob was twenty-three years old⁴⁴ and James twenty-five when, inspired by the tales of the few long hunters who dared to enter the unknown country before them, they joined the first surveying party sent by the Governor of Virginia into Kentucky to survey land for the veterans of the French and Indian War.⁴⁵ Under the command of Captain Thomas Bullitt and in company with James Harrod, Abraham Hite and other famous frontiersmen,



Courtesy of the Virginia State Library

Signature of Jacob Sadowsky on petition of 1789 (Petitions of the Early Inhabitants of Kentucky to the General Assembly of Virginia, No. 60, Virginia State Library).

they started down the Ohio River from Pittsburgh in periogues, or large canoes, and on July 8-th, 1773, reached the Falls.⁴⁶ Here they camped on the site of the present city of Louisville.⁴⁷ Jacob Sadowski helped Bullitt to lay out the town,

43. Theo. Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, vol. I, p. 181.

44. Jacob Sadowski was born in 1750. *The Filson Club History Quarterly*, vol. VIII, p. 228.

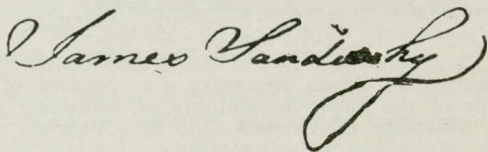
45. James Sadowski deposed in 1810, that he "came to Kentucky in the year of 1773, and had no particular place of residence until the summer of 1774" (*The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*, vol. XXXI, p. 306). According to Ephraim Sandusky, it was James and Anthony, his uncles, who took part in the surveying expedition of 1773 (*The Filson Club History Quarterly*, vol. VIII, p. 223). Evidently he errs in this, as in other particulars.

46. Lewis Collins, *History of Kentucky*, Covington, 1874, vol. I, p. 17.

47. *Ibidem*; Carl Bernhardt, "Certain phases of the origin of Louisville," *The Filson Club History Quarterly*, vol. IV, p. 113.

or was present there during that work in August of that year.⁴⁸ The surveyors "explored the adjacent lands on the Kentucky side for some distance in various directions—executed surveys on several salt licks and other choice places—and returned home, delighted with the country."⁴⁹

The journey was not an easy or safe one. The explorers were continuously exposed to Indian attacks and other dangers.⁵⁰ But that did not deter both Sadowskis from returning to Kentucky with another surveying expedition in 1774. Under the leadership of James Douglas, surveyor, and accompanied by about thirty men they again sailed down the Ohio River in canoes. When they reached the Falls, Jacob and one of his compan-



Courtesy of the Virginia State Library

Signature of James Sandusky on petition of Sept. 12th, 1787 (Petitions of the Early Inhabitants of Kentucky to the General Assembly of Virginia, No. 43, Virginia State Library.)

ions were sent forth as scouts because of Indian danger. Having detected fresh Indian trails, the party made their way down the Falls in canoes, "thinking if death was to be, it would be preferable being drowned to be massacred."⁵¹ In May a part of the company of which Jacob Sadowski was a member, encamped at the mouth of Deer Creek, opposite the mouth of Licking, where the city of Cincinnati now stands. Upon that ground

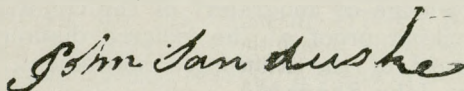
48. L. Collins, *History of Kentucky*, vol. I, p. 17; *The American Pioneer*, vol. II, p. 326; H. Schuricht, *History of the German Element in Virginia*, vol. I, p. 156.

49. H. Marshall, *The History of Kentucky*, Frankfort, 1824, vol. I, p. 11.

50. Compare A. B. Hulbert, *Boone's Wilderness Road*, Cleveland, 1903, pp. 80-81.

51. *The Filson Club History Quarterly*, vol. VIII, p. 221.

they cut the first trees ever hewn by white men. Afterwards they proceeded to the mouth of Kentucky and up that river to what is now Mercer County. Here they disembarked and went on to Salt River and up its east bank to the Big Spring, where on June 16-th, 1774, they laid out the earliest settlement in Kentucky, Harrodsburg.⁵² The members of the party built first cabin there and even planted corn.⁵³ During their stay at the newly-founded town, Jacob Sadowski



Courtesy of the Virginia State Library

Signature of John Sanduske of 1790 (Petitions of the Early Inhabitants of Kentucky to the General Assembly of Virginia, No. 77, Virginia State Library).

assisted Douglas as chain carrier in making large block surveys on the waters of South Elkhorn, Hickman and Jessamine Creeks.⁵⁴ Evidently intending to settle permanently in the new country Jacob had also a tract of land surveyed for himself at a spring on the west side of Hickman Creek.⁵⁵

52. L. Collins, *History of Kentucky*, vol. I, p. 17; vol. II, pp. 367, 422 and 517; Geo. Norbury Mackenzie, *Colonial Families of the United States of America*, Baltimore, 1914, vol. IV, p. 197; *Der Deutsche Pionier*, vol. IX, p. 262; *The American Pioneer*, vol. II, p. 326; *The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*, vol. XXVII, p. 562; *The Filson Club History Quarterly*, vol. IV, p. 168; vol. VIII, pp. 221, 224-6

53. *The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*, vol. XXXI, p. 306.

54. *The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*, vol. XXX, p. 79; vol. XXXI, pp. 124 and 219; "Earliest surveys of land in Kentucky," *Year Book of the Society of Colonial Wars in the Commonwealth of Kentucky*, 1917, p. 73.

55. *The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*, vol. XXXI, pp. 126 and 219. Ephraim Sandusky many years later said, when interviewed by Shane, that "Douglas offered Jacob 1,000 acres of land there for his summer's hire and he wouldn't take it. He said it was far off, and he didn't know whether he would ever be back" (*The Filson Club History Quarterly*, vol. VIII,

In consequence of an Indian attack, the settlement was soon abandoned. The settlers warned by Daniel Boone returned to Virginia and Pennsylvania, but Jacob Sadowski and one or two of his companions⁵⁶ cut their way through the wilderness to the Cumberland River, and in a canoe descended down the Mississippi to New Orleans. They were the first white men from the English colonies who performed this daring feat.⁵⁷ "Sandusky's return by water, evidences his knowledge of geography of the country, and is a striking proof of the isolated distance and the hazard of the attempted settlement," says the Rev. John Shane.⁵⁸

The year of 1775 saw both brothers in Kentucky again. James returned to Harrodsburg in May, and Jacob followed him in the Fall.⁵⁹ Both

p. 224). This does not agree with Jacob's own deposition of 1804, and James' deposition of 1805 (*The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*, vol. XXXI, pp. 126 and 219).

56. Robert S. Cotterill says that besides Jacob Sadowski there were two others who escaped from Kentucky to New Orleans by canoe (*The Filson Club History Quarterly*, vol. I, p. 31). Robert B. McAfee narrates in his autobiography that besides Jacob there was only one of the others (*The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*, vol. XXV, p. 24). Col. Nathaniel Hart who claims he heard repeatedly particulars of this adventure from Jacob Sadowski himself, asserts that there were several men altogether. (*Ib.*, vol. XXXI, p. 4). Lewis Collins mentions Jacob and another (*History of Kentucky*, vol. I, p. 17), but speaks only of Jacob in *Historical Sketches of Kentucky*, p. 545; Wm. B. Allen also mentions only Jacob (*A History of Kentucky*, p. 47).

57. Lewis Collins, *History of Kentucky*, vol. I, p. 17; vol. II, p. 518; *Historical Sketches of Kentucky*, Cincinnati, 1848, p. 545; Theo. Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, vol. I, p. 193; *Der Deutsche Pioneer* vol. IX, p. 262; *The American Pioneer*, vol. II, p. 326; Rudolf Cronau, *German Achievements in America*, p. 64; Wm. B. Allen, *A History of Kentucky*, Louisville, 1872, p. 47; A. B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, vol. I, p. 371.

58. Draper MSS, IICC220.

59. *The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*, vol. XXIX, pp. 369 and 371; vol. XXXI, p. 126; Draper MSS, IICC220.

helped Douglas in new surveys.⁶⁰ James raised a crop of corn on a tract of land "on a branch of Coopers Run, a branch of Licking Creek on the West side of the road from Boonesborough, to the Blue Licks and half a mile from Randolphs Lick" which he claimed in 1779, by the right of settlement and preemption.⁶¹ Returning to Virginia by the end of that year, James⁶² if the family tradition is correct,⁶³ married a girl, named Mary Ball Brown.⁶⁴ Jacob, it seems, continued at Harrodsburg with Col. Abraham Hite⁶⁵ and others till the Fall of 1777.⁶⁶ He lived through the Indian commotion of that year when the settlers "passed through a scene of sufferings that exceeds description."⁶⁷

Meanwhile, in 1776, his brother Anthony⁶⁸ and another Sadowski, Jonathan,⁶⁹ came to Kentucky, evidently with the intention of settling there permanently. In any event both of them made some improvements in the land on the East Fork of Jessamine Creek in the same year. It seems, however, that none of the Sadowski brothers settled in Kentucky for good before the year 1779. Anyhow, James and Jacob spent the

60. *The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*, vol. XXXI, pp. 126, 127, 220, 228 and 305.

61. *Ib.* vol. XXI, p. 102.

62. *Ib.*, vol. XXXI, p. 306.

63. *The American Pioneer*, vol. II, p. 325.

64. Louis A. Burgess, *Virginia Soldiers of 1776*, vol. 1, p. 440.

65. *The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*, vol. XXXI, p. 304.

66. *Ib.*, vol. XXIX, p. 163; vol. XXXI, p. 42.

67. John Filson, *The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucke*, Wilmington, 1784. Many incidents of Jacob's life during the siege of Harrodsburg in 1777, are told by Mrs. Shanklin (*Draper MSS*, 11CC220).

68. *Ib.*, vol. XXXI, p. 38.

69. Perhaps Jonathan was identical with Samuel Sadowski whom Ephraim Sanduski called his uncle. Jacob Sadowski deposed in 1809 that he was with Jonathan on the Jessamine Creek in November 1776 (*Ib.*, vol. XXXI, p. 305). Jonathan claimed in 1779, that he raised a crop of corn in 1776, on his tract of land (*Ib.*, vol. XXI, p. 103).

year of 1778 in their homes in Virginia. James returned to Kentucky in the spring of 1779⁷⁰ just in time to take part, together with Anthony, in Col. John Bowman's expedition against Chillicothe towns⁷¹ of Shawnees who had been "most mischievous" of all the Indians marauding in the country.⁷² Jacob appeared again in Kentucky not earlier than December of 1779, and even then remained only till 1780.⁷³

About 1780, James, probably with the help of his brothers, built the Sandusky Station on the left bank of Pleasant Creek.⁷⁴ This was the place discovered by one of the brothers on their earlier wanderings; he was so impressed "with its primitive beauty for there was no Mountains, no high Bluffs, no cataracts, no rugged Scenery, the Aspect of the country was so pleasant that he named the little brook that flows through this valley Pleasant Run."⁷⁵ Sandusky Station probably was a typical stockade fort surrounded by a palisade.⁷⁶ In its day it was one of the white settlements removed farthest to the West.

70. See James' deposition of 1810, *The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*, vol. XXXI, p. 306.

71. *The Filson Club History Quarterly*, vol. VIII, p. 224. On March 17-th, 1779, Anthony Seduski was appointed road surveyor in Tyger's Valley, Va. (Augusta County Court Records, Book No. XVI, 410, Lyman Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia*, vol. I, p. 205).

72. H. Marshall, *The History of Kentucky*, vol. I, p. 91.

73. *The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*, vol. XXIX, p. 163; vol. XXXI, p. 42.

74. According to Collins and other historians of later date, Sandusky Station was built in 1776 (*History of Kentucky*, vol. I, p. 18; vol. II, p. 21). Modern researches show that the station was not built before 1780 (See the *Filson Club History Quarterly*, vol. VIII, p. 218). In 1810, James deposed, however, that he "returned to Kentucky in the spring of 1779 and resided at Harrodsburgh from the time until 1782 principally" (*The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*, vol. XXXI, p. 306).

75. Inscription on Fayette Baxter's map of 1880, *The Filson Club History Quarterly*, vol. VIII, p. 219.

76. For a description of a station see Theo. Roosevelt's *The Winning of the West*, vol. I, p. 129. Judge

All these years were years full of strife with the Indians. "Arson, murder, scalping, captivity and inhuman torture were only the most outstanding of many trials and hardships that beset the settlers... So perilous was the adventure that many chose campaigning with Washington's poorly equipped Continental army in open preference to participation in the western movement."⁷⁷

The Sadowski brothers did not shrink before these hazards. They loved adventure, they were always ready to brave any dangers, and fights with Indians were to them the usual order of the day. Jonathan "Saduskie" is listed as a revolutionary soldier, enlisted for three years.⁷⁸ James commanded a company during George Roger Clark's Pickaway campaign of 1780.⁷⁹ The revolutionary records mention Anthony as Constable in Captain Cowan's Company, and later as Ensign, between the years of 1781 and 1783.⁸⁰ In 1782, when the Wyandotts, Shawnees and Canadians attacked the settlements, the brothers were again among the defenders. Anthony took part in the bloody battle of the Lower Blue Licks, on August 18-th, where the Indians cut down nearly the whole army of 182 Kentuckians. He saved his life by escaping from the battlefield on the horse of Israel Boone, son of Daniel Boone,

Samuel J. Boldrick reported in 1930, that the only trace of Sandusky Station at that time was the Old Walled Spring protected by a frame springhouse at the southeast intersection of Pleasant Run and the Short Line Turnpike, in Marion County, about one-half mile from the Washington County Line (*The Filson Club History Quarterly*, vol. VIII, p. 219).

77. Willard Rouse Jillson, *The Kentuckie Country*, Washington, 1931, p. 19.

78. Gaius Marcus Brumbaugh, *Revolutionary War Records*, vol. I, p. 500; Willard Rouse Jillson, "Old Kentucky Entries and Deeds", *The Filson Club Publications*, no. 34, p. 359.

79. *The Filson Club History Quarterly*, vol. VIII, pp. 224-225.

80. Mrs. Wm. Breckenridge Arderly, *Kentucky Records*, Lexington, 1926, vol. II, pp. 152-153.

who was among the killed.⁸¹ There are also records of Jacob's part in that battle. Col. Benjamin Logan's "List of Appraisements of Horses Guns &c Lost at the Battle" mentions him with a lost mare, saddle, bridle and saddle bags, to the value of twenty five pounds, for which he was later reimbursed by the Western Commissioners of Virginia.⁸² Anthony's daughter, Mrs. Blackford, who was then a small child, remembered that "there was scarcely a house in Harrodsburg that had not lost a father, brother or husband,"⁸³ after the battle of the Lower Blue Licks.

About 1782,⁸⁴ Jacob and James removed to Jessamine County. Jacob brought his family over to Kentucky in 1784,⁸⁵ but evidently only part of it, as he was listed as an inhabitant of Hampshire County, Virginia, in the first census of 1790. His Virginia household then contained four white persons.⁸⁶ James settled later in Bourbon County and there built his own station on Cane Ridge.⁸⁷ After a very active youth the brothers now grew up into respectable farmers and citizens of the commonwealth which they helped to build. There are old records which contain several entries of land in their name in that portion of the state

81. The Filson Club History Quarterly, vol. VIII, p. 224.

82. J. A. James, "George Roger Clark Papers", Collections of the Illinois State Historical Society, vol. XIX, pp. 94, 361 and 403. The first passage mentions "Anthony Sowdusky," the two latter "Jacob Sadowsky", though evidently both pertain to one and the same person.

83. The Filson Club History Quarterly, vol. VIII, p. 224.

84. Such date is given by Bennett H. Young, A History of Jessamine County, Kentucky, Louisville, 1898, p. 45. Isaac Sadowsky and Jacob Sandusky asserted that it happened about 1785.

85. Draper MSS, IICC220. Mrs. Shanklin describes extensively the events of their journey.

86. Heads of the Families at the First Census of the United States, Bureau of Census, Washington, 1907, Virginia, p. 24.

87. The American Pioneer, vol. II, p. 326; L. Collins, History of Kentucky, vol. II, p. 21.

between the years of 1780 and 1784.⁸⁸ Both also took an active part in the public life of the new commonwealth. James' name is signed on a petition of September 12-th, 1787, "of sundry inhabitants of the County of Fayette and those contiguous the Steeles ferry, near the mouth of Stone Lick on the Kentucky River" asking the General Assembly of Virginia to open a tobacco storage on the land of William Steele because "petitioners are desirous of making Tobacco to pay taxes and for other purposes."⁸⁹ This was the beginning of tobacco culture in Kentucky. Jacob's signature appears on a petition of the inhabitants of the District of Kentucky of 1789, requesting the Assembly to assign Lexington and Bardstown as places of meeting of the Supreme Court.⁹⁰ During the years of 1791-9, Jacob superintended the making of salt at Big Bone Lick.⁹¹

James Sadowski died in 1831, at the age of eighty three years. He left beside, perhaps, other children, twin-sons, Isaac and Jacob, whose narrative forms one of the bases of this sketch. One of them lived on the father's station in Bourbon County, the other one in Cincinnati as late as 1843.

Jacob died in 1832, in his eighty second year. He married Jemima Voss, daughter of Captain Voss of Virginia, who was herself a remarkable woman. She was taken prisoner as a child by the Indians and lived in captivity for seven years, till she reached the age of fourteen or fifteen

88. Willard Rouse Jillson, "Old Kentucky Entries and Deeds", *The Filson Club Publications*, no. 34, Louisville, 1926, p. 289.

89. James Rood Robertson "Petitions of the Early Inhabitants of Kentucky", *The Filson Club Publications*, no. 27, Louisville, 1914, p. 102.

90. *Ib.* p. 124.

91. *The Filson Club History Quarterly*, vol. VIII, p. 221.

years.⁹² They left three children: Ephraim, Jacob and Susan.⁹³

James and Jacob Sadowski were great American pioneers. It was their courage, their determination, their pioneering genius that greatly helped to win vast Western stretches of land for the United States. Lewis Collins called Jacob "a great and methodical adventurer".⁹⁴ According to Col. Nathaniel Hart, he was "a man distinguished for his integrity and veracity."⁹⁵ Many instances are cited of his remarkable memory⁹⁶ and his abilities as pioneer. He evident-

92. W. H. Perrin, J. H. Battle and G. C. Kniffin, *Kentucky*, p. 839, Jacob Sandusky of Jessamine County named his wife Elizabeth in his will of 1832 (Mrs Wm. Breckenridge Ardery, *Kentucky Records*, vol. I, p. 75) Susanna Voss is on the list of Indian prisoners at the Lower Shawnee Town in 1764 (C. A. Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail*, vol. II, p. 388).

93. Ephraim Sodowsky, son of Jacob, was born in Virginia in 1776 and died in Jessamine County, Kentucky, on August 20, 1854 (Mrs. Wm. Breckenridge Ardery, *Kentucky Records*, vol. II, p. 181). Perrin, Battle and Kniffin evidently wrongly assert that he was born in 1778 and died in September 1854.

94. *History of Kentucky*, vol. I, p. 17.

95. *The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*, vol. XXXI, p. 4.

96. *Ib.*, vol. XXXI, p. 125. Mann Butler, historian of Kentucky, narrates the following of him (*The Filson Club Quarterly*, vol. IV, p. 68-69): "Jacob Sodowsky, a respectable farmer of Jessamine county, was the first man who shewed a method of identifying the chops which were made on the line and corner trees of old surveys, by cutting out the block containing the axe marks, and counting the circles, or annulations (as they are provincially termed) allowing, according to the observation of naturalists, one circle for one year's growth. The circumstances which led to this discovery are briefly these. A knot of valuable surveys depended on one corner; Sodowsky, who had marked the survey, was called upon in court to identify the corner. The old hunter, with the scrupulosity characteristic of the simple, unadorned, but manly times, said he thought it was the corner he had marked in 1774, but would not swear positively that it was so. The trial was lost, by division of the jury, to the party relying upon the testimony of Sodowsky. A second trial was had, with like result. A third trial was instituted, previous to which Sodowsky, thinking there must be some natural proof of the fact, privately took his axe into the woods, and cut

ly was a well educated man, as were also many others among the Kentucky pioneers.⁹⁷ His grandsons say that he "kept notes on the settlement of Kentucky and had great quantities of them . . . He knew the history of the first settling of the country, and always condemned, in many particulars, all the published histories, as he knew them to be incorrect."⁹⁸ Unfortunately, all his notes were lost by the printer who was to publish them.

Scarcely less remarkable were the other Sadowski brothers. It seems that all of them were

out a block above and below the chops of the axe on the corner tree. He took it home and shaped it nicely, greasing it and exposing it to the sun, when the different annual circles opened so plainly, as to be counted with the utmost certainty. When summoned to court, he put the block into his saddlebags, and upon being examined as a witness, now swore that he knew the corner tree positively. Upon being questioned how he knew it more certainly now, than upon the former trials, he produced his block in open court, and the count of the circles upon it agreeing exactly with the date of 1774, according to his recollection, the jury gave a verdict in favor of the corner as contended for, but unsuccessfully, in the former trials. Since that remarkable trial, the practice of blocking out the chops on the corner and line trees of surveys has been universally adopted, when necessary, in our courts of law, as unerring evidence of date.

"Not less remarkable was the retentive memory of the same Sadowsky on another occasion. A line tree of great importance was in dispute; Jacob had helped to mark the line and swore to a particular white hickory tree without a chop upon it. This tree is well known to bark over its wounds very quickly, only darkening the external color. The way he identified it was this: The surveying party had stopped to take a bite as woodsmen and travelers call it, near a spring, when they were all alarmed by a bear rushing through the cane. The hunters supposed that Indians following their trail had started the bear, and immediately took to a tree. Sadowsky took to this white hickory, near a spring which furnishes a branch to Fern creek, itself a branch of Pond creek, in this county. Now, what circumstances could so naturally account for his distinct local associations, as concurrence of such stirring and riveting events?"

97. Confer Temple Bodley's *George Roger Clark*, Boston and New York, 1926.

98. *The American Pioneer*, vol. II, p. 326.

early Kentucky pioneers. Old records contain frequent mentions of early land transactions in Jessamine County in the name of Jonathan.⁹⁹ Anthony is mentioned as one of the members of the expedition against the Shawnee Indians, under Col. B. Logan, in 1787.¹⁰⁰ Samuel Sadowski is listed as an inhabitant of Hampshire County, Virginia, in 1790,¹⁰¹ his family consisting of eight or nine white persons, but he too removed to Jessamine County in Kentucky. In his will of April 1, 1803, he named his wife, Margaret, and his children as beneficiaries.¹⁰² To two other Sadowski brothers, Emanuel and John, belongs the distinction of being also pioneers of the neighboring Tennessee. Emanuel was in the neighborhood of the region of the present Johnson City, Tenn., in 1775-6. He was witness to the deed executed in 1775, by Jacob Brown who in that year by the treaty with the Cherokee Indians acquired a veritable principality in the Nolachucky Valley (Washington and Greene Counties, Tenn.) and began to make deeds conveying portions to new-coming pioneers of that region. About that time John Sadowski lived on the present site of Nashville, Tenn.¹⁰³ Ultimately he too settled in Kentucky. He took part in the unhappy expedition of Gen. George Rogers Clark against the Wabash

99. *The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*, vols. XXI, p. 103; XXXI, pp. 38, 219, 305; W. R. Jillson, "Old Kentucky Entries and Deeds," *The Filson Club Publications*, No. 34, p. 289.

100. *Certificates for Military Services, 1787*, Book I, p. 51, Kentucky State Historical Society.

101. *Heads of the Families at the First Census of the United States*, Virginia, pp. 26 and 70.

102. Mrs. Wm. Breckenridge Arderly, *Kentucky Wills*, vol. I, p. 75.

103. All this information about Sadowskis' presence in Tennessee was kindly given to the author by the Hon. Samuel C. Williams of Johnson City, Tenn., on the basis of his researches in the Land Office Records, Tennessee Archives at Nashville. More extensive information on this matter will be found in Mr. Williams new work, *Dawn of Tennessee Valley and Tennessee History* which is to be published in the near future.

Indians in 1787.¹⁰⁴ In 1790, he signed a petition of "Sundry Inhabitants of the County of Bourbon" to the General Assembly of Virginia for the right to erect grist mills on Licking River.¹⁰⁵ He was elected Ensign of the Fourth Regiment on June 28-th, 1792,¹⁰⁶ and evidently was commissioned later as Lieutenant.¹⁰⁷

"A most respectable family," said Theodore Roosevelt of the Sadowskis.¹⁰⁸ This tribute from the author of **The Winning of the West** is highly justified. Sadowskis, indeed, deserve the grateful memory of their countrymen.

104. *Certificates for Military Services, 1787, Book I*, p. 67, Kentucky State Historical Society.

105. J. R. Robertson, "Petitions of the Early Inhabitants of Kentucky", *The Filson Club Publications*, No. 27, p. 144.

106. *The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*, vol. XXVII, p. 594.

107. *Ib.*, vol. XXIX, p. 342.

108. Theo. Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, vol. I, p. 164.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES TO CHAPTER IV.

By A. CLAY SANDUSKY

Page 54—Siebmacher, vol. IV, Part. 14, "Der Adel von Galizien und Bukowina" states that "Thomas of Sadowia became the first Provost of Miechow as early as 1542." It refers to the family as an "old noble family of Poland."

All family documents and traditions state that the Sanduskys originally came from Poland. Family traditions seem to be unanimous in ascribing religion as the reason for emigration from Poland.

Page 56—It seems impossible to tell the true Christian name of the first Sandusky in America. The probability is that it was Anthony as that name appears in many early documents. It is my belief, that Anthony and Andrew of the early Colonial records, to be one and the same person. It is certain that Anthony married Hannah Inskip (corruption of Inskip) of Virginia.

Page 56—Ephraim was the grandson of Anthony and the son of Jacob. Mrs. Shanklin as sister of Ephraim was the granddaughter of Anthony and the daughter of Jacob. Perhaps the Polish great grandfather of whom Mrs. Shanklin speaks, had a son, born in some European country, who emigrated to America. One family tradition has it that Anthony Sandusky first became acquainted with the Inskips, a daughter of which family he later married, in England.

Page 61—From the testimony of Green and the brothers Sandusky, as given in the "American Pioneer", it seems certain that Anthony, (called Jonathan), established a trading post on the present site of Sandusky. In "Origin of Certain Place Names in the United States", Bulletin 197, issued by the Department of the Interior, 1902, the name is said to have been taken from that of the Polish trader Sandusky. The Indian origin is also given.

In a contemporary manuscript written by French monks of the vicinity, the name is given as Fort Sadowski, and also Fort Sadonsky, which names seem to be phonetic renderings of Sadusky and Sadowsky. Whatever the origin of the name, the post became known to the Indians and whites largely through the activities of Anthony Sandusky, as settler and trader in this region.

Page 64—The children of Anthony Sandusky and Hannah Inskip were as follows: James—b—1748—d—1830. Jacob—b—1750—d—1832. Samuel—b—1752 — Emanuel—b—1754—d—1846. John—b—1756. Anthony—b—1758—d—1842, and Hannah. The Jonathan who served in the Revolutionary War may have been an eight child. Joseph was probably used in error for James.

Page 69—The following account is by Joseph Brown and is filed in the Marion County, Indiana, court records. Joseph Brown was the grandson of Thomas Brown, Revolutionary soldier whose daughter, Mary Ball Brown was "married to Captain Sadowski, late of Count Pulaski's Polish Regiment of American Volunteers, in 1780, and removed to Kentucky the same year, where she lived and died. * * * * * After the death of Pulaski from wounds received in the battle at Savannah, Georgia, in 1779, the Polish Battalion was disbanded and Captain Sadowski was mustered out of service as supernumerary."

I do not know whether the above statement concerning James Sandusky's part in the Revolutionary War can be substantiated by records or not.

Judge James M. Sandusky, in his privately printed sketch, "The Sandusky Family in the United States", page 13 says: "At the beginning of the American Revolution, James and Jacob Sandusky or Sadowsky returned to Eastern Virginia and joined the Continental Army. James served as Captain under Count Pulaski, and Jacob under his brother." Authority for this statement is not given.

James received a grant of 1000 acres in Fayette County in 1783. In the same year he received an additional grant of 400 acres. In 1785 Jacob received 1000 acres of land, also 400 acres in Fayette County, in 1782, and 200 in Green County in 1799. (Kentucky Land Grants, Jillson, p. 123—402.) These grants may have been given for Revolutionary War Service.

Page 73—James Sandusky (b—1748—d—1830) married Mary Ball Brown, and had the following children: Andrew, Thomas, Sarah, Jacob (b—1790—d—1866) Isaac (b—1790—d—1851) Abraham (b—1793—d—1866).

Page 74—Jacob married after the death of Jemima Voss. His second wife was Elizabeth Evans, by whom he had five children: Rebecca, Sallie, Margaret, Susan and James. (Family Bibles) This explains why his wife is named as Elizabeth, in Jacob's will of 1832.

Page 76—Samuel settled later in Casey County, Ky., being at that time 92 years of age. Anthony came to Sandusky Station, but did not remove with James and Jacob to Cane Ridge. He is buried in the Pleasant Run country, in Wash. County, Ky. (Morning Herald, April 1, 1900, Lexington, Ky., Sandusky Family, Col. W. H. Polk).

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