

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
FIVE Indian NATIONS
OF
CANADA,

WHICH ARE

The BARRIER between the ENGLISH and
FRENCH in that Part of the World.

WITH

Particular Accounts of their Religion, Manners, Customs, Laws,
and Government; their several Battles and Treaties with the
European Nations; their Wars with the other *Indians*;

AND

A true Account of the present State of our TRADE with them.

In which are shewn,

The great Advantage of their Trade and Alliance to the *British* Nation;
and the Intrigues and Attempts of the *French* to engage them from us;
a Subject nearly concerning all our *American* Plantations, and highly
meriting the Consideration of the *British* Nation.

By the Honourable CADWALLADER COLDEN, *Esq*,
One of his Majesty's Counsel, and Surveyor-General of New-York.

To which are added,

Accounts of the several other Nations of *Indians* in *North-America*, their
Numbers, Strength, &c. and the Treaties which have been lately
made with them.

The SECOND EDITION.

L O N D O N:

Printed for JOHN WHISTON at Mr. Boyle's Head, and
LOCKYER DAVIS at Lord Bacon's Head, both in Fleet-
Street, and JOHN WARD opposite the Royal Exchange.

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several Reasons, that War with the other Nations.

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the Account of the present State of our Trade with them.

In which is

the great Advantage of this Trade, and Advice to the
Government and Merchants of the Province, that they
may the better be enabled to carry on this Trade, and
a short account of the several Nations, and
the Situation of the Trade.

By William, the Cadogan, Esq. of New York,
and the Author of the History of the Province of New York.

LONDON, 1724.

Printed at the Royal Printing Office, in St. James's Street, London.

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TO THE HONOURABLE

G E N E R A L

O G L E T H O R P E.

S I R,

THE *Indian* Affairs have ever appeared to your Judgment of such Importance to the Welfare of our own People, that you have ever carefully applied your Thoughts to them; and that with such Success, that not only the present Generation will enjoy the Benefit of your Care, but our latest Posterity bless your Memory for that Happiness, the Foundation of which was laid under your Care, provided that the People here, whose
Duty

Duty and Interest is chiefly concerned, do on their own Parts second your Endeavours, towards securing the Peace, and advancing the Prosperity of their Country.

The following Account of the *Five Indian Nations* will shew what dangerous Neighbours the *Indians* have once been; what Pains a neighbouring Colony (whose Interest is opposite to ours) has taken to withdraw their Affections from us; and how much we ought to be on our Guard. If we only consider the Riches which our Enemies receive from the *Indian Trade* (though we were under no Apprehensions from the *Indians* themselves) it would be highly imprudent in us to suffer such People to grow Rich and Powerful, while it is in our Power to prevent it, with much less Charge and Trouble, than it is in theirs to accomplish their Designs.

These

DEDICATION.

These Considerations alone are sufficient to make the *Indian Affairs* deserve the most serious Thoughts of every Governor in *America*. But I well know, besides; that your Excellency's Views are not confined to the Interest of one Country only.

The *Five Nations* are a poor and, generally called, barbarous People, bred under the darkest Ignorance; and yet a bright and noble Genius shines through these black Clouds. None of the greatest *Roman* Heroes have discovered a greater Love to their Country, or a greater Contempt of Death, than these People called Barbarians have done, when Liberty came in Competition. Indeed, I think our *Indians* have outdone the *Romans* in this Particular; some of the greatest of those have we know murdered themselves

selves to avoid Shame or Torments; but our *Indians* have refused to die meanly, or with but little Pain, when they thought their Country's Honour would be at Stake by it *; but have given their Bodies, willingly, to the most cruel Torments of their Enemies, to shew, as they said, that the *Five Nations* consisted of Men, whose Courage and Resolution could not be shaken. They greatly fully, however, those noble Virtues, by that cruel Passion, Revenge; this they think it not only lawful, but honourable, to exert without Mercy on their Country's Enemies, and for this only it is that they can deserve the Name of Barbarians.

But what, alas! Sir, have we Christians done to make them better? We have indeed Reason to be ashamed, that

* This will appear by several Instances in the Second Part of this History.

these Infidels, by our Conversation and Neighbourhood, are become worse than they were before they knew us. Instead of Virtues we have only taught them Vices, that they were intirely free from before that Time. The narrow Views of private Interest have occasioned this, and will occasion greater, even publick Mischiefs, if the Governors of the People do not, like true Patriots, exert themselves, and put a Stop to these growing Evils. If these Practices be winked at, instead of faithful Friends, that have manfully fought our Battles for us, the *Five Nations* will become faithless Thieves and Robbers, and join with every Enemy that can give them any Hopes of Plunder.

If Care were taken to plant and cultivate in them that general Benevolence to Mankind, which is the true first Principle of Virtue, it would effectually eradicate those horrid Vices, occasioned by their unbounded Re-

venge ; and then they would no longer deserve the Name of Barbarians, but would become a People, whose Friendship might add Honour to the *British* Nation.

The *Greeks* and *Romans*, Sir, once as much Barbarians as our *Indians* now are, deified the Heroes that first taught them those Virtues, from whence the Grandeur of those renowned Nations wholly proceeded ; a good Man, however, will feel more real Satisfaction and Pleasure, from the Sense of having any Way forwarded the Civilizing of a barbarous Nation, or of having multiplied the Number of good Men, than from the fondest Hopes of such extravagant Honours.

These Considerations, I believe, will induce you, Sir, to think a History of the *Five Nations* not unworthy of your Patronage ; and on these only it is that I presume to offer

D E D I C A T I O N.

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fer my best Endeavours in this, who
am, with the greatest Respect,

S I R,

Your most obedient,

and most humble Servant,

Cadwallader Colden.

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THE
P R E F A C E
TO THE
F I R S T P A R T.

THOUGH every one that is in the least acquainted with the Affairs of North-America, knows of what Consequence the Indians, commonly known to the People of New-York by the Name of the Five Nations, are, both in Peace and War ; I know of no Accounts of them, published in English, but what are very imperfect, and indeed meer Translations of French Authors, who themselves know little of the Truth. This seems to throw some Reflections on the Inhabitants of our Province, as if we wanted Curiosity to enquire into our own Affairs, and were willing to rest satisfied with the Accounts the French give us of our own Indians, notwithstanding that the French in Canada are always in a different Interest, and sometimes in open Hostility with us. This Consideration, I hope, will justify my attempting to write an History of the Five Nations at this Time ; and having had the Perusal of the Minutes of the Commissioners for Indian Affairs, I have been enabled to collect many Materials for this History, which are not to be found any where else ;

else; and cannot but think, that a History of this Kind will be of great Use to all the British Colonies in North-America, since it may enable them to learn Experience at the Expence of others: And if I can contribute any Thing to so good a Purpose, I shall not think my Labour lost.

It will be necessary for me here to say something in Excuse of two Things in the following Performance, which, I am afraid, will naturally be found Fault with in it. The first is, the filling up so great Part of the Work with the Adventures of small Parties, and sometimes with those of one single Man: And the second is, the inserting so many Speeches at length.

As to the first, the History of Indians would be very lame, without an Account of these private Adventures; for their warlike Expeditions are almost always carried on by surprising each other, and their whole Art of War consists in managing small Parties. The whole Country being one continued Forest, gives great Advantages to these skulking Parties, and has obliged the Christians to imitate the Indians in this Method of making War among them. And some would, doubtless, be desirous to know the Manners and Customs of the Indians, in their publick Treaties especially, who could not be satisfied without taking Notice of several minute Circumstances, and Things otherwise of no Consequence. We are fond of searching into remote Antiquity, to know the Manners of our earliest Progenitors; and, if I am not mistaken, the Indians are living Images of them.

My Design therefore in the second was, that thereby the Genius of the Indians might appear. An Historian may paint Mens Actions in lively Colours, or in faint Shades, as he likes best, and in both Cases preserve a perfect Likeness; but it will be a difficult Task to, shew the Wit, Judgment, Art, Simplicity, and Ignorance of the several Parties, managing a Treaty, in other Words than their own. As to my Part, I thought myself

myself incapable of doing it, without depriving the judicious Observer of the Opportunity of discovering much of the Indian Genius, by my contracting or paraphrasing their Harangues, and without committing often gross Mistakes. For, on these Occasions, a skilful Manager often talks confusedly, and obscurely, with Design; which if an Historian should endeavour to amend, the Reader would receive the History in a false Light.

The Reader will find a great Difference between some of the Speeches here given of those made at Albany, and those taken from the French Authors. Ours are genuine and truly related, as delivered by the sworn Interpreters, of whom Truth only is required; a rough Style, with Truth, is preferable to Eloquence without it: This may be said in Justification of the Indian Expression, though I must own, that I suspect our Interpreters may not have done Justice to the Indian Eloquence. For the Indians having but few Words, and few complex Ideas, use many Metaphors in their Discourse, which interpreted by an unskilful Tongue, may appear mean, and strike our Imagination faintly; but under the Pen of a skilful Representer, might strongly move our Passions by their lively Images. I have heard an old Indian Sachem speak with much Vivacity and Elocution, so that the Speaker pleased and moved the Auditors with the Manner of delivering his Discourse; which however, as it afterwards came from the Interpreter, disappointed us in our Expectations. After the Speaker had employed a considerable Time in haranguing with much Elocution, the Interpreter often explained the whole by one single Sentence. I believe the Speaker, in that Time, embellished and adorned his Figures, that they might have their full Force on the Imagination, while the Interpreter contented himself with the Sense, in as few Words as it could be expressed.

He that first writes the History of Things, which are not generally known, ought to avoid, as much as possible,

The PREFACE to the FIRST PART.

possible, to make the Evidence of the Truth depend entirely on his own Veracity and Judgment; and for this Reason I have related several Transactions in the Words of the Registers, when this is once done, he that shall write afterwards, need not act with so much Caution.

The History of these Indians, I promise myself, will give an agreeable Amusement to many; almost every one will find something in it suited to his own Palate; but every Line will not please every Man; on the contrary, one will naturally approve what another condemns, as one desires to know what another thinks not worth the Trouble of reading; for which Reason, I think, it is better to run the Risque of being sometimes tedious to certain Readers, than to omit any Thing that may be useful to the World.

I have sometimes thought, that Histories wrote with all the Delicacy of a fine Romance, are like French Dishes, more agreeable to the Palate than the Stomach, and less wholesome than more common and coarser Diet.

An Historian's Views must be curious and extensive, and the History of different People and different Ages requires different Rules, and often different Abilities to write it; I hope therefore the Reader will, from these Considerations, receive this first Attempt of this kind, with more than usual Allowances.

The Inhabitants of New-York have been much more concerned in the Transactions, which followed the Year 1688, than in those which preceded it. And as it requires uncommon Courage and Resolution to engage willingly in the Wars against a cruel and barbarous Enemy, I should be sorry to forget any that might deserve to be remembered by their Country, with Gratitude on that Occasion.

A
V O C A B U L A R Y
O F

Some Words and Names used by the French Authors, who treat of the Indian Affairs, which are different from the Names of the same People or Places, used or understood by the English, and may therefore be useful to those who intend to read the French Accounts, or compare them with the Accounts now published.

Names used by the French. The same are called by the English, or by the Five Nations.

A Benaguies.

O Wenagungas, or New-England Indians, and are sometimes called the Eastern Indians.

Algonkins.

Adirondacks.

Amihouis.

Dionondadies, or Tuinondadeks, a Branch or Tribe of the Quatoghies.

Aniez.

Mohawks, called likewise Maquas.

Bay des Puans.

Enitajiche.

Chigagou.

Caneraghik.

Corlaer, or Corlard.

Schenectady. *But the Five Nations commonly call the Gover-*

Names used by the French. *The same called by the English, or Five Nations.*

Detroit.
Hurons.
Hinois.
Iroquois.
Lac Huron.
Loups.
Manhattan.
Mascoutecs.
Mourigan.

Miamies.
Miffilimakinak.
Miffifakies.
Oneyouts.
Ontario lac.
Orange.
Outagamies.
Outawas.
Renards.
Sauiteurs.
Shaouonons.
Tateras.
Terre rouge.
Tongorias.
Tfonontouans.

Governor of New-York by this Name, and often the People of the Province of New-York in general.

Teuchfagrondie.
Quatoghie.
Chictaghicks.
The Five Nations.
Caniatare, or Quatoghe lake.
Scahkook Indians.
New-York City.
Odiflastagheks.
Mahikander, or River Indians, living on Hudson's River, below Albany:

Twightwies.
Teiodondoraghie.
Achfisaghecks.
Oneydoes.
Cadarakui Lake.
Albany.
Quackfies, and Scunkfiks.
Utawawas, or Dewagunhas.
Quakfies.
Estiaghicks.
Satanas.
Toderiks.
Scunkfik.
Erighecks.
Senekas.

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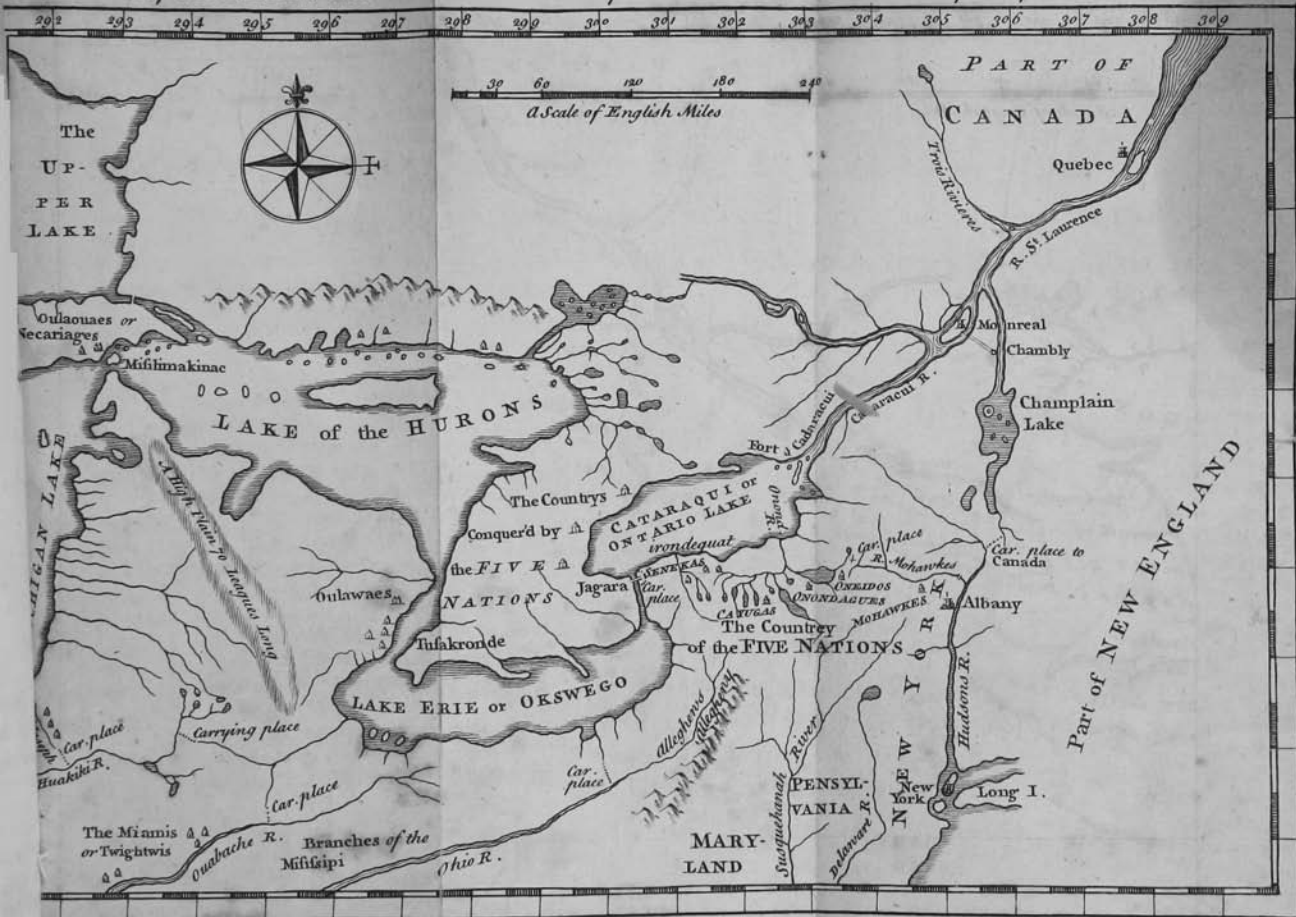
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*A MAP of the Country of the FIVE NATIONS, belonging to the Province of NEW YORK;
and of the LAKES near which the Nations of FAR INDIANS live, with part of CANADA.*



B. The Tuscaroras are now reckon'd a sixth Nation, & live between the Onondagues & Oneidos; & the Nécariages of Missilimakinac were received to be the seventh Nation at Albany, May 30th 1723; at their own desire, 80 Men of that Nation being present besides Women & children. The chief Trade with the far Indians is at the Onondagues rivers mouth where they must all pass to go towards Canada.



THE INTRODUCTION, BEING

A short View of the Form of Government of the Five Nations, and of their Laws, Customs, &c.

[T is necessary to know something of the Form of Government of the People, whose History one is about to know, and a few Words will be sufficient to give the Reader a Conception of that of the *Five Nations*, because it still remains under original Simplicity, and free from those complicated Contrivances, which have become necessary to the Nations, where Deceit and Cunning have increased as much as their Knowledge and Wisdom.

The *Five Nations* (as their Name denotes) consist of so many Tribes or Nations, joined together in a League or Confederacy, like the *United Provinces*, and without any Superiority of the one over the other. This Union has continued so long, that the Christians know nothing of the Original of it: The People in it are known by the *English* under the Names of *Mohawks*, *Oneydoes*, *Onondagas*, *Cayugas*, and *Sennekas*.

Each of these Nations is again divided into three Tribes or Families, who distinguish themselves by three different Arms or Ensigns, the *Tortoise*, the *War*, and the *Wolf*; and the *Sachems*, or old Men of these Families, put this Ensign, or Mark of their

Family, to every publick Paper, when they sign it.

Each of these Nations is an absolute Republick by itself, and every Cattle in each Nation makes an independent Republick, and is govern'd in all publick Affairs by its own *Sachems* or old Men. The Authority of these Rulers is gain'd by, and consists wholly in the Opinion the rest of the Nation have of their Wisdom and Integrity. They never execute their Resolutions by Force upon any of their People. Honour and Esteem are their principal Rewards; as Shame, and being despised, their Punishments. They have certain Customs, which they observe in their publick Transactions with other Nations, and in their private Affairs among themselves; which it is scandalous for any one among them not to observe, and these always draw after them either publick or private Resentment, whenever they are broke.

Their Leaders and Captains, in like Manner, obtain their Authority, by the general Opinion of their Courage and Conduct, and lose it by a failure in those Virtues.

Their great Men, both Sachems and Captains, are generally poorer than the common People; for they affect to give away and distribute all the Presents or Plunder they get in their Treaties or in War, so as to leave nothing to themselves. There is not a Man in the Ministry of the *Five Nations*, who has gain'd his Office, otherwise than by Merit; there is not the least Salary, or any Sort of Profit, annexed to any Office, to tempt the Covetous or Sordid; but, on the contrary, every unworthy Action is unavoidably attended with the Forfeiture of their Commission; for their Authority is only the Esteem of the People, and ceases the Moment that Esteem is lost. Here we see the natural Origin of all Power and Authority among a free People, and whatever artificial Power or Sovereignty any Man may have acquired, by the Laws and Constitution of a Country, his real Power will
be

be ever much greater or less, in Proportion to the Esteem the People have of him.

The *Five Nations* think themselves by Nature superior to the rest of Mankind, and call themselves *Ongue-bonwe*; that is, Men surpassing all others. This Opinion, which they take Care to cultivate into their Children, gives them that Courage, which has been so terrible to all the Nations of *North America*; and they have taken such Care to impress the same Opinion of their People on all their Neighbours, that they, on all Occasions, yield the most submissive Obedience to them. I have been told by old Men in *New England*, who remembered the Time when the *Mohawks* made War on their *Indians*, that as soon as a single *Mohawk* was discover'd in the Country, their *Indians* raised a Cry from Hill to Hill, *A Mohawk! A Mohawk!* upon which they all fled like Sheep before Wolves, without attempting to make the least Resistance, whatever Odds were on their Side. The poor *New England Indians* immediately ran to the Christian Houses, and the *Mohawks* often pursued them so closely, that they entered along with them, and knocked their Brains out in the Presence of the People of the House; but if the Family had Time to shut the Door, they never attempted to force it, and on no Occasion did any Injury to the Christians. All the Nations round them have, for many Years, intirely submitted to them, and pay a yearly Tribute to them in *Wampum**; they dare neither make War nor Peace, with-

* *Wampum* is the Current Money among the *Indians*: It is of two Sorts, White and Purple; the White is worked out of the Inside of the great Conques into the Form of a Bead, and perforated, to string on Leather; the Purple is worked out of the Inside of the Muscle Shell; they are wove as broad as one's Hand, and about two Feet long; these they call Belts, and give and receive at their Treaties as the Seals of Friendship; for lesser Matters a single String is given. Every Bead is of a known Value, and a Belt of a less Number, is made to equal one of a greater, by so many as is wanting fastened to the Belt by a String.

out the Consent of the *Mohawks*. Two old Men commonly go about every Year or two, to receive this Tribute ; and I have often had Opportunity to observe what Anxiety the poor *Indians* were under, while these two old Men remained in that Part of the Country where I was. An old *Mohawk Sachem*, in a poor Blanket and a dirty Shirt, may be seen issuing his Orders with as arbitrary an Authority, as a *Roman Dictator*. It is not for the Sake of Tribute however, that they make War, but from the Notions of Glory, which they have ever most strongly imprinted on their Minds ; and the farther they go to seek an Enemy, the greater Glory they think they gain ; there cannot, I think, be a greater or stronger Instance than this, how much the Sentiments, impressed upon a People's Mind, conduce to their Grandeur, or one that more verifies a Saying often to be met with, though but too little minded, That it is in the Power of the Rulers of a People to make them either Great or Little ; for by inculcating only the Notions of Honour and Virtue, or those of Luxury and Riches, the People, in a little Time, will become such as their Rulers desire. The *Five Nations*, in their Love of Liberty, and of their Country, in their Bravery in Battle, and their Constancy in enduring Torments, equal the Fortitude of the most renowned *Romans*. I shall finish their general Character by what an Enemy, a *Frenchman*, says of them, *Monsieur De la Potherie*, in his History of *North America*.

“ When we speak (says he) of the *Five Nations*
 “ in *France*, they are thought, by a common Mis-
 “ take, to be mere Barbarians, always thirsting af-
 “ ter human Blood ; but their true Character is very
 “ different. They are indeed the fiercest and most for-
 “ midable People in *North America*, and, at the same
 “ Time, are as politick and judicious, as well can
 “ be conceived ; and this appears from the Manage-
 “ ment of all the Affairs which they transact, not only
 “ with the *French* and *English*, but likewise with al-
 “ most

The INTRODUCTION.

“most all the *Indian* Nations of this vast Conti-
“nent.”

Their Matters of Consequence, which concern all the Nations, are transacted in a general Meeting of the *Sachems* of each Nation. These Conventions are commonly held at *Onnondaga*, which is nearly the Center of their Country; but they have fixed on *Albany* for the Place of treating with the *British Colonies*.

They strictly follow one Maxim, formerly used by the *Romans* to increase their Strength, that is, they encourage the People of other Nations to incorporate with them ; and when they have subdued any People, after they have satiated their Revenge by some cruel Examples, they adopt the rest of their Captives ; who, if they behave well, become equally esteemed with their own People ; so that some of their Captives have afterwards become their greatest *Sachems* and *Captains*. The *Tuskaroras*, after the War they had with the People of *Carolina*, fled to the *Five Nations*, and are now incorporated with them ; so that they now properly indeed consist of six Nations, though they still retain the old Name of the *Five Nations* among the *English*. The *Cowetas* also, or *Creek-Indians*, are in the same Friendship with them.

The *Tuskaroras*, since they came under the Province of *New York*, behave themselves well, and remain peaceable and quiet; and by this may be seen the Advantage of using the *Indians* well, and I believe, if they were still better used (as there is Room enough to do it) they would be proportionably more useful to us.

The Cruelty the *Indians* use in their Wars, towards those that do not or cannot resist, such as Women and Children, and to their Prisoners, after they have them in their Power, is deservedly indeed held in Abhorrence : But whoever reads the History of the so famed ancient Heroes, will find them, I'm afraid, not much better in this Respect. Does *Achilles's* Behaviour to *Heçtor's* dead Body, in *Homer*, appear less

B 3 savage ?

savage? This Cruelty is also not peculiar to the *Five Nations*, but equally practised by all other *Indians*. It is wonderful, how Custom and Education are able to soften the most horrid Actions, even among a polite and learned People; witness the *Carthaginians* and *Phenicians* burning their own Children alive in Sacrifice; and several Passages in the *Jewish History*; and witness, in later Times, the Christians burning one another alive, for God's Sake.

When any of the young Men of these Nations have a Mind to signalize themselves, and to gain a Reputation among their Countrymen, by some notable Enterprize against their Enemy, they at first communicate their Design to two or three of their most intimate Friends; and if they come into it, an Invitation is made, in their Names, to all the young Men of the Castle, to feast on Dog's Flesh; but whether this be, because Dog's Flesh is most agreeable to *Indian* Palates, or whether it be as an Emblem of Fidelity, for which the Dog is distinguished by all Nations, that it is always used on this Occasion, I have not sufficient Information to determine. When the Company is met, the Promoters of the Enterprize set forth the Undertaking in the best Colours they can; they boast of what they intend to do, and incite others to join, from the Glory there is to be obtained; and all who eat of the Dog's Flesh, thereby inlist themselves.

The Night before they set out, they make a grand Feast, to this all the noted Warriors of the Nation are invited; and here they have their War Dance, to the Beat of a Kind of a Kettle-drum. The Warriors are seated in two Rows in the House, and each rises up in his Turn, and sings the great Acts he has himself performed, and the Deeds of his Ancestors; and this is always accompanied with a Kind of a Dance, or rather Action, representing the Manner in which they were performed; and from Time to Time, all present join in a Chorus, applauding every notable Act. They
exaggerate

exaggerate the Injuries they have at any Time received from their Enemies, and extol the Glory which any of their Ancestors have gained by their Bravery and Courage ; so that they work up their Spirits to a high Degree of warlike Enthusiasm. I have sometimes persuaded some of their young *Indians* to act these Dances, for our Diversion, and to shew us the Manner of them ; and even, on these Occasions, they have work'd themselves up to such a Pitch, that they have made all present uneasy. Is it not probable, that such Designs as these have given the first Rise to Tragedy ?

They come to these Dances with their Faces painted in a frightful Manner, as they always are when they go to War, to make themselves terrible to their Enemies ; and in this Manner the Night is spent. Next Day they march out with much Formality, dressed in their finest Apparel, and, in their March, observe a profound Silence. An Officer of the regular Troops told me, that while he was Commandant of *Fort-Hunter*, the *Mohawks*, on one of these Occasions, told him, that they expected the usual military Honours as they passed the Garison. Accordingly he drew out his Garison, the Men presented their Pieces as the *Indians* passed, and the Drum beat a March ; and with less Respect, the Officer said, they would have been dissatisfied. The *Indians* passed in a single Row, one after another, with great Gravity and profound Silence ; and every one of them, as he passed the Officer, took his Gun from his Shoulder, and fired into the Ground near the Officer's Foot : They marched in this Manner three or four Miles from their Castle. The Women, on these Occasions, always follow them with their old Clothes, and they send back by them their Finery in which they marched from the Castle. But before they go from this Place, where they exchange their Clothes, they always peel a large Piece of the Bark from some great Tree ; they commonly

chuse an Oak, as most lasting ; upon the smooth Side of this Wood they, with their red Paint, draw one or more Canoes, going from Home, with the Number of Men in them paddling, which go upon the Expedition ; and some Animal, as a Deer or Fox, an Emblem of the Nation against which the Expedition is designed, is painted at the Head of the Canoes ; for they always travel in Canoes along the Rivers, which lead to the Country against which the Expedition is designed, as far as they can.

After the Expedition is over, they stop at the same Place in their Return, and send to their Castle, to inform their Friends of their Arrival ; that they may be prepared to give them a solemn Reception, suited to the Success they have had. In the mean Time, they represent on the same, or some Tree near it, the Event of the Enterprize, and now the Canoes are painted with their Heads turned towards the Castle ; the Number of the Enemy killed, is represented by Scalps painted black, and the Number of Prisoners by as many Withs, (in their Painting not unlike Pot-hooks) with which they usually pinion their Captives. These Trees are the Annals, or rather Trophies of the *Five Nations* : I have seen many of them ; and by them, and their War Songs, they preserve the History of their great Atchievements. The solemn Reception of these Warriors, and the Acclamations of Applause, which they receive at their Return, cannot but have in the Hearers the same Effect, in raising an Emulation for Glory, that a Triumph had on the old *Romans*.

After their Prisoners are secured, they never offer them the least Male-treatment, but, on the contrary, will rather starve themselves, than suffer them to want ; and I have been always assured, that there is not one Instance, of their offering the least Violence to the Chastity of any Woman that was their Captive. But notwithstanding this, the poor Prisoners afterwards undergo severe Punishments before they receive

receive the last Doom of Life or Death. The Warriors think it for their Glory, to lead them through all the Villages of the Nations subject to them, which lie near the Road ; and these, to shew their Affection to the *Five Nations*, and their Abhorrence of their Enemies, draw up in two Lines, through which the poor Prisoners, stark naked, must run the Gauntlet ; and on this Occasion, it is always observed, the Women are much more cruel than the Men. The Prisoners meet with the same sad Reception when they reach their Journey's End ; and after this, they are presented to those that have lost any Relation in that or any former Enterprize. If the Captives be accepted, there is an End to their Sorrow from that Moment ; they are dressed as fine as they can make them ; they are absolutely free (except to return to their own Country) and enjoy all the Privileges the Person had, in whose Place they are accepted ; but if otherwise they die in Torments, to satiate the Revenge of those that refuse them.

If a young Man or Boy be received in Place of a Husband that was killed, all the Children of the Deceased call that Boy Father ; so that one may sometimes hear a Man of thirty say, that such a Boy of fifteen or twenty is his Father.

Their Castles are generally a Square surrounded with Palisadoes, without any Bastions or Out-works ; for, since the general Peace, their Villages lie all open.

Their only Instruments of War are Musquets, Hatchets, and long sharp pointed Knives ; these they always carry about with them : Their Hatchet, in War-time, is stuck in their Girdle behind them ; and besides what Use they make of this Weapon in their Hand, they have a dexterous Way of throwing it, which I have seen them often practise in their Exercise, by throwing it into a Tree at a Distance : They have, in this, the Art of directing and regulating the Motion, so that though the Hatchet turns round

as it flies, the Edge always sticks in the Tree, and near the Place at which they aim it. The Use of Bows and Arrows are now intirely laid aside, except among the Boys, who are still very dexterous in killing Fowls and other Animals with them.

They use neither Drum nor Trumpet, nor any Kind of musical Instrument in their Wars; their Throats serve them on all Occasions, where such are necessary. Many of them have a surprising Faculty of raising their Voice, not only in inarticulate Sounds, but likewise to make their Words understood at a great Distance; and we find the same was practised by *Homer's* Heroes,

*Thrice to its Pitch his lofty Voice he rears,—
O Friend! Ulysses Shouts invade my Ears.*

The *Five Nations* have such absolute Notions of Liberty, that they allow of no Kind of Superiority of one over another, and banish all Servitude from their Territories. They never make any Prisoner a Slave; but it is customary among them to make a Compliment of Naturalization into the *Five Nations*; and, considering how highly they value themselves above all others, this must be no small Compliment. This is not done by any general Act of the Nation, but every single Person has a Right to do it, by a Kind of Adoption. The first Time I was among the *Mohawks*, I had this Compliment from one of their old *Sachems*, which he did, by giving me his own Name, *Cayenderongue*. He had been a notable Warrior; and he told me, that now I had a Right to assume to myself all the Acts of Valour he had performed, and that now my Name would echo from Hill to Hill all over the *Five Nations*. As for my Part, I thought no more of it at that Time, than as an Artifice to draw a Belly full of strong Liquor from me, for himself and his Companions; but when about ten or twelve Years afterwards, my Business led me again among them, I directed

ed the Interpreter to say something from me to the *Sachems*; he was for some Time at a Loss to understand their Answer, till he had asked me whether I had any Name among them: I then found that I was really known to them by that Name, and that the old *Sachem*, from the Time he had given me his Name, had assumed another to himself. I was adopted, at that Time, into the Tribe of the *Bear*, and, for that Reason, I often afterwards had the kind Compliment of *Brother Bear*.

The Hospitality of these *Indians* is no less remarkable, than their other Virtues; as soon as any Stranger comes, they are sure to offer him Victuals. If there be several in Company, and come from a-far, one of their best Houses is cleaned and given up for their Entertainment. Their Complaisance, on these Occasions, goes even farther than Christian Civility allows of, as they have no other Rule for it, than the furnishing their Guest with every Thing they think will be agreeable to him; for this Reason, some of their prettiest Girls are always ordered to wash themselves, and dress in their best Apparel, in Order to be presented to the Stranger, for his Choice; and the young Lady, who has the Honour to be preferred on these Occasions, performs all the Duties of a fond Wife, during the Stranger's Stay: But this last Piece of Hospitality is now either laid aside by the *Mohawks*, or, at least, they never offer it to any Christian. This Nation indeed has laid aside many of its ancient Customs, and so likewise have the other Nations, with whom we are best acquainted; and have adopted many of ours; so that it is not easy now to distinguish their original and genuine Manners, from those which they have lately acquired; and for this Reason it is, that they now seldom offer Victuals to Persons of any Distinction, because they know, that their Food and Cookery is not agreeable to our delicate Palates. Their Men value themselves, in having all Kind of Food in equal Esteem. A *Mohawk Sachem* told

told me with a Kind of Pride, That a Man eats every Thing without Distinction, *Bears, Cats, Dogs, Snakes, Frogs, &c.* intimating, that it is Womanish, to have any Delicacy in the Choice of Food.

I can however give two strong Instances of the Hospitality of the *Mohawks*, which fell under my own Observation ; and which shew, that they have the very same Notion of Hospitality, which we find in the ancient Poets. When I was last in the *Mohawks* Country, the *Sachems* told me, that they had an *Englishman* among their People, a Servant who had run from his Master in *New York*. I immediately told them, that they must deliver him up. No, they answered, we never serve any Man so, who puts himself under our Protection. On this I insisted on the Injury they did thereby to his Master ; and they allowed it might be an Injury, and replied, though we never will deliver him up, we are willing to pay the Value of the Servant to the Master. Another Man made his Escape from the Goal of *Albany*, where he was in Prison on an Execution for Debt ; the *Mohawks* received him, and, as they protected him against the Sheriff and his Officers, they not only paid the Debt for him, but gave him Land, over and above sufficient for a good Farm, whereon he lived when I was last there. To this it may be added, all their extraordinary Visits are accompanied with giving and receiving Presents of some Value ; as we learn likewise from *Homer* was the Practice in old Times.

Polygamy is not usual among them ; and indeed, in any Nation, where all are on a Par, as to Riches and Power, Plurality of Wives cannot well be introduced. As all Kind of Slavery is banished from the Countries of the *Five Nations*, so they keep themselves free also from the Bondage of Wedlock ; and when either of the Parties becomes disgusted, they separate without Formality or Ignominy to either, unless it be occasioned by some scandalous Offence in
one

one of them. And in Case of Divorce, the Children, according to the natural Course of all Animals, follow the Mother. The Women here bring forth their Children with as much Ease as other Animals, and without the Help of a Midwife, and, soon after their Delivery, return to their usual Employment. They alone also perform all the Drudgery about their Houses, they plant their Corn, and labour it, in every Respect, till it is brought to the Table: They likewise cut all their Fire-wood, and bring it Home on their Backs, and in their Marches bear the Burdens. The Men disdain all Kind of Labour, and employ themselves alone in Hunting, as the only proper Business for Soldiers. At Times, when it is not proper to hunt, one finds the *old Men* in Companies, in Conversation; the young Men at their Exercises, shooting at Marks, throwing the Hatchet, Wrestling, or Running, and the Women all busy at Labour in the Fields.

On these Occasions, the State of *Lacedæmon* ever occurs to my Mind, which that of the *Five Nations*, in many Respects, resembles; their Laws, or Customs, being, in both, form'd to render the Minds and Bodies of the People fit for War.

Theft is very scandalous among them; and it is necessary it should be so among all *Indians*, since they have no Locks, but those of their Minds, to preserve their Goods.

There is one Vice which the *Indians* have all fallen into, since their Acquaintance with the *Christians*, and of which they could not be guilty before that Time, that is, Drunkenness: It is strange, how all the *Indian Nations*, and almost every Person among them, Male and Female, are infatuated with the Love of strong Drink; they know no Bounds to their Desire, while they can swallow it down, and then indeed the greatest Man among them scarcely deserves the Name of a Brute.

They

They never have been taught to conquer any Passion, but by some contrary Passion ; and the Traders, with whom they chiefly converse, are so far from giving them any Abhorrence of this Vice, that they encourage it all they can, not only for the Profit of the Liquor they sell, but that they may have an Opportunity to impose upon them. And this, as they chiefly drink Spirits, has destroyed greater Numbers, than all their Wars and Diseases put together.

The People of the *Five Nations* are much given to *Speech-making*, ever the natural Consequence of a perfect Republican Government: Where no single Person has a Power to compel, the Arts of Persuasion alone must prevail. As their best Speakers distinguish themselves in their publick Councils and Treaties with other Nations, and thereby gain the Esteem and Applause of their Countrymen, (the only Superiority which any one of them has over the others) it is probable they apply themselves to this Art, by some Kind of Study and Exercise, in a great Measure. It is impossible for me to judge how far they excel, as I am ignorant of their Language ; but the Speakers whom I have heard, had all a great Fluency of Words, and much more Grace in their Manner, than any Man could expect, among a People intirely ignorant of all the liberal Arts and Sciences.

I am inform'd, that they are very nice in the Turn of their Expressions, and that few of themselves are so far Masters of their Language, as never to offend the Ears of their *Indian* Auditory, by an unpolite Expression. They have, it seems, a certain *Urbanitas*, or *Atticism*, in their Language, of which the common Ears are ever sensible, though only their great Speakers attain to it. They are so much given to *Speech-making*, that their common Complements, to any Person they respect, at meeting and parting, are made in Harangues.

They have some Kind of Elegancy in varying and compounding their Words, to which, not many of themselves attain, and this principally distinguishes their best Speakers. I have endeavoured to get some Account of this, as a Thing that might be acceptable to the Curious; but, as I have not met with any one Person who understands their Language, and also knows any Thing of Grammar, or of the learned Languages, I have not been able to attain the least Satisfaction. Their present Minister tells me, that their Verbs are varied, but in a Manner so different from the *Greek* or *Latin*, that he cannot discover by what Rule it was done; and even suspects, that every Verb has a peculiar Mode: They have but few radical Words, but they compound their Words without End; by this their Language becomes sufficiently copious, and leaves Room for a good Deal of Art to please a delicate Ear. Sometimes one Word among them includes an entire Definition of the Thing; for Example, they call *Wine* *Onebaradesehoengetseragherie*, as much as to say, a *Liquor made of the Juice of the Grape*. The Words expressing Things lately come to their Knowledge are all Compounds: They have no Labels in their Language, nor can they pronounce perfectly any Word wherein there is a Label; and when one endeavours to teach them to pronounce these Words, they tell one, they think it ridiculous that they must shut their Lips to speak. Their Language abounds with Gutturals and strong Aspirations, these make it very sonorous and bold; and their Speeches abound with Metaphors, after the Manner of the Eastern Nations, as will best appear by the Speeches that I have copied.

As to what *religious Notions* they have, it is difficult to judge of them; because the *Indians*, that speak any *English*, and live near us, have learned many Things of us; and it is not easy to distinguish the Notions they had originally among themselves, from

from those they have learned of the *Christians*. It is certain they have no Kind of publick Worship, and I am told that they have no radical Word to express *God*, but use a compound Word, signifying the Preserver, Sustainer, or Master of the Universe; neither could I ever learn what Sentiments they have of a future Existence. Their funeral Rites seem to be formed upon a Notion of some Kind of Existence after Death: They make a large round Hole, in which the Body can be placed upright, or upon its Haunches, which after the Body is placed in it, is covered with Timber, to support the Earth which they lay over, and thereby keep the Body free from being pressed; they then raise the Earth in a round Hill over it. They always dress the Corps in all its Finery, and put Wampum and other Things into the Grave with it; and the Relations suffer not Grass or any Weed to grow on the Grave, and frequently visit it with Lamentations: But whether these Things be done only as Marks of Respect to the Deceased, or from a Notion of some Kind of Existence after Death, must be left to the Judgment of the Reader.

They are very superstitious in observing Omens and Dreams; I have observed them shew a superstitious Awe of the Owl, and be highly displeased with some that mimicked the Cry of that Bird in the Night. An Officer of the regular Troops has informed me also, that while he had the Command of the Garrison at *Oswego*, a Boy of one of the far Westward Nations died there; the Parents made a regular Pile of split Wood, laid the Corps upon it, and burnt it; while the Pile was burning, they stood gravely looking on, without any Lamentation, but when it was burnt down, they gathered up the Bones with many Tears, put them into a Box, and carried them away with them; and this Inclination, which all ignorant People have to Superstition and amusing Ceremonies, gives the Popish Priests a great Advantage

tage in recommending their Religion, beyond what the Regularity of the Protestant Doctrine allows of.

Queen *Anne* sent over a Missionary to reside among the *Mohawks*, and allowed him a sufficient Subsistence from the privy Purse; she sent Furniture for a Chapel, and a valuable set of Plate for the Communion Table; and (if I am not mistaken) the like Furniture and Plate for each of the other Nations, though that of the *Mohawks* was only applied to the Use designed. The common Prayer, or at least a considerable Part of it, was translated also into their Language and printed; some other Pieces were likewise translated for the Minister's Use, *viz.* An Exposition of the Creed, Decalogue, Lord's Prayer, and Church Catechism, and a Discourse on the Sacraments. But as that Minister was never able to attain any tolerable Knowledge of their Language, and was naturally a heavy Man, he had but small Success; and his Allowance failing, by the Queen's Death, he left them. These Nations had no Teacher, from that Time, till within these few Years, that a young Gentleman, out of pious Zeal, went voluntarily among the *Mohawks*. He was at first intirely ignorant of their Language, and had no Interpreter, except one of the *Indians*, who understood a little *English*, and had, in the late Missionary's Time, learn'd to read and write in his own Language. He learned from him how to pronounce the Words in the Translations, which had been made for the late Missionary's Use. He set up a School, to teach their Children to read and write their own Language; and they made surprizing Proficiency, considering their Master did not understand their Language. I happened to be in the *Mohawk* Country, and saw several of their Performances; I was present at their Worship, where they went through some Part of the Common Prayer with great Decency. I was likewise present, several Times, at their private Devotions, which some of them performed dully,

Morning and Evening. I had also many Opportunities of observing the great Regard they had for this young Man; so far, that the Fear of his leaving them made the greatest Restraint on them, with which he threatened them, after they had been guilty of any Offence. Soon after that Time, this Gentleman went to *England*, received Orders, and was sent by the Society, Missionary to *Albany*, with Liberty to spend some Part of his Time among the *Mohawks*.

I had lately a Letter from him, dated the seventh of *December*, 1641, in which he writes as follows :
 “ Drunkenness was so common among them, that I
 “ doubt, whether there was one grown Person of
 “ either Sex free from it; seldom a Day passed,
 “ without some, and very often forty or fifty being
 “ drunk at a Time. But I found they were very fond
 “ of keeping me among them, and afraid I should
 “ leave them, which I made Use of to good Pur-
 “ pose; daily threatening them with my Departure,
 “ in Case they did not forsake that Vice, and fre-
 “ quently requiring a particular Promise from them
 “ singly; by which Means (through God’s Blessing)
 “ there was a gradual Reformation; and I know
 “ not that I have seen above ten or twelve Persons
 “ drunk among them this Summer. The Women
 “ are almost all entirely reformed, and the Men
 “ very much. They have intirely left off Divorces,
 “ and are legally married. They are very constant
 “ and devout at church and Family Devotions.
 “ They have not been known to exercise Cruelty to
 “ Prisoners, and have, in a great Measure, left off
 “ going a fighting, which I find the most difficult,
 “ of all Things, to dissuade them from. They seem
 “ also persuaded of the Truths of Christianity. The
 “ greatest Inconveniency I labour under, is the Want
 “ of an Interpreter, which could I obtain, for two
 “ or three Years, I should hope to be tolerably
 “ Master

“ Master of their Language, and be able to render
“ it easier to my Successor.”

This Gentleman’s uncommon Zeal deserves, I think, this publick Testimony, that it may be a Means of his receiving such Encouragement, as may enable him to pursue the pious Purposes he has in View.

The *Mohawks*, were they civilized, may be useful to us many Ways, and, on many Occasions, more than any of our own People can be ; and this well deserves to be considered.

There is one Custom their Men constantly observe, which I must not forget to mention ; That if they be sent with any Message, though it demand the greatest Dispatch, or though they bring Intelligence of any imminent Danger, they never tell it at their first Approach ; but sit down for a Minute or two, at least, in Silence, to recollect themselves, before they speak, that they may not shew any Degree of Fear or Surprise, by an indecent Expression. Every sudden Repartee, in a publick Treaty, leaves with them an Impression of a light inconsiderate Mind ; but, in private Conversation, they use, and are delighted with brisk witty Answers, as we can be. By this they shew the great Difference they place between the Conversations of Man and Man, and of Nation and Nation ; and in this, and a thousand other Things, might well be an Example to the *European Nations*.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
FIVE *INDIAN* NATIONS,
DEPENDING
On the PROVINCE of *NEW-YORK*.

PART I.

*The History of the Five Nations, from the Time
the Christians first knew any Thing of them, to
that of the Revolution in Great-Britain.*

CHAP. I.

*Of the Wars of the Five Nations with the A-
dirondacks and Quatoghies.*

THE first Settlers of *New-York* having been little curious in inquiring into the *Indian Affairs*, further than what related to Trade; or, at least, having neglected to transmit their Discoveries to Posterity, it is much more difficult to give a just History of these Nations before, than since the Time of their being under the *Crown of England*.

CH A P. *England.* What we can learn of Certainty, however, I. is this. The *French* settled at *Canada* in the Year 1603, six Years before the *Dutch* possessed themselves of *New-Netherlands*, now called *New-York*, and found the *Five Nations* at War with the *Adirondacks*, which, they tell us, was occasioned in the following Manner.

The *Adirondacks* formerly lived three-hundred Miles above *Trois Rivières*, where now the *Utawawas* are situated; at that Time they employ'd themselves wholly in Hunting, and the *Five Nations* made planting of Corn their Business. By this Means they became useful to each other, by exchanging Corn for Venison. The *Adirondacks*, however, valued themselves, as delighting in a more manly Employment, and despised the *Five Nations*, in following Business, which they thought only fit for Women. But it once happened, that the Game failed the *Adirondacks*, which made them desire some of the young Men of the *Five Nations* to assist them in Hunting. These young Men soon became much more expert in Hunting, and able to endure Fatigues, than the *Adirondacks* expected or desired; in short, they became jealous of them, and, one Night, murdered all the young Men they had with them. The *Five Nations* complained to the Chiefs of the *Adirondacks*, of the Inhumanity of this Action; but they contented themselves with blaming the Murderers, and ordered them to make some small + Presents to the Relations of the murdered Persons, without being apprehensive of the Resentment of the *Five Nations*; for they looked upon them, as Men not capable of taking any great Revenge.

This however provoked the *Five Nations* to that Degree, that they soon resolved, by some Means, to be revenged; and the *Adirondacks* being informed

+ It is still a Custom among the *Indians*, to expiate Murder by Presents to the Relations of the Person killed.

of their Designs, thought to prevent them, by re-
 ducing them with Force to their Obedience.

CHAP.
I.

The *Five Nations* then lived near where *Mont Real* now stands; they defended themselves at first but faintly against the vigorous Attacks of the *Adirondacks*, and were forced to leave their own Country, and fly to the Banks of the Lakes where they live now. As they were hitherto Losers by the War, it obliged them to apply themselves to the Exercise of Arms, in which they became daily more and more expert. Their *Sachems*, in order to raise their People's Spirits, turned them against the * *Satanas*, a less warlike Nation, who then lived on the Banks of the Lakes; for they found it was difficult to remove the Dread their People had of the Valour of the *Adirondacks*. The *Five Nations* soon subdued the *Satanas*, and drove them out of their Country; and their People's Courage being thus elevated, they, from this Time, not only defended themselves bravely against the whole Force of the *Adirondacks*, but often carried the War into the Heart of the *Adirondacks's* Country, and, at last, forced them to leave it, and to fly into that Part of the Country, where *Quebeck* is now built.

There are more Instances than one in History, of poor dispirited Nations, that by some signal Affront or Abuse have had their Spirits so raised, that they have not only performed notable Things on a sudden, but, if they happened, at the same Time, to be led and governed by wise Men, have so far kept up, and improved that Spirit, that they have become, in a Manner, a different People. Let us examine History, and we shall find, that the different Figure every Country has made in the World, has been ever principally owing to the Principles which were inculcated into, and carefully cultivated in the People.

* They are called *Shaoumons*, by the French, and live now on one of the Banks of the *Mississipi*.

CHAP. In this chiefly consists the Art of making a Nation glorious, or the Crime of debasing them into Servitude or Slavery. It was from the Notions of Liberty, Honour, and Glory, and such wise and generous Principles, which the meanest Citizen among the old *Romans* entertained, that they became so great and powerful, and a Terror to all Nations; as the sordid, timorous, cunning Artifices, and the Love of Wealth and sensual Pleasures, cultivated among the present *Romans*, has debased them now into the meanest and least feared Nation on the Earth. The History of the *Five Nations* will readily shew, how far the ancient *Roman* Principles have been cultivated among them.

Soon after this Change of the People of these Nations, the *French* arrived at *Canada*, and settled at *Quebeck*; and they thinking it adviseable to gain the Esteem and Friendship of the *Adirondacks*, in whose Country they settled, *Monsieur Champlain*, the first Governor of *Canada*, joined the *Adirondacks* in an Expedition against the *Five Nations*. They met a Party of two-hundred Men of the *Five Nations* in *Corlar's Lake*, which the *French*, on this Occasion called by *Monsieur Champlain's* Name, and both Sides went ashore to prepare for Battle, which proved to the Disadvantage of the *Five Nations*. The *French*, in short, kept themselves undiscover'd, till the Moment they began to join Battle; and their Fire-arms surpris'd the *Five Nations* so much, that they were immediately put into Confusion; for, before that Time, they had never seen such Weapons. The Trade with the *French*, soon after this, drew most of the neighbouring Nations to *Quebeck*, and they all joined in the War against the *Five Nations*.

The *Adirondacks* having their Numbers thus increased, and their Fire-arms giving them new Confidence, propos'd nothing less to themselves, than the intire Destruction of the *Five Nations*. Upon this

this, their young Warriors became fierce and insolent, and would not be kept under any Discipline or Subjection to their Captains; but, upon all Occasions, rashly attacked the Enemy, who were obliged to keep themselves upon the defensive; and to make up what they wanted in Force, by Stratagems, and a skilful Management of the War. The young Men of the *Five Nations* soon perceived the Advantages they gained by this Conduct, and every Day grew more submissive to their Captains, and diligent in executing any Enterprize.

The *Five Nations* sent out small Parties only, who meeting with great Numbers of the *Adirondacks*, retired before them with seeming Terror, while the *Adirondacks* pursued them with Fury, and without Thought, till they were cunningly drawn into Ambuscades, where most of their Men were killed or taken Prisoners, with little or no Loss to the *Five Nations*.

The *Adirondacks*, by this Means, wasted away, and their boldest Soldiers were almost intirely destroy'd, while the Number of the *Five Nations* were increased, by the Addition of the Prisoners, which they took from the *Satanas*.

The wisest and best Soldiers of the *Adirondacks*, when it was too late, now at length discovered, that they must learn the Art of War from those Enemies that they at first despised; and now five of their Captains endeavoured to perform by themselves singly, with Art and by Stratagem, what they could not do by Force at the Head of their Armies; they had however no longer any Hopes of conquering, their Thoughts were only set on Revenge.

It is not improper to observe here, once for all, that in writing the History of *Indians*, it is often necessary to give an Account of the Enterprizes of single Persons, otherwise the *Indian* Genius can never be known, or their Manner of making War understood. An *Indian* named *Piskaret* was at this Time

CHAP. Time one of the Captains of greatest Fame among
 I. the *Adirondacks*: This bold Man, with four other
 Captains, set out for *Trois-Rivieres* in one Canoe, each
 of them being provided with three Musquets, which
 they loaded with two Bullets apiece, joined with a
 small Chain ten Inches long; they met with five
 Canoes in *Sorel River*, each having ten Men of the
Five Nations on Board. *Piskaret* and his Captains,
 as soon as those of the *Five Nations* drew near, pre-
 tended to give themselves up for lost, and sung their
 Death Song, * then suddenly fired upon the Canoes,
 which they repeated with the Arms that lay ready
 loaded, and tore those Birch Vessels betwixt Wind
 and Water. The Men of the *Five Nations* were so
 surprized, that they tumbled out of their Canoes,
 and gave *Piskaret* and his Companions the Opportunity
 of knocking as many of them on the Head as they
 pleased, and saving the others, to feed their Re-
 venge, which they did, by burning them alive with
 the most cruel Torments. This however was so far
 from glutting *Piskaret's* Revenge, that it seemed
 rather to give a keener Edge to it; for he soon after
 undertook another Enterprize, in which none of his
 Countrymen durst accompany him: He was well ac-
 quainted with the Country of the *Five Nations*, and
 set out about the Time the Snow began to melt,
 with the Precaution of putting the hinder Part of his
 Snow Shoes forward, that if any should happen
 upon his Footsteps, they might think he was gone
 the contrary Way; and, for further Security, went
 along the Ridges and high Grounds, where the
 Snow was melted, that his Track might be often lost;
 when he came near one of the Villages of the *Five
 Nations*, he hid himself till Night, and then entered
 a Cabin, while every Body was fast asleep, mur-

* It is a Custom among the *Indian* Prisoners of War, when
 led to Death, to sing an Account of their own Exploits; and
 this they are hardy enough to continue even in the midst of Tor-
 tures.

dered the whole Family, and carried their Scalps into his lurking Place. The next day the People of the Village searched for the Murderer in vain. The following Night he murdered all he found in another Cabin. The Inhabitants next Day searched likewise in vain for the Murderer; but the third Night a Watch was kept in every House. *Piskaret* in the Night bundled up the Scalps he had taken the two former Nights, to carry, as the Proof of his Victory, and then stole privately from House to House, till at last he found an *Indian* nodding, who was upon the Watch in one of the Houses; he knockt this Man on the Head; but as this alarmed the rest, he was forced immediately to fly. He was however under no great Concern from the Pursuit, being more swift of Foot than any *Indian* then living. He let his Pursuers come near him from Time to Time, and then would dart from them. This he did with Design to tire them out with the Hopes of overtaking Him. As it began to grow dark, he hid himself, and his Pursuers stop'd to rest. They not being apprehensive of any Danger from a single Man, soon fell asleep, and the bold *Piskaret* observing this, knock'd them all on the Head, and carried away their Scalps with the rest. Such Stories as these are told among the *Indians*, as extraordinary Instances of the Courage and Conduct of their Captains. The *Indians* will often travel thus three or four Hundred Miles singly, or two or three in Company, and lurk about their Enemy's Borders for several Weeks, in Hopes to revenge the Death of a near Relation or dear Friend. Indeed they give themselves so very much up to Revenge, that this Passion seems to gnaw their Souls, and gives them no Rest till they satisfy it. It is this Delight in Revenge, that makes all barbarous Nations cruel; and the curbing such Passions is one of the happy Effects of being civilized.

CHAP. The *Five Nations* are so much delighted with
 I. Stratagems in War, that no Superiority of their
 Forces ever make them neglect them. They amused
 the *Adirondacks* and their Allies the *Quatoghies* (called by the *French* *Hurons*) by sending to the *French*, and desiring Peace. The *French* desired them to receive some Priests among them, in Hopes that those prudent Fathers would, by some Art, reconcile them to their Interest, and engage their Affections. The *Five Nations* readily accepted the Offer, and some *Jesuits* went along with them: But after they had the *Jesuits* in their Power, they used them only as Hostages, and thereby obliged the *French* to stand neuter, while they prepared to attack the *Adirondacks* and *Quatoghies*, and they defeated the *Quatoghies* in a dreadful Battle fought within two Leagues of *Quebeck*.

The *French* own, That if the *Five Nations* had known their Weakness at that Time, they might have easily destroyed the whole Colony.

This Defeat, in Sight of the *French* Settlements, struck Terror into all their Allies, who were at that Time very numerous, because of the Trade with the *French*, which furnished them with many the most useful Conveniencies; for before that Time the *Indians* had no Iron Tool among them.

The *Nipiceriniens*, who then lived on the Banks of *St. Laurence River*, fled upon this to the Northward, believing that the extreme Coldness of the Climate, and a barren Soil, would be the securest Defence against the Ambition of the *Five Nations*. The Remainder of the *Quatoghies* fled with the *Utawawas* Southwestward; and for the greater Security, settled in an Island, which being further than the Name of the *Five Nations* had then reached, they trusted to the Distance of the Place, and the Advantage of its Situation.

Their last Expedition having succeeded so well, the *Five Nations* gave out, that they intended next
 Winter

Winter to visit *Yonnendio*, (the Name they give to the Governor of *Canada*;) these Visits are always made with much Shew. Under this Pretence they gathered together 1000 or 1200 Men. Their out Scouts met with *Piskaret* near *Niccolet River*, and still pretending a friendly Visit to the Governor of *Canada*, as their only Design, he told them, that the *Adirondacks* were divided into two Bodies, one of which hunted on the North Side of *St. Laurence River* at *Wabmake*, three Leagues above *Trois Rivières*, and the other at *Niccolet*. As soon as they had gained this Information, they killed him, and returned with his Head to the Army. The *Five Nations* divided likewise into two Bodies; they surprized the *Adirondacks* in both Places, and in both cut them in pieces.

CHAP.
I.


Thus the most warlike and polite Nation of all the *Indians* in *North America*, was almost intirely destroyed by a People they at first despised, and by a War which their Pride and Injustice brought upon them; and we here see, that all the Advantages of Numbers, Courage and Weapons, is not equal to good discipline in an Army.

A very few *Adirondacks* only now remain in some Villages near *Quebeck*, who still waste away and decay, by their drinking strong Waters, tho' when the *French* first settled at *Quebeck*, 1500 fighting Men of them lived between that Place and *Sillerie*, which are only a League distant, besides those that lived at *Saquenay*, *Trois Rivières*, and some other Places. And since this decisive Battle, the *Adirondacks* have never been considered as of any Consequence, either in Peace or War.

The *Quatoghies* and *Atawarwas* now soon began to be in Want of the *European* Commodities, which had made them considerable among their new Friends. In order therefore to supply themselves anew, they returned to Trade at *Quebeck*; and by this Means the Place of their Retreat was discovered to the *five Nations*; and they not having their Re-

venge

CHAP. I. venge satiated, while the *Quatogbies* had a Being, soon convinced them, that no Extent of Country could set bounds to that Passion, when it rages in the Hearts of the *Five Nations*, for they soon after attack'd them in their new Settlement. The *Quatogbies* had the good Fortune to discover the *Five Nations* Time enough to make their Escape, and fled to the *Putewatemies*, who lived a Day's Journey further, where they, and all the Neighbouring Nations, secured themselves in a large Fort. The *Five Nations* followed, but, being in Want of Provision, they could not attempt a Siege, and therefore proposed a Treaty with the *Putewatemies*, which was accepted. The *Putewatemies* acknowledged the *Five Nations* as Masters of all the Nations round them, applauded their Valour, and promised them their Friendship, and to supply them with Provisions; they would not however trust themselves out of their Fort, but sent out a Supply; and even this they did, only with Design to do that by Treachery, which they durst not attempt by Force; for the Provisions were poisoned. The Treachery was discovered however to the *Five Nations*, by an old *Quatogbie*, who had a Son Prisoner among them; his Affection for his Son overcoming even his Hatred to his Country's Enemies. This Treachery highly enraged the *Five Nations* against the *Putewatemies*, and the neighbouring People; but Famine obliging them to retire at this Time, they divided their Armies into Parties, the better to provide for their Subsistence, by Hunting; one of these Parties in their Chace fell in with a Village of the *Chicktagbicks* (called by the *French Hinois*) and surprized the old Men, Women and Children, when the young Men were abroad hunting; but the young Men, upon their Return, gathering together all the rest of the Villages, pursued this Party of the *Five Nations*, and recovered the Prisoners.

This

This was the first Time that the *Five Nations* had been seen in those Parts, but their Name was become so terrible, that the *Chigtagbicks*, notwithstanding this Advantage, left their Country, and fled to the Nations that lived westward, till the General Peace was settled by the *French*, and not till on that Occasion returned to their own Country.

CHAP.
I.

CHAP. II.

The Wars and Treaties of Peace of the Indians of the Five Nations with the French, from 1665 to 1683, and their Affairs with New-York in that Time.

IN June 1665 Monsieur De Trasi appointed Vice-Roy of America by the French King, arrived at *Quebeck*, after he had visited the French Islands in the *West Indies*, and brought with him four Companies of Foot; and in September of the same Year, Mr. *Coursel* arrived Governor General of Canada; he brought with him a Regiment and several Families, with all Things necessary for establishing of a Colony. Their Force being now thus considerably augmented, the French Governor resolv'd to chastise the Insolence of the *Five Nations*; and for that Purpose, in the Winter, sent out a Party against the *Mohawks*, but these by the Cold, and their not knowing the Use of Snow Shoes, suffered very much, without doing any Thing against the Enemy.

This Party however fell in with * *Skeneclady*, a small Town which *Corlear* (a considerable Man among the *Dutch*) had then newly settled. When they appeared near *Skeneclady*, they were almost dead with Cold and Hunger; and the *Indians*, who were

* The French call this Town *Corlear*, from the Persons Name who first settled there. It is situate on the *Mohawks* River sixteen Miles from *Albany*.

CHAP. then in that Village, had intirely destroyed them, if
 II. *Corlear*, (in Compassion to his fellow Christians) had not
 contriv'd their Escape. He had a mighty Influence
 over the *Indians*; and it is from him, and in Remembrance of his Merit, that all Governors of *New-York* are called *Corlear* by the *Indians* to this Day, tho' he himself was never Governor. He perswaded the *Indians*, that this was a small Party of the *French* Army come to amuse them, that the great Body was gone directly towards their Castles, and that it was necessary for them immediately to go in Defence of their Wives and Children. This they believed, and readily obeyed; and as soon as the *Indians* were gone, he sent to the *French*, and supplied them with Provisions and other Necessaries to carry them back. The *French* Governor, in Order to reward so signal a Service, invited *Corlear* to *Canada*; but as he went through the great Lake, which lies to the Northward of *Albany*, his Canoe was overfet, and he was drowned; and from this Accident that Lake has ever since been called *Corlear's Lake*, by the People of *New-York*. There is a Rock in this Lake, on which the Waves dash and fly up to a great Height; when the Wind blows hard, the *Indians* believe, that an old *Indian* lives under this Rock, who has the Power of the Winds; and therefore, as they pass it in their Voyages over, they always throw a Pipe, or some other small Present to this old *Indian*, and pray a favourable Wind. The *English* that pass with them sometimes laugh at them, but they are sure to be told of *Corlear's* Death. Your great Countryman *Corlear* (say they) as he passed by this Rock, jested at our Fathers making Presents to this Old *Indian*, and in Derision turned up his Backside, but this Affront cost him his Life.


In the following Spring the *Vice-Roy* and the Governor of *Canada*, with twenty eight Companies of Foot, and all the Militia of the Colony, marched into the Country of the *Mohawks*, with a Design to destroy

destroy this Nation, which by their Wars not only prevented their Commerce with the western *Indians*, but likewise often put their Colony in Danger. It certainly was a bold Attempt, to march above 700 Miles from *Quebeck* through vast unknown Forests. The *Mohawks* however, on their Approach, Men, Women, and Children, retired into the Woods, and all that the *French* were able to do, was to burn some Villages, and to murder some old *Sachems* that (like the old Roman Senators,) chose rather to dye than to desert their Houses.

The *French* were so conceited before, of their Superiority over the *Indians* in their Skill of War, and their Weapons, that they thought they could not escape, but the little Honour or Advantage they got by this Expedition lessened their Vanity, and made them desirous of Peace; and the *Five Nations* remaining fearful of the *French* fire Arms, it was without much Difficulty concluded in the Year 1667.

The *Five Nations* however being naturally very enterprizing and haughty, one of their Parties some Time after met with some *French* in their hunting, and quarrelled with them. The *Indians* had the Advantage, they killed several of the *French*, and carried one Prisoner into their own Country. *Monsieur de Courcel* sent on this to threaten the *Five Nations* with War, if they did not deliver up these Murderers; and the *Five Nations*, to shew their publick Displeasure at this Breach of Peace, sent *Agariata*, the Captain of the Company that did the Mischief, with forty others, to beg Pardon; but *Monsieur Courcel* was resolved to make an Example of *Agariata*, and ordered him to be hanged in Sight of his Countrymen; and the *French* think that this Severity was a great Means of preserving the Peace till the Year 1683.

The *Dutch*, who settled in the *New Netherlands*, now called *New-York*, in 1609, entered into an Alliance with the *Five Nations*, which continued without any

CHAP. Breach on either Side, till the *English* gained this
 II. Country. The *Dutch* gained the Hearts of the *Five*
 *Nations* by their kind Usage, and were frequently
 useful to the *French*, in saving those of them that
 were prisoners from the Cruelty of the *Indians*.

In 1664, *New-York* being taken by the *English*,
 they likewise immediately entered into a Friendship
 with the *Five Nations*, which has continued without
 the least Breach to this Day; and History, I believe,
 cannot give an Instance of the most Christian or most
 Catholick Kings observing a Treaty so strictly, and
 for so long a Time as these Barbarians, as they are
 called, have done.

The *English* and *French* (Peace being every where
 settled) now endeavoured to extend their Commerce
 and Alliances among the *Indian Nations*, that live to
 the westward of *New-York*. The *French* however,
 in their Measures, discovered always a Design of
 conquering and commanding; for with this View
Mr. de Frontenac, who had succeeded in the Go-
 vernment of *Canada*, in the Year 1672, persuaded
 the *Five Nations* to allow him to build a Fort on the
 north Side of *Cadarackui Lake*, under Pretence of a
 Store for Merchandise, and the Security of his
 Traders, and under the same Pretence built several
 other Forts at some other considerable Places far
 in the Country.

The *English* and *Dutch*, on the contrary, prosecuted
 their Measures only with the Arts of Peace, by sending
 People among the *Indians* to gain their Affections,
 and to persuade them to come to *Albany* to
 trade; but the War with the *Dutch*, which happened
 about this Time, prevented even these honest
 Designs from having the Success they otherwise
 might have had; for in the Year 1673, *New-York*
 being surpris'd by the *Dutch*, and restored the next
 Year to the *English*, the Alterations of Govern-
 ment, and of Masters, obstructed very much any
 Measures that could have been taken for the publick
 Good.

Good. Their Trade was likewise considerably hindered by the War which the *Five Nations* had at that Time with the * *River Indians*, which forced many of those *Indians* to seek Shelter among the *Utawawas*, who fell under the *French* Government at last; however, the *English*, *Dutch* and *French* having all made Peace in *Europe*, and the Government of *New-York* likewise having obtained a Peace between the *Five Nations* and *Mahikindars* or *River Indians*, both the *English* and *French* were at full Liberty to prosecute their Designs of extending their Commerce among the *Indians*, which both did with very considerable Success and Advantage to the Inhabitants of their respective Colonies.

CHAP.
II.

But this Justice must be done to the *French*, that they far exceeded the *English* in the daring Attempts of some of their Inhabitants, in travelling very far among unknown *Indians*, discovering new Countries, and every where spreading the Fame of the *French* Name and Grandeur. The *Sieur Perot* travelled in the Year 1667 as far as the *Fall St. Mary* beyond *Missilimakinak*, and having learned those *Indians* Language, gained them over to his Country's Interest.

The Courage and Resolution of many of these Adventurers are deservedly recorded by the *French*; but the *English* give it another Turn, and say it is the Barrenness and Poverty of *Canada* that pushes the Men of Spirit there, upon Enterprizes, that they would not have attempted, if they had lived in the Province of *New-York*. The chief Reason, in my Opinion, however, of the *French* having so far succeeded beyond the *English* is, that the *Indian Affairs* are the particular Care of the Governor and other principal Officers in *Canada*, who have the greatest Knowledge and Authority; whereas those Affairs in *New-York* are chiefly left to the Management of a few

* The *Indians* living on the Branches of *Hudson's River*, within or near the *English* Settlements at that Time.

Traders with the *Indians*, who have no Care for, or Skill in publick Affairs, and only mind their private Interest.

C H A P. III.

Of the Transactions of the Indians of the Five Nations with the neighbouring English Colonies.

CH A P.
III.

THE *Five Nations* being now amply supplied by the *English* with Fire-Arms and Ammunition, give full Swing to their warlike Genius, and soon resolved to revenge the Affronts they had at any Time received from the *Indian Nations* that lived at a greater Distance from them. The nearest Nations, as they were attack'd, commonly fled to those that were further off, and the *Five Nations* pursued them. This, together with a Desire they had of conquering, or Ambition of making all the Nations round them their Tributaries, or to acknowledge the *Five Nations* to be so far their Masters, as to be absolutely directed by them in all Affairs of Peace and War with their Neighbours, made them overrun great Part of *North-America*. They carried their Arms as far South as *Carolina*, to the Northward of *New-England*, and as far West as the River *Mississippi*, over a vast Country, which extends twelve hundred Miles in Length, from North to South, and about six hundred Miles in breadth; where they intirely destroyed many Nations, of whom there are now no Accounts remaining among the *English*.

These warlike Expeditions often proved troublesome to the Colonies of *Virginia* and *Maryland*; for not only the *Indians* that were Friends to those Colonies became Victims to the Fury of the *Five Nations*, but the Christian Inhabitants likewise were frequently involved in the same Calamity.

The

The *French* having a long Time felt the Incon-
 veniencies and Dangers they were in from this rest-
 less warlike Spirit of the *Five Nations*, made use of
 this Time of Peace to guard against it for the fu-
 ture, and were very diligent in pursuing the most
 prudent Measures. They sent some of their wisest
 Priests and Jesuits to reside among them, and the
 Governors of *New-York* were ordered, by the *Duke*
of York, to give these Priests all the Incouragement
 in their Power. The chief View of these Priests
 was, to give the *Indians* the highest Opinion of the
French Power and Wisdom, and to render the *Eng-*
lish as suspected and as mean as possible in their
 Eyes. They waited likewise for every Opportunity
 to breed a Quarrel between the *English* and the *In-*
dians, and to withdraw the *Five Nations* from fight-
 ing with those Nations that traded to *Canada*. For
 these Purposes these Priests were instrumental in
 turning the Resentment of the *Five Nations* against
 the *Indians*, that were in Friendship with *Virginia*
 and *Maryland*. The Governor of *Maryland*, on the
 other Hand, to prevent the ill Consequences, that
 might happen by Wars between Nations that were
 in Friendship with the *English*, and lived in their
 Neighbourhood, sent *Colonel Coursey*, in the Year
 1677, to *Albany*, to increase the Friendship between
Virginia and *Maryland* on the one Part, and the *Five*
Nations on the other ; and, accordingly, both Sides
 gave mutual Promises at *Albany* : But this good Un-
 derstanding was soon shaken by some Parties of the
Oneydoes, *Onondagas*, and *Senckas*, who were out
 when this Treaty was made, and were ignorant of
 it. One of them met with the *Susquehana Indians*,
 who were in Friendship with *Maryland*, and fell
 upon them ; they killed four of the *Susquehanas*,
 and took six Prisoners. Five of these Prisoners fell
 to the Share of the *Senckas*, who, as soon as they
 arrived in their own Country, sent them back with
 Presents, to shew that they kept their Promises with

CHAP. *Maryland*; but the *Oneydoes* detained the Prisoner
III. they had.

Another Party, that went against the *Canageffe Indians* (Friends of *Virginia*) were surpris'd by a Troop of Horse, who killed one Man, and took a Woman Prisoner: The *Indians*, in Revenge, killed four of the Inhabitants, and carried away their Scalps, with six Christian Prisoners.

The *Mohawks*, all this while, kept strictly to their Words, and suffered none of their Men to go towards *Virginia* and *Maryland*.

There is Reason to think that the *Dutch*, who lived about *Albany* at that Time, spirited up the *Indians* against the *English*; the national Differences, that were then recent, bred a Rancour in their Spirits. Some *Dutchmen* persuaded the *Oneydoes*, that the *English* at *New-York* were resolved to destroy them, and put them into a terrible Disturbance; for here the *Dutch* and the *French* Priests joined in the same Measures. The Commandant at *Albany* hearing of this, sent two Interpreters of the *Indian* Language, to persuade the *Oneydoes* to come to *Albany*, in Order to be assured of the *English* Friendship, and to have their Jealousy removed; which being done, *Swerise*, one of the chief *Sachems* of the *Oneydoes*, excused his Countrymen at *Albany* the fifteenth of *February* 167⁸/₇, by laying the Blame on the People of *Schenectady*, who had informed not one, but several of their People, and at several Times, that the *English* designed to cut them all off; and said, had they not Reason to believe the People of *Schenectady*, who are Friends and Neighbours to the *English*? They brought with them a Christian Woman and her Child, that had been taken Prisoners, and restored them, praying the Governor to use his Interest to have their People restored, that had been taken by the People of *Virginia*; but they kept another Christian Woman and her two Children, which they said they did only till such
Time

Time as their Prisoners should be restored, or CHAP.
 some *Canastota Indians* given in their Place. III.

When the *Five Nations* make Peace with another Nation, that has taken some of the *Five Nations* Prisoners, if these Prisoners be dead, or cannot be restored, they usually demand some *Indians*, in Friendship with the *Five Nations*, in their stead; who either are adopted in Place of their dead Friends, or restored to their own Nation; and sometimes they desire some of their Enemies to be given to them, and even those frequently are adopted by a Father in Place of a Son, or by a Sister in Place of a Brother, and, most frequently, by a Wife in Place of a Husband lost in the Wars; but if they chance not to be agreeable to the Relations, then they are certainly made Sacrifices to their Revenge.

Governor *Andross*, being acquainted by Letter with this last Proposal of the *Oneydoes*, required the immediate Delivery of the Christian Prisoners, and promised to write to *Virginia* to have the *Indian* Prisoners sav'd. Some Presents being given to the *Oneydoes*, and they promised to bring them in a Month's Time.

They, at the same Time, informed the Commandant at *Albany*, that eight of their Men were then out against the People of *Virginia*; that they knew nothing of what was now promised; and therefore, in Case they should do any Harm, they desired that it might not be taken as a Breach of their Promises they now made. They promised likewise to inform the Governor of every Thing these Parties shou'd happen to do. In the last Place they said, we shall be very sorry if any Thing should happen to the Prisoners that we have promised to restore, lest it should create some Jealousies of us, we hope that you will consider that they are mortal. Accordingly, in *May* following, the *Oneydoes* brought the other three Prisoners to *Albany*, and,

CHAP. on the Twenty-fourth of that Month, *Swerise*,
 III. when he delivered them to the Commandant at *Al-*
 bany, and the Commissioners for *Indian Affairs*, said,

“ *Brethren,*


“ We are come to this Place with much Trouble,
 “ as we did last Winter, and renew the Request
 “ we then made, that six *Indians* be delivered to
 “ us in the Room of these six Christians, in Case
 “ our People, who are Prisoners, be dead.
 “ None of us have gone out against the Christi-
 “ ans since we were last here ; but we told you
 “ then that some were then out, who knew nothing
 “ of the Governor’s Orders, and we desired, that
 “ if any Thing happened it might not be taken
 “ ill. Now thirteen of our People, who went out
 “ against our *Indian Enemies*, met eighteen Men on
 “ Horseback, as far from any of the *English* Plan-
 “ tations as *Cabnuaga* is from *Albany*, they fired
 “ upon our People ; our Men, being Soldiers, re-
 “ turned their Fire, and killed two Men and two
 “ Horses, and brought away their Scalps.

“ It would be convenient that the Governor
 “ tell the People of *Virginia*, not to send their Men
 “ so far from Home ; for if they should meet our
 “ Parties in their Way against our Enemies, the
 “ *Cabnowas*, whom the *English* call *Arogiſti*, we can-
 “ not answer for the Consequences.

“ We have now observed the Governor’s Orders,
 “ in bringing the three other Christian Prisoners ;
 “ and we trust the Affair of our Prisoners wholly
 “ to the Governor.

“ We have now performed our Promises : But
 “ where are our Prisoners ; or, if they be dead,
 “ the others in their Room, now when it is so late
 “ in the Spring ? However, we will still trust this
 “ to the Governor.”

Then delivering the Prisoners one by one, said,
 “ We have, we say, now performed our Promises,
 “ and

“ and are not ashamed. We hope *Corlaer*, who CHAP.
 “ governs the whole Country, will likewise do that, III.
 “ of which he need not be ashamed. 

“ *Corlaer* governs the whole Land, from *New-*
 “ *York* to *Albany*, and from thence to the *Sene-*
 “ *kas Land*; we, who are his Inferiors, shall faith-
 “ fully keep the Chain: Let him perform his Pro-
 “ mise, as we have ours, that the Chain be not
 “ broken on his Side, who governs the whole Coun-
 “ try.”

Then the Commissioners gave them Presents for their kind Usage of the Prisoners.

After which *Swerise* stood up again and said; “ Let
 “ *Corlaer* take Care, that the *Indian* Woman, that
 “ is wanting, be restored, and, for those that are
 “ killed, others in their Room. If *Corlaer* will not
 “ give Ear to us in this Affair, we will not hereaf-
 “ ter give Ear to him in any Thing.”

Hearing afterwards, that these last Words were ill taken, *Swerise*, with two more of the chief *Oneydoe Sachems*, excused it, saying; “ What we said, of
 “ not hearkening any more to *Corlaer*, did not pro-
 “ ceed from the Heart, but was spoken by Way of
 “ Argument, to make *Corlaer* more careful to re-
 “ lease our People that are Prisoners; and you may
 “ be convinced it was so, when you consider that it
 “ was said after your Answer, and without laying
 “ down either Bever, or any Belt or Wampum, as
 “ we always do, when we make Propositions *;
 “ therefore we desire, that, if it be noted, it may
 “ be blotted out, and not made known to *Corlaer*,
 “ for we hold firmly to our Covenant, as we said in
 “ our Propositions.”

* The Word Proposition has been always used by the Commissioners for *Indian* Affairs at *Albany*, to signify Proposals or Articles in the Treaties or Agreements made with the *Indians*.

They,

CHAP. They, at the same Time, told them, That the *Sin-*
 III. *dowans* * came to them with eight Belts, desiring
 them no longer to prosecute the War with the *Vir-*
ginia Indians, but to go to War against the *Dewa-*
ganas †, a Nation lying to the North-westward;
 and that the *Sennekas* did desire them to set these
 Christians at Liberty, and to carry them to *Alba-*
ny; all which we promised to do.

The *Five Nations* continuing however still to be trou-
 blefome to *Virginia*, that Government, in *September*
 following, sent Colonel *William Kendall*, and Colo-
 nel *Southley Littleton*, to *Albany*, to renew and con-
 firm the Friendship between *Virginia* and the *Five*
Nations. Colonel *Littleton* died at *Albany*, before
 the *Indians* arrived; and Colonel *Kendall* spoke first to
 the *Oneydoes*, and told them in a set Speech, “ That
 “ their People had taken away and destroyed their
 “ Goods and People, and brought some of the Wo-
 “ men and Children of *Virginia* Captives into their
 “ Castles, contrary to that Faith and Promise, and
 “ in Breach of the Peace made with Colonel *Cour-*
 “ *sey*, without any the least Provocation, or Injury
 “ done, by the People of *Virginia*. However,
 “ through the great Respect *Virginia* has to their
 “ Nations, and by the Persuasions of the Governor
 “ of *New-York*, and the Information he has given
 “ the Government of *Virginia*, that they had qui-
 “ etly and peaceably delivered to him the Prisoners
 “ taken from *Virginia*, who were returned safely;
 “ and their excusing the same, and Inclination to
 “ live peaceably, without injuring *Virginia* for the
 “ future; the Government of *Virginia* did forgive
 “ all the Damages the *Five Nations* have done to
 “ the People of *Virginia*, though very great; pro-
 “ vided that they, or any living among them, for

* A Castle of the *Sennekas*, from whence the *French* call the
Sennekas Tonontouan.

† Comprehended under the general Name of *Utaawawas*.

“ the

“ the future, do not offend, or molest the People of *Virginia*, or *Indians* living among them.”

CHAP.
III.

He spoke to the *Mohawks* and *Sennekas*, separately from the *Oneydoes*, because they had not done any Mischief, and promised them kind and neighbourly Usage when they came to *Virginia*, and gave them Presents ; they returned the Compliment, with an Assurance of their Friendship, and condoled Colonel *Littleton's* Death, after the *Indian* Manner, by a Present of a Belt of black Wampum, besides the Belt given, on renewal of the Friendship.

The *Onnondagas* did not come till *November* ; on the fifth of which Month the *Virginia* Agent spoke to them, in the same Words he did to the *Oneydoes*. It does not appear, by the Register of *Indian* Affairs, what Answer the *Oneydoes* and *Onnondagas* made, but it is certain they did not observe Friendship with *Virginia*, but molested them with reiterated Incurfions of their Parties. It is observable, however, that these two Nations, and the *Cayugas*, only had *French* Priests among them at that Time, and that none of the rest ever molested the *English* ; for which Reason, Colonel *Dongan*, notwithstanding the Orders he had received from his Master, and that he himself was a Papist, complained of the ill Offices these Priests did to the *English* Interest, and forbid the *Five Nations* to entertain any of them ; though the *English* and *French* Crowns, while he was Governor of *New-York*, seemed to be more than ever in strict Friendship.

The *French* had no Hopes of persuading the *Five Nations* to break with *New-York* directly, but they were in Hopes, that, by the *Indian* Parties doing frequent Mischief in *Virginia*, the Government of *New-York* would be forced to join, in resenting the Injury, and thereby that Union, between the Government of *New-York* and the *Five Nations*, would be broke, which always obstructed, and often defeated, the Design the *French* had, of subjecting all

North

CHAP. *North America* to the Crown of *France*. For this
 III. Reason, the Governors of *New-York* have always,
 with the greatest Caution, avoided a Breach with
 these Nations, on Account of the little Differences
 they had with the neighbouring Colonies. These
 new Incurfions of these two Nations were so trou-
 blefome to the People of *Virginia*, that their Gover-
 nor, the Lord *Howard of Effingham*, thought it ne-
 cessary, for their Security, to undertake a Journey
 to *New-York*.

I shall give a particular Account of this Affair,
 which was thought of such Consequence, that a
 Peer of *England* left his Government, and travelled
 four-hundred Miles, to treat with the *Five Nations*;
 and shall take this Opportunity of describing some
 Ceremonies they use, in making Peace.

The *Sachems* of the *Five Nations* being called to
Albany, eight *Mohawks*, three *Oneydoes*, three *On-
 nondagas*, and three *Cayuga Sachems*, met his Lord-
 ship there; and, on the thirteenth of *July*, 1684,
 he, accompanied by two of the Council of *Virginia*,
 spoke to the *Sachems* as follows, in the Presence of
 Colonel *Thomas Dongan*, Governor of *New-York*, and
 the Magistrates of *Albany*. The *Senecas* being far
 off, were not then arrived.

*Proposals made by the Right Honourable Francis
 Lord Howard of Effingham, Governor-gene-
 ral of his Majesty's Dominion of Virginia.*

To

The Mohawks, Oneydoes, Onnondagas, and Cayugas.

“ IT is now about seven Years, said he, since you
 “ (unprovoked) came into *Virginia*, a Country be-
 “ longing to the great King of *England*, and com-
 “ mitted several Murders and Robberies, carrying
 “ away our Christian Women and Children Priso-
 “ ners into your Castles. All which Injuries we
 “ designed

“ designed to have revenged on you, but at the
 “ Desire of Sir *Edmond Andross*, then Governor-
 “ general of this Country, we desisted from de-
 “ stroying you, and sent our Agents, Colonel *Wil-*
 “ *liam Kendal*, and Colonel *Southley Littleton*, to
 “ confirm and make sure the Peace, that Colonel
 “ *Coursey* of *Maryland* included us in, when he first
 “ treated with you. We find, that as you quickly
 “ forgot what you promised Colonel *Coursey*, so you
 “ have wilfully broke the Covenant-chain which
 “ you promised our Agent, Colonel *Kendal*, should
 “ be kept more strong and bright, if we of *Vir-*
 “ *ginia* would bury, in the Pit of Oblivion, the
 “ Injury then done us; which, upon Governor *An-*
 “ *dross*’s Intercession, and your Submission, we
 “ were willing to forget: But you not at all mind-
 “ ing the Covenant then made, have every Year
 “ since, come into our Country in a war-like Man-
 “ ner, under Pretence of fighting with our *Indi-*
 “ *ans*, our Friends and Neighbours, which you
 “ ought not to have done, our Agent having inclu-
 “ ded them likewise in the Peace. You not only
 “ destroyed, and took several of them Prisoners,
 “ but you have also killed and burnt our Christian
 “ People, destroying Corn and Tobacco, more than
 “ you made Use of, killed our Horses, Hogs, and
 “ Cattle; not to eat, but to let them lie in the
 “ Woods and stink: This you did, when you were
 “ not denied any Thing you said you wanted.

“ I must also tell you, that, under the Pretence
 “ of Friendship, you have come to Houses at the
 “ Heads of our Rivers (when they have been for-
 “ tified) with a white Sheet on a Pole, and have
 “ laid down your Guns before the Fort; upon
 “ which, our People taking you for Friends, have
 “ admitted your great Men into their Forts, and
 “ have given them Meat and Drink, what they de-
 “ fired. After the great Men had refreshed them-
 “ selves, and desiring to return, as they were let out
 “ of

CHAP. “ of the Fort-gates, the young Men commonly rushed
 III. “ into the Fort, and plundered the Houses, taking
 “ away, and destroying all the Corn, Tobacco, and
 “ Bedding, and what else was in the Houses. When
 “ they went away, they generally also took several
 “ Sheep with them, and killed several Cows big with
 “ Calf, and left them behind them cut to Pieces, and
 “ flung about, as if it were in Defiance of us, and in
 “ Derision of our Friendship. These, and many
 “ more Injuries that you have done us, have caused
 “ me to raise Forces, to send to the Heads of our
 “ Rivers, to defend our People from these Out-
 “ rages, till I came to *New-York*, to Colonel *Thomas*
 “ *Dongan*, your Governor-general, to desire him,
 “ as we are all one King’s Subjects, to assist me in
 “ warring against you, to revenge the Christian
 “ Blood that you have shed, and to make you
 “ give full Satisfaction for all the Goods that you
 “ have destroyed: But by the Mediation of your
 “ Governor, I am now come to *Albany* to speak
 “ with you, and to know the Reason of your break-
 “ ing the Covenant-chain, not only with us and
 “ our neighbour *Indians*, but with *Maryland*, who
 “ are great King *Charles*’s Subjects; for our *Indians*
 “ have given King *Charles* their Land; therefore I,
 “ the Governor of *Virginia*, will protect them, as
 “ your Governor, under the great *Duke of York* and
 “ *Albany*, will henceforth you, when the Chain of
 “ Friendship is made between us all.

“ Now I have let you know, that I am sensible
 “ of all the Injuries you have done us, and by the
 “ Desire of your Governor-general, I am willing
 “ to make a new Chain with you for *Virginia*, *Ma-*
 “ *ryland*, and our *Indians*, that may be more strong
 “ and lasting, even to the Word’s End; so that we
 “ may be Brethren, and great King *Charles*’s Chil-
 “ dren.

“ I pro-

“ I propose to you, *first*, That you call out of CHAP. III.
“ our Countries of *Virginia* and *Maryland*, all your
“ young Men or Soldiers that are now there. }

“ *Secondly*, That you do not hinder or molest our
“ friendly *Indians* from hunting in our Mountains, it
“ having been their Country, and none of yours ;
“ they never go into your Country to disturb any
“ of you.

“ *Thirdly*, Though the Damages you have done
“ our Country be very great, and would require a
“ great deal of Satisfaction, which you are bound
“ to give ; yet we assure you, that only by the
“ Persuasions of your Governor, who is at a vast
“ deal of Trouble and Charge for your Welfare,
“ which you ever ought to acknowledge, I have
“ pass'd it by and forgiven you ; upon this Condi-
“ tion, that your People, nor any living among you,
“ for the future, ever commit any Incurfions upon
“ our Christians or *Indians* living among us, or in
“ *Maryland*.

“ For the better Confirmation of the same, and
“ that the Peace now concluded may be lasting, I
“ propose to have two * Hatchets buried, as a fi-
“ nal Determination of all Wars and Jarrings be-
“ tween us ; one on behalf of us and our *Indians*,
“ and the other for all your *Nations* united together,
“ that ever did us any Injury, or pretended to war
“ against our *Indian* Friends, or those of *Mary-*
“ *land*.

“ And that nothing may be wanting for Confir-
“ mation thereof (if you desire it) we are willing
“ to send some of our *Indian Sachems*, with an A-
“ gent, next Summer, about this Time, that they
“ may ratify the Covenant with you here, in this
“ prefixed House, where you may see and speak
“ together as Friends.

* All *Indians* make Use of a Hatchet or Axe, as an Emblem
to express War.

“ That

CHAP.
III.

“ That the Covenant now made between us, in
 “ this prefixed House, in the Presence of your Go-
 “ vernor, may be firmly kept and performed on
 “ your Parts, as it always has been on ours ; and that
 “ you do not break any one Link of the Covenant-
 “ chain for the future, by your People’s coming
 “ near our Plantations ; when you march to the
 “ Southward, keep to the Feet of the Mountains,
 “ and do not come nigh the Heads of our Rivers,
 “ there being no Bever-hunting there ; for we shall
 “ not for the future, though you lay down your
 “ Arms as Friends, ever trust you more, you have
 “ so often deceived us.”

The next Day the *Mobawks* answer’d first by their
 Speaker, saying :

“ We must, in the first Place, say something to
 “ the other three Nations, by Way of Reproof, for
 “ their not keeping the former Chain, as they
 “ ought ; and therefore we desire you, great Sa-
 “ chem of *Virginia*, and you *Corlaer*, and all here
 “ present to give Ear, for we will conceal nothing
 “ of the Evil they have done.” [Then turning to
 the other Nations.] “ You have heard Yesterday
 “ all that has been said ; as for our Parts, we are
 “ free of the Blame laid on us ; we have always
 “ been obedient to *Corlaer*, and have steadily kept
 “ our Chain with *Virginia*, *Maryland*, and *Boston* ;
 “ but ye are stupid and brutish, and have no Un-
 “ derstanding, we must stamp Understanding into
 “ you. Let the new Chain made Yesterday be care-
 “ fully preserved for the future. This we earnest-
 “ ly recommend to you, for we are ready to cry
 “ for Shame of you ; let us be no more ashamed on
 “ your Account, but be obedient, and take this
 “ Belt, to keep what we say in your Memory.

“ Hear now, now is the Time to hearken ; the
 “ Covenant-chain had very near slipt, by your not
 “ keeping

“ keeping it firmly. Hold it fast now, when all for-
 “ mer Evils are buried in the Pit. CHAP: III.

“ You *Oneydoes*, I speak to you as Children ; be
 “ no longer childish, or void of Understanding.

“ You *Onondagas*, our Brethren, you are like
 “ deaf People, that cannot hear, your Senses are
 “ covered with Dirt and Filth.

“ You *Cayugas*, do not return into your former
 “ Ways. There are three Things we must all ob-
 “ serve.

“ *First*, The Covenant with *Corlear*. *Secondly*,
 “ the Covenant with *Virginia* and *Maryland*.
 “ *Thirdly*, with *Boston*. We must stamp Under-
 “ standing into you, that you may be obedient ;
 “ and take this Belt for a Remembrancer.”

Then *Cadianne*, the same *Mohawk* Speaker, turn-
 ing to my Lord, said :

“ We are very thankful to you, great *Sachem* of
 “ *Virginia*, that you are persuaded by *Corlear*, our
 “ Governor, to forgive all former Faults. We are
 “ very glad to hear you, and see your Heart soft-
 “ ened. Take these three Bevers as a Token.

“ We thank the great *Sachem* of *Virginia* for say-
 “ ing, that the Axe shall be thrown into the Pit.
 “ Take these two Bevers, as a Token of our Joy
 “ and Thankfulness.

“ We are glad that *Affarigoo* * will bury in the
 “ Pit what is past. Let the Earth be trod hard
 “ over it ; or rather, let a strong Stream run under
 “ the Pit, to wash the Evil away out of our Sight
 “ and Remembrance, and that it may never be
 “ digged up again.

“ *Affarigoo*, you are a Man of Knowledge and
 “ Understanding, thus to keep the Covenant-chain
 “ bright as Silver ; and now again to renew it, and

* The Name the *Five Nations* always give the Governor of
Virginia.

CHAP. " make it stronger. (Then pointing to the three
 III. " other Nations, said,) But they are Chain-break-
 " ers. I lay down this as a Token, that we *Mo-*
 " *bawks* have preserved the Chain intire on our
 " Parts. Gives two Bevers and a Racoon.

" The Covenant must be kept; for the Fire of
 " Love of *Virginia* and *Maryland* burns in this Place,
 " as well as ours, and this House of Peace must be
 " kept clean. Gives two Bevers.

" We now plant a Tree *, whose Top will reach
 " the Sun, and its Branches spread far abroad, so
 " that it shall be seen afar off; and we shall shelter
 " ourselves under it, and live in Peace without Mo-
 " lestation. Here he gave two Bevers.

" You proposed Yesterday, that if we were de-
 " sirous to see the *Indians* of *Virginia*, you are will-
 " ing to send some of their *Sachems* next Summer,
 " about this Time, to this Place. This Proposal
 " pleases me very much, the sooner they come the
 " better, that we may speak with them in this
 " House, which is appointed for our speaking with
 " our Friends; and give two Belts to confirm it.

" You have now heard what Exhortation we have
 " made to the other three Nations; we have taken
 " the Hatchet out of their Hands; we now there-
 " fore pray, that both your Hatchets may likewise
 " be buried in a deep Pit. Giving two Bevers.

" *Affarigoa*, some of us *Mobawks* are out against
 " our Enemies, that lie afar off, they will do you
 " no Harm, nor plunder, as the others do. Be
 " kind to them, if they shall happen to come to
 " any of your Plantations; give them some To-
 " bacco and some Victuals; for they will neither
 " rob nor steal, as the *Oneydoes*, *Onnondagas*, and
 " *Cayugas* have done.

* The *Five Nations* always express Peace by the Metaphor of a Tree.

“ The *Oneydoes* particularly thank you, great Sa-
 “ *chem* of *Virginia*, for consenting to lay down the
 “ *Axe*. The Hatchet is taken out of all their
 “ Hands. Gives a Belt. CHAP. III.

“ We again thank *Affarigoo*, that he has made a
 “ new Chain. Let it be kept bright and clean, and
 “ held fast on all Sides ; let not any one pull his
 “ Arm from it. We include all the *four Nations*,
 “ in giving this Belt.

“ We again pray *Affarigoo*, to take the *Oneydoes*
 “ into his Favour, and keep the Chain strong
 “ with them ; for they are our Children. Gives a
 “ Belt.

“ The *Oneydoes* give twenty Bevers, as a Satisfac-
 “ tion for what they promised the Lord *Baltimore*,
 “ and desire that they may be discharged of that
 “ Debt.”

The two Governors told them, that they would
 use their Endeavours with the Lord *Baltimore*, to
 persuade him to forgive what remained.

Then the *Indians* desired that the Hole might be
 dug, to bury the Axes, viz. one in Behalf of *Vir-*
ginia and their *Indians*, another in Behalf of *Ma-*
ryland and theirs, and three for the *Onnondagas*, *O-*
neydoes, and *Cayugas*. The *Mohawks* said, there was
 no Need of burying any on their Account, for the
 first Chain had never been broke by them.

Then the three Nations spoke by an *Onnondaga*,
 called *Thanohjanibta*, who said :

“ We thank the great *Sachem* of *Virginia*, that he
 “ has so readily forgiven and forgot the Injuries
 “ that have been done ; and we, for our Parts, glad-
 “ ly catch at, and lay hold of the new Chain.
 “ Then each of them delivered an *Axe* to be buri-
 “ ed, and gave a Belt.

“ I speak in the Name of all three Nations, and
 “ include them in this Chain, which we desire may
 “ may be kept clean and bright like Silver. Gives a
 “ Belt.

CHAP.

II.

“ We desire that the Path may be open for the
 “ *Indians* under *Affarigoa*’s Protection, to come
 “ safely and freely to this Place, in order to confirm
 “ the Peace. Gives six Fathom of Wampum.

Then the Axes were buried in the south-east End of the Court-yard, and the *Indians* threw the Earth upon them; after which the Lord *Howard* told them, since now a firm Peace is concluded, we shall hereafter remain Friends, and *Virginia* and *Maryland* will send once in two or three Years to renew it, and some of our *Sachems* shall come, according to your Desire, to confirm it.

Last of all the *Oneydoes*, the *Onmondagas*, and *Cayugas*, jointly sang the Peace-song, with Demonstrations of much Joy; and thanked the Governor of *New-York* for his effectual Mediation with the Governor of *Virginia* in their Favour.

Colonel *Dungan* had gained the Affections of the *Five Nations*, and they esteemed him much.

They desired the *Duke of York*’s Arms to put upon their *Castles*, which, from the Sequel of their Story, we may suppose they were told would save them from the *French*. Colonel *Dungan* desired them to call Home those of their Nations that had settled in *Canada*.* To which they answered, *Corlear* keeps a Correspondence and Friendship with *Canada*, and therefore he can prevail more than we can.

* The *French Priests* had, from Time to Time, persuaded several of the *Five Nations* to leave their own Country, and to settle near *Montreal*; where the *French* are very industrious in encouraging them. Their Numbers have been likewise increased by the Prisoners the *French* have taken in War, and by others that have run from their own Country; because of some Mischief that they had done, or Debts which they owed the Christians. These *Indians* are all profess’d Papists, and for that Reason are commonly called the *praying Indians* by their Countrymen, and they are called *Cabnuagas* by the People of *Albany*, from the Place where they live; the *French* value them on Account of the Intelligence they give in Time of War, and their Knowledge of the Countries.

Let *Corlear* use his Endeavours to draw our *Indians* CHAP.
Home to their own Country. III.

The Government of the *Massachusetts Bay* had appointed Colonel *Stephanus Cortland*, one of the Council of *New-York*, their Agent at this Time, to renew their Friendship likewise with the *Five Nations*, and to give them some small Presents ; which was accordingly done.

The Governor of *New-York*, Colonel *Dungan*, concluded with this Advice to them : Keep a good Understanding among yourselves ; if any Difference happen, acquaint me with it, and I will compose it. Make no Agreement with the *French*, or any other Nation, without my Knowledge and Approbation. Then he gave the Duke's Arms to be put up at each of their Castles, in Hopes it might deter the *French* from attacking them, (as they were threatened from *Canada*) by this so manifest a Declaration of their being under the Protection of the Crown of *England*, when the two Crowns were in the strictest Friendship ; but it is probable the *French* chose this very Time to attack them, to bring them off from that Confidence they seemed to have in the *English*.

It may be proper, before I proceed, to insert here also a remarkable Speech made by the *Onnondagas* and *Cayugas* to the two Governors, on the second Day of *August*, viz.

“ *Brother Corlear*,
“ Your *Sachem* is a great *Sachem*, and we are but
“ a small People ; but when the *English* came first
“ to *Manbatan*,* to *Aragiske*† and to *Takokranagary*‡, they were then but a small People, and we
“ were great. Then, because we found you a good
“ People, we treated you kindly, and gave you Land ;
“ we hope therefore, now that you are great, and

* *New-York*.

† *Virginia*.

‡ *Maryland*.

- CHAP. " we small, you will protect us from the *French*. If
 III. " you do not, we shall lose all our Hunting and
 " Bevers: The *French* will get all the Bevers. The
 " Reason they are now angry with us is, because we
 " carry our Bever to our Brethren.
 " We have put our Lands and ourselves under
 " the Protection of the great *Duke of York*, the Bro-
 " ther of your great *Sachem*, who is likewise a great
 " *Sachem*.
 " We have annexed the *Susquebana* River, which
 " we won with the Sword, to this Government;
 " and we desire it may be a Branch of the great
 " Tree that grows in this Place, the Top of which
 " reaches the Sun, and its Branches shelter us from
 " the *French*, and all other Nations. Our Fire
 " burns in your Houses, and your Fire burns with us;
 " we desire it may be so always. But we will not
 " that any of the great *Penn's* People settle upon the
 " *Susquebana* River, for we have no other Land to
 " leave to our Children.
 " Our young Men are Soldiers, and when they
 " are provoked, they are like Wolves in the Woods,
 " as you, *Sachem of Virginia*, very well know.
 " We have put ourselves under the great *Sachem*
 " *Charles*, that lives on the other Side the great
 " Lake. We give you these two white dressed
 " Deer-skins, to send to the great *Sachem*, that he
 " may write on them, and put a great red Seal to
 " them, to confirm what we now do; and put the
 " *Susquebana* River above the Falls, and all the rest
 " of our Land under the great *Duke of York*, and
 " give that Land to none else. Our Brethren, his
 " People, have been like Fathers to our Wives and
 " Children, and have given us Bread when we were
 " in Need of it; we will not therefore join our-
 " selves, or our Land, to any other Government
 " but this. We desire *Corlear*, our Governor, may
 " send this our Proposition to the great *Sachem*
 " *Charles*, who dwells on the other Side the great
 " Lake,

“ Lake, with this Belt of Wampum, and this other CH A P.
“ smaller Belt to the *Duke of York* his Brother: And III.
“ we give you, *Corlear*, this Bever, that you may
“ send over this Proposition. }

“ You great Man of *Virginia*, we let you know,
“ that great *Penn* did speak to us here in *Corlear*’s
“ House by his Agents, and desired to buy the
“ *Susquehanna* River of us, but we would not heark-
“ en to him, for we had fastened it to this Govern-
“ ment.

“ We desire you therefore to bear witness of what
“ we now do, and that we now confirm what we
“ have done before. Let your Friend, that lives
“ on the other Side the great Lake, know this,
“ that we being a free People, though united to the
“ *English*, may give our Lands, and be joined to
“ the *Sachem* we-like best. We give this Bever to
“ remember what we say.”

The *Senekas* arrived soon after, and, on the fifth
of *August*, spoke to the Lord *Howard* in the follow-
ing Manner :

“ We have heard and understood what Mischief
“ hath been done in *Virginia* ; we have it as perfect
“ as if it were upon our Fingers Ends. O *Corlear* !
“ we thank you for having been our Intercessor, so
“ that the Axe has not fallen upon us.

“ And you *Affarigoa*, great *Sachem* of *Virginia*,
“ we thank you for burying all Evil in the Pit. We
“ are informed, that the *Mohawks*, *Oneydoes*, *On-*
“ *nondagas*, and *Cayugas*, have buried the Axe al-
“ ready ; now we that live remotest off, are come
“ to do the same, and to include in this Chain the
“ *Cabnawaas*, your Friends. We desire therefore,
“ that an Axe, on our Part, may be buried with one
“ of *Affarigoa*’s. O *Corlear* ! *Corlear* ! we thank you
“ for laying hold of one End of the Axe ; and we
“ thank you, great Governor of *Virginia*, not only
“ for throwing aside the Axe, but more especially
“ for your putting all Evil from your Heart. Now

CHAP. " we have a new Chain, a strong and a straight
 III. " Chain, that cannot be broken. The Tree of
 " Peace is planted so firmly, that it cannot be
 " moved, let us on both Sides hold the Chain
 " fast.


" We understand what you said of the great
 " *Sachem*, that lives on the other Side the great
 " Water.

" You tell us, that the *Cabnawaas* will come
 " hither, to strengthen the Chain. Let them not
 " make any Excuse, that they are old and feeble, or
 " that their Feet are sore. If the old *Sachems* can-
 " not, let the young Men come. We shall not fail
 " to come hither, tho' we live farthest off, and then
 " the new Chain will be stronger and brighter.

" We understand, that because of the Mischief
 " that has been done to the People and Castles of
 " *Virginia* and *Maryland*, we must not come near
 " the Heads of your Rivers, nor near your Planta-
 " tions, but keep at the Foot of the Mountains;
 " for tho' we lay down our Arms, as Friends, we
 " shall not be trusted for the future, but looked on
 " as Robbers. We agree however to this Proposition,
 " and shall wholly stay away from *Virginia*: And
 " this we do in Gratitude to *Corlear*, who has been
 " at so great Pains to persuade you, great Governor
 " of *Virginia*, to forget what is past. You are wise
 " in giving Ear to *Corlear's* good Advice, for we
 " shall now go a Path which was never trod be-
 " fore.

" We have now done speaking to *Corlear*, and
 " the Governor of *Virginia*; let the Chain be for
 " ever kept clean and bright by him, and we shall
 " do the same.

" The other Nations from the *Mohawks* Country
 " to the *Cayugas*, have delivered up the *Susquehanna*
 " River, and all that Country, to *Corlear's* Go-
 " vernment. We confirm what they have done by
 " giving this Belt."

Coll. Bird, one of the Council of *Virginia*, and CHAP: III.
Edmond Jennings Esq; Attorney General of that Province, came with four *Indian Sachems*, (according to the Lord Howard's Promise) to renew and confirm the Peace, and met the *Five Nations* at *Albany* in September 1685. 

Coll. Bird accused them of having again broke their Promise, by taking an *Indian Girl* from an *English Man's House*, and four *Indian Boys* Prisoners.

They excused this, by its being done by the Parties that were out when the Peace was concluded, who knew nothing of it; which Accident they had provided against in their Articles. They said, the four Boys were given to the Relations of those Men that were lost; and it would be difficult to obtain their Restoration: But they at last promised to deliver them up.

The *Senakas* and *Mohawks* declared themselves free of any Blame, and chid the other Nations.

So that we may still observe the Influence which the *French Priests* had obtained over those other Nations, and to what Christian like Purpose they used it.

The *Mohawks* Speaker said, "Where shall I seek the Chain of Peace? Where shall I find it but upon our * Path? And whither doth our Path lead us, but into this House? This is a House of Peace;" after this he sang all the Links of the Chain over. He afterwards sang by Way of Admonition to the *Onondagas*, *Oneydoes*, and *Cayugas*, and concluded all with a Song to the *Virginia Indians*.

The *French Priests* however still employed their Influence over the *Onondagas*, *Cayugas*, and *Oneydoes*; and it was easy for them to spirit up the *Indians* (natural-

* The *Mohawks* Country is situated between the other Nations and *Albany*.

CHAP. ly revengeful) against their old Enemies. A Par-
 III. ty of the *Oneydoes* went out two Years after this
 against the *Wayanoak Indians*, Friends of *Virginia*,
 and killed some of the People of *Virginia*, who as-
 sisted those *Indians*. They took six Prisoners, but
 restored them at *Albany*, with an Excuse, that they did
 not know they were Friends of *Virginia*. But Coll.
Dungan on this Occasion told them, That he only
 had kept all the *English* in *North-America* from join-
 ing together to destroy them; that if ever he should
 hear of the like Complaint, he would dig up the
 Hatchet, and join with the rest of the *English* to cut
 them off Root and Branch; for there were many
 Complaints made of him to the King by the *English*,
 as well as by the Governor of *Canada*, for his favour-
 ing of them.

We have now gone through the material Trans-
 actions which the *Five Nations* had with the *English*,
 in which we find the *English* pursuing nothing but
 peaceable and Christian-like Measures; and the *Five*
Nations (tho' Barbarians) living with the People
 of *New-York*, like good Neighbours and faithful
 Friends, and generally with all the *English* also, ex-
 cept when they were influenced by the *Jesuites*; at
 the same Time, one cannot but admire the Zeal,
 Courage, and Resolution of these *Jesuites*, that would
 adventure to live among *Indians* at War with their
 Nation; and the better to carry their Purposes, to
 comply with all the Humours and Manners of such
 a wild People, so as not to be distinguished by
 Strangers from meer *Indians*. One of them, named
Milet, remained with the *Oneydoes* till after the
 Year 1694; he was advanced to the Degree of a
Sachem, and had so great an Influence over them,
 that the other Nations could not prevail with them
 to part with him. While he lived with them, the
Oneydoes were frequently turned against the Southern
Indians (Friends of the *English* southern Colonies)
 and

and were always wavering in their Resolutions against the *French* at *Canada*.

We shall now see what Effect the Policy of the *French* had, who pursued very different Measures from the *English*.

C H A P. IV.

Mr. De la Barre's Expedition, and some remarkable Transactions in 1684.

THE *French*, in the Time they were at Peace with the *Five Nations*, built their Forts at *Taidonderaghi* and *Missilimakinak*, and made a Settlement there. They carried on their Commerce among the numerous Nations that live on the Banks of the great Lakes, and the Banks of the *Mississipi*; they not only prosecuted their Trade among these Nations, but did all they could to secure their Obedience, and to make them absolutely subject to the Crown of *France*, by building Forts at the considerable Passes, and placing small Garisons in them. They took in short all the Precautions in their Power, not only to restrain the *Indians* by Force, but likewise to gain their Affections, by sending *Missionaries* among them. The only Obstruction they met with was from the *Five Nations*, who introduced the *English* of *New-York* into the Lakes to trade with the *Indians* that lived round them. This gave the *French* much Uneasiness, because they foresaw, that the *English* would not only prove dangerous Rivals, but that the Advantages which they had in Trade, beyond what it was possible for the Inhabitants of *Canada* to have, would enable the People of *New-York* so far to undersel them, that their Trade would soon be ruined, and all the Interest lost which they had gained with so much Labour and Expence. The *Five Nations* likewise continued in

C H A P. IV.
War

CHAP. War with many of the *Nations*, with the *Chittagbicks* particularly, who yielded the most profitable Trade to the *French*; and as often as they discovered any of the *French* carrying Ammunition towards these Nations, they fell upon them, and took all their Powder, Lead and Arms from them. This made the *French* Traders afraid of travelling, and prevented their *Indians* from hunting, and also lessened the Opinion they had of the *French* Power, when they found that the *French* were not able to protect them against the Insults of the *Five Nations*.

The *Senakas* lie next to the Lakes, and nearest to the Nations with whom the *French* carried on the greatest Trade, these People were so averse to that Nation, that they would never receive any Priests among them, and of Consequence were most firmly attach'd to the *English* Interest, who supplied them with Arms and Powder (the Means to be revenged of their Enemies.) For these Reasons Mr. *De la Barre* (Governor of *Canada*) sent a Messenger to Coll. *Dungan*, to complain of the Injuries the *Senakas* had done to the *French*, and to shew the Necessity he was under to bring the *Five Nations* to Reason by Force of Arms. This Messenger happening to arrive at the Time the *Indians* met the Lord *Howard* at *Albany*, Coll. *Dungan* told the *Senakas* the Complaints that the *French* Governor made of them. To which they gave him the following Answer, in Presence of Mr. *De la Barre*'s Messenger, on the 5th of *August* 1684.

“ We were sent for, and are come, and have
 “ heard what you have said to us, that *Corlear* hath
 “ great Complaints of us, both from *Virginia* and
 “ *Canada*. What they complain of from *Canada*
 “ may possibly be true, that some of our young Men
 “ have taken some of their Goods, but *Yonnendio* the
 “ Governor of *Canada*, is the Cause of it. He not only
 “ permits his People to carry Ammunition, Guns,
 “ Powder

“ Powder, Lead, and Axes to the *Tuibtuib-ranoons** CHAP.
 “ our Enemies, but sends them thither on purpose. IV.
 “ These Guns which he sends knock our Bever Hunt-
 “ ers on the Head, and our Enemies carry the Bevers
 “ to *Canada* that we would have brought to our Bre-
 “ thren. Our Bever Hunters are Soldiers, and could
 “ bear this no longer. They met some *French* in their
 “ Way to our Enemies, and very near them, carrying
 “ Ammunition, which our Men took from them.
 “ This is agreeable to our Customs in War; and we
 “ may therefore openly own it, tho’ we know not
 “ whether it be practised by the Christians in such
 “ like Cases.

“ When the Governor of *Canada* speaks to us of
 “ the Chain, he calls us Children, and saith, I am
 “ your Father, you must hold fast the Chain, and I
 “ will do the same: I will protect you as a Father
 “ doth his Children. Is this Protection, to speak
 “ thus with his Lips, and at the same Time to
 “ knock us on the Head, by assisting our Enemies
 “ with Ammunition?

“ He always says, I am your Father, and you
 “ are my Children; and yet he is angry with his
 “ Children, for taking these Goods.

“ But, O *Corlear*! O *Affarigoa*! we must com-
 “ plain to you; you *Corlear* are a Lord, and go-
 “ vern this Country; is it just that our Father is
 “ going to fight with us for these Things, or is it
 “ well done? We rejoiced when *La Sal* was sent
 “ over the great Water; and when *Perot* was re-
 “ moved, because they had furnished our Enemies
 “ with Ammunition; but we are disappointed in our
 “ Hopes, for we find our Enemies are still supplied.
 “ Is this well done? Yea, he often forbids us to make
 “ War on any of the Nations with whom he trades;

* *Ranoon* signifies Nation or People, in the Language of the
Five Nations; they say *Tuibtuib-ranoon*, *Chichighik-ranoon*,
Deanondadik-ranoon, &c.

“ and

CHAP. " and at the same Time furnishes them with all Sorts
IV. " of Ammunition, to enable them to destroy us.

~~~~~  
" Thus far in Answer to the Complaint the Governor of *Canada* hath made of us to *Corlear*.  
" *Corlear* said to us, that Satisfaction must be made  
" to the *French* for the Mischief we have done them.  
" This he said before he heard our Answer. Now  
" let him that hath Inspection over all our Counties, on whom our Eyes are fixed, let him, even  
" *Corlear*, judge and determine. If you say that it  
" must be paid, we shall pay it, but we cannot live  
" without free Bever Hunting.

" *Corlear*, hear what we say, we thank you for  
" the Duke's Arms, which you have given us to be  
" put in our Castles, as a Defence to them. You command them. Have we wandered out of the Way,  
" as the Governor of *Canada* says? We do not  
" threaten him with War, as he threatens us. What  
" shall we do? Shall we run away, or shall we  
" sit still in our Houses? What shall we do? we  
" speak to him that governs and commands us.

" Now *Corlear*, and *Assarigoo*, and all People here  
" present, remember what we have answered to the  
" Complaints of the Governor of *Canada*; yea, we  
" wish that what we here said may come to his  
" Ears." Then they gave a Belt.

Monfieur *De la Barre* at this Time was gone, with all the Force of *Canada*, to *Cadarackui Fort*, and ordered the three Vessels to be repaired which the *French* had built on *Cadarackui Lake*: His Design was to frighten the *Five Nations* into his own Terms, by the Appearance of the *French* Army, which consisted of 600 Soldiers of the regular Troops, 400 *Indians*, and 400 Men that carried Provisions, besides 300 Men that he left to secure *Cadarackui Fort*, and the western *Indians*, that he expected would join him. But while he was at this Fort, the Fatigue of travelling in the Month of *August*, together with the Unhealthiness of that Place (the Country there-  
about

about being very marshy) where he tarried fix CHAP.  
 Weeks, occasioned so great a Sickness in his Army, IV.  
 that he found himself unable to perform any Thing  
 but by Treaty; and therefore sent Orders to Monfr.  
*Dulbut*, who was come from *Missilimakinak* with  
 600 Men, *French* and *Indians*, to stop. Monfr.  
*De la Barre* passed across the Lake, with as many  
 Men as were able to travel, and arrived at the River  
 which the *French* call *La Famine*, by the *Indians*  
 called *Kaihobage*, which falls into the South Side of  
*Cadarackui Lake*, about thirty Miles from *Onnondago*.  
 There were two Villages of the *Five Nations* on  
 the North Side of the Lake, about fifteen Miles  
 from the *French* Fort, consisting of those *Indians*  
 that had the most Inclination to the *French*: They  
 provided the *French* Army with Provisions, while  
 they remained at the Fort; but it is probable, sent  
 an Account to their own Nations of every Thing  
 that happened; and that this was the Reason of the  
 Usage they afterwards met with from the *French*.

When Monfr. *De la Barre* sent to Coll. *Dungan*, he  
 was in Hopes, from the strict Alliance that was  
 then between the Crowns of *England* and *France*,  
 and from Coll. *Dungan's* being a Papist, that he would  
 at least sit still till he had reduced the *Five Nations*.  
 But none of these Reasons permitted that Gentleman  
 to be easy, while the *French* attempted such Things,  
 as in their Consequences would be of the highest  
 Degree prejudicial to the *English* Interest, and might  
 put all the *English* Colonies in *America* in Danger.  
 Wherefore he dispatched the publick Interpreter,  
 with Orders to do every Thing in his Power to pre-  
 vent the *Five Nations* going to treat with Monfr.  
*De la Barre*.

The Interpreter succeeded in his Design with the  
*Mohawks*, and with the *Senakas*, who promised  
 that they would not go near the *French* Governor:  
 But he had not the like Success with the *Onnondagas*,  
*Oneydoes*, and *Cayugas*, who had received the *French*  
 Priests,

CHAP. Priests, for they would not hear the Interpreter, but  
 IV. in Presence of the *French* Priests, and Monfr.  
 la Main, and three other *Frenchmen* that Monfr.  
 De la Barre had sent to persuade them to meet  
 him at *Kaibobage*; they gave the following  
 Answer to the Interpreter.

“ *Arie*, you are *Corlear’s* Messenger, \* *Obquesse*  
 “ (Monfr. *la Maine*) is the Governor of *Canada’s*;  
 “ and there † sits our Father; *Yonnondio* acquainted  
 “ us some Time ago, that he would speak with us,  
 “ before he would undertake any Thing against the  
 “ *Senakas*. Now he hath sent for all the Nations  
 “ to speak with him in Friendship, and that at a  
 “ Place not far from *Onnondaga*, even at *Kaibobage*.  
 “ But our Brother *Corlear* tells us, that we must  
 “ not meet the Governor of *Canada* without his  
 “ Permission; and that if *Yonnondio* have any Thing  
 “ to say to us, he must first send to *Corlear* for Leave  
 “ to speak with us. *Yonnondio* has sent long ago to  
 “ us to speak with him, and he has lately repeated  
 “ that Desire by *Onnissantie* the Brother of our Fa-  
 “ ther ‖ *Twirbaersira* that sits there; he has not only  
 “ entreated us by our Father, but by two praying  
 “ *Indians*, one an *Onnondaga*, the other the Son of  
 “ an old *Mohawk* *Sachem*, *Connondowe*. They brought  
 “ five great Belts of Wampum, not a Fathom or  
 “ two only, as you bring. Now *Obquesse* has been  
 “ sent with three *Frenchmen*; *Yonnondio* not being  
 “ content with all this, has likewise sent *Denneboht*,  
 “ and two other *Mohawks*, to persuade us to meet  
 “ him, and to speak with him of good Things.  
 “ Should we not go to him after all this Intreaty,  
 “ when he is come so far, and so near to us? Cer-  
 “ tainly if we do not, we shall provoke his Wrath,  
 “ and not deserve his Goodness. You say we are

\* That is, the *Partridge*. † Pointing to the *Jesuite*. ‖ The  
*Indians* commonly gave a new Name to any Person they receive  
 or adapt into their Nation. This is the *Jesuites* Indian Name,  
 the Interpretation whereof I know not.

“Subjects to the King of *England* and *Duke of York*, but we say we are Brethren. We must take Care of ourselves. Those Arms fixed upon the Posts, without the Gate, cannot defend us against the Arms of *la Barre*. Brother *Corlear*, we tell you, that we shall bind a Covenant Chain to our Arm, and to his, as thick as that Post, (pointing to a Post of the House) be not dissatisfied; should we not embrace this Happiness offered us, *viz.* Peace, in the Place of War; yea, we shall take the Evil Doers, the *Senekas*, by the Hand, and *la Barre* likewise, and their Ax and his Sword shall be thrown into a deep Water. We wish our Brother *Corlear* were present, but it seems the Time will not permit of it.”

Accordingly *Garangula*, one of the chief *Sachems* of the *Onondaga's*, with thirty Warriors, went with Mr. *Le Maine*, to meet the Governor of *Canada* at *Kaibobage*. After he had been two Days in the *French* Camp, *Monfr. la Barre* spoke to him as follows, (the *French* Officers making a Semi-circle on one Side, while *Garangula*, with his Warriors, completed the Circle on the other.

\* *Monfr. De la Barre's Speech to Garangula.*

“The King, my Master, being informed that the *Five Nations* have often infringed the Peace, has ordered me to come hither with a Guard, and to send *Obguesse* to the *Onondagas*, to bring the chief *Sachem* to my Camp. The Intention of the great King is, that you and I may smoke the *Calumet* †

F

“of

\* *Voyages du Baron de la Hontan*, Tome 1. Letter 7.

† The *Calumet* is a large smoking Pipe made of Marble, most commonly of a dark red, well polished, shaped somewhat in the Form of a Hatchet, and adorned with large Feathers of several Colours. It is used in all the *Indian* Treaties with Strangers, and as a Flag of Truce between contending Parties, which all the *Indians* think a very high Crime to violate. These *Calumets* are generally of nice Workmanship, and were in Use before the *Indians* knew

CHAP. " of Peace together, but on this Condition, that you  
 IV. " promise me, in the Name of the *Senekas, Cayugas,*  
 ~~~~~ " *Onondagas, and Mohawks,* to give intire Satisfac-  
 " tion and Reparation to his Subjects; and for
 " the future never to molest them.

" The *Senekas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneydoes,*
 " and *Mohawks* have robbed and abused all the
 " Traders that were passing to the *Illinois* and
 " *Umamies,* and other *Indian Nations,* the Children
 " of my King. They have acted, on these Occasi-
 " ons, contrary to the Treaty of Peace with my Pre-
 " decessor. I am ordered therefore to demand Satis-
 " faction, and to tell them, that in case of Re-
 " fusal, or their plundering us any more, that I
 " have express Orders to declare War. This Belt
 " confirms my Words. The Warriors of the *Five*
 " *Nations* have conducted the *English* into the Lakes,
 " which belong to the King, my Master, and brought
 " the *English* among the Nations that are his Chil-
 " dren, to destroy the Trade of his Subjects, and
 " to withdraw these Nations from him. They have
 " carried the *English* thither, notwithstanding the
 " Prohibition of the late Governor of *New-York,*
 " who foresaw the Risque that both they and you
 " would run. I am willing to forget these Things,
 " but if ever the like shall happen for the future, I
 " have express Orders to declare War against you.
 " This Belt confirms my Words. Your Warriors have
 " made several barbarous Incursions on the *Illinois*
 " and *Umamies*; they have massacred Men, Wo-
 " men, and Children, and have made many of these
 " Nations Prisoners, who thought themselves safe
 " in their Villages in Time of Peace. These People,
 " who are my King's Children, must not be your
 " Slaves; you must give them their Liberty, and

knew any Thing of the Christians; for which Reason we are at a Loss to conceive by what Means they pierced these Pipes, and shaped them so finely, before they had the Use of Iron.

“ send them back into their own Country. If the CHAP.
 “ *Five Nations* shall refuse to do this, I have express IV.
 “ Orders to declare War against them. This Belt
 “ confirms my Words.

“ This is what I have to say to *Garangula*, that he
 “ may carry to the *Senecas*, *Onondagas*, *Oneydoes*,
 “ *Cayugas*, and *Mohawks* the Declaration which
 “ the King, my Master, has commanded me to
 “ make. He doth not wish them to force him
 “ to send a great Army to *Cadarackui* Fort, to be-
 “ gin a War which must be fatal to them. He
 “ would be sorry that this Fort, that was the
 “ Work of Peace, should become the Prison of your
 “ Warriors. We must endeavour, on both Sides,
 “ to prevent such Misfortunes. The *French*, who
 “ are the Brethren and Friends of the *Five Nations*,
 “ will never trouble their Repose, provided that the
 “ Satisfaction which I demand be given, and that
 “ the Treaties of Peace be hereafter observed. I
 “ shall be extremely grieved if my Words do not
 “ produce the Effect which I expect from them;
 “ for then I shall be obliged to join with the Go-
 “ vernor of *New-York*, who is commanded by his
 “ Master to assist me, and burn the Castles of the
 “ *Five Nations*, and destroy you. This Belt con-
 “ firms my Words.

Garangula was very much surprised to find the soft Words of the *Jesuit*, and of the Governor's Messengers, turned to such threatening Language. This was designed to strike Terror into the *Indians*; but *Garangula* having good Information from those of the *Five Nations* living near *Cadarackui* Fort, of all the Sicknes and other Misfortunes which afflicted the *French* Army, it was far from producing the designed Effect. All the Time that *Monsieur de la Barre* spoke, *Garangula* kept his Eyes fixed on the End of his Pipe; as soon as the Governor had done speaking, he rose up, and having walked five or six Times round the Circle, he returned to his

CHAP. Place, where he spoke standing, while *Monsieur de*
 V. *la Barre* kept his Elbow-Chair.

Garangula's Answer.

" *Yonnondio*,

" I honour you, and the Warriors that are with
 " me all likewise honour you. Your Interpreter
 " has finished your Speech ; I now begin mine. My
 " Words make haste to reach your Ears, hearken to
 " them.

" *Yonnondio*, you must have believed, when you
 " left *Quebeck*, that the Sun had burnt up all the
 " Forests which render our Country inaccessible to
 " the *French*, or that the Lakes had so far over-
 " flown their Banks, that they had surrounded our
 " Castles, and that it was impossible for us to get
 " out of them. Yes, *Yonnondio*, surely you must
 " have dreamt so, and the Curiosity of seeing so
 " great a Wonder has brought you so far. Now you
 " are undeceived, since that I and the Warriors here
 " present are come to assure you, that the *Senecas*,
 " *Cayugas*, *Onondagas*, *Oneydoes*, and *Mohawks*
 " are yet alive. I thank you, in their Name, for
 " bringing back into their Country the *Calumet*,
 " which your Predecessor received from their Hands.
 " It was happy for you, that you left Under-
 " ground that murdering Hatchet, that has been
 " so often dyed in the Blood of the *French*. Hear,
 " *Yonnondio*, I do not sleep, I have my Eyes open,
 " and the Sun, which enlightens me, discovers to
 " me a great Captain at the Head of a Company of
 " Soldiers, who speaks as if he were dreaming.
 " He says, that he only came to the Lake to smoke
 " on the great *Calumet* with the *Onondagas*. But
 " *Garangula* says, that he sees the contrary, that
 " it was to knock them on the Head, if Sickneſs
 " had not weakened the Arms of the *French*.

“ I see *Yonnondio* raving in a Camp of sick Men, CHAP.
 “ whose Lives the great Spirit has saved, by in- V.
 “ flicting this Sickness on them. Hear, *Yonnondio*,
 “ our Women had taken their Clubs, our Children
 “ and old Men had carried their Bows and Arrows
 “ into the Heart of your Camp, if our Warriors
 “ had not disarmed them, and kept them back,
 “ when your Messenger, *Obguesse*, came to our
 “ Castles. It is done, and I have said it. Hear,
 “ *Yonnondio*, we plundered none of the *French*, but
 “ those that carried Guns, Powder, and Ball to the
 “ *Iwikties* and *Chittagbicks*, because those Arms
 “ might have cost us our Lives. Herein we follow
 “ the Example of the Jesuits, who stave all the
 “ Caggs of Rum brought to our Castles, lest the
 “ drunken *Indians* should knock them on the Head.
 “ Our Warriors have not Bevers enough to pay for
 “ all these Arms, that they have taken, and our
 “ old Men are not afraid of the War. This Belt
 “ preserves my Words.

“ We carried the *English* into our Lakes, to trade
 “ there with the *Utarawas* and *Quatoghies*, as the
 “ *Adirondacks* brought the *French* to our Castles, to
 “ carry on a Trade which the *English* say is theirs.
 “ We are born free, we neither depend on *Yonnon-*
 “ *dio* nor *Corlear*.

“ We may go where we please, and carry with
 “ us whom we please, and buy and sell what we
 “ please: If your Allies be your Slaves, use them
 “ as such, command them to receive no other but
 “ your People. This Belt preserves my Words.

“ We knock'd the *Twichtwies* and *Chittagbicks* on
 “ the Head, because they had cut down the Trees
 “ of Peace, which were the Limits of our Country.
 “ They have hunted Bevers on our Lands: They
 “ have acted contrary to the Customs of all *Indi-*
 “ *ans*; for they left none of the Bevers alive, they
 “ killed both Male and Female. They brought

CHAP. “ the *Satanas* * into their Country, to take Part
 IV. “ with them, after they had concerted ill Designs
 “ against us. We have done less than either the
 “ *English* or *French*, that have usurped the Lands
 “ of so many *Indian* Nations, and chased them from
 “ their own Country. This Belt preserves my
 “ Words. Hear, *Yonnondio*, what I say is the Voice
 “ of all the *Five Nations* ; hear what they answer,
 “ open your Ears to what they speak : The *Sene-*
 “ *kas*, *Cayugas*, *Onondagas*, *Oneydoes*, and *Mo-*
 “ *bawks* say, that when they buried the Hatchet at
 “ *Cadarackui* (in the Presence of your Predecessor)
 “ in the Middle of the Fort, they planted the Tree
 “ of Peace in the same Place, to be there carefully
 “ preserved, that, in Place of a Retreat for Sol-
 “ diers, that Fort might be a Rendezvous for Mer-
 “ chants ; that, in Place of Arms and Ammu-
 “ nition of War, Bevers and Merchandise should
 “ only enter there.

“ Hear, *Yonnondio*, take Care for the future,
 “ that so great a Number of Soldiers, as appear
 “ there, do not choak the Tree of Peace planted
 “ in so small a Fort. It will be a great Loss, if af-
 “ ter it had so easily taken Root, you should stop
 “ its Growth, and prevent its covering your Coun-
 “ try and ours with its Branches. I assure you, in
 “ the Name of the *Five Nations*, that our Warriors
 “ shall dance to the *Calumet* of Peace under its
 “ Leaves, and shall remain quiet on their Matts,
 “ and shall never dig up the Hatchet, till their Bre-
 “ thren, *Yonnondio* or *Corlear*, shall either jointly
 “ or separately endeavour to attack the Country,
 “ which the great Spirit has given to our An-
 “ cestors. This Belt preserves my Words, and this
 “ other, the Authority which the *Five Nations* has
 “ given me.”

* Called *Sarwansons* by the *French*.

Then *Garangula* addressing himself to *Monfieur de Maine*, said :

“ Take Courage, *Ohguesse*, you have Spirit,
 “ speak, explain my Words, forget nothing, tell
 “ all that your Brethren and Friends say to *Yon-*
 “ *nondio*, your Governor, by the Mouth of *Ga-*
 “ *rangula*, who loves you, and desires you to ac-
 “ cept of this Present of Bever, and take Part with
 “ me in my Feast, to which I invite you. This
 “ Present of Bever is sent to *Yonnondio* on the Part
 “ of the *Five Nations*.”

When *Garangula*'s Harangue was explained to *Monfieur de la Barre*, he returned to his Tent, much intraged at what he had heard.

Garangula feasted the *French* Officers, and then went Home, and *Monfieur de la Barre* fet out in his Way towards *Monreal*; and as soon as the General was embarked, with the few Soldiers that remained in Health, the Militia made the best of their Way to their own Habitations, without any Order or Discipline.

Thus a very chargeable and fatiguing Expedition (which was to strike the Terror of the *French* Name into the stubborn Hearts of the *Five Nations*) ended in a Scold between the *French* General and an old *Indian*.

C H A P. V.

The English attempt to trade in the Lakes, and the French attack the Senekas.

THE *Marquis de Nonville* having now succeeded C H A P.
V.
Monfieur de la Barre, in the Year 1685, and having brought a considerable Reinforcement of Soldiers with him, resolved to recover the Honour the

CHAP. *French* had lost in the last Expedition, and revenge
 V. the Slaughter the *Five Nations* continued to make
 of the *Twibtwies* and *Chielaghicks*, who had put
 themselves under the *French* Protection; for the
Five Nations having intirely subdued the *Chielaghicks* *, after a six Years War, they resolved next to
 fall upon the *Twibtwies*, and to call them to an Account for the Disturbance they had given some of
 their People in their Bever Hunting. The *Five Nations* have few or no Bever in their own Country,
 and for that Reason are obliged to hunt at a great
 Distance, which often occasions Disputes with their
 Neighbours about the Property of the Bever. The
 Bever is the most valuable Branch of the *Indian*
 Trade, and as the *Twibtwies* carried their Bevers to
 the *French*, the *English* encouraged the *Five Nations*
 in these Expeditions, and particularly, in the Beginning
 of the Year 1687, made the *Five Nations* a
 Present of a Barrel of Powder, when their whole
 Force was preparing to go against the *Twibtwies*.
 The *English* were the better pleased with this War,
 because they thought that it would divert the *Five Nations*
 from the *Virginia Indians*: But the *French*
 were resolved to support their Friends more effectually
 by a powerful Diversion, and to change the
 Seat of the War.

For this Purpose Mr. *de Nonville* sent, in May
 1687, great Quantities of Provision to *Cadarackui*
 Fort, and gathered the whole Force of *Canada* to
Montreal. His Army consisted of fifteen hundred
French of the regular Troops and Militia, and five
 hundred *Indians* that lived near *Montreal* and *Quebeck*.
 He sent likewise Orders to the Commandant
 at *Missilimakinak* to assemble all the Nations living
 round him, and to march them to *Oniagara*, in order
 to join the Forces of *Canada* designed against
 the *Senekas*, and the other Officers posted a-

* Called *Illinois* by the *French*.

mong the *Indians* Westward had the like Or-
ders. CHAP.
V.

The *Twibtwies* received the Hatchet with Joy from the Hands of the *French* Officer. The *Outagamies*, *Kikabous*, and *Maskuticks*, who were not used to Canoes, were at first persuaded to join the *Twibtwies*, who were to march by Land to *Teuchsa-grondie*, where there was a *French* Fort, at which they were to be supplied with Ammunition. But after the *French* Officer left them, the *Utagamies* and *Maskuticks* were dissuaded by some of the *Mabikander* *Indians*, who happened to be with a neighbouring Nation at that Time.

The *Putewatemies*, *Malbominies*, and *Puans* offered themselves willingly, and went to the Rendezvous at *Missilimakinak*; where they were received by the *Utawawas* with all the Marks of Honour usually paid to Soldiers. Though the *Utawawas* had no Inclination to the present Enterprize; they could not tell however how to appear against it, otherwise than by inventing what Delays they could, to prevent their March.

In the mean while a Canoe arrived, which was sent by Mr. *de Nonville*, with his Orders to the Officers. This Canoe, in her Passage, discovered some *English*, commanded by Major *Mac Gergory*, in their Way to *Teiodonderaghie*. The *English* thought (after they had an Account of the new Alliance their King had entered into with the *French*) that the *French* would not disturb them in prosecuting a Trade with the *Indians* every where, and that the Trade would be equally free and open to both Nations. With these Hopes a considerable Number of Adventurers went out, under the Conduct of Major *Mac Gergory*, to trade with the *Indians* that lived on the Banks of the Lakes; and that they might be the more welcome, persuaded the *Five Nations* to set all the *Dionondadie* Prisoners at Liberty, who went along with the *English*, and conducted them

CHAP. them towards *Missilimakinak*, or *Teiodonderagbie*; but
 V. the *English* found themselves mistaken, for the
 { *French* Commandant at *Teiodonderagbie*, as soon as
 he had Notice of this, sent three hundred *French* to
 intercept the *English*.

* The *Utawawas* and *Dionondadies* having likewise
 an Account of the *English*, designed to support their
 own Independency, and to incourage the *English*
 Trade. The return of the *Dionondadie* Prisoners
 made that Nation very hearty in favouring the
English, they therefore marched immediately off,
 with Design to join Major *Mac Gergory*; but the
Utawawas were divided in their Inclinations, their
 Chief, with about thirty more, joined the *French*,
 the rest remained in suspense, and stood neuter.

The *Utawawas* thus wavering, disconcerted the
 Measures of the *Dionondadies*, for they began to sus-
 pect the *Utawawas*, and therefore immediately re-
 turned to secure their Wives and Children that
 they had left near the *French* Fort with the *Uta-
 wawas*. The *English* and their Effects were seized
 without any Opposition, and were carried to the
French Fort at *Teiodonderagbie*.

The *English* brought great Quantities of Rum
 with them, (which the *Indians* love more than their
 Lives) and the *French* being afraid, that if the *Indi-
 ans* took to Drinking, they would grow ungovern-
 able, did what they could to keep them from it.
 They were most concerned that the *Putewatemies*
 (who had no Knowledge of the *English*, or of that be-
 witching Liquor, and were firmly attached to the
French) should not taste it.

The *Utawawas* still contrived Delays to the March,
 and having got some of the *Putewatemies* privately
 by themselves, they offered them a Cag of Rum,
 and said: "We are all Brethren, we ought to make

* History de le Amerique Septentrionale, par Mr. de la Po-
 tierie, Tome ii. Cap. 16.

“one Body, and to have one Soul. The *French* CHAP.
 “invite us to war against the *Five Nations*, with V.
 “Design to make us Slaves, and that we should
 “make ourselves the Tools to effect it. As soon
 “as they shall have destroyed the *Five Nations*,
 “they will no longer observe any Measures with us,
 “but use us like those Beasts they tie to their Ploughs.
 “Let us leave them to themselves, and they will
 “never be able to accomplish any Thing against the
 “*Five Nations*.”

But the *Putewatemies* had entertained such Notions of the *French*, as made them deaf to the Politicks of the *Utawawas*.

The *French* however grew jealous of these Cabalings, and therefore resolved to delay their March no longer, and would not stay one Day more for the *Utawawas*, who desired only so much Time to pitch their Canoes, and went away without them.

Mr. *Tonti*, Commandant among the *Chicktagbicks*, met with another Party of the *English* of about thirty Men, in Lake *Erie*, as he marched with the *Chicktagbicks* and *Twibtwies*, and other neighbouring Nations, to the general Rendezvous. He fell upon the *English*, plundered them, and took them Prisoners. The *French* divided all the Merchandize among the *Indians*, but kept the Rum to themselves, and got all drunk. The *Deonondadie* Prisoners, that conducted the *English*, joined with the *Mibikander Indians* that were among Mr. *Tonti*'s *Indians* (who had privately dissuaded about twenty of the neighbouring Nations from going with *Tonti*) and endeavoured to persuade all the *Indians* to fall upon the *French*, while they were drunk, and destroy them; saying, the *French* are a proud, imperious, covetous People, that sell their Goods at an extravagant Price; the *English* are a good natured honest People, and will furnish you with every Thing at reasonable Rates. But these Arguments were to no Purpose, for these far *Indians* had enter-

CHAP. entertained an extraordinary Opinion of the *French*
 V. Power, and knew nothing of the *English*.

The *French* and *Putawatemies* being gone from *Teiodonderaghie*, the *Utawawas* began to be afraid of the *French* Resentment, and therefore, the better to keep up the Colour they had put on their Delays, marched over Land, with all possible Expedition, to the general Rendezvous near *Oniagara*, where all the *French* Force, both *Christians* and *Indians*, was to meet.

The *Five Nations* being informed of the *French* Preparations, laid aside their Design against the *Twibtwies*, and prepared to give the *French* a warm Reception. Upon this the Priest at *Onondaga* left them, but the Priest at *Oneydo* had the Courage to stay. The *Senchas* came to *Albany* to provide Ammunition, and the Commissioners made them a Present of a considerable Quantity of Powder and Lead, besides what they purchased. They were under a great deal of Concern when they took Leave of the Commissioners, and said, “ Since we are to
 “ expect no other Assistance from our Brethren,
 “ we must recommend our Wives and Children to
 “ you, who will fly to you, if any Misfortune shall
 “ happen to us. It may be we shall never see you
 “ again; for we are resolved to behave so, as our
 “ Brethren shall have no Reason to be ashamed of
 “ us.”

We must now return to Monsieur de *Nonville's* Army.

Monsieur *Campagnie* marched eight or ten Days before the rest of the Army, with between two and three hundred *Canadians*. As soon as they arrived at *Cadarackui*, they surpris'd two Villages of the *Five Nations*, that were settled about eight Leagues from that Place, to prevent their giving any Intelligence to their own Nation of the *French* Preparations, or of the State of their Army, as it was suppos'd they did in the last Expedition under Monsieur

sieur

fieur de la Barre. These People were surpris'd when they least expected it, and by them from whom they feared no Harm, because they had settled there at the Invitation, and on the Faith of the *French*. They were carried in cold Blood to the Fort, and tied to Stakes, to be tormented by the *French Indians*, (Christians, as they call them) while they continued singing in their country Manner, and upbraiding the *French* with their Perfidy and Ingratitude.

CHAP.
V.

While Monsieur *de Nonville* was at *Cadarackui Fort*, he had an Account, that the *Chicktaghicks* and *Twihtwies* waited for the *Quatoghies* and *Utawawas* at * *Lake St. Clair*, with whom they designed to march to the general Rendezvous, at the Mouth of the *Senekas* River. For this Expedition was chiefly designed against the *Senekas*, who had absolutely refused to meet Monsieur *de la Barre*, and were most firmly attached to the *English*. The *Senekas*, for this Reason, were designed to be made Examples of the *French* Resentment to all the other Nations of *Indians*.

The Messenger having assured the General, that it was Time to depart, in order to meet with the western *Indians*, that came to his Assistance, he set out the twenty-third of *June*, and sent one Part of his Army in Canoes, along the North Shore of the Lake, while he, with the other Part, passed along the South, that no Accidents of Wind might prevent the one or the other reaching, within the Time appointed, at the Place the *Indians* were to meet him. It happened, by reason of the good Weather, that both arrived on the same Day, and joined the western *Indians* at *Trondequat*. As soon as the Men were put on Shore, they hawled up the Canoes, and began a Fort, where four hundred Men were left to guard the Canoes, and the Baggage. Here a

* In the Straights between Lake *Erie* and *Quatoghie* Lake.

CHAP. young *Cannadian* was shot to Death, as a Deserter, V. for conducting the *English* into the Lakes, though the two Nations were not only at Peace, but their Kings in stricter Friendship than usual. But this Piece of Severity is not to be wondered at, when this War was undertaken, chiefly to put a Stop to the *English* Trade, which now began to extend itself far into the Continent, and would in its Consequence ruin theirs. The next Day the Army began to march towards the chief Village of the *Senekas*, which was only seven Leagues distant, every Man carrying ten Biskets for his Provision. The *Indian* Traders made the Van with Part of the *Indians*, the other Part marched in the Rear, while the regular Troops and Militia composed the main Body. The Army marched four Leagues the first Day without discovering any Thing; the next Day the Scouts advanced before the Army, as far as the Corn of the Villages, without seeing any Body, though they passed within Pistol-shot of five-hundred *Senekas*, that lay on their Bellies, and let them pass and repass without disturbing them.

On the Report which they made, the *French* hastened their March, in hopes to overtake the Women, Children, and old Men; for they no longer doubted of all being fled. But as soon as the *French* reached the Foot of a Hill, about a Quarter of a League from the Village, the *Senekas* suddenly raised the Warshout, with a Discharge of their Fire-arms. This put the regular Troops, as well as the Militia, into such a Fright, as they marched through the Woods, that the Battalions immediately divided, and run to the Right and Left, and, in the Confusion, fired upon one another. When the *Senekas* perceived their Disorder, they fell in among them pell-mell, till the *French Indians*, more used to such Way of fighting, gathered together and repulsed the *Senekas*. There were (according to the *French* Accounts) a hundred *Frenchmen*, ten *French Indians*, and

and about fourscore *Senekas* killed, in this Ren-CHAP.
counter. V.

Monfieur de Nonville was fo difpirited with the Fright that his Men had been put into, that his *Indians* could not perfuade him to purfue. He halted the remainder of that Day. The next Day he marched on with Design to burn the Village, but when he came there, he found that the *Senekas* had faved him the Trouble; for they had laid all in Afhes before they retired. Two old Men only were found in the Caſtle, who were cut into Pieces and boiled to make Soup for the *French* Allies. The *French* ſtaid five or fix Days to deſtroy their Corn, and then marched to two other Villages, at two or three Leagues diſtance. After they had performed the like Exploits in thoſe Places, they returned to the Banks of the Lake.

Before the *French* left the Lakes, they built a Fort of four Baſtions at *Oniagara*, on the South ſide of the Straights, between Lake *Erie* and *Cadarackui* Lake, and left a hundred Men, with eight Months Proviſions in it. But this Garifon was fo cloſely blocked up by the *Five Nations*, that they all died of Hunger, except ſeven or eight, who were accidentally relieved by a Party of *French Indians*.

The western *Indians*, when they parted from the *French* General, made their Harangues, as uſual, in which they told him, with what Pleaſure they ſaw a Fort ſo well placed to favour their Deſigns againſt the *Five Nations*, and that they relied on his never finiſhing the War, but with the Deſtruction of the *Five Nations*, or forcing them to abandon their Country. He aſſured them, that he would act with ſuch Vigour, that they would ſoon ſee the *Five Nations* driven into the Sea.


He ſent a Detachment of Soldiers to *Teiodonde-ragbie*, and in his Return to *Canada*, which was by the North Side of the Lake, he left a ſufficient
Number

Number of Men, and a Quantity of Provisions, at *Cadarackui* Fort.

The *French* having got nothing but dry Blows by this Expedition, sent thirteen of the *Indians*, that they surpris'd at *Cadarackui*, to *France*, as Trophies of their Victory, where they were put into the Gallies, as Rebels to their King.

C H A P. VI.

Colonel Dongan's Advice to the Indians, Adario's Enterprize, and Montreal sacked by the Five Nations.

CHAP. VI.  **C**olonel Dongan, who had the *Indian* Affairs very much at Heart, met the *Five Nations* at *Albany* as soon as possible after the *French* Expedition, and spoke to them on the fifth of *August*, in the following Words, viz.

“ Brethren,

“ I am very glad to see you here in this House,
“ and am heartily glad that you have sustained no
“ greater Loss by the *French*, though I believe it
“ was their Intention to destroy you all, if they
“ could have surpris'd you in your Castles.

“ As soon as I heard their Design to war with
“ you, I gave you Notice, and came up hither myself, that I might be ready to give all the Assistance and Advice that so short a Time would allow me.

“ I am now about sending a Gentleman to *England*, to the King, my Master, to let him know, that the *French* have invaded his Territories on this Side of the great Lake, and warred upon the Brethren his Subjects. I therefore would willingly know, whether the Brethren have given
“ the

“ the Governor of *Canada* any Provocation or not ; CHAP:
 “ and if they have, how, and in what Manner ; VI.
 “ because I am obliged to give a true Account of
 “ this Matter. This Business may cause a War be-
 “ tween the King of *England* and the *French* King,
 “ both in *Europe* and here, and therefore I must
 “ know the Truth.

“ I know the Governor of *Canada* dare not enter
 “ into the King of *England*’s Territories, in a hostile
 “ Manner, without Provocation, if he thought the
 “ Brethren were the King of *England*’s Subjects ;
 “ but you have, two or three Years ago, made a
 “ Covenant-chain with the *French*, contrary to my
 “ Command, (which I knew could not hold long)
 “ being void of itself among the Christians ; for as
 “ much as Subjects (as you are) ought not to treat
 “ with any foreign Nation, it not lying in your
 “ Power, you have brought this Trouble on your
 “ selves, and, as I believe, this is the only Reason
 “ of their falling on you at this Time.

“ Brethren, I took it very ill, that after you had
 “ put yourselves into the Number of the great King
 “ of *England*’s Subjects, you should ever offer
 “ to make Peace or War without my Consent. You
 “ know that we can live without you, but you cannot
 “ live without us. You never found that I told you
 “ a Lye, and I offered you the Assistance you wanted,
 “ provided that you would be advised by me ; for I
 “ know the *French* better than any of you do.

“ Now since there is a War begun upon you by
 “ the Governor of *Canada*, I hope without any
 “ Provocation by you given, I desire and command
 “ you, that you hearken to no Treaty but by my
 “ Advice ; which if you follow, you shall have the
 “ Benefit of the great Chain of Friendship between
 “ the great King of *England* and the King of *France*,
 “ which came out of *England* the other Day, and
 “ which I have sent to *Canada* by *Anthony le Junard*.
 “ In the mean Time, I will give you such Advice

CHAP. " as will be for your good ; and will supply you
 VI. " with such Necessaries, as you will have Need
 of.

" *First*, My Advice is, as to what Prisoners of
 " the *French* you shall take, that you draw not
 " their Blood, but bring them Home, and keep
 " them to exchange for your People, which they
 " have Prisoners already, or may take hereafter.

" *2dly*, That if it be possible, that you can order
 " it so, I would have you take one or two of your
 " wisest *Sachems*, and one or two of your *chief Cap-*
 " *tains*, of each Nation, to be a Council to manage
 " all Affairs of the War. They to give Orders to
 " the rest of the Officers what they are to do, that
 " your Designs may be kept private ; for after it
 " comes among so many People, it is blazed abroad,
 " and your Designs are often frustrated ; and those
 " chief Men should keep a Correspondence with me
 " by a trusty Messenger.

" *3dly*, The great Matter under Considera-
 " tion with the Brethren is, how to strengthen
 " themselves, and weaken their Enemy. My Opi-
 " nion is, that the Brethren should send Messengers
 " to the *Utawawas*, *Twibtwies*, and the *farther In-*
 " *dians*, and to send back likewise some of the Pri-
 " soners of these Nations, if you have any left, to
 " bury the Hatchet, and to make a Covenant-chain,
 " that they may put away all the *French* that are
 " among them, and that you will open a Path for
 " them this Way, they being the King of *England's*
 " Subjects likewise, tho' the *French* have been ad-
 " mitted to trade with them ; for all that the *French*
 " have in *Canada*, they had it of the great King of
 " *England* ; that by that Means they may come
 " hither freely, where they may have every Thing
 " cheaper than among the *French* : That you and
 " they may join together against the *French*, and
 " make so firm a League, that whoever is an Ene-
 " my to one, must be to both.

“ 4thly, Another Thing of Concern is, that you ought to do what you can to open a Path for all the *North Indians* and *Mabikanders*, that are among the *Utawawas* and further Nations: I will endeavour to do the same to bring them Home; for, they not daring to return Home your Way, the *French* keep them there on purpose to join with the other Nations against you, for your Destruction; for you know, that one of them is worse than six of the others; therefore all Means must be used to bring them Home, and use them kindly as they pass through your Country.

“ 5thly, My Advice further is, that Messengers go, in behalf of all the *Five Nations*, to the *Christian Indians* at *Canada*, to persuade them to come Home to their native Country. This will be another great Means to weaken your Enemy; but if they will not be advised, you know what to do with them.

“ 6thly, I think it very necessary, for the Brethren's Security and Assistance, and to the endamaging the *French*, to build a Fort upon the Lake, where I may keep Stores and Provisions, in Case of Necessity; and therefore I would have the Brethren let me know what Place will be most convenient for it.

“ 7thly, I would not have the Brethren keep their Corn in their Castles, as I hear the *Onondagas* do, but bury it a great Way in the Woods, where few People may know where it is, for fear of such an Accident as has happened to the *Senecas*.

“ 8thly, I have given my Advice in your General Assembly by Mr. *Dirk Wessels*, and *Akus* the Interpreter, how you are to manage your Parties, and how necessary it is to get Prisoners, to exchange for your own Men that are Prisoners with the *French*; and I am glad to hear that the Brethren are so united, as Mr. *Dirk Wessels* tells me

CHAP. " you are, and that there are no rotten Members
VI. " nor *French Spies* among you.

“ 9thly, The Brethren may remember my Advice, which I sent you this Spring, not to go to *Cadarackui*; if you had, they would have served you as they did your People that came from hunting thither; for I told you then, that I knew the *French* better than you did.

“ 10thly, There was no Advice or Proposition that I made to the Brethren, all the Time that the Priest lived at *Onondaga*, but what he wrote to *Canada*, as I found by one of his Letters, which he gave to an *Indian* to carry to *Canada*, but which was brought hither; therefore I desire the Brethren not to receive him or any *French Priest* any more, having sent for *English Priests*, with whom you may be supplied to your Content.

“ 11thly, I would have the Brethren look out sharp, for Fear of being surprized. I believe all the Strength of the *French* will be at their Frontier Places, viz. at *Cadarackui* and *Oniagara*, where they have built a Fort now, and at *Troies Rivières*, *Montreal*, and *Chambly*.

“ 12thly, Let me put you in Mind again, not to make any Treaties without my Means, which will be more advantageous for you, than your doing it by yourselves, for then you will be looked upon as the King of *England's* Subjects, and let me know, from Time to Time, every Thing that is done.

“ Thus far I have spoken to you relating to the War.

Then he chid them for their Breach of Faith with *Virginia*. He told them, that he was informed, that last Spring they had killed a fine Gentleman, with some others; and that a Party of the *Oneydoes* was now there at the Head of *Tames River*, with Intention to destroy all the *Indians* thereabout. They had taken six Prisoners, whom he ordered them to bring to him, to be restored; and that for the future

ture they should desist from doing any Injury to the People of *Virginia*, or their *Indians*, otherwise all the *English* would unite to destroy them. But at the same time he freed the *Senekas* from any Blame, and commended them as a brave and honest People, who never had done any Thing contrary to his Orders, except in making that unlucky Peace with the *French*, three Years ago.

Lastly, He recommended to them, not to suffer their People to be drunk during the War: A Soldier thereby (he said) loses his Reputation, because of the Advantages it will give the Enemy over him.

This honest Gentleman earnestly pursued the Interest of his Country; but it seems his Measures were not agreeable to those his Master had taken with the *French* King; for he had Orders to procure a Peace for the *French* on their own Terms, and was soon after this removed from his Government. Indeed such an active, as well as prudent Governor of *New-York*, could not be acceptable to the *French*, who had the universal Monarchy in View, in *America* as well as in *Europe*.


The great Dispute between Coll. *Dungan* and the *French* was in this, that Coll. *Dungan* would force the *French* to apply to him, in all Affairs relating to the *Five Nations*, and the *French* would treat with them independently of the *English*. For this Reason Coll. *Dungan* refused any Assistance to the *French*, till they, by such Application, should acknowledge the Dependance of the *Five Nations* on the Crown of *England*. But King *James* ordered him to give up this Point; and that he should persuade the *Five Nations* to send to *Canada*, to receive Proposals from the *French* Governor; and for this Purpose, forced them to agree to a Cessation of Arms, till their Deputies should go and return from *Canada*; and that they should, in the mean Time, deliver up all the Prisoners they had taken from the *French*; and that

CHAP. no Accident might prevent this, and blast so favourable an Opportunity of making Peace to the best Advantage, Monfr. *De Nonville* sent his Orders to all his Officers in the *Indian* Countries, to observe a Cessation of Arms, till the Ambassador of the *Five Nations* should meet him at *Montreal*, as they had given him Reason to expect they would in a little Time, to conclude the Peace in the usual Form.

In the mean Time, *Adario*, the Chief of the *Deonondadies*, finding that his Nation was become suspected by the *French*, since the Time they had shewn so much Inclination to the *English*, when they attempted to trade at *Missilimakinak*, resolved, by some notable Action against the *Five Nations*, to recover the good Graces of the *French*.

For this Purpose, he marched from *Missilimakinak*, at the Head of a Hundred Men; and that he might act with the more Security, he took *Cadarackui* Fort in his Way for Intelligence: The Commandant informed him, that Monfr. *De Nonville* was in Hopes of concluding a Peace with the *Five Nations*, and expected their Ambassadors in eight or ten Days at *Montreal* for that Purpose, and therefore desired him to return to *Missilimakinak*, without attempting any Thing that might obstruct so good a Design.

The *Indian* being surpris'd with this News, was under great Concern for his Nation, which he was afraid would be sacrificed to the *French* Interest, but disssembled his Concern before the *French* Officer. He went from *Cadarackui*, not to return home as the Commandant thought, but to wait for the Ambassadors of the *Five Nations*, near one of the Falls of *Cadarackui* River, by which he knew they must pass. He did not lurk there above four or five Days, before the Deputies came guarded by forty young Soldiers, who were all surpris'd, and killed or taken Prisoners. As soon as the Prisoners were all secured, the cunning *Deonondadi* told them, "That he
" having been informed, by the Governor of Canada,
" that

“ that fifty Warriors of their Nation were to pass CH A P.
 “ this Way about this Time, he had secured this VI.
 “ Pass, not doubting of intercepting them. 

The Ambassadors being much surprised at the *French* Perfidy, told *Adario* the Design of their Journey, who, the better to play his Part, seemed to grow mad and furious, declaring against *Monfr. De Nonville*, and said he would, some time or other, be revenged of him, for making a Tool of him, to commit such horrid Treachery. Then looking stedfastly on the Prisoners (among whom *Dekanefora* was the principal Ambassador) *Adario* said to them, Go, my Brethren, I untie your Bonds, and send you home again, tho' our Nations be at War: The *French* Governor has made me commit so black an Action, that I shall never be easy after it, till the *Five Nations* shall have taken full Revenge.

This was sufficient to persuade the Ambassadors of the Truth of what he said, who assured him, that he and his Nation might make their Peace when they pleased. *Adario* lost only one Man on this Occasion, and would keep a *Satana* Prisoner (adopted into the *Five Nations*) to fill up his Place. Then he gave Arms, Powder and Ball to the rest of the Prisoners, to enable them to return.

The Ambassadors were chiefly, if not all, *Onon-dagas*, and *Oneydoes*, who had been long under the Influence of the *French* Priests, and still retained an Affection to them; but this Adventure thoroughly changed their Thoughts, and irritated them so heartily against the *French*, that all the *Five Nations* prosecuted the War unanimously.

Adario delivered the Slave (his Prisoner) to the *French* at *Misslimakinak*, who to keep up the Enmity between the *Deonondadies* and the *Five Nations*, ordered him to be shot to Death. *Adario* called one of the *Five Nations*, who had been long a Prisoner, to be an Eye Witness of his Countryman's Death, then bid him make his Escape to his own Country,

CHAP. to give an Account of the *French* Cruelty, from which
 VI. it was not in his Power to save a Prisoner, he him-
 self had taken.

This heightened the Rage of the *Five Nations* so, that Monfr. *De Nonville*'s sending to disown *Adario* in this Action, had no Effect upon them; their Breasts admitted of no Thoughts but that of Revenge. It was not long before the *French* felt the bloody Effects of this cruel Passion, for 1200 Men of the *Five Nations* invaded the Island of *Montreal*, when the *French* had no Suspicion of any such Attempt, while Monfr. *De Nonville* and his Lady were in that Town. They landed on the South Side of the Island, at *La Chine*, on the 26th of *July* 1688, where they burnt and sacked all the Plantations, and made a terrible Massacre of Men, Women, and Children. The *French* were under Apprehension of the Town's being attack'd, for which Reason, they durst not send out any considerable Party to the Relief of the Country, only once, when the *Indians* had blocked up two Forts, Monfr. *De Nonville* sent out a hundred Soldiers, and fifty *Indians*, to try to bring off the Men in those Forts. The *French* of this Party were all either taken or cut to Pieces, except one Soldier, and the commanding Officer, who, after he had his Thighs broke, was carried off by twelve *Indians* that made their Escape. There were above a Thousand of the *French* killed at this Time, and twenty-six were carried away Prisoners, the greatest Part of which were burnt alive. The *Five Nations* only lost three Men on this Expedition, that got drunk and were left behind. This, however, did not satiate their Thirst after Blood, for, in *October* following, they destroyed likewise all the lower Part of the Island, and carried away many Prisoners.

The Consequence of these Expeditions were very dismal to the *French*, for they were forced to burn their two Barks, which they had on *Cadarackui* Lake, and to abandon their Fort there; they designed to have

have blown up their Works, when they left that Place; and for that End left a lighted Match where the Powder lay, but were in such a Fright, that they durst not stay to see what Effect it had. They went down *Cadarackui* River in seven Birch Canoes; and for greater Security, travelled in the Night. One of the Canoes, with all the Men in it, were lost, by their Precipitation, as they passed one of the Falls in that River. The *Five Nations* hearing the *French* had deserted *Cadarackui* Fort, fifty *Indians* went and took Possession of it, who found the Match the *French* had left, which had gone out, and twenty eight Barrels of Powder in the same Place, together with several other Stores.

The News of the Success the *Five Nations* had over the *French* soon spread itself among all the *Indians*, and put the *French* Affairs every where into the greatest Disorder.

The *Utawawas* had always shewn an Inclination to the *English*, and they therefore immediately sent openly four *Sachems*, with three Prisoners of the *Senecas*, which they had, to assure them, that they would for ever renounce all Friendship with the *French*, and promised to restore the rest of the Prisoners. They also included seven Nations, that lived near *Missilimakinak*, in this Peace.

This put the *French* Commandant there under the greatest Difficulty to maintain his Post; but there was no Choice, he must stand his Ground, for the *Five Nations* had cut off all Hopes of retiring.

The *Nepairinians* and *Kikabous*, of all their numerous Allies, only remained firm to the *French*; every one of the others endeavoured to gain the Friendship of the *Five Nations*; and would certainly have done it, by murdering all the *French* among them, had not the *Sieur Perot*, with wonderful Sagacity and eminent Hazard to his own Person, diverted them.

CHAP. VI. *Canada* was now in a most miserable Condition, for while the greatest Number of their Men had been employed in the Expedition against the *Five Nations*, and in trading among the far Nations, and making new Discoveries and Settlements, Tillage and Husbandry had been neglected; and they lost several Thousands of their Inhabitants, by the continual Incurfions of small Parties, so that none durst hazard themselves out of fortified Places; indeed, it is hard to conceive what Distress the *French* were then under, for tho' they were every where almost starving, they could not plant nor sow, or go from one Village to another for Relief, but with imminent Danger of having their Scalps carried away by the sculking *Indians*; at last the whole Country being laid waste, Famine began to rage, and was like to have put a miserable End to that Colony.

If the *Indians* had understood the Method of attacking Forts, nothing could have preserved the *French* from an entire Destruction at this Time; for whoever considers the State of the *Indian* Affairs during this Period, how the *Five Nations* were divided in their Sentiments and Measures; that the *Onondagas*, *Cayugas*, and *Oneydoes*, under the Influence of the *French* Jesuites, were diverted from prosecuting the War against *Canada*, by the Jesuites cunningly spiriting up those three Nations against the *Virginia Indians*, and persuading them to send out their Parties that Way: That the *Senekas* had a War at the same Time upon their Hands with three numerous *Indian* Nations, the *Utawarwas*, *Chicktagbicks*, and *Twibtwies*; and that the Measures the *English* observed all King *James's* Reign, gave the *Indians* rather Grounds of Jealousy than Assistance: I say, whoever considers all these Things, and what the *Five Nations* did actually perform, under all these Disadvantages against the *French*, will hardly doubt, that the *Five Nations* by themselves were at that Time an Overmatch for the *French* of *Canada*.



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
FIVE Indian NATIONS
DEPENDENT
On the Province of NEW-YORK.
PART II.



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
FIVE INDIAN NATIONS
DEPENDENT
ON THE PROVINCE OF NEW-YORK
PART II.

THE
P R E F A C E
To the SECOND PART.

THE former Part of this History was written at New-York in the Year 1727, on Occasion of a Dispute which then happened, between the Government of New-York and some Merchants. The French of Canada had the whole Fur Trade with the Western Indians in their Hands, and were supplied with their woollen Goods from New-York. Mr. Burnet, who took more Pains to be informed of the Interest of the People he was set over, and of making them useful to their Mother Country, than Plantation Governors usually do, took the Trouble of perusing all the Registers of the Indian Affairs on this Occasion. He from thence conceived of what Consequence the Fur Trade with the Western Indians was of to Great-Britain; that as the English had the Fur Trade to Hudson's Bay given up to them, by the Treaty of Utrecht, so, by the Advantages which the Province of New-York has in its Situation, they might be able to draw the whole Fur Trade in the other Parts of America to themselves, and thereby the English engross that Trade, and the Manufactories depending on it.

For this Purpose he thought it necessary to put a Stop to the Trade between New-York and Canada, by which the French supplied themselves with the most valuable and necessary Commodities for the Indian Market, and to set the Inhabitants of this Province on trading directly with the Indians. Besides the Consideration of Profit and Gain, he considered what Influence this Trade had on the numerous Nations of Indians living on the vast Continent of North-America, and who surround the British Colonies; of what Advantage it might be of, if they were influenced by the English in Case of a War with France; and how prejudicial, on the other Hand, if they were directed by French Counsels.

The Legislature of New-York was soon convinced of the Justness of his Reasoning, and passed an Act, prohibiting the

PART II. Trade

Trade to Canada, and for encouraging the Trade directly with the Indians. They were likewise at the Charge of building a fortified trading House at Oswego, on Cadarackui Lake, and have ever since maintained a Garison there. As this Act did in its Consequence take a large Profit from one or two considerable Merchants, who had the Trade to Canada intirely in their Hands, they endeavoured to raise a Clamour against it in the Province, and presented likewise Petitions to the King, in Order to get the Act repealed. Upon this Occasion Mr. Burnet gave me the Perusal of the Publick Register of Indian Affairs, and it was thought the Publication of the History of the Five Nations might be of Use at that Time.

I shall only add, that Mr. Burnet's Scheme has had its desired Effect: The English have gained the Trade which the French, before that, had with the Indians to the Westward of New-York; and whereas, before that Time, a very inconsiderable Number of Men were employed in the Indian Trade Abroad, now above three hundred Men are employed at the Trading House at Oswego alone; and the Indian Trade has since that Time yearly increased so far, that several Indian Nations come now every Summer to trade there, whose Names were not so much as known by the English before.

This History, from New-York, soon went to England, and I have been informed, that a Publication, with a Continuance of that Work, would be acceptable there. I have the more cheerfully complied with this Notice, because of the War threatened from France, believing that a Publication of this Kind may be useful, whether the present Inquietudes between the two Nations end in a War or in a Treaty. The French have encouraged several Publications of this Sort at Paris, and certainly such may be more useful in a British Government, where the People have so great a Share in it, than it can be in a French Government, intirely directed by the Will of their Prince.

I now continue this History to the Peace of Reswick, and if I find this acceptable, and that a farther Continuation of it be desired, I shall, if my Life and Health be preserved, carry it down farther; but as I have too much Reason to doubt my own Ability, to give that Pleasure and Satisfaction which the Publick may expect in Things thus submitted to their View, I think it not justifiable to trouble them with too much at once.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
FIVE *INDIAN* NATIONS,
DEPENDING
ON the PROVINCE of *NEW-YORK*.

PART II.

The History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada, from the Time of the Revolution to the Peace of Reswick.

CHAP. I.

The State of Affairs in New-York and Canada, at the Time of the Revolution in Great-Britain.

WE left the *Five Nations* triumphing over the *French* in *Canada*, and they almost reduced to Despair. The Revolution, which happened at this Time in *England*, seemed to be a favourable Conjunction for the *Five Nations*; the *English* Colonies, by the War at that Time declared

CHAP.
I.

against

CHAP. against *France*, becoming Parties in their Quarrel:

I. For one will be ready to think, that the *Five Nations* being by themselves too powerful for the *French*, as appears by the preceding Chapter, when these were assisted by the *Utawawas*, *Quatoghies*, *Twibtwies*, *Chistagbicks*, *Putewatemies*, and all the *Western Indian Nations*, and when the *English* stood neuter; now certainly, when not only all these *Indian Nations* had made Peace with the *Five Nations*, but the *English* joined with them in the War, the *French* would not be able to stand one Campaign.

But we shall find what a Turn Affairs took, contrary to all reasonable Expectations, from the general Appearance of Things, and of what Importance a resolute wise Governor is to the well-being of a People, and how prejudicial Divisions and Parties are. For this Reason, it will be necessary to take a View of the Publick Affairs in the Province of *New-York*, and in *Canada*, at that Time, in order to understand the true Causes of the Alterations, which afterwards happened in Favour of the *French*.

The Revolution occasioned as great Divisions and Parties in the Province of *New-York*, in Proportion to the Number of People, as it did in *Britain*, if not greater. The Governor and all the Officers either fled or absconded; the Gentlemen of the King's Council, and some of the most considerable or richest People, either out of Love, or what they thought Duty, to King *James*, or rather from an Opinion they had that the *Prince of Orange* could not succeed, refused to join in the Declaration the People made in favour of that Prince, and suffered the Administration to fall into different Hands, who were more zealous for the Protestant Interest, and who were joined by the far greatest Number of the Inhabitants. After the Revolution was established, they that had appeared so warmly for it, thought that
they

they deserved best of the Government, and expected to be continued in the Publick Offices; the others were zealous to recover the Authority they had lost, and used the most persuaſive Means with the Governors for that Purpose, while the former trusted to their Merit. This begat great Animosities, which continued many Years. Each Party, as they were at different Times favoured by several Governors, opposed all the Measures taken by the other, while each of them were by Turns in Credit with the People or the Governor, and sometimes even prosecuted each other to Death. The publick Measures were by these Means perpetually fluctuating, and often one Day contradictory to what they were the Day before. The succeeding Governors, finding their private Account in favouring sometimes the one Party, and at other Times the other, kept up the Animosities all King *William's* Reign, though very much to the publick Prejudice; for each Party was this while so eager in resenting private Injuries, that they intirely neglected the publick Good.

The Constitution of Government in the *English Plantations*, where the Governors have no Salary, but what they can attain with the Consent of the Assemblies or Representatives of the People, gave Occasion to imprudent Governors to fall upon these Expedients, as they sometimes call them, for getting of Money. And a prevailing Faction, knowing for what Purpose the Governments in *America* were chiefly desired by the *English* Gentlemen, used this great Privilege to tempt a Governor to be the Head of a Party, when he ought to have been the Head of the Government. Indeed *New-York* has had the Misfortune, too frequently, to be under such as could not keep their Passion for Money secret, though none found it so profitable a Government, as they did who followed strictly the true Maxims of governing, without making Money the only Rule of their Actions.

The

CHAP. The frequent Changes of Governors were likewise
 I. prejudicial to the publick Affairs. Colonel *Slaughter*, the first Governor after the Revolution, happened to die soon after his Arrival, when steady, as well as resolute Measures, were most necessary. But some think, that the Occasion of all the Misfortunes lay in the Want of Care in the Choice of Governors, when the Affairs of *America* wanted able Hands to manage them; they think that the Ministry had the saving of Money chiefly in View, when, to gratify some small Services, they gave Employments in *America* to those that were not capable of much meaner Offices at Home. The Opinion the People had of Colonel *Slaughter's* Capacity gave ground to these Surmises; but, if it was so, it happened to be very ill saved Money; for the Mismanagements in this Country occasioned far greater Expence to the Crown afterwards, than would have bought such Gentlemen handsome Estates, besides the great Losses they occasioned to the Subjects.

The greatest Number of the Inhabitants of the Province of *New-York* being *Dutch*, still retained an Affection to their Mother Country, and by their Aversion to the *English* weakened the Administration. The common People of *Albany*, who are all *Dutch*, could not forbear giving the *Indians* some ill Impressions of the *English*; for the *Mohawks*, in one of their publick Speeches, expressed themselves thus: " We hear a *Dutch Prince* reigns now in *Eng-*
 " *land*, why do you suffer the *English* Soldiers to
 " remain in the Fort? put all the *English* out of
 " the Town. When the *Dutch* held this Country
 " long ago, we lay in their Houses; but the *Eng-*
 " *lish* have always made us lie without Doors." It is true, that the Plantations were first settled by the meanest People of every Nation, and such as had the least Sense of any Honour. The *Dutch* first Settlers, many of them I may say, had none of the
 Virtues

Virtues of their Countrymen, except their Industry CHAP. in getting Money, and they sacrificed every Thing, I. other People think honourable or most sacred, to their Gain: But I do not think it proper to give particular Instances of this.

The People of *New-England* were engaged in a bloody War at this Time with the *Owenagungas*, *Ouragies*, and *Ponacoks*, the *Indians* that lie between them and the *French Settlements*. The *Scabkooks* were originally Part of these *Indians*. They left their Country about the Year 1672, and settled above *Albany*, on the Branch of *Hudson's River* that runs towards *Canada*. The People of *New-England* were jealous of the *Scabkook Indians*, that they remembering the old Difference they had with the People of *New England*, and the Relation they bore to the *Eastern Indians*, did countenance and assist these *Indians* in the War against *New England*. They had Reason for these Jealousies, for the *Scabkook Indians* received privately some *Owenagunga* Messengers, and kept their coming among them secret from the People of *Albany*; and some *Scabkooks* had gone privately to the *Owenagungas*. They were afraid likewise, that the *Mohawks* might have some Inclination to favour those *Indians*, because some of the *Eastern Indians* had fled to the *Mohawks*, and were kindly received by them, and lived among them.

Notwithstanding all these Failures of good Policy, in the Government of *New-York*, the *French* had not gained so great Advantages, if they had not carefully observed a different Conduct, which it is now necessary to consider.

Canada was at this Time in a very distressed Condition, the Country and out Plantations burnt and destroyed, their Trade intirely at a stand, great Numbers of their People slain, and the remainder in danger of perishing by Famine, as well as by the Sword of inveterate cruel Enemies. When such

Misfor-

CH A P. Misfortunes happen to a Country, under any Administration, though in Truth the Conduct of Affairs be not to be blamed, it is often prudent to change the Ministers; for the common People never fail to blame them, notwithstanding their having acted with the greatest Wisdom, and therefore cannot so soon recover their Spirits, that are sunk by Misfortunes, as by putting their Affairs into different Hands.

For these Reasons, it is probable, the *French* King recalled Mr. *de Nonville*, but rewarded him for his Services, by an honourable Employment in the Household. The Count *de Frontenac* was sent in his Place. This Gentleman had been formerly Governor of that Country, and was perfectly acquainted with its Interest; of a Temper of Mind fitted to such desperate Times, of undaunted Courage, and indefatigable, though in the sixty-eighth Year of his Age. The Count *de Frontenac* arrived the second of *October* 1689. The Country immediately received new Life by the Arrival of a Person, of whose Courage and Conduct every one had entertained a high Opinion. Care was taken to increase this Impression on the Minds of the People, by making publick Rejoicings with as much Noise as possible. He wisely improved this new Life, by immediately entering upon Action, without suffering their Hopes to grow cold. He staid no longer at *Quebeck*, than was necessary to be informed of the present State of Affairs, and in four or five Days after his Arrival set out in a Canoe for *Montreal*, where his Presence was most necessary; and the Winter was already so far advanced, that the Ice made it impracticable to go in a larger Vessel. By this the old Gentleman increased the Opinion and Hopes the People entertained of him, that, without staying to refresh himself after a fatiguing Sea-Voyage, he would immediately undertake another, that required all the Vigour and Heat of Youth to withstand the Inclemencies

mencies of the Climate and Season, and the Difficulty of such a Passage. CHAP. I.

When the Count *de Frontenac* came to *Montreal*, he increased the Admiration the People had of his Vigour and Zeal, by pretending to go to visit *Cadarackui Fort*, now abandoned, which he had built in the Time he was formerly Governor. The Clergy and People of *Montreal* came jointly with stretched out Arms, representing the Danger of such an Attempt, and the Difficulties and Hardships that would necessarily attend it, praying him not to expose a Life that was so necessary for their Safety. He, with seeming Reluctance, yielded to their Intreaties; I say with seeming Reluctance, for it was inconsistent with his Prudence really to have such a Design. This Shew of the Governor's offering to go in Person, animated some of the Gentlemen of the Country, who voluntarily went in the Winter, with one Hundred *Indian* Traders, to visit that Fort; and finding it in better Condition than they expected, by the Report of those who had abandoned it, they staid there, and made some small Reparations in the Walls, which the *Indians* had thrown down.

The Count *de Frontenac* brought back with him *Tawerabet*, a *Capiga Sachem*, one of the thirteen Prisoners that Mr. *de Norville* took at *Cadarackui*, and sent to *France*. He was in Hopes this *Indian* would be useful in procuring a Treaty of Peace with the *Five Nations*, for they had an extraordinary Opinion of *Tawerabet*; and the *French* had found, by sad Experience, that they could not be Gainers by continuing the War: For this Purpose the Count used *Tawerabet* with much Kindness, during his Voyage, and, after he arrived at *Quebeck*, lodged him in the Castle under his own Roof, and took such Pains with this *Sachem*, that he forgot all the ill Usage he had formerly received.

CHAP. The *French* had the more Reason to desire a
 I. Peace with the *Five Nations*, because they knew,
 that they would now certainly have the *English*
 Colonies likewise upon them; and if the *Five Na-*
tions had been able to do so much Mischief by them-
 selves alone, they were much more to be feared,
 when they would be assisted, in all Probability, with
 the Force and Interest of the *English* Colonies.

Four *Indians* of less Note, who were brought
 back along with *Tawerabet*, were immediately dis-
 patched, in this *Sachem's* Name, to the *Five Nati-*
ons, to inform them of his Return, and of the kind
 Usage they had received from the Count *de Fronte-*
nac; and to press them to send some to visit their
 old Friend, who had been so kind to them when
 he was formerly Governor of *Canada*, and who still
 retained an Affection to the *Five Nations*; as ap-
 peared by the Kindness *Tawerabet* and they had re-
 ceived from him. This was the only Method left
 to the *French* of making Proposals of Peace, which
 it was their Interest by all Means to procure.

The Governor of *Canada*, as I said, conceived
 that there was no Way so proper to keep up the
 Spirits of the People, who had got new Life by his
 Arrival, as by putting them upon Action; and in-
 deed their present miserable Condition made them
 forward enough, to undertake the most desperate
 Enterprize, when the frequent Incurfions of the *In-*
dians made it as dangerous to be at Home, as to at-
 tack the Enemy Abroad.

For this Purpose he sent out three Parties in the
 Winter; one was designed against *New-York*, the
 other against *Connecticut*, and the last against *New-*
England.

The *Five Nations* followed Colonel *Dungan's* Ad-
 vice, in endeavouring to bring off the *Western In-*
dians from the *French*, and had all the Success
 that could be expected, before Mr. *de Frontenac* ar-
 rived.

They

They were overjoyed when they heard, that the *English* had entered into War with the *French*, and came several Times to *Albany* to know the Certainty of it, while it was only rumoured about. The People of *Albany* desired them to secure any of the praying *Indians* that should come from *Canada*, if they found that they were still ruled by the Priests; but to encourage them, if they came with a Design to return to their own Country.

The *Senekas*, *Cayugas*, *Onondagas*, and *Oneydoes*, the twenty seventh of *June* 1689, before any Governor arrived, renewed the old Covenant (as they said) which was first made many Years ago with one *Tagues*, who came with a Ship into their River. “Then we first became Brethren, said they, and continued so till last fall, that Sir *Edmond Andross* came and made a new Chain, by calling us Children; but let us stick to the old Chain, which has continued from the first Time it was made, by which we became Brethren, and have ever since always behaved as such. *Virginia*, *Maryland*, and *New-England*, have been taken into this silver Chain, with which our Friendship is locked fast. We are now come to make the Chain clear and bright. Here they gave two Bevers.”

King *James*, a little before his Abdication, sent over Sir *Edmond Andross* with arbitrary Powers, and he, in Imitation of the *French*, changed the Stile of speaking to the *Indians*, of which they were very sensible.

They discovered a great Concern for their People that were carried to *Canada*; they long hoped (they said) that the King of *England* would have been powerful enough to deliver them, but now they began to lose all Hopes of them.

C H A P. II.

A Treaty between the Agents of Massachusets Bay, New-Plymouth, and Connecticut, and the Sachems of the Five Nations, at Albany, in the Year 1689.

CHAP.
II.

ABOUT the Beginning of September 1689, Colonel John Pynchon, Major John Savage, and Captain Jonathan Bull, Agents for the Colonies of Massachusets Bay, New-Plymouth, and Connecticut, arrived at Albany, to renew the Friendship with the Five Nations, and to engage them against the Eastern Indians, who made War on the English of those Colonies, and were supported by the French.

The Five Nations had received four Messengers from the Eastern Indians, which gave the People of New-England some Apprehensions, and they were therefore desirous to know what Reception these Messengers had met with.

The Five Nations answered by *Takajadoris*, a *Mohawk Sachem*, on the twenty fourth of September. He made a long Oration, repeating all that the Agent from New-England had said, the Day before, and desired them to be attentive to the Answer now to be made to them. They commonly repeat over all that has been said to them, before they return any Answer, and one may be surprized at the Exactness of these Repetitions. They take the following Method to assist their Memories: The *Sachem*, who presides at these Conferences, has a Bundle of small Sticks in his Hand; as soon as the Speaker has finished any one Article of his Speech, this *Sachem* gives a Stick to another *Sachem*, who is particularly

particularly to remember that Article ; and so when another Article is finished, he gives a Stick to another to take Care of that other, and so on. In like Manner when the Speaker answers, each of these has the particular Care of the Answer resolved on to each Article, and prompts the Orator, when his Memory fails him, in the Article committed to his Charge. *Tabajadoris* addressing himself to the Agents, said :

“ *Brethren,*

“ You are welcome to this House, which is appointed for our Treaties and publick Business with the Christians ; we thank you for renewing the Covenant-chain. It is now no longer of Iron and subject to Rust, as formerly, but of pure Silver, and includes in it all the King’s Subjects, from the *Senecas* Country eastward, as far as any of the great King’s Subjects live, and southward, from *New-England* to *Virginia*. Here he gave a Bever.

“ We are glad to hear of the good Success our great King has had over the *French* by Sea, in taking and sinking so many of their Men of War. You tell us in your Proposals that we are one People, let us then go Hand in Hand together, to ruin and destroy the *French* our common Enemy. Gives a Bever.

“ The Covenant-chain between us is ancient (as you tell us) and of long standing, and it has been kept inviolably by us. When you had Wars some time ago with the *Indians*, you desired us to help you ; we did it readily, and to the Purpose ; for we pursued them closely, by which we prevented the Effusion of much of your Blood. This was a certain Sign that we loved truly and sincerely, and from our Hearts. Gives a Belt.

CHAP. " You advise us to pursue our Enemies, the
 II. " *French*, vigorously ; this we assure you we are
 ~~~~~ " resolved to do to the utmost of our Power: But  
 " since the *French* are your Enemies likewise, we  
 " desire our Brethren of the three Colonies to send  
 " us an hundred Men for the Security of this Place,  
 " which is ill provided, in Case of an Attack from  
 " the *French* ; the Christians have Victuals enough  
 " for their Entertainment. Gives one Belt.

" We patiently bore many Injuries from the  
 " *French*, from one Year to another, before we  
 " took up the Axe against them. Our Patience  
 " made the Governor of *Canada* think, that we  
 " were afraid of him, and durst not resent the In-  
 " juries we had so long suffered ; but now he is  
 " undeceived. We assure you, that we are resolved  
 " never to drop the Axe, the *French* never shall  
 " see our Faces in Peace, we shall never be recon-  
 " ciled as long as one *Frenchman* is alive. We shall  
 " never make Peace, though our Nation should be  
 " ruined by it, and every one of us cut in Pieces.  
 " Our Brethren of the three Colonies may depend  
 " on this. Gives a Bever.

" As to what you told us of the *Owenagungas*  
 " and *Uragees*, we answer: That we were never so  
 " proud and haughty, as to begin a War without  
 " just Provocation. You tell us that they are  
 " treacherous Rogues, we believe it, and that they  
 " will undoubtedly assist the *French*. If they shall  
 " do this, or shall join with any of our Enemies,  
 " either *French* or *Indians*, then we will kill and  
 " destroy them. Gives a Bever."

Then the *Mohawks* offered five of their Men, to  
 guard the Agents Home against any of their *Indian*  
 Enemies, who they were afraid might be laying in  
 wait for the Agents, and gave a Belt.

Afterwards the Speaker continued his Speech,  
 and said : " We have spoke what we had to say of  
 " the War, we now come to the Affairs of Peace :

" We

“ We promise to preserve the Chain inviolably, and  
 “ wish that the Sun may always shine in Peace over  
 “ all our Heads that are comprehended in this Chain.  
 “ We give two Belts, one for the Sun, the other  
 “ for its Beams.

“ We make fast the Roots of the Tree of Peace  
 “ and Tranquillity, which is planted in this Place.  
 “ Its Roots extend as far as the utmost of your  
 “ Colonies; if the *French* should come to shake this  
 “ Tree, we would feel it by the Motion of its  
 “ Roots, which extend into our Country: But we  
 “ trust it will not be in the Governor of *Canada*’s  
 “ Power to shake this Tree, which has been so  
 “ firmly and so long planted with us. Gives two  
 “ Bevers.”

Lastly, He desired the Magistrates of *Albany*  
 to remember what he had said, and gave them a  
 Bever.

But the Agents perceiving, that they had not answered any Thing about the *Owenagunga* Messengers, and had answered indistinctly about the War with the *Eastern Indians*, desired them to explain themselves fully on these two Points, about which the Agents were chiefly concerned.

The *Five Nations* answered :

“ We cannot declare War against the *Eastern Indians*, for they have done us no Harm: Nevertheless our Brethren of *New-England* may be assured, that we will live and die in Friendship with them. When we took up the Axe against the *French* and their Confederates, we did it to revenge the Injuries they had done us; we did not make War with them at the Persuasions of our Brethren here; for we did not so much as acquaint them with our Intention, till fourteen Days after our Army had begun their March.”

After the Company had separated, the *Sachems* sent to the *New-England* Agents, desiring to speak with them in private; which being granted, the

CHAP. Speaker said, we have something to tell you, which  
 II. was not proper to be spoken openly, for some of  
 our People have an Affection to the *Owenagungas*;  
 and we were afraid, that they would discover or  
 hinder our Designs.

Now we assure our Brethren, that we are resolved  
 to look on your Enemies as ours, and that we will  
 first fall on the \* *Owaragees*; and then on the  
*Owenagungas*, and lastly on the *French*; and that  
 you may be convinced of our Intention, we design to  
 send five of our young Men along with our Brethren  
 to *New-England*, to guard them, who have Orders  
 to view the Country of the *Owaragees*, to discover  
 in what Manner it can be attacked with the most Ad-  
 vantage. This we always do before we make an At-  
 tempt on our Enemies. In a Word, Brethren, your  
 War is our War, for we will live and dye with you.

But it is to be observed, that they confirmed no-  
 thing relating to these *Indians*, by giving Belts.

It is probable, that the *Sachems* acted with some  
 Art on this Occasion, for they really had favourable  
 Inclinations towards the *Owenagungas*; and they had  
 Reason not to increase the Number of their Enemies,  
 by making War on the *Eastern Indians*, who avoided  
 doing them any Injury. The People of *Albany* like-  
 wise have always been averse to engage our *Indians* in  
 a War with the *Eastern Indians*, lest it should change  
 the Seat of the War, and bring it to their own  
 Doors.

On the 25th the Magistrates of *Albany* had a  
 private Conference with the *Sachems* of the *Five Na-  
 tions*, and desired to know their Resolutions as to the  
 War with *Canada*, and the Measures they resolved  
 to follow. In this Conference the *Indians* saw that  
 the People of *Albany* were so much afraid of the  
*French*, that their Spirits were sunk under the Ap-  
 prehensions of the approaching War; and for this  
 Reason made the following Answer.

\* Called by the People of *New-England* *Panocok Indians*.

We

“ We have a hundred and forty Men out-skulking  
 “ about *Canada*; it is impossible for the *French* to at-  
 “ tempt any Thing, without being discovered and ha-  
 “ rassed by these Parties: If the *French* shall attempt  
 “ any Thing this Way, all the *Five Nations* will come  
 “ to your Assistance, for our Brethren and we are but  
 “ one, and we will live and dye together. We have  
 “ desired a hundred Men of our Brethren of *Boston* to  
 “ assist us here, because this Place is most exposed; but  
 “ if the Governor of *Canada* is so strong, as to overcome  
 “ us all united together, then he must be our Master,  
 “ and is not to be resisted; but we have Confidence in  
 “ a good and just Cause; for the great God of Heaven  
 “ knows how deceitfully the *French* have dealt with us,  
 “ their Arms can have no Success. The Great God  
 “ hath sent us Signs in the Sky to confirm this. We  
 “ have heard uncommon Noise in the Heavens, and  
 “ have seen Heads fall down upon Earth, which we  
 “ look upon as a certain Prefage of the Destruction  
 “ of the *French*: Take Courage! On this they all im-  
 “ mediately joined in singing and crying out, Cou-  
 “ rage! Courage! ”

## C H A P. III.

*An Account of a general Council of the Five Nations at  
 Onondaga, to consider the Count De Frontenac's  
 Message.*

ON the 27th of December 1689, two Indians CHAP.  
 came to *Albany*, being sent by the *Onondaga* III.  
 and *Oneydo Sachems*, with seven Hands of Wampum  
 from each Nation, to tell their Brethren in *New-York*  
 and *New-England*, that three of their old Friends,  
 who had been carried Prisoners to *France*, were come  
 with Proposals from *Canada*; that there was a Coun-  
 cil of the *Sachems* appointed to meet at *Onondaga*,  
 and that they therefore desired the Mayor of *Albany*,  
*Peter Scheyler*, and some others of their Brethren,  
 to



CHAP. to come thither, to be present and to advise on an Affair of so great Consequence; for they were resolved to do nothing without the Knowledge and Consent of all those that were included in the Chain with them.

The same Messenger told them, that some Letters were sent to the Jesuit at *Oneydo*; and that they would neither burn, nor suffer those Letters to be opened, till the Brethren should first see them.

All that the Magistrates of *Albany* did on this important Occasion, was to send three *Indians* with Instructions in their Name, to dissuade the *Five Nations* from entertaining any Thoughts of Peace, or yielding to a Cessation of Arms.

On the 4th of *January* one of the chief *Mohawk Sachems* came to *Albany*, to tell the *Magistrates*, that he was to go to *Onondaga*, and desired the Brethren's Advice how to behave there; on which the *Magistrates* thought it necessary to send likewise the publick Interpreter, and another Person to assist at the general Meeting, with written Instructions; but no Person of Note, that had any Influence on the *Indians*, went.

When the Messengers arrived at *Oneydo*, they discoursed privately with one of the Prisoners that had returned from *France*, and found that he had no Love for the *French*; but it is impossible but that *Indians*, who had seen the *French* Court, and many of their Troops, must be surpris'd at their Grandeur: he complain'd however of the ill Usage he had met with. The *French* chose, on this Occasion, to send first to *Oneydo*, because of the Assistance they expected the Jesuit, that resided there, would give to their Negotiation.

I believe it will not be tedious to the Reader, that desires to know the *Indian Genius*, if I give a circumstantial Account of this general Council or Parliament of the *Five Nations*, that he may see in what Manner a People that we call Savages behave on such important Occasions.

On the 22d of January the general Council was opened at Onondaga, consisting of eighty Sachems; in the first Place Sadekanaghtie, an Onondaga Sachem, rising up, addressed himself to the Messenger of Albany, saying,

Four Messengers are come from the Governor of Canada, viz. three who had been carried Prisoners to France, and a Sachem of the Praying Indians that live at Montreal.

The Governor of Canada notifies his Arrival to us, that he is the Count de Frontenac, who had been formerly Governor there; that he had brought back with him Tawerabet a Cayuga Sachem, and twelve Prisoners, that had been carried to France; then taking the Belt of Wampum in his Hand, and holding it by the Middle, he added, what I have said relates only to one Half of the Belt, the other Half is to let us know, that he intends to kindle again his Fire at Cadarackui next Spring, and therefore invites his Children, and Dekanasora an Onondaga Captain in particular, to treat there with him about the old Chain. Then Adarabta the chief Sachem of the praying Indians stood up, and said, with three Belts in his Hand, I advise you to meet the Governor of Canada as he desires; agree to this, if you would live, and gives one Belt of Wampum

Tawerabet sends you this other Belt, to inform you of the Miseries, that he and the rest of your Countrymen have suffered in their Captivity; and to advise you to hearken to Onondio, if you desire to live.

This third Belt is from \* Thurensera, † Obguesse, and ‡ Ertel, who say by it, to their Brethren: We have interceded for you with Onondio, and therefore ad-

\* Thurensera signifies the Dawning of the Day, and was the Name given by the Indians to the Jesuit Lamberville, who had formerly resided at Onondaga. † Monsr. le Morne, the Word signifies a Partridge. ‡ Ertel signifies a Rose, the Name of some other French Gentleman, for whom the Indians had an Esteem.

CHAP. vife you to meet him at *Cadarackui* in the Spring, because it will be for your Advantage.

III. When this *Sachem* had done fpeaking, the *Mohawk* Messenger fent from *Albany* delivered his Message Word for Word, as he had received it, without omitting the leaft Article. The Interpreter, while the *Indian* was fpeaking, read over a Paper, on which the Message was fet down, left any Thing fhould have been forgot.

After this *Canneboot* a *Seneka* *Sachem* flood up, and gave the general Council a particular Account of a Treaty made laft Summer, between the *Senekas* and the *Wagunba* Messengers, (one of the *Utawawa* Nations) who had concluded a Peace for themfelves, and feven other Nations, to which the other four Nations were defired to agree, and their Brethren of *New-York* to be included in it. He faid the Propofals made in feveral Propositions were as follow.

1. We are come to join two Bodies into one. Delivering up at the fame Time two Prifoners.

2. We are come to learn Wifdom of you *Senekas*, and of the other *Five Nations*, and of your Brethren of *New-York*. Giving a Belt.

3. We by this Belt wipe away the Tears from the Eyes of your Friends, whofe Relations have been killed in the War, and likewise \* the Paint from your Soldiers Faces. Giving another Belt.

4. We now throw afide the Ax, which *Yonondio* put into our Hands, by this third Belt.


5. Let the Sun, as long as he fhall endure, always fhine upon us in Friendfhip. Here he gave a red Marble Sun as large as a Plate.

6. Let the Rain of Heaven wafh away all Hatred, that we may again fmoke together in Peace, giving a large Pipe of red Marble.

\* The *Indians* always paint their Faces when they go to War, to make themfelves look more terrible to the Enemy. A Soldier in the *Indian* Language is expreffed by a Word, which fignifies a Fair-fighter.

7. *Yonondio*

7. *Yonondio* is drunk, but we wash our Hands CHAP.  
clean from all his Actions. Giving a fourth Belt. III.

8. Now we are clean washed by the Water of   
Heaven, neither of us must defile ourselves by  
hearkening to *Yonondio*.

9. We have twelve of your Nation Prisoners,  
who shall be brought home in the Spring; there he  
gave a Belt, to confirm the Promise.

10. We will bring your Prisoners when the Straw-  
berries shall be in blossom, \* at which Time we in-  
tend to visit *Corlear*, and see the Place where the  
Wampum is made. (*New-York*.)

The Speaker added, we will also tell our  
Friends the other *Utawawa* Nations, and the *Dio-  
nondadies*, who have eleven of your People Prison-  
ers, what we have now done, and invite them to  
make Peace with you.

He said further, we have sent three Messengers  
back with the *Wagunbas*, in order to confirm this  
Peace with their Nation.

After the *Seneca* Speaker had done, the *Wagunba*  
Presents were hung up in the House, in the Sight  
of the whole Assembly, and afterwards distributed  
among the several Nations, and their Acceptance  
was a Ratification of the Treaty. A large Belt  
was given also to the *Albany* Messengers as their  
Share.

The Belt of Wampum sent from *Albany* was in  
like Manner hanged up, and afterwards divided.

*New-England*, which the *Indians* call *Kinshon* (that  
is a Fish) sent likewise the Model of a Fish, as a  
token of their adhering to the general Covenant.  
This Fish was handed round among the *Sachems*,  
and then laid aside to be put up.

After these Ceremonies were over, *Sadekanabtie*,  
an *Onondaga* Speaker, stood up, and said, Brethren,

\* The *Indians* in this Manner distinguish the Seasons of the  
Year, as the Time of planting Corn, or when it is ripe, when  
the Chestnuts blossom, &c.

CHAP. we must stick to our Brother *Quider*, and look on  
 III. *Yonondio* as our Enemy, for he is a Cheat: By *Qui-*  
 der they meant *Peter Schyler* the Mayor of *Albany*,  
 who had gained a considerable Esteem among them;  
 as they have no Labeals in their Language, they  
 pronounce *Peter* by the Sound *Quider*.

The Messenger from *Canada* had brought Letters,  
 and some medicinal Powder, for the Jesuit *Milet*, who  
 resided at *Oneydo*. These Letters and the Powder  
 were delivered to the Interpreter from *Albany* to be car-  
 ried thither, that the Contents of them might be made  
 known to the *Sachems* of the several Nations. The  
 Jesuit was present all this While in their Council.

Then the Interpreter was desired to speak what  
 he had to say from their Brethren at *Albany*. He told  
 them, that a new Governor was arrived, who had  
 brought a great many Soldiers from *England*. That  
 the King of *England* had declared War against *France*,  
 and that the People of *New-England* were fitting out  
 Ships against *Canada*. He advised them, that they  
 should not hearken to the *French*, for when they talk  
 of Peace, said he, War is in their Heart, and desired them  
 to enter into no Treaty but at *Albany*, for the *French*,  
 he said, would mind no Agreement made any where else.

After this they had Consultations for some Time  
 together, and then gave the following Answer by  
 their Speaker.

Brethren, our Fire burns at *Albany*. We will not  
 send *Dekanasora* to *Cadarackui*. We adhere to our  
 old Chain with *Corlear*; we will prosecute the War  
 with *Yonondio*, and will follow your Advice in draw-  
 ing off our Men from *Cadarackui*. Brethren, we are  
 glad to hear the News you tell us, but tell us no Lies.

Brother *Kinshon*, we hear you design to send Sol-  
 diers to the eastward against the *Indians* there; but  
 we advise you, now so many are united against the  
*French*, to fall immediately on them. Strike at the  
 Root, when the Trunk shall be cut down, the  
 Branches fall of Course.



*Corlear* and *Kinshon*, Courage! Courage! In the Spring to *Quebeck*, take that Place, and you'll have your Feet on the Necks of the *French*, and all their Friends in *America*. CHAP. III.

After this they agreed to the following Answer to be sent to the Governor of *Canada*.

1. *Yonondio*, you have notified your Return to us, and that you have brought back 13 of our People that were carried to *France*, we are glad of it. You desire us to meet you at *Cadarackui* next Spring, to treat of the old Chain; but *Yonondio*, how can we trust you, after you have acted deceitfully so often? Witness what was done at *Cadarackui*; the Usage our Messengers met with at *Utawawa*, and what was done to the *Senekas* at *Utawawa*. This was their Answer; however, they sent a Belt with this, which always shews a Disposition to treat.

2. *Therbanfera*, *Ogbuessa* and *Ertel*, do you observe Friendship with us, if you have not, how come you to advise us to renew Friendship with *Yonondio*, they sent them likewise a Belt?

3. *Tawerabet*, the whole Council is glad to hear, that you are returned with the other twelve. *Yonondio*, you must send home *Tawerabet* and the others this very Winter, before Spring, and we will save all the *French* that we have Prisoners till that Time.

4. *Yonondio*, you desire to speak with us at *Cadarackui*: Don't you know that your Fire there is extinguished? It is extinguished with Blood, you must send home the Prisoners in the first Place.


5. We let you know that we have made Peace with the *Wagunbas*.

6. You are not to think, that we have laid down the Axe, because we return an Answer; we intend no such Thing: Our Far-fighters shall continue the War till our Countrymen return.

7. When our Brother *Tawerabet* is returned, then will we speak to you of Peace.

As



CHAP. As soon as the Council broke up, their Resolu-  
 III. tions were made publick to all their People, by the  
 *Sachems* of their several Nations.

Two *Sachems* were sent to *Albany*, by their general Council, to inform their Brethren there of their Resolutions, and to bring back the Contents of the Letters sent from *Canada* to the Jesuit.

As soon as they arrived, one of the *Mohawks*, that had been sent from *Albany* to the Council, delivered the *Wagunba* Belt, and repeated over distinctly all the Articles agreed to with that Nation, and referred to the *Onondaga Speaker*, being one of those sent by the Council of *Albany*, to recite the Answer to the Governor of *Canada*. He rising up, repeated over the whole as before set down, and added; The *French* are full of Deceit; but I call God to witness, we have hitherto used no Deceit with them, but how we shall act for the future, Time only can discover. Then he assured the Brethren, that the *Five Nations* were resolved to prosecute the War, in Token whereof he presented \* *Quider* with a Belt, in which three Axes were represented. Perhaps by this Representation only three Nations joined in sending it, the *Cayugas* and *Oneydoes* being more under the Influence of the Jesuit *Milet*, who lived among them intirely, according to their Manner of Life, and was adopted by the *Oneydoes*, and made one of their *Sachems*. The Letters from *Canada* to him were read, they contained nothing but common News and Compliments.

The *Mohawk* Messengers, that had been sent from *Albany*, had carried with them Goods to sell at the general Council. This was taken Notice of at the general Council, and gave the *Indians* a mean Opinion of the People of *Albany*, and particularly of *Peter Schyler*; for it is exceedingly scandalous among the *Indians*, to employ a Merchant in publick Affairs; Merchants, (I mean the Traders with the *Indians*) are looked upon by them as Liars, and  
 People

\* *Peter Schyler*,  
 Mayor of  
*Albany*.

People not to be trusted, and of no Credit, who by their Thoughts being continually turned upon Profit and Loss, consider every Thing with that private View. As this made a Noise at *Albany*, by its giving the Jesuit an Opportunity of setting the Messengers from *Albany* in an ill Light, *Peter Scheyler* cleared himself by Oath, of his having any Interest directly or indirectly in those Goods, and sent a Belt back with his publick Justification. The *Mohawk* Messengers had refused to take the Goods, as being scandalous to the Business they went on; but were persuaded, by being told that the Goods belonged to *Quider*.

The Magistrates of *Albany* advised the *Sachems*, to send the Jesuit Prisoner to *Albany*, where he might be kept securely, without having it in his Power to do Mischiefe, but they could not prevail. The *Indians* were resolved to keep all the Means of making Peace in their own Hands.

## C H A P. IV.

*The French surprise Schenectady. The Mohawks Speech of Condoleance on that Occasion.*

THE Count De Frontenac being desirous, as before observed, to raise the drooping Spirits of the *French* in *Canada*, by keeping them in Action, and engaging the most daring of them, in Enterprizes that might give Courage to the rest, had sent out three Parties against the *English* Colonies, in Hopes thereby to lessen the Confidence which the *Five Nations* had in the *English* Assistance, now that *England* had declared War against *France*. The Party sent against *New-York* was commanded by *Monfr. De Her ville*, and was ordered to attempt the surprising of *Schenectady*, the nearest Village to the *Mohawks*; It consisted of 150 *French* *Bush-lopers* or *Indian* Traders,

C H A P. IV.

CHAP. Traders, and of as many *Indians*, the most of them  
 IV. *French* Converts from the *Mohawks*, commonly called the *Praying Indians*, settled at a Place near *Montreal*, called *Cabnuaga*. They were well acquainted with all that Part of the Country round *Schenectady*; and came in Sight of the Place the 8th of *February* 1689-90.

The People of *Schenectady* were at that Time in the greatest Security, notwithstanding that they had Information from the *Indians*, of a Party of *French*, and *French Indians* being upon their March that Way. They did not think it practicable, in that Season of the Year, while it was extremely cold, and the whole Country covered with Snow. Indeed *Europeans* will hardly think it possible, that Men could make such a March through the Wilderness in the severest Frosts, without any Covering from the Heavens, or any Provision, except what they carried on their Backs.

Tho' the People of *Schenectady* were informed in the Evening before the Place was surpris'd, that several sculking *Indians* were seen near the Place, they concluded, that they could be only some of the neighbouring *Indians*; and as they had no Officer of any Esteem among them, not a single Man could be persuaded to watch in such severe Weather, tho', as the *French* owned afterwards, if they had found the least Guard or Watch, they would not have attempted the Place, but have surrendered themselves Prisoners: They were so exceedingly distressed with the Length of their March, and with Cold, and Hunger, but finding the Place in fatal Security, they marched into the Heart of the Village, without being discovered by any one Person; then they raised their War Shout, entered the Houses, murdered every Person they met, Men, Women, and Children, naked and in cold Blood; and at the same Time set Fire to the Houses. A very few escaped, by running out naked into the Woods in  
 this

this terrible Weather: And several hid themselves, till the first Fury of the Attack was over; but these were soon driven from their lurking Places by the Fire, and were all made Prisoners.

CHAP.  
VI.

Captain *Alexander Glen*, at this Time, lived at a Distance by himself, on the other Side of the River, and was the most noted Man in the Place. He had at several Times been kind to the *French*, who had been taken Prisoners by the *Mohawks*, and had saved several of them from the Fire. The *French* were sensible what Horror this cruel sacking of a defenceless Place, and murdering People in cold Blood, must raise in Mens Minds; and to lessen this, they resolved to shew their Gratitude to Captain *Glen*. They had passed his House in the Night, and observing that he stood on his Defence the next Morning, some of them went to the River Side, and calling to him, assured him, that they designed him no Injury. They persuaded him to come to the *French* Officer, who restored to him all his Relations that were Prisoners.

Some *Mohawks* being also found in the Village, the *French* dismissed them, with Assurance, that they designed them no Hurt.

This Conduct was not only necessary to promote the Peace which the *Count De Frontenac* with so much Earnestness desired, but likewise to secure their Retreat, by making the *Mohawks* less eager to pursue them.

The *French* marched back, without reaping any visible Advantage from this barbarous Enterprize, besides the murdering sixty-three innocent Persons in cold Blood, and carrying twenty-seven of them away Prisoners.

The Care the *French* took to sooth the *Mohawks* had not intirely it's Effect, for as soon as they heard of this Action, a hundred of their readiest young Men pursued the *French*, fell upon their Rear, and killed and took twenty-five of them.

CHAP.  
IV.

This Action frightened the Inhabitants in and about *Albany* so much, that many resolved to desert the Place, and retire to *New-York*. They were packing up and preparing for this Purpose, when the *Mohawk Sachems* came to *Albany* to condole, according to their Custom, with their Friends, when any Misfortune befalls them. I shall give their Speech on this Occasion, as it will be of Use to the Reader, in order to his forming a true Notion of the *Indian Genius*. They spoke the twenty-fifth of *March* as follows.

“Brethren, the Murder of our Brethren at *Schenectady* by the *French* grieves us as much, as if it had been done to our selves, for we are in the same Chain; and no Doubt our Brethren of *New-England* will be likewise sadly affected with this cruel Action of the *French*. The *French* on this Occasion have not acted like brave Men, but like Thieves and Robbers. Be not therefore discouraged. We give this Belt to wipe away your Tears.

“Brethren, we lament the Death of so many of our Brethren, whose Blood has been shed at *Schenectady*. We don’t think that what the *French* have done can be called a Victory, it is only a farther Proof of their cruel Deceit. The Governor of *Canada* sends to *Onondaga*, and talks to us of Peace with our whole House, but War was in his Heart, as you now see by woful Experience. He did the same formerly at *Cadarackui*, and in the *Senekas* Country. This is the third Time he has acted so deceitfully. He has broken open our House at both Ends, formerly in the *Senekas* Country, and now here. We hope however to be revenged of them. One Hundred of our bravest young Men are in Pursuit of them, they are brisk Fellows, and they will follow the *French* to their Doors. We will beset them so closely, that not a Man in *Canada* shall dare to step out of Doors to cut a Stick of Wood; But now we gather up our Dead, to bury them, by this second Belt.

“Brethren,

\* By this is meant the Long House used by the Indians. They likened their situation to a long house, that ends where the Hudson & Niagara meet, and where they enter the Great Sky & Heaven. — (See Morgan)



“ Brethren, we came from our Castles with Tears  
 “ in our Eyes, to bemoan the Bloodshed at *Sche-*  
 “ *nectady* by the Perfidious *French*. While we bury  
 “ our Dead murdered at *Schenectady*, we know not  
 “ what may have befallen our own People, that are in  
 “ Pursuit of the Enemy, they may be dead; what has  
 “ befallen you may happen to us; and therefore *we*  
 “ come to bury our Brethren at *Schenectady* with  
 “ this third Belt.

“ Great and sudden is the Mischief, as if it had fal-  
 “ len from Heaven upon us. Our Forefathers taught  
 “ us to go with all Speed to bemoan and lament with  
 “ our Brethren, when any Disaster or Misfortune hap-  
 “ pens to any in our Chain. Take this Bill of Vi-  
 “ gilance, that you may be more watchful for the fu-  
 “ ture. *We give our Brethren Eye-Water* to make  
 “ them sharp sighted, giving a fourth Belt.

“ We are now come to the House where we usual-  
 “ ly renew the Chain; but alas! we find the House  
 “ polluted, polluted with Blood. All the *Five Nati-*  
 “ *ons* have heard of this, and we are come to wipe  
 “ away the Blood, and clean the House. We come  
 “ to invite *Corlear*, and every one of you, and *Quider*  
 “ (calling to every one of the principal Men present by  
 “ their Names) *to be revenged of the Enemy*, by this  
 “ fifth Belt.

“ Brethren, be not discouraged, we are strong enough.  
 “ This is the Beginning of your War, and the whole  
 “ House have their Eyes fixed upon you at this Time,  
 “ to observe your Behaviour. They wait your Moti-  
 “ on, and are ready to join in any resolute Measures.

“ Our Chain is a strong Chain, it is a Silver Chain,  
 “ it can neither rust nor be broken. We, as to our  
 “ Parts, are resolute to continue the War.

“ We will never desist, so long as a Man of us re-  
 “ mains. Take Heart, do not pack up and go  
 “ away, \* this will give Heart to a dastardly Enemy.

\* This was spoke to the *English*, who were about removing  
 from *Albany*.



CHAP. " We are of the Race of the Bear, and a Bear you  
 IV. " know never yields, while one Drop of Blood is left.  
 " *We must all be Bears*; giving a sixth Belt.

" Brethren be patient, this Disaster is an Affliction  
 " which has fallen from Heaven upon us. The Sun,  
 " which hath been cloudy, and sent this Disaster, will  
 " shine again with its pleasant Beams. Take Courage,  
 " said he, Courage, repeating the Word several Times  
 " as they gave a seventh Belt.

( To the English. )

Brethren, three Years ago we were engaged in a bloody War with the *French*, and you encouraged us to proceed in it. Our Success answered our Expectation; but we were not well begun, when *Corlear* stopt us from going on. Had you permitted us to go on, the *French* would not now have been able to do the Mischief, they have done, we would have prevented their sowing, planting or reaping.

We would have humbled them effectually, but now we dye. The Obstructions you then made now ruin us. Let us after this be steady, and take no such false Measures for the future, but *prosecute the War vigorously*. Giving a Bever Skin.

The Brethren must keep good Watch, and if the Enemy come again, send more speedily to us. Don't desert *Schenectady*. The Enemy will glory in seeing it desolate. It will give them Courage that had none before, *fortify the Place*, it is not well fortified now: The *Stockadoes* are too short, the *Indians* can jump over them. Gave a Bever Skin.

Brethren, The Mischief done at *Schenectady* cannot be helped now; but for the future, when the Enemy appears any where, let nothing hinder your sending to us by Expresses, and fire great Guns, that all may be alarmed. We advise you to bring all the *River Indians* under your Subjection to live near *Albany*, to be ready on all Occasions.

Send

Send to *New-England*, tell them what has hap-  
 pened to you. They will undoubtedly awake and  
 lend us their helping Hand. It is their Interest, as  
 much as ours, to push the War to a speedy Conclu-  
 sion. Be not discouraged, the *French* are not so nu-  
 merous as some People talk. If we but heartily unite  
 to push on the War, and mind *our Business*, the  
*French will soon be subdued.*

CH A P.

IV.

The Magistrates having returned an Answer on  
 the twenty seventh, to the Satisfaction of the *Indi-  
 ans*, they repeated it all over, Word by Word, to  
 let the Magistrates see how carefully they minded  
 it, and then added,

Brethren, we are glad to find you are not discour-  
 aged. The best and wisest Men sometimes make  
 Mistakes. Let us now pursue the War vigorously.  
 We have a hundred Men out, they are good Scouts.  
 We expect to meet all the *Sachems* of the other Na-  
 tions, as they come to condole with you. You need  
 not fear our being ready, at the first Notice. Our Ax  
 is always in our Hands, but take Care that you be  
 timely ready. Your Ships, that must do the prin-  
 cipal Work, are long a fitting out. We do not de-  
 sign to go out with a small Company, or in sculking  
 Parties; but as soon as the Nations can meet, we  
 shall be ready with our whole Force. If you  
 would bring this War to a happy Issue, you must  
 begin soon, before the *French* can recover the Los-  
 ses they have received from us, and get new Vi-  
 gour and Life, therefore send in all Haste to *New-  
 England*. Neither you nor we can continue long in  
 the Condition we are now in, we must order Mat-  
 ters so, that the *French* be kept in continual Fear  
 and Alarm at home; for this is the only Way to  
 be secure, and in Peace here.

The *Scabkok Indians*, in our Opinion, are well  
 placed where they are (to the Northward of *Alba-  
 ny*); they are a good Out-guard; they are our Chil-  
 dren, and we shall take Care that they do their

CHAP. Duty : But you must take Care of the *Indians* below  
 IV. the Town, place them nearer the Town, so as they  
 may be of most Service to you.

Here we see the *Mohawks* acting like hearty Friends, and if the Value of the Belts given at that Time be considered, together with what they said on that Occasion, they gave the strongest Proofs of their Sincerity. Each of these Belts amount to a large Sum in the *Indian* Account.

The *English* of *New-York* and the *French* of *Canada* were now entering into a War, in which the Part the *Five Nations* are to take is of the greatest Consequence to both ; the very Being of the *French* Colony depended on it, as well as the Safety of the *English*. The *Indians* at this Time had the greatest Aversion to the *French*, and they desired nothing so much, as that the *English* might join heartily in this War. We shall see by the Sequel how a publick Spirit, directed by wise Counsels, can overcome all Difficulties, while a selfish Spirit loses all, even natural Advantages. In the present Case, the Turn Things took seems to have been entirely owing to one Thing. The *French* in making the Count *de Frontenac* Governor of *Canada*, chose the Man every Way the best qualified for this Service : The *English* seemed to have little Regard to the Qualification of the Person they sent, but to gratify a Relation or a Friend, by giving him an Opportunity to make a Fortune ; and as he knew that he was recommended with this View, his Counsels were chiefly employed for this Purpose.

By this Means an *English* Governor generally wants the Esteem of the People ; while they think that a Governor has not the Good of the People in View, but his own, they on all Occasions are jealous of him ; so that even a good Governor, with more Difficulty, pursues generous Purposes and publick Benefits, because the People suspect them to be mere Pretences to cover a private Design. It is for this Reason, that any Man, opposing a Governor, is  
 sure

sure to meet with the Favour of the People, almost in every Case. On the other Hand, the Opinion the *French* had of the Count *de Frontenac*'s publick Spirit, and of his Wisdom and Diligence, made them enter into all his Measures without hesitating, and chearfully obey all his Commands.

## C H A P. V.

*The Five Nations continue the War with the French ; the Mohawks incline to Peace ; their Conferences with the Governor of New-York.*

THE Governor of *Canada* received Hopes that the *Five Nations* inclined to Peace, by their returning an Answer to *Therawael*'s Message, and thought he might now venture to send some *French* to them with further Proposals. The Chevalier *D'O*, with an Interpreter called *Collin*, and some others, went ; but they had a much warmer Reception than they expected, being forced to run the Gauntlet through a long Lane of *Indians*, as they entered their Castle, and were afterwards delivered up Prisoners to the *English*.

The *Five Nations* kept out at this Time small Parties, that continually harassed the *French*. The Count *de Frontenac* sent Captain *Louvoigni* to *Missilimakinak*, to relieve the *Garison*, and he had Orders, by all Means, to prevent the Peace which the *Utawawas* and *Quatoghies* were upon the Point of concluding with the *Five Nations*. He carried with him one hundred forty three *French*, and six *Indians*, and was likewise accompanied with a Lieutenant and thirty Men, till he got one hundred twenty Miles from *Montreal*. They were met in *Cadarackui River*,

at

CHAP. at a Place called the *Cats*, by a Party of the *Five Nations*, who fell vigorously on their Canoes, killed several of the *French*, and made them give Way; but *Louvigni*, by putting his Men ashore, at last got the better, after a smart Engagement, in which the *Indians* had several Men killed, and two Men, and as many Women, taken Prisoners. I am obliged to rely on the *French* Account of these Skirmishes; they do not mention the Number of the *Indians* in this Rencontre, but I suspect them to have been much fewer than the *French*; for when the Enemy are equal in Number, or greater, they seldom forget to tell it. One of the *Indian* Prisoners was carried by them to *Missilimackinak*, to confirm this Victory, and was delivered to the *Utawawas*, who eat him. The Lieutenant carried the other back with him. He was given to *Therawaet*.

To revenge this Loss, the *Five Nations* sent a Party against the *Island of Montreal*, who fell on that Part called the *Trembling Point*; and though they were discovered before they gave their Blow, they attacked a Party of regular Troops, and killed the commanding Officer, and twelve of his Men; Another Party carried off fifteen or sixteen Prisoners from *Riviere Puante*, over against *Trois Rivières*. This Party was pursued, and finding that they were like to be overpowered, murdered their Prisoners and made their Escape. These Incursions kept all the River, from *Montreal* to *Quebeck*, in continual Alarm, and obliged the Governor to send all the Soldiers to guard the south Side of the River. Notwithstanding this, five Persons were carried away in Sight of *Sorel Fort*, by a small skulking Party, but they were soon afterwards recovered by the Soldiers. About the same Time another Party burnt the Plantations at *St. Ours*.

The *Five Nations* had conceived great Hopes from the Assistance of the *English*, as the Magistrates



trates of *Albany* had promised the *Mohawks*, when they came to condole, after the surprising of *Schenectady*; but the *English* were so far from performing these Promises, that many of the Inhabitants retired from *Albany* to *New-York*; and they who had the Administration of Affairs, were so intent on their party Quarrels, that they intirely neglected the *Indian* Affairs. Indeed the People of *New-York* have too often made large Promises, and have thereby put the *Indians* upon bold Enterprizes, when no Measures were concerted for supporting them. This made the *Indians* think, that the *English* were lavish of *Indian* Lives and too careful of their own. The *Mohawks*, who lived nearest the *English*, were most sensible of these Things, and soon entertained Notions prejudicial to the Opinion they ought to have had of the *English* Prudence and Conduct; it is even probable, these *Indians* began to entertain a mean Opinion of both the *English* Courage and Integrity. It is not strange then, that the *Mohawks* at last gave Ear to the assiduous Application of their Countrymen, the *praying Indians*, who, with *French* Arguments, persuaded them to make Peace as soon as possible, without trusting longer to the *English*, who had so often disappointed or deceived them.

The *Mohawks* sent one of their *Sachems*, *Odiga-cege*, to the *praying Indians*, who introduced him to the Count *de Frontenac*. The Count made him welcome, and told him, that he was sorry for the Injuries his Predecessors had done them; but that he would treat them like Friends, if their future Conduct did not prevent him, and gave him a Belt, with Proposals of Peace to his Nation.

Colonel *Slaughter*, who was then Governor of *New-York*, being informed that the *Five Nations* were like to make Peace with the *French*, by their having lost much of their Confidence in the *English* Assistance, found it necessary to meet them, which  
he



CHAP. he did in the End of *May* 1691. There were  
 V. present at that Time six *Oneydo*, eleven *Onondaga*,  
 four *Cayuga*, and ten *Seneka Sachems*. He renewed  
 the Covenant with them, and gave them Presents.  
 The *Mohawks* having entered into a Treaty with  
 the *French*, did not join with the other four Nations  
 in their Answer.

On the second of *June* the Speaker, in Name of  
 the other four Nations, told him, they were glad  
 to see a Governor again in this Place; that they had  
 learned from their Ancestors, that the first Ship  
 which arrived in this Country surprized them ex-  
 ceedingly; that they were curious to know what  
 was in its huge Belly. They found Christians in  
 it, and among them one *Jacques*, with whom they  
 made a Chain of Friendship, which has been pre-  
 served to this Day. By that Chain it was agreed,  
 that whatever Injury was done to the one, should  
 be deemed, by both Sides, as likewise done to the  
 other. Then they mentioned the Confusion that  
 had lately been in the Government of *New-York*,  
 which had like to have confounded all their Af-  
 fairs, but hoped all would be reduced to their wonted  
 Order and Quiet. They complained of several of  
 the Brethren leaving *Albany* in Time of Danger,  
 and praised those by Name who staid, and then  
 said: Our Tree of Peace, which grows in this Place,  
 has of late been much shaken, we must now secure  
 and fasten its Roots; we must frequently manure  
 and dress it, that its Roots may spread far.

They assured the Governor, that they were re-  
 solved to prosecute the War against the *French* as  
 long as they lived, and that they would never speak  
 of Peace, but with the common Consent. They  
 abhor those that do otherwise, and desired that the  
 Brethren might not keep a Correspondence with  
*Canada* by Letters. You need not (said they) press  
 us to mind the War, we mind it above all Things;  
 do you but your Parts, lay aside all other Thoughts  
 but

but that of the War, for it is the only Thing we have at Heart. They gave Bevers at the End of every distinct Part of their Answer.

CHAP.  
V.

On the fourth the *Mohawks* spoke to the Governor, in Presence of the other four Nations: They confessed the Negotiations they had with the *Praying Indians*, and with the Governor of *Canada*, and that they had received a Belt from him. Then they restored one of the Prisoners taken at *Schenectady*, as the Fruit of that Negotiation. They desired the Governor's Advice, and the Advice of the whole House, what Answer to return to the Governor of *Canada*; and lastly, desired the *Senecas* to release the Prisoners they had taken from the *Praying Indians*.

Colonel *Slaughter* check'd the *Mohawks* for entering into a separate Treaty with the Enemy, and said he could admit of no Proposals of Peace. He told them, that the Prisoners taken from the *Praying Indians* must not be restored; putting them in mind, that some of them having been formerly released, soon after returned and murdered several People, and burnt several Houses.

He assured them of his Assistance, and then added, You must keep the Enemy in perpetual Alarm. The *Mohawks* thanked him for his Assurance of Assistance; but took Notice of his saying, You must keep the Enemy in perpetual Alarm. Why don't you say, they replied, We will keep the Enemy in perpetual Alarm. In the last Place, the *Mohawks* renewed their League with all the *English* Colonies; adding, Though an angry Dog has endeavoured to bite the Chain in Pieces, we are resolved to keep it firm, both in Peace and in War: We now renew the old Chain, that so the Tree of Peace and Prosperity may flourish, and spread its Roots through all the Country.

In

In the last Place, the four Nations answered the *Mohawks*.

“ *Mohawks*, our Brethren, in answer to your  
 “ Proposals from the Governor of *Canada*, we must  
 “ put you in Mind of his Deceit and Treachery ;  
 “ we need only give one recent Instance, how he  
 “ lately sent to the *Senekas* to treat of Peace, and at  
 “ the same Time fell upon *Schenectady*, and cut that  
 “ Place off. We tell you, that the Belt sent by  
 “ the *French* Governor is Poison ; we spew it out of  
 “ our Mouths, we absolutely reject it, and are re-  
 “ solved to prosecute the War as long as we live.”  
 Then they left the Belt lying on the Ground.

## C H A P. VI.

*The English attack Montreal by Land, in Con-  
 junction with the Indians, and Quebec by  
 Sea.*


C H A P.  
 VI.

IT was now evident that the *Indians* could no longer be amused with Words, and that, unless the *English* entered soon upon Action, the *French* would carry their Design of making Peace with the *Five Nations*, and the *English* be left to carry on the War in *America* by themselves. Certainly a more proper Opportunity of doing it with Success could not be expected, than at present, while the *French* in *Canada* had neither recovered their Spirits, nor the Strength they had lost, by the terrible Incursions of the *Five Nations*. A joint Invasion on *Canada* was concerted with *New-England*, they were to attack *Quebeck* by Sea, while *New-York* attacked *Montreal* by Land. The Governor therefore proposed to the *Indians* to join with him in attacking *Canada*, for which Purpose he told them, that he designed

designed to send a considerable Force this Summer. CHAP. VI.  
 They desired Time to consult on it at their general Meeting, which was soon to be held at *Onondaga*, and to know what Number of Christians he designed to send, that they might join a suitable Number of their Men. To this the Governor answered, that he must not communicate the Particulars of his Design to so many, because they could not then be kept secret from the Enemy; as he found by the Discoveries that were last Year made to the *French* by that Means.

It was at last agreed, that the *Mohawks* should join with the Christians that were to march from *New-York* directly against *Montreal*, and that the other four Nations should send a considerable Party down *Cadarackui Lake*, and join them before *Montreal*.

Major *Peter Schuyler*, the same whom the *Indians* call *Quider*, commanded the Party sent from *New-York*, which consisted of three hundred Men, one half Christians, the other *Mohawks* and *Scabkook Indians*. He set out from *Albany* about Midsummer. As he was preparing his Canoes to pass *Corlear's Lake*, he was discovered by the *French Indians*, who immediately returned to *Montreal*, to give Information of what they had seen. The *Chevalier Clermont* was sent out to make further Discoveries: He found the *English* above *Chamblie*, and went immediately back with the Intelligence he there gained. In the mean while Mr. *de Callieres*, Governor of *Montreal*, did all in his Power to give Major *Schuyler* a proper Reception, by drawing the Militia and regular Troops together for the Defence of the Place. There happened to be a very considerable Number of *Utawawas* trading at that Time at *Montreal*, Mr. *de Colliere*, in Order to engage them to join him, made a great Feast for them, went among them, and, after the *Indian Manner*, began the war Song, leading up the Dance with his

CHAP. V.  Axe in his Hand, and shouting and hollowing in the same wild Manner the *Indians* do. This done, he carried his whole Force, which consisted of twelve hundred Men, cross the River, and encamped on the south Side, at *la Prairie de la Magdeleine*, together with a great Number of *Utawawas*, the *Praying Indians*, and other *French Indians*. The famous *Therawaet* being now entirely gained by the Caresses of the Count *de Frontenac*, made one of the Number. They encamped round the Fort, which stood on a steep rising Ground between two Meadows.

Major *Schuyler* having left forty of his Men to guard his Canoes, which had carried him cross the Lake, marched on without stopping. He got into a Hollow, which led into the Meadow, without being discovered; and marching under that Cover, he fell suddenly upon the Militia, who were soon put into Confusion, and many of them, and of the *Utawawas*, who were posted with them, were killed. He pursued them as they fled to the Fort, which he attacked briskly, but was obliged to leave it, by the Approach of the regular Troops who came to relieve it. He received them however bravely, and, after they had lost several Officers and many Men, they retired. Major *Schuyler* finding the Number of the Enemy much greater than was expected, and being informed that a considerable Party of the Enemy had marched Southward, he began to apprehend, that this Party was sent to cut off his Retreat, by destroying his Canoes. It was resolved therefore immediately to follow this Party; he overtook them, and they covering themselves behind some large fallen Trees, he attacked them, and made his Way through them, but with considerable Loss.

In this Attack the *Mohawks* signalized themselves, but the *Scabkook Indians* did not behave themselves well. The *Mohawks*, upon no Occasi-



on, yielded an Inch of Ground, till the *English* first CHAP. gave Way. The *French*, by their own Accounts, VI. lost, in the several Attacks made by *Schuyler*, two Captains, six Lieutenants, and five Ensigns, and, in all, three hundred Men, so that their Slain were in Number more than Major *Schuyler* had with him. The *Mohawks* suffered much, having seventeen Men killed, and eleven wounded. They returned to *Albany* the eleventh of *August*.

After the *English* under Major *Schuyler* had retired, an *Owenagunga Indian* came from *New-England*, with an Account of the Preparations made there against *Canada*, and that they had actually failed.

This Fleet, which was commanded by Sir *William Phips*, was discovered in *St. Laurence Bay*, while the Count *de Frontenac* remained at *Montreal*; and thereupon he made all possible Haste to *Quebeck*, and carried three hundred Men with him.

The Fleet, which consisted of thirty Sail, did not reach *Quebeck* till the seventh of *October*. Sir *William* spent three Days in nothing but Consultation, while the *French* made all possible Preparation for a Defence, and, by this Means, suffered them to get over the Fright and Consternation, into which the first Appearance of the Fleet had thrown them; for the Place was not in any Posture of Defence. It gave them Time likewise to draw all the Country round them into the Town. And on the fourth Day Sir *William* summoned the Count to surrender, who returned him such an Answer as his Conduct deserved.

The *English* landed four Miles below the Town, and had thick Woods to march through, before they could come at it, in which Ambuscades of *French* and *Indians* were made at proper Distances, by whom the *English* were repulsed with considerable Loss. They attempted the Wood again the next Day with no better Success.



CHAP. VI. The *French*, in their Account of this Action, say, that the Men, though they appeared to be as little disciplined as Men could be, behaved with great Bravery, but that Sir *William's* Conduct was such, that, if he had been in Concert with them, he could not have done more to ruin the Enterprize; yet his Fidelity was never suspected. In short, this Descent was so ill managed, that the *English* got on Board again in the Night, with the Loss of all the Cannon and Baggage which they had landed.

The *French* thought themselves in such great Danger at that Time, that they attributed their Deliverance to the most immediate Protection of Heaven, in confounding the Devices of their Enemy, and by depriving them of common Sense; and for this Reason the People of *Quebeck* make an annual Procession, in Commemoration of this Deliverance.

Sir *William* cannonaded the Town for some Time with little Execution, and then returned in Hast, Winter approaching; indeed that Season was already so far advanced, that he lost eight Vessels in his Return.

The *Five Nations* continued their IncurSIONS all along *St. Laurence River*, from *Montreal* to *Quebeck*, and carried away many Scalps. At one Time a *French* Officer, with thirty eight Men, surprised some of the *Five Nations* in a Cabin, which they had built near *Lake St. Pierre*. Some of them escaped and informed two other Cabins, which the *French* had not discovered, and they returned with their Companions, and killed the Captain and Lieutenant, and one half of the Men.

Notwithstanding that the *French* preserved their Country, these warlike Expeditions, and the Necessity they were under of being on their Guard, prevented their cultivating the Ground, or of reaping the Fruit of what they had sowed or planted. This

occasioned a Famine in *Canada*, and, to increase the Misery of the poor Inhabitants, they were forced to feed the Soldiers gratis, while their own Children wanted Bread.

In *October* the *Onondagas*, *Cayugas*, and *Oneydoes* came to *Albany*, to condole with the *English*, for the Men lost in the Expedition against *Montreal*, as they had already done with the *Mohawks*. They said it was ever their Custom to condole with their Friends when they lost any Number of Men in Battle, though they had the Victory. They at the same Time, as they had often done before, complained of the Dearth of Powder: Why, say they, do you call us your King's Soldiers, when you will not sell us Powder at the usual and reasonable Rates?

And in answer to a Complaint, of there not being a sufficient Number of *English* sent against *Montreal*, the People of *Albany* upbraided them with a Breach of Promise, in not sending that Party down *Catawagui River* which they promised, which they said was the chief Reason of the want of Success in that Expedition.

## CHAP. VII.

*The French and the Five Nations continue the War all Winter with various Success. The French burn a Captain of the Five Nations alive.*

THE old *French* Governor kept up his Vi-CHAP. gour and Spirits wonderfully, no Fatigue VII. made him ever think of Rest. He knew of what Use it would be to convince the *Five Nations*, that the joint Attack of the *English* and *Indians* had neither weakened him, nor frightened him from carrying on the War with as much Vigour as before.

CHAP. VII. It was absolutely necessary that the *Utawawas* and other *Western Indians*, who came to *Montreal* to trade, should return safe to their own Country, otherwise there would be an End to the *French Trade* with those Nations, upon which the Being of *Canada* depends; for it is only by the *Fur-trade* with these Nations that they make Returns to *Europe*; and if these Nations did not return in Time, all the *Western Indians* would look on the *French* as lost, and consequently would make Peace with the *Five Nations*, and perhaps join in the Destruction of *Canada*.

Captain *la Forest*, with one hundred and ten Men, was sent to conduct the *Utawawas* Home; he carried with him considerable Presents sent by the King of *France*, to confirm these Nations in the *French Interest*.

Two *Indian Prisoners*, taken at *la Prairie*, were given to the *Utawawas*, and carried with them, to confirm the Stories they were to tell of their Successes against the *English* and *Five Nations*. These poor Men were there burnt alive; and if I should add, that it was done by *French* Instigation, what I shall relate by and by will clear me of the want of Charity. I believe it was so, in Order to rivet the Hatred between these People and the *Five Nations*.

The *Five Nations* continued their Incursions all Winter on *Canada*. Forty of the *Mohawks* fell upon *Fort Vercheres*, and carried off twenty of the Inhabitants; but the Alarm reaching *Montreal*, Mr. *de Crizaei*, with one hundred Men of the regular Troops, was sent in pursuit of them, who recovered most of the Prisoners.

The Count *de Frontenac* being informed, that a considerable Party of the *Five Nations* hunted Beaver on the Neck of Land between *Cadarackui Lake* and *Lake Erie*; with great Security, resolved to give them

them a better Opinion of the Strength and Courage of the *French*. For this Purpose he sent three hundred and twelve Men to surprize them, under the Command of Mr. *Beaucour*, a young Gentleman. The *Praying Indians* of *Montreal* were of the Party. This Expedition being in the Winter, they were obliged to undergo cruel Fatigues, while they marched on the Snow with snow Shoes, and carried all their Provision on their Backs. Several of the *French* had their Feet frozen, which obliged fifteen to return, with some old *Indians*, that could not bear the Fatigue ; and it was with much Difficulty that *Beaucour* could persuade the rest to continue their March. After a March to a surprizing Distance, at that Season of the Year, they surprized eighty of the *Five Nations*, who notwithstanding made a brave Defence, and did not run before they left most of their Men dead on the Spot. Three Women were made Prisoners, with whom the *French* immediately turned back to *Montreal*. Some stragling Parties went towards *Albany*, but did no more Mischief than killing two or three stragling Persons, and alarming the Country.

The Trade to *Missilimakinak* being still intirely stopt, by the Parties of the *Five Nations* investing *Cadarackui River*, by which, and *Cadarackui Lake*, the Passage in Canoes is made to the *Western Indians*, Captain *la Noue*, with a Command of the regular Troops, was ordered early in the Spring to guard the Traders through that Passage ; but when he reached the *Falls de Calumette*, he discovered the Enemy, and returned faster than he went.

*La Noue* had Orders a second Time to attempt this Passage, and went as far as the River *du Lievre* (thirty Leagues from *Montreal*) without any Obstruction ; but there discovering several Canoes of the *Five Nations*, he went back as fast as before.

CHAP. VII. The *Quatogbies* and the *Bullheads* \* having informed the *French* of another smaller River, which falls into *Cadarackui River*, and runs to the Northward of it, by which a Passage might be made to the Lakes, it was resolved to attempt this Passage, though it were much farther round, and more dangerous, there being many more rapid Falls in that River. Three Officers, with thirty Soldiers, were sent with the Traders for this Purpose, but a Party of the *Five Nations* meeting with them in the long Fall, before they reached this River, they were all killed or taken, except four that escaped back to *Montreal*.

A considerable Party of the *Five Nations*, under the Command of *Blackkettle*, a famous Hero, continued a long Time on *Cadarackui River*, in hopes of meeting with other *French* Parties, in their Passage towards *Missilimakinak*; but finding that no Attempts were made that Way, he resolved to make an Irruption into the Country round *Montreal*. The *French* say he had six hundred Men with him; but they usually increase the Number of their Enemies, in the Relation they give of these Transactions, either to excuse their Fears, or to increase their Glory.

*Blackkettle* overrun the Country (to use the *French* Expression) as a Torrent does the Low-lands, when it overflows its Banks, and there is no withstanding it. The Soldiers had Orders to stand upon the defensive within their Forts. Mr. *de Vaudreuil* pursued this Party (after they had burnt and ravaged the whole Country) at the Head of four hundred Men; he overtook them and surpris'd them. The *Five Nations* fought desperately, though the same Author, at this Place, makes them no more than two hundred Men. After they had lost twenty Men on the Spot, they broke through the *French*, and marched off. The *French* lost four Officers

\* The *Bullheads* are said to be cowardly People.

and many common Soldiers, and they took five Men, nine Women, and five Children Prisoners. CHAP. VII.

The *Five Nations* in a few Days had however some Revenge; a Captain having had Orders to guard the Vessels from *Montreal* to *Quebeck*, a Party of the *Five Nations* attacked him in his Return, as he passed through the Islands in *Lake St. Pierre*. He himself was killed, and the whole Party intirely routed.

The *French* all this Summer were obliged to keep upon the defensive within their Forts, while the *Five Nations*, in small Parties, ravaged the whole Country, so that no Man stirred the least Distance from a Fort, but he was in danger of losing his Scalp.

The Count *de Frontenac* was pierced to the Heart, when he found that he could not revenge these terrible Incurfions of the *Five Nations*; and his Anguish made him guilty of such a Piece of monstrous Cruelty, in burning a Prisoner alive after the *Indian* Manner, as though I have frequently mentioned to have been done by the *Indians*, yet I forbore giving the Particulars of such barbarous Acts, suspecting it might be too offensive to Christian Ears, even in the History of Savages. Here however I think it useful to give a circumstantial Account of this horrid Act, to shew on one Hand, what Courage and Resolution, Virtue, the Love of Glory, and the Love of one's Country can instill into Mens Minds, even where the Knowledge of true Religion is wanting; and on the other Hand, how far a false Policy, under a corrupt Religion, can debase even great Minds.

The Count *de Frontenac*, I say, condemned two Prisoners of the *Five Nations* to be burnt publickly alive. The Intendant's Lady intreated him to moderate the Sentence, and the Jesuits, it is said, used their Endeavours for the same Purpose. But the Count *de Frontenac* said, there is a Necessity of



CHAP. making such an Example, to frighten the *Five Na-*  
 VII. *tions* from approaching the Plantations, since the In-  
 ~~~~~  
 dulgence, that had hitherto been shewn, had in-
 courage'd them to advance with the greatest Bold-
 ness to the very Gates of their Towns; while they
 thought they run no other Risque, but of being made
 Prisoners, where they live better than at Home.
 He added, that the *Five Nations* having burnt so
 many *French*, justified this Method of making Re-
 prizals. But with Submission to the Politeness of
 the *French* Nation, may I not ask, whether every
 (or any) horrid Action of a barbarous Enemy, can
 justify a civilized Nation in doing the like?

When the Governor could not be moved, the Je-
 suits went to the Prison, to instruct the Prisoners in the
 Mysteries of our Holy Religion, viz. of the Trinity,
 the Incarnation of our Saviour, the Joys of Paradise,
 and the Punishments of Hell, to fit their Souls for
 Heaven by Baptism, while their Bodies were con-
 demned to Torments. But the *Indians*, after they
 had heard their Sentence, refused to hear the Jesuits
 speak, and began to prepare for Death in their own
 Country Manner, by singing their Death Song.

Some charitable Person threw a Knife into the
 Prison, with which one of them dispatched himself:
 The other was carried out to the Place of Executi-
 on by the Christian *Indians* of *Loretto*, to which
 he walked, seemingly, with as much Indiffe-
 rence as ever Martyr did to the Stake. While they
 were torturing him, he continued singing, that he
 was a Warrior brave and without Fear; that the
 most cruel Death could not shake his Courage; that
 the most cruel Torment should not draw an inde-
 cent Expression from him; that his Comrade was a
 Coward, a Scandal to the *Five Nations*, who had
 killed himself for fear of Pain; that he had the
 Comfort to reflect, that he had made many *French-*
men suffer as he did now. He fully verified his
 Words, for the most violent Torment could not
 force

force the least Complaint from him, though his Executioners tried their utmost Skill to do it. They first broiled his Feet between two red hot Stones; then they put his Fingers into red hot Pipes, and though he had his Arms at Liberty, he would not pull his Fingers out; they cut his Joints, and taking hold of the Sinews, twisted them round small Bars of Iron. All this while he kept fingering and recounting his own brave Actions against the *French*. At last they flead his Scalp from his Skull, and poured scalding hot Sand upon it; at which Time the Intendant's Lady obtained Leave of the Governor to have the *Coup-de-grace* given, and I believe she thereby likewise obtained a Favour to every Reader, in delivering him from a further continuance of this Account of *French* Cruelty.

Notwithstanding this Cruelty, which the *French* Governor manifested towards the *Five Nations*, and thereby his Hatred of them, he found Peace with them so necessary to *Canada*, that he still pursued it by all the Means in his Power. For this Purpose the *Praying Indians* (who, as I observed before, are *Mohawks*, and have always kept a Correspondence with their own Nation) were employed to bring it about, and to endeavour a Cessation of Arms, that the Governor might have an Opportunity of shewing what kind Things he had in his Heart towards the *Five Nations*, but without Success.

C H A P. VIII.

The Five Nations treat with Captain Ingoldsbey.

THE Governor of *New-York*, Colonel Slaughter's Death, soon after his Arrival, was very prejudicial to the Affairs of *New-York*; for Captain Ingoldsbey, who had no other Commission but that of Captain of one of the Independent Companies of Foot,

C H A P.
VIII.

CHAP. Foot, took upon himself the Government of the
 VIII. Province, without any Authority ; and he having
 likewise highly offended a great Number of the
 People, by the Share he took in the late Party
 Quarrels, it was not easy for him to prosecute any
 vigorous Measures. He was reckoned to be much
 more a Soldier than a Statesman.

Captain *Ingoldsby* met the *Five Nations* at *Albany*, the sixth of *June* 1692. In his Speech, he told them of his vigorous Resolutions to prosecute the War, and then blamed them for not sending (according to their Promise) a Party down *Cadarackui River*, to join them that went from *Albany* against *Montreal*, and for their Carelessness in suffering themselves to be surpris'd last Winter in their Hunting. He desired them to keep the Enemy in perpetual Alarm, by the Incursions of their Parties into the Enemy's Country, and to give him timely Notice of all their Motions. He told them in the next Place, that he heard the *French* were still using their wonted Artifice, of amusing them with Offers of Peace ; but the former Proceedings of the *French* sufficiently demonstrates, said he to the Brethren, that while Peace is in their Mouths, War is in their Hearts, and the late horrid Murder of the Brethren, after Quarter given, sufficiently shews the Perfidy and Rancour of their Hearts. It is in vain, said he, to think of any Cessation of Arms, much less of a Peace, while the two Kings are at War at Home. He added, *Virginia* is ready to assist us, and only waits the King's Orders, which are daily expected, and then renewed the Chain for *Virginia*. In the last Place he told them, that he heard the *Dionondadas* had sent two Prisoners Home, with a View thereby to procure Peace ; and advis'd them by all Means to make Peace with that Nation.

The *Five Nations* answered by *Cheda*, an *Oneydo* CHAP.
Sachem : VIII.

—

“ *Brother Corlear*,

The *Sachems* of the *Five Nations* have with great Attention heard *Corlear* speak ; we shall make a short Recital, to shew you with what Care we have hearkened. After the Recital he continued.

We heartily thank *Corlear*, for his coming to this Place to view the Strength thereof, for his bringing Forces with him, and for his Resolution of putting Garisons into the Frontier Places. Giving five Bevers and a Belt.

Brother *Corlear*, as to what you blame us for, let us not reproach one another, such Words do not favour well among Friends. They gave nothing with this Article.

Brother *Corlear*, be patient under the Loss of your Men, as we are of the *Mohawks* our Brethren, that were killed at the same Time. You take no Notice of the great Losses we have suffered. We designed to have come to this Place to have condoled with you in your Loss, but the War took up all our Time, and employed all Hands. They gave five Bevers, four Otters, and one Belt, as a Gift of Condolence.

Brother *Corlear*, we are all Subjects of one great King and Queen, we have one Head, one Heart, one Interest, and are all engaged in the same War. You tell us, that we must expect no Peace while the Kings are at War on the other Side the great Water. We thank you for being so plain with us. We assure you we have no Thoughts of Peace. We are resolved to carry on the War, though we know we only are in danger of being Losers. Pray do you prosecute the War with the same Resolution. You are strong and have many People. You have a great King, who is able to hold out long.

We

CHAP. we are but a small People, and decline daily, by
 VIII. the Men we lose in this War, we do our utmost
 to destroy the Enemy; but how strange does it seem
 to us! How unaccountable! that while our great King
 is so inveterate against the *French*, and you are so earnest
 with us to carry on the War, that Powder is now
 sold dearer to us than ever? We are poor, and not
 able to buy while we neglect hunting; and we can-
 not hunt and carry on the War at the same Time;
 We expect, that this Evil we so justly complain of
 be immediately remedied. Giving nine Bevers.

Brother *Corlear*, you desire us to keep the Enemy
 in perpetual Alarm, that they may have no Rest,
 till they are in their Graves; Is it not to secure your
 own Frontiers? Why then not one Word of your
 People that are to join us? We assure you we shall
 continue to carry on the War into the Heart of
 the Enemies Country. Giving eight Bevers.

We the *Five Nations*, *Mohawks*, *Oneydoes*, *Onon-
 dagas*, *Coyugas*, and *Senecas*, renew the Silver Chain
 whereby we are linked fast with our Brethren of *Assa-
 rigoa* (*Virginia*) and we promise to preserve it as
 long as the Sun shall shine in the Heavens. Giving
 ten Bevers.

But Brother *Corlear*, How comes it, that none of
 our Brethren fastened in the same Chain with us, of-
 fer their helping Hand in this general War, in which
 our great King is engaged against the *French*? Pray
Corlear, how come *Maryland*, *Delaware River*, and
New-England, to be disengaged from this War?
 You have always told us, that they are our Brethren,
 Subjects of the same great King. Has our King sold
 them? Or do they fail in their Obedience? Or do
 they draw their Arms out of our Chain? Or has the
 great King commanded, that the few Subjects he has
 in this Place, should make War against the *French*
 alone? Pray make plain to us this Mystery? How
 can they and we be Brethren, and make different
 Families? How can they and we be Subjects of the
 same

same great King, and not be engaged in the same War? How can they and we have the same Heart, the same Head, and the same Interest, as you tell us, and not have the same Thoughts? How comes it, that the Enemy burns and destroys the Towns in *New-England*, and they make no Resistance? How comes our great King to make War, and not to destroy his Enemies? When, if he would only command his Subjects on this Side the great Lake to joyn, the Destruction of the Enemy would not make one Summer's Work.

CHAP.
VIII.

You need not warn us of the Deceit and Treachery of the *French*, who would probably insinuate Thoughts of Peace; but Brethren, you need not fear us, we will never hearken to them: Tho' at the same Time, we must own, that we have not been without Thoughts of your being inclined to Peace, by Reason of the Brethrens Backwardness in pushing on the War. The *French* spread Reports among us to this Purpose, and say, that they had in a Manner concluded the Matter with you. We rejoice to be now assured of this Falshood. We shall never desist fighting the *French* as long as we shall live. And gave a Belt of Wampum.

We now renew the old Chain, and here plant the Tree of Prosperity and Peace. May it grow and thrive, and spread its Roots even beyond *Canada*. Giving a Belt.

We make the House clean, where all our Affairs of Importance are transacted with these five Otters.

We return you Thanks for the Powder and Lead given us; but what shall we do with them without Guns, shall we throw them at the Enemy? We doubt they will not hurt them so. Before this we always had Guns given us. It is no Wonder the Governor of *Canada* gains upon us, for he supplies his *Indians* with Guns as well as Powder; he supplies them plentifully with every Thing that can hurt us. Giving five Otters.

As to the *Dionondadas* setting two of our Nation at Liberty, we must tell you, that it was not the Act of that Nation, but the private Act of one Person: We are desirous to make Peace with that Nation as soon as we can, upon honourable Terms. And gave a Belt.

The *Mohawks*, before they left the Place, desired a private Conference with the Governor, and told him, that they were all exceedingly dissatisfied, that the other *English* Colonies gave no Assistance, and that it might prove of ill Consequence. Captain *Ingoldby* promised to write to them, and hoped it would have a good Effect.

CH A P. IX.

The French surprise and take three Mohawk Castles.

CH A P.
IX.

THE *Praying Indians* promised their Endeavours to reconcile their Brethren the *Mohawks* to the *French*, on whom the *French* expected they would have much Influence; but their Endeavours proving ineffectual, their Correspondence began to be suspected. The *French* thought they did more Hurt than Good, by the Intelligence the Enemy by their Means received. The *French* in *Canada* began to lose their Spirits, by being obliged to remain so long upon the defensive, as the *Five Nations* gained more Courage by it. The Count *de Frontenac* thought it therefore absolutely necessary to undertake some bold Enterprize, to shew the *Five Nations*, that they had to do with an Enemy still able to act offensively: An Attack on the *Mohawks* he thought would be most effectual for this Purpose, because it would shew, at the same Time,

that

that the *English* would not protect their nearest CHAP. Neighbours. As this was designed to be done by IX. Surprise, the Winter Season was chosen for this Purpose, as least to be suspected at such a Time; and when the Enemy could not, without great Hardship, keep Scouts abroad, to discover them or the *English* give any Assistance.

The Body of the *French* designed for this Expedition was put under three Captains of the regular Troops, and thirty Subalterns, and consisted of picked Men of the regular Troops of the common Militia of the Country of the *Praying Indians*, the *Quatoghies* of *Loretto*, *Adirondacks*, and *Sohokies*, who live to the eastward of *Boston*, making in all about six or seven hundred Men, so that a great Part of the Force of *Canada* was employed in it. They were well supplied with all Sorts of Ammunition, Provision, Snow-Shoes, and such Conveniencies for Carriage, as were practicable upon the Snow, and through such great Forests as they had to pass. The *French* at *Canada* have a Kind of light Sledges made with Skins, and are drawn by large Dogs on the frozen Snow.

They set out from *la Prairie de Magdaleine* the 15th of *January* 1692-3, after having endured what might have been thought unsurmountable Hardships; they passed by *Scheneectady* at some Distance from it, on the 8th of *February*, at which Time one that had been taken Prisoner, when that Place was sacked, made his Escape from them, and gave the People of *Scheneectady* Intelligence of the *French*, who by an Express, immediately informed the Commandant of *Albany*. The Militia was expeditiously raised, and a Lieutenant with fifty five Horse was immediately dispatched to *Scheneectady*; but no Care was taken to give the *Mohawks* Notice, which might have been done without much Danger, by sending up the South Side of the River, whilst the *French* marched on the North. The *French*, on the

CHAP. the 8th at Night, reached the first *Mohawk* Castle,
 XI. where there were only five Men, and some Women
 and Children in great Security, their other Men being
 all abroad, these were all taken without Opposition.
 The next Fort not far from it was in like Manner
 surprized, without any Opposition, both of them
 were very small, and being next the *English*, not
 fortified.

Schenectady being the nearest *English* Settlement
 to the *Mohawks*, and but a little Way from their
 nearest Castle, many of them are always there. The
Mohawks then in the Town were exceedingly en-
 raged, that none went out to assist their Nation;
 some were sent therefore out the next Day, to gain
 Information of the Enemy, and to give the *Mo-
 hawks* Notice; but they returned without doing their
 Duty.

The *French* went on to the next *Mohawk* Fort,
 which was the largest; and coming to that in the
 Night, they heard some Noise, and suspected they
 were discovered: But this Noise was only occasioned
 by a War Dance, forty of the *Indians* designing to
 go next Day upon some Enterprize. The *French*
 approached the Castle silently, and finding the *In-
 dians* no way on their Guard, opened the Gate, and
 entered before they were discovered; but notwith-
 standing this, and the Confusion the *Indians* must
 be in, this Conquest was not without Loss of Blood,
 the *French* having lost thirty Men, before the *Indi-
 ans* entirely submitted: The *French* designed to have
 put them all to the Sword, but their own *Indians*
 would not suffer it, and gave Quarter: They took
 three hundred Prisoners, of whom one hundred
 were fighting Men. I have no Account of the Num-
 ber of *Mohawks* killed, but no Doubt it was very
 considerable.

When the Account came to *Albany*, how much
 the *Mohawks*, who were at *Schenectady*, were enraged,
 that no Assistance was sent to their Countrymen;

Peter Schuyler a Major of the Militia offered himself to go with what Force could be got ready for their Assistance. He went himself immediately to *Schenectady*, and sent out to discover the Enemy: His Scouts brought him Intelligence, first, that the *French* were in Possession of the two smallest Forts, afterwards, that they had heard great Firing at the largest Fort; and at last, that it was taken. Having received 200 Men, partly regular Troops, but most of the Militia, he began his March on the 12th in Quest of the Enemy; but hearing soon after, that six hundred Men of the upper Castles were on their March, 'tis probable he did not endeavour to be up with the *French* so soon as he might; for I find by his Journal, that he was nearer them on the fourteenth, than he was two Days after. He had not sufficient Force to fight them: He sent therefore to the upper *Indians*, to hasten their March. On the 15th he was joined by these *Indians*, in all two hundred and ninety Men and Boys, very ill armed. His Body then consisted of two hundred and fifty Christians, and two hundred and ninety *Indians*, armed fighting Men. They had no other Provision but some Biscuit every Man had in his Pocket. On the 16th he was informed by an *Indian*, who pretended to be a Deserter, that the *French* had built a Fort, where they designed to wait for him, and fight him; whereupon he sent an Express to *Coll. Ingoldesby*, then Commandant at *Albany*, to hasten more Men to join him, with sufficient Provision for the whole. He found afterwards, that this *Indian* was sent by the *French*, on purpose to persuade the *Indians* to give over the Pursuit. Major *Schuyler* came up to the Enemy on the 17th; when he came near them he did not go on streight towards them, for Fear of Ambuscades, but marched round. As soon as he came in Sight, he was saluted with three loud Shouts, which were answered with as much Noise. The *Indians* began in their Manner to se-

CHAP. cure themselves, by felling the Trees between them,
 IX. and the Enemy sallied out to prevent them, but
 were soon beat back. The *Indians* fell to Work again, and desired the Christians to assist them, which was done, but in such Confusion, that they themselves were in Danger from the falling Trees. The *French* sallied a second Time with all their Force, crying out, *They run, we'll cut them off, and get their Provisions*; but they were warmly received, and beat back into their Fort. They sallied a third Time, and were beat back with considerable Loss, the *Indians* bringing in several Heads and Scalps. As soon as the Skirmishing was over, the Major sent back an Express, to hasten the Men that were to reinforce him, and were to bring Provision, some of the Men having had no Provision for two Days. The *Major* then secured himself, under the Cover of the fallen Trees, and kept out Watches to observe the *French*.

The 18th proving a cold stormy Day, with Snow, he was informed, by a Deserter, that the *French* were upon their March, it not being easy to follow their Tracks, or to discover them in such Weather. The Officers were commanded to pursue and retard their March, till the Reinforcement should come up, but the Men refused to march without Provision. The Officers, with about 60 Men, and a Body of *Indians*, followed the Enemy till Night, when they began to secure themselves, by fortifying their Camp. The Officers wanting a sufficient Number to secure themselves in like Manner, or to fight the Enemy, returned, leaving about forty Christians, and one hundred *Indians*, to observe them. On the 19th the Provisions, with about 80 Men, arrived, under the Command of Captain *Sims* of the regular Troops. Every Man, as he was served with Provision, marched towards the Enemy. The Van was commanded by Captain *Peter Matthews* of the regular Troops, who coming
 up

up with the Enemy's Rear, would have attacked them, to retard their March, but the *Mohawks* were averſe to fighting. The *French* dropt on purpoſe ſeveral of their Priſoners, who told the *Mohawks*, that the *French* were reſolved to put all the Priſoners to the Sword, if they ſhould be attacked. The Enemy paſſed the North Branch of *Hudſon's* River upon a Cake of Ice, which, very opportunely for them, ſtuck there in one Place, while it was open by a late Thaw, both above and below. The Weather continuing very cold, and the *Indians* averſe to fighting, Major *Schuyler* gave over the Purſuit on the 20th, having loſt only four private Men, and as many *Indians*, two Officers and twelve Men Chriſtians and *Indians* were wounded. The *French* loſt thirty three Men (the Bodies of twenty ſeven were found) of whom four were Officers, and twenty-fix wounded, as the Deſerters told him. Between forty and fifty Priſoners were recovered. I have been told, that Captain *Matthews* deſired Coll. *Schuyler*, when he came firſt up with the *French*, to ſummon them to ſurrender; he ſaid, the *French* are in great Diſtreſs, and this will give them an Opinion of our Strength; but Coll. *Schuyler* reſuſed, tho' he was brave, he was no Soldier; and it is very probable, that the *French* obſerving the want of Conduct and Diſcipline, were encouraged. It is true, the *Engliſh* were in great Want of Proviſions at that Time. The *Indians* eat the Bodies of the *French* that they found. Coll. *Schuyler* (as he told me himſelf) going among the *Indians* at that Time, was invited to eat Broth with them, which ſome of them had ready boiled, which he did, till they, putting the Ladle into the Kettle to take out more, brought out a *French* Man's Hand, which put an End to his Appetite.

The *French* went home as faſt as they could carry their wounded Men with them; but coming to a Place, where they had hid Proviſions for their Sup-

CHAP. ply in their return, they found it all spoiled. This
IX. put them in great Distress, so that they were
forced to eat their Shoes; they sent some of the
nimblest Men forward to *Monireal*, that Provision
might meet them. As soon as they came near the
Settlements they dispersed, every Man running
home to eat, so that they returned to *Canada* like
an Army routed. The *French* own they lost eighty
Men, and had thirty three wounded in this Expe-
dition.

One may wonder how it is possible for Men to
march several hundred Miles in the Wilderness,
while the Ground is every where covered with
Snow, two or three Feet deep at least; but the fore-
most march on Snow Shoes, which beat a firm
Track for those that follow. At Night, when they
rest, they dig a Hole in the Snow, throwing the
Snow up all round, but highest towards that Side
from whence the Wind blows, so large, as to contain
as many Men as can lye round a Fire: They make
the Fire in the Middle, and cover the frozen Ground
round it with the small Branches of the Fir-Trees.
Thus they tell me a Man lyes much warmer, than
one imagines that never tried it.

When the Information of the *French* came to
Schenectady, an Express was sent to *New-York* to
Coll. *Fletcher* then Governor there; the Express
reached *New-York*, an hundred and fifty Miles from
Albany, the 12th at ten in the Night. The Gover-
nor got the City Regiment under Arms by eight the
next Morning,

He called out to know who were willing to go
with him to the Frontiers, they all immediately
threw up their Hats, and answered one and all. In-
deed the People of this Province have, upon all Oc-
casions, shewn their Courage and Resolution in De-
fence of their Country; but the Misfortune is, they
are under no Discipline, and have been seldom led
by Men that knew their Duty. The Governor or-
der-

dered an hundred and fifty Volunteers for this Service, and as many more from *Long-Island*. The River then happened to be open by a sudden Thaw, which does not, at that Time of the Year, happen once in twenty Years. He embarked three hundred Men in five Sloops, by four in the Afternoon of the 14th, and arrived at *Albany* the 17th at nine in the Morning. The same Day the Governor went to *Schenectady*, and ordered the Men to follow, but before they could get every Thing ready for their March into the Woods, they had an Account, that Major *Schuyler* was upon his Return. Several Gentlemen of *Albany*, particularly Mr. *Lanslear*, a Gentleman of the best Estate there, went out Volunteers under Major *Schuyler*, which I ought not to have forgot.

Coll. *Fletcher* made a Speech to the *Mohawks* at *Albany*, he blamed their supine Negligence, in suffering themselves to be surpris'd in the Manner they were in Time of War. He told them that they had Reason to be convinced, that the *English* were their Friends heartily, by the Number of Men he had marched to their Assistance in a very little Time, upon the first Notice. He promised to wipe away their Tears in the Spring, by considerable Presents; and that he would, in the mean while, take Care of their Subsistence, by providing Houses and Victuals for them. He told them, he doubted they had some false Brethren among them, that gave the *French* Information, and favoured their Designs; and in the last Place, advised them to convince the *French*, that they had not lost their Courage with this Misfortune.

The *Mohawks*, in their Answer, called Coll. *Fletcher* by the Name of *Cayenguirago*; and he was called so by the *Indians* always after this. It signifies a great swift Arrow, as an Acknowledgement of the Speed he made to their Assistance. But they appeared, in their Answer, to be quite disheartned; they had not, in the Memory of any Man, re-

ceived such a Blow. They said their Strength was quite broke, by the Continuance of the War; but they added, if all the *English* Colonies would join, they could still easily take *Canada*: Their being so ill armed, was the Reason (they said) that the *French* had now escaped.

The *French*, continued they, arm their *Indians* completely, and furnish them with every Thing necessary for War, as we find every Time we meet with them.

The *French* had got a great Quantity of Furs, and other Peltry, at *Missilimakinak*, by their Trade with the *Indians*; but the *Five Nations* had so effectually blocked up the Passage between that and *Canada*, that they had remained there useless to the *French* for several Years. The Count de Frontenac, after his Success against the *Mohawks*, was in Hopes the *Five Nations* would keep more at home in Defence of their own Castles, and with these Hopes sent a Lieutenant, with eighteen *Canadians*, and twenty praying *Indians*, to open the Passage to *Missilimakinak*; but this Party fell in with another of the *Five Nations*, who entirely routed them, so that a few escaped only, to give an Account of their Misfortune; at last 200 Canoes, loaded with Furs from *Missilimakinak*, arrived at *Montreal*, which gave as universal a Joy to *Canada*, as the Arrival of the *Galleons* give in *Spain*.

CHAP. X.

The Treaties and Negotiations the Five Nations had with the English and French, in the Years 1693 and 1694.

CHAP.
X.

AS by this Time the Reader may be tired with the horrid Scenes of a barbarous War, it may be some Relief to observe the *Indian* Genius in the Arts of negotiating; and see how a barbarous People, with-

out any of the Arts and Sciences in which we value CHAP. our selves, manage their Interest with the most learn- IX. ed, most polite, and artificial Nation in *Europe*. The *Five Nations* were informed, that the Governor of *Canada* had received from *Europe* a very considerable Recruit of Soldiers, and of all Sorts of Ammunition. This, with the great Loss the *Mohawks* had lately suffered, while they had been amused by the *English* with great Hopes, and very little real Assistance, made the *Oneydoes*, at last yield to the Solicitations of the Jesuit *Milet*, to send a Message to the *French* for Peace. It is probable he had the Art to influence the People at *Albany* to favour his Designs, by giving them Hopes of being included in the Peace, as may be conjectured, from what will appear in the Sequel.

Coll. *Fletcher* being informed, that the *Oneydoes* had sent a Messenger to *Canada*, sent for the *Five Nations* to *Albany*. He spoke to them the third of July 1693.

He first excused his not meeting them as he had promised, at the Time the Sap begins to run in the Trees, by Reason of his having received a Commission to be Governor of *Pennsylvania*, to which Place he was obliged at that Time to go. He put them in Mind with what Speed he came to their Assistance last Winter, and how effectual, in all Probability, it would have been, had they only retarded the Enemy's March till he could have reached them: He advised them to guard against being drunk, and shewed them the ill Consequences of it in Time of War.

Then he said, " I have received Information, " that some of the Brethren are wavering, and " inclined to Peace with the Enemy; and am assured, that such Thoughts must arise from the " Instigation of the Jesuit *Milet*, whom some of " the Brethren have suffered to live so long among " them, and whose only Practice is to delude and

CHAP. "betray them. Let me therefore advise you to
X. "remove that ill Person from among you."

In the End he condoled their Dead, and made them a very considerable Present of ninety Guns, eight hundred and ten Pound of Powder, eight hundred Bars of Lead, a Thousand Flints, eighty seven Hatchets, four Gross of Knives, besides a considerable Quantity of Cloathing and Provisions. This Present, he told them, their King and Queen had sent them, and renewed the Covenant for all the *English* Colonies.

The King usually sends them a considerable Present with every new Governor sent to *New-York*, which is not always applied as it is designed. If this Present had been made sooner, it had been of much more Use to the *English*, as well as to the *Five Nations*.

The *Five Nations* the next Day spoke as follows.

Brother *Cayenguirago*,

"We are involved in a bloody War, which makes us sit in Sorrow and Grief; and being about to speak of Matters of Importance, we, in the first Place, clear the Mouth and Throat of our Interpreters, by giving her these three Beaver Skins.

Then they repeated his Excellency's Speech, in Answer to which they said,

"Brother *Cayenguirago*, we rejoice, that the great King and Queen of *England* take such Notice of us, as we find, by the large Present sent us; we return hearty Thanks for the Ammunition especially.

"We are glad that our Brother *Cayenguirago* renews the Chain, not only between us and this Government, but likewise with *New-England*, *Virginia*, *Maryland* and *Pensilvania*; it shall be kept inviolable by us the *Five Nations*, as long as the Sun shines. We pray our Brother *Cayenguirago*

“ *guirago* to have a watchful Eye, that none
 “ of the other Colonies keep any Correspondence
 “ with the Enemy, but use their Endeavours to de-
 “ stroy them. We heard nothing of what you
 “ told us of the Priest *Milet*, who lives at *Oneydo*,
 “ till we came to this Town. We have enquired
 “ the Truth of our Brethren the *Oneydoes*, who con-
 “ fess, that the Priest sent an *Indian* to *Canada* with
 “ Letters, which has surpris'd us very much.

“ Brother *Cayenguirago*, you are our great Tree,
 “ whose Roots extend to the utmost Bounds of this
 “ Government ; we desire you may not be disturbed
 “ when any of our Prisoners misbehave, for they
 “ are not countenanced by us ; and all proper Me-
 “ thods shall be taken, to prevent the like for the
 “ future. In like Manner we beg you to take
 “ Care, that none of the Prisoners you have cor-
 “ respond with the Enemy, as we suspect the
 “ Chevalier *D' O.* did ; and that he was sent
 “ with Letters to *Canada* by some of our Brethren.
 “ (He made his Escape from *Boston.*)

“ Brother *Cayenguirago*, In former Times our
 “ Propositions to one another were only Discourses
 “ of Peace and Friendship, and in giving Presents ;
 “ but how much is the Case altered of late ? Now
 “ we talk of nothing but War, and are continually
 “ prompting one another to it. As to our Parts,
 “ we will keep close to the War to the last Drop
 “ of our Blood ; and tho' we be tossed to and fro
 “ with Storms, we will remain stedfast to the last
 “ Man, as it was resolv'd by both in the Begin-
 “ ning of the War.

“ Brother *Cayenguirago*, we were told in our own
 “ Country, not only that the King had made you
 “ Governor of *Pensilvania*, but likewise that you
 “ were preparing a Fleet to take *Canada*. O ! what
 “ joyful News this was to our young Men. *Sadaga-*
 “ *rus*, the great *Seneka* Captain, was to command
 “ them. Now they said, we need only make one
 hearty

CHAP. " hearty Push, while the Fleet is before *Quebeck*.
 X. " Now there will be an End to this bloody War,
 " and all our Troubles ; But alas, now we are come
 " here, we hear not one Word of this Design.

" Brother *Cayenguirago*, you are that flourishing
 " Tree that covers us ; you keep the Chain bright ;
 " we have one Request to make to you, that you
 " may stay with us, and not return to *England* ; for
 " you know our Ways and Manners. If you have
 " any Thing to tell the King and Queen, write it to
 " them, for the King knows you to be a wise Man,
 " and will therefore believe you.

" Brother *Cayenguirago*, we are very glad to hear
 " that *Pensilvania* is come under your Government,
 " bring their young Men here, with their Bows and
 " Arrows and Hatchets in their Hands, for this
 " is the Place of Action. We are pleased that
 " the *Showonons* or *Satanas*, who are our Enemies,
 " have applied to you for Protection ; and that you
 " sent them to us to endeavour a Peace, and that
 " you sent Christians with them, to conduct them
 " back again. We wish they were come to assist us
 " against the common Enemy.

" Brother *Cayenguirago*, now we have done, but
 " must tell you again, that we roll and wallow
 " in Joy, by Reason of the great Favour the great
 " King and Queen has done us, in sending us Arms
 " and Ammunition, at a Time when we are in the
 " greatest Need of them ; and because there is such
 " Unity among the Brethren."

They made the Governor a considerable Present
 of Furs, to shew their Respect to his Person ; but
 they did not give one Belt to confirm any one Ar-
 ticle ; so that the whole of it is, according to their
 Stile, only argumentative.

Coll. *Fletcher* not being satisfied with their Answer,
 concerning the Jesuit *Milet*, made this further
 Proposal to them. " As to *Milet* the Priest, whom
 " the Brethren of *Oneydo* still harbour among them,

“ I must tell you again, that he betrays you, and
 “ all your Councils; and that you may see I desire
 “ not to diminish your Number, I am willing to
 “ give you a pretty *Indian Boy*, in Lieu of the
 “ old Priest; and accordingly the Boy was brought
 “ and delivered to them. C H A P.
X.

In answer to this the *Oneydo Sachem* said, “ As
 “ soon as the *Indian Messenger* returns all his Papers
 “ shall be taken from him, and be forthwith
 “ brought to our Brother *Cayenguirago*, before the
 “ Priest shall see any of them: we are willing to
 “ take the Boy in Exchange for the Priest, but it is
 “ not safe to do it, while our Messenger is in the
 “ Power of the Enemy; let the Boy stay here till
 “ we bring the Priest, which shall be as soon as the
 “ Messenger shall return”. But he gave no Belt,
 or other Present, to confirm this Promise. He ad-
 ded,

“ Brother *Cayenguirago*, we now acquaint you
 “ that it is proposed by all the *Five Nations*, to
 “ make Peace with the *Dionondadies*, a Nation of
 “ *Indians* near in Alliance with the *French* of *Can-*
 “ *da*. This will both strengthen us and weaken the
 “ Enemy. The *Senekas*, who live nearest them,
 “ have undertaken this Treaty, and take Belts of
 “ Wampum from the other Nations, to confirm
 “ the Peace. We desire your Approbation, that
 “ you would send your Belt in Concurrence, as our
 “ eldest Brother in our Chain.”

The Governor approved of this, and gave them
 a Belt to carry in his Name.

Notwithstanding what the Speaker of the *Five Nations* had promised to the Governor, to bring all the Papers the *Oneydo Messenger* should bring from *Canada*, before the Jesuit *Milet* should have Liberty to see them, it could not be difficult for the Jesuit, to persuade them to keep the Power of making Peace in their own Hands, and for that Purpose, to call a Meeting of the *Sachems* of *Onon-*
dago,

CHAP.

X.

dago, where all such Matters had been formerly transacted among themselves, and there to determine independently, rather than to submit themselves to another Nation at *Albany*. They only invited the *English* to assist at the general Council. The *English* used what Arguments they could to dissuade this Meeting, but rather to observe the Promise made to the Governor; and it seems used some Threatning. The *Mohawks* had so much Regard to the *English*, that they refused to assist at the Council. The other four, notwithstanding this, met, and resolved on an Answer to be sent to the Governor of *Canada*; but at the same Time, to shew their Regard to the *Mohawks* and *English*, these Resolutions were not to be final, till they should first be communicated to the *English* and *Mohawks*, and their Advice received thereon; for which Purpose several *Sachems* were sent to *Albany*, of whom *Decanesora* was the Principal and the Speaker.

Decanesora had for many Years the greatest Reputation among the *Five Nations* for speaking, and was generally employed as their Speaker, in their Negotiations with both *French* and *English*: He was grown old when I saw him, and heard him speak; he had a great Fluency in speaking, and a graceful Elocution, that would have pleased in any Part of the World. His Person was tall and well made, and his Features, to my thinking, resembled much the Bustos of *Cicero*. I shall give an Account of these Negotiations from *Decanesora*'s Mouth, because his Narration agrees in the main with the Account the *French* give of them, and carries along with it as strong Evidences of Truth, as that of the *French* do: but the chief Reason is, that I intend to give the Reader as perfect a Notion as I can of the *Indian* Genius; and here it will appear, what Art *Decanesora* had, to make an Account of an Affair less disagreeable to *English* Ears, which had been undertaken

taken against their Advice, and contrary to their Interest. CHAP. X.

Decanesora spoke to Major *Schuyler* (*Quider*) and the Magistrates of *Albany*, the second of February 1693-4 as follows.

“ Brother *Cayenguirago* *, we are come to acquaint you, that our Children the *Oneydoes* having of themselves sent a Messenger to *Canada*, he has brought back with him a Belt of Peace from the Governor of *Canada*.

“ As soon as *Tariha* (the Messenger) arrived at *Canada*, he was asked, where the six hundred Men were that were to attack *Canada*, as they had been informed by *Cariokefe* a *Mohawk* Deferter? He assured them there was no such Design.

“ He was carried to *Quebeck*, where he delivered his Belt, with the following Propositions. *Onondio*, if you would have Peace go to *Albany*, and ask it there, for the *Five Nations* will do nothing without *Cayenguirago*. The Governor of *Canada* was angry at this, and said, he had nothing to do with the Governor of *New-York*, he would treat only with the *Five Nations*; the Peace between the Christians must be made on the other Side the great Lake. He added, he was sorry to see the *Five Nations* so far degenerated, as to take a sixth Nation into their Chain, to rule over them. If you had desired me to come and treat in any of your Castles, I would have done it; but to tell me I must go to *Albany*, is to desire of me what I can by no Means do. You have done very ill, to suffer the People of *New-York* to govern you so far, that you dare do nothing without their Consent. I advise you to send two of each Nation to me, and let *Decanesora* be one of them.

* When the Affair of which they speak concerns the Government of *New-York*, the *Indians* always address themselves to the Governor, whether he be present or not.

CHAP. " I have Orders from the King my Master to grant
X. " you Peace, if you come in your proper Persons
" to ask it. The Governor of *Canada* afterwards
" said,

" Children of the *Five Nations*, I have Compassion for your little Children, therefore come speedily, and speak of Peace to me, otherwise I'll stop my Ears for the future : By all Means let *Decanesora* come; for if the *Mohawks* come alone, I will not hear them, some of all the *Five Nations* must come. Now *Tariba* return home, and tell the *Five Nations*, that I will wait for their coming till the Trees bud, and the Bark can be parted from the Trees. I design for *France* in the Spring, and I leave a Gentleman to command here, to whom I have given Orders to raise Soldiers, if you do not come in that Time, and then what will become of you? I am truly grieved to see the *Five Nations* so debauched and deceived by *Cayenguirago*, who is lately come to *New-York*, and by *Quider*. Formerly the chief Men of the *Five Nations* used to converse with me; but this Governor of *New-York* has so deluded you, that you hearken to none but him; but take Care of what will follow, if you hearken to none but him."

Then *Decanesora* excused the not sending the Letters to *Albany*, which came by *Tariba*, as they had promised, saying, the other Nations trusted this to the *Oneydoes*, because the Messenger was to return to them, and the *Oneydoes* deceived the others. He likewise excused their not coming to *Albany* as soon as *Tariba* returned, which was in *November*. He said the chief *Sachem* of the *Onondogas*, who was entrusted (as their Speaker) by the *Five Nations* with their general Affairs, by the general Council of *Onondaga*, had a sore Leg, and could not travel*.

* This, in the *Indian* Idiom, signifies a trifling Excuse of an unwilling Person.

That in such Case he (*Decanesora*) did all that was CHAP. in his Power, that is, he called a Council at *Onondaga*, X. to give Directions in this Affair; and that he invited *Quider* to this Council. He continued,

“ The four Nations that met there resolved to
“ send Deputies to *Canada*, and that I *Decanesora* was
“ to be one of them; but at the same Time ordered
“ me, with some others, to communicate the Re-
“ solutions of the General Council to our Brethren
“ at *Albany*, and to the *Mohawks*, to be farther
“ advised by them.

“ The Resolutions are, to send three Belts to
“ the Governor of *Canada*, with the following Pro-
“ positions.

“ I. *Onondio*, you have sent for me often, and
“ as often asked, why I am afraid to come? The
“ great Kettle of War that you have hung over the
“ Fire is the Reason of it. Then laying down the
“ first Belt, I am to ask his Consent to the other
“ two Belts which I still keep in my Hand.

“ II. We now not only throw down the Kettle,
“ and thereby throw the boiling Water out of it, but
“ likewise break it to Pieces, that it may never be
“ hanged up again by this second Belt.

“ III. Hearken, *Onondio*, you are sent from the
“ *French* King, your Master, as *Cayenguirago* is
“ from the great King and Queen of *England*.
“ What I am now about to speak to you, is by In-
“ spiration from the great God of Heaven. You say
“ that you will have nothing to do with our Bre-
“ thren of *Cayenguirago*, but I must tell you, that
“ we are inseparable, we can have no Peace with
“ you so long as you are at War with them; we
“ must stand and fall with them; which I am to
“ confirm, by laying down the third Belt.

“ When this was concluded the Jesuit *Milet*,
“ and another *French* Gentleman (who had been
“ taken

CHAP. " taken Prisoner, and was taken into the Place of
 X. " the chief *Sachem* of *Onondaga*, formerly lost in
 " the War, and thereby became a *Sachem*) de-
 " sired Leave to add two Belts to the other three.
 " By their being *Sachems* they had a Vote in the
 " General Council, and a Right to propose any
 " Thing. They wrote and read to us the Pur-
 " ports of their Belts, and we have brought their
 " Papers with us, to shew to our Brethren."

To shew the Necessity they were under of making Peace, speedily he added :

" That two Women, who were Prisoners at *Canada*, had made their Escape, on Purpose to inform them that the *French* were making great Preparations of Battoes, and other Necessaries for an Expedition ; one said, she had informed one of the *Sachems* of the *Praying Indians* of her Design, who sent an *Indian* with her to advise the *Five Nations*, to prevent the great Danger they were threatened with by a speedy Conclusion of the Peace ; and added, that they had sent one of their People back with this *Praying Indian*, to assure them that Deputies would certainly go to *Canada* in the Spring to treat of Peace." I make no Doubt, this was only an Article to hasten the *Five Nations* to conclude the Peace, lest the *English*, if it were delayed, should find Means to prevent it. Then he shewed the Flag which the Governor of *Canada* sent them to be carried by their Deputies, that the *French* might know them. Upon these Resolutions being taken, the *Five Nations* recalled six hundred Men, that they had placed along *Cadarrackui River*, to intercept the *French*, as they passed to and from *Missilimakinak*.

The Jesuit's Papers being read to them, several Things were found in them which he had not read to the General Council. To this *Decanesira* answered ; " We know that the Priest favours his own Nation, and deceives us in many Things ;
 " but

“ but it is not in his Power to alter our Affection
 “ to our Brethren, we wish you would bury all
 “ Misunderstandings that you have conceived on
 “ his Account ; and we likewise wish you gave
 “ less Credit to the Rum-Carriers than you do.”

Here we see, by this Appellation, what a contemptible Character the Traders have among the *Indians*, and yet the Government of *New-York* has almost perpetually trusted the Management of the *Indian* Affairs to these Traders.

Decanesora ended his Conference as follows :
 “ The Governor of *Canada*’s Words, and the Resolutions of the four Nations are now before you, consult therefore what is to be done, and if it be necessary for the Brethren to go to our Castles to advise us farther, be not unwilling ; and then he laid down a large Belt eleven Rows deep, and seven Fathom of Wampum.”

The next Day Major *Schuyler* told them that he could consent to no Treaty with the *French* ; but proposed to them to meet the Governor here in seventy Days, and that *Decanesora* in particular should return at that Time, and gave a Belt.

They agreed to meet the Governor at that Time ;
 “ But as for myself (says *Decanesora*) I cannot promise ; I am now the Minister of the General Council, and cannot dispose of myself, but by their Directions ; if they order me, I shall willingly return. We did not expect to hear such positive Prohibition of keeping any Correspondence with the *French* ; seventy Days must pass before we meet again, if any Mischief be done by the Enemy in that Time, let us not blame one another. Consider again what is most for the publick Good, and let it be spoken before we part, and laid down a large Belt of fourteen deep.”

CHAP. Major Schuyler then asked them again, whether they promised to stop all Correspondence with the *French*, either by the Jesuit or otherwise, for seventy Days, and till they shall have his Excellency the Governor's Answer.

X. *Decanesora* answered to this, " I have no Authority to answer this Question. I shall lay the Belt down in every one of the Castles, and tell, that by it all Correspondence is desired to stop with the *French*; but I cannot promise that this will be complied with."

Major Schuyler on the sixth called the *Indians* again together: He advised them not to submit to, nor trust such a perfidious Nation as the *French* are, who have upon all Occasions proved themselves such. Be not discouraged, (says he, giving a Belt) Heaven begins again to favour us. This Day the Forerunners of the *Shawonons* are come to Town, seven Nations are on their March following them, one Thousand in Number, including Men, Women and Children, as you may learn from their own Mouths. Take Courage, and be not afraid, giving five Fathom of Wampum. This seemed a lucky Incident, and accordingly it had more Influence than all other Arguments together.

Decanesora, the next Day, called the Magistrates together, and told them, you have at last shut up the Way to *Canada*, but we have one Thing to ask, after mature Deliberation, which we expect will not be refused us. Major Schuyler assured them that every Thing should be granted, which was either for their Safety or Honour. We desire then, said he, that you send a Messenger along with ours to the *Praying Indians* at *Canada*, to tell them that the Priest is false; that we are to meet *Cayenguirago* in the Spring, and therefore cannot go to *Canada* at that Time; and that a further Cessation of Arms be agreed to, till such Time as

we can go. We desire at least, that if you will not CHAP. X.
 send a Messenger, that you put the Message in
 Writing, as a Token of your Assent to it. This
 last was agreed to, and the Message was put in
 Writing in the following Words, and translated in-
 to *French*.

The Dispatch of three Belts, which two Messen-
 gers of the *Five Nations* carry to the *Caraguists* and
Catholick Indians, according to what was resolved
 by the *Agayandres* or *Sachems* of the *Five Nations*,
 at *Albany*, *February* the ninth 1694.

First Belt.

The *Agayandres* of the *Five Nations* cannot go to
Canada in the Spring, as they gave Reason to ex-
 pect by the last Message from *Onondaga*, because
Cayenguirago has called all the *Five Nations*, and
 other *Indians*, to meet him at *Albany*, in the Month
 of *April* next, to which the *Five Nations* have a-
 greed.

Second Belt.

If the *Caraguists*, or *French*, have any Thing to
 propose to the *Five Nations*, they may safely come
 into our Country. This Belt opens the Path, and
 secures it to them both coming and going.

Third Belt.

The *Five Nations*, and their Friends, lay down
 the Hatchet till they shall have an Answer, which
 they expect in forty Days. Provided nevertheless,
 that the *Caraguists* and *French* tye their Hatchets
 down at the same Time.

These Belts were accordingly presented to the
Praying Indians of *Cabnuaga*, who refused to re-
 ceive them but in the Presence of Mr. de Callieres,

CHAP. Governor of *Montreal*. Mr. *de Callieres* acquainted the Count *de Frontenac* with the Contents. After which the *Praying Indians*, in Presence of Mr. *de Callieres*, gave the following Answer.

“ We will have no Correspondence with the
 “ *Five Nations*, but by Order of the Governor of
 “ *Canada* our Father, and unless *Decanesora*, and
 “ the other Deputies, come before the Feast of
 “ *St. John*, the Way will be shut up for ever after,
 “ and our Father’s Ears will be stopt. We how-
 “ ever assure you, that if the Deputies come in
 “ that Time the Path shall be safe both coming
 “ and going.”

Whether the Accounts given of the coming of the *Shawonons* was only an Amusement, or whether they were diverted on their March, I know not, for I find no farther Account of them in the Register of the *Indian Affairs*: However it was, the Impression, made on the *Indians* by that News, was not sufficient to withstand the Force of the resolute Answer their Messenger received from the *Praying Indians*. *Decanesora* and the other Deputies went early in the Spring to *Canada*; the other *Sachems* met Colonel *Fletcher* at *Albany*, the fourth of May 1694. The *Indians* spoke first by *Sadakanabtie*, an *Onondaga Sachem*, as follows:

“ *Brother Cayenguirago*,
 “ Some of our *Sachems* agreed last Winter that
 “ we should keep no Correspondence with the
 “ *French*; we confess that we have broke that Pro-
 “ mise, and that we have received a Messenger
 “ from *Canada*, and have sent our Deputies like-
 “ wise thither. The Belt is not yet arrived, by
 “ which we are to acknowledge our Fault in doing
 “ this.

“ this. The Reason of our doing it is truly this, CHAP.
 “ we are afraid of the Enemy. X.

“ When a Messenger came last Year from *Canada*
 “ to *Onondaga*, our Brother *Cayenguirago* discharged
 “ our Meeting in General Council at *Onondaga*, to
 “ consult on that Message, and ordered us to hold
 “ our General Council here at *Albany* on that Af-
 “ fair. The Privilege of meeting in General Coun-
 “ cil, when we please, is a Privilege we always
 “ have enjoyed ; no former Governor, of the Name
 “ of *Corlear*, ever obstructed this Privilege. We
 “ planted a Tree of Peace in this Place with them,
 “ its Roots and Branches extend as far as *Virginia*
 “ and *New-England*, and we have reposed with
 “ Pleasure under its Shade. Brother, let us keep
 “ to that first Tree, and let us be united and u-
 “ nanimous ; such Prohibition of our Assemblies
 “ will be of ill Consequence, and occasion Diffe-
 “ rences between us.

“ We acknowledge, I say, our sending Agents
 “ to *Canada* for Peace, we were encouraged in do-
 “ ing this, by the Knowledge we have of the Go-
 “ vernor of *Canada*. He is an old Man, and was
 “ formerly Governor of that Place. He was always
 “ esteemed a wise peaceable Man, and therefore
 “ we trust our Message will have a good Issue. We
 “ did not take it amiss that you sent to the *Dewa-*
 “ *gunbas*, nor that *Arnout* was sent to the *Sata-*
 “ *nas*, both of them our Enemies ; and, for the
 “ same Reason, our Brother *Cayenguirago* ought
 “ not to be displeased with our sending to the *French*
 “ for Peace.

“ We, *Onondagas*, acknowledge ourselves to
 “ have been the chief Promoters of this Message,
 “ we have sent in all nine *Sachems* with nine Belts.
 “ It is true we are now under much Uneasiness in
 “ having trusted so many *Sachems* in the *French*

CHAP. "Hands, being almost half the Number we have
 X. "in our Nation, but we were in haste to prevent
 "the Designs the *French* had against our Countries
 "and yours, by the great warlike Preparations they
 "were making in *Canada*."

Then he told all the Orders and Directions which their Ambassadors had received; which agreeing with the Account which *Decanastora* gave of his Negotiation, I shall here pass over. He finished all by giving a Belt.

Colonel *Fletcher* told them, he would give no Answer to what they had said, before they discovered to him what Reason they had to say, that he had forbid their holding any Assembly at *Onondaga*, and that he had made Peace with the *Dewagunkas* and *Satanas*, without their Consent and Concurrence.

To this the Speaker the next Day answered; "I was sick, and absent when the Affairs you mention were transacted, and I was at a Loss how to excuse our sending to the *French* contrary to your Advice; but several *Sachems* being arrived since I spoke, I have been better informed by them, who were present at those Transactions. We find it, in every Circumstance, as our Brother *Cayenguirago* says; that you did not obstruct our keeping General Councils at *Onondaga*, but only cautioned us in hearkening to the Fallacies of the *French*, and in holding Meetings on that Occasion. We assure you we will never separate from you, we still have one Head, one Blood, one Soul, and one Heart with you; and as a Confirmation of this I give this Belt seven deep.

"As to the *Dewagunkas* and *Shawonons*, we are confident *Cayenguirago* will not admit them into his Government, till they have made Peace with us, which we shall willingly grant. When our Enemies are humbled, and beg Peace, why should
 "they

“ they not have it? Let them come and live with
 “ us, it will strengthen our Country. CHAP.
 “ X.

“ Brother *Cayenguirago*, when the Christians first
 “ arrived in this Country, we received them kind-
 “ ly. When they were but a small People, we en-
 “ tered into a League with them, to guard them
 “ from all Enemies whatsoever. We were so fond
 “ of their Society, that we tied the great Canoe
 “ which brought them, not with a Rope made of
 “ Bark to a Tree, but with a strong iron Chain
 “ fastened to a great Mountain. Now before the
 “ Christians arrived, the General Council of the
 “ *Five Nations* was held at *Onondaga*, where there
 “ has, from the Beginning, a continual Fire been
 “ kept burning; it is made of two great Logs,
 “ whose Fire never extinguishes. As soon as the
 “ Hatchet-makers (their general Name for Christi-
 “ ans) arrived, this General Council at *Onondaga*
 “ planted this Tree at *Albany*, whose Roots and
 “ Branches have since spread as far as *New-Eng-*
 “ *land, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Vir-*
 “ *ginia*; and under the Shade of this Tree all these
 “ *English Colonies* have frequently been sheltered.
 “ Then (giving seven Fathom of Wampum) he re-
 “ newed the Chain, and promised, as they likewise
 “ expected, mutual Assistance, in Case of any At-
 “ tack from any Enemy.

“ The only Reason, to be plain with you, continu-
 “ ed he, of our sending to make Peace with the *French*,
 “ is the low Condition to which we are reduced, while
 “ none of our Neighbours send us the least Assist-
 “ ance, so that the whole Burthen of the War lies
 “ on us alone. Our Brethren of *New-England, Con-*
 “ *necticut, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia*, of
 “ their own accord thrust their Arms into our
 “ Chain; but since the War began we have receiv-
 “ ed no Assistance from them. We alone cannot

CHAP. " continue the War against the *French*, by Reason of
 X. " the Recruits they daily receive from the other Side
 " the great Lake.

" Brother *Cayenguirago*, speak from your Heart,
 " are you resolved to prosecute the War vigorously
 " against the *French*, and are your Neighbours of
 " *Virginia, Maryland, Pensilvania, Connecticut* and
 " *New-England*, resolved to assist us? If it be
 " so, we assure you, notwithstanding any Trea-
 " ty hitherto entered into, we will prosecute the
 " War as hotly as ever. But if our Neighbours
 " will not assist, we must make Peace, and we sub-
 " mit it to your Consideration, by giving this great
 " Belt fifteen deep.

" Brother *Cayenguirago*, I have truly told you the
 " Reasons which have induced us to offer Peace to
 " the *French*; we shall likewise, from the Bottom
 " of our Hearts, inform you of the Design we
 " have in this Treaty. When the Governor of
 " *Canada* shall have accepted the nine Belts, of which
 " I have just now told you, then we shall have
 " something more to say by two large Belts, which
 " I ye still hid in our Bosom. We shall lay down
 " first one and say, We have a Brother *Cayengui-
 " rago*, with whose People we have been united in
 " one Chain from the Beginning, they must be in-
 " cluded in this Treaty; we cannot see them in-
 " volved in bloody War, while we sit in easy Peace.
 " If the Governor of *Canada* answer, that he has
 " made a separate Peace with us, and that he can-
 " not make any Peace with *Cayenguirago*, because
 " the War is from over the great Lake; then we
 " shall lay down the second great broad Belt, and
 " tell the Governor of *Canada*, if you will not in-
 " clude *Cayenguirago's* People, the Treaty will be-
 " come thereby void, as if it had never been
 " made; and if he persists, we will absolutely leave
 " him."

While

While the *Sachems* were at *Albany*, *Decanesora* CHAP. X.
 and the other Ambassadors arrived at the Castle of
 the *Praying Indians*, near the Falls above *Montreal*.
 They were conducted from thence, by the Superi-
 or of the *Jesuits*, to *Quebeck*. They had their Au-
 dience of the Governor of *Canada* with great So-
 lemnity, in the Presence of all the Ecclesiasticks and
 Officers of Distinction, and of the most considera-
 ble *Indians* then in the Place. They were every
 Day, while they staid in the Place, entertained at
 the Governor's Table, or at the Tables of the most
 considerable Officers. *Decanesora* on his Side made
 a good Appearance, being cloathed in Scarlet trim'd
 with Gold, and with a laced Beaver Hat on his
 Head, which had been given him by Colonel *Fletch-*
er before he went.

The *Jesuit Milet* had by Letter informed the Go-
 vernor of every Thing in their Commission, and
 though he was thereby enabled to have answered
 them immediately, he consulted three Days, after
 the Ambassadors had delivered what they had to
 say, before he would return an Answer, that it
 might appear with more Solemnity. The *Indians*
 never return a sudden Answer on any Occasion of
 Importance, however resolv'd they be beforehand,
 and despise those that do, though their Answer be
 never so much to the Purpose. I choose to give an
 Account of this from *Decanesora's* Mouth, as I did
 of the former, and for the same Reason. The Ac-
 count given of it by the *Indians* agrees, in all the
 material Points, with that published by the *French*,
 and I am confident it is not less genuine.

Colonel *Fletcher* being sensible of what Conse-
 quence this Treaty between the *French* and *Five*
Nations might be of to all the *English* Colonies,
 gave them Notice of it, and informed them of the
 Reasons which had induced the *Indians* to enter in-
 to

CHAP. to it. He told them, there was no Possibility of
 X. preventing it, but by the *Indians* being assured of
 more effectual Assistance, than they had hitherto
 received, and advised them to send Commissioners
 for that Purpose to *Albany* in *August*, at which Time
 he intended to meet the *Five Nations* there, after
 the Return of their Messengers from *Canada*. Ac-
 cordingly, *Andrew Hamilton*, Esq; Governor of
New-Jersey, Colonel *John Pinchon*, *Samuel Sands*,
 Esq; and Major *Pen Townsend*, Commissioners from
Massachusetts Bay, and Colonel *John Hauley* and Cap-
 tain *Stanley*, Commissioners from *Connecticut*, wait-
 ed on Colonel *Fletcher* at *Albany*, who carried
 with him likewise a Part of the Council of *New-*
York.

These Gentlemen having met the *Indians* at *Alba-*
ny the fifteenth of *August*, *Decanefora* rose up first,
 and desired Leave to sing a Song or two of Peace,
 before they began on Business. Then *Rode*, a *Mo-*
hawk Sachem, rose up, and addressing himself to the
 other *Sachems*, said, we have great Reason to rejoice,
 seeing so many of those, who are in our Chain, are
 now met, to consult together on the general Weal; af-
 ter which they sang two or three Songs.

Sadakanabtie being chosen Speaker for that Day,
 rose up, spoke much to the same Purpose as he had
 done to Colonel *Fletcher* in *May* last; giving a me-
 taphorical Account of their League with the *Eng-*
lish, how it began, and by what Steps it had been
 enlarged and strengthened; how the other Colonies
 had thrust their Arms into this Chain, but had giv-
 en little or no Assistance against the common Ene-
 my. “ Our Brother *Cayenguirago*’s Arms (says he)
 “ and ours are stiff, and tired with holding fast the
 “ Chain, whilst our Neighbours sit still and smok
 “ at their Ease. The Fat is melted from our Flesh,
 “ and fallen on our Neighbours, who grow fat
 “ while

“ while we grow lean: They flourish while we decay. ”

“ This Chain made us the Envy of the *French*,
 “ and if all had held it as fast as *Cayenguirago*, it
 “ would have been a Terror also. If we would
 “ all heartily join and take the Hatchet in our
 “ Hand, our common Enemy would soon be de-
 “ stroyed, and we should for ever after live in Peace
 “ and Ease. Do you but your Parts, and Thunder
 “ itself cannot break our Chain.”

Then he mentioned some Jealousies they had entertained of *New-England*, by their suffering the Chevalier D'O to escape to *Canada*, which they suspected had been concerted between him and the People of *New-England*, in Order to treat of Peace. Our Agents, said he, saw the Chevalier D'O at *Canada*, who told them that he had been set at Liberty by the *English*, and that it was in vain that the *Five Nations* warred against the *French*, while the *English* favoured them.” On this Occasion he shewed them a Fish painted on Paper, which the Commissioners of *New-England* had given them, when they first entered into the Chain, as a Seal to the League.

He finished by telling them, that they would next Day give all the Particulars of their Negotiation in *Canada*.

The next Day *Decanesora* proceeded to the Account of his Negotiation, as follows: “ The Governor of *Canada* having often sent to us to come to *Canada* to treat with him, we went thither, and told him that we were come to treat of Peace. We made the following Proposals.

“ Father, if we do not conclude a Peace now, it will be your Fault; for we have already taken the Hatchet out of the Hands of the *River Indians* (*Hudson's River*) whom we incited to the
 “ War.

CHAP. " War. But we must tell you, that you are an ill
 X. " Man, you are inconstant and not to be trusted ;
 " we have had War together a long Time, and
 " though you occasioned the War, we never hated
 " the House of *Ogbessa*, (a Gentleman living at
 " *Montreal*) let him undertake the toilsome Jour-
 " ney to *Onondaga* ; for if he will he shall be wel-
 " come.

" Father, we are now speaking of Peace, and
 " therefore I must speak a Word to the *Praying In-*
 " *dians*, and first to those of *Cabnaaga* (chiefly *Mo-*
 " *hawks*) you know our Customs and Manners,
 " therefore make *Onondio* acquainted therewith, and
 " be assisting in the prosecuting of this good Work.
 " Then to the other Castle, called *Canassadaga*,
 " (chiefly *Onondagas*) you are worse than the *French*
 " themselves, you deserted from us, and side with
 " our Enemies to destroy us ; make some amends
 " now, by forwarding Peace.

" You have almost eat us up, our best Men are
 " killed in this bloody War ; but we now forget
 " what is past. Before this we once threw the
 " Hatchet into the River of *Kaikobage*,* but you
 " fished it up, and treacherously surprised our Peo-
 " ple at *Cadarackui*. After this you sent to us to
 " have our Prisoners restored ; then the Hatchet
 " was thrown up to the Sky, but you kept a String
 " fastened to the Helve, and pulled it down, and
 " fell upon our People again. This we revenged
 " to some Purpose, by the Destruction of your Peo-
 " ple and Houses in the Island of *Montreal*.

" Now we are come to cover the Blood from our
 " Sight, which has been shed by both Sides during
 " this long War.

* The *French* call it *la Famine*, near *Olswego*. The Treaty
 with Mr. *de la Bar* was made there.

“ *Onondio*, we have been at War a long Time, we
 “ now give you a Medicine to drive away all ill
 “ Thoughts from your Heart, to purge it and make
 “ it clean, and restore it to its former State. CHAP. X.

“ *Onondio*, we will not permit any Settlement at
 “ *Cadarackui*; you have had your Fire there thrice
 “ extinguished; we will not consent to your re-
 “ building that Fort, but the Passage through the
 “ River shall be free and clear. We make the Sun
 “ clean, and drive away all Clouds and Darknefs,
 “ that we may see the Light without Interrupti-
 “ on.

“ *Onondio*, we have taken many Prisoners from
 “ one another, during the War. The Prisoners we
 “ took have been delivered, according to our Cus-
 “ tom, to the Families that have lost any in the
 “ War. They no longer belong to the Publick,
 “ they may give them back if they please, your
 “ People may do the same. We have brought
 “ back two Prisoners, and restore them to you.

“ After I had finished what I had to say, continued he,
 “ the Governor of *Canada* told me, that he would
 “ not make Peace with *Cayenguirago*. To this I answer-
 “ ed, these Words displease me much, you shall
 “ keep Peace with him. *Onondio* said again, I must
 “ fight with *Cayenguirago*, it is not in my Power to
 “ make Peace; this can only be done by my Ma-
 “ ster, who lives over the great Water. To this I
 “ replied, I cannot bear this Discourse; if you
 “ should fight him now, and not stay till I get
 “ Home, all the Country will look on me as a Tray-
 “ tor; I can treat with you no longer. The Argu-
 “ ment on this Subject lasted three Days, at last the
 “ Governor of *Canada* assured me, that he would not
 “ undertake any Enterprize against *Cayenguirago*
 “ this Summer, but would wait to hear what he
 “ wou'd say.

“ The

CHAP.

X.



“ The Governor of *Canada* insisted three Days to have Hostages left, which I refused, but two agreeing of their own accord to stay, they were left, viz. one an *Onondago*, another a *Seneka*.
 “ Then the Governor of *Canada* made the following publick Answer :

“ I. I accept of Peace as you offer.
 “ II. Son, bring all the Prisoners back that you have taken from me, and yours shall have Liberty to return Home, if they please.
 “ III. Children, erect my Fire again at *Cadarakui*, and plant there the Tree of Peace.

“ After this the Governor of *Canada* delivered me a Belt, which I now lay down before you ; by it he said, desire *Cayenguirago* to send a wise Man to me, and he shall have Protection according to the Custom of Christians ; and added,

“ Children of the *Five Nations*, if *Cayenguirago* shall employ you to do any Service for him, do not accept of it, let him send his own People.”
Decanesora added, that the Governor of *Canada* had fixed eighty Days for a Return to this Belt.

He continued and said, “ The *Sachems* of the *Dionondadies* were present ; after I had finished my Speech, they said ; May what you have now said be from your Hearts ; we suspect you are not sincere ; let us no longer feel the Smart of the Hatchet, and gave this Belt which I now lay down.

“ The *Praying Indians* next said, Brethren, our Father *Onondio* has told you to bring Home all the Prisoners, do not fail in this ; giving two Belts.

“ Brother *Cayenguirago*, you will find what I have now said confirmed by this Paper, which the Governor

“ verner of *Canada* gave me. I brought Letters
 “ likewise for the Jesuit *Milet*, who was to read the
 “ Paper to us.” The Paper contained the Articles
 in *French*, in which the Governor of *Canada* was
 willing to make Peace. CHAP. X.

But besides what *Decanosora* here tells, the *French* Accounts say, that he brought two Belts underground (that is privately) from three *Onondaga Sachems*, to assure the Governor of *Canada* of their particular Affection, which the Governor of *Canada* answered, by a private Belt to them.

As soon as *Decanosora* had done speaking, Colonel *Fletcher* rejected the Belt sent by the Governor of *Canada*, saying; If the Governor of *Canada* have any Thing to say to me, let him send some of his People to *Albany*, and they shall have Protection.

Next Day *Sadekanabtie*, after he had sung a long Song, gave the following Account of their Negotiations with the *Derwagunbas* and *Dionondadies*, which they had undertaken by the Governor's Advice.

“ We were afraid, says he, to send Messengers
 “ of our own People, and therefore we employed
 “ two Prisoners we had of the *Dionondadies* with
 “ the Governor's Belt. Some time after this, some
 “ of the *Senekas* hunting near the *Dionondadies*, two
 “ of them were taken; but when they were carried
 “ to the *Dionondadie* Castle, they were not
 “ treated like Prisoners; they were used kindly,
 “ and sent back with the following Offers of
 “ Peace.

“ We are glad to see you Face to Face to speak
 “ to you, since the Sun has been so propitious to
 “ send home the Men that were Prisoners with you,
 “ giving a few Strings of Wampum.

“ We are glad of this Opportunity to tell you,
 “ that we have been both drunk in making War on
 “ one

- CHAP. " one another ; we now give you a Cordial to ease
 X. " your Hearts, that there be no longer War between
 " us, by this Belt.
 " We are glad that you have set the Doors open
 " as far as *Cayenguirago's* House, that we may free-
 " ly go thither. Carry him this second Belt.
 " Brethren, we thank you for having prepared a
 " Place for us at your General Council of *Onondaga*.
 " Our Country is every where free to you to treat
 " with us, by this third Belt.
 " Brethren, our whole Country rejoiced when
 " you invited us into your Country, and from
 " thence to go where *Cayenguirago* dwells ; be not
 " afraid to come to our Country, you shall meet
 " with no Molestation.
 " Brethren, we thank you for putting us in
 " Mind of what was formerly agreed to, *viz.* that
 " when any ill Accident happens, we were to meet
 " together to compose Matters, and not to revenge
 " it with War. We are now together to put
 " an End to all Misunderstanding, by this fourth
 " Belt.
 " Brethren, (we include all the Nations from the
 " *Senekas* Country to *New-York* in this Name)
 " hearken to us. We rend the Clouds asunder,
 " and drive away all Darknes from the Heavens,
 " that the Sun of Peace may shine with Brightness
 " over us all ; giving a Sun of a round red polish-
 " ed Stone.
 " Brethren, we put the Hatchet into the Hands
 " of the *Chightagbies*, *Twitbtwies*, and *Odfrachies*,
 " to war against you ; but we shall in three Days
 " go to these Nations and take the Hatchet out of
 " their Hands ; giving half a Stone Pipe.
 " You *Senekas* are stupid Creatures, we must
 " therefore warn you not to hunt so far from your
 " Castles, lest you be hurt by any of these three
 " Nations

“ Nations, and then blame us. They then gave CHAP.
 “ the other half of the Pipe. X.

“ But Brother *Cayenguirago*, says *Sadakabnitie*, do
 “ not suffer these Nations to come nearer than the
 “ *Senekas* Country, lest they discover our Weak-
 “ nefs, and to what a low Condition the War has
 “ reduced us. These Nations have been so long
 “ in Friendship with the *French*, and are so much
 “ under their Influence, that we cannot trust them
 “ yet, or be too much upon our Guard against
 “ them.”

Colonel *Fletcher* not being able to give the *Five Nations* any Assurance of a vigorous Assistance, he called the principal *Sachems* to a private Conference on the twentieth. He asked them, whether they had made Peace with the Governor of *Canada*; they answered, that it only wanted his Approbation, and added, that they could no longer carry on the War without Assistance. You have the whole Negotiations before you, say they, and we submit it to your Prudence.

He then allowed them to make Peace, provided they kept faithful in their Chain with the *English*; but told them, that as to his Part he could make no Peace with the Governor of *Canada*. They were under great Uneasiness to leave their Friends in the War, they said, and wished, since neither the Governor of *Canada* nor he would receive Proposals by their Hands, that they might think of some neutral Place to treat. The Governor answered, that he could neither receive nor send any Message on that Head; and that Peace could be only made between them by the two Kings.

The Governor next asked them, whether they would permit the *French* to build again at *Cadarackui*; they answered, they would never permit it, and were resolved to insist on it, in all the ensuing Treaties, that he never shall. Then the Governor

N

added,

CHAP. added, if you permit the *French* to build any where
 X. on that Lake, there will be an End to your Liberty,
 your Posterity will become Slaves to the *French*. If ever you should permit them, I will look on it as an absolute Breach of the Chain with us: If the *French* attempt it give me Notice, and I will march the whole Force of my Government to your Assistance. We shall find afterwards, however, that the Government of *New-York* was far from making good this Promise.

The Governor told them, that they had lost much of their Honour in creeping to the *French*, in such an abject Manner; for, says he, the Governor of *Canada's* Paper, which you brought with you, says, that you came in the most humble and penitent Manner, and begged Peace. To which they answered, the Governor of *Canada* has no Reason to make such Reflexions, we have many of his Belts to shew, by which he again and again sued to us for Peace, before we would hearken to him. But, replies the Governor, how came you to call him Father? For no other Reason, they replied, but because he calls us Children. These Names signify nothing.

They desired the Governor not to say any Thing particularly of *Cadaracakui*, in his publick Speech that he was to make next Day, for they had, they said, some among them that would tell all to the Governor of *Canada*; and concluded, with wishing that they had some one, who could write and read all that the Governor had said to them, that they might not forget any Part of it, when they come to consult and resolve on this weighty Affair, at their General Council at *Onondaga*.

Here we see these Barbarians, these Savages, as we call them, acting with the greatest regard to the Treaties they had entered into with their Allies,
 2 and

and that at a Time when the Exigences of their own CHAP. Affairs, and when the faint feeble Assistance, which X. their Allies had contributed in the common Cause, would, among Christian Potentates, have been thought a sufficient Excuse for their taking Care of themselves separately, in breach of the most solemn Confederacy they could enter into.

The *Sachems* of the *Five Nations* being met at *O-nondaga*, to consult on the Terms offered by the *French*, they were divided in their Opinions; the *Cayugas*, and Part of the *Senekas*, were most favorable to the *French* Proposals; but the major Part was absolutely against allowing the *French* to rebuild a Fort at *Cadarackui*, nor would they consent to include all the *French* Allies in the Treaty, with some of which they had particular Causes of Animosity.

The Party that was most for Peace obtained Leave to go to *Canada*, to try whether they could obtain Terms less disagreeable. They accordingly went thither, within the Time prefixed by the Governor of *Canada*, for an Answer; and to make themselves more acceptable to the *French*, they carried thirteen Prisoners with them, and delivered them up. The Jesuit *Millet* was of this Number, who had been taken in the Year 1689, and one *Jonscaire*, who had been long a Prisoner among the *Senekas*: He had been delivered up to a Family of the *Senekas*, that had lost some considerable Relation, and was by them adopted. He ingratiated himself so much with that Nation, that he was advanced to the Rank of a *Sachem*, and preserved their Esteem to the Day of his Death; whereby he became, after the general Peace, very useful to the *French* in all Negotiations with the *Five Nations*, and to this Day they shew their Regard to his Family and Children.

When the Governor of *Canada* came to Particulars with these Deputies, he could obtain nothing but ambiguous or dubious Answers, as to the rebuilding of *Cadarackui Fort*, and the including of all the *French* Allies in the Peace. Whereupon he dismissed them with Presents, and made them many fair Promises, in Case of their Compliance; but threatened them with utter Destruction, in Case of their refusing the Terms he had offered. Many of the *French Indian* Allies were present, when the Governor of *Canada* refused any Agreement without his Allies being included in it, and this attached them exceedingly to the *French* Interest. This Regard, which the *French* generally shew for the Interest of their Allies, is a Piece of Policy which, upon all Occasions, proves useful to them; whereas, the Neglect of this Piece of natural Justice has as often been prejudicial to others, who have not had so tender a Sense of it. But it is not so easy for a weak State to keep up its Honour in such Cases, as it is for a powerful Prince.

C H A P. XI.

The War renewed. The French repossess themselves of Cadarackui Fort, and find Means to break off the Treaty between the Five Nations and Dionondadies.

CHAP.
XI.

THE *Five Nations* refusing to come to the Governor of *Canada's* Terms, he resolved to force them; and as he suspected that they continued obstinate, by the Advice of the *English*, and the Confidence they had of the *English* Assistance, he thought he would most effectually lessen that Confidence,

dence, by attacking and destroying the remainder of the *Mohawks*, who liv'd adjoining to the *English* Settlements. For this Purpose he resolv'd to march, in the Winter, the whole Force of *Canada* against that Nation; but one of the Prisoners learning their Design, made his Escape, and inform'd the *Mohawks* of it. This made him alter his Measures, knowing well enough, that if the *English* were prepared to receive them, such an Enterprize would only lead those engaged in it to certain Destruction. He then sent three hundred Men into the Neck of Land between *Lake Erie* and *Cadarackui Lake*, the usual hunting Place of the *Five Nations*, in hopes of surprizing them while they hunted carelessly there, and at the same Time to view the old *French* Fort there, to observe in what Condition it remained.

This Party met with three or four Men, who defended themselves obstinately, till they all fell dead on the Spot. They surprized likewise a Cabin, where they took some Men and Women Prisoners; and four of them were publicly burnt alive at *Montreal*. So far the Count *de Frontenac* thought it more proper to imitate the *Indians* in their most savage Cruelties, than to instruct them, by his Example, in the Compassion of the Christian Doctrine. A Party of one hundred and fifty of the *Five Nations* fell upon the *Dewagunbas*, in their Way to *Canada*, and entirely routed them. Ten Prisoners were taken, nine of which were burnt alive, in revenge of the same Fate the four Men of the *Five Nations* had received at *Montreal*.

This Year also some sculking *French Indians* murdered some People near *Albany* and *Schenectady*.

The Party sent to view *Cadarackui Fort* found it in a better Condition than they expected, the *Indians* having neglected to demolish and level the Bastions, and probably they had not Instruments sufficient to

CHAP. do it. The Count *de Frontenac* therefore, in the
 X. Summer of the Year 1695, sent a considerable Body
 of Men, both *French* and *Indians*, thither, to repair
 the Fortifications, and to cover those that should be
 at work. The *Five Nations*, in *August*, sent Mes-
 sengers to *Albany*, to acquaint the *English* that the
French had taken Possession of *Cadarackui*, and were
 repairing of it. They demanded, in Consequence
 of the Promise Colonel *Fletcher* had given them,
 the Assistance of five hundred Men and some Canon,
 which they promised they would draw over Land,
 where they could not be carried by Water. At the
 same Time they desired, that the People of *New-
 England* might be told, that many of the *Owen-
 agungas* were gone with the *French* to *Cadarackui*,
 and that this was a proper Time to fall upon
 those that remained, and to destroy them, and the
 Women and Children.

Coll. *Fletcher* came to *Albany* in *September*; there,
 in a Speech to the *Five Nations*, he blamed them
 for being asleep, when they suffered the *French* to
 take Possession of *Cadarackui*; it would have been
 much easier, he said, to have prevented their get-
 ting the Possession, than to drive them out, now
 they are in it, especially as now you yourselves
 are convinced, that it is impossible to carry Cannon
 thither from this Place. All, says he, I can now
 do, is to advise you to invest the Place with your Par-
 ties, so as to prevent their receiving any Supply of
 Provisions: By this Means you may force them to
 desert it. Then he gave them 1000 Pound of
 Powder, two Thousand Pound of Lead, 57 Fuses,
 one Hundred Hatchets, three Hundred and forty
 eight Knives, and two Thousand Flints, besides
 Cloathing, &c. But in my Opinion, the Government
 of *New-York* have, on all Occasions, been exceeding-
 ly to be blamed, in not having some Men of Experi-
 ence

ence among the *Five Nations* to advise and direct them on all Emergencies of Importance. The *French* are very careful of this, and the *Officers* of the regular Troops are obliged to take their Tours among their *Indians*, while the Captains of the independent Companies of Fusiliers at *New-York* live like military Monks, in Idleness and Luxury.

The *French* gained a great Advantage, by possessing this Place, as it is of great Security to their Traders, in their passing between *Montreal* and *Missilimakinak*. It served likewise as a Place of Stores, and Retreat in all their Enterprises against the *Five Nations*, that Place being nearly about half Way between *Montreal* and the Country of the *Five Nations*. It likewise exposed the *Five Nations* in their hunting, to the Incursions of that Garison, by its being in the Neighbourhood of their principal hunting Place for Bever.

The *French* grew exceedingly uneasy, when they found, that the *Dionondadies*, who live near *Missilimakinak*, had almost concluded a Peace with the *Five Nations*, and that the rest of their Allies were like to follow their Example: Some of these Nations had been at *Montreal*, and at their Return forwarded the Peace, that thereby they might be at Liberty to go to *Albany*; for they informed their Neighbours, that the *Five Nations* had intirely shut up the Path to *Montreal*; and besides that, the *French* were not in a Condition to supply them, for they had nothing for themselves, not so much as a Drop of strong Spirits. If these Nations had, at that Time, deserted the *French*, it might probably have put an End to the *French* Colony; for as the Lands of *Canada* barely produce sufficient for the Subsistence of its Inhabitants, the only Means they have of purchasing Cloathing and other Necessaries is by their Trade with the *Indians*. The *French*

CHAP. likewise had been in Danger of greater Mischief by
 XI. the Peace, for these Nations being at War with the
 { *Five Nations*, and lying on the Back of them, obliged the *Five Nations* to keep always a very considerable Part of their Force at home, to defend themselves against these Nations, and to revenge the Injuries they received from them; but if the Peace had been concluded with these Nations, the *Five Nations* could have turned their whole Force against *Canada*, and probably might have persuaded these Nations to have joined with them in warring on the *French*.

The *French* Commandant at *Missilimakinak* had his Hands full at this Time; and if he had not been a Man of great Abilities, he must have sunk under the Difficulties he had to go through; in the first Place, to contradict the Stories brought from *Montreal*, he ordered the Stores of his Fort to be sold to the *Indians* at the cheapest Rate, and assured them, that great Quantities were every Day expected from *France*, which were only detained by contrary Winds; and after these Goods shall arrive, said he, they will be sold cheaper than ever they have been. He told them likewise, that the Count *de Frontenac* would never make Peace with the *Five Nations*, but was resolved to extirpate them; for which Purpose he was now rebuilding *Cadarackui Fort*. At the same Time he took all possible Methods to extinguish the Beginnings of Friendship, which appeared between the *Five Nations* and *Dionondadies*.

The *Dionondadies* durst not avow their treating with the *Five Nations* to the *French*, neither durst the *Five Nations* trust their Agents in a Place where they knew the *French* had so great Influence; both Sides therefore agreed to carry on their Treaty by Means of Prisoners which they took from one another. The Civility with which the *Dionondadies* treated these Prisoners, their dismissing them, and
 their

their receiving again Prisoners which had been taken by the *Five Nations*, gave the Commandant sufficient Ground to suspect what was doing. The *Dionondadies* at last took seven Men of the *Five Nations* Prisoners, and carried them to *Missilimakinak*. The *French* perceiving, by their Manner of bringing them in, that the *Dionondadies* intended to treat them with the Civility they had lately used to others, murdered two of them with their Knives as they slept ashore. On this the *Dionondadies* immediately took to their Arms, saved the other Five, and carried them safe to their Castle; and continuing in Arms, threatened Revenge for the Insult they had received.

The *French* were forced in like Manner to stand to their Arms, and as there are always many different Nations at *Missilimakinak* trading, some of which were inveterate Enemies of the *Five Nations*, they joined with the *French*. The *Utawawas* stood neuter. This gave the Commandant Means of ending the Dispute by Composition. He in the first Place assured them, that the Christians abhorred all Manner of Cruelty, and then told them, that as the *French* shared with the *Dionondadies* in all the Dangers and Losses sustained by the War, they ought in like Manner to partake with them in any Advantage. The *Dionondadies* on this were persuaded to deliver up one of the Prisoners. What I am about to relate, I think, gives Room to charge the *French* with a Piece of Policy, not only inconsistent with the Christian Religion, but likewise with the Character of a polite People; and that all Considerations from Religion, Honour, and Virtue, must give Way to the present Exigencies of their Affairs. That an End might be put to the Beginnings of a Reconciliation between these People and the *Five Nations*, the *French* gave a publick Invitation to feast on the Soup to be made on this Prisoner, and, in a more particular Manner,

CHAP. Manner, invited the *Utawawas* to the Entertainment.
XI.

The Prisoner being first made fast to a Stake, so as to have Room to move round it, a *Frenchman* began the horrid Tragedy, by broiling the Flesh of the Prisoner's Legs, from his Toes to his Knees, with the red hot Barrel of a Gun; his Example was followed by an *Utawawa*, and they relieved one another as they grew tired. The Prisoner all this while continued his Death Song, till they clapt a red hot Frying-pan on his Buttocks, when he cried out, Fire is strong and too powerful; then all their *Indians* mocked him, as wanting Courage and Resolution. You, they said, a Soldier and a Captain, as you say, and afraid of Fire; you are not a Man. They continued their Torments for two Hours without ceasing. An *Utawawa* being desirous to outdo the *French* in their refined Cruelty, split a Furrow from the Prisoner's Shoulder to his Garter, and filling it with Gunpowder, set Fire to it. This gave him exquisite Pain, and raised excessive Laughter in his Tormenters. When they found his Throat so much parched, that he was no longer able to gratify their Ears with his howling, they gave him Water, to enable him to continue their Pleasure longer. But at last his Strength failing, an *Utawawa* flead off his Scalp, and threw burning hot Coals on his Scull. Then they untied him, and bid him run for his Life; He began to run, tumbling like a drunken Man; they shut up the Way to the East, and made him run Westward, the Country, as they think, of departed (miserable) Souls. He had still Force left to throw Stones, till they put an End to his Misery by knocking him on the Head with a Stone. After this every one cut a Slice from his Body, to conclude the Tragedy with a Feast. It is doing no Injury, I think, to these *Frenchmen*, who thus glory in this horrid Cruelty, to ask them, whether they did

did not likewise regale their revengeful Appetites with a Share of this inhuman Feast? C H A P.
XI.

Though I have had frequent Occasions to mention these barbarous inhuman Cruelties, transacted by the *Indians*, yet I have avoided to relate the particular Circumstances of them, because I believe few civilized Ears can bear the reading of them without Horror. But when they are perpetrated by Christians, and so far gloried in, as to be recorded in their own History, I am willing to shew it to my Countrymen in its proper Colours. This last Piece of *French History* is taken from *Histoire de l'Amerique Septentrionale, par Monsr. de la Poterie*, published at *Paris* with the Royal Licence, and recommended to the Publick by *Monf. Fontenelle*, Vol. ii. Page 298.

Though this cruel Act had its designed Effect, in breaking off this Method of negotiating between the *Five Nations* and *Dionondadies*, it did not prevent the Peace; and it had very near raised a Civil War with their own *Indians*, which was only prevented by the dextrous Conduct of the *French Officers*, who, in all kind of Artifice, have always been superior to the *Indians*. But let me observe on this Occasion, that the avoiding any Misfortune, by any base or wicked Action, is commonly the Cause of greater Mischiefs than what is thereby avoided; and of this numerous Examples may be given.

C H A P. XII.

The Count de Frontenac attacks Onondaga in Person, with the whole Force of Canada. The Five Nations continue the War with the French, and make Peace with the Dionondadies.

CHAP.
XII.

THE Count de Frontenac having secured *Cadarackui Fort*, which was called by his Name, as a Place of Arms and Provisions, and for a Retreat to the Men that should happen to be sick or wounded, resolved to make the *Five Nations* feel his Resentment of their refusing his Terms of Peace. For this Purpose he assembled all the regular Troops of *Canada*, the Militia, the *Owenagungas*, the *Quatoghies* of *Loretto*, the *Adirondacks*, *Sokokies*, *Nepiciriniens*, the *Praying Indians* of the *Five Nations*, and a few *Utawawas*, at *Montreal*, in June 1696. The other western *Indians* near *Missilimakinak*, by their late Correspondence with the *Five Nations*, and the Dissatisfaction they had manifested, were not trusted. The Manner of making War with the *Indians* in a Country wholly covered with Woods, must be so much different from the Methods used in *Europe*, that I believe the Reader will be pleased to have a particular Account of the Count de Frontenac's Conduct in this, who was an old experienced General, in the seventy fourth Year of his Age.

It is to be observed, that it is impossible to pass the vast Forests between the Countries of the *Five Nations* with Waggon, or other Carriages, or on Horseback, or even on Foot, in the summer Time, by Reason of many impassible thick Swamps and Morasses. For this Reason, the only Method of travelling

travelling is in Bark Canoes, or very light Battoes, CHAP. XII.
along the Rivers, which may be easily carried on Men's Shoulders, where the Stream of the River becomes too rapid, and from one River to another; for which Purpose the shortest Passes are always chosen, and are called, for this Reason, Carrying Places.

The Count *de Frontenac* marched from *la Chine*, in the south End of the Island of *Montreal*, the fourth of *July*. He divided five hundred *Indians* so, that the greatest Number of them should always be in the Van, which consisted of two Battalions of the regular Troops. They were followed by the Canoes which carried the Provisions. The Van was commanded by the *Chevalier de Callieres*, Governor of *Montreal*; he had with him two large Battoes, which carried two small Pieces of Cannon, small Mortars, Granadoes, and the Utensils of the Artillery. The Count *de Frontenac* was at the Head of the main Body, accompanied by the Engineer and several Gentlemen Volunteers. The Body consisted of four Battalions of the Militia, who, in War with *Indians*, were then more depended on than the regular Troops; these were commanded by *Monsieur Ramsay*, Governor of *Trois Rivieres*. The Rear, which consisted of two Battalions of regular Troops, and of the rest of the *Indians*, was under the Command of the *Chevalier de Vaudreuil*. All the *Indians* had *French* Officers set over them.

In this Order the Army marched, only those that were in the Van one Day, were in the Rear the next; and they always kept a Number of *Indians* on the Scout, to discover the Tracks of the Enemy, for fear of Ambuscades. And when they were obliged to carry the Canoes, and drag the large Battoes, several Parties were detached to cover the Men that worked.

After

CHAP.

XII.

After twelve Days March they arrived at *Cadarackui Fort*, one hundred eighty Miles from *Montreal*. Here they waited for the *Utawawas*, who disappointed them; and in the mean Time raised a Bark, which had remained sunk since *Cadarackui Fort* was deserted. They crossed over *Cadarackui Lake* to *Onondaga River* (now *Obfwega*). This River being narrow and rapid, they ordered fifty Men to march on each Side of it, to prevent their being surpris'd, and the Army moved slowly along the River, according to the Intelligence they received from their Scouts. They found a Tree, as they pass'd along, on which the *Indians* had, in their Manner, painted the *French Army*, and had laid by it two Bundles of cut Rushes. This was a Defiance in the *Indian Manner*, and to tell them by the Number of Rushes, that fourteen hundred thirty four Men would meet them. The *French* pass'd the little Lake, between *Obfwega* and *Onondaga*, in Order of Battle; and the two Wings, to prevent their being surpris'd, and to make the Place of their Landing more uncertain to the Enemy, took a Circuit along the Coast. As soon as they had landed they rais'd a Fort. A *Seneka*, who had been some time a Prisoner in *Canada*, and pretended an Attachment to the *French*, was sent out to make a Discovery. He deserted to the *Onondagas*. He found them waiting for the *French*, with a Resolution to defend their Castle, and to fight the *French*; for which Purpose they had sent away their Women and Children. The *Seneka* told them that the *French Army* was as numerous as the Leaves on the Trees; that they had Machines which threw Balls up in the Air, and which falling on their Castle burst to Pieces, and spread Fire and Death every where, against which their Stockadoes could be of no Defence. This was confirmed by another *Seneka*, who deserted. Upon which the *Onondagas* thought it most

most adviseable to retire, leaving their poor Fort and bark Cottages all in Flames.

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XII.

After the General had an Account of this, he marched to their Village in Order of Battle. The Army was divided into two Lines: The first commanded by the Chevalier *de Callieres*, who placed himself on the Left, consisted of two Battalions of the Inhabitants in the Center, and a Battalion of the regular Troops on each Wing. The Artillery followed them. Most of the *Indians* of this Division were upon the Right, who continually sent out Scouts. The second Line was commanded by the Chevalier *de Vaudreuel*, composed of the same Number of Battalions, and in the same Order. The Count *de Frontenac* was carried in a Chair directly after the Artillery. But it was impossible for them to keep their Order, in passing through thick Woods, and in passing Brooks. In this formidable Manner the aged General marched up to the Ashes of the Village, and his Army exerted their Fury on the *Indian* Corn, which covered a large Field in thick Ranks.

An *Indian Sachem*, about one hundred Years old, would not retire with the rest, but chose this Time to end his Days. The *French Indians* had the Pleasure of tormenting him, which he bore with surprising Evenness of Mind, and with that Resolution which becomes a *Sachem* of the *Five Nations*. He told his Tormentors to remember well his Death, when his Countrymen should come to take terrible Vengeance of them. Upon which, one stabbing him several Times with his Knife, he thanked him but said, you had better make me die by Fire, that these Dogs of *Frenchmen* may learn how to suffer like Men. You *Indians*, their Allies, you Dogs of Dogs, think of me when you shall be in the like State. Thus this old *Sachem*, under all the Weakness of old Age, preserved a Greatness of Soul, and
a due

CHAP. a due Regard for the Honour of his Country, to the
XII. last Moment of his Breath.

The Chevalier *de Vaudreuil* was sent with a Detachment of six or seven hundred Men to destroy the *Oneydoes* Corn, who liv'd but a small Distance from *Onondaga*, which he performed without any Resistance. The Jesuit *Milet* had lived for the most Part with the *Oneydoes*; he had infused into them the most favourable Sentiments of the *French*, and they had been the most inclined to Peace on the *French* Terms. Thirty five of them staid in their Castle to make the *French* welcome; but the only Favour they obtained, was to be made Prisoners, and carried to *Montreal*. The *French* Governor declared his Resolutions to extirpate the *Onondagas*, and for that Reason gave Orders to give no Quarter.

The Difficulty of supporting so many Men in these Deserts, made it necessary for the Count *de Frontenac* to return as speedily as possible. Though the *French* Army was much an Overmatch for the *Onondagas*, both in Number of Men and in their Arms, the *Onondagas* were not so far dispirited, as not to follow them in their Return. They found Opportunities to revenge themselves in some Measure, by cutting off every Canoe that happened at any Time to be at a Distance from the main Body. This obliged the Count to hasten his March, so that he returned to *Montreal* the tenth of *August*.

The *Onondagas* suffered nothing by this chargeable Expedition, but the Loss of their Corn, and their Bark Cottages. They lost not one Man, but the old *Sachem*, who resolved to die a Martyr to his Country's Honour. The *French* suffered considerably by its Consequences; for all the Planters being taken off from their Labour, either in this Expedition, or in watching and securing their Forts
and

and Country, a Famine ensued; and this I find has often happened in *Canada*, where all the Men, fit to bear Arms, have been employed in such like Expeditions. If the *Oneydoes* had not timely surrendered themselves, the Count had not been able to have carried Home the least Token of a Victory. And all that can be said for this Enterprize is, that it was a kind of heroick Dotage.

The Influence that the Jesuit *Milet* had obtained over the *Oneydoes* was such, that some Time after this, thirty of them deserted to the *French*, and desired that he might be appointed their Pastor.

In the following Winter the *Mohawks*, with the Governor of *New-York's* Privacy, sent one to the *Praying Indians* with two Belts, and he carried two Prisoners with him. By the first Belt he asked, whether the Path was entirely shut up between their two Countries; and, by the second, demanded the Restitution of a Prisoner the *Praying Indians* had taken: But his real Design was, to learn the State of their Country, and what Designs were forming. Notwithstanding the Influence and Artifice of the *French* Priests over these Converts, they still retained an Affection to their Countrymen; for which Reason the Count *de Frontenac* entertained a Jealousy of these Intercourses, and threatened to put to Death any that should come in that Manner again; but the Messenger had the Satisfaction of discovering the distressed Condition of *Canada* by Famine.

A Party of the *French* was sent out in the Winter, to make some Attempt upon the *English* Settlements near *Albany*; but some *Mohawks* and *Seakeck Indians* meeting with them, before they reached the Settlements, they were intirely routed. The commanding Officer, one *du Bau*, and two others, saved themselves from the Fury of the *Indi-*

CHAP. *ans*, by running to *Albany*; the rest were either
 XII. killed or perished in the Woods, so that not one
 Man of this Party got back to *Canada*.

It was much easier for the *French* to set the *Praying Indians* upon the *English*, against whom it is possible many of them had personal Animosities, that made them go over to the *French*, than to fight their Countrymen. Several of them came this Winter skulking about *Schenectady* and *Albany*; and being well acquainted with the Country, and speaking likewise the *Mohawk's* Language, by which they sometimes deceived the Inhabitants, they surprised some of the Inhabitants, and carried away their Scalps.

The *Five Nations*, to shew that the Count de *Frontenac's* Expedition had no Way discouraged them, sent out several Parties against *Canada*. One of them met with a Party of *French* upon *St. Laurence River*, near *Montreal*. The *French* were routed, and their Captain killed. As soon as this was heard at *Montreal*, *Repentigni* was sent out after them with a considerable Party of *French*, *Nepiscirien Indians* and *Praying Indians*; but this Party was likewise defeated, and the Captain, with many of his Men, killed.

Thus the War was continued till the Peace of *Reswick*, by small Parties of *Indians*, on both Sides, harassing, surprising, and scalping the Inhabitants near *Montreal* and *Albany*.

Some Time this Year the chief *Sachem* of the *Dionondadies* (whom the *French* call the *Baron*) went to *Quebeck*, pretending a strong Attachment to the *French*, but really to conceal the Treaty of Peace that he was on the Point of concluding with the *Five Nations*; for which Purpose he had sent his Son with nineteen Belts to the *Senekas*. The Substance of whose Commission was as follows;

The *French* have for many Years confounded CHAP.
 our Resolutions, and deceived us, but now we are XII.
 resolved to break all their Artifices, by stopping
 our Ears. We come now to unite with you, while
 the *French* know nothing of the Matter. The Com-
 mandant at *Missilimakinak* has told us many Lies,
 he has betrayed us, and made us kill one another,
 but we are firmly resolved never to hearken to him
 any more. The Peace was accordingly firmly con-
 cluded, notwithstanding all the Opposition the *French*
 could make. The *French* Authors say, the only
 Reason that induced the *Dionondadies* was, that the
English sold them Goods cheaper than the *French*
 could.

Some Time before the News of the Peace arrived,
 the *French* at *Montreal* being informed that a Party
 of the *Five Nations* were discovered near *Corlear's*
Lake, sent out a Captain with a Party of Sol-
 diers and *Indians*, who being well experienced in
 the Manner of making War with *Indians*, marched
 through the thickest Woods, and by the least fre-
 quented Places, so that he discovered the Enemy,
 without being discovered. He surpris'd that Party,
 killed several, and took one Prisoner. The *Uta-*
wawas being then trading at *Montreal*, the Count
de Frontenac invited them to a Feast to be made of
 this Prisoner, and caus'd him to be burnt publick-
 ly alive at *Montreal*, in the Manner of which I have
 already given two Accounts from the *French* Au-
 thors.

C H A P. XIII.

The Conduct which the English and French observed, in regard to the Five Nations, immediately after the Peace of Reswick.

C H A P.
XIII.

SOON after the News of the Peace of *Reswick* reached *New-York*, the Governor sent an Express to *Canada*, to inform the Governor there of it, that Hostilities might cease. The *Five Nations* having an Account of the Peace earlier than they had it in *Canada*, took Advantage of it, in hunting *Bever* near *Cadarackui Fort*. The Governor of *Canada* being informed of this, and believing that the *Five Nations* thought themselves secure by the general Peace, resolved to take his last Revenge of them. For this Purpose he sent a considerable Party of *Adirondacks* to surprize them, which they did, and killed several, but not without Loss of many of their own Men. The Loss of one of their greatest Captains at that Time gave the *Five Nations* the greatest Affliction. After he was mortally wounded, he cried out: "Must I, who have made the whole Earth tremble before me, now die by the Hands of Children?" for he despised the *Adirondacks*.

A Dispute at this Time arose, between the Government of *New-York* and *Canada*, about the *French* Prisoners which the *Five Nations* had in their Hands. The Earl of *Bellamont*, then Governor of *New-York*, would have the *French* receive those Prisoners from him, and directed the *Five Nations* to bring them to *Albany* for that Purpose. The *French*, on the other Hand, refused to own the *Five Nations* as subject to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, and threatened

ened to continue the War against the *Five Nations*, CHAP. if they did not bring the Prisoners to *Montreal*, XIII. and deliver them there. The Count de Frontenac sent some of the *Praying Indians* with a Message to this Purpose, and to have all the *French* Allies included in the general Peace.

The Messenger on his Return told the Count, publicly in Presence of several *Utarwas*, that the *Five Nations* refused to include several of his Allies, but were resolved to revenge the Injuries they had received. The *Utarwas* were exceedingly discomposed at hearing this, and the Count, to recover their Spirits, assured them, that he never would make Peace without including all his Allies in it, and without having all their Prisoners restored. At the same Time he made Preparations to attack the *Five Nations* with the whole Force of *Canada*.

The Earl of Bellamont being informed of this, sent Captain John Schuyler (of the Militia) to tell the Count, that he had the Interest of the King his Master too much at Heart, to suffer the *French* to treat the *Five Nations* like Enemies, after the Conclusion of the general Peace; for which Reason he had ordered them to be on their Guard, and had furnished them with Arms and Ammunition; that he had ordered the Lieutenant-Governor, in Case they were attacked, either by the *French* or their Allies, to join them with the regular Troops; and that, if he found it necessary, he would raise the whole Force of his Government in their Defence.

This put a Stop to the *French* Threatening, and both Sides made Complaint to their Masters. The two Kings ordered their respective Governors to be assisting to each other, in making the Peace effectual to both Nations, and to leave the Disputes, as to the Dependency of the *Indian Nations*, to be de-

CHAP. terminated by Commissioners, to be appointed pursuant to the Treaty of *Reswick*.

XIII. It is exceedingly impolitick, when weaker Potentates, engaged in a Confederacy against one powerful Prince, leave any Points to be determined after the Conclusion of a Peace; for if they cannot obtain a Concession, while the Confederacy stands and their Force is united, how can a weaker Prince hope to obtain it, when he is left alone to himself, after the Confederacy is dissolved? The *French* have so often found the Benefit of this Piece of Imprudence, that in all their Treaties they use all the Cajoling, and every Artifice in their Power, to obtain this Advantage, and they seldom miss it.

About the Time of the Conclusion of the Peace at *Reswick*, the noted *Therouet* died at *Montreal*. The *French* gave him Christian Burial in a pompous Manner, the Priest, that attended him at his Death, having declared that he died a true Christian; for, said the Priest, while I explained to him the Passion of our Saviour, whom the *Jews* crucified, he cried out; "Oh! had I been there, I would have revenged his Death, and brought away their Scalps."

Soon after the Peace was known at *Montreal*, three considerable Men of the *Praying Indians* came to *Albany*; they had fine laced Coats given them, and were invited to return to their own Country. They answered, that they were young Men, and had not Skill to make a suitable Answer, and had not their ancient Men to consult with; but promised to communicate the Proposals to their old Men, and would bring back an Answer in the Fall. I find nothing more of this in the Register of *Indian Affairs*, though it might have been of great Consequence had it been pursued to Purpose; but such Matters, where there is not an immediate private Profit,

Profit, are seldom pursued by the *English* with that CHAP. Care and Assiduity, with which they are by the XIII. *French*.


While Captain *Schuyler* was in *Canada*, he entered into some indiscreet Discourse with Monsieur *Maricour*, for whom the *Five Nations* had a particular Esteem, and call *Stowtowisse*. Captain *Schuyler*, in asserting the Dependency of the *Five Nations* on *New-York*, said, that those Nations were their Slaves. Mr. *Maricour* told this Discourse to an *Onondaga*, with all the Aggravations he could, and added, that it was intirely owing to the *English* that the Peace was not absolutely concluded, and that Captain *Schuyler* prevented their Prisoners being restored, because he would have them sent to *Albany*, as being Slaves to the *English*. That the *French* had no Dispute with the *English*, but for the Independency of the *Five Nations*. This indiscreet Conduct of Captain *Schuyler* was so much resented by the *Five Nations*, that a Deputation of the most considerable *Sachems* was sent to *Albany* in June 1699, to complain of it; and they sent at the same Time Deputies to *Canada* to conclude the Peace, independently of the *English*. These Deputies that came to *Albany* were so far convinced that the *French* had abused them, and how much more it was for their Security to be included in the general Peace with the *English*, than to have only the *French* Faith for their Security, that they immediately dispatched a Messenger after their Deputies that were gone to *Canada*. Though this Messenger reached them too late to stop their Proceeding, it convinced the Deputies so far of its being for their Interest to be joined with the *English* in the Peace, as they had been in the War, that they insisted that the Exchange of Prisoners be made at *Albany*. At the same Time the Messenger was sent after their Deputies to *Canada*, Colonel *Peter Schuyler* was

CHAP. was sent with others to *Onondaga*, to remove the
XIII. Prejudices they had received there.

~ The Count *de Frontenac* died while these Disputes continued. Monsieur *de Callieres*, who succeeded him, put an End to them, by agreeing to send to *Onondaga* to regulate the Exchange of Prisoners there; for which Purpose Monsieur *Maricour*, *Ioncaire*, and the Jesuit *Bruyas*, were sent.

When the *French* Commissioners were come within less than a Mile of *Onondaga* Castle, they put themselves in Order and marched with the *French* Colours carried before them, and with as much Show as they could make. *Decanesora* met them without the Gate, and complimented them with three Strings of Wampum. By the first he wiped away their Tears for the *French* that had been slain in the War. By the second he opened their Mouths, that they might speak freely; that is, promised them Freedom of Speech. By the third he cleaned the Matt, on which they were to sit, from the Blood that had been spilt on both Sides: The Compliment was returned by the Jesuit, then they entered the Fort, and were saluted with a general Discharge of all the fire Arms. They were carried to the best Cabin in the Fort, and there entertained with a Feast. The Deputies of the several Nations not being all arrived, the Jesuit, and Monsieur *Maricour*, passed the Time in visiting and conversing with the *French* Prisoners. The General Council being at last met, the Jesuit made the following Speech, which I take from the Relation the *Five Nations* afterwards made of it to the Earl of *Bellamont*.

“ I. I am glad to see the *Five Nations*, and that
“ some of them went to *Canada*, notwithstanding
“ *Corlear* forbid them: I am sorry for the Loss of
your

“ your People killed by the remote *Indians* ; I con- CHAP.
 “ dole their Death, and wipe away the Blood by this XIII.
 “ Belt. 

“ 2. The War Kettle boiled so long, that it
 “ would have scalded all the *Five Nations* had it
 “ continued ; but now it is overfet, and turned up-
 “ side down, and a firm Peace made.

“ 3. I now plant the Tree of Peace and Welfare
 “ at *Onondaga*.

“ 4. Keep fast the Chain you have made with
 “ *Corlear*, for now we have one Heart and one
 “ Interest with them ; but why is *Corlear* against
 “ your corresponding with us, ought we not to
 “ converse together when we are at Peace and in
 “ Friendship ?

“ 5. Deliver up the *French* Prisoners you have,
 “ and we shall deliver not only those of your Na-
 “ tion we have, but all those likewise taken by
 “ any of our Allies ; and gave a Belt.

“ 6. I offer myself to you to live with you at
 “ *Onondaga*, to instruct you in the Christian Re-
 “ ligion, and to drive away all Sickness, Plagues
 “ and Diseases out of your Country, and gave a
 “ third Belt.

“ 7. This last Belt, he said, is from the *Ron-*
 “ *daxe*, or *French Indians*, to desire Restitution of
 “ the Prisoners taken from them.”

The Jesuit in the Conclusion said ; “ Why does
 “ not *Corlear* tell you what passes between the Go-
 “ vernor of *Canada* and him ? He keeps you in
 “ the Dark, while the Governor of *Canada* con-
 “ ceals nothing from his Children. Nor does the
 “ Governor of *Canada* claim your Land, as *Corlear*
 “ does.”

The General Council immediately rejected the
 Belt by which the Jesuit offered to stay with them,
 saying, We have already accepted *Corlear*'s Belt, by
 which he offers us Pastors to instruct us. *Decane-*
scra

CHAP. *fora* added, The Jesuits have always deceived us, XIII. for while they preached Peace, the *French* came and knocked us on the Head. To this the Jesuit replied, that if he had known that *Corlear* intended to send them Pastors, he would not have offered this Belt.

It is to be observed that the *Indian* Council refused to hear the *French*, or to give them an Answer, but in Presence of the Commissioners from *Albany*.

The *French* Commissioners having assured the Peace with the *Five Nations*, the Inhabitants of *Canada* esteemed it the greatest Blessing that could be procured for them from Heaven; for nothing could be more terrible than this last War with the *Five Nations*. While this War lasted, the Inhabitants eat their Bread in continual Fear and Trembling. No Man was sure, when out of his House, of ever returning to it again. While they laboured in the Fields, they were under perpetual Apprehensions of being killed or seized, and carried to the *Indian* Country, there to end their Days in cruel Torments. They many Times were forced to neglect both their Seed Time and Harvest. The Landlord often saw all his Land plundered, his Houses burnt, and the whole Country ruined, while they thought their Persons not safe in their Fortifications. In short, all Trade and Business was often at an intire Stand, while Fear, Despair, and Misery appeared in the Faces of the poor Inhabitants.

The *French* Commissioners carried several of the principal *Sachems* of the *Five Nations* back with them, who were received at *Montreal* with great Joy. They were saluted by a Discharge of all the great Guns round the Place, as they entered. The *French* Allies took this amiss, and asked if their Governor was entering. They were told, that it

was

was a Compliment paid to the *Five Nations*, whose *Sachems* were then entering the Town. We perceive, they replied, that Fear makes the *French* shew more Respect to their Enemies, than Love can make them do to their Friends.

CHAP.
XIII.

Monfieur de Callieres assembled all the *French* Allies, (who were then very numerous at *Mont-real*) to make the Exchange of Prisoners, and they delivered the Prisoners they had taken, though the *Five Nations* had sent none to be exchanged for them. Thus we see a brave People struggle with every Difficulty, till they can get out of it with Honour; and such People always gain Respect, even from their most inveterate Enemies.

I shall finish this Part by observing, that notwithstanding the *French* Commissioners took all the Pains possible to carry Home the *French*, that were Prisoners with the *Five Nations*, and they had full Liberty from the *Indians*, few of them could be persuaded to return. It may be thought that this was occasioned from the Hardships they had endured in their own Country, under a tyrannical Government and a barren Soil: But this certainly was not the only Reason; for the *English* had as much Difficulty to persuade the People, that had been taken Prisoners by the *French* *Indians*, to leave the *Indian* Manner of living, though no People enjoy more Liberty, and live in greater Plenty, than the common Inhabitants of *New-York* do. No Arguments, no Intreaties, nor Tears of their Friends and Relations, could persuade many of them to leave their new *Indian* Friends and Acquaintance; several of them that were by the Caressings of their Relations persuaded to come Home, in a little Time grew tired of our Manner of living, and run away again to the *Indians*, and ended their Days with them. On the other Hand, *Indian* Children have been carefully educated among the *Eng-*
lish,

CHAP. *lish*, cloathed and taught, yet, I think, there is not
 XIII. one Instance, that any of these, after they had Liberty to go among their own People, and were come to Age, would remain with the *English*, but returned to their own Nations, and became as fond of the *Indian* Manner of Life as those that knew nothing of a civilized Manner of living. What I now tell of Christian Prisoners among *Indians*, relates not only to what happened at the Conclusion of this War, but has been found true on many other Occasions.

The End of the SECOND PART.



PAPERS

P A P E R S

RELATING TO

An A C T of the ASSEMBLY

OF THE

PROVINCE of *NEW-YORK*,

FOR

Encouragement of the *Indian Trade*, &c. and
for prohibiting the selling of *Indian Goods*
to the *French*, viz. of *CANADA*.

- I. A PETITION of the Merchants of *London* to His Majesty against the said Act.
- II. HIS MAJESTY'S Order in Council, referring the Petition to the Lords Commissioners of *Trade* and *Plantation*.
- III. EXTRACT of the Minutes of the said Lords, concerning some Allegations of the Merchants before them.
- IV. The REPORT of the said Lords to His Majesty on the Merchants Petition, and other Allegations.
- V. The REPORT of the Committee of Council of the Province of *New-York*, in Answer to the said Petition.
- VI. A MEMORIAL concerning the Furr-Trade of *New-York*, by *C. Colden*, Esq;

TO THE

KING'S Most Excellent Majesty in
Council,

The Humble Petition and Representation of
Samuel Baker, Samuel Storke, John Bayeux,
Richard Jeneway, Robert Hackshaw, Joseph
Low, Joseph Paice, George Streatfield, Wil-
liam Parkin, and John Evered, Merchants
of *London*, trading to *New-York*, in behalf
of themselves, and the rest of the Persons
concern'd in the *New-York Trade*.

S H E W E T H,

THAT by an Act passed in *New-York*
the 19th of *November*, 1720, entitled;
An Act for Encouragement of the Indian
Trade, and rendering it more beneficial to the
Inhabitants of this Province, and for prohibiting the
selling of Indian Goods to the French, all Trade
whatsoever is prohibited in the strictest Manner,
and under the severest Penalties, between the Inha-
bitants of *New-York Government*, and the *French* of
Canada, or any Subjects of the *French King*, or any
Person whatsoever, for or on the behalf of any such
Subjects; and which Act was to continue in force
for three Years.

That the Reasons assigned in the Preamble of
this Act, for the passing thereof, are, For that the
French at *Canada*, by means of *Indian Goods* pur-
chased from the Inhabitants of *New-York*, had not
only almost wholly engrossed the *Indian Trade* to them-

selves, but had, in great measure, withdrawn the Affections of the *Five Nations* of *Indians* from the Inhabitants of *New-York*, and render'd them wavering in their Faith and Allegiance to your Majesty ; and would, if such Trade was not prevented, wholly alienate the Minds of the said *Indians*, which might prove of dangerous Consequence to the *English Interest* in *America*.

That this Act was sent home for your Majesty's royal Consideration, but your Petitioners do not find that your Majesty ever signified your Allowance or Disallowance thereof ; from whence, and from the Act's being to continue but three Years, your Petitioners humbly conceive the same was suffered to lie by probationary, to see whether the said Act, in its Effects, was really advantageous or prejudicial to the *British Trade* and *Interest* in *America*.

That your Petitioners have received Advice, That the Government of *New-York* either have, or are about passing an Act, to revive and continue the said Act for prohibiting all Trade between *New-York* and *Canada*.

Upon which Occasion, your Petitioners humbly beg leave to represent to your Majesty, That the said Act, tho' in the first Intention of it, it might be well designed, yet, in its Effects, it has proved very pernicious to the *British Trade* in general, and to the Interest of *New-York* in particular : For, besides the Nations of *Indians* that are in the *English Interest*, there are very many Nations of *Indians*, who are, at present, in the Interest of the *French*, and who lie between *New-York*, and the Nations of *Indians* in the *English Interest* ; and this Act prohibiting all Trade between *New-York* and the *French* of *Canada*, or any of the Subjects of *France*, the *French*, and their *Indians*, would not permit the *English Indians* to pass over by their Forts, so as to carry on a free Trade with *New-York*, but pre-

vented their Passages, as much as possible, whereby that most considerable and only valuable Branch of Trade from *New-York*, hath, ever since the passing the said Act, very much lessened, from the great Difficulties of carrying on any Trade with the *English Indians*, and the Prohibition of all Trade with the *French*; and all the *Indian Goods* have, by this Act, been raised in their Price 25 *l.* to 30 *l.* per Cent.

Whereas, on the other hand, this Branch of the *New-York* Trade, by the Discouragements brought upon it by this Act, is almost wholly engrossed by the *French*, who have already, by this Act, been encouraged to send proper *European Goods* to *Canada*, to carry on this Trade; so that should this Act be continued, the *New-York* Trade, which is very considerable, must be wholly lost to us, and center in the *French*.

And your Petitioners further beg leave humbly to represent, That as they conceive nothing can tend more to the with-drawing the Affections of the *Five Nations* of *Indians* from the *English Interest*, than the Continuance of the said Act, which, in its Effects, restrains them from a free Commerce with the Inhabitants of *New-York*, and may, too probably, estrange them from the *English Interest*: Whereas by a Freedom of Commerce, and an encourag'd Intercourse of Trade with the *French*, and their *Indians*, the *English Interest* might, in time, be greatly improved and strengthened among the *Indians* in general, who, by such Latitude of Trade, might be link'd to our Friendship in the strongest Ties of their own Interest, as well as Inclinations.

That therefore, and as the said Act was, in its Effects, so plainly destructive and prejudicial to the Trade and Interest of these Kingdoms, and so much for the Interest of the *French*, and greatly promoted that Mischief which it was intended to prevent,

Your Petitioners most humbly pray your Majesty, That you would be graciously pleased to give the necessary Directions to your Governour of *New-York*, not to pass any new Act for the reviving or continuing the said Act prohibiting Trade with the *French* of *Canada*; and that if any such Act, or any Act of the like Tendency, be already passed, that the same may be repealed. *And your Petitioners shall ever pray, &c.*

<i>Samuel Baker,</i>	<i>J. Bull,</i>
<i>Rob. Hackshaw,</i>	<i>Fra. Wilks,</i>
<i>Jo. Lloyd,</i>	<i>Wm. Parkin,</i>
<i>Sam. Storke,</i>	<i>John Gilbert,</i>
<i>J. Bayeux,</i>	<i>Jos. Paice, jun.</i>
<i>Sam. Fitch,</i>	<i>Rich. Mico,</i>
<i>Rich. Feneway,</i>	<i>Jo. Miranda,</i>
<i>Jos. Lowe,</i>	<i>Geo. Streatfield,</i>
<i>Asber Levy,</i>	<i>John Everet,</i>
<i>John Paine,</i>	<i>Thompson Hayne.</i>

*At the Court at St. James's the 30th Day
of April, 1724.*

P R E S E N T

The KING's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

UPON Reading this Day at the Board the humble Petition and Representation of *Samuel Baker, Samuel Storke*, and several others, Merchants of *London*, trading to *New-York*, in behalf of themselves, and the rest of the Persons concern'd in the *New-York* Trade, which *Petition* sets forth, That great Discouragements have been brought upon the *British Trade*, by an Act passed in the said Colony of *New York*, the 19th of *November*, 1720, entitled,

entitled, *An Act for the Encouragement of the Indian Trade, and rendering of it more beneficial to the Inhabitants of this Province, and for prohibiting the selling of Indian Goods to the French.* And that as the said Act was to continue in force only for three Years, they are informed the Government of *New-York* either have, or are about passing an Act to revive and continue the same: Wherefore they humbly pray, that the Governour of that Colony may be ordered, not to pass any new Act for that purpose; and if any such Act be already pass'd; that it may be repealed.

It is ordered by his Majesty in Council, That the said Petition (a Copy whereof is hereunto annexed) be, and it is hereby referred to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, to examine into the same, and report to his Majesty, at this Board, what they conceive fit to be done therein.

Signed,

James Vernon.

Extract of the Minutes of the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, the 7th of July, 1724.

MR. Sharp attending, as he had been desired, with several *New-York* Merchants, their Lordships took again into Consideration the Order of Council of the 30th of *April*, mentioned in the Minutes of the first of *May* last, referring to the Board their Petition against the Renewing an Act passed in *New-York*, in *November*, 1720, entitled, *An Act for the Encouragement of the Indian Trade, and rendering of it more effectual to the Inhabitants of this Province, and for prohibiting the selling of*

Indian Goods to the French. And Mr. Sharp, in behalf of the several Merchants, acquainted their Lordships, That he conceived this Act, tho' its Intention of gaining the *Indians* to the *English* Interest might be good, would have quite a contrary Effect, because, if the Trade with the *French* was prevented, and the Merchants should discontinue that with the *Indians*, (as he was informed they would) the *French* might lay hold of this Opportunity to furnish themselves with Goods from *Europe*, and supply the Five Nations of *Indians*, and thereby gain them to their Interest: And this, by reason of their Situation, would not be in the Power of the *English* to prevent: That they were two or three hundred Leagues distant from *Albany*, and that they could not come to trade with the *English* but by going down the River *St. Laurence*, and from thence through a Lake, which brought them within eighteen Leagues of *Albany*.

And that the *French* having made Settlements along the said River, it would be in their Power, whenever they pleased, to cut off that Communication.

That this Act had been so great a Discouragement to the *British* Trade, in general, that there had not been, by far, so great a Quantity of Beaver, and other Furs, imported into *Great-Britain* since the passing the said Act, as there was before; nor half the Quantity of *European Goods* exported.

That several Merchants who had sent over to *New-York* considerable Quantities of *European Goods*, had received Advice from their Correspondents, That should another Act of the like Nature be passed, they could not find a vent for them, and desired they would send no more.

Upon the whole, Mr. Sharp desired, in behalf of the Merchants, that Mr. Burnet might be directed not to pass any Act of the like Nature for the future.

To the KING's Most Excellent Majesty.

May it please your Majesty ;

IN Obedience to your Majesty's Commands, signified to us by your Order in Council of the 30th of *April* last, referring to us the Petition of several Merchants of *London* trading to *New-York*, setting forth " The great Discouragements that " have been brought upon the *British Trade* by an " Act passed in *New-York* the 19th of *November*, " 1720, entitled, *An Act for the Encouragement of " the Indian Trade, and rendering of it more bene- " ficial to the Inhabitants of this Province, and for " prohibiting the selling of Indian Goods to the " French*. And that as the said Act is now ex- " pir'd, the said Merchants are informed the Go- " vernment of *New-York* either have, or are about " passing an Act to revive and continue the same ; " and therefore pray, that a stop may be put " thereto." We humbly take leave to represent to your Majesty,

That we have been attended by the Petitioners, who informed us, that they have found this Act, by Experience, to be so great a Discouragement to the *British Trade*, that there has not been, by far, so considerable a Quantity of Beaver, and other Furs, imported into *Great-Britain*, from *New-York*, since the passing the said Act, as heretofore, nor half the Quantity of *European Goods* exported thither ; in consequence whereof the Price of Furs is raised *Five and Twenty and Thirty per Cent.* to the great Prejudice of several *British Manufactures*.

They likewise affirmed, That it was impracticable to hinder the *French* from supplying the *Indians* with *European Goods* : For tho' *New-York* should not furnish them, the *French* would find another way to be supplied therewith, either from
some

some other of his Majesty's Plantations, or, it might be, directly from *Europe*. That it was of dangerous Consequence to force this Trade into a new Channel, many of the Goods which the *Indians* want being as easy to be had directly from *France* or *Holland*, as from *Great-Britain*.

They further added, That it was not likely the Act, in question, should produce the Effects expected from it, more particularly that of securing the Five *Indian* Nations firmly to the *British* Interest; because, if the *French* should once get a Supply of the Goods necessary for the *Indian* Trade, from any other Place, as the Five *Indian* Nations are settled upon the Banks of the River of *St. Lawrence*, directly opposite to *Quebeck*, two or three hundred Leagues distant from the nearest *British* Settlement in *New-York*, the Vicinity of the *French* would furnish them with the Means of supplying even the *Five Nations* with these Goods, and consequently of alienating their Affections from the *British* Interest. And that there was no Prospect of obtaining a Trade with the *French Indians* by this means, because the *French* would always be able to prevent their Passage cross the Lakes and River of *St. Lawrence* to our Settlements.

These were the most material Objections made by the Merchants against the Bill.

On the other hand, the Preamble of the Act sets forth, That it was found by Experience, that the *French* of *Canada*, by means of *Indian* Goods brought from that Province, had not only almost wholly engrossed the *Indian* Trade, but had in great Measure, withdrawn the Affections of the *Five Nations* of *Indians* from the Inhabitants of that Province, and rendered them wavering in their Allegiance to your Majesty; and would, if such Trade were not prevented, altogether alienate the Minds of the said *Indians*, which would prove of dangerous

gerous Consequence to the *English* Interest in *America*.

And Mr. *Burnet*, your Majesty's Governour of *New-York*, informs us, That, since the passing of this Act, several of the far *Indians* had come to *Albany* to trade; That some of them came above one thousand Miles, and are now incorporated with the *Five Nations*: That he had likewise Intelligence of more far *Indians* that design'd to come to *Albany*, which he conceives to have been a good Effect proceeding from this Act: And likewise adds, That he did not doubt but the Cheapness of Goods in *Albany* would induce the *Indians* to trade there, rather than with the *French* at *Montreal*; and that the Traders of *Albany* began to be sensible of their Error in sharing a Trade with the *French*, which they now perceive they can keep wholly to themselves.

Upon the whole, being doubtful of some of the Facts alledged by the Merchants, and considering how far the *British Trade* may be affected by this Act, on the one hand; and how much the Security and Interest of your Majesty's Colonies in *America* may be concerned, on the other, we are humbly of Opinion, That no Directions should be sent to *New-York*, upon the Subject-Matter of this Act, till Mr. *Burnet* shall have been acquainted with the Objections of the Merchants thereto, and his Answers and Observations received thereupon. For which end, if your Majesty shall be graciously pleased to approve of this our Proposal, we shall forthwith send him Copies both of the Merchants Memorial, and of what Objections they have made before us to the Subject-Matter of this Bill.

Which is most humbly submitted. Signed,

Whitehall,
July 14, 1724.

J. Chetwind,		R. Plummer,
T. Pelham,		Ed. Ashe.
M. Bladen,		

*The Report of a Committee of the Council held
at New-York, November 6, 1724.*

May it please your Excellency,

IN Obedience to your Excellency's Commands in Council, the 29th of *October*, referring to us a Petition of several Merchants in *London*, presented to the King's most excellent Majesty, against renewing an Act passed in this Province, entitled, *An Act for Encouragement of the Indian Trade, and rendering it more effectual to the Inhabitants of this Province, and for prohibiting the selling of Indian Goods to the French*; as likewise the several Allegations of the said Merchants before the Right Hon. the Lords of Trade and Plantations, we beg Leave to make the following Remarks.

In order to make our Observations the more distinct and clear, we shall gather together the several Assertions of the said Merchants, both in their Petition, and delivered verbally before the Lords of Trade, as to the Situation of this Province, with respect to the *French* and *Indian Nations*, and observe on them, in the first Place, they being the Foundation on which all their other Allegations are grounded. Afterwards we shall lay before your Excellency, what we think necessary to observe on the other parts of the said Petition, in the Order they are in the Petition, or in the Report of the Lords of Trade.

In their geographical Accounts they say, “ Besides the Nations of *Indians* that are in the *English* Interest, there are very many Nations of *Indians*, who are at present in the Interest of the *French*, and who lie between *New-York* and the Nations of *Indians* in the *English* Interest.—
“ The *French* and their *Indians* would not permit
“ the *English* *Indians* to pass over by their Forts.

The

The said Act “ Restrains them (*the Five Nations*) from a free Commerce with the Inhabitants of *New-York*.

“ The *Five Indian Nations* are settled upon the Banks of the River *St. Lawrence*, directly opposite to *Quebeck*, two or three Hundred Leagues distant from the nearest *British* Settlements in *New-York*.

“ They (*the Five Nations of Indians*) were two or three Hundred Leagues distant from *Albany*; and that they could not come to trade with the *English* but by going down the River *St. Lawrence*, and from thence through a Lake, which brought them within eighteen Leagues of *Albany*.”

These Things the Merchants have thought it safe for them, and consistent with their Duty to his sacred Majesty, to say in his Majesty's Presence, and to repeat them afterwards before the Right Hon. the Lords of Trade, though nothing can be more directly contrary to the Truth. For there are no Nations of *Indians* between *New-York* and the Nations of *Indians* in the *English Interest*, who are now six in Number, by the Addition of the *Tuscaroras*. The *Mohawks* (called *Annie*s by the *French*) one of the Five Nations, live on the South-side of a Branch of *Hudson's-River*, (not on the North-side, as they are placed in the *French Maps*) and but forty Miles directly West from *Albany*, and within the *English* Settlements, some of the *English* Farms upon the same River being thirty Miles further West.

The *Oneidas* (the next of the Five Nations) lie likewise West from *Albany*, near the Head of the *Mohawks-River*, about one Hundred Miles from *Albany*.

The *Onondagas* lie about one Hundred and Thirty Miles West from *Albany*. And the *Tuscaroras* live partly with the *Oneidas*, and partly with the *Onondagas*.

The

The *Cayugas* are about one hundred and sixty Miles from *Albany*.

And the *Sennekas* (the furthest of all these Nations) are not above two hundred and forty Miles from *Albany*, as may appear by Mr. *De L'Isle's* Map of *Louisiane*, who lays down the Five Nations under the Name of *Iroquois*.

And Goods are daily carried from this Province to the *Sennekas*, as well as to those Nations that lie nearer, by Water all the Way, except three Miles, (or in the dry Seasons, five Miles) where the Traders carry over Land between the *Mohawks-River* and the *Wood Creek*, which runs into the *Oneida-Lake*, without going near either *St. Lawrence-River*, or any of the *Lakes* upon which the *French* pass, which are entirely out of their Way.

The nearest *French* Forts or Settlements to *Albany*, are *Chambly* and *Monreal*, both of them lying about North and by East from *Albany*, and are near two hundred Miles distant from it. *Quebeck* lies about three hundred and eighty Miles North-East from *Albany*. So far is it from being true, that the Five Nations are situated upon the Banks of the *River St. Lawrence*, opposite to *Quebeck*, that *Albany* lies almost directly between *Quebeck* and the *Five Nations*. And to say that these *Indians* cannot come to trade at *Albany*, but by going down the *River St. Lawrence*, and then into a *Lake* eighteen Leagues from *Albany* (we suppose they mean *Lake Champlain*) passing by the *French* Forts, is to the same Purpose as if they should say, that one cannot go from *London* to *Bristol*, but by Way of *Edinburgh*.

Before we go on to observe other Particulars, we beg Leave further to remark, that it is so far from being true, that the *Indians* in the *French* Interest, lie between *New-York* and our *Five Nations of Indians*, that some of our Nations of *Indians* lie between the *French* and the *Indians*, from whence the

French

French bring the far greatest Quantity of their Furs: For the *Sennekas* (whom the *French* call *Sonontouons*) are situated between *Lake Erie* and *Cataraqui Lake*, (called by the *French* *Ontario*) near the great Fall of *Jagara*, by which all the *Indians* that live round *Lake Erie*, round the Lake of the *Hurons*, round the Lake of the *Illinois*, or *Michigan*, and round the great *Upper Lake*, generally pass in their Way to *Canada*. All the *Indians* situated upon the Branches of the *Mississippi*, must likewise pass by the same Place, if they go to *Canada*. And all of them likewise in their Way to *Canada*, pass by our Trading-Place upon the *Cataraqui Lake*, at the Mouth of the *Onondaga River*. The nearest and safest Way of carrying Goods upon the *Cataraqui Lake* towards *Canada*, being along the South-side of that Lake, (near where our *Indians* are settled, and our Trade of late is fixed) and not by the North-side and *Cataraqui*, or *Frontinac Fort*, where the *French* are settled.

Now that we have represented to your Excellency, that not one Word of the Geography of these Merchants is true, upon which all their Reasoning is founded, it might seem needless to trouble your Excellency with any further Remarks, were it not to show with what earnestness they are promoting the *French Interest*, to the Prejudice of all his Majesty's Colonies in *North America*, and that they are not ashamed of asserting any Thing for that End, even in the Royal Presence.

First, They say, " That by the Act passed in
 " this Province, entitled, *An Act for Encourage-*
 " *ment of the Indian Trade, &c.* All Trade what-
 " soever is prohibited in the strictest Manner, and
 " under the severest Penalties, between the Inha-
 " bitants of *New-York* Government, and the
 " *French* of *Canada*."

This is not true, for only carrying Goods to the *French*, which are proper for the *Indian Trade*, is prohibited.

prohibited. The Trade as to other Things, is left in the same State it was before that Act was made, as it will appear to any Person that shall read it: And there are yearly large Quantities of other Goods openly carried to *Canada*, without any Hindrance from the Government of *New-York*. Whatever may be said of the Severity and Penalties in that Act, they are found insufficient to deter some from carrying Goods clandestinely to the *French*; and the Legislature of this Province are convinced that no Penalties can be too severe, to prevent a Trade which puts the Safety of all his Majesty's Subjects of *North America* in the greatest Danger.

Their next Assertion is, *All the Indian Goods have by this Act, been raised 25 l. to 30 l. per Cent.* This is the only Allegation in the whole Petition, that there is any Ground for. Nevertheless, though the common Channel of Trade cannot be altered without some Detriment to it in the Beginning, we are assured from the Custom-house Books, that there has been every Year, since the passing of this Act, more Furs exported from *New-York*, than in the Year immediately before the passing of this Act. It is not probable, that the greatest Difference between the Exportation any Year before this Act, and any Year since, could so much alter the Price of Beaver, as it is found to be this last Year. Beaver is carried to *Britain* from other Parts besides *New-York*, and it is certain that the Price of Beaver is not so much altered here by the Quantity in our Market, as by the Demand for it in *Britain*. But as we cannot be so well informed here, what occasions Beaver to be in greater Demand in *Britain*, we must leave that to be enquired after in *England*. However, we are fully satisfied that it will be found to be for very different Reasons from what the Merchants alledge.

The Merchants go on and say, *Whereas on the other Hand, this Branch of the New-York Trade,*

by

by

by the Discouragements brought upon it by this Act, is almost wholly engrossed by the French, who have already by this Act, been encouraged to send proper European Goods to Canada, to carry on this Trade, so that should this Act be continued, the New-York Trade which is very considerable, must be wholly lost to us, and center in the French.——Though New-York should not furnish them, the French would find another Way to be supplied therewith, either from some other of his Majesty's Plantations, or it might be directly from Europe.——Many of the Goods which the Indians want being as easy to be had directly from France or Holland, as from Great-Britain.

This is easily answered, by informing your Excellency, that the principal of the Goods proper for the *Indian Market* are only of the Manufactures of *Great-Britain*, or of the *British Plantations*, viz. Strouds, or Stroud-Waters, and other Woollens, and Rum. The *French* must be obliged to buy all their Woollens (the Strouds especially) in *England*, and thence carry them to *France*, in order to their Transportation to *Canada*. The Voyage to *Quebeck* through the Bay of *St. Lawrence*, is well known to be the most dangerous of any in the World, and only practicable in the Summer Months. The *French* have no Commodities in *Canada*, by reason of the Cold and Barrenness of the Soil, proper for the *West-India* Markets, and therefore have no Rum but by Vessels from *France*, that touch at their Islands in the *West-Indies*. *New-York* has, by Reason of its Situation, both as to the Sea and the *Indians*, every Way the Advantage of *Canada*. The *New-York* Vessels make always two Voyages in the Year from *England*, one in Summer and another in Winter, and several Voyages in a Year to the *West-Indies*. It is manifest therefore, that it is not in the Power of the *French* to import any Goods near so cheap to *Canada*, as they are imported to *New-York*.

But to put this out of all Controversy, we need only observe to your Excellency, That Strouds (without which no considerable Trade can be carried on with the *Indians*) are sold at *Albany* for 10*l.* a Piece: They were sold at *Monreal* before this Act took Place, at 13*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* and now they are sold there for 25*l.* and upwards: Which is an evident Proof, that the *French* have not, in these four Years Time (during the Continuance of this Act) found out any other Way to supply themselves with Strouds, and likewise that they cannot trade without them, seeing they buy them at so extravagant a Price.

It likewise appears, that none of the neighbouring Colonies have been able to supply the *French* with these Goods; and those that know the Geography of the Country, know it is impracticable to do it at any tolerable Rate, because they must carry their Goods ten Times further by Land than we need to do.

We are likewise assured, that the Merchants of *Monreal* lately told Mr. *Vaudreuil* their Governor, that if the Trade from *Albany* be not by some Means or other encouraged, they must abandon that Settlement. We have Reason therefore to suspect, that these Merchants (at least some of them) have been practised upon by the *French* Agents in *London*; for no doubt, the *French* will leave no Method untried to defeat the present Designs of this Government, seeing they are more afraid of the Consequences of this Trade between *New-York* and the *Indians*, than of all the warlike Expeditions that ever were attempted against *Canada*.

But to return to the Petitioners, They conceive nothing can tend more to the withdrawing the Affections of the Five Nations of *Indians* from the English Interest, than the Continuance of the said Act, which in its Effects restrains them from a free Commerce with the Inhabitants of *New-York*, and may too probably,
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estrangle them from the English Interest, whereas by a Freedom of Commerce, and an encouraged Intercourse of Trade with the French and their Indians, the English Interest might in Time, be greatly improved and strengthened.

It seems to us a strange Argument to say, that an Act, the whole Purport of which is to encourage our own People to go among the *Indians*, and to draw the far *Indians* through our *Indian Country* to *Albany* (and which has truly produced these Effects) would on the contrary, restrain them from a free Commerce with the Inhabitants of *New-York*, and may too probably estrange them from the *English Interest*, and therefore that it would be much wiser in us to make use of the *French*, to promote the *English Interest*; and for which End, we ought to encourage a free Intercourse between them and our *Indians*. The reverse of this is exactly true, in the Opinion of our *Five Nations*; who in all their publick Treaties with this Government, have represented against this Trade, as *The Building the French Forts with English Strouds*: That the encouraging a Freedom of Commerce with our *Indians*, and the *Indians* round them, who must pass through their Country to *Albany*, would certainly increase both the *English Interest* and theirs, among all the Nations to the Westward of them; and that the carrying the *Indian Market* to *Monreal* in *Canada*, draws all the far *Indians* thither.

The last Thing we have to take Notice, is what the Merchants asserted before the Lords of Trade, viz. *That there has not been half the Quantity of European Goods exported since the passing of this Act, that used to be.*

We are well assured, that this is no better grounded than the other Facts they assert with the same Positiveness. For it is well known almost to every Person in *New-York*, that there has not been a less, but rather a greater Quantity of *European Goods*

imported into this Place, since the passing of this Act, than was at any Time before it, in the same Space of Time. As this appears by the Manifests in the Custom-house here, the same may likewise be easily proved by the Custom-house Books in London.

As all the Arguments of the Merchants run upon the ill Effects this Act has had upon the Trade and the Minds of the *Indians*, every one of which we have shown to be asserted without the least Foundation to support them, there nothing now remains, but to show the good Effects this Act has produced, which are so notorious in this Province, that we know not one Person that now opens his Mouth against the Act.

Before this Act passed, none of the People of this Province travelled into the *Indian Countries* to trade: We have now above forty young Men, who have been several Times as far as the Lakes a trading, and thereby become well acquainted, not only with the Trade of the *Indians*, but likewise with their Manners and Languages; and these have returned with such large Quantities of Furs, that greater Numbers are resolved to follow their Example. So that we have good Reason to hope, that in a little Time the *English* will draw the whole *Indian* Trade of the Inland Countries to *Albany*, and into the Country of the *Five Nations*. This Government has built a publick Trading-house upon *Cataraqui Lake*, at *Irondequat* in the *Sennekas* Land, and another is to be built next Spring, at the Mouth of the *Onondagas River*. All the far *Indians* pass by these Places, in their Way to *Canada*; and they are not above half so far from the *English* Settlements, as they are from the *French*.

So far is it from being true what the Merchants say, *That the French Forts interrupt all Communication between the Indians and the English*, that if these Places be well supported, as they easily can be from

our Settlements, in case of a Rupture with the *French*, it will be in the Power of this Province, to intercept the greatest Part of the Trade between *Canada* and the *Indians*, round the Lakes and the Branches of the *Mississippi*.

Since this Act passed, many Nations have come to *Albany* to trade, and settle Peace and Friendship, whose Names had not so much as been heard of among us.

In the Beginning of *May* 1723, a Nation of *Indians* came to *Albany* singing and dancing, with their Calumets before them, as they always do when they come to any Place where they have not been before. We do not find that the Commissioners of *Indian* Affairs, were able to inform themselves what Nation this was.

Towards the End of the same Month, eighty Men, besides Women and Children, came to *Albany* in the same Manner. These had one of our Five Nations with them for an Interpreter, by whom they informed the Commissioners, that they were of a great Nation, called *Nebkereages*, consisting of six Castles and Tribes; and that they lived near a Place called by the *French* *Missilimakinak*, between the Upper Lake and the Lake of the *Hurons*. These *Indians* not only desired a free Commerce, but likewise to enter into a strict League of Friendship with us and our *Six Nations*, that they might be accounted the *Seventh Nation* in the League; and being received accordingly, they left their Calumet as a Pledge of their Fidelity.

In *June* another Nation arrived, but from what Part of the Continent we have not learned.

In *July* the *Twightwies* arrived, and brought an *Indian* Interpreter of our Nations with them, who told, that they were called by the *French* *Miamies*, and that they live upon one of the Branches of the River *Mississippi*.

At the same Time some of the *Taksagrondie Indians*, who live between *Lake Erie* and the Lake of the *Hurons*, near a *French Settlement*, did come and renew their League with the *English*, nor durst the *French* hinder them.

In *July* this Year, another Nation came, whose Situation and Name we know not. And in *August* and *September*, several Parties of the same *Indians* that had been here last Year. But the greatest Numbers of these far *Indians* have been met this Year, in the *Indian Country* by our Traders, every one of them endeavouring to get before another, in order to reap the Profits of so advantageous a Trade, which has all this Summer long, kept about forty Traders constantly employed, in going between our Trading-places in our *Indian Country*, and *Albany*.

All these Nations of *Indians* who came to *Albany* said, that the *French* had told them many strange Stories of the *English*, and did what they could to hinder their coming to *Albany*, but that they had resolved to break through by Force. The Difference on this Score between the *Taksagrondie Indians* and the *French* (who have a Fort and Settlement there, called by them *Le Detroit*) rose to that Height this Summer, that Mr. *Tonti* who commanded there, thought it proper to retire, and return to *Canada* with many of his Men.

We are for these Reasons well assured, that this Year there will be more Beaver exported for *Great-Britain*, than ever was from this Province in one Year; and that if the Custom-house Books at *London* be looked into, it will be found, that there will be a far greater Quantity of Goods for the *Indians*, (Strouds especially) sent over next Spring, than ever was at any one Time to this Province; for the Merchants here tell us, that they have at this Time, ordered more of these Goods, than ever was done at any one Time before.

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These Matters of Fact prove beyond Contradiction, that this Act has been of the greatest Service to *New-York*, in making us acquainted with many Nations of *Indians*, formerly entirely unknown and Strangers to us; in withdrawing them from their Dependance upon the *French*, and in uniting them to us and our *Indians*, by Means of Trade and mutual Offices of Friendship. Of what great Consequence this may be to the *British Interest* in general, as to Trade, is apparent to any Body. It is no less apparent likewise, that it is of the greatest Consequence to the Safety of all the *British Colonies* in *North-America*. We feel too sensibly, the ill Effects of the *French Interest* in the present War betwixt *New-England*, and only one Nation of *Indians* supported by the *French*. Of what dismal Consequences then might it be, if the *French* should be able to influence in the same Manner, so many and such numerous Nations, as lie to the Westward of *this Province*, *Pensylvania* and *Maryland*? On the other Hand, if all these Nations (who assert their own Freedom, and declare themselves Friends to those that supply them best with what they want) be brought to have a Dependance upon the *English* (as we have good Reason to hope, in a short Time they will) the *French* of *Canada*, in case of a War, must be at the Mercy of the *English*.

To these Advantages must be added, that many of our young Men having been induced by this Act to travel among the *Indians*, they learn their Manners, their Languages, and the Situation of all their Countries, and become inured to all Manner of Fatigues and Hardships, and a great many more being resolved to follow their Example; these young Men, in case of a War with the *Indians*, will be of ten Times the Service, that the same Number of the common Militia can be of.

The Effects of this Act have likewise so much quieted the Minds of the People, with Respect to

the Security of the Frontiers, that our Settlements are now extended above thirty Miles further West towards the *Indian* Countries, than they were before it passed.

The only Thing that now remains to answer, is an Objection which we suppose may be made, *What can induce the Merchants of London to petition against an Act, which will be really so much for their Interest in the End?* The Reason is in all Probability, because they only consider their present Gain; and that they are not at all concerned for the Safety of this Country, in encouraging the most necessary Undertaking, if they apprehend their Profit for two or three Years may be lessened by it. This Inclination of the Merchants has been so notorious, that few Nations at War with their Neighbours, have been able to restrain them from supplying their Enemies with Ammunition and Arms. The Count *D'Estrade*, in his Letters in 1638 says, That when the *Dutch* were besieging *Antwerp*, one *Beiland*, who had loaded four Fly-boats with Arms and Powder for *Antwerp*, being taken up by the Prince of *Orange's* Order, and examined at *Amsterdam*, said boldly, *That the Burghers of Amsterdam had a Right to trade every where: That he could name a Hundred that were Factors for the Merchants at Antwerp, and that he was one. That Trade cannot be interrupted, and that for his Part he was very free to own, that if to get any Thing by Trade it were necessary to pass through Hell, he would venture to burn his Sails.* When this Principle so common to Merchants, is considered, and that some in this Place have got Estates by trading many Years to *Canada*, it is not to be wondered that they have acted as Factors for *Canada* in this Affair, and that they have transmitted such Accounts to their Correspondents in *London*, as are consistent with the Trust reposed in them by the Merchants of *Canada*.

In the last Place, we are humbly of Opinion, that it may be proper to print the Petition of the Merchants of *London*, and their Allegations before the Lords of Trade, together with the Answers your Committee has made thereto, in Vindication of the Legislature of this Province, of which we have the Honour to be a Part, if your Excellency shall approve of our Answers: That what we have said may be exposed to the Examination of every one in this Place, where the Truth of the Matters of Fact is best known; and that the Correspondents of these Merchants may have the most publick Notice to reply, if they shall think it proper, or to disown in a publick Manner, that they are the Authors of such groundless Informations.

All which is unanimously and humbly submitted by

Your Excellency's

Most obedient humble Servants,

<i>R. Walter,</i>		<i>Cadwallader Colden,</i>
<i>Rip Van Dam,</i>		<i>Ja. Alexander,</i>
<i>John Barberie,</i>		<i>Abraham van Horn:</i>
<i>Fr. Harrison,</i>		

A Memorial concerning the Furr-Trade of the Province of New-York.

Presented to his Excellency William Burnet, Esq; Captain General and Governor, &c. by Cadwallader Colden, Surveyor General of the said Province, the 10th of November 1724.

IT has of late been generally believed, that the Inhabitants of the Province of *New-York* are so advantageously situated, with respect to the *Indian Trade*, and

and enjoy so many Advantages as to Trade in general, that it is in their Power not only to rival the *French* of *Canada*, who have almost entirely engrossed the Furr-Trade of *America*, but that it is impossible for the *French* to carry on that Trade in Competition with the People of this Province. The enquiring into the Truth of this Proposition, may not only be of some Consequence, as to the Riches and Honour of the *British Nation*, (for it is well known how valuable the Furr-Trade of *America* is) but likewise as to the Safety of all the *British Colonies* in *North-America*. *New-France* (as the *French* now claim) extends from the Mouth of the River *Mississippi*, to the Mouth of the River *St. Lawrence*, by which the *French* plainly show their Intention of enclosing the *British Settlements*, and cutting us off from all Commerce with the numerous Nations of *Indians*, that are every where settled over the vast Continent of *North-America*. The *English* in *America* have too good Reason to apprehend such a Design, when they see the *French King's* Geographer publish a Map, by which he has set Bounds to the *British Empire* in *America*, and has taken in many of the *English Settlements* both in *South-Carolina* and *New-York*, within these Boundaries of *New-France*. And the good Services they intend us, with the *Indians*, but too plainly appears at this Day, by the *Indian War* now carried on against *New-England*.

I have therefore for some Time past, endeavour'd to inform myself, from the Writings of the *French*, and from others who have travelled in *Canada*, or among the *Indians*, how far the People of this Province may carry on the *Indian Trade*, with more Advantage than the *French* can; or what Disadvantages they labour under, more than the *French* do. As all Endeavours for the good of ones Country are excusable, I do not doubt but my Intention in this will be acceptable to your Excellency, though I be not capable of treating the Subject as it deserves.

I shall begin with *Canada*, and consider what Advantages they have either by their Situation, or otherwise. *Canada* is situated upon the River of *St. Lawrence*, by which the five great Lakes (which may properly be called, *The five Inland Seas of North-America*) empty themselves into the Ocean. The Mouth of this great River is in the Lat. of 50 Degrees, overagainst the Body of *Newfoundland*. It rises from the *Cataracui Lake*, (the Eastermost of the five great Lakes) about the Lat. of 44 Degrees, and runs from thence about North-East to the Ocean, and is about nine hundred Miles in Length, from that Lake to the Ocean. The five great Lakes which communicate with each other, and with this River, extend about one thousand Miles Westward, further into the Continent. So far the *French* have already discovered, and their Discoveries make it probable, that an Inland Passage may be found to the *South-Sea*, by the Rivers which run into these Lakes, and Rivers which run into the *South-Sea*.

The Method of carrying Goods upon the Rivers of *North-America*, into all the small Branches, and over Land, from the Branches of one River to the Branches of another, was learned from the *Indians*, and is the only Method practicable through such large Forests and Deserts as the Traders pass thro', in carrying from one Nation to another, it is this; the *Indians* make a long narrow Boat, made of the Bark of the Birch-tree, the Parts of which they join very neatly. One of these Canoes that can carry a Dozen Men, can itself be easily carried upon two Men's Shoulders; so that when they have gone as far by Water as they can (which is further than is easily to be imagined, because their loaded Canoes don't sink six Inches into the Water) they unload their Canoes, and carry both Goods and Canoes upon their Shoulders over Land, into the nearest Branch of the River they intend to follow.

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Thus, the *French* have an easy Communication with all the Countries bordering upon the River of *St. Lawrence*, and its Branches, with all the Countries bordering upon these In-land Seas, and the Rivers which empty themselves into these Seas, and can thereby carry their Burdens of Merchandize thro' all these large Countries, which could not by any other means than Water-carriage be carried thro' so vast a Tract of Land.

This, however, but half finishes the View the *French* have, as to their Commerce in *North-America*. Many of the Branches of the River *Mississippi* come so near to the Branches of several of the Rivers which empty themselves into the great Lakes, that in several Places there is but a short Land-Carriage from the one to the other. As soon as they have got into the River *Mississippi*, they open to themselves as large a Field for Traffick in the southern Parts of *North-America*, as was before mentioned with respect to the northern Parts. If one considers the Length of this River, and its numerous Branches, he must say, *That by means of this River, and the Lakes, there is opened to his View such a Scene of inland Navigation as cannot be parallel'd in any other Part of the World.*

The *French* have, with much Industry, settled small Colonies, and built stockaded Forts at all the considerable Passes between the Lakes, except between *Cataracui Lake* (called by the *French* *Ontario*) and *Lake Erie*, one of our Five Nations of *Indians*, whom we call *Sennekas*, (and the *French* *Sonontouans*) having hitherto refused them leave to erect any Buildings there.

The *French* have been indefatigable in making Discoveries, and carrying on their Commerce with Nations, of whom the *English* know nothing but what they see in the *French* Maps and Books. The Barrenness of the Soil, and the Coldness of the Climate of *Canada*, obliges the greatest number of the

the Inhabitants to seek their living by travelling among the *Indians*, or by trading with those that do travel. The Governor, and other Officers, have but a scanty Allowance from the King, and could not subsist were it not by the Perquisites they have from this Trade; neither could their Priests find any means to satisfy their Ambition and Luxury without it: So that all Heads and Hands are employ'd to advance it, and the Men of best Parts think it the surest way to advance themselves by travelling among the *Indians*, and learning their Languages; even the Bigotry and Enthusiasm of some hot Heads has not been a little useful in advancing this Commerce; for that Government having prudently turn'd the Edge of the Zeal of such hot Spirits upon converting the *Indians*, many of them have spent their Lives under the greatest Hardships, in endeavouring to gain the *Indians* to their Religion, and to love the *French Nation*, while, at the same time, they are no less industrious to represent the *English* as the *Enemies of Mankind*. So that the whole Policy of that Government, both civil and religious, is admirably turn'd to the general Advancement of this Trade. Indeed the Art and Industry of the *French*, especially that of their religious Missions, has so far prevail'd upon all the *Indians* in *North-America*, that they are every where directed by *French Councils*. Even our own *Five Nations*, (the *Iroquois*) who formerly were mortal Enemies of the *French*, and have always liv'd in the strictest Amity with the *English*, have, of late, (by the Practices of the *French Priests*) been so far gain'd, that several of the *Mohawks*, who live nearest the *English*, have left their Habitations, and are gone to settle near *Monreal* in *Canada*; and all the rest discover a Dread of the *French Power*. That much of this is truly owing to the *Priests*, appears from many of the Sachems of the *Iroquois* wearing Crucifixes when they come to *Albany*: And those

Mohawk

Mohawk Indians that are gone to *Canada*, are now commonly known, both to the *French* and *English*, by the Name of *The Praying Indians*, it being customary for them to go through the Streets of *Monreal* with their Beads, praying and begging Alms.

But notwithstanding all these Advantages, the *French* labour under Difficulties that no Art or Industry can remove. The Mouth of the River of *St. Lawrence*, and more especially the Bay of *St. Lawrence*, lies so far North, and is thereby so often subject to tempestuous Weather and thick Fogs, that the Navigation there is very dangerous, and never attempted but during the Summer Months. The Wideness of this Bay, together with the many strong Currents that run in it, the many Shelves, and sunken Rocks that are every where spread over both the Bay and River, and the want of Places for anchoring in the Bay, all increase the Danger of this Navigation; so that a Voyage to *Canada* is justly esteem'd much more dangerous than to any other Part of *America*. The many Shipwrecks that happen in this Navigation, are but too evident Proofs of the Truth of this, particularly the Miscarriage of the last Expedition against *Canada*. The Channel is so difficult, and the Tides so strong, that after their Shipping get into the River, they never attempt to sail in the Night, tho' the Wind be fair, and the Weather good. These Difficulties are so considerable, that the *French* never attempt above one Voyage in a Year to *Europe*, or the *West-Indies*, tho' it be really nearer *Europe* than any of the *English Colonies*, where the Shipping that constantly use the Trade, always make two Voyages in the Year.

The Navigation between *Quebeck* and *Monreal* is likewise very dangerous and difficult: The Tide rises about 18 or 20 Feet at *Quebeck*, which occasions so strong a Stream, that a Boat of six Oars cannot make way against it: The River in many Places very wide, and the Channel at the same time narrow

narrow and crooked; there are many Shelves and funken Rocks, so that the best Pilots have been deceived; for which reason the Vessels that carry Goods to *Monreal* are always obliged to anchor before Night, tho' both Wind and Tide be fair. The Flood goes no further than *Trois Rivières*, half way to *Monreal*, and about ninety Miles from *Quebeck*: After they pass this Place they have a strong Stream always against them, which requires a fair Wind and a strong Gale to carry the Vessels against the Stream. And they are obliged in this Part of the River, as well as under the *Trois Rivières*, to come to an anchor at Night, though the Wind be good. These Difficulties make the common Passages take up three or four Weeks, and sometimes six Weeks; tho' if they have the chance of a Wind to continue so long, they may run it in five or six Days.

After they pass *Monreal* they have a strong Stream against them till they come near the Lakes; so that in all that, which is about one hundred and fifty Miles in Length, they force their Canoes forward with setting Poles, or drag them with Ropes along shoar; and at five or six different Places in that way the River falls over Rocks with such Force, that they are obliged to unload their Canoes, and carry them upon their Shoulders. They never make this Voyage from *Monreal* to *Cataracui* in less than twenty Days, and frequently, twice that Time is necessary.

Now we are come so far as the Lake, my Design leads me no further, for at this Lake all the *far Indians*, that go to *Canada*, must pass by our Traders. And from thence the Road to the *Indian Countries* is the same from *Albany* that it is from *Monreal*.

Besides these Difficulties in the Transportation, the *French* labour under greater in the purchasing of the principal Goods proper for the *Indian Market*; for the most considerable and most valuable

Part of their Cargo consists in *Strouds*, *Duffils*, *Blankets*, and other *Woollens*, which are bought at a much cheaper Rate in *England* than in *France*. The *Strouds* (which the *Indians* value more than any other Cloathing) are only made in *England*, and must be transported into *France* before they can be carried to *Canada*. *Rum* is another considerable Branch of the *Indian Trade*, which the *French* have not, by reason they have no Commodities in *Canada* fit for the *West India* Market. This they supply with *Brandy*, at a much dearer Rate than *Rum* can be purchased at *New-York*, tho' of no more Value with the *Indians*. Generally, all the Goods used in the *Indian Trade*, except *Gun-Powder*, and a few Trinkets, are sold at *Monreal* for twice their Value at *Albany*. To this likewise must be added, the necessity they are under of laying the whole Charge of supporting their Government on the *Indian Trade*. I am not particularly informed of their Duties or Imposts, but I am well assured, that they commonly give six or seven hundred *Livres* for a Licence for one Canoe, in proportion to her Largeness, to go with her Loading into the *Indian Country* to trade.

I shall next consider the Advantages the Inhabitants of *New-York* have in carrying on this Trade. In the *first* place, the Ships that constantly use the Trade to *England*, perform their Voyage to and from *London* twice every Year; and those that go to *Bristol* (the Port from whence the greatest part of the Goods for the *Indian Trade* are exported) frequently return in four Months. These Goods are bought much cheaper in *England* than in *France*: They are transported in less Time, with less Charge, and much less Risque, as appears by the *Premio* for Insurance between *London* and *New-York*, being only *Two per Cent*. Goods are easily carried from *New-York* to *Albany*, up *Hudson's River*, the Distance being only 140 Miles, the River very strait all the way, and bold, and very free from Sand-

banks,

banks, as well as Rocks ; so that the Vessels always sail as well by Night as by Day, and have the Advantage of the Tide upwards as well as downwards, the Flood flowing above *Albany*. It may therefore be safely concluded, that all sorts of Goods can be carried to *Albany* at a cheaper Rate than they can be to *Quebeck*, which is also three times further from the *Indian Country* than *Albany* is. To put the Truth of this out of all dispute, I need only observe what is well known both at *New-York* and *Albany*, viz. That almost all the Strouds carried by the *French* into the *Indian Countries*, as well as large Quantities of other Goods, for the Use of the *French* themselves, are carried from *Albany* to *Monreal*. There has been an Account kept of nine hundred Pieces of Strouds transported thither in one Year, besides other Commodities of very considerable Value. The Distance between *Albany* and *Monreal* is about two hundred Miles, all by Water, except twelve Miles between *Hudson's River* and the *Wood-Creek*, where they carry their Bark Canoes over Land, and about sixteen Miles between *Chambly* and *La Prairie*, over-against *Monreal*. And tho' the Passage be so short and easy, these Goods are generally sold at double their Value in *Albany*.

But as this Path has been thought extremely prejudicial to the Interest of this Colony, I shall leave it, and go on to another, that leads directly from *Albany* into the *Cataracui* or *Ontario Lake*, without going near any of the *French* Settlements.

From *Albany* the *Indian Traders* commonly carry their Goods sixteen Miles over Land, to the *Mohawks River* at *Schenechtady*, the Charge of which Carriage is *Nine Shillings New-York Money*, or *Five Shillings Sterling* each Waggon-Load. From *Schenechtady* they carry them in Canoes up the *Mohawks River*, to the Carrying-place between the *Mohawks River*, and the River which runs into the *Oneida Lake* ; which Carrying-place between is only three

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Miles

Miles long, except in very dry Weather, when they are obliged to carry them two Miles further. From thence they go with the Current down the *Onondaga River* to the *Cataracui Lake*. The Distance between *Albany* and the *Cataracui Lake* (this Way) is nearly the same with that between *Albany* and *Monreal*; and likewise with that between *Monreal* and the *Cataracui Lake*, and the Passage much easier than the last, because the Stream of the *Mohawks River* is not near so strong as the *Cataracui River* between the *Lake* and *Monreal*, and there is no Fall in the River, save one short one; whereas there are (as I have said) at least five in the *Cataracui River*, where the Canoes must be unloaded. Therefore it plainly follows, that the *Indian Goods* may be carried at as cheap a Rate from *Albany* to the *Cataracui Lake*, as from *Albany* to *Monreal*. So that the People of *Albany* plainly save all the Charge of carrying Goods two hundred Miles from *Monreal* to that Part of the *Cataracui Lake*, which the *French* have to carry before they bring them to the same Place from *Monreal*, besides the Advantage which the *English* have in the Price of their Goods.

I have said, That when we are in the *Cataracui Lake*, we are upon the Level with the *French*, because here we can meet with all the *Indians* that design to go to *Monreal*. But besides this Passage by the *Lakes*, there is a River which comes from the Country of the *Sennekas*, and falls into the *Onondaga River*, by which we have an easy Carriage into that Country, without going near the *Cataracui Lake*. The Head of this River goes near to *Lake Erie*, and probably may give a very near Passage into that Lake, much more advantageous than the Way the *French* are obliged to take by the great Fall of *Jagara*, because narrow Rivers are much safer for Canoes than the Lakes, where they are obliged to go ashore if there be any Wind upon the Water. But as this Passage depends upon a
further

further Discovery, I shall say nothing more of it at this time.

Whoever then considers these Advantages *New-York* has of *Canada*, in the first buying of their Goods, and in the safe, speedy, and cheap Transportation of them from *Britain* to the *Lakes*, free of all manner of Duty or Imposts, will readily agree with me, that the Traders of *New-York* may sell their Goods in the *Indian Countries* at half the Price the People of *Canada* can, and reap twice the Profit they do. This will admit of no Dispute with those that know that Strouds (the Staple *Indian Commodity*) this Year are sold for *Ten Pounds* apiece at *Albany*, and at *Monreal* for *Twenty-five Pounds*, notwithstanding the great Quantity of Strouds said to be brought directly into *Quebeck* from *France*, and the great Quantities that have been clandestinely carried from *Albany*. It cannot therefore be denied that it is only necessary for the Traders of *New-York* to apply themselves heartily to this Trade, in order to bring it wholly into their own Hands; for in every thing besides Diligence, Industry, and enduring Fatigues, the *English* have much the Advantage of the *French*. And all the *Indians* will certainly buy, where they can, at the cheapest Rate.

It must naturally be objected, *That if these things are true, how is it possible that the Traders of New-York should neglect so considerable and beneficial Trade for so long time?*

In answering this Objection, I shall show the Difficulties *New-York* has labour'd under, by giving a short History of the Country, so far as it relates to this Trade. Which Method, I think, can be liable to the least Objection, and put the whole in the truest Light.

When this Country (the Province of *New-York*) came first under the Crown of *Great-Britain*, our *Five Nations* of *Indians* were mortal Enemies of the *French* at *Canada*, and were in a continual War with
 D 2 them,

them, and all the *Nations* of *Indians* round the *Lakes*; so that then it was not safe for the *English* to travel further than the Countries of the *Five Nations*; nor would our *Indians* permit the *far Indians* (with whom they had constant War) to pass thro' their Countries to *Albany*. Besides, the *Five Nations* of *Indians* were at that time so numerous, (consisting of ten times the Number of fighting Men they now do) that the Trade with them alone was very considerable for so young and small a Colony. In the latter End of King *Charles's* Reign, when the *Duke of York*, and *Papish Councils* prevail'd, the Governor of *New-York* (who was likewise a *Papist*) had Orders to use all his Endeavours to make up a Peace between our Nations (the *Iroquois*) and the *French*; and that he should persuade the *Five Nations* to admit *French Priests* among them, in order to civilize them. The Consequence of which was, that the *French* thereby obtained a free Commerce upon the *Lakes*, and obtain'd leave to build *Cataracui Fort* upon the North-side of *Cataracui Lake*, and have two Vessels of Force upon the same Lake. From this Time, during all King *James's* Reign, the *French*, whenever they had any Differences with our *Five Nations*, threaten'd, that the *English* of *New-York* would join with them, and destroy the *Five Nations*; by which, and the Practices of the *French Priests*, our *Five Nations* became very much alienated in their Affections from the *English*, and look'd upon them as a People depending upon the *French*. The Consequences of this appeared so dangerous to Colonel *Dungan*, the Governor of *New-York*, (though, as I have said, a *Papist*) that he again and again complain'd to his Master of the ill Offices the *French Priests* did the *English* among our Nations. When the *English* had thus procur'd a Peace for the *French*, they thought they might justly reap some Advantage from it; and it's hardly to be doubted but that they had Promises of that kind.

They

They were therefore encouraged to send forty Men, with great Quantities of Goods, into the *Lakes*, under the Command of Major *McGregory*, to trade with the *far Nations*. At this time Mr. *Denonville*, Governor of *Canada*, was gathering together all the Force of *Canada*, and of the *Indians*, (Enemies of the *Five Nations*) in order to surprize the *Five Nations*, and destroy them, at the Time they thought themselves secure by the Peace so lately made. Major *McGregory*, and his Company, were met by a *French* Officer on *Lake Erie*, coming with a great Number of Men to the general Rendezvous of the *French*, and he, with all the *English*, were made Prisoners. They were used with such Severity as has never been practis'd between *Christian Nations* in open War, tho' the two Crowns, at that time, were not only at Peace, but under the strictest Ties of mutual Friendship; for the *French* used these People as Slaves in building *Cataraqui Fort*, and a poor *Frenchman* that had conducted them, was publickly shot to Death, as if he had brought an Enemy into their Country. Such was their Apprehensions then of the *English* getting any Footing among the *Indians*.

The *French* Governor surprized a Village of the *Five Nations*, who, on the *French* Faith, liv'd in great Security, but seven or eight Leagues from the *French* Fort, and sent these miserable People to the Gallies in *France*. He afterwards fell upon the *Sennekas*, and burnt their Villages, but without any Advantage to the *French*, they having lost more Men than the *Indians* did. This renew'd the War with greater Fury than ever, between the *French* and our *Indians*. For some time afterwards, our *Indians*, in a great Body, fell upon the Island of *Monreal*, while Mr. *Denonville* was in the Town; They burnt and destroy'd all the Villages and Houses round *Monreal*, and kill'd some hundreds of Men, Women, and Children. Afterwards they came

into the open Fields before *Monreal*, and there defy'd the *French* Governor, who did not think it proper to fight them. And when they had done all the Mischief they could, they retir'd without any Loss.

About this Time the Revolution happen'd in *Great-Britain*, which was succeeded by a War between *Great-Britain* and *France*. In *February*, 16⁸², a Party of three hundred Men, consisting of equal Numbers of *French* and *Indians*, surprized *Sche-nechtady* in the Night-time, when the poor People were in their Beds, in the greatest Security, where they barbarously murdered sixty-three Men, Women, and Children, in cold Blood, laid the Village in Ashes, and then retir'd, without reaping any other Advantage besides this cruel Revenge on innocent People, for the Mischief *our Indians* had done them. This rais'd a cruel War between the two Colonies, in which there was much Mischief done, and Blood shed, without any Advantage to either side.

In Time of this War, the *most Christian King's* Governor of *Canada* was so much provoked, that he thought fit to follow the Example of our barbarous *Indians*, and burn his *Indian Prisoners* alive, in the most cruel Manner, in sight of all the Inhabitants of *Quebeck*, and to deliver up the *English Prisoners* to the *French Indians*, who indeed had more Mercy, for they kill'd none of them.

King William's Peace put an End to this War; but the Peace lasted so short a while, that the People of this Province hardly had time to re-settle their Farms on the Frontiers, which they had deserted in the Time of the War, much less to adventure trading in the *Indian Countries*, so lately the Scene of so much Cruelty. But both Colonies having now an Abhorrence of the Cruelties of the last War, agreed on a kind of Neutrality for the *Indians*, during *Queen Anne's* War, in which Time we lost much ground with our own *Indians*: For the *French* having learn'd, by dear Experience, that
it

it was not possible for them to conquer our *Five Indian Nations*, resolv'd to try all Means to gain their Affections, and in this Art the *French* are always more successful than in that of War; and the *English* failing in two ill-concerted Expeditions against *Canada*, the *Indians* lost much of the Opinion they had of the *English* Power and Valour.

In Time of this last War, the clandestine Trade to *Monreal* began to be carried on by *Indians*, from *Albany* to *Monreal*. This gave Rise to the *Kahnauaga*, or *Praying Indians*, who are entirely made up of Deserters from the *Mohawks* and *River Indians*, and were either enticed thither by the *French* Priests, or by our Merchants, in order to carry Goods from *Albany* to *Monreal*, or run away for some Mischief done here. These *Indians* now consist of about eighty fighting Men, and live about four Leagues above *Monreal*: They neither plant nor hunt, but depend chiefly upon this private Trade for their Subsistence. These *Indians*, in time of War, gave the *French* Intelligence of all Designs here against them: By them likewise the *French* engaged our *Five Nations* in a War with the *Indians* Friends of *Virginia*, and from them we might expect the greatest Mischief in Time of War, seeing every Part of the Province is as well known to them as to any of the Inhabitants. But if this Trade was entirely at an end, we have reason to believe, that these *Indians* would return to their own Tribes, for they then could not long subsist where they now are.

As soon as the Peace was proclaim'd, an open Trade with *Monreal* was carried on with such Earnestness, that *Monreal* was fill'd with *Indian Goods*, and *Albany* exhausted; by which means *Monreal* became the principal, if not the only *Indian Market*, and the *Indians* depended entirely on the *French* for what they wanted.

Our Merchants were fond of the *Canada Trade*, because they sold large Quantities of Goods without any Trouble, the *French* taking them from their Doors; whereas the Trade with the *Indians* is carried on with a great deal of Toil and Fatigue; and as to the Interest of the Country, they either never thought any thing about it, or if they did, had no regard to it.

Now I have brought this Account to the Time your Excellency arriv'd; what has happen'd since, your Excellency knows better than I can by any means inform you. From the whole, it seems plain, that any Difficulties and Disadvantages this Province has been under, have only proceeded from the Wars, which have continued since the first settling of the Province, to the beginning of the last general Peace. But now, that not only *this Province*, but likewise our *six Nations* of *Indians* are at Peace, and in Amity, both with the *French*, and all the *Indian Nations* with whom we can have any Commerce, these Difficulties are all remov'd, and we now enjoy the most favourable Time, that at any time can be hoped for, in order to extend the *British Commerce* in *North-America*, while the *French* not only labour under the Difficulties which I have shown to be inseparable from the Situation of their Colony, but likewise under another Disadvantage, (not before taken notice of) by the Furr-Trade of *Canada* being restrain'd to one Company. This Company is obliged to pay heavy Duties in *France* upon the Importation of Beaver, or any other Furr; for which reason they always fix a Price upon Beaver, and their other Furrs, in *Canada*; and the *Indian Traders* of *Canada* being restrain'd from selling to any but the Company's Agents there, they cannot raise the Price of *Indian Goods* as the Price of *European* rise, or as their Profit on the Goods they sell to the *Indians* is lessen'd.

The Merchants of *New-York* allow our *Indian* Traders double the Price for Beaver, that the *French* Company allow their *Indian* Traders, the Price established by the Company for Beaver, in *Canada*, being two Livres, or eighteen Pence Sterling, the Pound-weight; and the current Price of Beaver in *New-York* being five Shillings *New-York* Money, or three Shillings Sterling the Pound-weight. Therefore it plainly follows, that our *Indian* Traders could under-sell the *French* Traders, tho' they were to give as great a Price for *European Goods* as the *French* do, and did transport them at as great Charge, because of the double Price they have for their Furrs in *New-York*.

But as our *Indian* Traders not only have a double Price for their *Indian Goods*, but likewise buy the Goods they sell to the *Indians*, at half the Price the *French* *Indian* Traders do, the *French* Traders must be ruin'd by carrying on this Trade, in Competition with the *English* of *New-York*. And the *French* *Indian* Traders had been ruin'd before now, if they had not found means to carry their Beaver to *Albany*, where they got double the Price they must have sold for in *Canada*.

It may be objected, against this Argument, That the *Canada Company* as soon as they find that the Traders cannot sell at their established Price, will allow a greater Price. But if we consider the Duties the *French* Company is obliged to pay to the King, they cannot allow so great a Price as the *English* can at *New-York*. And if it should be insisted, That the *French* Company may obtain a Remission of those, yet if the clandestine Trade with *Albany* be entirely stopt, the *French* Traders will be ruin'd before such Remission can be obtain'd, and their Trade will be at an end.

My Inclination led me to show what Advantages not only the *Indian Trade* would reap by extending our

our Frontiers as far as the Lakes, but likewise the *British Trade* in some other Branches, which the Parliament of *Great-Britain* seem to have much at heart, viz. *Naval Stores*; for the Soil on both Sides of the *Mohawks River* being as rich as it is possible (I believe) for any Land to be, will be found the most proper for raising of *HEMP*, of any Part of *America*, and the whole Country round it being full of the largest Pines, the royal Navy is as likely to be well provided with *MASTS* there, and at as cheap a rate as any where else. But I have already too far presum'd on your Excellency's Patience.

Cadwallader Colden.

To this it may not be improper to add the following Original Letter.

*From J. A. Esq; to Mr. P. C. of London,
shewing the Success of the Measures taken
at that Time.*

S I R,

New-York, 1740.

IF you should be at the Pains to read these printed Papers, it will be a Pleasure to you to hear of the Success of the Measures taken by Governor *Burnet* for redeeming the *Indian Trade* out of the Hands of the *French*. He has succeeded far above our Expectations.

Governor *Burnet*, through his earnest Application, and at first chiefly with his Money, Credit, and Risque, erected a Trading-House and Fortification at the Mouth of the *Onondagues River*, called *Osneigo*, where the Province of *New-York* supports a Garrison of Soldiers, consisting of a Lieutenant and twenty Men, which are yearly relieved.

At

At this Place a very great Trade is carried on with the remote *Indians*, who formerly used to go down to the *French* at *Monreal*, and there buy our *English* Goods, at second Hand, at above twice the Price they now pay for them at *Osneigo*; whilst, at the same time, the *French* were chiefly supplied by one Gentleman at *New-York*, who almost entirely engrossed the *Indian* Trade of this Province, and thereby acquired a very great Estate and Influence. But the prudent Steps taken by our late worthy Governor, to open a free Trade, was the Cause of the Engrosser's losing his. — The Probability of doing this, was the principal Motive of our applying to the King, which is shown by these printed Papers.

The *Indian* Trade, to the great Advantage of this Province, is now divided into several hundred Hands, and there have been for many Years past upwards of one hundred young Men of this Province, who have gone yearly among the *Indians*, to supply them with our Goods.

By this means, at a modest Estimate, I am assured, that the *Indian* Trade of this Province is now far above five times as much as when Governor *Burnet* began to put his Scheme in execution.

And this is not all the Advantages reaped thereby, but a much more considerable one to this, and all the other *English* Colonies is, that not only our own six Nations, but also many far and remote *Indian* Nations are drawn off from their Dependance on the *French*, and made, by Trade and Intercourse, dependant on the *English*; by this means a great Security and Protection is acquired by the *English*, in case of a War with *France*; and by this Trade our Settlements in this Province are extended up to the *Onondagues* Carrying-place, which is now well attended with Waggon, for the more commodious transporting of Goods to trade in the Lakes.

And

And they are now settling on the Branches of *Sasquehanab* River; and from the western Branches of this River, there is but a small Land-Carriage to *Allegheny*, a Branch of that great River *Mississippi*; which Branch extending a thousand Miles from its Mouth, where it enters the said River; and which joins so near to our Settlements, as is above taken notice of, opens us a Trade to that vast Country, called by the *French Louisiana*, which they possess on the *Mississippi*.

I am,

S I R,

Your humble Servant,

J. A.



THE

THE
TREATY
HELD WITH THE
INDIANS
OF THE
SIX NATIONS,
AT
PHILADELPHIA,
In JULY, 1742.

THE
TREATY

MADE WITH THE

INDIANS

OF THE

SIX NATIONS

AT

PHILADELPHIA

IN 1763

THE T R E A T Y, &c.

THE Deputies of the six Nations having, at their last Visit, agreed to release their Claim to all the Land on both Sides of the River *Sasquebanah*, as far South as this Province extends, and to the Northward to those called the *Endless Mountains*, or *Kittochtinny Hills*; in Consideration whereof, they then received a large Quantity of valuable *Indian Goods* for the Lands situate on the Eastern Side of the said River, but declined at that Time to receive any for those on the Western Side of the said River, chusing to defer the same till another Visit; a large Number arrived from these Nations at *Philadelphia*, on *Wednesday* the 30th of *June*, with Deputies duly impowered to receive the said Goods; and acquainted the Governor, that being weary from the Fatigue of their long Journey, they should crave three or four Days to rest themselves before they proceeded to their Business: In the mean time they would wait on the Governor to discourse, according to their usual Method, about News and other Occurrences; which the Governor readily agreed to, and ask'd them when they would chuse to pay their first Visit; which they desiring might be on *Friday* the 2^d of *July*, in the Afternoon, the Council was accordingly summon'd, and met at Mr. *Logan's House*, where were

P R E S E N T,

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Esq;
Lieutenant-Governor.

<i>James Logan,</i>	<i>Samuel Preston,</i>	} Esqrs;
<i>Clement Plumsted,</i>	<i>Thomas Lawrence,</i>	
<i>Samuel Hasell,</i>	<i>Ralph Asheton,</i>	
<i>Abraham Taylor,</i>	<i>Robert Strettell,</i>	

The Chiefs of the *Six Nations*, with the Chiefs of the *Shawanese*.

CANASSATEEGO, the *Onondago* Chief, Speaker.

CONRAD WEISER, Interpreter.

The Governor opened the Conference as follows.

B R E T H R E N,

‘ The Proprietor having purchased certain Lands
‘ from your Nations about six Years ago, a Moiety
‘ of what was agreed to be given in Consideration of
‘ that Purchase was at that Time delivered to them,
‘ and the other being at their Desire left in the
‘ Proprietor’s Hands, he pressed you by *Shikalany*
‘ to send last Year for it, and would have been
‘ glad to have seen you, and taken you by the
‘ Hand before his Departure. But as the Design
‘ of this Meeting is to hear your News, and con-
‘ verse together in a free and friendly Manner, I
‘ shall say no more about the Goods than that they
‘ lie ready at the Proprietor’s House, and will be
‘ delivered when you shall have sufficiently rested
‘ from the Fatigue of your Journey.’

The Chief of the *Onondagoes* spoke.

B R E T H R E N,

‘ We propose to rest four Days, and then come
‘ to the main Business. At present we are at a pri-
‘ vate Conference about News, and have something
‘ of

‘ of this sort to mention to our Brother *Onas*.’ And on the Governor’s signifying they would be glad to know what it was, the Chief proceeded.

‘ B R E T H R E N,

‘ It is our Way when we come to our Brethren, or any other Persons, whom we live in strict Friendship with, to remove all Obstructions to a good Understanding; with this View we are to inform you of a Piece of disagreeable News that happen’d in our Journey.—Some White People living at a Place called *Conegocheegoe*, whose Names we cannot tell, nor whether they belong to this or the neighbouring Government, but one of them, as we heard, had his House burnt over his Head some Years ago, and he was brought down a Prisoner and committed to the Goal of this City: These People lighting of our young Warriors, as they were hunting, made some Proposals about the Purchasing of Land from them, and our young Men being indiscreet, and unacquainted with publick Business, were foolish enough to hearken to them, and to receive five Duffil Strowds for two Plantations on the River *Cohongoronto*. A *Conestogoe* Indian, and a *French Indian*, and some others that were in Company, had three Duffil Strowds, and went away with them; and our young Men carried off the other two. As soon as this came to our Knowledge, we sent for our Warriors, and after examining and rebuking them severely, we took away their two Strowds, and publicly censured them for exposing us to our Brethren of *Pensylvania*, in doing a Thing so inconsistent with our Engagements to them; “ You are, said we aloud, that all our People might hear and take Notice, to know and remember, that the Six Nations have obliged themselves to sell none of the Land that falls within the Province of *Pensylvania*, to any
E “ other

“ other but our Brother *Onas*, and that to sell
 “ Lands to any other is an high Breach of the
 “ League of Friendship.” Brethren, this rash Pro-
 “ ceeding of our young Men makes us ashamed.
 “ We always mean well, and shall perform faith-
 “ fully what we have promised : And we assure you,
 “ this Affair was transacted in the Manner we have
 “ related, without our Privy or Consent. And that
 “ you may be fully convinced of this, and of the
 “ Sincerity of our Intentions, we have brought you
 “ these two Strowds [*here he presented two red*
 “ *Strowds to the Governor*] they are the very Strowds
 “ our foolish young Men received ; we took them
 “ from them, and we give them to you to return
 “ to those white People who made the Bargain, and
 “ desire when the Strowds are returned to them,
 “ they may be told what we now say, and that we
 “ shall not confirm such Bargains, nor any other
 “ that may interfere with our Engagements to our
 “ Brother *Onas*.’

The Governor then spoke :

‘ B R E T H R E N,

‘ I thank you for this Piece of News ; you have
 ‘ taken this Matter perfectly right. All Bargaining
 ‘ for Land within this Province, is, to be sure, a
 ‘ manifest Breach of your Contract with the Pro-
 ‘ prietors, and what we know you will not coun-
 ‘ tenance. We have hitherto found the *Six Na-*
 ‘ *tions* faithful to their Engagements, and this is a
 ‘ fresh Instance of their Punctuality. You could
 ‘ not help these Mistakes of your young Men ;
 ‘ they were not done in your Presence : But as se-
 ‘ veral Inconveniencies may arise from these kind of
 ‘ clandestine Sales, or from any such loose Sales of
 ‘ Land by your People, we desire you will, on
 ‘ your Return home, give publick Notice to all
 ‘ your Warriors not to bargain for any Land ; or
 ‘ if

‘ if they do, that you will not confirm such Bargains ;
 ‘ and that this very Affair, together with what you
 ‘ have done therein, may be particularly reported
 ‘ to all your Nation assembled in Council.’

The *Onondago* Chief promised to give such
 publick Notice ; and desiring Liberty to
 mend his former Speech, he proceeded :

‘ B R E T H R E N,

‘ I forgot one Circumstance : Our People, who
 ‘ pretended to sell the Land, demanded a Belt of
 ‘ Wampum of the Buyers to carry to their Chiefs ;
 ‘ and on their declaring they had no Wampum,
 ‘ our Warriors said, they would not answer that
 ‘ their Chiefs would confirm this Bargain, since
 ‘ they never did any thing of this Nature without
 ‘ Wampum.’

The Governor, after a short Pause, spoke :

‘ B R E T H R E N of the Six Nations,

‘ I take this Opportunity to relate to you a Piece
 ‘ of disagreeable News I received some Days ago in
 ‘ a Letter from *Le Tort*, the *Indian* Trader, at
 ‘ *Allegheny*, who says, “ That in *May* last some *In-*
 ‘ *dians* of the *Tarway* Nation, supposed by us to
 ‘ be the *Twightwees*, in their Return from War,
 ‘ called and staid some Time with the *Shawanese* ;
 ‘ who being asked, and denying they had brought
 ‘ either Scalps or Prisoners, the *Shawanese* suspect-
 ‘ ing them, had the Curiosity to search their Bags,
 ‘ and finding two Scalps in them, that by the
 ‘ Softness of the Hair did not feel like *Indian*
 ‘ Scalps, they wash’d them clean, and found them
 ‘ to be the Scalps of some Christians. On this Disco-
 ‘ very, the *Twightwees* were so much ashamed, that
 ‘ they stole away from their Town in the Night-
 ‘ time ; and coming, as they afterwards under-

“ stood, to a little Village belonging to the *Shaw-*
 “ *anese*, they told our People that their Hearts were
 “ full of Grief ; for, as they came along the Road,
 “ they found it all bloody ; and having good Cause
 “ to believe it was made bloody with the Blood of
 “ some of the white Brethren, they had very for-
 “ rowfully swept the Road ; and desired them to
 “ inform the Governor of *Pensilvania* of their (the
 “ *Twightwees*) Grief ; and how they had swept the
 “ Road clean.” *Le Tort* adds, on Behalf of the
 “ *Shawanese*, “ That they were much grieved at
 “ this unfortunate Accident ; and prayed, as they
 “ had no Concern in it, more than by being In-
 “ struments to discover it, their Brethren would
 “ not blame them, nor suffer a Misunderstanding
 “ to arise between them on this Account : They
 “ would sweep the Road clean, and wipe all the
 “ Blood away ; and desired their Brethren would
 “ be satisfied with this, and not weep too much for
 “ a Misfortune that might not happen again as
 “ long as the Sun and Moon shone.”

“ The Person who delivered me *Le Tort*’s Let-
 “ ter, brought this Bundle of Skins as a Present to
 “ me ; but I told the Messenger, I would not med-
 “ dle with it ; he might leave it if he pleased : The
 “ Affair appear’d to me in a bad Light, and I
 “ would represent it to the *Six Nations*, who were
 “ expected in Town every Day. This is the Fact,
 “ as I have it from *Le Tort* : I desire to be inform’d
 “ if you know any thing of this Matter ; and if
 “ you do not, that you will make diligent Enquiry
 “ who committed the Murder, and who are the
 “ unhappy Sufferers, and assist us to obtain Satis-
 “ faction, if it shall appear to be any, of our Fel-
 “ low-Subjects that have been treated in this Man-
 “ ner.”

*To enforce this Request, I present you with
 this String of Wampum.*

The *Onondago* Chief, in Reply, said :

B R E T H R E N,

‘ We take this Information kindly at your Hands ; we will take this String of Wampum home with us to our Lodgings, and there consult about the most regular and proper Steps to be taken by us to answer your Expectations, and when we have duly considered the Matter, we will return you an Answer.’

Upon this the Governor put an End to the Conference ; and calling for Wine, and other Liquors, according to the *Indian* Custom, after a decent and chearful Entertainment, the *Indians* withdrew.

At a COUNCIL held at the Proprietor's House, July 5, 1742.

P R E S E N T

The Honourable GEORGE THOMAS, Esq;
Lieutenant-Governor.

James Logan, } Esqrs;
Clement Plumsted, }

With several Gentlemen of the Town.

The Chiefs of the Six Nations.

It being judg'd proper, at this critical Time, when we are in daily Expectation of a *French* War, to sound the *Indians*, and discover what Dependance we might have on them, in case their Aid should be wanted, an handsome Dinner was provided for their Chiefs ; and after they had made an hearty Meal, and drank his Majesty's Health, the Proprietors, and the Health of the *Six Nations*, the Chiefs gave the solemn Cry, in Testimony of their Thanks for the Honour done them. And soon

after the Governor began, in a free Way, to enquire for what Reason the *Senecas* were not come down, since they had an equal Share of the Goods with the other Nations.—*Canassatego*, their Speaker, said, ‘The *Senecas* were in great Distress, on Account of a Famine that raged in their Country, which had reduced them to such Want, that a Father had been obliged to kill two of his Children to preserve his own, and the rest of his Family’s Lives; and they could not now come down, but had given Directions about their Share of the Goods.’—The Governor express’d his Concern for the unhappy Circumstances of their Brethren of the *Seneca* Nation; and, after a short Respite, enquired if any of their Deputies were then at *Canada*, and whether the *French* Governor was making any warlike Preparations. And on their answering *Yes*, the Governor said, with a smiling, pleasant Countenance, ‘I suppose, if the *French* should go to War with us, you will join them.’ The *Indians* conferr’d together for some Time, and then *Canassatego*, in a chearful lively Manner, made answer.—‘We assure you, the Governor of *Canada* pays our Nations great Court at this Time, well knowing of what Consequence we are to the *French* Interest: He has already told us, he was uncovering the Hatchet, and sharpening it, and hoped, if he should be obliged to lift it up against the *English*, our Nations would remain neuter, and assist neither Side.—But we will now speak plainly to our Brethren: Why should we, who are one Flesh with you, refuse to help you, whenever you want our Assistance?—We have continued a long Time in the strictest League of Amity and Friendship with you, and we shall always be faithful and true to you our old and good Allies.—The Governor of *Canada* talks a great deal, but ten of his Words do not go so far as one of yours.—We do not look towards

‘ them ;

‘ them ; we look towards you ; and you may depend on our Assistance.’ Whilst the *Onondago* Chief made this open and hearty Declaration, all the other *Indians* made frequently that particular Kind of Noise which is known to be a Mark of Approbation.—The Governor bid the Interpreter tell *Canassatego*, ‘ He did not set on foot this Enquiry from any Suspicion he had of the *Six Nations* wanting a due Regard for the *English*.—Our Experience of their Honour and Faith, said he, would not permit us to think any other of them, than that they would esteem our Friends their Friends, and our Enemies their Enemies, agreeable to the strict Union which had ever subsisted between us.—As to the Governor of *Canada*, he told them they need not mind what he said.—The *English*, on equal Terms, had beat the *French*, and could beat them again : And were they but to consider the Advantages which the *English* have, by possessing so many large and populous Countries, and so many good Ports on the Continent of *America*, they would soon see who had most Reason to fear a War, the *French* or the *English*.’

Here the Conversation dropped ; and after another Glass of Wine, the *Indians* resumed the Discourse, by asking whether their Brethren had not been for some Time engaged in a War with the King of *Spain*, and what Successes they had met with.

The Governor told them, the King of *Great-Britain* lived in an Island, and being surrounded with the Sea, his chief Strength lay in his Ships ; in which he was so much superior to his Enemies, that they were seldom to be met with on the broad Ocean, but sculk’d and hid themselves, only venturing out now and then ; and whenever they did, they were almost sure to be taken ; and

that the King of *Great-Britain* had with his Ships, beat down, or taken several of the *Spaniards* great Forts in *America*.—The *Indians* said, they were pleased to hear their Brethren were an Over-match for their Enemies, and wish'd them good Success.

The Governor then enquired into the State and Condition of the Nations to the Westward of the Great Lakes, and whether they had any Warriours then in those Countries? Whether they had concluded Peace with the Southern *Indians*? And whether they had heard what their Deputies had done at *Albany*?

They made Answer: That they had always Abundance of their Men out amongst the Nations situate to the West of their Lakes.—That they had kindled a Fire with a vast many Nations, some whereof were Tributaries, and they had a good Understanding with all.—They set out from their own Country in Company with two Sets of Deputies, one going to hold a Treaty with the Southern *Indians*, and they believed a Peace would be concluded: The other going to meet the Governor of *New-York*, at *Albany*; but they could not tell what had been done at either Place.—On their return, they were to hold a General Council, and would inform their Brethren of these Particulars.

Then the Governor put an End to the Conference, by telling the *Indians* the Goods would be delivered to them at a Council to be held To-morrow Afternoon at the Meeting-House.

At a COUNCIL held in the Meeting-House, Philadelphia, July 6, 1742.

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable GEORGE THOMAS, Esq;
Lieutenant-Governor.

<i>James Logan,</i>	<i>Samuel Preston,</i>	} Esqrs;
<i>Clement Plumsted,</i>	<i>Ralph Asheton,</i>	
<i>Abraham Taylor,</i>	<i>Robert Strettell,</i>	

CANASSATEEGO, Chief of the Onondagoes,
Speaker.

SHICALAMY, and a great Number of Indians,
whose Names are as follows, viz.

ONONTOGOES.

<i>Sawegaty,</i>	} Counsellors.
<i>Caxbayion,</i>	
<i>Saguyassatha,</i>	
<i>Kayadogbratie, alias Sla-</i>	
<i>naghquasy,</i>	
<i>Rotier-uwughton,</i>	
<i>Tokaughaab,</i>	
<i>Tiorughwaghthe,</i>	
<i>Tokano-ungoh,</i>	
<i>Aronty-oony,</i>	
<i>Tobanoharwighton,</i>	
<i>Tioghwatooony,</i>	
<i>Auughrabysey.</i>	

CAIYOQUOS.

<i>Sabugh-sowa,</i>	} Chiefs.
<i>Tobatgaghtbus,</i>	
<i>Tokany-efus,</i>	
<i>Runbo-bibio,</i>	
<i>Kanadoghary,</i>	
<i>Zior-aghquaty,</i>	
<i>Sagu-ughwattha,</i>	alias
<i>Cadcaradassey,</i>	

<i>Sca-yenties,</i>
<i>Tats-heghte,</i>
<i>Alligh-wabeis,</i>
<i>Tayo-quario,</i>
<i>Hogh degb runt,</i>
<i>Rotehn Haghtyackon,</i>
Cap- tain.
<i>Sawoalieselbobaa,</i>
<i>Sagughsa-eck,</i>
<i>Uwantakeraa,</i>
<i>Horubot,</i>
<i>Ofoghquaa,</i>
<i>Tuyanoegon.</i>

ANOYIUTS, or
ONEIDAS.

<i>Saristaquob,</i>	} Chiefs.
<i>Ungquaterugbi-</i>	
<i>athe, alias</i>	
<i>Shikelimo,</i>	
<i>Tottowakerba,</i>	
<i>Taraghkoerus,</i>	
<i>Onughkallydawwy,</i>	anoted
young Chief.	
<i>Onughnaxqua,</i>	

Onughnaxqua, Chief.

Tawyiakaarat,

Tobathbuyongochtha,

Sugbnakaarat,

Tagbnegbdoerus,

Tokanyiadarocyon,

Sagogugbyatha,

Rahenius,

Tokanusoegon.

JENONTOWANOS,

or **SENECAS**.

Karugh iagh Ragbquy,

Captain.

Tabn beentus,

Onontyiack.

TUSCARROROS.

Sawontka,

Ti-ieroes, } Chiefs.

Cloghsytowax,

Tokaryboegon, Captain.

Ogbioghseh,

Tielegbweghson,

Tougrottha,

Torughbianego,

Ot-quebig,

Squagbky,

Sayadyio,

Onughsfowughton,

Cberigh wâstho,

Aghsünteries,

Tion ogh scôghtha,

Saligh wanaghson,

Obn-wâasey,

Tocar-eber [died since at
Tulpehōkin.]

Tobanatâkqua,

Kanyhâag.

SHAWANOES.

Wekweklaky, Chief.

Aset teywa,

Asoghqua,

Maya minickysy,

Wawyia Beesery.

Canestogo Indians that
speak the Onayiut's
Language.

Tior Haasery, Chief.

Tanigh wackerau,

Karha Cawyiat,

Kayen quily quo.

CANOYIAS, or **NAN-**

TIKOKES, of Ca-

nestogo.

Des-sebeg,

Ichqua que beck,

Quesamaag,

Ayiok-ius.

DELAWARES of

Shamokin.

Olumapies,

Lingebanoah, } Chiefs.

Kelly macquan,

Quitie-yquont,

Pishquiton,

Nena chy baut.

DELAWARES from

the Forks.

Onutpe,

Lawye quohwon, } Chiefs

alias *Nutimus*,

Toweghkappy.

Cornel. Spring, and others.

CONRAD WEISER,

CORNELIUS SPRING,

Interpreters.

And a great Number of
the Inhabitants of *Phi-*
ladelphia.

The

The Governor having commanded Silence, spoke as follows :

' Friends and Brethren of the Six Nations,

' Six Years ago a Number of your Chiefs obliged us with a Visit, when they agreed on Behalf of your Nations, to the Release of certain Lands on both Sides the River Sasquebannab, to the Southward of the Endless-Mountains, and within the Limits and Bounds of the King's Grant of this Province. In Consideration of which, a certain Quantity of Goods was agreed on, and delivered as a full Satisfaction for the said Lands, lying on the Eastern Side of the said River: And for the Lands on the Western Side of the said River, you desired the Payment should be deferred till another Opportunity. These Goods, which are exactly the same in Quantity, as those you received the last Time the Chiefs of your Nations were here, have been ready a considerable Time, and kept in Expectation of your coming for them: And now you are come down, fully empowered by your respective Councils to receive them, we are well pleased to deliver them; leaving it to you to make a fair and equal Division of them amongst yourselves. We are sorry for the Absence of our Brethren the Senecas, and much more so, that it should be owing to their Distress at Home by a Famine that rages in their Country:—A Famine so great, that you tell us a Father has been obliged to sacrifice one Part of his Family, even his own Children, for the Support and Preservation of himself, and the other Part.—We heartily commiserate their Condition, and do not doubt but you will do them fair and ample Justice in the Disposal of their Part of the Goods, in such Manner as they have instructed you. You shall now hear the List of the Goods read to you.'

Here,

Here, by the Governor's Order, the List of the Goods was read over, *viz.*

500 Pounds of Powder.	100 Tobacco-Tongs.
600 Pounds of Lead.	100 Scissars.
45 Guns.	500 Awl-Blades.
60 Strowd-Matchcoats.	120 Combs.
100 Blankets.	2000 Needles.
100 Duffil Matchcoats.	1000 Flints.
200 Yards Half-thick.	24 Looking-Glasses.
100 Shirts.	2 Pounds of Vermilion
40 Hats.	100 Tin-Pots.
40 Pair Shoes & Buckles.	1000 Tobacco-Pipes.
40 Pair Stockings.	200 Pounds of Tobacco.
100 Hatchets.	24 Dozen of Garter-
500 Knives.	ing, and
100 Hoes.	25 Gallons of Rum.
60 Kettles.	

Then the Governor told them that the Goods, of which the Particulars had been just read to them, were in the Meeting-House, and would be sent to whatever Place they would direct.

The Governor then proceeded :

B R E T H R E N,

‘ You have often heard of the Care that your
 ‘ great and good Friend and Brother *William Penn*,
 ‘ took at all Times to cultivate a perfect good
 ‘ Harmony with all the *Indians* : Of these your Na-
 ‘ tions have ever been fully sensible ; but more
 ‘ especially a Number of your Chiefs, about ten
 ‘ Years ago, when on the Arrival of a Son of your
 ‘ said great Friend *William Penn*, large and valu-
 ‘ able Presents were exchanged by us with you ; a
 ‘ new Road was made and clear’d ; a new Fire
 ‘ kindled ; and the Chain of Friendship made
 ‘ stronger, so as to last while the Sun and Moon
 ‘ endure.

‘ And

‘ And now we cannot but congratulate ourselves,
 ‘ that your coming should happen at a Time, when
 ‘ we are in daily Expectation of a War being de-
 ‘ clared between the King of *England*, and the
 ‘ *French* King, well knowing that should such a
 ‘ War happen, it must very sensibly affect you,
 ‘ considering your Situation in the Neighbourhood
 ‘ of *Canada*. Your coming at this Juncture is
 ‘ particularly fortunate, since it gives us an Op-
 ‘ portunity of mentioning several Things that may
 ‘ be necessary to be settled, between People so
 ‘ strictly and closely united as we are.—An Union
 ‘ not to be expressed by any Thing less, than the
 ‘ affectionate Regards which Children of the same
 ‘ Parents bear for each other, as conceiving our-
 ‘ selves to be one Flesh and one People.

‘ The utmost Care therefore ought mutually to
 ‘ be taken by us on both Sides, that the Road be-
 ‘ tween us be kept perfectly clear and open, and
 ‘ no Lets nor the least Obstruction be suffered to
 ‘ lie in the Way; or if any should by Accident be
 ‘ found, that may hinder our free Intercourse and
 ‘ Correspondence, it must forthwith be removed.

To enforce this, we lay down a String of Wampum.

‘ In the next Place, we, on our Part, shall enlarge
 ‘ our Fire that burns between us. We shall pro-
 ‘ vide more Fewel to increase it, and make it burn
 ‘ brighter and clearer, and give a stronger and
 ‘ more lasting Light and Warmth.

*In Evidence of our sincere Intentions, we lay
 down this Belt of Wampum.*

‘ In the last Place, considering the Obligations
 ‘ we are mutually under by our several Treaties,
 ‘ That we should hear with our Ears for you, and
 ‘ you hear with your Ears for us.’ We shall at
 ‘ Times very willingly give you the earliest and
 ‘ best Intelligence, of any Designs that may be
 ‘ form’d to your Disadvantage.—And if you dis-
 ‘ cover any Preparations that can hurt us, we de-

- ‘ fire you will immediately dispatch some fuitable
- ‘ Person in whom we can place a Confidence, to
- ‘ give us a proper Information.

To inforce this Request, as well as to brighten the Chain, we lay down this other Belt of Wampum.

On the Governor’s concluding the Speech, the solemn Cry by Way of Approbation was repeated by the *Indians*, as many Times as there were Nations present; and then *Canassateego* rose up and spoke.

‘ *BRETHREN,*

- ‘ We thank you for your kind Speech: What
- ‘ you have said is very agreeable to us; and To-
- ‘ morrow when we have deliberated on the several
- ‘ Matters recommended to us, we will give you
- ‘ our Answer. We desire, as our Time will be
- ‘ wholly taken up in Council, you will order the
- ‘ Goods to be carried back to the Proprietaries to
- ‘ prevent their being lost, and that they may con-
- ‘ tinue there till we call for them.’

At a COUNCIL held in the Meeting-House,
July 7, 1742.

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Esq;
Lieutenant-Governor.

<i>James Logan,</i>	<i>Samuel Preston,</i>	} Esqrs;
<i>Thomas Lawrence,</i>	<i>Samuel Hasell,</i>	
<i>Abraham Taylor,</i>	<i>Robert Strettel,</i>	

CANASSATEEGO’s Speech on Behalf of the
Six Nations.

- ‘ *BRETHREN, the Governor and Council,*
- ‘ *and all present,*

- ‘ According to our Promise we now propose to
- ‘ return you an Answer to the several Things men-
- ‘ tioned

' tioned to us Yesterday, and shall beg Leave to
 ' speak to publick Affairs first, tho' they were what
 ' you spoke to last. On this Head you Yesterday
 ' put us in Mind, first, " Of *William Penn*'s early
 ' and constant Care to cultivate Friendship with
 ' all the *Indians*; of the Treaty we held with one
 ' of his Sons, about ten Years ago; and of the
 ' Necessity there is at this Time of keeping the
 ' Roads between us clear and free from all Ob-
 ' structions." We are all very sensible of the kind
 ' Regard that good Man *William Penn* had for all
 ' the *Indians*, and cannot but be pleased to find that
 ' his Children have the same. We well remember
 ' the Treaty you mention held with his Son on his
 ' Arrival here, by which we confirmed our League
 ' of Friendship, that is to last as long as the Sun
 ' and Moon endure: In Consequence of this, we,
 ' on our Part, shall preserve the Road free from
 ' all Incumbrances; in Confirmation whereof we
 ' lay down this String of Wampum.

' You in the next Place said you would enlarge
 ' the Fire and make it burn brighter, which we are
 ' pleased to hear you mention; and assure you,
 ' we shall do the same, by adding to it more
 ' Fuel, that it may still flame out more strongly
 ' than ever: In the last Place, you were pleased to
 ' say that we are bound by the strictest Leagues, to
 ' watch for each others Preservation; that we
 ' should hear with our Ears for you, and you hear
 ' with your Ears for us: This is equally agree-
 ' able to us; and we shall not fail to give you
 ' early Intelligence, whenever any Thing of Con-
 ' sequence comes to our Knowledge: And to en-
 ' courage you to do the same, and to nourish in
 ' your Hearts what you have spoke to us with
 ' your Tongues, about the Renewal of our Amity
 ' and the Brightening of the Chain of Friendship;
 ' we confirm what we have said with another Belt
 ' of Wampum.'

' B R E T H R E N,

‘ BRETHREN,

‘ We received from the Proprietors Yesterday,
 ‘ some Goods in Consideration of our Release of
 ‘ the Lands on the West-side of *Sasquehannab*. It
 ‘ is true, we have the full Quantity according to
 ‘ Agreement; but if the Proprietor had been here
 ‘ himself, we think, in Regard of our Numbers
 ‘ and Poverty, he would have made an Addition
 ‘ to them.—If the Goods were only to be divided
 ‘ amongst the *Indians* present, a single Person
 ‘ would have but a small Portion; but if you con-
 ‘ sider what Numbers are left behind, equally en-
 ‘ titled with us to a Share, there will be extremely
 ‘ little. We therefore desire, if you have the Keys
 ‘ of the Proprietor’s Chest, you will open it, and
 ‘ take out a little more for us.

‘ We know our Lands are now become more
 ‘ valuable: The white People think we do not
 ‘ know their Value; but we are sensible that the
 ‘ Land is everlasting, and the few Goods we re-
 ‘ ceive for it are soon worn out and gone. For
 ‘ the future, we will sell no Lands but when Bro-
 ‘ ther *Onas* is in the Country; and we will know
 ‘ beforehand, the Quantity of the Goods we are to
 ‘ receive. Besides, we are not well used with re-
 ‘ spect to the Lands still unfold by us. Your Peo-
 ‘ ple daily settle on these Lands, and spoil our
 ‘ Hunting.—We must insist on your removing
 ‘ them, as you know they have no Right to settle
 ‘ to the Northward of *Kittochtinny-Hills*.—In par-
 ‘ ticular, we renew our Complaints against some
 ‘ People who are settled at *Juniata*, a Branch of
 ‘ *Sasquahannab*, and all along the Banks of that
 ‘ River, as far as *Mabaniay*; and desire they may
 ‘ be forthwith made to go off the Land, for they
 ‘ do great Damage to our Cousins the *Delawares*.

‘ We have further to observe, with respect to
 ‘ the Lands lying on the West-side of *Sasquaban-*
 ‘ *nab*,

' *nab*, that though Brother *Onas* (meaning the Pro-
 ' prietor) has paid us for what his People possess,
 ' yet some Parts of that Country have been taken
 ' up by Persons, whose Place of Residence is to
 ' the South of this Province, from whom we have
 ' never received any Consideration. This Affair
 ' was recommended to you by our Chiefs at our
 ' last Treaty; and you then, at our earnest Desire,
 ' promised to write a Letter to that Person who has
 ' the Authority over those People, and to procure
 ' us his Answer: As we have never heard from you
 ' on this Head, we want to know what you have
 ' done in it. If you have not done any Thing,
 ' we now renew our Request, and desire you will
 ' inform the Person whose People are seated on
 ' our Lands, that that Country belongs to us, in
 ' Right of Conquest; we having bought it with
 ' our Blood, and taken it from our Enemies in fair
 ' War; and we expect, as Owners of that Land,
 ' to receive such a Consideration for it as the Land
 ' is worth. We desire you will press him to send
 ' a positive Answer: Let him say *Yes* or *No*: If
 ' he says *Yes*, we will treat with him; if *No*, we
 ' are able to do ourselves Justice; and we will do
 ' it, by going to take Payment ourselves.

' It is customary with us to make a Present of
 ' Skins, whenever we renew our Treaties. We
 ' are ashamed to offer our Brethren so few, but
 ' your Horses and Cows have eat the Grass our
 ' Deer used to feed on. This has made them
 ' scarce, and will, we hope, plead in Excuse for
 ' our not bringing a larger Quantity. If we could
 ' have spared more, we would have given more;
 ' but we are really poor; and desire you'll not
 ' consider the Quantity, but few as they are, ac-
 ' cept them in Testimony of our Regard.'

Here they gave the Governor a Bundle of Skins.

The Governor immediately replied.

‘ BRETHREN,

‘ We thank you for the many Declarations of
 ‘ Respect you have given us, in this solemn Re-
 ‘ newal of our Treaties: We receive, and shall
 ‘ keep your String and Belts of Wampum, as
 ‘ Pledges of your Sincerity, and desire those we
 ‘ gave you may be carefully preserved, as Testi-
 ‘ monies of ours.

‘ In Answer to what you say about the Proprie-
 ‘ taries.—They are all absent, and have taken the
 ‘ Keys of their Chest with them; so that we can-
 ‘ not, on their Behalf, enlarge the Quantity of
 ‘ Goods: Were they here, they might perhaps,
 ‘ be more generous; but we cannot be liberal for
 ‘ them.—The Government will, however, take
 ‘ your Request into Consideration; and in Regard
 ‘ to your Poverty, may perhaps make you a Pre-
 ‘ sent. I but just mention this now, intending to
 ‘ refer this Part of your Speech to be answered at
 ‘ our next Meeting.

‘ The Number of Guns, as well as every Thing
 ‘ else, answers exactly with the Particulars speci-
 ‘ fied in your Deed of Conveyance, which is more
 ‘ than was agreed to be given you. It was your
 ‘ own Sentiments, that the Lands on the West-side
 ‘ of *Sasquahannah*, were not so valuable as those on
 ‘ the East; and an Abatement was to be made,
 ‘ proportionable to the Difference in Value: But
 ‘ the Proprietor overlooked this, and ordered the
 ‘ full Quantity to be delivered, which you will
 ‘ look on as a Favour.

‘ It is very true, that Lands are of late become
 ‘ more valuable; but what raises their Value? Is
 ‘ it not entirely owing to the Industry and Labour
 ‘ used by the white People, in their Cultivation
 ‘ and Improvement? Had not they come amongst
 ‘ you,

‘ you, these Lands would have been of no Use to
 ‘ you, any further than to maintain you. And is
 ‘ there not, now you have sold so much, enough
 ‘ left for all the Purposes of Living?—What you
 ‘ say of the Goods, that they are soon worn out,
 ‘ is applicable to every Thing; but you know very
 ‘ well, that they cost a great deal of Money; and
 ‘ the Value of Land is no more, than it is worth in
 ‘ Money.

‘ On your former Complaints against People’s
 ‘ settling the Lands on *Juniata*, and from thence all
 ‘ along on the River *Sasquabannah* as far as *Maha-*
 ‘ *niaby*, some Magistrates were sent expressly to re-
 ‘ move them, and we thought no Persons would
 ‘ presume to stay after that.’

Here they interrupted the Governor, and said:—
 “ These Persons who were sent did not do their
 “ Duty: So far from removing the People, they
 “ made Surveys for themselves, and they are in
 “ League with the Trespassers. We desire more
 “ effectual Methods may be used, and honest
 “ Persons employed.”

Which the Governor promised, and then pro-
 ceeded:

‘ BRETHREN,

‘ According to the Promise made at our last
 ‘ Treaty with you, Mr. *Logan*, who was at that
 ‘ Time President, did write to the Governor of
 ‘ *Maryland*, that he might make you Satisfaction for
 ‘ such of your Lands as his People had taken up,
 ‘ but did not receive one Word from him upon
 ‘ that Head. I will write to him again, and en-
 ‘ deavour to procure you a satisfactory Answer.
 ‘ We do not doubt but he will do you Justice:
 ‘ But we exhort you to be careful not to exercise
 ‘ any Acts of Violence towards his People, as they
 ‘ likewise are our Brethren, and Subjects of the
 ‘ same great King; and therefore Violence to-

‘wards them, must be productive of very evil
‘Consequences.

‘I shall conclude what I have to say at this Time,
‘with Acknowledgments for your Present; which
‘is very agreeable to us, from the Expressions of
‘Regard used by you in presenting it: Gifts of
‘this Nature receiving their Value from the Affec-
‘tion of the Giver, and not from the Quantity or
‘Price of the Thing given.’

At a COUNCIL held at *Philadelphia*, July
8, 1742.

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Esq;
Lieutenant-Governor.

<i>James Logan,</i>	<i>Samuel Preston,</i>	} Esqrs;
<i>Clement Plumsted,</i>	<i>Thomas Lawrence,</i>	
<i>Samuel Hasell,</i>	<i>Ralph Asheton,</i>	
<i>Abraham Taylor,</i>	<i>Robert Strettell,</i>	

The Board taking into Consideration, whether it
be proper or not at this Time, to make a Present
to the *Indians* of the Six Nations now in Town, in
Return for their Present to this Government at
Yesterday's Treaty;

Resolved,

That it is highly fit and proper that a Present be
made to the said *Indians* at this Time.

And it is the Opinion of this Board, that the
said Present should be of the Value of 500 *l.* or at
least 300 *l.*

And it is recommended to *Mr. Logan*, *Mr.*
Preston, and *Mr. Lawrence*, to acquaint *Mr. Kin-*
sey, the Speaker of the Assembly, with the Opinion
of this Board; and that they request him to confer
with such other Members of Assembly as are in
Town, and report their Sentiments thereupon.

The Board taking into Consideration the Threats
expressed by the *Indians*, at the Treaty Yesterday,
against

against the Inhabitants of *Maryland*, settled on certain Lands on the West-side of *Sasquahannah*, which the *Indians* claim, and for which they require Satisfaction; and considering, that should those Threats, in any Sort be put in Execution, not only the Inhabitants of *Maryland*, but of this Government, and all his Majesty's Subjects on the Northern Continent of *America*, may thereby be involved in much Trouble: It is the Opinion of this Board, that the Governor write to the Governor of *Maryland* without Delay, to inform him of the *Indians* Complaints and Threats, and to request a satisfactory Answer; and that his Letter be sent by a special Messenger, at the publick Expence.

At a COUNCIL held July 9, 1742.

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Esq;
Lieutenant-Governor.

<i>James Logan</i> , Esq;	<i>Samuel Preston</i> , Esq;
<i>Clement Plumsted</i> , Esq;	<i>Ralph Asbeton</i> , Esq;
<i>Samuel Hasell</i> , Esq;	<i>Thomas Lawrence</i> , Esq;
<i>Robert Strettell</i> , Esq;	<i>Mr. Peters</i> .

The Governor informed the Board, that the *Indian* Chiefs dining with him Yesterday, after Dinner delivered their Answer to two Affairs of Consequence:

The first related to the violent Battery committed on *William Webb*, in the Forks of *Delaware*, whereby his Jaw-bone was broke, and his Life greatly endangered, by an unknown *Indian*. *Canassatego* repeating the Message delivered to the *Six Nations* by *Shickcalamy*, in the Year 1740, with a String of Wampum, said in Answer: 'The *Six Nations* had
' made diligent Enquiry into the Affair, and had
' found out the *Indian* who had committed the
' Fact; he lived near *Asopus*, and had been ex-
' amined and severely reprov'd: And they hoped,

‘ as *William Webb* was recovered, the Governor
 ‘ would not expect any further Punishment; and
 ‘ therefore they returned the String of Wampum
 ‘ received from their Brethren, by the Hand of
 ‘ *Shickcalamy*, in Token that they had fully com-
 ‘ plied with their Request.’

I thank’d them, said he, for their Care; but re-
 minded them, that though the Man did not die, yet he
 lay a long Time in extreme Misery, and would never
 recover the free Use of his Speech, and was rendered
 less able to get his Livelihood; and in such Cases
 the *English* Laws obliged the Assailant to make good
 all Damages, besides paying for the Pain endured.—
 But as the *Indian* was, in all Probability, poor and
 unable to make Satisfaction, I told them, that for
 their Sake I would forgive him; adding, had *Webb*
 died, I make no Doubt but you would have put
 the *Indian* to Death, just as we did two of our
 People who had killed an *Indian*; we caused them
 to be hung on a Gallows, in the Presence of many
 Hundreds of our People, to deter all others from
 doing the like. *Canassatego* made me this Reply:
 ‘ The *Indians* know no Punishment but Death; they
 ‘ have no such Thing as pecuniary Mulcts; if a
 ‘ Man be guilty of a Crime, he is either put to
 ‘ Death, or the Fault is overlook’d. We have
 ‘ often heard of your Hanging-up those two Per-
 ‘ sons; but as none of our *Indians* saw the Men
 ‘ die, many believe they were not hanged, but
 ‘ transported to some other Colony: And it would
 ‘ be satisfactory to the *Indians*, if, for the future,
 ‘ some of them be sent for, to be Witnesses of such
 ‘ Executions.’ I assured them, that whoever gave
 them that Information, abused them; for the Per-
 sons certainly suffered Death, and in the Presence
 of all the People.

Canassatego then proceeded to give an Answer to
 what was said to them the 2d Instant, relating to
Le Tort’s Letter: ‘ That they had, in Council,
 ‘ considered

considered in what Manner the Matter recommended to them ought to be conducted; and they were of Opinion, that as the *Shawanese*, not the *Twightwys* (for they knew so much of it, that the People were of the *Twightwy* Nation in whose Bags the Scalps were found) had sent me a Present of Skins, I should in return, send them a Blanket or a Kettle, and with it a very sharp Message, that tho' they had done well in sweeping the Road from Blood, yet that was but a small Part of their Duty; they ought not to have suffered the *Twightwys*, after their Lye and the Discovery of the Scalps, to have left them, 'till they had given a full and true Account how they came by them, whose Scalps they were, and in what Place, and for what Reason the Men were kill'd; and when they had been fully satisfied of all these Particulars, then it was their Duty to have given Information to the Government where the white People lived, that the Murderers might be complained against, and punished by the Nation they belonged to: And as the *Shawanese* had omitted to perform the Part of Brethren, that I should reprove them for it, and charge them to make Amends for their Neglect, by using all possible Expedition to come at the Knowledge of these Things, and to aid their Brethren the white People in obtaining Justice.

The Minutes of the preceding Council being read, Mr. *Logan*, in pursuance of the Board's Direction of Yesterday, reported, on behalf of himself, and the other Gentlemen to whom it was recommended, that they had confer'd with Mr. *Kinsley*, and requested him to consult the other Members of the Assembly concerning the making a Present to the *Indians*; and that Mr. *Kinsley* having collected the Sentiments of several Members of the Assembly in Town, whom he had confer'd with on that Subject, found them generally of Opinion, that a Present should at

this Time be made; but that they had declined nominating any Sum: However, that Mr. *Kinsey* had given it as his own Opinion, that the Governor and Council might go as far as *three hundred Pounds*.

And accordingly it is refer'd to Mr. *Logan*, Mr. *Preston*, and Mr. *Lawrence*, to consider of, and prepare a proper List of the Goods whereof the Present should be composed, to the Value of *three hundred Pounds*, as aforesaid; advising with the Interpreter as to the Quantity and Quality.

At a COUNCIL held at the Proprietor's,
the 9th of July, P. M. 1742.

P R E S E N T

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Esq;
Lieutenant-Governor.

James Logan, *Robert Strettell*, } Esqrs;
Samuel Preston, *Abraham Taylor*, }

The CHIEFS of the *Six Nations*.

SASSOONAN, and the *Delawares*.

NUTIMUS, and the *Fork-Indians*.

CONRAD WEISER, Interpreter.

The Governor spoke to the Chiefs of the *Six Nations*, as follows:

‘ *BRETHREN*,

‘ The last Time the Chiefs of the *Six Nations*
‘ were here, they were informed, that your Cousins,
‘ a Branch of the *Delawares*, gave this Province
‘ some Disturbance about the Lands the Proprietor
‘ purchased from them, and for which their An-
‘ cestors had received a valuable Consideration above
‘ *fifty-five* Years ago, as appears by a Deed now
‘ lying on the Table.—Sometime after this, *Conrad*
‘ *Weiser* delivered to your Brother *Thomas Penn*
‘ your

‘ your Letter, wherein you request of him, and
 ‘ *James Logan*, that they would not buy Land, &c.
 ‘ —This has been shewn to them and interpreted ;
 ‘ notwithstanding which they have continued their
 ‘ former Disturbances, and have had the Insolence
 ‘ to write Letters to some of the Magistrates of this
 ‘ Government, wherein they have abused your good
 ‘ Brethren, our worthy Proprietaries, and treated
 ‘ them with the utmost Rudeness and Ill-Manners.
 ‘ Being loth, from our Regard to you, to punish
 ‘ them as they deserve, I sent two Messengers to
 ‘ inform them that you were expected here, and
 ‘ should be acquainted with their Behaviour. — As
 ‘ you, on all Occasions, apply to us to remove all
 ‘ white People that are settled on Lands before they
 ‘ are purchased from you, and we do our Endeavours
 ‘ to turn such People off ; we now expect
 ‘ from you, that you will cause these *Indians* to re-
 ‘ move from the Lands in the Forks of *Delaware*,
 ‘ and not give any further Disturbance to the Per-
 ‘ sons who are now in Possession.’

To inforce this we lay down a String of Wampum.

Then were read the several Conveyances, the
 Paragraph of the Letter wrote by the Chiefs of the
Six Nations relating to the *Delawares* ; the Letters
 of the *Fork-Indians* to the Governor and Mr. *Lang-*
borne, and a Draught of the Land ; these were then
 delivered to *Conrad Weiser*, who was desired to in-
 terpret them to the Chiefs, when they should take
 this Affair into their Consideration.

At

At a COUNCIL held July 10, 1742.

P R E S E N T

The Honourable GEORGE THOMAS, Esq;
Lieutenant-Governor.

James Logan,	Samuel Preston,	} Esqrs;
Clement Plumsted,	Samuel Hasell,	
Thomas Lawrence,	Robert Strettell,	
Abraham Taylor,		

The Governor laid before the Board an Extract from the Treaty held here the 7th Instant with the *Indians of the Six Nations*, so far as it related to the *Inhabitants of Maryland*; as also a Letter he had prepared for the Governor of *Maryland* upon that Subject; both of which being approved, were ordered to be transcribed fair, in order to be dispatch'd the following Morning. The Letter was as follows:

S I R,

Philadelphia, July 10, 1742.

THE inclosed Extract of the Speech made by the Chiefs of the Six Nations, before a very numerous Audience, in this Place, with my Answer to it, is of so great Importance to all his Majesty's Colonies in this Part of his Dominions, and to your Government in particular, that I have employ'd a special Messenger to deliver it you. I hope you will enable me to send them a satisfactory Answer. It would be impertinent in me to say more to one so well informed as you are of these Nations, and of their absolute Authority over all the Indians bordering upon us, or of the Advantages of maintaining a strict Friendship with them at all Times, but more especially at this critical Juncture.

I am,

Yours, &c.

An Account exhibited by *Conrad Weiser* of his Expences upon the *Indians*, and *Indian Affairs*, from *February* last to *July 1, 1742*, amounting to 36*l.* 18*s.* 3*d.* was laid before the Board, and examin'd, and allow'd to be a just and very moderate Account.

And the Board taking into Consideration the many signal Services performed by the said *Conrad Weiser* to this Government, his Diligence and Labour in the Service thereof, and his Skill in the *Indian Languages* and Methods of Business, are of Opinion, that the said *Conrad* should be allowed, as a Reward from the Province at this Time, the Sum of *Thirty Pounds*, at least, besides Payment of his said Account.

At a COUNCIL held at the 'Great Meeting-House, *July 10. P.M. 1742.*

P R E S E N T

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Esq;
Lieutenant-Governor.

<i>James Logan,</i>	<i>Samuel Preston,</i>	} Esqrs;
<i>Thomas Lawrence,</i>	<i>Samuel Hasell,</i>	
<i>Abraham Taylor,</i>	<i>Robert Strettell,</i>	

CANASSATEGO, } And other *Indian Chiefs.*
SHICKCALAMY, }

CONRAD WEISER, Interpreter.

And a great Number of the Inhabitants of *Philadelphia*.

The Governor spoke to the *Indians* as follows:

' *BRETHREN,*

' This Meeting will be short: It is in order to
' make you a Present from the Governor, the Coun-
' cil, the Assembly, and all our People. *William*
' *Penn* was known to you to be a good and faithful
' Friend to all the *Indians*: He made a League of
' Friendship with you, by which we became one
' People.

‘ People. This League has often since been re-
 ‘ new’d by friendly Treaties ; and as you have de-
 ‘ clared that the Friendship shall always last on
 ‘ your Parts, so we would have you believe that it
 ‘ shall remain inviolable on ours while the Sun and
 ‘ Moon endure.

‘ I gave you some Expectation of a Present, and
 ‘ we have it now ready to deliver to you. This
 ‘ Present is made you by the Governor, Council, Af-
 ‘ sembly, and all our People, in Consideration of
 ‘ the great Miseries and Distresses which you our
 ‘ good Friends have lately suffered. This will be
 ‘ some Relief to you for the present, and it’s to be
 ‘ hoped your own Industry will soon retrieve your
 ‘ Circumstances.

‘ It has sometimes happened, and may happen
 ‘ again, that idle and untrue Stories are carried to
 ‘ you concerning us your Brethren ; but our Desire
 ‘ is, and we expect it from you, that you will give
 ‘ no Credit to them ; for we are, and always will
 ‘ be, your steady and sincere Friends.

‘ It is a Custom when we renew our Treaties
 ‘ with our good Friends the *Indians*, to clear the
 ‘ Road, and make our Fire burn bright : We have
 ‘ done so upon this Occasion ; and, in Token of
 ‘ our Sincerity, we deliver you, as a Present from
 ‘ the Governor, the Council, the Assembly, and all
 ‘ the People of *Pensylvania*, the following Goods,
 ‘ viz.

24 Guns.	50 Hoes.
600 Pounds of Lead.	50 Hatchets.
600 Pounds of Powder.	5 Pounds of Vermilion
25 Strowdes } Match-	10 Dozen of Knives.
90 Duffil } Coats.	8 Dozen of Gimblets.
30 Blankets.	2 Dozen of Tobacco-
62 Yards of Half-Thicks.	Tongs.
60 Ruffled Shirts.	25 Pair of Shoes.
25 Hats.	25 Pair of Stockings.
1000 Flints.	25 Pair of Buckles.

Where-

‘ long and full Examination, ratified that Deed of
 ‘ their Ancestors, and given a fresh one under their
 ‘ Hands and Seals; and then you requested us to
 ‘ remove them, inforcing your Request with a
 ‘ String of Wampum.—Afterwards we laid on the
 ‘ Table our own Letters by *Conrad Weiser*; some
 ‘ of our Cousins Letters, and the several Writ-
 ‘ ings to prove the Charge against our Cousins,
 ‘ with a Draught of the Land in Dispute.—We
 ‘ now tell you, we have perused all these several
 ‘ Papers: We see with our own Eyes, that they
 ‘ have been a very unruly People, and are altoge-
 ‘ ther in the Wrong in their Dealings with you.—
 ‘ We have concluded to remove them, and oblige
 ‘ them to go over the River *Delaware*, and quit all
 ‘ Claim to any Lands on this Side for the future,
 ‘ since they have received Pay for them, and it is
 ‘ gone thro’ their Guts long ago.—To confirm to you
 ‘ that we will see your Request executed, we lay
 ‘ down this String of Wampum in return for yours.’

Then turning to the *Delawares*, holding a Belt of Wampum in his Hand, he spoke to them as follows:

COUSINS,

‘ Let this Belt of Wampum serve to chastise
 ‘ you. You ought to be taken by the Hair of the
 ‘ Head and shaken severely, till you recover your
 ‘ Senses and become sober. You don’t know what
 ‘ Ground you stand on, nor what you are doing.
 ‘ Our Brother *Onas*’s Cause is very just and plain,
 ‘ and his Intentions are to preserve Friendship. On
 ‘ the other Hand, your Cause is bad; your Heart far
 ‘ from being upright; and you are maliciously bent
 ‘ to break the Chain of Friendship with our Bro-
 ‘ ther *Onas*, and his People. We have seen with
 ‘ our Eyes a Deed sign’d by nine of your Ancef-
 ‘ tors above *fifty* Years ago for this very Land, and
 ‘ a Release sign’d, not many Years since, by some
 ‘ of

of yourselves and Chiefs now living, to the Number of fifteen or upwards.—But how came you to take upon you to sell Land at all? We conquered you; we made Women of you; you know you are Women, and can no more sell Land than Women; nor is it fit you should have the Power of selling Lands, since you would abuse it. This Land that you claim is gone thro' your Guts; you have been furnished with Cloaths, Meat, and Drink, by the Goods paid you for it, and now you want it again, like Children as you are.—But what makes you sell Land in the Dark? Did you ever tell us that you had sold this Land? Did we ever receive any Part, even the Value of a Pipe-Shank, from you for it? You have told us a blind Story, that you sent a Messenger to us to inform us of the Sale, but he never came amongst us, nor we never heard any thing about it.—This is acting in the Dark, and very different from the Conduct our Six Nations observe in the Sales of Land; on such Occasions they give publick Notice, and invite all the *Indians* of their united Nations, and give them all a Share of the Present they receive for their Lands.—This is the Behaviour of the wise united Nations.—But we find you are none of our Blood: You act a dishonest Part, not only in this, but in other Matters: Your Ears are ever open to slanderous Reports about our Brethren; you receive them with as much Greediness as lewd Women receive the Embraces of bad Men. And for all these Reasons we charge you to remove instantly; we don't give you the Liberty to think about it. You are Women. Take the Advice of a wise Man, and remove immediately. You may return to the other Side of *Delaware* where you came from: But we do not know whether, considering how you have demean'd yourselves, you will be permitted to live there; or whether you have

‘ have not swallowed that Land down your Throats
 ‘ as well as the Land on this Side. We therefore
 ‘ assign you two Places to go, either to *Wyomen* or
 ‘ *Shamokin*. You may go to either of these Places,
 ‘ and then we shall have you more under our Eye,
 ‘ and shall see how you behave. Don’t deliberate;
 ‘ but remove away, and take this Belt of Wampum.’

This being interpreted by *Conrad Weiser* into *English*, and by *Cornelius Spring* into the *Delaware* Language, *Canassatego* taking a String of Wampum, added further.

‘ After our just Reproof, and absolute Order
 ‘ to depart from the Land, you are now to take
 ‘ Notice of what we have further to say to you.
 ‘ This String of Wampum serves to forbid you,
 ‘ your Children and Grand-Children, to the latest
 ‘ Posterity for ever, meddling in Land-Affairs;
 ‘ neither you, nor any who shall descend from you,
 ‘ are ever hereafter to presume to sell any Land:
 ‘ For which purpose, you are to preserve this String,
 ‘ in Memory of what your Uncles have this Day
 ‘ given you in Charge.—We have some other Business
 ‘ to transact with our Brethren, and therefore
 ‘ depart the Council, and consider what has been
 ‘ said to you.’

Canassatego then spoke to the Governor and Council :

‘ B R E T H R E N,

‘ We called at our old Friend *James Logan*’s,
 ‘ in our Way to this City, and to our Grief we
 ‘ found him hid in the Bushes, and retired, thro’ In-
 ‘ firmities, from publick Business. We press’d
 ‘ him to leave his Retirement, and prevailed with
 ‘ him to assist once more on our Account at your
 ‘ Councils. We hope, notwithstanding his Age, and
 ‘ the Effects of a Fit of Sickness, which we understand
 ‘ has

‘ has hurt his Constitution, that he may yet continue a long Time to assist this Province with his Counsels. He is a wise Man, and a fast Friend to the *Indians*. And we desire, when his Soul goes to GOD, you may chuse in his Room just such another Person, of the same Prudence and Ability in counselling, and of the same tender Disposition and Affection for the *Indians*. In Testimony of our Gratitude for all his Services, and because he was so good as to leave his Country-House, and follow us to Town, and be at the Trouble, in this his advanced Age, to attend the Council, we present him with this Bundle of Skins.’

‘ *BRETHREN,*

‘ It is always our Way, at the Conclusion of a Treaty, to desire you will use your Endeavours with the Traders, that they may sell their Goods cheaper, and give us a better Price for our Deer-Skins. Whenever any particular Sort of *Indian* Goods is scarce, they constantly make us pay the dearer on that Account. We must now use the same Argument with them: Our Deer are killed in such Quantities, and our Hunting-Countries grown less every Day by the Settlement of white People, that Game is now difficult to find, and we must go a great Way in quest of it; they therefore ought to give us a better Price for our Skins; and we desire you would speak to them to do so. We have been stinted in the Article of Rum in Town. We desire you will open the Rum-Bottle, and give it to us in greater Abundance on the Road.’

To inforce our Request, about the Indian Traders, we present you with this Bundle of Skins.

B R E T H R E N,

‘ When we first came to your Houses, we found
 ‘ them clean and in Order ; but we have staid so
 ‘ long as to dirty them ; which is to be imputed
 ‘ to our different Way of Living from the white
 ‘ People : And therefore, as we cannot but have
 ‘ been disagreeable to you on this Account, we pre-
 ‘ sent you with some Skins to make your Houses
 ‘ clean, and put them into the same Condition they
 ‘ were in when we came amongst you.’

B R E T H R E N,

‘ The Business the *Five Nations* transact with you
 ‘ is of great Consequence, and requires a skilful and
 ‘ honest Person to go between us ; one in whom both
 ‘ you and we can place a Confidence.—We esteem
 ‘ our present Interpreter to be such a Person, equally
 ‘ faithful in the Interpretation of whatever is said
 ‘ to him by either of us, equally allied to both ; he
 ‘ is of our Nation, and a Member of our Council,
 ‘ as well as of yours. When we adopted him, we
 ‘ divided him into two equal Parts : One we kept
 ‘ for ourselves, and one we left for you. He has had
 ‘ a great deal of trouble with us, wore out his Shoes
 ‘ in our Messages, and dirty’d his Clothes by being
 ‘ amongst us, so that he is become as nasty as an
 ‘ *Indian*.

‘ In Return for these Services, we recommend
 ‘ him to your Generosity ; and on our own Behalf,
 ‘ we give him *Five Skins* to buy him Clothes and
 ‘ Shoes with.’

B R E T H R E N,

‘ We have still one more Favour to ask. Our
 ‘ Treaty, and all we have to say about publick Bu-
 ‘ siness, is now over, and to-morrow we design to
 ‘ leave you. We hope, as you have given us
 ‘ Plenty of good Provision whilst in Town, that
 ‘ you

‘ you will continue your Goodness so far as to supply us with a little more to serve us on the Road. And we likewise desire you will provide us with Waggon, to carry our Goods to the Place where they are to be conveyed by Water.’

To these several Points the Governor made the following Reply.

BRETHREN of the Six Nations,

‘ The Judgment you have just now pass’d on your Cousins the *Delawares*, confirms the high Opinion we have ever entertained of the Justice of the *Six Nations*. This Part of your Character, for which you are deservedly famed, made us wave doing ourselves Justice, in order to give you another Opportunity of convincing the World of your inviolable Attachment to your Engagements. These unhappy People might have always liv’d easy, having never receiv’d the least Injury from us; but we believe some of our own People were bad enough to impose on their Credulity, and engage them in these wrong Measures, which we wish, for their Sakes, they had avoided.

‘ We hoped, from what we have constantly given in Charge to the *Indian* Traders, that they would have administred no just Cause of Complaint: If they do you Wrong, it is against our Inclinations, and contrary to our express Directions. As you have exhibited no particular Charge against them, we shall use our best Endeavours to persuade them to give you as much for your Skins as they can possibly afford; and to take Care that their Goods which they give in Exchange for Skins, be of the best Sort. We will likewise order you some Rum to serve you on your journey home, since you desire it.

‘ We wish there had been more Room and better Houses provided for your Entertainment; but not expecting so many of you, we did the best

‘ we could. ’Tis true, there are a great many
 ‘ Houses in Town, but as they are the Property
 ‘ of other People, who have their own Families to
 ‘ take care of, it is difficult to procure Lodgings
 ‘ for a large Number of People, especially if they
 ‘ come unexpectedly.

‘ We entertain the same Sentiments of the Abi-
 ‘ lities and Probity of the Interpreter as you have
 ‘ express’d. We were induc’d at first to make use
 ‘ of him in this important Trust, from his being
 ‘ known to be agreeable to you, and one who had
 ‘ lived amongst you for some Years, in good Credit
 ‘ and Esteem with all your Nations; and have ever
 ‘ found him equally faithful to both. We are pleas’d
 ‘ with the Notice you have taken of him, and think
 ‘ he richly deserves it at your Hands. We shall
 ‘ not be wanting to make him a suitable Gratifica-
 ‘ tion, for the many good and faithful Services he
 ‘ hath done this Government.

‘ We have already given Orders for Waggon
 ‘ to carry your Goods, and for a Supply of Provi-
 ‘ sions to serve you on the Road in your Return
 ‘ home, where we heartily wish you may arrive in
 ‘ good Health.’

After the Governor had concluded, Mr. *Logan*
 return’d an Answer to that Part of *Canassatego’s*
 Speech which related to him, and said, ‘ That not
 ‘ only upon the Account of his Lameness, of which
 ‘ the *Indians* themselves were Witnesses; but on
 ‘ Account of another Indisposition, which about
 ‘ three Years since had laid him under an Incapa-
 ‘ city of expressing himself with his former usual
 ‘ Freedom, he had been obliged to live retired in
 ‘ the Country. But that our first Proprietor, the
 ‘ Honourable *William Penn*, who had ever been a
 ‘ Father and true Friend to all the *Indians*, having
 ‘ above forty Years since recommended them to
 ‘ his particular Care, he had always, from his own
 ‘ Inclination, as well as from that strict Charge,
 ‘ endeavoured

‘endeavoured to convince all the *Indians*, that he
 ‘was their true Friend; and was now well pleased,
 ‘that after a Tract of so many Years, they were
 ‘not insensible of it. He thanked them kindly
 ‘for their Present, and heartily joined with them
 ‘in their Desires, that this Government may always
 ‘be furnished with Persons of equally good Inclinations,
 ‘and not only with such, but also with
 ‘better Abilities to serve them.’

And then *Canassatego* said, he had forgot to mention, that *Shickcalamy* and *Caxbayn* had been employ’d on several Messages to this Government, and desir’d they might be consider’d on that Account.

At a COUNCIL held the 12th of *July*, P. M. 1742.

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Esq;
 Lieutenant-Governor.

<i>James Logan,</i>	<i>Samuel Preston,</i>	} Esqrs;
<i>Clement Plumsted,</i>	<i>Thomas Lawrence,</i>	
<i>Samuel Hasell,</i>	<i>Abraham Taylor,</i>	
<i>Robert Strettell,</i>		

Mr. Richard Peters.

The Board taking into Consideration the Regulation of the necessary Expences of the *Indians* travelling down hither, and returning; and upon an Estimate made by *Conrad Weiser*, amounting to about *one hundred Pounds*, it appearing that the said Sum of 100 *l.* will be necessary to be advanced to *Conrad Weiser* to defray those Expences, *Mr. Logan*, on the Proprietaries Behalf, proposes to advance 40 *l.* and the Treasurer declaring he had no publick Money in his Hands, and that if he had, he would not advance Money without the Assembly’s Order; it is recommended to *Mr. Preston* and *Mr. Lawrence*, to confer with *Mr. Kinsey*, and know whether he, as Speaker of the Assembly,

and Trustee of the Loan-Office, will advance the other 60*l*.

And the *Indians* having requested that they might have a small Quantity of Rum, to be added to their Provisions, to comfort them on the Road: The Board is of Opinion, that there be added to the said Estimate for twenty Gallons of Rum for the aforesaid Use. And in Return for their Present of Skins, at requesting that the *Indian* Traders be enjoin'd to sell their Goods cheaper, the Board directs that two Strouds be presented. And that *five Pounds* be given to *Caxhayn* on the Account of the Province, for his Services; and to *Shickcalamy* the like Sum.

A just Copy, compared by

PATRICK BAIRD, Secr.



A
T R E A T Y,
Held at the TOWN of
Lancaster, in PENNSYLVANIA,
By the HONOURABLE the
Lieutenant-Governor of the PROVINCE,
And the HONOURABLE the
Commissioners for the PROVINCES
OF
VIRGINIA *and* MARYLAND,
WITH THE
I N D I A N S
OF THE
S I X N A T I O N S,
In JUNE, 1744.

REFLECTY.

1844 in the Town of

Washington in the District of Columbia

By the Hon. John P. Kennedy

Member of Congress for the District of Columbia

and the Hon. John P. Kennedy

Commissioner for the District of Columbia

OF

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

AND

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

OF THE

UNITED STATES

In June 1844

A Treaty with the *INDIANS* of the *SIX NATIONS*.

In the COURT-HOUSE in the Town of
Lancaster, on *Friday* the *Twenty-second*
of *June*, 1744,

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Esq;
Lieut. Governor of the Province of *Pensylvania*,
and Counties of *Newcastle*, *Kent* and *Sussex*, on
Delaware.

The Hon^{ble} *Thomas Lee*, Esq; } Commissioners
Colonel *William Beverly*, } of *Virginia*.

The Hon^{ble} *Edm. Jennings*, Esq; }
Philip Thomas, Esq; } Commissioners
Colonel *Robert King*, } of *Maryland*.
Colonel *Thomas Colville*, }

The Deputies of the *Onandagoes*, *Senecas*, *Cayogoes*,
Oneidas and *Tuscaroraes*.

Conrad Weiser, Interpreter.

THE Governor and the Commissioners took
some of the *Indian* Chiefs by the Hand,
and, after they had seated themselves, the
Governor bid them welcome into the Government;
and there being Wine and Punch prepared for them,
the Governor and the several Commissioners drank
Health to the *Six Nations*; and *Canassatego*, *Ta-*
chanoontia,

chanoontia, and some other Chiefs, returned the Compliments, drinking the Healths of * *Onas*, † *Affaragoa*, and the Governor of *Maryland*.

After they were all served with Wine, Punch, Pipes and Tobacco, the Governor told the *Indians*, that as it was customary, and indeed necessary, they should have some Time to rest after so long a Journey, and as he thought three Days would be no more than sufficient for that Purpose, he proposed to speak to them on *Monday* next; after which, the honourable Commissioners would take their own Time to deliver what they had to say.

CANASSATEGO answered the Governor: We thank you for giving us Time to rest; we are come to you, and shall leave it intirely to you to appoint the Time when we shall meet you again, We likewise leave it to the Governor of *Maryland*, by whose Invitation we came here, to appoint a Time when he will please to mention the Reason of his inviting us. As to our Brother *Affaragoa*, we have at this present Time nothing to say to him; not but we have a great deal to say to *Affaragoa*, which must be said at one Time or another; but not being satisfied whether he or we should begin first, we shall leave it wholly to our Brother *Onas* to adjust this between us, and to say which shall begin first.

* *Onas*, the Governor of *Pensylvania*.

† *Affaragoa*, the Governor of *Virginia*.

In

In the COURT-HOUSE at Lancaster, June 25,
1744. A. M.

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Esq;
Governor, &c.

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Virginia*.

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Maryland*.

The Deputies of the *Six Nations*.

Conrad Weiser, Interpreter.

The GOVERNOR spoke as follows.

*Honourable Gentlemen, Commissioners for the Govern-
ments of Virginia and Maryland, and Brethren,
Sachins, or Chiefs of the Indians of the Six
Nations.*

AT a Treaty, held by me two Years ago, in
Behalf of the Government of *Pensylvania*,
with a Number of the Chiefs of the *Indians* of the
Six Nations, I was desired by them to write to the
Governor of *Maryland* concerning some Lands in
the back Parts of that Province, which they claim
a Right to from their Conquests over the ancient
Possessors, and which have been settled by some of
the Inhabitants of that Government, without their
Consent, or any Purchase made from them. It was at
that time understood that the Claim was upon *Mary-
land* only; but it has since appeared, by some
Letters formerly wrote by Mr. President *Logan* to
the late Governor of *Maryland*, that it related like-
wise to some Lands in the back Parts of *Virginia*.
The Governors of those Colonies soon manifested a
truly equitable Disposition to come to any reasona-
ble Terms with the *Six Nations* on account of those
Lands,

Lands, and desired, that for that End a Time and Place might be fixed for a Treaty with them; but before this could be effected, an unfortunate Skirmish happened in the back Parts of *Virginia*, between some of the Militia there, and a Party of the *Indian* Warriors of the *Six Nations*, with some Loss on both Sides. Who were the Aggressors is not at this time to be discussed, both Parties having agreed to bury that Affair in Oblivion, and the Government of *Virginia* having, in Token of the Continuance of their Friendship, presented the *Six Nations*, through my Hands, with Goods to the Value of One Hundred Pounds Sterling. To prevent further Hostilities, and to heal this Breach, I had, before the Present was given, made a Tender of my good Office; which both Parties accepted, and consented, on my Instances, to lay down their Arms: Since which the Faith pledged to me has been mutually preserved, and a Time and Place has been agreed upon, through my Intervention, for accommodating all Differences, and for settling a firm Peace, Union and Friendship, as well between the Government of *Virginia* as that of *Maryland*, and the *Indians* of the *Six Nations* *. The honourable the Commissioners for these two Governments, and the Deputies of the *Six Nations*, are now met at the Place appointed for the Treaty. It only remains therefore for me to say, that if my further good Offices shall be thought useful for the Accomplishment of this Work, you may rely most assuredly upon them.

But I hope, honourable Gentlemen Commissioners, it will not be taken amiss if I go a little further, and briefly represent to you, how especially necessary it is at this Juncture, for his Majesty's Service, and

* This was allowed, at a Conference had by the Governor with the Commissioners, to be a just State of the Transactions preceding the Treaty.

and the Good of all his Colonies in this Part of his Dominions, that Peace and Friendship be established between your Governments and the *Indians* of the *Six Nations*.

These *Indians*, by their Situation, are a Frontier to some of them; and, from thence, if Friends, are capable of defending their Settlements; if Enemies, of making cruel Ravages upon them; if Neuters, they may deny the *French* a Passage through their Country, and give us timely Notice of their Designs. These are but some of the Motives for cultivating a Good Understanding with them; but from hence the Disadvantages of a Rupture are abundantly evident. Every Advantage you gain over them in War will be a weakening of the Barrier of those Colonies, and consequently be, in effect, Victories over yourselves and your Fellow Subjects. Some Allowances for their Prejudices and Passions, and a Present now and then for the Relief of their Necessities, which have, in some Measure, been brought upon them by their Inter-course with us, and by our yearly extending our Settlements, will probably tie them more closely to the *British* Interest. This has been the Method of *New-York* and *Pensylvania*, and will not put you to so much Expence in twenty Years, as the carrying on a War against them will do in one. The *French* very well know the Importance of these Nations to us, and will not fail by Presents, and their other usual Arts, to take Advantage of any Misunderstanding we may have with them †. But I will detain

† The two preceding Paragraphs were allowed by the Commissioners of *Virginia*, whilst they were at *Philadelphia*, to be very proper to be spoken by the Governor of *Pensylvania* at the Opening of the Treaty; but taking up an Opinion, from what passed at the first friendly Interview with the *Indians*, that they would not make any Claim upon Lands within the Government of *Virginia*, the Governor consented to decline speaking them in the Presence of the *Indians*.

tain you, Gentlemen, no longer. Your own superior Knowledge will suggest to you more than I can say on this Subject.

*Friends and Brethren, Sachems, or Chiefs of the
Indians of the Six Nations :*

These, your Brethren of *Virginia* and *Maryland*, are come to enlarge the Fire, which was almost gone out, and to make it burn clearer ; to brighten the Chain which had contracted some Rust, and to renew their Friendship with you ; which it is their Desire may last so long as the Sun, the Moon and the Stars, shall give Light. Their Powers are derived from the *Great King* of ENGLAND, your Father ; and whatever Conclusions they shall come to with you, will be as firm and binding as if the Governors of these Provinces were themselves here. I am your Brother, and, which is more, I am your true Friend. As you know, from Experience, that I am so, I will now give you a few Words of Advice. Receive these your Brethren with open Arms ; unite yourselves to them in the Covenant Chain, and be you with them as one Body, and one Soul. I make no doubt but the Governor of *Canada* has been taking Pains to widen the Breach between these your Brethren of *Virginia* and you ; but as you cannot have forgot the Hatred the *French* have always borne to your Nations, and how kindly, on the contrary, you have been treated, how faithfully you have been protected by the *Great King* of ENGLAND and his Subjects, you will not be at a Loss to see into the Designs of that Governor. He wants to divide you from us, in order the more easily to destroy you, which he will most certainly do, if you suffer yourselves to be deluded by him.

As to what relates to the Friendship established between the Government of *Pensylvania* and your Nations, I will take another Day to speak to you upon it.

*To enforce what had been said, the GOVERNOR laid down a Belt of Wampum; upon which the Indians gave the * Yo-hah.*

After a short Pause, the Governor ordered the Interpreter to tell the *Indians*, that as they had greatly exceeded their appointed Time for meeting the Commissioners, he recommended to them to use all the Expedition possible in giving their Answer to what had been said, that they might forthwith proceed to treat with the respective Commissioners on the Business they came about.

Then *Canassatego* repeated to the Interpreter the Substance of what the Governor had spoke, in order to know if he had understood him right (a Method generally made use of by the *Indians*) and when the Interpreter told him he had taken the true Sense, *Canassatego* proceeded to return the Thanks of the *Six Nations* for the Governor's kind Advice, promising to follow it as far as lay in their Power; but as it was their Custom when a Belt was given to return another, they would take Time till the Afternoon to provide one, and would then give their Answer.

* The *Yo-hah* denotes Approbation, being a loud Shout or Cry, consisting of a few Notes pronounced by all the *Indians* in a very musical Manner, in the Nature of our Huzza's.

In the COURT-HOUSE at Lancaster, June 25,
1744. P. M.

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable GEORGE THOMAS, Esq;
Governor, &c.

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Virginia*.

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Maryland*.

The Deputies of the *Six Nations*.

Conrad Weiser, Interpreter.

Canassatego's Answer to the Governor's Speech delivered in the Morning.

Brother Onas,

YOU spoke in the Prefence of *Affaragoa* and the Governor of *Maryland* to us, advising us to receive them as our Brethren, and to unite with them in the Covenant Chain as one Body, and one Soul. We have always considered them as our Brethren, and, as such, shall be willing to brighten the Chain of Friendship with them ; but since there are some Disputes between us respecting the Lands possessed by them, which formerly belonged to us, we, according to our Custom, propose to have those Differences first adjusted, and then we shall proceed to confirm the Friendship subsisting between us, which will meet with no Obstruction after these Matters are settled.

Here

Here they presented the GOVERNOR with a Belt of Wampum, in return for the Belt given them in the Morning by the GOVERNOR; and the Interpreter was ordered to return the Yo-hah.

Then the GOVERNOR, in Reply, spoke as follows:

I receive your Belt with great Kindness and Affection; and as to what relates to the Governments of *Virginia* and *Maryland*, the honourable Commissioners, now present, are ready to treat with you. I shall only add, that the Goods for the Hundred Pounds Sterling, put into my Hands by the Governor of *Virginia*, as a Token of his good Dispositions to preserve Friendship with you, are now in Town, and ready to be delivered, in consequence of what was told you by *Conrad Weiser* when he was last at *Onandago*.

Then the Governor, turning to the Commissioners of *Virginia* and *Maryland*, said, Gentlemen, I have now finished what was incumbent upon me to say by way of Introduction to the *Indians*; and as you have a full Authority from your respective Governments to treat with them, I shall leave the rest entirely to you, and either stay or withdraw, as you shall think most for your Service.

The Commissioners said, They were all of Opinion, it would be for their Advantage that the Governor should stay with them; and therefore they unanimously desired he would favour them with the Continuance of his Presence whilst they should be in Treaty with the *Indians*: Which his Honour said he would at their Instance very readily do, believing it might expedite their Business, and prevent any Jealousy the *Indians* might conceive at his withdrawing.

The Commissioners of Maryland ordered the Interpreter to acquaint the Indians that the Government of Maryland was going to speak to them, and then spoke as follows :

Friends and Brethren of the united Six Nations,

We, who are deputed from the Government of *Maryland* by a Commission under the Great Seal of that Province, now in our Hands (and which will be interpreted to you) bid you welcome; and in Token that we are very glad to see you here as Brethren, we give you this String of Wampum.

Upon which the Indians gave the Yo-hah.

When the Governor of *Maryland* received the first Notice, about seven Years ago, of your Claim to some Lands in that Province, he thought our good Friends and Brethren of the *Six Nations* had little Reason to complain of any Injury from *Maryland*, and that they would be so well convinced thereof, on farther Deliberation, as he should hear no more of it; but you spoke of that Matter again to the Governor of *Pennsylvania*, about two Years since, as if you designed to terrify us.

It was very inconsiderately said by you, that you would do yourselves Justice, by going to take Payment yourselves: Such an Attempt would have intirely dissolved the Chain of Friendship subsisting, not only between us, but perhaps the other *English* and you.

We assure you, our People, who are numerous, courageous, and have Arms ready in their Hands, will not suffer themselves to be hurt in their Lives and Estates.

But, however, the old and wise People of *Maryland* immediately met in Council, and upon considering very coolly your rash Expressions, agreed to invite their Brethren, the *Six Nations*, to this Place,

Place, that they might learn of them what Right they have to the Land in *Maryland*, and, if they had any, to make them some reasonable Compensation for it; therefore the Governor of *Maryland* has sent us to meet and treat with you about this Affair, and the brightening and strengthening the Chain which hath long subsisted between us. And as an Earnest of our Sincerity and Good-will towards you, we present you with this Belt of Wampum.

On which the Indians gave the Yo-hah.

Our Great King of ENGLAND, and his Subjects, have always possessed the Province of *Maryland* free and undisturbed from any Claim of the Six Nations for above one hundred Years past, and your not saying any thing to us before, convinces us you thought you had no Pretence to any Lands in *Maryland*; nor can we yet find out to what Lands, or under what Title you make your Claim: For the *Sasquahannab Indians*, by a Treaty above ninety Years since (which is on the Table, and will be interpreted to you) give, and yield to the *English* Nation, their Heirs and Assigns for ever, the greatest Part (if not all) of the Lands we possess, from *Patuxent* River, on the Western, as well as from *Choptank* River, on the Eastern Side of the Great Bay of *Chesapeake*. And, near Sixty Years ago, you acknowledged to the Governor of *New-York* at *Albany*, “That you had given your Lands, and submitted yourselves to the King of *England*.”

We are that Great King's Subjects, and we possess and enjoy the Province of *Maryland* by Virtue of his Right and Sovereignty thereto; why, then, will you stir up any Quarrel between you and ourselves, who are as one Man, under the Protection of that Great King?

We need not put you in mind of the Treaty (which we suppose you have had from your Fathers) made with the Province of *Maryland* near Seventy Years ago, and renewed and confirmed twice since that time.

By these Treaties we became Brethren ; we have always lived as such, and hope always to continue so.

We have this further to say, that altho' we are not satisfied of the Justice of your Claim to any Lands in *Maryland*, yet we are desirous of shewing our Brotherly Kindness and Affection, and to prevent (by any reasonable Way) every Misunderstanding between the Province of *Maryland* and you our Brethren of the *Six Nations*.

For this Purpose we have brought hither a Quantity of Goods for our Brethren the *Six Nations*, and which will be delivered you as soon as we shall have received your Answer, and made so bright and large a Fire as may burn pure and clear whilst the Sun and Moon shall shine.

We have now freely and openly laid our Bosoms bare to you ; and that you may be the better confirmed of the Truth of our Hearts, we give you this Belt of Wampum.

Which was received with the Yo-hah.

After a little Time Canassatego spoke as follows :

Brother, the Governor of Maryland,

We have heard what you have said to us ; and, as you have gone back to old Times, we cannot give you an Answer now, but shall take what you have said into Consideration, and, return you our Answer some Time to Morrow. He then sat down, and after some Time he spoke again.

Brother,

Brother, the Governor of Maryland,

If you have made any Enquiry into *Indian Affairs*, you will know, that we have always had our Guns, Hatchets and Kettles mended when we came to see our Brethren. Brother *Onas*, and the Governor of *York* always do this for us; and we give you this early Notice, that we may not thereby be delayed, being desirous, as well as you, to give all possible Dispatch to the Business to be transacted between us.

The Commissioners of *Virginia* and *Maryland* said, since it was customary, they would give Orders to have every Thing belonging to them mended that should want it.

In the COURT-HOUSE at *Lancaster*, *June 26*,
1744, *P. M.*

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Esq;
Governor, &c.

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Virginia*.

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Maryland*.

The Deputies of the *Six Nations*,

Conrad Weiser, Interpreter.

CANASSATEGO spoke as follows :

Brother, the Governor of Maryland,

WHEN you invited us to kindle a Council Fire with you, *Conedogwainet* was the Place agreed upon; but afterwards you, by Brother *Onas*, upon second Thoughts, considering that it would be difficult to get Provisions and other Accommodations

dations where there were but few Houses or Inhabitants, desired we would meet our Brethren at *Lancaster*, and at his Instances we very readily agreed to meet you here, and are glad of the Change; for we have found Plenty of every thing; and as Yesterday you bid us welcome, and told us you were glad to see us, we likewise assure you we are as glad to see you; and, in Token of our Satisfaction, we present you with this String of Wampum.

Which was received with the usual Ceremony.

Brother, the Governor of Maryland,

You tell us, that when about Seven Years ago you heard, by our Brother *Onas*, of our Claim to some Lands in your Province, you took no Notice of it, believing, as you say, that when we should come to reconsider that Matter, we should find that we had no Right to make any Complaint of the Governor of *Maryland*, and would drop our Demand. And that when about two Years ago we mentioned it again to our Brother *Onas*, you say we did it in such Terms as looked like a Design to terrify you; and you tell us further, that we must be beside ourselves, in using such a rash Expression as to tell you, We know how to do ourselves Justice if you still refuse. It is true we did say so, but without any ill Design; for we must inform you, that when we first desired our Brother *Onas* to use his Influence with you to procure us Satisfaction for our Lands, we, at the same time, desired him, in case you should disregard our Demand, to write to the Great King beyond the Seas, who would own us for his Children as well as you, to compel you to do us Justice: And, two years ago, when we found that you had paid no Regard to our just Demand, nor that Brother *Onas* had convey'd our Complaint to the Great King over the Seas, we were resolved to use

use such Expressions as would make the greatest Impressions on your Minds, and we find it had its Effect; for you tell us, “ That your wise Men
 “ held a Council together, and agreed to invite us,
 “ and to enquire of our Right to any of your
 “ Lands, and if it should be found that we had a
 “ Right, we were to have a Compensation made
 “ for them: And likewise you tell us, that our
 “ Brother, the Governor of *Maryland*, by the advice of these wise Men, has sent you to brighten
 “ the Chain, and to assure us of his Willingness to
 “ remove whatever impedes a good Understanding between us.” This shews that your wise Men understood our Expressions in their true Sense. We had no Design to terrify you, but to put you on doing us the Justice you had so long delayed. Your wise Men have done well; and as there is no Obstacle to a good Understanding between us, except this Affair of our Land, we, on our Parts, do give you the strongest Assurances of our good Disposition towards you, and that we are as desirous as you to brighten the Chain, and to put away all Hindrances to a perfect good Understanding; and, in Token of our Sincerity, we give you this Belt of Wampum.

Which was received, and the Interpreter ordered to give the Yo-hah.

Brother, the Governor of Maryland,

When you mentioned the Affair of the Land Yesterday, you went back to old Times, and told us, you had been in Possession of the Province of *Maryland* above One Hundred Years; but what is One Hundred Years in Comparison of the Length of Time since our Claim began? since we came out of this Ground? For we must tell you, that long before One Hundred Years our Ancestors came out of this very Ground, and their Children have re-

mained here ever since. You came out of the Ground in a Country that lies beyond the Seas, there you may have a just Claim, but here you must allow us to be your elder Brethren, and the Lands to belong to us long before you knew any thing of them. It is true, that above One Hundred Years ago the *Dutch* came here in a Ship, and brought with them several Goods; such as Awls, Knives, Hatchets, Guns, and many other Particulars, which they gave us; and when they had taught us how to use their Things, and we saw what sort of People they were, we were so well pleased with them, that we tied their Ship to the Bushes on the Shore; and afterwards, liking them still better the longer they staid with us, and thinking the Bushes too slender, we removed the Rope, and tied it to the Trees; and as the Trees were liable to be blown down by high Winds, or to decay of themselves, we, from the Affection we bore them, again removed the Rope, and tied it to a strong and big Rock [*here the Interpreter said, They mean the Oneido Country*] and not content with this, for its further Security we removed the Rope to the big Mountain [*here the Interpreter says they mean the Onandago Country*] and there we tied it very fast, and roll'd Wampum about it; and, to make it still more secure, we stood upon the Wampum, and sat down upon it, to defend it, and to prevent any Hurt coming to it, and did our best Endeavours that it might remain uninjured for ever. During all this Time the New-comers, the *Dutch*, acknowledged our Right to the Lands, and solicited us, from Time to Time, to grant them Parts of our Country, and to enter into League and Covenant with us, and to become one People with us.

After this the *English* came into the Country, and, as we were told, became one People with the *Dutch*. About two Years after the Arrival of the
English,

English, an *English* Governor came to *Albany*, and finding what great Friendship subsisted between us and the *Dutch*, he approved it mightily, and desired to make as strong a League, and to be upon as good Terms with us as the *Dutch* were, with whom he was united, and to become one People with us : And by his further Care in looking into what had passed between us, he found that the Rope which tied the Ship to the great Mountain was only fastened with Wampum, which was liable to break and rot, and to perish in a Course of Years ; he therefore told us, he would give us a Silver Chain, which would be much stronger, and would last for ever. This we accepted, and fastened the Ship with it, and it has lasted ever since. Indeed we have had some small Differences with the *English*, and, during these Misunderstandings, some of their young Men would, by way of Reproach, be every now and then telling us, that we should have perished if they had not come into the Country and furnished us with Strowds and Hatchets, and Guns, and other Things necessary for the Support of Life ; but we always gave them to understand that they were mistaken, that we lived before they came amongst us, and as well, or better, if we may believe what our Forefathers have told us. We had then Room enough, and Plenty of Deer, which was easily caught ; and tho' we had not Knives, Hatchets, or Guns, such as we have now, yet we had Knives of Stone, and Hatchets of Stone, and Bows and Arrows, and those served our Uses as well then as the *English* ones do now. We are now straitened, and sometimes in want of Deer, and liable to many other Inconveniencies since the *English* came among us, and particularly from that Pen-and-Ink Work that is going on at the Table (*pointing to the Secretary*) and we will give you an Instance of this. Our Brother *Onas*, a great while ago, came to
Albany

Albany to buy the *Sasquabannah* Lands of us, but our Brother the Governor of *New-York*, who, as we suppose, had not a good Understanding with our Brother *Onas*, advised us not to sell him any Land, for he would make an ill Use of it; and, pretending to be our good Friend, he advised us, in order to prevent *Onas*'s, or any other Person's imposing upon us, and that we might always have our Land when we should want it, to put it into his Hands; and told us, he would keep it for our Use, and never open his Hands, but keep them close shut, and not part with any of it, but at our Request. Accordingly we trusted him, and put our Land into his Hands, and charged him to keep it safe for our Use; but, some Time after, he went to *England*, and carried our Land with him, and there sold it to our Brother *Onas* for a large Sum of Money; and when, at the Instance of our Brother *Onas*, we were minded to sell him some Lands, he told us we had sold the *Sasquabannah* Lands already to the Governor of *New-York*, and that he had bought them from him in *England*; tho', when he came to understand how the Governor of *New-York* had deceived us, he very generously paid us for our Lands over again.

Tho' we mention this Instance of an Imposition put upon us by the Governor of *New-York*, yet we must do the *English* the Justice to say, we have had their hearty Assistances in our Wars with the *French*, who were no sooner arrived amongst us than they began to render us uneasy, and to provoke us to War, and we had several Wars with them; during all which we constantly received Assistance from the *English*, and, by their Means, we have always been able to keep up our Heads against their Attacks.

We now come nearer home. We have had your Deeds interpreted to us, and we acknowledge them

to be good and valid, and that the *Conestogoe* or *Sasquabannab Indians* had a Right to sell those Lands to you, for they were then theirs; but since that Time we have conquered them, and their Country now belongs to us, and the Lands we demanded Satisfaction for are no Part of the Lands comprized in those Deeds; they are the * *Cobongorontas* Lands; those, we are sure, you have not possessed One Hundred Years, no, nor above Ten Years, and we made our Demands so soon as we knew your People were settled in those Parts. These have never been sold, but remain still to be disposed of; and we are well pleased to hear you are provided with Goods, and do assure you of our Willingness to treat with you for those unpurchased Lands; in Confirmation whereof, we present you with this Belt of Wampum.

Which was received with the usual Ceremonies.

CANASSATEGO added, that as the three Governors of *Virginia*, *Maryland*, and *Pensylvania*, had divided the Lands among them, they could not, for this Reason, tell how much each had got, nor were they concerned about it, so that they were paid by all the Governors for the several Parts each possessed, and this they left to their Honour and Justice.

* *Cobongorontas*, i. e. *Potomack*.

In

In the COURT-HOUSE at Lancaster, June 27,
1744, A. M.

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Esq;
Governor, &c.

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Virginia*.

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Maryland*.

The Deputies of the *Six Nations*.

Conrad Weiser, Interpreter.

The Commissioners of Virginia ordered the Interpreter to let the Indians know the Government of Virginia was going to speak to them, and then they spoke as follows :

*Sachems and Warriors of the Six United Nations,
our Friends and Brethren,*

AT our Desire the Governor of *Pensylvania* invited you to this Council Fire; we have waited a long Time for you, but now you are come, you are heartily welcome; we are very glad to see you; we give you this String of Wampum.

Which was received with their usual Approbation.

Brethren,

In the Year 1736, four of your Sachems wrote a Letter to *James Logan*, Esq; then Prdsident of *Pensylvania*, to let the Governor of *Virginia* know that you expected some Consideration for Lands in the Occupation of some of the People of *Virginia*. Upon seeing a Copy of this Letter, the Governor, with the Council of *Virginia*, took some Time to consider of it. They found, on looking into the old

old Treaties, that you had given up your Lands to the Great King, who has had Possession of *Virginia* above One Hundred and Sixty Years, and under that Great King the Inhabitants of *Virginia* hold their Land, so they thought there might be some Mistake.

Wherefore they desired the Governor of *New-York* to enquire of you about it. He sent his Interpreter to you in *May*, 1743, who laid this before you at a Council held at *Onandago*, to which you answer, "That if you had any Demand or Pretensions on the Governor of *Virginia* any way, you would have made it known to the Governor of *New-York*." This corresponds with what you have said to Governor *Thomas*, in the Treaty made with him at *Philadelphia* in *July*, 1742; for then you only make your Claim to Lands in the Government of *Maryland*.

We are so well pleased with this good Faith of you our Brethren of the *Six Nations*, and your Regard to the Treaties made with *Virginia*, that we are ready to hear you on the Subject of your Message eight years since.

Tell us what Nations of *Indians* you conquered any Lands from in *Virginia*, -how long it is since, and what Possession you have had; and if it does appear, that there is any Land on the Borders of *Virginia* that the *Six Nations* have a Right to, we are willing to make you Satisfaction.

Then laid down a String of Wampum, which was accepted with the usual Ceremony, and then added,

We have a Chest of new Goods, and the Key is in our Pockets. You are our Brethren; the Great King is our common Father, and we will live with you, as Children ought to do, in Peace and Love.

We

We will brighten the Chain, and strengthen the Union between us; so that we shall never be divided, but remain Friends and Brethren as long as the Sun gives Light; in Confirmation whereof, we give you this Belt of Wampum.

Which was received with the usual Ceremony.

TACHANOONTIA replied :

Brother Assaragoa,

You have made a good Speech to us, which is very agreeable, and for which we return you our Thanks. We shall be able to give you an Answer to every Part of it some Time this Afternoon, and we will let you know when we are ready.

In the COURT-HOUSE at Lancaster, June 27,
1744, P. M.

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Esq;
Governor, &c.

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Virginia*.

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Maryland*.

The Deputies of the *Six Nations*.

Conrad Weiser, Interpreter.

TACHANOONTIA spoke as follows:

Brother Assaragoa,

SINCE you have joined with the Governor of *Maryland* and Brother *Onas* in kindling this Fire, we gladly acknowledge the Pleasure we have in seeing you here, and observing your good Dispositions

sitions as well to confirm the Treaties of Friendship, as to enter into further Contracts about Land with us; and, in Token of our Satisfaction, we present you with this String of Wampum.

Which was received with the usual Ceremonies.

Brother Assaragoa,

In your Speech this Morning you were pleased to say we had wrote a Letter to *James Logan*, about seven Years ago, to demand a Consideration for our Lands in the Possession of some of the *Virginians*; that you held them under the Great King for upwards of One Hundred and Sixty Years, and that we had already given up our Right; and that therefore you had desired the Governor of *New-York* to send his Interpreter to us last Year to *Onandago*, which he did; and, as you say, we in Council at *Onandago* did declare, that we had no Demand upon you for Lands, and that if we had any Pretensions, we should have made them known to the Governor of *New-York*; and likewise you desire to know if we have any Right to the *Virginia* Lands, and that we will make such Right appear, and tell you what Nations of *Indians* we conquered those Lands from.

Now we answer, We have the Right of Conquest, a Right too dearly purchased, and which cost us too much Blood, to give up without any Reason at all, as you say we have done at *Albany*; but we should be obliged to you, if you would let us see the Letter, and inform us who was the Interpreter, and whose Names are put to that Letter; for as the whole Transaction cannot be above a Year's standing, it must be fresh in every Body's Memory, and some of our Council would easily remember it; but we assure you, and are well able to prove, that neither we, nor any Part of us, have ever relinquished our Right, or ever gave such an Answer as you say is mentioned

mentioned in your Letter. Could we, so few Years ago, make a formal Demand, by *James Logan*, and not be sensible of our Right? And hath any thing happened since that Time to make us less sensible? No; and as this Matter can be easily cleared up, we are anxious it should be done; for we are positive no such thing was ever mentioned to us at *Onandago*, nor any where else. All the World knows we conquered the several Nations living on *Sasquahannab*, *Cobongoronta*, and on the Back of the Great Mountains in *Virginia*; the *Conoy-uch-such-roona*, *Coch-now-was-roonan*, *Toboa-ircugh-roonan*, and *Connutskin-ough-roonaw*, feel the Effects of our Conquests, being now a Part of our Nations, and their Lands at our Disposal. We know very well, it hath often been said by the *Virginians*, that the Great King of ENGLAND, and the People of that Colony, conquered the *Indians* who lived there, but it is not true. We will allow they have conquered the *Sachdagughbroonaw*, and drove back the *Tuscarroraws*, and that they have, on that Account, a Right to some Part of *Virginia*; but as to what lies beyond the Mountains, we conquered the Nations residing there, and that Land, if the *Virginians* ever get a good Right to it, it must be by us; and in Testimony of the Truth of our Answer to this Part of your Speech, we give you this String of Wampum.

Which was received with the usual Ceremony.

Brother Assaragoa,

We have given you a full Answer to the first Part of your Speech, which we hope will be satisfactory. We are glad to hear you have brought with you a big Chest of new Goods, and that you have the Key in your Pockets. We do not doubt but we shall have a good Understanding in all Points, and come to an Agreement with you.

We

We shall open all our Hearts to you, that you may know every thing in them ; we will hide nothing from you ; and we hope, if there be any thing still remaining in your Breast that may occasion any Dispute between us, you will take the Opportunity to unbosom your Hearts, and lay them open to us, that henceforth there may be no Dirt, nor any other Obstacle in the Road between us ; and in Token of our hearty Wishes to bring about so good an Harmony, we present you with this Belt of Wampum.

Which was received with the usual Ceremony.

Brother Assatagoa,

We must now tell you what Mountains we mean that we say are the Boundaries between you and us. You may remember, that about twenty Years ago you had a Treaty with us at *Albany*, when you took a Belt of Wampum, and made a Fence with it on the Middle of the Hill, and told us, that if any of the Warriors of the *Six Nations* came on your Side of the Middle of the Hill, you would hang them ; and you gave us Liberty to do the same with any of your People who should be found on our Side of the Middle of the Hill. This is the Hill we mean, and we desire that Treaty may be now confirmed. After we left *Albany*, we brought our Road a great deal more to the West, that we might comply with your Proposal ; but, tho' it was of your own making, your People never observed it, but came and lived on our Side of the Hill, which we don't blame you for, as you live at a great Distance, near the Seas, and cannot be thought to know what your People do in the Back-parts : And on their settling, contrary to your own Proposal, on our new Road, it fell out that our Warriors did some Hurt to your People's Cattle, of which a Complaint was made, and transmitted to us by our Brother *Onas* ; and we,

at his Request, altered the Road again, and brought it to the the Foot of the Great Mountain, where it now is; and it is impossible for us to remove it any further to the West, those Parts of the Country being absolutely impassable by either Man or Beast.

We had not been long in the Use of this new Road before your People came, like Flocks of Birds, and sat down on both Sides of it, and yet we never made a Complaint to you, tho' you must be sensible those Things must have been done by your People in manifest Breach of your own Proposal made at *Albany*; and therefore, as we are now opening our Hearts to you, we cannot avoid complaining, and desire all these Affairs may be settled, and that you may be stronger induced to do us Justice for what is past, and to come to a thorough Settlement for the future, we, in the Presence of the Governor of *Maryland*, and Brother *Onas*, present you with this Belt of Wampum.

Which was received with the usual Ceremony.

Then Tachanoontia added :

That he forgot to say, that the Affair of the Road must be looked upon as a Preliminary to be settled before the Grant of Lands; and, said he, either the *Virginia* People must be obliged to remove more Easterly, or, if they are permitted to stay, our Warriors, marching that Way to the Southward, shall go Sharers with them in what they plant.

In the COURT-HOUSE at *Lancaster*, June 28,
1744. A. M.

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Esq;
Governor, &c.

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Virginia*.

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Maryland*.

The Deputies of the *Six Nations*.

Conrad Weiser, Interpreter.

The GOVERNOR spoke as follows.

Friends and Brethren of the Six Nations,

I Am always sorry when any thing happens that may create the least Uneasiness between us ; but as we are mutually engaged to keep the Road between us clear and open, and to remove every Obstruction that may lie in the Way, I must inform you, that three of the *Delaware Indians* lately murdered *John Armstrong*, an *Indian* Trader, and his two Men, in a most barbarous Manner, as he was travelling to *Allegheny*, and stole his Goods of a considerable Value. *Shick Calamy*, and the *Indians* settled at *Shamokin*, did well ; they seized two of the Murderers, and sent them down to our Settlements ; but the *Indians*, who had the Charge of them, afterwards suffered one of them to escape, on a Pretence that he was not concerned in the bloody Deed ; the other is now in *Philadelphia* Goal. By our Law all the Accessaries to a Murder are to be tried, and put to Death, as well as the Person who gave the deadly Wound. If they consented to it, encouraged it, or any ways assisted in it, they are to be put to Death, and it is just it

should be so. If, upon Trial, the Persons present at the Murder are found not to have done any of these Things, they are set at Liberty. Two of our People were, not many Years ago, publicly put to Death for killing two *Indians*; we therefore expect you will take the most effectual Measures to seize and deliver up to us the other two *Indians* present at these Murders, to be tried with the Principal now in Custody. If it shall appear, upon their Trial, that they were not advising, or any way assisting in this horrid Fact, they will be acquitted, and sent home to their Towns. And that you may be satisfied no Injustice will be done to them, I do now invite you to depute three or four *Indians* to be present at their Trials. I do likewise expect that you will order strict Search to be made for the Remainder of the stolen Goods, that they may be restored to the Wife and Children of the Deceased. That what I have said may have its due Weight with you, I give you this String of Wampum.

Which was accepted with the Yo-hah.

The Governor afterwards ordered the Interpreter to tell them, he expected a very full Answer from them, and that they might take their own Time to give it; for he did not desire to interfere with the Business of *Virginia* and *Maryland*.

They said they would take it into Consideration, and give a full Answer.

Then the Commissioners of *Virginia* let them know, by the Interpreter, that they would speak to them in the Afternoon.

In the COURT-HOUSE Chamber at Lancaster,
June 28, 1744, P. M.

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Maryland*.

The Deputies of the *Six Nations*.

Conrad Weiser, Interpreter.

The Commissioners desired the Interpreter to tell the Indians they were going to speak to them. Mr. Weiser acquainted them herewith. After which the said Commissioners spoke as follows:

Our good Friends and Brethren, the Six united Nations,

WE have considered what you said concerning your Title to some Lands now in our Province, and also of the Place where they lie. Altho' we cannot admit your Right, yet we are so resolved to live in Brotherly Love and Affection with the *Six Nations*, that upon your giving us a Release in Writing of all your Claim to any Lands in *Maryland*, we shall make you a Compensation to the Value of Three Hundred Pounds Currency, for the Payment of Part whereof we have brought some Goods, and shall make up the rest in what Manner you think fit.

As we intend to say something to you about our Chain of Friendship after this Affair of the Land is settled, we desire you will now examine the Goods, and make an End of this Matter.

We will not omit acquainting our good Friends the *Six Nations*, that notwithstanding we are likely to come to an Agreement about your Claim of Lands, yet your Brethren of *Maryland* look on you to be as one Soul and one Body with themselves;

and as a broad Road will be made between us, we shall always be desirous of keeping it clear, that we may, from Time to Time, take care that the Links of our Friendship be not rusted. In Testimony that our Words and our Hearts agree, we give you this Belt of Wampum.

On presenting of which the Indians gave the usual Cry of Approbation.

Mr. *Weiser* acquainted the *Indians*, they might now look over the several Goods placed on a Table in the Chamber for that Purpose; and the honourable Commissioners bid him tell them, if they disliked any of the Goods, or, if they were damaged, the Commissioners would put a less Price on such as were either disliked or damaged.

The *Indians* having viewed and examined the Goods, and seeming dissatisfied at the Price and Worth of them, required Time to go down into the Court-House, in order for a Consultation to be had by the Chiefs of them concerning the said Goods, and likewise that the Interpreter might retire with them, which he did. Accordingly they went down into the Court-House, and soon after returned again into the Chamber.

Mr. *Weiser* sat down among the *Indians*, and discoursed them about the Goods, and in some short Time after they chose the following from among the others, and the Price agreed to be given for them by the *Six Nations* was, *viz.*

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Four Pieces of Strowds, at 7 <i>l.</i>	28	00	00
Two Pieces Ditto, 5 <i>l.</i> —	10	00	00
Two Hundred Shirts, —	63	12	00
Three Pieces Half-Thicks, —	11	00	00
Three Pieces Duffle Blankets, at 7 <i>l.</i>	21	00	00
One Piece Ditto, —	6	10	00
Forty Seven Guns, at 1 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i>	61	02	00
			One

		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
One Pound of Vermillion,	—	00	18	00
One Thousand Flints,	—	00	18	00
Four Dozen Jews Harps,	—	00	14	00
One Dozen Boxes,	—	00	1	00
One Hundred Two Quarters Bar-Lead,		3	00	00
Two Quarters Shot,	—	1	00	00
Two Half-Barrels of Gun-Powder,		13	00	00

220 15 00

Pensylvannia Currency.

When the *Indians* had agreed to take these Goods at the Rates above specified, they informed the Interpreter, that they would give an Answer to the Speech made to them this Morning by the honourable the Commissioners of *Maryland*, but did not express the Time when such Answer should be made. At 12 o'Clock the Commissioners departed the Chamber.

In the COURT-HOUSE at *Lancaster*, June 28,
1744. P. M.

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Esq;
Governor, &c.

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Virginia*.

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Maryland*.

The Deputies of the *Six Nations*.

Conrad Weiser, Interpreter.

The Commissioners of Virginia desired the Interpreter to let the Indians know, that their Brother Assa-ragoa was now going to give his Reply to their Answer to his first Speech, delivered them the Day before in the Forenoon.

Sachems and Warriors of the united Six Nations,

WE are now come to answer what you said to us Yesterday, since what we said to you

before on the Part of the Great King, our Father, has not been satisfactory. You have gone into old Times, and so must we. It is true that the Great King holds *Virginia* by Right of Conquest, and the Bounds of that Conquest to the Westward is the Great Sea.

If the *Six Nations* have made any Conquest over *Indians* that may at any Time have lived on the West-side of the Great Mountains of *Virginia*, yet they never possessed any Lands there that we have ever heard of. That Part was altogether deserted, and free for any People to enter upon, as the People of *Virginia* have done, by Order of the Great King, very justly, as well by ancient Right, as by its being freed from the Possession of any other, and from any Claim even of you the *Six Nations*, our Brethren, until within these eight Years. The first Treaty between the Great King, in Behalf of his Subjects of *Virginia*, and you, that we can find, was made at *Albany*, by Colonel *Henry Courfey*, Seventy Years since; this was a Treaty of Friendship, when the first Covenant Chain was made, when we and you became Brethren.

The next Treaty was also at *Albany*, above Fifty-eight Years ago, by the Lord *Howard*, Governor of *Virginia*; then you declared yourselves Subjects to the Great King, our Father, and gave up to him all your Lands for his Protection. This you own in a Treaty made by the Governor of *New-York* with you at the same Place in the Year 1687, and you express yourself in these Words, “ Brethren, “ you tell us the King of *England* is a very great “ King, and why should not you join with us in a “ very just Cause, when the *French* join with our “ Enemies in an unjust Cause? O Brethren, we “ see the Reason of this; for the *French* would “ fain kill us all, and when that is done, they “ would carry all the Beaver Trade to *Canada*, and “ the

“ the *Great King* of ENGLAND would lose the
“ Land likewise; and therefore, O *Great Sachem*,
“ beyond the *Great Lakes*, awake, and suffer not
“ those poor *Indians*, that have given themselves
“ and their Lands under your Protection, to be de-
“ stroyed by the *French* without a Cause.”

The last Treaty we shall speak to you about is that made at *Albany* by Governor *Spotswood*, which you have not recited as it is : For the white People, your Brethren of *Virginia*, are, in no Article of that Treaty, prohibited to pass, and settle to the Westward of the *Great Mountains*. It is the *Indians*, tributary to *Virginia*, that are restrained, as you and your tributary *Indians* are from passing to the Eastward of the same Mountains, or to the Southward of *Cohongorooton*, and you agree to this Article in these Words; “ That the *Great River*
“ of *Potowmack*, and the high Ridge of Moun-
“ tains, which extend all along the Frontiers of
“ *Virginia* to the Westward of the present Settle-
“ ments of that Colony, shall be for ever the esta-
“ blished Boundaries between the *Indians* subject
“ to the Dominions of *Virginia*, and the *Indians*
“ belonging to and depending on the *Five Nati-*
“ *ons* ; so that neither our *Indians* shall on any Pre-
“ tence whatsoever, pass to Northward or West-
“ ward of the said Boundaries, without having to
“ produce a Passport under the Hand and Seal of the
“ Governor or Commander in Chief of *Virginia* ;
“ nor your *Indians* to pass to the Southward or East-
“ ward of the said Boundaries, without a Passport
“ in like Manner from the Governor or Comman-
“ der in Chief of *New-York*.”

And what Right can you have to Lands that you have no Right to walk upon, but upon certain Conditions? It is true, you have not observed this Part of the Treaty, and your Brethren of *Virginia* have

have not insisted upon it with a due Strictness, which has occasioned some Mischief.

This Treaty has been sent to the Governor of *Virginia* by Order of the Great King, and is what we must rely on, and, being in Writing, is more certain than your Memory. That is the Way the white People have of preserving Transactions of every Kind, and transmitting them down to their Childrens Children for ever, and all Disputes among them are settled by this faithful kind of Evidence, and must be the Rule between the Great King and you. This Treaty your Sachems and Warriors signed some Years after the same Governor *Spotswood*, in the Right of the Great King, had been, with some People of *Virginia*, in Possession of these very Lands, which you have set up your late Claim to.

The Commissioners for *Indian* Affairs at *Albany* gave the Account we mentioned to you Yesterday to the Governor of *New-York*, and he sent it to the Governor of *Virginia*; their Names will be given you by the Interpreter.

Brethren,

This Dispute is not between *Virginia* and you; it is setting up your Right against the Great King, under whose Grants the People you complain of are settled. Nothing but a Command from the Great King can remove them; they are too powerful to be removed by any Force of you, our Brethren; and the Great King, as our common Father, will do equal Justice to all his Children; wherefore we do believe they will be confirmed in their Possessions.

As to the Road you mention, we intended to prevent any Occasion for it, by making a Peace between you and the Southern *Indians*, a few Years since, at a considerable Expence to our Great King, which you confirmed at *Albany*. It seems, by your being

being at War with the *Catawbas*, that it has not been long kept between you.

However, if you desire a Road, we will agree to one on the Terms of the Treaty you made with Colonel *Spotswood*, and your People, behaving themselves orderly like Friends and Brethren, shall be used in their Passage through *Virginia* with the same Kindness as they are when they pass through the Lands of your Brother *Onas*. This we hope, will be agreed to by you our Brethren, and we will abide by the Promise made to you Yesterday.

We may proceed to settle what we are to give you for any Right you may have, or have had to all the Lands to the Southward and Westward of the Lands of your Brother the Governor of *Maryland*, and of your Brother *Onas*; tho' we are informed that the Southern *Indians* claim these very Lands that you do.

We are desirous to live with you, our Brethren, according to the old Chain of Friendship, to settle all these Matters fairly and honestly; and, as a Pledge of our Sincerity, we give you this Belt of Wampum.

Which was received with the usual Ceremony.

In

In the COURT-HOUSE Chamber at Lancaster,

June 29, 1744, A. M.

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Maryland*.

The Deputies of the Six Nations.

Conrad Weiser, Interpreter.

Mr. Weiser informed the honourable Commissioners, that the Indians were ready to give their Answer to the Speech made to them here Yesterday Morning by the Commissioners; whereupon *Canassatego* spoke as follows, looking on a Deal-board, where were some black Lines, describing the Courses of *Potowmack* and *Sasquahanna*:

Bretbren,

YESTERDAY you spoke to us concerning the Lands on this Side *Potowmack* River, and as we have deliberately considered what you said to us on that Matter, we are now very ready to settle the Bounds of such Lands, and release our Right and Claim thereto.

We are willing to renounce all Right to Lord *Baltimore* of all those Lands lying two Miles above the uppermost Fork of *Potowmack* or *Cobongoruton* River, near which *Thomas Cressap* has a hunting or trading Cabin, by a North-line, to the Bounds of *Pensylvania*. But in case such Limits shall not include every Settlement or Inhabitant of *Maryland*, then such other Lines and Courses, from the said two Miles above the Forks, to the outermost Inhabitants or Settlements, as shall include every Settlement and Inhabitant in *Maryland*, and from thence, by a North-line, to the Bounds of *Pensylvannia*, shall be the Limits. And further, If any People already have, or shall settle beyond the Lands now described and bounded, they shall enjoy the same free from any Disturbance whatever, and we do, and shall

shall accept these People for our Brethren, and as such always treat them.

We earnestly desire to live with you as Brethren, and hope you will shew us all Brotherly Kindness; in Token whereof, we present you with a Belt of Wampum.

Which was received with the usual Ceremony.

Soon after the Commissioners and *Indians* departed from the Court-House Chamber.

In the COURT-HOUSE Chamber at Lancaster,
June 30, 1744, A. M.

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Virginia*.

The Deputies of the *Six Nations*.

Conrad Weiser, Interpreter.

Gachradodow, *Speaker for the Indians, in answer to the Commissioners Speech at the last Meeting, with a strong Voice, and proper Action, spoke as follows:*

Brother Assaragoa,

THE World at the first was made on the other Side of the Great Water different from what it is on this Side, as may be known from the different Colours of our Skin, and of our Flesh, and that which you call Justice may not be so amongst us; you have your Laws and Customs, and so have we. The Great King might send you over to conquer the *Indians*, but it looks to us that God did not approve of it; if he had, he would not have placed the Sea where it is, as the Limits between us and you.

Brother Assaragoa,

Tho' great Things are well remembered among us, yet we don't remember that we were ever conquered

quered by the Great King, or that we have been employed by that Great King to conquer others; if it was so, it is beyond our Memory. We do remember we were employed by *Maryland* to conquer the *Conestogoes*, and that the second time we were at War with them, we carried them all off.

Brother Assaragoa,

You charge us with not acting agreeable to our Peace with the *Catawbas*, we will repeat to you truly what was done. The Governor of *New-York*, at *Albany*, in Behalf of *Assaragoa*, gave us several Belts of Wampum from the *Cherikees* and *Catawbas*, and we agreed to a Peace, if those Nations would send some of their great Men to us to confirm it Face to Face, and that they would trade with us; and desired that they would appoint a Time to meet at *Albany* for that Purpose, but they never came.

Brother Assaragoa,

We then desired a Letter might be sent to the *Catawbas* and *Cherikees*, to desire them to come and confirm the Peace. It was long before an Answer came; but we met the *Cherikees*, and confirmed the Peace, and sent some of our People to take care of them, until they returned to their own Country.

The *Catawbas* refused to come, and sent us word, That we were but Women, that they were Men, and double Men, that they could make Women of us, and would be always at War with us. They are a deceitful People. Our Brother *Assaragoa* is deceived by them; we don't blame him for it, but are sorry he is so deceived.

Brother Assaragoa,

We have confirmed the Peace with the *Cherikees*, but not with the *Catawbas*. They have been treacherous,

cherous, and know it ; so that the War must continue till one of us is destroyed. This we think proper to tell you, that you may not be troubled at what we do to the *Catawbas*.

Brother Assaragoa,

We will now speak to the Point between us. You say you will agree with us as to the Road ; we desire that may be the Road which was last made (the Waggon-Road.) It is always, a Custom among Brethren or Strangers to use each other kindly ; you have some very ill-natured People living up there ; so that we desire the Persons in Power may know that we are to have reasonable Victuals when we are in want.

You know very well, when the white People came first here they were poor ; but now they have got our Lands, and are by them become rich, and we are now poor ; what little we have had for the Land goes soon away, but the Land lasts for ever. You told us you had brought with you a Chest of Goods, and that you have the Key in your Pockets ; but we have never seen the Chest, nor the Goods that are said to be in it ; it may be small, and the Goods few ; we want to see them, and are desirous to come to some Conclusion. We have been sleeping here these ten Days past, and have not done any thing to the Purpose.

The Commissioners told them they should see the Goods on *Monday*.

In

In the COURT-HOUSE at *Lancaster*, June 30,
1744, P. M.

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Esq;
Governor, &c.

The Honourable Commissioner of *Virginia*.

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Maryland*.

The Deputies of the *Six Nations*.

Conrad Weiser, Interpreter.

THE three Governments entertained the *Indians*, and all the Gentlemen in Town, with a handsome Dinner. The *Six Nations*, in their Order, having returned Thanks with the usual Solemnity of *To-ba-ban*, the Interpreter informed the Governor and the Commissioners, that as the Lord Proprietor and Governor of *Maryland* was not known to the *Indians* by any particular Name, they had agreed, in Council, to take the first Opportunity of a large Company to present him with one; and as this with them is deemed a Matter of great Consequence, and attended with Abundance of Form, the several Nations had drawn Lots for the Performance of the Ceremony, and the Lot falling on the *Cayogo* Nation, they had chosen *Gacbradodow*, one of their Chiefs, to be their Speaker, and he desired Leave to begin; which being given, he, on an elevated Part of the Court-House, with all the Dignity of a Warrior, the Gesture of an Orator, and in a very graceful Posture, said that:

“ As the Governor of *Maryland* had invited them
“ here to treat about their Lands, and brighten the
“ Chain

“ Chain of Friendship, the united Nations thought
 “ themselves so much obliged to them, that they
 “ had come to a Resolution in Council to give to
 “ the great Man, who is Proprietor of *Mary-*
 “ *land*, a particular Name, by which they might
 “ hereafter correspond with him; and as it had
 “ fallen to the *Cayogoes* Lot in Council to con-
 “ sider of a proper Name for that chief Man, they
 “ had agreed to give him the Name of *Tocarry-*
 “ *bogan*, denoting Precedency, Excellency, or
 “ living in the middle or honourable Place betwixt
 “ *Affaragoe* and their Brother *Onas*, by whom their
 “ Treaties might be better carried on.” And then,
 addressing himself to his Honour the Governor of
Pensylvania, the honourable the Commissioners of
Virginia and *Maryland*, and to the Gentlemen then
 present, he proceeded:

“ As there is a Company of great Men now
 “ assembled, we take this Time and Opportunity
 “ to publish this Matter, that it may be known
 “ *Tocarry-bogan* is our Friend, and that we are
 “ ready to honour him, and that by such Name he
 “ may be always called and known among us.
 “ And we hope he will ever act towards us accord-
 “ ing to the Excellency of the Name we have now
 “ given him, and enjoy a long and happy Life.”

The honourable the Governor and Commis-
 sioners, and all the Company present, returned the
 Compliment with three Huzza's, and, after drink-
 ing Healths to our gracious King and the *Six*
Nations, the Commissioners of *Maryland* proceeded
 to Business in the Court-House Chamber with the
Indians, where *Conrad Weiser*, the Interpreter, was
 present.

The honourable the Commissioners ordered Mr.
Weiser to tell the *Indians*, that a Deed, releasing
 all their Claim and Title to certain Lands lying in
 the Province of *Maryland*, which by them was
 agreed to be given and executed for the Use of the

Lord Baron of *Baltimore*, Lord Proprietary of that Province, was now on the Table, and Seals ready fixed thereto. The Interpreter acquainted them therewith as desired, and then gave the Deed to *Canassatego*, the Speaker, who made his Mark, and put his Seal, and delivered it; after which, thirteen other Chiefs or Sachems of the *Six Nations* executed it in the same Manner, in the Presence of the honourable the Commissioners of *Virginia*, and divers other Gentlemen of that Colony, and of the Provinces of *Pensylvania* and *Maryland*.

At the House of Mr. *George Sanderson* in *Lancaster*,
July 2, 1744, A. M.

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Maryland*.

The Deputies of the *Six Nations*.

Conrad Weiser, Interpreter.

THE several Chiefs of the *Indians* of the *Six Nations*, who had not signed the Deed of Release of their Claim to some Lands in *Maryland*, tendered to them on *Saturday* last, in the Chamber of the Court-House in this Town, did now readily execute the same, and caused Mr. *Weiser* likewise to sign it, as well with his *Indian*, as with his own proper Name of *Weiser*, as a Witness and Interpreter.

In

In the COURT-HOUSE at Lancaster, July 2,
1744, A. M.

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable GEORGE THOMAS, Esq;
Governor, &c.

The Honourable the Commissioners of Virginia.

The Honourable the Commissioners of Maryland.

The Deputies of the Six Nations.

Conrad Weiser, Interpreter.

CANASSATEGO spoke as follows :

Brother Onas,

THE other Day you was pleased to tell us, you were always concerned whenever any thing happened that might give you or us Uneasiness, and that we were mutually engaged to preserve the Road open and clear between us; and you informed us of the Murder of John Armstrong, and his two Men, by some of the Delaware Indians, and of their stealing his Goods to a considerable Value. The Delaware Indians, as you suppose, are under our Power. We join with you in your Concern for such a vile Proceeding; and, to testify that we have the same Inclinations with you to keep the Road clear, free and open, we give you this String of Wampum.

Which was received with the usual Ceremony.

Brother Onas,

These Things happen frequently, and we desire you will consider them well, and not be too much

concerned. Three *Indians* have been killed at different Times at *Ohio*, and we never mentioned any of them to you, imagining it might have been occasioned by some unfortunate Quarrels, and being unwilling to create a Disturbance. We therefore desire you will consider these Things well, and, to take the Grief from your Heart, we give you this String of Wampum.

Which was received with the usual Ceremonies.

Brother Onas,

We have heard of the Murder of *John Armstrong*, and, in our Journey here, we had Conference with our Cousins the *Delawares* about it, and reprov'd them severely for it, and charg'd them to go down to our Brother *Onas*, and make him Satisfaction, both for the Men that were killed, and for the Goods. We understood, by them, that the principal Actor in these Murders is in your Prison, and that he had done all the Mischief himself; but that besides him, you had required and demanded two others who were in his Company when the Murders were committed. We promise faithfully, in our Return, to renew our Reproofs, and to charge the *Delawares* to send down some of their Chiefs with these two young Men (but not as Prisoners) to be examined by you; and as we think, upon Examination, you will not find them guilty, we rely on your Justice not to do them any Harm, but to permit them to return home in Safety.

We likewise understand, that Search has been made for the Goods belonging to the Deceased, and that some have been already returned to your People, but that some are still missing. You may depend upon our giving the strictest Charge to the *Delawares* to search again with more Diligence for the Goods, and to return them, or the Value of them, in Skins.

And,

And, to confirm what we have said, we give you this String of Wampum.

Which was received with the usual Ceremonies.

Brother Onas,

The *Conoy Indians* have informed us, that they sent you a Message, some Time ago, to advise you, that they were ill used by the white People in the Place where they had lived, and that they had come to a Resolution of removing to *Shamokin*, and requested some small Satisfaction for their Land; and as they never have received any Answer from you, they have desired us to speak for them; we heartily recommend their Case to your Generosity. And, to give Weight to our Recommendation, we present you with this String of Wampum.

Which was received with the usual Ceremony.

The Governor having conferred a little Time with the honourable Commissioners of Virginia and Maryland, made the following Reply:

Brethren,

I am glad to find that you agree with me in the Necessity of keeping the Road between us clear and open, and the Concern you have expressed on account of the barbarous Murders mentioned to you, is a Proof of your Brotherly Affection for us. If Crimes of this Nature be not strictly enquired into, and the Criminals severely punished, there will be an End of all Commerce between us and the *Indians*, and then you will be altogether in the Power of the *French*. They will set what Price they please on their own Goods, and give you what they think fit for your Skins; so it is for your own Interest that our Traders should be safe in their Persons and Goods when they travel to your Towns.

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Brethren,

Brethren,

I considered this Matter well before I came from *Philadelphia*, and I advised with the Council there upon it, as I have done here with the honourable the Commissioners of *Virginia* and *Maryland*. I never heard before of the Murder of the three *Indians* at *Ohio*; had Complaint been made to me of it, and it had appeared to have been committed by any of the People under my Government, they should have been put to Death, as two of them were, some Years ago, for killing two *Indians*. You are not to take your own Satisfaction, but to apply to me, and I will see that Justice be done you; and should any of the *Indians* rob or murder any of our People, I do expect that you will deliver them up to be tried and punished in the same Manner as white People are. This is the Way to preserve Friendship between us, and will be for your Benefit as well as ours. I am well pleased with the Steps you have already taken, and the Reproofs you have given to your Cousins the *Delawares*, and do expect you will lay your Commands upon some of their Chiefs to bring down the two young Men that were present at the Murders; if they are not brought down, I shall look upon it as a Proof of their Guilt.

If, upon Examination, they shall be found not to have been concerned in the bloody Action, they shall be well used, and sent home in Safety: I will take it upon myself to see that they have no Injustice done them. An Inventory is taken of the Goods already restored, and I expect Satisfaction will be made for such as cannot be found, in Skins, according to Promise.

I well remember the coming down of one of the *Conoy Indians* with a Paper, setting forth, That the *Conoys* had come to a Resolution to leave the Land reserved for them by the Proprietors, but he made no Complaint to me of ill Usage from the white People.

People. The Reason he gave for their Removal was, That the settling of the white People all round them had made Deer scarce, and that therefore they chose to remove to *Juniata* for the Benefit of Hunting. I ordered what they said to be entered in the Council-Book. The old Man's Expences were born, and a Blanket given him at his Return home. I have not yet heard from the Proprietors on this Head; but you may be assured, from the Favour and Justice they have always shewn to the *Indians*, that they will do every thing that may be reasonably expected of them in this Case.

In the COURT-HOUSE Chamber at *Lancaster*,
July 2, 1744, P. M.

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Virginia*.

The Deputies of the *Six Nations*.

Conrad Weiser, Interpreter.

The Indians being told, by the Interpreter, that their Brother Assaragoa was going to speak to them, the Commissioners spoke as follows :

Sachems and Warriors, our Friends and Brethren,

“ **A**S we have already said enough to you on the Subject of the Title to the Lands you claim from *Virginia*, we have no Occasion to say any thing more to you on that head, but come directly to the Point.

We have opened the Chest, and the Goods are now here before you; they cost Two Hundred Pounds *Pensylvania* Money, and were bought by a Person recommended to us by the Governor of *Pensylvania* with ready Cash. We ordered them to

be good in their Kinds, and we believe they are so. These Goods, and Two Hundred Pounds in Gold, which lie on the Table, we will give you, our Brethren of the *Six Nations*, upon Condition that you immediately make a Deed recognizing the King's Right to all the Lands that are, or shall be, by his Majesty's Appointment in the Colony of *Virginia*.

As to the Road, we agree you shall have one, and the Regulation is in Paper, which the Interpreter now has in his Custody to shew you. The People of *Virginia* shall perform their Part, if you and your *Indians* perform theirs; we are your Brethren, and will do no Hardships to you, but, on the contrary, all the Kindness we can."

The *Indians* agreed to what was said, and *Canassatego* desired they would represent their Case to the King, in order to have a further Consideration when the Settlement increased much further back. To which the Commissioners agreed, and promised they would make such a Representation faithfully and honestly; and, for their further Security that they would do so, they would give them a Writing, under their Hands and Seals, to that Purpose.

They desired that some Rum might be given them to drink on their Way home, which the Commissioners agreed to, and paid them in Gold for that Purpose, and the Carriage of their Goods from *Philadelphia*, Nine Pounds Thirteen Shillings, and Three-pence, *Pensylvania* Money.

Canassatego further said, That as their Brother *Tocarry-bogan* sent them provision on the Road here, which kept them from starving, he hoped their Brother *Affaragoa* would do the same for them back, and have the Goods he gave them carried to the usual Place; which the Commissioners agreed to, and ordered Provisions and Carriages to be provided accordingly.

After this Conference the Deed was produced, and the Interpreter explained it to them; and they, according

according to their Rank and Quality, put their Marks and Seals to it in the Presence of several Gentlemen of *Maryland*, *Pensylvania* and *Virginia*; and when they delivered the Deed, *Canassatego* delivered it for the Use of their Father, the Great King, and hoped he would consider them; on which the Gentlemen and *Indians* then present gave three Shouts.

In the COURT-HOUSE at *Lancaster*, Tuesday,
July 3, 1744, A. M.

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable *GEORGE THOMAS*, Esq;
Governor, &c.

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Virginia*.

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Maryland*.

The Deputies of the *Six Nations*.

Conrad Weiser, Interpreter.

The GOVERNOR spoke as follows :

Friends and Brethren of the Six Nations,

AT a Treaty held with many of the Chiefs of your Nations Two Years ago, the Road between us was made clearer and wider; our Fire was enlarged, and our Friendship confirmed by an Exchange of Presents, and many other mutual good Offices.

We think ourselves happy in having been instrumental to your meeting with our Brethren of *Virginia* and *Maryland*; and we persuade ourselves, that you, on your Parts, will always remember it as an instance of our Good-will and Affection for you. This has given us an Opportunity of seeing you

you sooner than perhaps we should otherwise have done; and, as we are under mutual Obligations by Treaties, we to hear with our Ears for you, and you to hear with your Ears for us, we take this Opportunity to inform you of what very nearly concerns us both.

THE great King of ENGLAND and the *French* King have declared War against each other. Two Battles have been fought, one by Land, and the other by Sea. The great King of ENGLAND commanded the Land-Army in Person, and gained a compleat Victory. Numbers of the *French* were killed and taken Prisoners, and the rest were forced to pass a River with Precipitation to save their Lives. The Great God covered the King's Head in that Battle, so that he did not receive the least Hurt; for which you, as well as we, have Reason to be very thankful.

THE Engagement at Sea was likewise to the Advantage of the *English*. The *French* and *Spaniards* joined their Ships together, and came out to fight us. The brave *English* Admiral burnt one of their largest Ships, and many others were so shattered, that they were glad to take the Opportunity of a very high Wind, and a dark Night, to run away, and to hide themselves again in their own Harbours. Had the Weather proved fair, he would, in all Probability, have taken or destroyed them all.

I need not put you in mind how much *William Penn* and his Sons have been your Friends, and the Friends of all the *Indians*. You have long and often experienced their Friendship for you; nor need I repeat to you how kindly you were treated, and what valuable Presents were made to you two Years ago by the Governor, the Council, and the Assembly of *Pensylvania*. The Sons of *William Penn* are all now in *England*, and have left me in their Place, well knowing how much I regard you and all the *Indians*. As a fresh Proof of this, I have

have left my House, and am come thus far to see you, to renew our Treaties, to brighten the Covenant-Chain, and to confirm our Friendship with you. In Testimony whereof, I present you with this Belt of Wampum.

Which was received with the Yo-hah.

As your Nations have engaged themselves by Treaty to assist us, your Brethren of *Pensylvania*, in case of a War with the *French*, we do not doubt but you will punctually perform an Engagement so solemnly entered into. A War is now declared, and we expect that you will not suffer the *French*, or any of the *Indians* in Alliance with them, to march through your Country to disturb any of our Settlements; and that you will give us the earliest and best Intelligence of any Designs that may be formed by them to our Disadvantage, as we promise to do of any that may be to yours. To enforce what I have now said to you in the strongest Manner, I present you with this Belt of Wampum.

Which was received with the Yo-hah.

After a little Pause his Honour, the GOVERNOR, spoke again:

Friends and Brethren of the Six Nations,

WHAT I have now said to you is in Conformity to Treaties subsisting between the Province of which I am Governor and your Nations. I now proceed, with the Consent of the honourable Commissioners for *Virginia* and *Maryland*, to tell you, that all Differences having been adjusted, and the Roads between us and you made quite clear and open, we are ready to confirm our Treaties with your Nations, and establish a Friendship that is not to end, but with the World itself. And, in Behalf of the Province of *Pensylvania*, I do, by this fine Belt of Wampum,

Wampum, and a Present of Goods, to the Value of three hundred Pounds, confirm and establish the said Treaties of Peace, Union and Friendship, you on your Parts doing the same.

Which was received with a loud Yo-hah.

THE Governor further added, The Goods bought with the one hundred Pounds Sterling, put into my Hands by the Governor of *Virginia*, are ready to be delivered when you please. The Goods bought and sent up by the People of the Province of *Pennsylvania*, according to the List which the Interpreter will explain, are laid by themselves, and are likewise ready to be delivered to you at your own time.

After a little Pause the Commissioners of Virginia spoke as follows :

Sachems and Warriors of the Six Nations,

THE Way between us being made smooth by what passed Yesterday, we desire now to confirm all former Treaties made between *Virginia* and you, our Brethren of the *Six Nations*, and to make our Chain of Union and Friendship as bright as the Sun, that it may not contract any more Rust for ever; that our Childrens Children may rejoice at, and confirm what we have done; and that you and your Children may not forget it, we give you one hundred Pounds in Gold, and this Belt of Wampum.

Which was received with the usual Ceremony.

Friends and Brethren,

ALTHO' we have been disappointed in our Endeavours to bring about a Peace between you and the *Catawbas*, yet we desire to speak to you something more about them. We believe they have been unfaithful to you, and spoke of you with a foolish Contempt; but this may be only the Rashness of some of their young Men. In this Time

of War with our common Enemies the *French* and *Spaniards*, it will be the wisest way to be at Peace among ourselves. They, the *Catawbas*, are also Children of the great King, and therefore we desire you will agree, that we may endeavour to make a Peace between you and them, that we may be all united by one common Chain of Friendship. We give you this String of Wampum.

Which was received with the usual Ceremony.

Brethren,

OUR Friend, *Conrad Weiser*, when he is old, will go into the other World, as our Fathers have done, our Children will then want such a Friend to go between them and your Children, to reconcile any Differences that may happen to arise between them, that, like him, may have the Ears and Tongues of our Children and yours.

THE Way to have such a Friend, is for you to send three or four of your Boys to *Virginia*, where we have a fine House for them to live in, and a Man on purpose to teach the Children of you, our Friends, the Religion, Language and Customs of the white People. To this Place we kindly invite you to send some of your Children; and we promise you they shall have the same Care taken of them, and be instructed in the same Manner as our own Children, and be returned to you again when you please; and, to confirm this, we give you this String of Wampum.

Which was received with the usual Ceremony.

Then the Commissioners of Maryland spoke as follows:

Friends and Brethren, the Chiefs or Sachems of the Six united Nations,

THE Governor of *Maryland* invited you hither, we have treated you as Friends, and agreed with you as Brethren.

As

As the Treaty now made concerning the Lands in *Maryland* will, we hope, prevent effectually every future Misunderstanding between us on that Account, we will now bind faster the Links of our Chain of Friendship, by a Renewal of all our former Treaties; and that they may still be the better secured, we shall present you with one hundred Pounds in Gold.

What we have further to say to you is, Let not our Chain contract any Rust; whenever you perceive the least Speck, tell us of it, and we will make it clean. This we also expect of you, that it may always continue so bright as our Generations may see their Faces in it; and, in Pledge of the Truth of what we have now spoken, and our Affection to you, we give you this Belt of Wampum.

Which was received with the usual Ceremony.

CANASSATEGO, in return, spoke as follows:

Brother Onas, Assaragoa, and Tocarry-hogan,

WE return you Thanks for your several Speeches, which are very agreeable to us. They contain Matters of such great Moment, that we propose to give them a very serious Consideration, and to answer them suitably to their Worth and Excellence; and this will take till to-morrow Morning, and when we are ready we will give you due Notice.

You tell us you beat the *French*; if so, you must have taken a great deal of Rum from them, and can the better spare us some of that Liquor to make us rejoice with you in the Victory.

THE Governor and Commissioners ordered a Dram of Rum to be given to each in a small Glass, calling it, *A French Glass*.

In the COURT-HOUSE at Lancaster, July 4, 1744, A.M.

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable GEORGE THOMAS, Esq;
Governor, &c.

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Virginia*.

The Honourable the Commissioners of *Maryland*.

The Deputies of the *Six Nations*.

Conrad Weiser, Interpreter.

CANASSATEGO *Speaker*.

Brother Onas,

YESTERDAY you expressed your Satisfaction in having been instrumental to our meeting with our Brethren of *Virginia* and *Maryland*, we, in return, assure you, that we have great Pleasure in this Meeting, and thank you for the Part you have had in bringing us together, in order to create a good Understanding, and to clear the Road; and, in Token of our Gratitude, we present you with this String of Wampum.

Which was received with the usual Ceremony.

Brother Onas,

You was pleased Yesterday to inform us, " That
" War had been declared between the great King of
" ENGLAND and the French King; that two great
" Battles had been fought, one by Land, and the
" other at Sea; with many other Particulars." We are glad to hear the Arms of the King of *England* were successful, and take part with you in your Joy on this Occasion. You then came nearer Home, and told us, " You had left your House,
" and were come thus far on Behalf of the whole
" People of *Pensylvania* to see us; to renew your
" Treaties, to brighten the Covenant-Chain, and
" to

“ to confirm your Friendship with us.” We approve this Proposition, we thank you for it. We own, with Pleasure, that the Covenant-Chain between us and *Pensylvania* is of old Standing, and has never contracted any Rust; we wish it may always continue as bright as it has done hitherto; and, in Token of the Sincerity of our Wishes, we present you with this Belt of Wampum.

Which was received with the Yo-hah.

Brother Onas,

You was pleased Yesterday to remind us of our mutual Obligation to assist each other in case of a War with the *French*, and to repeat the Substance of what we ought to do by our Treaties with you; and that as a War had been already entered into with the *French*, you called upon us to assist you, and not to suffer the *French* to march through our Country to disturb any of your Settlements.

In answer, we assure you we have all these Particulars in our Hearts, they are fresh in our Memory. We shall never forget that you and we have but one Heart, one Head, one Eye, one Ear, and one Hand. We shall have all your Country under our Eye, and take all the Care we can to prevent any Enemy from coming into it; and, in proof of our Care, we must inform you, that before we came here, we told ^a *Onandio*, our Father, as he is called, that neither he, nor any of his People, should come through our Country, to hurt our Brethren the *English*, or any of the Settlements belonging to them; there was Room enough at Sea to fight, there he might do what he pleased, but he should not come upon our Land to do any Damage to our Brethren. And you may depend upon our using our utmost Care to see this effectually done; and, in Token of our Sincerity, we present you with this Belt of Wampum.

Which was received with the usual Ceremony.

After

^a *Onandio*, the Governor of *Canada*.

After some little Time the Interpreter said, Canassatego had forgot something material, and desired to mend his Speech, and to do so as often as he should omit any thing of Moment, and thereupon he added:

THE *Six Nations* have a great Authority and Influence over sundry Tribes of *Indians* in Alliance with the *French*, and particularly over the *Praying Indians*, formerly a Part with ourselves, who stand in the very Gates of the *French*; and, to shew our further Care, we have engaged these very *Indians*, and other *Indian* Allies of the *French* for you. They will not join the *French* against you. They have have agreed with us before we set out. We have put the Spirit of Antipathy against the *French* in those People. Our Interest is very considerable with them, and many other Nations, and as far as ever it extends, we shall use it for your Service.

THE Governor said, *Canassatego* did well to mend his Speech; he might always do it whenever his Memory should fail him in any Point of Consequence, and he thanked him for the very agreeable Addition.

Brother Assaragoa,

You told us Yesterday, that all Disputes with you being now at an end, you desired to confirm all former Treaties between *Virginia* and us, and to make our Chain of Union as bright as the Sun.

WE agree very heartily with you in these Propositions; we thank you for your good Inclinations; we desire you will pay no Regard to any idle Stories that may be told to our Prejudice. And, as the Dispute about the Land is now intirely over, and we perfectly reconciled, we hope, for the future, we shall not act towards each other but as becomes Brethren and hearty Friends.

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WE

WE are very willing to renew the Friendship with you, and to make it as firm as possible, for us and our Children with you and your Children to the latest Generation, and we desire you will imprint these Engagements on your Hearts in the strongest Manner; and, in Confirmation that we shall do the same, we give you this Belt of Wampum.

Which was received with Yo-hah from the Interpreter, and all the Nations.

Brother Assaragoa,

You did let us know Yesterday, that tho' you had been disappointed in your Endeavours to bring about a Peace between us and the *Catawbas*, yet you would still do the best to bring such a Thing about. We are well pleased with your Design, and and the more so, as we hear you know what sort of People the *Catawbas* are, that they are spiteful and offensive, and have treated us contemptuously. We are glad you know these Things of the *Catawbas*; we believe what you say to be true, that there are, notwithstanding, some amongst them who are wiser and better; and, as you say, they are your Brethren, and belong to the great King over the Water, we shall not be against a Peace on reasonable Terms, provided they will come to the Northward to treat about it. In Confirmation of what we say, and to encourage you in your Undertaking, we give you this String of Wampum.

Which was received with the usual Ceremonies.

Brother Assaragoa,

You told us likewise, you had a great House provided for the Education of Youth, and that there were several white People and *Indians* Children there to learn Languages, and to write and read, and invited us to send some of our Children amongst you, &c.

WE must let you know we love our Children too well to send them so great a Way, and the *Indians* are not inclined to give their Children Learning. We allow it to be good, and we thank you for your Invitation; but our Customs differing from yours, you will be so good as to excuse us.

WE hope ^a *Tarachawagon* will be preserved by the good Spirit to a good old Age; when he is gone under Ground, it will be then time enough to look out for another; and no doubt but amongst so many Thousands as there are in the World, one such Man may be found, who will serve both Parties with the same Fidelity as *Tarachawagon* does; while he lives there is no Room to complain. In Token of our Thankfulness for your Invitation, we give you this String of Wampum.

Which was received with the usual Ceremony.

Brother Tocarry-hogan,

You told us Yesterday, that since there was now nothing in Controversy between us, and the Affair of the Land was settled to your Satisfaction, you would now brighten the Chain of Friendship which hath subsisted between you and us ever since we became Brethren; we are well pleased with the Proposition, and we thank you for it; we also are inclined to renew all Treaties, and keep a good Correspondence with you. You told us further, if ever we should perceive the Chain had contracted any Rust, to let you know, and you would take care to take the Rust out, and preserve it bright. We agree with you in this, and shall, on our Parts, do every thing to preserve a good Understanding, and to live in the same Friendship with you as with our Brother *Onas* and *Affaragoa*; in Confirmation whereof we give you this Belt of Wampum.

On which the usual Cry of Yo-hah was given.

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Bre-

^a *Tarachawagon, Conrad Weiser.*

Brethren,

WE have now finished our Answer to what you said to us Yesterday, and shall now proceed to *Indian* Affairs, that are not of so general a Concern.

Brother Assaragoa,

THERE lives a Nation of *Indians* on the other Side of your Country, the *Tuscaroraes*, who are our Friends, and with whom we hold Correspondence; but the Road between us and them has been stopped for some Time, on account of the Misbehaviour of some of our Warriors. We have opened a new Road for our Warriors, and they shall keep to that; but as that would be inconvenient for Messengers going to the *Tuscaroraes*, we desire they may go the old Road. We frequently send Messengers to one another, and shall have more Occasion to do so now that we have concluded a Peace with the *Cberikees*. To enforce our Request, we give you this String of Wampum.

*Which was received with the usual Cry of
Approbation.*

Brother Assaragoa,

AMONG these *Tuscaroraes* there live a few Families of the *Conoy Indians*, who are desirous to leave them, and to remove to the rest of their Nation among us, and the strait Road from them to us lies through the Middle of your Country. We desire you will give them free Passage through *Virginia*, and furnish them with Passes; and, to enforce our Request, we give you this String of Wampum.

*Which was received with the usual
Cry of Approbation.*

Brother Onas, Assaragoa, and Tocarry-hogan,

AT the Close of your respective Speeches Yesterday, you made us very handsome Presents, and
we

we should return you something suitable to your Generosity ; but, alas ! we are poor, and shall ever remain so, as long as there are so many *Indian* Traders among us. Theirs and the white Peoples Cattle have eat up all the Grass, and make Deer scarce. However, we have provided a small Present for you, and though some of you gave us more than others, yet, as you are all equally our Brethren, we shall leave it to you to divide it as you please.— And then presented three Bundles of Skins, which were received with the usual Ceremony from the three Governments.

WE have one Thing further to say, and that is, We heartily recommend Union and a good Agreement between you our Brethren. Never disagree, but preserve a strict Friendship for one another, and thereby you, as well as we, will become the stronger.

OUR wise Forefathers established Union and Amity between the *Five Nations* ; this has made us formidable ; this has given us great Weight and Authority with our neighbouring Nations.

WE are a powerful Confederacy ; and, by your observing the same Methods our wise Forefathers have taken, you will acquire fresh Strength and Power ; therefore whatever befalls you, never fall out one with another.

The Governor replied :

THE honourable Commissioners of *Virginia* and *Maryland* have desired me to speak for them ; therefore I, in Behalf of those Governments, as well as of the Province of *Pensylvania*, return you Thanks for the many Proofs you have given in your Speeches of your Zeal for the Service of your Brethren the *English*, and in particular for your having so early engaged in a Neutrality the several Tribes of *Indians* in the *French* Alliance. We do not doubt but you will faithfully discharge your Promises. As to
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your Presents, we never estimate these Things by their real Worth, but by the Disposition of the Giver. In this Light we accept them with great Pleasure, and put a high Value upon them. We are obliged to you for recommending Peace and good Agreement amongst ourselves. We are all Subjects, as well as you, of the great King beyond the Water; and, in Duty to his Majesty, and from the good Affection we bear to each other, as well as from a Regard to our own Interest, we shall always be inclined to live in Friendship.

THEN the Commissioners of *Virginia* presented the hundred Pounds in Gold, together with a Paper, containing a Promise to recommend the *Six Nations* for further Favour to the King; which they received with *To-bah*, and the Paper was given by them to *Conrad Weiser* to keep for them. The Commissioners likewise promised that their publick Messengers should not be molested in their Passage through *Virginia*, and that they would prepare Passes for such of the *Conoy Indians* as were willing to remove to the Northward.

THEN the Commissioners of *Maryland* presented their hundred Pounds in Gold, which was likewise received with the *To-bah*.

Canassatego said, We mentioned to you Yesterday the Booty you had taken from the *French*, and asked you for some of the Rum which we supposed to be Part of it, and you gave us some; but it turned out unfortunately that you gave it in *French* Glasses, we now desire you will give us some in *English* Glasses.

THE Governor made answer, We are glad to hear you have such a Dislike for what is *French*. They cheat you in your Glasses, as well as in every thing else. You must consider we are at a Distance from *Williamsburg*, *Annapolis*, and *Philadelphia*, where our Rum Stores are, and that although we brought

brought up a good Quantity with us, you have almost drunk it out; but, notwithstanding this, we have enough left to fill our *English* Glasses, and will shew the Difference between the Narrowness of the *French*, and the Generosity of your Brethren the *English* towards you.

THE *Indians* gave, in their Order, five *Yo-habs*; and the honourable Governor and Commissioners calling for some Rum, and some middle-sized Wine-Glasses, drank Health to the great King of ENGLAND, and the *Six Nations*, and put an end to the Treaty by three loud Huzza's, in which all the Company joined.

IN the Evening the Governor went to take his Leave of the *Indians*, and, presenting them with a String of Wampum, he told them, that was in return for one he had received of them, with a Message to desire the Governor of *Virginia* to suffer their Warriors to go through *Virginia* unmolested, which was rendered unnecessary by the present Treaty.

THEN, presenting them with another String of Wampum, he told them, that was in return for theirs, praying him, that as they had taken away one Part of *Conrad Weiser's* Beard, which frightened their Children, he would please to take away the other, which he had ordered to be done.

The Indians received these two Strings of Wampum with the usual Yo-hah.

THE Governor then asked them, what was the Reason that more of the *Shawanaes*, from their Town on *Hobio*, were not at the Treaty? But seeing that it would require a Council in Form, and perhaps another Day to give an Answer, he desired they would give an Answer to *Conrad Weiser* upon the Road on their Return home, for he was to set out for *Philadelphia* the next Morning.

CANASSATEGO in Conclusion spoke as follows:

WE have been hindered, by a great deal of Business, from waiting on you, to have some private Conversation with you, chiefly to enquire after the Healths of *Onas* beyond the Water; we desire you will tell them, we have a grateful Sense of all their Kindnesses for the *Indians*. Brother *Onas* told us, when he went away, he would not stay long from us; we think it is a great while, and want to know when we may expect him, and desire, when you write, you will recommend us heartily to him; which the Governor promised to do, and then took his Leave of them.

THE Commissioners of *Virginia* gave *Canassatego* a Scarlet Camblet Coat, and took their Leave of them in Form, and at the same time delivered the Passes to them, according to their Request.

THE Commissioners of *Maryland* presented *Gachradodow* with a broad Gold-laced Hat, and took their Leave of them in the same Manner.

A true Copy, compared by

RICHARD PETERS, Secr.



A
T R E A T Y
B E T W E E N
H I S E X C E L L E N C Y

The Honourable GEORGE CLINTON,
Captain-General and Governor in Chief of the
Province of *New-York*, and the Territories
thereon depending in AMERICA, Vice-
Admiral of the same, and Vice-Admiral of
the Red Squadron of His Majesty's Fleet.

A N D

The Six United *Indian* Nations, and other *Indian*
Nations, depending on the PROVINCE of *NEW-*
YORK.

Held at *ALBANY* in the Months of *August* and
September, 1746.

VEREATY

HIS EXCELLENCY

HONORABLE GEORGE CORBETT

THE SECRETARY OF THE

NAVY

THE ADMIRALTY

WHITE HALL

LONDON

1841

TO THE

ADMIRALTY

THE ADMIRALTY

THE ADMIRALTY

THE ADMIRALTY

THE ADMIRALTY

*A TREATY between his Excellency
the Governor of the Province of New-
York, and the Six Nations, and other
Indian Nations, depending on said
Province.*

IT is well known in the Province of *New-York*, that the *Six Nations* of *Indians* depending on this Province, (called *Iroquois* by the *French*) had lately on several Occasions, appear'd dissatisfied and wavering in their Fidelity to the *British* Crown. No doubt, this was principally occasion'd by the Artifices of the *French* of *Canada*, who had constantly Emissaries among them: But at the same Time there is Reason to think, the suspicious Behaviour of these Nations, in Favour of their once inveterate Enemy the *French*, could not have arriv'd to the Pitch it did, otherwise than by some Neglects or Misconduct of those who were entrusted by the Government of *New-York* with the Management of the *Indian* Affairs.

His Excellency the Governor of *New-York*, having received his Majesty's Commands, to engage the *Indian* Nations depending on his Government, to join in the Expedition then intended against *Canada*, and to make them the usual Presents on that Occasion; and being sensible of the great Use these *Nations* might be to the Success of this Enterprize, and likewise of the Difficulties that probably might attend his Endeavours at this Time, was desirous to have had the Assistance of as many of the Members of his Majesty's Council as the Circumstances
of

of Affairs would permit ; but they all declined to give their Attendance, except Mr. *Colden* and Mr. *Livingston*. His Excellency was therefore obliged to act with the smallest Number of Members, which by his Majesty's Commission can form a Council, viz. Three ; the above two Gentlemen and Capt. *Rutherford*, who was then at his Post in *Albany*.

As soon as his Excellency received his Majesty's Commands, he dispatched from *Albany* such Persons as, by the best Information he could receive, had Influence among the *Six Nations*, to invite them severally to meet him at *Albany*, on the 20th of *July*. His Excellency arriv'd at *Albany* the 21st of *July*, where having heard, that, besides the Small-Pox, (which his Excellency never had) many were sick of a contagious malignant Fever, he continued on board the Sloop which carried him up, to consider where to lodge with the least Danger to his Person from the Infection of these Distempers ; and the next Morning resolved to go into the Fort. He was received at his Landing with the usual Marks of Respect from the Corporation, the independent Companies of regular Troops then in the Place, and the Militia, under a Discharge of the Cannon of the Fort and Town.

In the Afternoon of the same Day on which his Excellency came on shore, three *Indians*, viz. two *Onandagos* and an *Oneydo*, brought two *French* Scalps and presented to his Excellency : At which Time the Leader of the Party made a formal Speech to the following Purpose : ‘ That having had repeated Accounts of the Mischiefs done by the *French*, ‘ and of the frequent Murders committed by them, ‘ and that the *Mohawks*, notwithstanding their ‘ Professions of Friendship, suffered this Bloodshed ‘ to remain unrevenged, his Heart could bear it ‘ no longer ; he thereupon resolved to open for his ‘ Brethren the Path to Revenge : That these two ‘ Scalps which he now presented were taken at Noon-
‘ day

day in sight of the *French* Fort at *Crown Point*. His Excellency told him how well he took this special Mark of his Fidelity, and assured him, that he would not only now reward him and his Companions, by particular Presents, but would always remember this Act of Friendship. They had already received the Reward given by the Act of Assembly. His Excellency gave each of them four *Spanish* Dollars; to the Leader a fine laced Coat and Hat, and a silver Breast-Plate; and to each of the others a Stroud Blanket and lac'd Hat.

These *Indians* told us, that they lay several Days among the Bushes, from whence they could see every Man that came out of the Fort-Gate. They endeavoured for some time to take a Prisoner, but observing that none went to such a Distance from the Fort that they could hope to carry him off, they resolved to take the first Opportunity for a Scalp: Two Soldiers coming out of the Fort, after the Chapel Bell had rung about Noon, one of the *Indians*, by their Leader's Order, fired with Swan Shot upon them while they were near to each other. It is a constant Rule among these sculking Parties, never to fire without Orders from their Leader. One of the *French* Men was killed upon the Spot, the other wounded, and fled immediately towards the Fort Gate, the *Indian* who had fired, pursu'd, and with his Hatchet brought him down within a hundred Steps of the Fort Gate; and, though the *French* in the Fort rushed out at the Gate, he took his Scalp off; the others had scalped the Man that was first killed, and then they all fled. The *French* in their Hurry had run out without their Arms, and upon recollecting themselves return'd to arm, which facilitated the Escape of the *Indians*.

His Excellency being informed, that the Leader of this Party was desirous to be distinguished by his Excellency's giving him a new Name, and that a Name, which in the Language of the *Six Nations*

Nations signified the *Path-opener*, would be most acceptable to him; his Excellency honour'd him with that Title; which he accepted very thankfully, and seem'd exceedingly pleas'd with it: Whereupon he said, that the other two *Indians* having associated with a *Mehikander*, or *River Indian*, were resolv'd to go out against the Enemy: But as he thought he might be more useful by staying, to assist at the ensuing Treaty, he was resolv'd to remain here. He added, that in case the Interpreter, and others sent to invite the *Six Nations* to meet here, fail'd in any Part, he would go among the *Six Nations*, and doubted not to bring many by his Influence, who otherwise might stay.

In a Day or two after, six of seven *Indians*, who had been sent out by the Commissioners for *Indian Affairs* to *Crown-Point*, to take Prisoners, and gain Intelligence, returned and said, That they had gone to that Place, and that in sight of it they had separated, with Design thereby to surprize any Stragler that might have come out of the Fort: That while they were thus separated, two of their Number were suddenly surrounded and taken by the Enemy: One of these two, after having been detained three or four Days, join'd the others at *Saraghtoga*. He said, that he had been threatened with death by the *Adirondacks*^a; but that the *Cabnuagas*^b interpos'd, and by their Intercession he was set at Liberty; and some of the *Cabnuagas* conducted him through *Lac Sacrement*. He reported, that there was a great Number of Men, *French* and *Indians*, at *Crown-Point*. The other Prisoner, an *Onondaga*, consented to remain with the *French*, and was sent to *Canada*.

Soon

^a A Nation of *Indians* living in *Canada*, who have always been firm Friends to the *French*, and formerly were at War with the *Six Nations*.

^b A Number of *Indians* originally of the *Five Nations*, and Deserters from them, now settled near *Montreal*, by whom the illicit Trade between *Albany* and *Montreal* was carried on: They are well acquainted with the Country about *Albany*.

Soon after this, sixteen *Mohawk Indians* came to the Town, who had been sent out from the lower *Mohawk* Castle by Mr. *Johnson*, to gain Intelligence near *Crown-Point*, and to take Prisoners. They reported that they had discovered so great a Number of *French* and *Indians* at *Crown-Point*, that they had no Hopes of being able to bring off any Prisoners, and thought it adviseable to return speedily and inform of the great Danger they thought this Place was in. His Excellency invited them to go thither again, in order to descry the Motions of the Enemy: And as a farther Encouragement to them, to either Scalp or take Prisoners, he offered every Person of said Party that should take a Scalp or Prisoner, a Piece of Stroud, and a Suit of laced Clothes, besides the Bounty; but they, being frightened with the Apprehensions of Danger, declined going back, and said, they must return Home and acquaint their Friends and Relations with what they had heard and seen. Several other *Indians* likewise alarmed the *Mohawks*, by telling them that the *French* had a great Force at *Crown-Point*, and that they would certainly attack either *Albany* or *Schenectade*, or the Settlements on the *Mohawks* River, or perhaps several Places at the same Time.

Mr. *Johnson*, and the commanding Officer of the Garrison of regular Troops in the *Mohawks* Country, by their Letters to his Excellency, confirm'd these Reports; and added, the *Mohawks* had entertain'd Apprehensions of the *French* Force at *Crown-Point*, which was like to have a bad Effect. On this his Excellency wrote to Mr. *Johnson*, that all these Stories of the *French* Force at *Crown-Point* were only Artifices of the *French* to intimidate the *Indians*, or to amuse them, with Design to frustrate the Treaty which he intended to have with them; and that he was to assure the *Indians*, that they could be in no Danger from the *French*: However, that they might see that he would omit nothing
which

which they might think necessary for their Security, he had ordered a Lieutenant of Militia, with thirty Men, to reinforce the lower Castle, and had likewise ordered the Captain of Militia near the upper Castle, to assist the *Indians* there in fortifying their Castle, and to hold himself in Readiness to support them on any Emergency.

One *John Colan*, a *Frenchman*, who some Years since had removed from *Canada*, and settled and married at *Schenectade*, and who has since that Time lived in good Reputation there, was sent by Major *Glen* to inform his Excellency, that one *Aaron*, a noted *Mohawk* Sachem, who with several others of the *Six Nations*, had been last Spring in *Canada* to treat with the Governor there, did then entertain two *Cabnuaga* *Indians*. This Man, *John Colan*, acquainted his Excellency, that having discovered the *Cabnuaga* *Indians*, he told them he was a *Frenchman*, and was desirous of returning to his own Country, on which they began presently to propose to him Methods for his Escape; at which Time, this *Aaron* coming near them, he express'd his Fears of being discovered by him. They answered, that he need not fear *Aaron*, for he was their Friend, and designed to go with them. As they proposed to him to escape privately by himself, and to meet them at a Place they named, he told them of his Fears, in that Case, of meeting with the *French* *Indians* while he was alone. They answered, that if he dress'd himself like an *Indian*, the *French* *Indians* would do him no Hurt, without first calling to him; upon which, if he stopp'd and call'd out *Maria*, the *French* *Indians* would be so far from hurting him, that they would immediately come up to him and take him by the Hand. From this, and several other Incidents, which it would be tedious to relate, his Excellency was convinced of some secret Understanding between the *Six Nations* and the *Cabnuagas*, or *French* *Indians*: And that, however
any

any Party of our *Indians* might be induced to fall upon the *French*, they would not at that Time molest the *French Indians*, nor prevent the Mischiefs which the Inhabitants received from their sculking Parties.

For this Reason, his Excellency endeavoured to send out again the Company of Rangers, which had formerly been employed against the sculking *Indians*: But, as the Assembly had made no Provision for this Expence, they refused to go, unless he gave his personal Bond for their Pay, at *three Shillings* a Day for each private Man, besides their Provision; and would not be satisfied with the Promises that he, by the Advice of the Council, made them of recommending their Service to the General Assembly, and the Assurances he gave them of their being rewarded as they desired.

On their continuing obstinate, his Excellency was of Opinion, that no considerable Service could be expected from Men, who were moved by no other Principle but that of excessive Wages: And he had Reason afterwards to be confirmed in this Opinion, when Captain *Langdon*, and afterwards Captain *Thebout*, voluntarily went with their Companies of the new-levied Troops to scour the Woods, and took some of these *Albany* Men with them as Guides, who whenever they apprehended themselves in Danger, by the Discovery of recent Tracts, some one or other of them could not be kept from firing their Guns, or making some Noise, by which the *French Indians*, if any were near them, must know how to avoid them. Some *Indians*, who were likewise sent out in Company with these Men, complained in like Manner.

The publick Interpreter, whom the Governor (as before observed) had sent with others, to invite the *Six Nations* to meet him at *Albany*, wrote to the Commissioners for *Indian* Affairs, That they met with great Difficulties and Obstructions from the *Sachems*, who had been lately at *Canada*: That

the *Oneydoes* refused to give any Answer, tho' they had staid there thirteen Days endeavouring to persuade them ; and that the *Cayugas* had absolutely refused to meet the Governor. On which his Excellency desired to be informed by the Commissioners of *Indian Affairs*, whether they knew of any Person of Influence or Interest with the *Indians*, and fit to be sent among them on this Occasion. They answered, that they knew of none ; and that the *Indians* were in a very bad Disposition, and much under the Influence of the *French*.

About this time his Excellency being informed, that the Interpreter, and others sent with him, had neglected to send proper Invitations to the *Indians* living on the Branches of *Susquehannab* River ; and that Captain *Vroman*, of *Stobary*, was a proper Person to be sent to those *Indians* ; he sent him, in Company with Captain *Staats*, with a Belt of *Wampum* to invite them.

While the *Indian Affairs* appear'd in this discouraging State, an Account came to Town, that about twenty young *Chickesaws* were come to the *Senekas*, to desire them to shew them the Way to *Canada*. The *Chickesaws* had always been Enemies to the *French* : A Party of about five hundred Men had, four Years before, been sent out against them from *Canada*, who were so entirely routed by the *Chickesaws*, that few returned. These young *Chickesaws* told the *Senekas*, that the *French* of *Canada* had, about four Years since, made them a Visit, and were so kind to leave them four hundred Guns, which were now wore out ; and, since the *French* had not thought fit to bring them any more Guns, they were resolved to go to *Canada* to fetch new ones ; and promised, that if the *Senekas* would shew them the Way, they would go Home and return with four hundred stout Fellows. Some other *Indian Nations* who lived to the Westward, discovering their Aversion to the *French* at the same Time,

Time, these Incidents assisted the Governor's Messengers in bringing more *Indians* to *Albany* than they expected, when they wrote to the Commissioners for *Indian* Affairs.

While the Interpreter was at the more distant *Indian* Castles, Mr. *William Johnson* was indefatigable among the *Mohawks*; he dressed himself after the *Indian* Manner, made frequent Dances, according to their Custom when they excite to War, and used all the Means he could think of, at a considerable Expence, (which his Excellency had promised to repay him) in order to engage them heartily in the War against *Canada*. Tho' he succeeded, beyond what any Man in *Albany* thought could be done, yet several of the *Sachems* (in the *Conajohary*, or upper *Mohawk* Castle, chiefly) refused to engage in the War; but insisted, that as this War was entred into between the *English* and *French*, in which they had no Interest, they ought to remain neuter. The *English* and *French*, they said, could at any Time make Peace; but if they should enter into the War, *Indians* could not make up the Quarrel among themselves, otherwise than by the Destruction of one or the other. The *French* could have no Hopes of engaging the *Six Nations* on their Side against the *English*, and therefore wisely play'd this Game of endeavouring to make them stand neuter, which they could enforce by strong political Arguments, of which the *Indians* were sensible enough. *It is your Interest*, the *French* Emissaries said, *not to suffer either the French or the English to be absolute Masters; for in that Case you must become Slaves to the one or the other.* From this politic View chiefly, the Interpreter met with so much Opposition every where: Tho' it is not to be doubted, but that at the same Time the *French* had gain'd some particular *Sachems* entirely into their Interest; however, many were prevailed on to come to *Albany*, to hear what the Governor of *New-York*

had to say to them; tho' several Sachems staid behind. When they of the more distant Nations came along with the Interpreter to the lower *Mohawk* Castle, and found that Mr. *Johnson* had already engaged many of the young Men there to join the Army against *Canada*, the others blamed the *Mohawks*; telling them with some Warmth, That they had been very rash in engaging so far. ' They ought, *the others said*, to have considered ' that they, the *Mohawks*, were the smallest in ' Number of any of the *Six Nations*, and ought ' not to have proceeded to so great a Length, without the previous Consent of the others.' To this the *Mohawks* answered, *It is true, we are less considerable as to Number, than any of the other Nations; but our Hearts are truly English, and all of us are Men^a; so that, if our Force be put to the Trial, perhaps it will be found greater than you imagine.* These Disputes, however, continued so far, that the *Mohawks*, and the other *Five Nations*, could not go in Company to *Albany*; the *Mohawks* marched on one side of the River, while the other Nations went on the other side. [*There are two Roads from the Mohawks Castle to Schenectada, one on each side of the Mohawks River.*]

When the *Indians* came near the Town of *Albany*, on the 8th of *August*, Mr. *Johnson* put himself at the Head of the *Mohawks*, dressed and painted after the Manner of an *Indian War-Captain*; and the *Indians* who followed him, were likewise dressed and painted, as is usual with them when they set out in War. The *Indians* saluted the Governor as they passed the Fort, by a running Fire; which his Excellency ordered to be answered by a Discharge of some Cannon from the Fort: He afterwards received the Sachems in the Fort-Hall, bid them Welcome, and treated them with a Glass of Wine.

As,

^a The *Six Nations* reckon all other *Indian Nations* Women, in comparison to themselves.

As, by all Accounts, the Disposition of the *Six Nations* seemed at this Time less in Favour of the *British* Interest than was to be wished, his Excellency thought it necessary to have frequent Conferences, in private, with the principal Sachems of each *Nation*; sometimes separately and singly, at other Times with some of each *Nation* jointly. There were only two of the *Mohawks* Sachems (besides *Aaron* before mentioned, who left the Castle at this Time) that could not be prevailed on by Mr. *Johnson* to declare themselves for entering into the War against *Canada*: They were both of the *Conajohary* or Upper-Castle, and one of them the Head of the Tribe called the *Tortoise*; (which, tho' not so numerous as that of the *Bear*, yet is looked on as the first in Rank or Dignity;) and, as he had been with the Governor of *Canada* last Spring, it was thought to be of some Consequence to gain him. Mr. *Colden*, above twenty Years since, had the Complement of being received into that Castle; and, about seven Years since (the last Time he had been with the *Mohawks*) had contracted some more particular Acquaintance with these two Sachems: He invited them to a private Conference, at which the Reverend Mr. *Barclay* assisted as Interpreter; they met him, and brought five more with them: After this Conference these Sachems appear'd as hearty as any of the others. He that was Head of the Tribe call'd the *Tortoise*, said, ' His Uncle
' had been the chief War-Captain among the *Mohawks*: That his Uncle had particularly distinguished himself in their Wars against the *French*,
' and he was resolved to shew himself not unworthy of his Ancestors, nor of his Uncle's Name,
' which he had obtained after his Death.'

After the principal Sachems had, at these Conferences, been brought to a good Disposition, his Excellency advised with the Gentlemen of the Council, and the Commissioners from the *Massachusetts*

Bay, on what might be proper to be said to the *Six Nations* in the publick Speech, which he now proposed to make to them. Col. *Wendell* and Mr. *Wells* had arrived from *Boston* about the End of *July*, and soon after they came to Town, his Excellency ordered the Gentlemen of the Council to communicate to them all the Information which had been received, with respect to the *Indian Affairs*: And they had frequent Conferences together from Time to Time, as Occasion required: It was likewise thought proper to communicate, what his Excellency intended to say to some of the Sachems of each Nation, who were thought most hearty in the *British* Interest; who said, that it was well conceiv'd as could have been done, had they themselves advised upon the Subject; only as it had been advised to observe in the first Draught, That some of his Majesty's Subjects had been instigated by the *French* to rise in Rebellion against the King; that they had been defeated by one of the King's Sons; that these poor People were now utterly ruined, and had nothing left but to bewail their Folly in the Misery that was brought upon them, by suffering themselves to be deluded by the Promises of the *French*; they said, that they did not understand the Affairs on the other Side of the Sea, nor did they trouble their Heads about them; and as they had no Method of retaining what is spoke to them but by their Memories, they were afraid that this might perplex their Memories, and make them less attentive to what was properly their Business; and advised, that it should be left out; which accordingly was done.

Another Difficulty remained; the publick Interpreter had been taken dangerously ill in his Return to *Albany*, and was at this Time confined to his Bed. Tho' several were employed, who had Knowledge sufficient in the Language of the *Six Nations*, to make themselves be understood, and to understand

stand what was spoke to them ; yet none of them were so much Masters of the Language, as to speak with that Propriety and Distinctness that is expected, and usual on so solemn an Occasion. It was thought therefore proper, to make one of the Sachems understand the Speech, by the Assistance of the common Interpreters, that he might be able to deliver it Paragraph by Paragraph, as it should be spoke. At first a *Mohawk* Sachem was pitched upon ; but the Sachems themselves told us, That for some time past a kind of Party-Division among the *Six Nations* had subsisted : That the *Mohawks*, *Onandagas*, and *Senekas*, form'd one Party ; and the *Oneydoes*, *Tuscaroras*, and *Cayugas*, the other : That, as the *Mohawks* might be suspected to be more partial to the *English*, it would be of more Use to employ one of the other Party ; and an *Oneydo* Sachem was proposed for that Purpose. This Man was easily enough made to understand the Speech, and he repeated it several Times over in private, and was instructed where to make the proper Stops. After the Speech was delivered, some of the Commissioners for *Indian Affairs*, and other Persons present at the Delivery, who understood both Languages, acknowledged, that this *Indian* had acquitted himself of his Trust faithfully, and had delivered the Sense of the Speech clearly and distinctly.

While these last Preparations were making, his Excellency was taken ill of a Fever, which occasioned some further Delay ; and as his Excellency did not recover so soon as was wished, the Sachems were told, that his Excellency being unwilling to detain them without necessity, would, if they desired it, direct Mr. *Colden* to speak to them in his Name, what he designed to say. They answered, that they would be well pleased to hear it from Mr. *Colden's* Mouth.

At *ALBANY* the Nineteenth of *August*, 1746.

P R E S E N T,

The Hon^{ble} { CADWALLADER COLDEN, } Esqrs; of his Ma-
 { PHILIP LIVINGSTON, } jeisty's Council
 { JOHN RUTHERFORD, } for the Province
 of *New-York*.

The Commissioners from the Government of the
Massachusetts-Bay.

The Commissioners of the Province of *New-York*
 for *Indian Affairs*.

The Mayor and Corporation of *Albany*. The Of-
 ficers of the Independent Companies, and of the
 new Levies then at *Albany*. Several Gentlemen
 of the Province of *New-York*: And Strangers.

Mr. Colden introduced the Speech as follows:

HIS Excellency our Governor having been
 taken ill, and as yet not so well recovered as
 that he can safely come abroad; has ordered me
 (being the next Person to him in the Administration)
 to speak to you in his Name, which I shall do in
 the same Words which he designed to have spoke,
 had he not been prevented by Sickness.

Brethren,

“ I AM glad to see so many of our ancient Friends
 “ here, and heartily bid you Welcome.

[*Gave three Strings of Wampum.*]

“ I have call'd you to this Place for two great
 “ Ends, in which the Province of the *Massachusetts-*
 “ *Bay* have sent Commissioners to concur with me,
 “ who are here present.

“ The *First* is, to renew the Covenant-Chain
 “ with you; and I now by this Belt, in your Fa-
 “ ther the King of *Great-Britain's* Name, in Behalf
 of

“ of his Majesty’s Subjects in *North-America*, re-
 “ new and confirm the Covenant-Chain, and all
 “ former Treaties and Engagements entered into
 “ with you. This Chain has from the Beginning,
 “ remained so firm and strong, that it has never
 “ once broke or split since it was first made; and
 “ we, on our Parts, shall endeavour that it remain
 “ so, unshaken, as long as the Sun and Moon shall
 “ endure. [Gave a Belt.]

“ *Brethren*, Last Fall I told you, that his Ma-
 “ jesty’s Subjects in this Country had, the Sum-
 “ mer before, lain still, without attempting any
 “ thing against the *French* Settlements: But that
 “ the *French* had by Surprize, attacked and de-
 “ stroyed a small Place near *Cape-Breton*, belong-
 “ ing to us.

“ That they afterwards laid Siege to *Annapolis-*
 “ *Royal*, and were beat off.

“ I likewise told you, That the Governor of the
 “ *Massachusetts-Bay*, in Conjunction with *Connecti-*
 “ *cut* and *New-Hampshire*, had, in Revenge to
 “ these Injuries, sent an Army against *Louisburg*,
 “ on the Island of *Cape-Breton*; that the Army was
 “ joined by a Number of his Majesty’s Ships of
 “ War, under the Command of your Friend Ad-
 “ miral *Warren*.

“ I told you, that the Town of *Louisburg*, which
 “ is the strongest the *French* have in *America*, was
 “ reduced by this Force; and that the *French*
 “ there had surrendered themselves and their Coun-
 “ try to the *English*.

“ I likewise told you, how we, in this Part of
 “ the Country, had lain still, hoping that the
 “ *French* in *Canada*, would either be quiet, or carry
 “ on the War in a manly Manner, and after the
 “ Manner of Christians. And to induce them
 “ thereto, a Message had been sent from this Place
 “ to the Governor of *Canada*, to tell him, That if
 “ he should revive the inhuman Custom of mur-
 “ dering

“ dering private People, by sculking *Indians*, that
 “ the several Governors of his Majesty’s Colonies,
 “ together with you our Brethren of the *Six Na-*
 “ *tions*, would join and make Reprisals on them
 “ in the like Manner ; at which time you publicly
 “ declared, that if any of his Majesty’s Subjects,
 “ in any Part of his Governments, should be killed
 “ by any *Indians*, you would immediately join in
 “ the War against them, and the *French*.

“ And last Fall, when I delivered the Hatchet
 “ into your Hands, you told me, and confirm’d
 “ it with a Belt, That you would send some of
 “ your People (who were then ready) to *Canada*,
 “ to demand Satisfaction ; and that if Satisfaction
 “ was refused, you would use the Hatchet against
 “ them, whenever I should order it.

“ And you further promised, That if the Ene-
 “ my should commit any further Hostilities, you
 “ would then (upon my Commands) immediately
 “ make Use of the Hatchet.

“ I need not tell you, how far the *French* have
 “ been from giving Satisfaction ; on the contrary,
 “ you are well acquainted with the cruel and bar-
 “ barous Murders that have been committed, since
 “ that Time, by the *French Indians* at *Saraghtoga*,
 “ and in the Neighbourhoods of this Place, and
 “ on the Frontiers of *New-England* ; as you have
 “ not hitherto fulfilled your Promises, I suspect
 “ that they did not come from your Hearts : I
 “ therefore, by this Belt, demand an immediate
 “ Performance of your Promises, to shew that
 “ they come from the Bottom of your Hearts ; as
 “ all the Promises I make come from mine, and
 “ ever shall. [Gave a Belt.]

“ *Brethren*, I now come to the *second* and prin-
 “ cipal Design of our present Meeting, in which I
 “ hope and expect to find you hearty, and united
 “ in your Councils and Opinions. [Gave a Belt.]

“ The

“ The King your Father, having been informed
 “ of the unmanly Murders committed on the Fron-
 “ tiers of *New-England*, and of this Province, is
 “ resolved to subdue the Country of *Canada*, and
 “ thereby put an End to all the mischievous De-
 “ signs of the *French* in these Parts. And for this
 “ purpose, he has ordered his Governors of *Vir-*
 “ *ginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New-Jersey,*
 “ to join their Forces to the Forces of this Pro-
 “ vince, to attack *Canada* by Land : They are all
 “ now upon their March, and you will soon see
 “ them here.

“ At the same Time the Forces of the *Massa-*
 “ *chusets-Bay, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, and New-*
 “ *Hampshire,* are to go in Ships to *Cape-Breton,*
 “ and there join with his Majesty’s Ships of War,
 “ and a great Army of experienc’d Soldiers from
 “ *Great-Britain.*

“ Many Ships of War are already arrived there,
 “ and some thousand of Soldiers ; many more Ships
 “ and Soldiers are following ; and I expect every
 “ Hour to hear of their Arrival ; after which the
 “ Attack upon *Canada* will be made on all Sides,
 “ both by Sea and Land.

“ You may perceive the King has ordered a
 “ Strength sufficient to subdue *Canada* ; but at the
 “ same Time, the King your Father expects and orders
 “ you his Children, to join with your whole Force
 “ in this Enterprize ; and thereby gives the *Six Na-*
 “ *tions* a glorious Opportunity of establishing their
 “ Fame and Renown over all the *Indian Nations*
 “ in *America*, in the Conquest of your inveterate
 “ Enemies the *French* ; who, however they may
 “ dissemble and profess Friendship, can never for-
 “ get the Slaughter which your Fathers made of
 “ them ; and for that purpose, cares those Nations
 “ who have always been your inveterate Enemies,
 “ and who desire nothing so much as to see the
 “ Name

“ Name of the *Six Nations* become obliterate, and
 “ forgot for ever. [Gave a Belt.]

“ *Brethren*, The *French*, on all Occasions, shew,
 “ that they act against your Brethren the *English*,
 “ like Men that know they dare not look them in
 “ the Face in Day-Light; and therefore, like
 “ Thieves, steal upon poor People, who do not
 “ expect them in the Night, and consequently are
 “ not prepared for them: Your Brethren in their
 “ Revenge have acted like Men of Courage; they
 “ do not attack poor Farmers at their Labour, but
 “ boldly attempted the Reduction of *Louisburg*,
 “ the strongest Town the *French* had in *America*,
 “ in the fortifying of which they had spent above
 “ twenty Years: It was surrounded with strong
 “ Walls and Forts, in which they had planted their
 “ largest Cannon in every Place, where they thought
 “ the *English* could come near them; notwithstanding
 “ of all these Precautions and Advantages, they
 “ were forced to submit to the *English* Valour.

“ You must have heard from your Fathers, and
 “ I doubt not several of your old Men still remem-
 “ ber what the *French* did at *Onondaga*; how they
 “ surprized your Countrymen at *Cadarackui*; how
 “ they invaded the *Senekas*, and what Mischiefs
 “ they did to the *Mohawks*; how many of your
 “ Countrymen suffered by the Fire at *Montreal*.
 “ Before they entered upon these cruel and mis-
 “ chievous Designs, they sent Priests among you
 “ to delude you, and lull you asleep, while they
 “ were preparing to knock you on the Head; and
 “ I hear they are attempting to do the same now.
 [Gave a Belt.]

“ I need not put you in mind what Revenge
 “ your Fathers took for these Injuries, when they
 “ put all the Island of *Montreal*, and a great Part
 “ of *Canada*, to Fire and Sword; can you think
 “ that the *French* forget this? No, they have the
 “ Ax privately in their Hands against you, and

“ use these deceitful Arts, by which only they have
 “ been able to gain Advantage over you, that by
 “ your trusting to them, they may at some time
 “ or other, at one Blow, remove from the Face of
 “ the Earth, the Remembrance of a People that
 “ have so often put them to Shame and Flight.

“ If your Fathers could now rise out of their
 “ Graves, how would their Hearts leap with Joy
 “ to see this Day ; when so glorious an Opportu-
 “ nity is put into their Hands to revenge all the
 “ Injuries their Country has received from the
 “ *French*, and be never more exposed to their
 “ Treachery and Deceit. I make no doubt you
 “ are the true Sons of such renowned and brave
 “ Ancestors, animated with the same Spirit for
 “ your Country’s Glory, and in Revenge of the
 “ Injuries your Fathers received, incapable of be-
 “ ing deluded by the flattering Speeches of them,
 “ who always have been, and always must be, in
 “ their Hearts, your Enemies, and who desire no-
 “ thing more, than the Destruction of your Na-
 “ tions.

“ I therefore invite you, *Brethren*, by this Belt,
 “ to join with us, and to share with us, in the Ho-
 “ nour of the Conquest of our, and your deceit-
 “ ful Enemies ; and that you not only join all the
 “ Force of the *Six Nations* with us, but likewise
 “ invite all the Nations depending on you, to take
 “ a Share in this glorious Enterprize : And I will
 “ furnish your fighting Men with Arms, Ammu-
 “ nition, Cloathing, Provisions, and every Thing
 “ necessary for the War ; and in their Absence,
 “ take Care of their Wives and Children.

[*Gave the War-Belt.*]

“ *Brethren*, You have seen how daring and in-
 “ sulting on you, as well as us, the *French Indians*
 “ have been, in cruelly murdering several of our
 “ People, since you have come to this Place ; and
 “ therefore, for the many Reasons now laid before
 “ you,

“ you, I make no doubt but your Answer will
 “ clearly manifest your Duty to the King your Fa-
 “ ther, and your Love to your Brethren ; and by
 “ this Belt I do assure you, that our Intent is, to
 “ live and die together.” [*Gave a Belt of Friendship.*]

At every Stop where a Belt was given, one of the Sachems call'd out *Yo-bay*, to which all the rest answered in a Sound which cannot be expressed in our Letters, but seem'd to consist of two Words remarkably distinguished in the Cadence ; it seem'd to this purpose ; the Sachem calls, *Do you hear ?* The Answer is, *We attend and remember, or understand ;* or else it is a Kind of Plaudit our Interpreters could not explain. At the Close of the Speech ; one Sachem of each Nation call'd out severally the *Yo-bay*, to which the others of the same Nation answer'd severally : But when the War-Belt was thrown down, they gave the War-Shout. We expected but six of these Plaudits, according to the Number of the *Six Nations*, but eight were distinctly delivered ; by which we understood some other Nations were united with them on this Occasion.

After the Speech was delivered, the Sachems of the several Nations had Conferences together ; and some time being spent in deliberating, they acquainted his Excellency, ‘ That they had agreed upon
 ‘ their Answer, which they were ready to give
 ‘ whenever he would appoint a Time to receive it ;’
 and he named the next Day.

Accordingly on the 23^d of *August*, His EXCEL-
 LENCY being present ; the Gentlemen of the
 Council ; the Commissioners from *Boston* ; the
 Commissioners for *Indian Affairs* ; the Corpo-
 ration of *Albany* ; and many Gentlemen, as at
 the Time when his Excellency's Speech was
 delivered,

An *Onondaga* Sachem, who had formerly been Speaker for the *Six Nations* on several publick Occasions, rose up and spoke: What he said was publickly interpreted, in the Hearing of several who understood the *Indian Language* well, as follows:

Brethren of *New-York*, and of the *Massachusetts-Bay*,

WE the *Six Nations* are now assembled together as one Man, and we take in the Messengers for the seventh Nation; and what is now to be spoken by one Mouth, are the joint and sincere Thoughts of every Heart.

We are pleas'd that you follow the Steps of our Fore-fathers, in wiping off the sorrowful Tears from our Eyes, by which the Stoppage of our Throats are opened, and the bloody Bed wash'd clean.

[Gave three Strings of Wampum.]

Brethren, The first Time we met together, we only saluted each other by shaking of Hands; we afterwards made a Covenant Chain of Silver, which we mutually have held fast to this Day; should it now slip from either of our Hands, it would prove Destruction to both Sides, since our Enemies have drawn the Sword.

[Gave a Belt.]

Brother of *New-York*; Last Year you gave us the Hatchet to be made Use of against your Enemies, the French, which we accepted and promised to make use of it if they should commit any farther Hostilities upon the English, which they have now done by destroying *Saraghtoga*, and shedding a great deal of Blood: Hitherto we have made no use of the Hatchet; but as you now call upon us, we are ready, and do declare from the Bottom of our Hearts, that we will from this Day, make use of it against the French, and their Children, (meaning their Indians.)

[N. B. The Question was asked them by his Excellency, Whether by the Words *their Children*, they

they meant all the *Indians* in Alliance with the *French*? to which they answered, *Yes.*]

[At the End of the foregoing Paragraph, the Speaker threw down a War-Belt of Wampum on the Ground, it being the *Indian* Custom to deliver War-Belts, or make Declaration of War in this Manner: This he did with a remarkable Shew of Indignation, intending thereby to express their Resentment against the *French* and their Allies, and their Zeal for the *English*.]

[Gave a Belt.]

Brother of *New-York*; According to your Exhortation in your Speech to us, we are firmly united together from this Time, to act as having one Heart; the *Messengers* are in the same Manner joined and united with us, likewise the *Southern Nations* bordering upon us; and we hope that you, and the other *Governors* on the Continent, will be in the same Manner joined and united together.

[Gave a Belt.]

[They repeated over his Excellency's Speech in Relation to the Conquest of *Cape-Breton*; and added, *We hope that our Fleet and Army will be also victorious in the present Expedition against Canada; for the French are a mischievous People.*

[Gave a Belt.]

As to your Suspicions of our admitting *French Priests* among us, they are become groundless, since we have now declared War against them: The admitting of *Priests*, would only tend to lull us asleep to our Destruction; should any now dare to come, we know no Use for them but to roast them. The Thoughts of the Treatment we formerly received from the *French*, thro' the Means of their *Priests*, and which you now seasonably have brought to our Remembrance, makes our Blood to boil.

Brother of *New-York*; This is the second Time you have put the Hatchet into our Hands, which we accept, and are ready to go upon Service. You may see that we

have

have but a Handful of fighting Men here at present ; however, some of them from each Nation shall be left behind us to follow your Orders.

When we return to our respective Castles, we shall send down a great Number of our Warriors, and of those of the Nations in Alliance with us, as soon as possible.

This we assure you of from the Truth and Sincerity of our Hearts ; and we receive, and shall preserve this large Belt, [holding it up at the same Time] which you have now given us, as a War-Hatchet.

Brethren, This is the Belt of Union with which we are to go Hand in Hand to the Gate of our Enemies, and by it we declare our Intention to conquer or die in the common Cause.

There is a Nation call'd the Messesagues, whose Delegates are here present : They consist of five Castles, containing eight hundred Men, who are all determined, and do agree to join us, in this common Cause, against our Enemies the French, and their Indians ; and we hope you, and the Commissioners from Boston, will use them in such a Manner that they will go home content and satisfied.

[Gave a Belt of Union, in which the Figures of several Persons join'd Hand in Hand, was wrought.

The Person who interpreted, returned the *To-hab* at the End of every Paragraph, and having done the same at the Time they declared War, it occasioned Laughter among them ; upon which, observing his Mistake, he began the War-Shout, in which all the *Indians* joined.

The *Messesagues* are a Nation of *Indians*, living near the Place called *De Troit* by the *French*, and situate between Lake *Erie* and the *Huron* Lake.

After the Speaker had finished, his Excellency told them by the Interpreter, that the King their Father had ordered him to make them a Present on

this Occasion ; and that the Government of *Virginia* had on the same Occasion, sent them a Present. The Commissioners from *Boston* at the same Time told them, that they had a Present from their Government ; and as they were soon to return Home, desired the *Six Nations* to come to their Lodgings to receive it ; on which the *Indians* desired his Excellency to delay his Present to next Day, and they immediately went to receive their Presents from the Commissioners of the *Massachusetts-Bay*.

The next Day, the Presents from the King being exposed on one Part, and those from *Virginia* separately near them, it was agreed by the People of *Albany*, who had seen many publick Presents given to the *Six Nations* on Treaties with them, that this was the most valuable ever given. His Excellency on giving the Presents, said ;

“ Brethren,

“ **Y**OU here see a Token of the Regard the
 “ King your Father has for you ; and there
 “ is a Token of the Friendship of the Government
 “ of *Virginia* : But on this Occasion I cannot for-
 “ bear taking Notice to you, that some of your
 “ People being at *Canada*, when the News of the
 “ Reduction of *Cape-Breton* came there, and when
 “ the *French* expected that *Quebec* would be im-
 “ mediately attacked in Consequence of it, several
 “ of them joined with the *French*, and promised
 “ them Assistance. This occasioned some Uneasi-
 “ nels to your Brethren, being contrary to the
 “ Faith of your Nations, as well as to your Bre-
 “ thren’s Expectations ; however, you may now,
 “ by performing the Promises you Yesterday made
 “ in the most solemn Manner, remove all Suspi-
 “ cions ; and for ever secure the Friendship of your
 “ Brethren, which hitherto has from the Beginning,
 “ remained unviolated on their Parts. The Goods
 “ now before you, are Presents to the *Six Nations* ;
 “ and,

“ and, as we have received the *Messengers* into the
 “ Covenant between you and us, I expect that they
 “ shall share with you. Besides these general Pre-
 “ sents now made to your Nations, I have pre-
 “ pared proper Cloathing for your War-Captains,
 “ and the Warriors who shall go under their Com-
 “ mand; together with Arms, Ammunition and
 “ Provisions, which shall be delivered to the se-
 “ veral Parties at the Time they shall go out on
 “ Service.”

What his Excellency said having been interpret-
 ed by a *Mohawk* Sachem, the Sachem added of his
 own Head, *You now see how you are here treated,*
really like Brethren; the Governor of Canada does not
treat his Indians so; they are set on like his Dogs, and
they run on without Thought or Consideration: You see
what a noble Present is made to you; if the Governor
of Canada should seize all the Goods in that Country,
it would not be in his Power to make such a Present.

The *Onondaga* Sachem, Speaker of the *Six Na-*
tions, immediately replied,

Brethren of *New-York, New-England, and*
Virginia;

WE heard, and observe well, what you now and
 formerly spoke to us; and we beg no mention may
 hereafter be made of what passed last Fall, since we
 are now heartily enter'd into the War with you, and
 have promised as many fighting Men from each Castle
 as can be spared; and likewise to engage as great
 Numbers of every Nation in Alliance with us, as we
 can, to join immediately with us in the War against
 the French, and the Nations who adhere to them.

Brethren of *New-York, New-England, and*
Virginia,

You must not suspect that it proceeds from any Back-
 wardness in us, that a greater Number of our People
 N 2 do

do not at this Instant join with you ; the Reason is, our Castles have but few fighting Men in them, many are now Abroad, some hunting and trading with far distant Nations, and others out fighting against our Enemies ; all these we shall recall Home as soon as possible, in order to enter with all our Force, into the War against your and our common Enemy.

Brother, We have no more to say at this Time, but only to tell you, we are sorry that we can so little shew our Hearts by the Presents we now offer ; our hunting has been so very poor, that we cannot make you Presents suitable to our Inclinations.

The Mohawks added separately : We have been employed all Summer in your Service as Out-scouts, to gain Intelligence, or in some Manner or other, and thereby kept from hunting : We have no Furrs to offer you, but we here present our Persons, to serve you wherever you shall command.

That Day was spent in dividing the Presents among themselves. We were told, that these Presents were divided into eight equal Parts, of which they gave two to the *Messesague* Deputies.

The next Day the War-Kettle was set over the Fire, and towards Evening the *Indians* in his Excellency's Presence, where many Gentlemen attended him, began the War-Dance, and continued it till late in the Night : They were painted as when they go to War. The Dance is a slow and solemn Motion, accompanied with a pathetick Song. The *Indians* in their Turns perform this singly, but it is not easy to describe the Particularities of it.

His Excellency call'd several of the chief Sachems who had been useful in the Treaty, to him in private, and gave them Presents severally ; neither did he forget the *Messesague* Deputies : He had a particular Conference with one of them in private, the other was sick of the Small-Pox. At this Conference, this Deputy assured his Excellency of

the good Inclinations of his Nation to the *English*, and their Aversion to the *French*; he said, ‘ That many of the Nations to the Westward of them, disliked the *French*;’ and as an Instance of it, he told, ‘ That the *French* lately having pressed a neighbouring Nation to take up the Hatchet against the *English*, they received it; but made Use of it against the *French* themselves, and kill’d all the *French* then with them, being sixty in Number, with the Loss of only one Man of their own Nation.’ His Excellency made him handsome Presents, and gave him a Belt to carry to his Nation, with an Invitation to join in the War against the *French*; the *Messesague* received them with a Profession of the most sincere and hearty Friendship; and that he made no doubt of bringing two, three, or four hundred Men of his Nation, to serve this Fall against the *French*. He added, ‘ That he and several of his Relations would immediately use their best Endeavours, with several other Nations to the Westward of them, who were numerous, to join against the *French*; in which, *he said*, he had great Hopes of Success, because they were dissatisfied with the *French*.’

His Excellency took all possible Care of the sick *Messesague*, had him brought into a House, and ordered him, to be attended by two Physicians; but the poor Man had the Misfortune to die, after he had been above a Fortnight ill. When he found himself near his End, he sent to the Governor, to desire him as his last Request, that his Excellency would send the first *French* Scalp that should be taken, to his Mother; and when he was told that his Excellency had promised it, he shewed a Contentedness and Resignation to Death. This Misfortune was increased by the Death of the other *Messesague* Deputy likewise, who was taken ill in his Way Home, and died. The *Six Nations* took Care of their Wives and Children, who had come with

them ; and it was not doubted but that they, and all the Presents given them, would be safely conveyed to their own Homes.

Having so far given an Account of what passed with the *Six Nations*, it may be proper next to relate the Treaty with the *Mebikanders*, or *River Indians*, viz. The several Tribes of *Indians* living at several Places on each Side of *Hudson's River*.

On his Excellency's Arrival at *Albany*, having found that there had been a Neglect in sending for the *Esopus* and *Minissink Indians*, he sent Orders for them to be invited. The *Mebikanders* being convened the 21st, his Excellency directed Mr. *Colden* to speak to them in his Name and Words; which Mr. *Colden* did ; the other Gentlemen of the Council, the Commissioners from *Boston*, the Commissioners for *Indian Affairs*, and several other Gentlemen being present, in the Words following :

“ *Children*,

“ I AM glad to meet you at this Time, as are
 “ likewise the Commissioners from the *Massa-*
 “ *chusetts-Bay*, who are now come hither to concur
 “ with me upon the present Occasion ; and I take
 “ this Opportunity to renew the ancient Covenant
 “ Chain with you, in Behalf of this and all his
 “ Majesty's Governments in *America*, which you
 “ know has always been kept bright and clean,
 “ without any of the least Stain or Rust, and which
 “ by this Belt I strengthen. [Gave a Belt.]

“ *Children*, My meeting you here, besides re-
 “ newing the Covenant Chain, is with Intention
 “ that you should join your Force with ours, by
 “ taking up the Hatchet against our and your com-
 “ mon Enemies the *French*, and their *Indians* ;
 “ who have in a very unmanly Manner, by sculk-
 “ ing Parties, murdered in cold Blood, many of
 “ your Brethren in this and the Province of the
 “ *Massachusetts-Bay*.

“ This

“ This Behaviour lays us under a Neceffity of
 “ making Reprisals on them in like Manner, in
 “ which I make no doubt of your Assistance; and
 “ we are resolved to take a thorough Revenge of
 “ our and your perpetual Enemies, by reducing
 “ the Country of *Canada*, that it may not be in
 “ the Power of these perfidious, deceitful, and
 “ cruel People, to do you or us any Injury for
 “ the future: For which Purpose all the neighbour-
 “ ing Colonies, together with many Ships of War
 “ and Soldiers from *Great-Britain*, are resolved to
 “ unite their Force, and to attack *Canada* in all
 “ Parts, both by Sea and Land; and I make no
 “ doubt, you will on this Occasion shew yourselves
 “ dutiful Children, in joining heartily with us and
 “ the *Six Nations*, in this glorious Enterprize; by
 “ which you will not only gain Honour and Re-
 “ nown, but also Safety and Prosperity to your-
 “ selves, your Wives, and Children for ever after-
 “ wards: And for which End I will furnish your
 “ fighting Men with Arms, Ammunition, Cloath-
 “ ing, Provisions, and every Thing necessary for
 “ the War.” [Gave a War-Belt.]

On the 26th they gave their Answer, which was
 interpreted in the following Words; (the same
 Persons being present, that were when the Gover-
 nor's Speech was delivered to them.)

Father,

WE are glad to see you; and we are come to re-
 new the Covenant Chain, and make it fast and
 bright as ever, and free from Rust, and as a Token
 thereof we give you this Belt. [Gave a Belt.]

Father, You have told us what Mischief the
 French have done, and what Murders upon the Chris-
 tians they have committed; therefore we declare from
 our Hearts, and not from our Lips only, that as you
 have ordered us to shed the Enemies Blood in Return

for what they have done, we are resolved to live and die with you in the common Cause.

When you Christians are at War, you make Peace with one another, but it is not so with us, therefore we depend upon you to take Care of us; in Confidence of which, we now take up the Hatchet, and will make Use of it against the French, and their Indians.

[Gave a Belt with a Hatchet.]

After their Answer they began the War-Dance, and his Excellency ordered a considerable Present in Goods to be publickly given them. None of these are suspected to be under *French* Influence.

As there was no Advice of the Arrival of the Fleet, and no Plan of Operations agreed on in Case the Fleet did not arrive, the supporting of about seven hundred *Indians* was a great Expence to his Excellency, for which he had no Allowance from the Province of *New-York*, or for any other Charge attending this Treaty: And as many of the *Indians*, (above twenty) had got the Small-pox, it being impracticable to prevent their going into Town, or conversing with the Town's People, and the *Indians* becoming uneasy by Reason of the Sickneſs of many, and Death of some; his Excellency thought it most prudent to dismiss them as soon as possible from this Place, and to give Orders to Mr. *Johnson*, to send out several Parties from *Schenectade*, or his own Settlement near the lower *Mohawk* Castle, to harraſs the *French* Settlements in *Canada*; and for that Purpose delivered to him Cloathing, Arms and Ammunition, to be given to the fighting Men, as his Excellency had promised them whenever they entered on Service, and impowered him to furnish them with Provisions, and whatever Necessaries they should want.

Before they went, his Excellency sent to them, to desire them to leave their Sick, with a Promise to take all Care possible of them, and that he would
order

order Physicians to attend them. They were very sensible of this Kindness, and acknowledged it; but not above two or three could be prevailed to stay, who were so ill that they could not be removed: All possible Care was taken of the other Sick, in the Waggon which carried them to *Schenectade*.

On the 26th of *September*, the Captains *Staats* and *Vromen*, brought the *Indians* living on the Branches of the *Susquehannab* River; they came in the *Indian* Order, marching in a single Line one after the other, and as they passed the Fort, saluted by a running Fire along the Line; which Salute the Governor ordered to be returned, by a Discharge of some Cannon from the Fort.

On *Monday* the 8th of the same Month his Excellency spoke to them, telling them the Substance of what he had ordered to be said to the *Six Nations*, and their Answer; and as this has been set forth at Length before, it is needless to repeat what was then said. The Reason of his Excellency's speaking to them in this Manner was, because these Nations living on the *Susquehannab* River and its Branches, are known to be Dependents on the *Six Nations*.

The next Day they gave their Answer; the Gentlemen of the Council, the Commissioners for *Indian* Affairs, the Corporation of *Albany*, the Officers of the four Independent Companies, and several Officers of the new Levies, and other Gentlemen being present, as they were when his Excellency spoke to the *Indians*: Their Answer was publicly interpreted as as follows;

Brother of *New-York*,

WE live at *Ohguago*; what News you send to the *Six Nations* is not truly reported to us, nor what the Governor of *Canada* sends to them; we have not been properly taken Notice of, nor timely acquainted

ed with your Design to treat with the Six Nations, till near the Time that your Interview with them was over; otherwise we should have readily come along with them, to hear what our Brother had to propose to us; and if we had received earlier Notice, a much larger Number of our fighting Men would have come along with us: Our Settlements are scattering, and some of them at a great Distance from others, and many of our Men are from Home a hunting; we have, however, sent the Belt of Invitation forward to those who live at a greater Distance, that they may be able at the Time appointed, to come and join us in the War, as by your Belt we were desired.

Brother, You Yesterday informed us of what you had said to the Six Nations, and their Answer; we are grieved that the Six Nations have not already made use of the Hatchet, but have hitherto kept it by them, and have not sent out their young Men to revenge the Murders which have been committed by the Enemy.

We are resolved to make use of the Hatchet against the French, to revenge the Injuries done to you and your People, our Brethren.

We have received at Times very different Kind of News from the Six Nations, sometimes it seemed as if the French would be Masters; but it cannot be so, they are a deceitful People, and cannot be trusted; they make fair Promises, and have no Intention to perform them; they flatter themselves with Hopes to be Masters, but they shall be disappointed; for we shall keep the Hatchet firmly in our Hands, and are resolved to make Use of it.

We know several Roads that lead to Canada, we want to see the Hatchet, that we may take it up.

Upon which his Excellency threw down a Hanger, which the Speaker took up and began the War-Dance, and several others danced the same after him.

After

After which they desired his Excellency to take Care of them, as he had promised.

His Excellency returned them Thanks for their so readily taking up the Hatchet; he said, that he would presently set the War-Kettle over the Fire, and provide them with every Thing necessary for the War. His Excellency gave them a handsome Present in publick for their Nations in general, and private Presents to their principal Sachems; one of which promised, that after his return Home, he would go round all the *Indian* Settlements, to invite them into the War against the *French*, and their *Indians*; and that he did not doubt to be able to bring six hundred Men from the *Indian* Settlements on the *Susquehannab* River and its Branches, to march at any Time, and to any Place, his Excellency should appoint, in order to join the Forces intended against *Canada*; in the mean Time they would cause a Party of their Men to go out with his Men to scour the Woods, and clear them of the *French* sculking *Indians*.

About this Time, a Serjeant of Capt. *Livingston's* Company was surprized and killed by a sculking Party of *French Indians*: In a few Minutes after the Account of this came to his Excellency, who happened to be dining at that Time in Capt. *Wrexall's* Tent, fourteen of the *Susquehannab Indians* were observed running past the Tent, in order to cross the River, and meet the *French Indians*; which his Excellency observing, and being apprehensive that they might meet with some of the Parties of the new Levies that were gone out for the same Purpose, and that they might be in Danger of being attacked through Mistake; he ask'd if any of the Guard which then attended, would voluntarily go along with the *Indians*? Two Men offered themselves, who went with one who understood the *Indian* Language, in order to prevent Mistakes. Happy it was that this Precaution was
4 taken;

taken; for Capt. *Fanning* with a great Part of his Company, having gone out with the same Intention of intercepting the *French Indians*, he discovered this Party of our *Indians*, and taking them to be *French Indians*, he kept his Men under the Cover of some Bushes, with their Arms ready to fire, expecting the nearer Approach of the *Indians*; when one of the Christians who were with them, observing Capt. *Fanning's* Men, called out, and came up to Capt. *Fanning* when his Men were ready to fire. None of the Parties that went out were able to discover any of the Enemy.

His Excellency afterwards sent out sixteen of these *Indians*, and cloathed them for that Purpose, together with about sixty Men detached from the Companies levied in the County of *Albany*, in order to scour the Woods, and to advance as far as the Lakes to gain Intelligence, by taking Prisoners or otherwise. While this Party was out, some of the *Indians* fell sick, and the others being apprehensive of the same Misfortune, they return'd, after having been but a few Days in the Woods. His Excellency then perceiving the Uneasiness the *Indians* were under from the Apprehensions of Sicknes, found it necessary to dismiss them all, on their Promise to return, whenever his Excellency should order, with all the Force they shall be able to collect; and which, they said, as before observed, might amount to six hundred Men. The Number of *Indians* that came at this Time from the *Susquebannah* River, consisted only of about sixty fighting Men, besides old Men, Women, and Children: More had come near to *Albany*, but having there heard of the Small-pox and Sicknes that was at *Albany*, and that many of the *Six Nations* had caught the Infection, and several of them were dead, they returned back.

After the *Six Nations* left *Albany*, many of them were taken sick on their Way Home, before they reached

reached the *Mohawk* Castles, and a considerable Number of the briskest young Men of the *Mohawks* died. This retarded the Execution of the Order given to Mr. *Johnson*, to send out Parties to harraßs the *French* Settlements in *Canada*, though he used all the Means in his Power to effect it. While he was pressing them to this Purpose, one of the *Sachems* who had promised to head a Party from the *Canajohary* Castle, said, *You seem to think that we are Brutes, that we have no Sense of the Loss of our dearest Relations, and some of them the bravest Men we had in our Nation: You must allow us Time to bewail our Misfortune.*

About ten Days before his Excellency left *Albany*, a Party of upwards of seventy Men, consisting of some of each Nation, went against *Canada*: Some Christians were of the Party to assist and direct, and to be Witnesses of the Behaviour of the *Indians*. They were to avoid all the Lakes, and the usual Roads and Passes to *Canada*, and were to go thro' the Woods over Mountains, that are seldom passed, to prevent the Enemies discovering them: But after these had been out, Capt. *Butler's* Son, to whom the chief Direction of this Party was committed, was taken ill of the Small-pox, and five of the *Indians* were obliged to return to carry him Home. Another small Party was sent out to take Prisoners, and gain Intelligence at *Crown-Point*. At the writing of this, it is not known what Success they have had.

When the *Six Nations* had come as far as the lower *Mohawk* Castle, in their return Home, they were met by about six Men of their own Nations, who delivered a Message from *Canada*, which had been brought by the *Indian* who was taken by the *French* at *Crown Point*, and carried to *Canada*. The Message was interpreted in the following Words: "The Governor of *Canada* had called the *Cahnuga Indians* to him, and then complained to
" them,

“ them, that some of the *Six Nations*, his Chil-
 “ dren, had killed some of his People: You all
 “ know, *he said*, that I am not hasty or passionate,
 “ but will rather bear a great deal than shew Re-
 “ sentment, wherefore I am resolved to pass this
 “ over; but in the mean Time I must desire you
 “ to go among the *Six Nations*, to find out the
 “ Reason of this Proceeding, and to tell them,
 “ that if any Thing like it happen again, I will
 “ make them smart: You may nevertheless assure
 “ my Children ^a of the *Six Nations*, that I love
 “ and esteem them equally with the *Cabnuagas*,
 “ or *Shawendadies* ^b, being of the same Blood.
 “ And to convince them of my Love, I now send
 “ back to them one of their People that was taken
 “ at *Croven Point*, without eating his Flesh. And
 “ now *Cabnuagas*, my Children, I would not have
 “ you spill any more Blood from *Albany* upwards,
 “ for I begin to pity their Weakness; but turn
 “ your Arms towards *New-England*, against your
 “ most inveterate Enemies, there is the Place for
 “ you to gain Honour now.”

The *Cabnuagas* gave the following Answer to
 the Governor of *Canada*: Father, *You are in the*
wrong, to desire us to go among the Six Nations for
Intelligence, or with Menaces; for such will only stir
them up, and bring them and all their Allies (who are
very numerous) upon you, to destroy you at once. We
know they are not to be bullied by your Words or ours,
wherefore, Father, we must leave you to go through
this Work by yourself.

After having as above, related what had passed
 between them and the Governor of *Canada*, they
 sent the following Message from themselves.

Brethren

^a The Governor of *Canada* calls the *Six Nations*, (and all the
Indian Nations depending on him) *Children*, as the Governor of
New-York calls them *Brethren*.

^b Another Settlement of Deserters from the *Six Nations*, and
 dwelling near *Montreal*.

Brethren of the Six Nations, “ We hear the Governor of *New-York* has invited you to meet him ; we intreat you not to mind any Thing he shall say, in order to set you against us ; for if you do, you, as well as we, must all die. Wherefore, *Brethren*, we conjure you by all the Ties of Friendship subsisting between us, to inform us of any Design that is plotting against us ; and that when any such Thing shall be discovered, you will send an Express to *Cadarackui* ^a, where our Fire always burns.

“ *Brethren*, We shall be glad to see you next Spring at *Cabnuaga*, to hold a Council together, where you shall be as safe and welcome as ever.

“ *Brethren*, The Governor our Father, being informed, that your Governor is raising Men to come against *Canada*, desires us to tell you, that he has *one thousand eight hundred* Men at *Crown Point*, ready to give them Battle ; in which Number, the Men of eight Castles of the *Utawawas* are included.

“ *Brethren*, Be not angry at our destroying *Saraghtoga* last Fall ; Col. *Schuyler* dar’d us to it, by saying he wished to see a *French* Army there ; We gratified him in his Wish.”

A *Cabnuaga* Indian was sent along with the Prisoner that was restored ; but when he came near the Settlements of the *Six Nations*, his Heart fail’d him, and he sent the Prisoner forward by himself with the Message.

The Readiness with which the *Six Nations* communicated this Message, and the slight they in all Appearance put upon it, is some Proof of their Sincerity in the Promises they made to his Excellency ; neither from any Thing which has happened can it be shewn, that they were not sincere. On the contrary,

^a A *French* Fort opposite to *Oswego*, and the East End of *Cadarackui* Lake, or *Lake Frontenac*.

trary, it appears by Mr. *Johnson's* Letter to his Excellency of the 21st of *October*, that several Parties are now out against the *French*; and that Mr. *Johnson* having received Orders from Col. *Roberts*, to send as many *Indians* as possible to join the Army, all the *Mohawks*, even their oldest Men, were fitted out and ready; and having sent to the upper Castles at the same Time, they appeared so hearty, that there would not have remained above three old Men in any of the next Castles: And that Col. *Roberts* afterwards contradicting these Orders, they had appeared very uneasy on their being stopt. It was not expected that they would enter into the War without us, or by themselves, neither are they a People of so little Thought, as to give any Reason to expect it from them.

When the Companies raised in *Pensylvania* arrived at *Albany*, his Excellency was informed by their Captains, that Mr. *Thomas* Governor of that Province, had sent *Conrad Weiser* their publick Interpreter, among the *Susquehannah Indians*; and that they expected his Arrival at this Place in a little Time, with at least three hundred *Indians*. The Treaties with the *Indians*, which Mr. *Thomas* has published, gave great Hopes of the Success that Interpreter would have; and thereby increased the Disappointment, when Mr. *Weiser* arrived a few Days before his Excellency left *Albany*, and did not bring one *Indian* with him.

His Excellency Governor *Clinton*, had perhaps more Difficulties to struggle with on this Occasion, than any Governor of *New-York* had at any Time: The *Six Nations* had on several Occasions given Grounds of Mistrust; the Governor of *Canada* was attempting all the Means in his Power to divert their Affections from us; the People of the County of *Albany* had for some Time past, entertained a Dissatisfaction in the Conduct of the Commissioners for *Indian Affairs*; the Commissioners themselves

were

were divided in their Sentiments, and several of them refused to attend their Meetings; and they confessed to his Excellency, that they had lost all Influence on the *Indians*; Mr. *Gooch* having declined the Command of the Forces at *Albany*, his Excellency was forced likewise to undertake a new and great Care, which he in no Manner expected when he left the City of *New-York*, and which from many Incidents, was attended with many Difficulties. If these Things be duly considered, and the Dangers his Person was in from the Infection of two different Diseases, which at that Time raged in the City of *Albany*, of which great Numbers died during his Residence there of near three Months; none can doubt of his hearty Zeal for the Success of an Affair, in which the Safety and Prosperity of all the Colonies in North *America*, were immediately concerned.

But as every one may not be sufficiently apprized of what Consequence the *Six Nations* being hearty, is to the Interest of *Great-Britain*, it may be proper to observe, That though a Number of *Indians* to march with the Army, which was intended to attack *Canada*, would be of great Use in discovering and defeating the Ambushes of the Enemy's *Indians*, while they were every Day to be guarded against by the Forces which were to march by Land, and would by their Incurfions into the Enemy's Country, terribly harass them, and keep them from joining their Forces into any great Body to oppose the Design; these are not the most considerable Advantages might be gained from the Affection of the *Six Nations* at this Time, or any Time of War; for if the inland Extent of the Colonies from *Nova Scotia* to *Georgia* be considered, and at the same Time the numerous *Indian Nations* on the Continent of *America*, who may by the Artifices of the *French* be induced to make Incurfions every where; and the cruel Methods by which the

Indians make Incursions in small Parties, from the vast Forest which every where covers the Continent, and which in many Places is impenetrable; it must evidently appear, that though the *English* Colonies be of much superior Force in Numbers of Men, yet their Number would not be sufficient to protect their Frontiers from the Incursions of the *Indians* in every Place: And, that while their Forces must in this Case be divided and scattered all over their Frontiers, it may be in the Power of the *French* in *Canada*, to invade with Success any Part of the *English* Colonies. On the other Hand, if a proper Attempt were to be made by the Northern Colonies alone, without the Assistance of their Mother Country, but with the Assistance of the *Indians*, it would in all Appearance be sufficient to reduce *Canada*; for if the *Indian* Nations can be persuaded to join heartily, (as from what is above related it seems probable they may) it will be impossible for the Inhabitants of *Canada* to defend themselves from the Incursions of these numerous *Indian* Nations, and from a Body of regular Troops at the same Time. As the *French* are very sensible of these Advantages to be gain'd from the Friendship of the *Indian* Nations, they neglect no Means in their Power to procure them: And it is to be hoped, that the Northern Colonies will be no less assiduous in a Matter on which their Well-being at least depends.

Some People wish that the *Indians* may remain neuter, and think it adviseable to pursue Measures for that Purpose, by which many horrid Barbarities would be prevented. No doubt this is to be wished; but can the *English* Colonies by any Means be assured, that the *French* will be sincere in preserving such a Neutrality? And if they be not sincere, we shall more certainly expose ourselves to all these Calamities, than we are now by *Indians* being engaged on both Sides. The *Six Nations* are by their natural Inclinations, disposed to War-like Enterprizes:

prizes: They never have been at Peace with all their Neighbours, since they were known to Christians. The Reputation they have gained among all the *Indian Nations* in North *America*, gives them an Influence in the Councils of every Nation. It may then be easy for the *French* to turn this Disposition to War in the *Six Nations*, against us, and by their Influence draw all the *Indian Nations* in North *America* upon us. The Genius of the *Six Nations* will not suffer them to remain inactive, while their Neighbours are at War.

In the last Place, it may not be improper to observe at this Time, that though the Colonies to the Southward (and the Inhabitants of the Parts of the Northern Colonies, which are less exposed to the Incurfions of *Indians*) think themselves little concerned in Interest, or in the Consequences of the present War; yet if they would consider that the Northern Colonies are really their Frontiers, and that they defend the others from all the Calamities of a most barbarous War; the Southern Colonies must think that any Contribution of Men and Money, which is expected from them, is an easy Purchase of the Freedom from such Calamities, to which their Brethren are subjected; and that while they can follow their Occupations at Ease, they are much better enabled to support the Expence of a War than the Northern Colonies are, where the Inhabitants are every Day in Danger of their Lives from a cruel Enemy, while at their daily and innocent Labours. If the Southern Colonies neglect to keep the War at a Distance from them, they may at an improper Time, become sensible of the Evils their Brethren suffer, and of their own Folly at the same Time.

New-York, Dec. 2, 1746.

The Party of seventy *Indians* and Whites mentioned in this Treaty, did not go out together as

was at first intended, Sickneſs and other Incidents made it neceſſary to alter the Meaſures at firſt propoſed. One Party of thirty *Indians* and ten Whites went by themſelves. Theſe fell upon a *French* Settlement on the North-ſide of *St. Lawrence* River, about 10 Leagues above *Montreal*, and brought away eight *French* Priſoners, one of them a Captain of Militia, and four Scalps. Another Party of nine *Indians* went to the *Cabnuagas*, under Pretence of continuing the Neutrality with them, they were introduced to the Governor of *Montreal* under the ſame Pretence, who made them Preſents: Their Deſign was to gain what Intelligence they could, and after they had done this, they acted their Part ſo well, that they received ſeveral Letters, one from the Governor of *Montreal*, and others from conſiderable Perſons to the Commandant of Fort *St. Frederic* at *Crown Point*. In their Way thither, by which they were to return Home, they ſurprized ſome *French* in a ſmall Fort, killed five, and brought away one Priſoner and one Scalp. They brought the *French* Priſoner and the Letters to the commanding Officer at *Albany*, and informed him of what they had ſeen and heard at *Montreal*.



A
COLLECTION
OF
CHARTERS
AND OTHER PUBLICK ACTS,
RELATING TO THE
Province of *PENNSYLVANIA*,

VIZ.

- I. The ROYAL CHARTER to *WILLIAM PENN*, Esq;
- II. The first FRAME of Government, granted in *England*, in 1682.
- III. LAWS agreed upon in *England*.
- IV. Certain CONDITIONS or CONCESSIONS.
- V. The ACT of SETTLEMENT, made at *Chester*, 1682.
- VI. The second FRAME of Government, granted 1683.
- VII. The CHARTER of the CITY of *PHILADELPHIA*, granted *October 25*, 1701.
- VIII. The New CHARTER of PRIVILEGES to the Province, granted *October 28*, 1701.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
NOTICE OF THE
COURT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

IN RE: THE ESTATE OF
JAMES M. SMITH

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*The CHARTER of CHARLES II.
of England, Scotland, France, and
Ireland, KING, Defender of the
Faith, &c.*

*Unto WILLIAM PENN, Proprietary and Go-
vernor of the Province of Pennsylvania.*

CHARLES, by the Grace of GOD, King
of *England, Scotland, France, and Ireland*,
Defender of the Faith, &c. To all to whom
these Presents shall come, *Greeting*. WHERE-
AS our trusty and well-beloved Subject *William
Penn, Esq;* Son and Heir of Sir *William Penn* de-
ceased, (out of a commendable Desire to enlarge
our *English* Empire, and promote such useful Com-
modities as may be of Benefit to us and our Do-
minions, as also to reduce the savage Natives by
gentle and just Manners, to the love of civil Society
and the Christian Religion) hath humbly besought
Leave of us, to transport an ample Colony unto a
certain Country herein after described, in the Parts
of *America*, not yet cultivated and planted; and
hath likewise so humbly besought our Royal Ma-
jesty to give, grant, and confirm all the said Coun-
try, with certain Privileges and Jurisdictions, re-
quisite for the good Government and Safety of the
said Country and Colony, to him and his Heirs for
ever.

S E C T. I.

KNOW YE THEREFORE, That we
(favouring the Petition and good Purpose of the

saïd *William Penn*, and having Regard to the Memory and Merits of his late Father in divers Services, and particularly to his Conduct, Courage, and Discretion under our dearest Brother *JAMES* Duke of *York*, in that signal Battle and Victory fought and obtained against the *Dutch Fleet*, commanded by the Heer *Van Opdam*, in the Year 1665: In Consideration thereof, of our special Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion) have given and granted, and by this our present Charter, for us, our Heirs and Successors, do give and grant unto the saïd *William Penn*, his Heirs and Assigns, all that Tract or Part of Land in *America*, with the Islands therein contained, as the same is bounded on the East by *Delawar River*, from twelve Miles Distance Northwards of *Newcastle Town* unto the three and fortieth Degree of Northern Latitude, if the saïd River doth extend so far Northward: But if the saïd River shall not extend so far Northward, then by the saïd River so far as it doth extend, and from the Head of the saïd River the Eastern Bounds are to be determined by a Meridian Line, to be drawn from the Head of the saïd River, unto the saïd forty-third Degree. The saïd Land to extend Westward five Degrees in Longitude, to be computed from the saïd Eastern Bounds; and the saïd Lands to be bounded on the North by the Beginning of the three and fortieth Degree of Northern Latitude, and on the South by a Circle drawn at twelve Miles Distance from *Newcastle* Northward, and Westward unto the Beginning of the fortieth Degree of Northern Latitude, and then by a strait Line Westwards to the Limits of Longitude above-mentioned.

S E C T. II.

WE do also give and grant unto the saïd *William Penn*, his Heirs and Assigns, the free and undisturbed Use and Continuance in, and Passage unto, and out of all and singular Ports, Harbours, Bays, Waters,

Waters, Rivers, Isles, and Inlets, belonging unto, or leading to and from the Country or Islands aforesaid, and all the Soils, Lands, Fields, Woods, Underwoods, Mountains, Hills, Fenns, Isles, Lakes, Rivers, Waters, Rivulets, Bays, and Inlets, situated or being within, or belonging to the Limits or Bounds aforesaid, together with the Fishing of all Sorts of Fish, Whales, Sturgeon, and all royal and other Fishes, in the Seas, Bays, Inlets, Waters, or Rivers within the Premisses, and all the Fish therein taken; and also all Veins, Mines, Minerals, and Quarries, as well discovered as not discovered, of Gold, Silver, Gemms, and precious Stones, and all other whatsoever, be it Stones, Metals, or of any other Thing or Matter whatsoever, found or to be found within the Country, Isles, or Limits aforesaid.

S E C T. III.

AND him, the said *William Penn*, his Heirs and Assigns, we do by this our Royal Charter, for us, our Heirs and Successors, make, create, and constitute, the true and absolute Proprietary of the Country aforesaid, and of all other the Premisses: Saving always to us, our Heirs and Successors, the Faith and Allegiance of the said *William Penn*, his Heirs and Assigns, and of all other Proprietaries, Tenants, and Inhabitants, that are or shall be within the Territories and Precincts aforesaid; and saving also, unto us, our Heirs and Successors, the Sovereignty of the aforesaid Country, to have, hold, possess, and enjoy the said Tract of Land, Country, Isles, Inlets, and other the Premisses, unto the said *William Penn*, his Heirs and Assigns, to the only proper Use and Behoof of the said *William Penn*, his Heirs and Assigns, for ever, to be holden of us, our Heirs and Successors, Kings of *England*, as of our Castle of *Windsor* in our County of *Berks*, in free and common Soccage, by Fealty only for all Services, and not in Capite or by Knights Service:
Yield-

Yielding and paying therefore to us, our Heirs and Successors, two Beaver-skins, to be delivered at our Castle of *Windsor* on the first Day of *January* in every Year; and also the fifth Part of all Gold and Silver Oar, which shall from Time to Time happen to be found within the Limits aforesaid, clear of all Charges. And of our further Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion, we have thought fit to erect, and we do hereby erect the aforesaid Country and Islands into a Province and Seignorie, and do call it *PENNSYLVANIA*, and so from henceforth will have it called.

S E C T. IV.

AND forasmuch as we have hereby made and ordained the aforesaid *William Penn*, his Heirs and Assigns, the true and absolute Proprietaries of all the Lands and Dominions aforesaid, KNOW YE THEREFORE, That we (reposing special Trust and Confidence in the Fidelity, Wisdom, Justice, and provident Circumspection of the said *William Penn*) for us, our Heirs and Successors, do grant free, full, and absolute Power (by Virtue of these Presents) to him and his Heirs, to his and their Deputies, and Lieutenants for the good and happy Government of the said Country, to ordain, make, and enact, and under his and their Seals to publish any Laws whatsoever, for the raising of Money for publick Uses of the said Province, or for any other End, appertaining either unto the publick State, Peace, or Safety of the said Country, or unto the private Utility of particular Persons, according unto their best Discretion, by and with the Advice, Assent, and Approbation of the Freemen of the said Country, or the greater Part of them, or of their Delegates or Deputies, whom for the enacting of the said Laws, when, and as often as Need shall require, we will that the said *William Penn* and his Heirs, shall assemble in such

Sort

Sort and Form, as to him and them shall seem best, and the same Laws duly to execute, unto and upon all People within the said Country and Limits thereof.

S E C T. V.

AND we do likewise give and grant unto the said *William Penn*, and to his Heirs, and their Deputies and Lieutenants, full Power and Authority, to appoint and establish any Judges and Justices, Magistrates and other Officers whatsoever, for what Causes soever, (for the Probates of Wills, and for the granting of Administrations within the Precincts aforesaid) and with what Power soever, and in such Form, as to the said *William Penn* or his Heirs, shall seem most convenient: Also to remit, release, pardon, and abolish (whether before Judgment or after) all Crimes and Offences whatsoever, committed within the said Country, against the said Laws, (Treason and wilful and malicious Murder only excepted, and in those Cases to grant Reprieves, until our Pleasure may be known therein) and to do all and every other Thing and Things, which unto the compleat Establishment of Justice unto Courts and Tribunals, Forms of Judicature, and Manner of Proceedings do belong, although in these Presents express Mention be not made thereof; and by Judges by them delegated, to award Process, hold Pleas, and determine in all the said Courts and Tribunals all Actions, Suits, and Causes whatsoever, as well criminal as civil, personal, real, and mixt; which Laws so, as aforesaid, to be published, our Pleasure is, and so we enjoin, require, and command, shall be most absolute and available in Law; and that all the Liege People and Subjects of us, our Heirs and Successors, do observe and keep the same inviolably in those Parts, so far as they concern them, under the Pain therein expressed, or to be expressed. PRO-
VIDED

VIDED nevertheless, That the same Laws be consonant to Reason, and not repugnant or contrary, but (as near as conveniently may be) agreeable to the Laws and Statutes, and Rights of this our Kingdom of *England*, and saving and reserving to us, our Heirs and Successors, the receiving, hearing, and determining of the Appeal and Appeals of all or any Person or Persons, of, in, or belonging to the Territories aforesaid, or touching any Judgment to be there made or given.

S E C T. VI.

AND forasmuch as in the Government of so great a Country, sudden Accidents do often happen, whereunto it will be necessary to apply Remedy before the Freeholders of the said Province, or their Delegates or Deputies can be assembled to the making of Laws; neither will it be convenient that instantly upon every such emergent Occasion, so great a Multitude should be called together: Therefore (for the better Government of the said Country) we will, and ordain, and by these Presents, for us, our Heirs and Successors, do grant unto the said *William Penn* and his Heirs, by themselves, or by their Magistrates and Officers, in that Behalf duly to be ordained as aforesaid, to make and constitute fit and wholesome Ordinances, from Time to Time, within the said Country to be kept and observed, as well for the Preservation of the Peace, as for the better Government of the People there inhabiting; and publickly to notify the same to all Persons, whom the same doth or may any Ways concern. Which Ordinances our Will and Pleasure is, shall be observed inviolably within the said Province, under the Pains therein to be expressed, so as the said Ordinances be consonant to Reason, and be not repugnant nor contrary, but (so far as conveniently may be) agreeable with the Laws of our Kingdom of *England*, and so as the said Ordinances be

be not extended in any Sort to bind, change, or take away the Right or Interest of any Person or Persons, for or in their Life, Members, Freehold, Goods, or Chattles. And our farther Will and Pleasure is, That the Laws for regulating and governing of Property within the said Province, as well for the Descent and Enjoyment of Lands, as likewise for the Enjoyment and Succession of Goods and Chattles, and likewise as to Felonies, shall be and continue the same, as they shall be for the Time being, by the general Course of the Law in our Kingdom of *England*, until the said Laws shall be altered by the said *William Penn*, his Heirs or Assigns, and by the Freemen of the said Province, their Delegates or Deputies, or the greater Part of them.

S E C T. VII.

AND to the End that the said *William Penn*, or his Heirs, or other the Planters, Owners, or Inhabitants of the said Province, may not at any Time hereafter (by Misconstruction of the Power aforesaid) through Inadvertency or Design, depart from that Faith and due Allegiance, which by the Laws of this our Realm of *England*, they and all our Subjects, in our Dominions and Territories, always owe to us, our Heirs and Successors, by Colour of any Extent or Largeness of Powers hereby given, or pretended to be given, or by Force or Colour of any Laws hereafter to be made in the said Province, by Virtue of any such Powers; OUR farther Will and Pleasure is, That a Transcript or Duplicate of all Laws, which shall be so as aforesaid made and published within the said Province, shall within five Years after the making thereof, be transmitted, and delivered to the Privy Council, for the Time being of us, our Heirs and Successors: And if any of the said Laws within the Space of six Months after that they shall be so transmitted and delivered,

be declared by us, our Heirs and Successors, in our or their Privy Council, inconsistent with the Sovereignty, or lawful Prerogative of us, our Heirs or Successors, or contrary to the Faith and Allegiance due to the legal Government of this Realm, from the said *William Penn*, or his Heirs, or of the Planters and Inhabitants of the said Province, and that thereupon any of the said Laws shall be adjudged and declared to be void by us, our Heirs and Successors, under our or their Privy Seal, that then and from thenceforth, such Laws, concerning which such Judgment and Declaration shall be made, shall become void: Otherwise the said Laws so transmitted, shall remain, and stand in full Force, according to the true Intent and Meaning thereof.

S E C T. VIII.

FURTHERMORE, that this new Colony may the more happily increase, by the Multitude of People resorting thither; Therefore we, for us, our Heirs and Successors, do give and grant by these Presents, Power, Licence, and Liberty unto all the Liege People and Subjects, both present and future, of us, our Heirs and Successors, (excepting those who shall be especially forbidden) to transport themselves and Families unto the said Country, with such convenient Shipping as by the Laws of this our Kingdom of *England* they ought to use, and with fitting Provision, paying only the Customs therefore due, and there to settle themselves, dwell and inhabit, and plant, for the publick, and their own private Advantage.

S E C T. IX.

AND FURTHERMORE, that our Subjects may be the rather encouraged to undertake this Expedition with ready and chearful Minds, KNOW YE, That we, of our special Grace, certain

tain Knowledge, and mere Motion, do give and grant by virtue of these Presents, as well unto the said *William Penn*, and his Heirs, as to all others, who shall from time to time repair unto the said Country, with a Purpose to inhabit or trade with the Natives of the said Country, full Licence to lade and freight in any Ports whatsoever, of us, our Heirs and Successors, according to the Laws made, or to be made within our Kingdom of *England*, and unto the said Country, by them, their Servants or Assigns, to transport all and singular their Goods, Wares and Merchandizes, as likewise all Sorts of Grain whatsoever, and all other Things whatsoever, necessary for Food or Clothing, not prohibited by the Laws and Statutes of our Kingdom and Dominions to be carried out of the said Kingdom, without any Let or Molestation of us, our Heirs or Successors, or of any of the Officers of us, our Heirs or Successors; saving always to us, our Heirs and Successors, the legal Impositions, Customs, or other Duties and Payments, for the said Wares and Merchandizes, by any Law or Statute due, or to be due to us, our Heirs and Successors.

S E C T. X.

AND we do further, for us, our Heirs and Successors, give and grant unto the said *William Penn*, his Heirs and Assigns, free and absolute Power, to divide the said Country and Islands into Towns, Hundreds and Counties, and to erect and incorporate Towns into Boroughs, and Boroughs into Cities, and to make and constitute Fairs and Markets therein, with all other convenient Privileges and Immunities, according to the Merits of the Inhabitants, and the Fitness of the Places, and to do all and every other Thing and Things touching the Premises, which to him or them shall seem meet and requisite; albeit they be such, as of their own Nature might otherwise require a more special

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Commandment and Warrant, than in these Presents is expressed.

S E C T. XI.

WE will also, and by these Presents, for us, our Heirs and Successors, we do give and grant Licence by this our Charter, unto the said *William Penn*, his Heirs and Assigns, and to all the Inhabitants and Dwellers in the Province aforesaid, both present and to come, to import or unlade, by themselves or their Servants, Factors, or Assigns, all Merchandizes and Goods whatsoever, that shall arise of the Fruits and Commodities of the said Province, either by Land or Sea, into any of the Ports of us, our Heirs or Successors, in our Kingdom of *England*, and not into any other Country whatsoever: And we give him full Power to dispose of the said Goods, in the said Ports; and if need be, within one Year next after the Unlading of the same, to lade the said Merchandize and Goods again into the same or other Ships, and to transport the same into any other Countries, either of our Dominions or foreign, according to Law; provided always, that they pay such Customs and Impositions, Subsidies and Duties for the same, to us, our Heirs and Successors, as the rest of our Subjects of our Kingdom of *England*, for the Time being, shall be bound to pay, and do observe the Acts of Navigation, and other Laws in that Behalf made.

S E C T. XII.

AND FURTHERMORE, of our ample and special Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, we do, for us, our Heirs and Successors, grant unto the said *William Penn*, his Heirs and Assigns, full and absolute Power and Authority, to make, erect, and constitute, within the said Province, and the Isles and Inlets aforesaid, such and so many Sea-ports, Harbours, Creeks, Havens, Keys,

Keys, and other Places, for Discharging and Unlading of Goods and Merchandizes out of the Ships, Boats, and other Vessels, and landing them unto such and so many Places, and with such Rights, Jurisdictions, Liberties and Privileges unto the said Ports belonging, as to him and them shall seem most expedient; and that all and singular the Ships, Boats, and other Vessels, which shall come for Merchandize and Trade into the said Province, or out of the same, shall be laden or unladen only at such Ports as shall be created and constituted by the said *William Penn*, his Heirs or Assigns, (any Use, Custom, or Thing to the contrary notwithstanding.) Provided, that the said *William Penn*, and his Heirs, and the Lieutenants and Governors for the Time being, shall admit and receive in, and about all such Havens, Ports, Creeks and Keys, all Officers and their Deputies, who shall from Time to Time be appointed for that Purpose by the Farmers or Commissioners of our Customs for the Time being.

S E C T. XIII.

AND we do further appoint and ordain, and by these Presents, for us, our Heirs and Successors, we do grant unto the said *William Penn*, his Heirs and Assigns, That he, the said *William Penn*, his Heirs and Assigns, may from time to time for ever, have and enjoy the Customs and Subsidies, in the Ports, Harbours, and other Creeks and Places aforesaid, within the Province aforesaid, payable or due for Merchandize and Wares there to be laded and unladed, the said Customs and Subsidies to be reasonably assessed upon any Occasion, by themselves and the People there as aforesaid to be assembled, to whom we give Power by these Presents, for us, our Heirs and Successors, upon just Cause and due Proportion to assess and impose the same; saving unto us, our Heirs and Successors, such Impositions and Customs, as by Act of Parliament are and shall be appointed.

S E C T. XIV.

AND it is our farther Will and Pleasure, That the said *William Penn*, his Heirs and Assigns, shall from Time to Time constitute and appoint an Attorney or Agent, to reside in or near our City of *London*, who shall make known the Place where he shall dwell, or may be found, unto the Clerks of our Privy-Council for the Time being, or one of them, and shall be ready to appear in any of our Courts at *Westminster*, to answer for any Misdemeanor that shall be committed, or by any wilful Default or Neglect permitted by the said *William Penn*, his Heirs or Assigns, against the Laws of Trade and Navigation; and after it shall be ascertained in any of our said Courts, what Damages we or our Heirs or Successors shall have sustained by such Default or Neglect, the said *William Penn*, his Heirs or Assigns, shall pay the same within one Year after such Taxation, and Demand thereof, from such Attorney; or in case there shall be no such Attorney by the Space of one Year, or such Attorney shall not make Payment of such Damages within the Space of a Year, and answer such other Forfeitures and Penalties within the said Time, as by the Acts of Parliament in *England* are and shall be provided, according to the true Intent and Meaning of these Presents; then it shall be lawful for us, our Heirs and Successors, to seize and resume the Government of the said Province or Country, and the same to retain until Payment shall be made thereof: But notwithstanding any such Seizure or Resumption of the Government, nothing concerning the Propriety or Ownership of any Lands, Tenements, or other Hereditaments, or Goods or Chattles, of any of the Adventurers, Planters, or Owners, other than the respective Offenders there, shall any ways be affected or molested thereby.

S E C T. XV.

PROVIDED always, and our Will and Pleasure is, That neither the said *William Penn*, nor his Heirs, or any other the Inhabitants of the said Province, shall at any Time hereafter have or maintain any Correspondence with any other King, Prince, or State, or with any of their Subjects, who shall then be in War against us, our Heirs and Successors; nor shall the said *William Penn*, or his Heirs, or any other Inhabitants of the said Province, make War, or do any Act of Hostility against any other King, Prince, or State, or any of their Subjects, who shall then be in League or Amity with us, our Heirs and Successors.

S E C T. XVI.

AND, because in so remote a Country, and situate near many barbarous Nations, the Incursions as well of the Savages themselves, as of other Enemies, Pirates and Robbers, may probably be feared; Therefore we have given, and for us, our Heirs and Successors, do give Power by these Presents to the said *William Penn*, his Heirs and Assigns, by themselves or their Captains, or other their Officers, to levy, muster and train all Sorts of Men, of what Condition soever, or wheresoever born, in the said Province of *Pensilvania* for the Time being, and to make War, and to pursue the Enemies and Robbers aforesaid, as well by Sea as by Land, even without the Limits of the said Province, and by God's Assistance to vanquish and take them, and being taken to put them to Death by the Law of War, or to save them at their Pleasure, and to do all and every other Thing which unto the Charge and Office of a Captain-General of an Army belongeth, or hath accustomed to belong, as fully and freely as any Captain-General of an Army hath ever had the same.

S E C T. XVII.

AND FURTHERMORE, of our special Grace, and of our certain Knowledge and mere Motion, we have given and granted, and by these Presents, for us, our Heirs and Successors, do give and grant unto the said *William Penn*, his Heirs and Assigns, full and absolute Power, Licence and Authority, that he, the said *William Penn*, his Heirs and Assigns, from time to time hereafter for ever, at his or their own Will and Pleasure may assign, alien, grant, demise, or enfeof of the Premises so many and such Parts and Parcels to him that shall be willing to purchase the same, as they shall think fit, to have and to hold to them the said Person and Persons willing to take and purchase, their Heirs and Assigns, in Fee-simple or Fee-tail, or for the Term of Life, Lives or Years, to be held of the said *William Penn*, his Heirs or Assigns, as of the said Seignior of *Windsor*, by such Services, Customs or Rents, as shall seem meet to the said *William Penn*, his Heirs or Assigns, and not immediately of us, our Heirs or Successors.

S E C T. XVIII.

AND to the same Person or Persons, and to all and every of them, we do give and grant by these Presents, for us, our Heirs and Successors, Licence, Authority and Power, that such Person or Persons may take the Premises, or any Parcel thereof, of the aforesaid *William Penn*, his Heirs or Assigns, and the same hold to themselves, their Heirs and Assigns, in what Estate of Inheritance soever, in Fee-simple or in Fee-tail, or otherwise, as to him, the said *William Penn*, his Heirs or Assigns, shall seem expedient: The Statute made in the Parliament of *EDWARD*, Son of King *HENRY*, late King of *England*, our Predecessor, (commonly called *The Statute QUIA EMPTORES TERRARUM*,

TERRARUM, lately published in our Kingdom of England) in any wise notwithstanding.

S E C T. XIX.

AND by these Presents we give and grant Licence unto the said *William Penn*, and his Heirs, and likewise to all and every such Person or Persons to whom the said *William Penn*, or his Heirs, shall at any Time hereafter grant any Estate or Inheritance as aforesaid, to erect any Parcels of Land within the Province aforesaid into Manors, by and with the Licence to be first had and obtained for that Purpose, under the Hand and Seal of the said *William Penn*, or his Heirs; and in every of the said Manors to have and to hold a Court-Baron, with all things whatsoever which to a Court-Baron do belong, and to have and to hold View of Frank-Pledge for the Conservation of the Peace, and the better Government of those Parts, by themselves or their Stewards, or by the Lords for the Time being of the Manors to be deputed when they shall be erected, and in the same to use all Things belonging to the View of Frank-Pledge. AND we do further grant Licence and Authority, That every such Person or Persons who shall erect any such Manor or Manors, as aforesaid, shall or may grant all or any Part of his said Land to any Person or Persons, in Fee-simple, or any other Estate of Inheritance to be held of the said Manors respectively, so as no farther Tenure shall be created, but that upon all further or other Alienations thereafter to be made, the said Lands so aliened shall be held of the same Lord and his Heirs, of whom the Aliener did then before hold, and by the like Rents and Services which were before due and accustomed.

S E C T. XX.

AND FURTHER our Pleasure is, and by these Presents, for us, our Heirs and Successors,

we do covenant and grant to and with the said *William Penn*, his Heirs and Assigns, That we, our Heirs and Successors, shall at no Time hereafter set or make, or cause to be set or made, any Imposition, Custom, or other Taxation, Rate or Contribution whatsoever, in and upon the Dwellers and Inhabitants of the aforesaid Province, for their Lands, Tenements, Goods or Chattles within the said Province, or in and upon any Goods or Merchandizes within the Province, or to be laden or unladen within the Ports or Harbours of the said Province, unless the same be with the Consent of the Proprietary, or chief Governor, or Assembly, or by Act of Parliament in *England*.

S E C T. XXI.

AND our Pleasure is, and for us, our Heirs and Successors, we charge and command, That this our Declaration shall from henceforth from Time to Time be received and allowed in all our Courts, and before all the Judges of us, our Heirs and Successors, for a sufficient lawful Discharge, Payment and Acquittance; commanding all the Officers and Ministers of us, our Heirs and Successors, and enjoining them upon Pain of our highest Displeasure, that they do not presume at any Time to attempt any thing to the contrary of the Premises, or that do in any sort withstand the same, but that they be at all Times aiding and assisting, as is fitting to the said *William Penn*, and his Heirs, and unto the Inhabitants and Merchants of the Province aforesaid, their Servants, Ministers, Factors, and Assigns, in the full Use and Fruition of the Benefit of this our Charter.

S E C T. XXII.

AND our farther Pleasure is, and we do hereby, for us, our Heirs and Successors, charge and require, That if any of the Inhabitants of the said Province, to the Number of Twenty, shall at any Time hereafter be desirous, and shall by any Writing,

ing, or by any Person deputed by them, signify such their Desire to the Bishop of *London* for the Time being, That any Preacher or Preachers, to be approved of by the said Bishop, may be sent unto them for their Instruction; That then such Preacher or Preachers shall and may reside within the said Province, without any Denial or Molestation whatsoever.

S E C T. XXIII.

AND if perchance hereafter any Doubt or Question should arise, concerning the true Sense and Meaning of any Word, Clause, or Sentence contained in this our present Charter, we will, ordain, and command, That at all Times, and in all Things, such Interpretation be made thereof, and allowed in any of our Courts whatsoever, as shall be adjudged most advantageous and favourable unto the said *William Penn*, his Heirs and Assigns: Provided always no Interpretation be admitted thereof, by which the Allegiance due unto us, our Heirs and Successors, may suffer any Prejudice or Diminution; although express Mention be not made in these Presents of the true yearly Value, or Certainty of the Premises, or any Part thereof, or of other Gifts and Grants made by us and our Progenitors or Predecessors unto the said *William Penn*: Any Statute, Act, Ordinance, Provision, Proclamation, or Restraint heretofore had, made, published, ordained, or provided, or any other Thing, Cause or Matter whatsoever, to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. IN WITNESS whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made Patent: Witness OUR SELF, at *Westminster*, the *Fourth* Day of *March*, in the *three and thirtieth* Year of our Reign. *Annoque Domini One Thousand Six Hundred and Eighty-one.*

By Writ of Privy Seal,

PIGOTT.

The FRAME of the Government of the Province of *Pensilvania* in *America*: Together with certain LAWS agreed upon in *England*. By the Governor and divers Freemen of the aforesaid Province. To be further explained and continued there, by the first Provincial Council that shall be held, if they see meet.

The P R E F A C E.

WHEN the great and wise GOD had made the World, of all his Creatures it pleased him to chuse Man his Deputy to rule it; and to fit him for so great a Charge and Trust, he did not only qualify him with Skill and Power, but with Integrity to use them justly. This native Goodness was equally his Honour and his Happiness; and whilst he stood here, all went well; there was no need of coercive or compulsive Means; the Precept of divine Love and Truth in his Bosom was the Guide and Keeper of his Innocency. But Lust prevailing against Duty, made a lamentable Breach upon it; and the Law, that had before no Power over him, took place upon him and his disobedient Posterity, that such as would not live conformable to the holy Law within, should fall under the Reproof and Correction of the just Law without, in a judicial Administration.

THIS the Apostle teaches in divers of his Epistles: The Law (says he) was added because of Transgression: In another Place, Knowing that the Law was not made for the righteous Man; but for the disobedient and ungodly, for Sinners, for unholy and prophane, for Murderers, for Whoremongers, for them that defile themselves with Mankind, and for Men-stealers, for Liars, for perjured Persons, &c. But this is not all, he opens and carries the Matter of Government a little further: Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers; for there is

no Power but of GOD. The Powers that be are ordained of GOD: Whosoever therefore resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of GOD. For Rulers are not a Terror to good Works, but to evil: Wilt thou then not be afraid of the Power? do that which is good, and thou shalt have Praise of the same.—He is the Minister of GOD to thee for good.—Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for Wrath, but for Conscience sake.

THIS settles the divine Right of Government beyond Exception, and that for two Ends: First to terrify evil Doers; Secondly to cherish those that do well; which gives Government a Life beyond Corruption, and makes it as durable in the Word, as good Men shall be. So that Government seems to me a Part of Religion itself, a Thing sacred in its Institution and End. For if it does not directly remove the Cause, it crushes the Effects of Evil, and is as such (though a lower yet) an Emanation of the same divine Power, that is both Author and Object of pure Religion; the Difference lying here, that the one is more free and mental, the other more corporal and compulsive in its Operations: But that is only to evil Doers; Government itself being otherwise as capable of Kindness, Goodness, and Charity, as a more private Society. They weakly err, that think there is no other Use of Government than Correction, which is the coarsest Part of it: Daily Experience tells us, that the Care and Regulation of many other Affairs, more soft and daily necessary, make up much the greatest Part of Government; and which must have followed the Peopling of the World, had Adam never fell, and will continue among Men on Earth under the highest Attainments they may arrive at, by the coming of the blessed Second Adam, the LORD from Heaven. Thus much of Government in general, as to its Rise and End.

FOR particular Frames and Models, it will become me to say little; and comparatively I will say nothing.

nothing. My Reasons are: First, That the Age is too nice and difficult for it; there being nothing the Wits of Men are more busy and divided upon. 'Tis true, they seem to agree in the End, to wit, Happiness; but in the Means they differ, as to divine, so to this human Felicity; and the Cause is much the same, not always Want of Light and Knowledge, but Want of Using them rightly. Men side with their Passions against their Reason, and their sinister Interests have so strong a Bias upon their Minds, that they lean to them against the good of the things they know.

Secondly, I do not find a Model in the World, that Time, Place, and some singular Emergencies have not necessarily altered; nor is it easy to frame a civil Government, that shall serve all Places alike.

Thirdly, I know what is said by the several Admirers of Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy, which are the Rule of one, a few, and many, and are the three common Ideas of Government, when Men discourse on that Subject. But I chuse to solve the Controversy with this small Distinction, and it belongs to all three: Any Government is free to the People under it (whatever be the Frame) where the Laws rule, and the People are a Party to those Laws; and more than this is Tyranny, Oligarchy, or Confusion.

BUT Lastly, when all is said, there is hardly one Frame of Government in the World so ill designed by its first Founders, that in good Hands would not do well enough; and Story tells us, the best in ill ones can do nothing that is great or good; Witness the Jewish and Roman States. Governments, like Clocks, go from the Motion Men give them; and as Governments are made and moved by Men, so by them they are ruined too. Wherefore Governments rather depend upon Men, than Men upon Governments. Let Men be good, and the Government can't be bad; if it be ill, they will cure it. But if Men be bad, let the Govern-

Government be never so good, they will endeavour to warp and spoil it to their Turn.

I know some say, Let us have good Laws, and no matter for the Men that execute them : But let them consider, That though good Laws do well, good Men do better : For good Laws may want good Men, and be abolished or evaded by ill Men ; but good Men will never want good Laws, nor suffer ill ones. 'Tis true, good Laws have some awe upon ill Ministers, but that is where they have no Power to escape or abolish them, and the People are generally wise and good : But a loose and depraved People (which is to the Question) love Laws and an Administration like themselves. That therefore which makes a good Constitution, must keep it, viz. Men of Wisdom and Virtue, Qualities, that because they descend not with worldly Inheritances, must be carefully propagated by a virtuous Education of Youth ; for which After-Ages will owe more to the Care and Prudence of Founders and the successive Magistracy, than to their Parents for their private Patrimonies.

THESE Considerations of the Weight of Government, and the nice and various Opinions about it, made it uneasy to me to think of publishing the ensuing Frame and conditional Laws, foreseeing, both the Censures they will meet with from Men of differing Humours and Engagements, and the Occasion they may give of Discourse beyond my Design.

BUT next to the Power of Necessity, (which is a Solicitor that will take no Denial) this induced me to a Compliance, that we have (with Reverence to GOD and good Conscience to Men) to the best of our Skill, contrived and composed the FRAME and LAWS of this Government, to the great End of all Government, viz. To support Power in Reverence with the People, and to secure the People from the Abuse of Power ; that they may be free by their just Obedience, and the Magistrates honourable for their just Administration : For Liberty without Obedience is Confusion,

Confusion, and Obedience without Liberty is Slavery. To carry this Evenness is partly owing to the Constitution, and partly to the Magistracy: Where either of these fail, Government will be subject to Convulsions; but where both are wanting, it must be totally subverted: Then where both meet, the Government is like to endure. Which I humbly pray, and hope GOD will please to make the Lot of this of Pensilvania. Amen.

WILLIAM PENN.

The FRAME, &c.

TO ALL PEOPLE, To whom these Presents shall come. WHEREAS King CHARLES the Second, by his Letters Patents, under the great Seal of England, for the Consideration therein mentioned, hath been graciously pleased to give and grant unto me *William Penn* (by the Name of *William Penn*, Esq; Son and Heir* of Sir *William Penn* deceased) and to my Heirs and Assigns for ever, all that Tract of Land, or Province called *Pensilvania*, in *America*, with divers great Powers, Preheminences, Royalties, Jurisdctions, and Authorities, necessary for the Well-being and Government thereof: NOW KNOW YE, That for the Well-being and Government of the said Province, and for the Encouragement of all the Freemen and Planters that may be therein concerned, in Pursuance of the Powers afore-mentioned, I the said *William Penn* have declared, granted and confirmed, and by these Presents, for me, my Heirs and Assigns, do declare, grant and confirm unto all the Freemen, Planters and Adventurers, of, in and to the said Province, these Liberties, Franchises, and Properties, to be held, enjoyed and kept by the Freemen, Planters and Inhabitants of the said Province of *Pensilvania* for ever.

IMPRIMIS,

I M P R I M I S.

THAT the Government of this Province shall, according the Powers of the Patent, consist of the Governor and Freemen of the said Province, in Form of a Provincial Council and General Assembly, by whom all Laws shall be made, Officers chosen, and publick Affairs transacted, as is hereafter respectively declared. *That is to say,*

II.

THAT the Freemen of the said Province shall on the twentieth Day of the twelfth Month, which shall be in this present Year *One Thousand Six Hundred Eighty and Two*, meet and assemble in some fit Place, of which timely Notice shall be beforehand given by the Governor or his Deputy, and then and there shall chuse out of themselves SEVENTY-TWO Persons of most Note for their Wisdom, Virtue and Ability, who shall meet on the tenth Day of the first Month next ensuing, and always be called and act as the provincial Council of the said Province.

III.

THAT at the first Choice of such provincial Council, one third part of the said provincial Council shall be chosen to serve for three Years then next ensuing, one third part for two Years then next ensuing, and one third part for one Year then next following such Election, and no longer; and that the said third part shall go out accordingly: And on the twentieth Day of the twelfth Month as aforesaid, yearly for ever afterward, the Freemen of the said Province shall in like Manner meet and assemble together, and then chuse TWENTY-FOUR Persons, being one third of the said Number, to serve in provincial Council for three Years: It being intended, that one third part of the whole provincial Council (always consisting, and to consist of

of seventy-two Persons, as aforesaid) falling off yearly, it shall be yearly supplied by such new yearly Elections, as aforesaid; and that no one Person shall continue therein longer than three Years: And in case any Member shall decease before the last Election during his Time, that then at the next Election ensuing his Decease, another shall be chosen to supply his Place for the remaining Time he was to have served, and no longer.

IV.

THAT after the first seven Years, every one of the said third parts that goeth yearly off, shall be incapable of being chosen again for one whole Year following: That so all may be fitted for Government, and have Experience of the Care and Burden of it.

V.

THAT the provincial Council in all Cases and Matters of Moment, as their arguing upon Bills to be past into Laws, erecting Courts of Justice, giving Judgment upon Criminals impeached, and Choice of Officers, in such Manner as is herein after-mentioned; not less than two-thirds of the whole provincial Council shall make a *Quorum*; and that the Consent not Approbation of two-thirds of such *Quorum* shall be had in all such Cases and Matters of Moment. And moreover, that in all Cases and Matters of lesser Moment, twenty-four Members of the said provincial Council shall make a *Quorum*, the Majority of which twenty-four shall and may always determine in such Cases and Causes of lesser Moment.

VI.

THAT in this provincial Council the Governor, or his Deputy, shall or may always preside, and have a treble Voice; and the said provincial Council shall always continue, and sit upon its own Adjournments and Committees.

VII.

VII.

THAT the Governor and provincial Council shall prepare and propose to the general Assembly hereafter mentioned, all Bills, which they shall at any Time think fit to be passed into Laws within the said Province; which Bills shall be published and affixed to the most noted Places in the inhabited Parts thereof, thirty Days before the Meeting of the general Assembly, in order to the passing them into Laws, or rejecting of them, as the general Assembly shall see meet.

VIII.

THAT the Governor and provincial Council shall take care, that all Laws, Statutes and Ordinances, which shall at any Time be made within the said Province, be duly and diligently executed.

IX.

THAT the Governor and provincial Council shall at all Times have the Care of the Peace and Safety of the Province, and that nothing be by any Person attempted to the Subversion of this Frame of Government.

X.

THAT the Governor and provincial Council shall at all Times settle and order the Situation of all Cities, Ports, and Market-Towns in every County, modelling therein all publick Buildings, Streets, and Market-Places, and shall appoint all necessary Roads and Highways in the Province.

XI.

THAT the Governor and provincial Council shall at all Times have Power to inspect the Management of the publick Treasury, and punish those who shall convert any Part thereof to any other Use,

Use, than what hath been agreed upon by the Governor, provincial Council, and general Assembly.

XII.

THAT the Governor and provincial Council shall erect and order all publick Schools, and encourage and reward the Authors of useful Sciences and laudable Inventions in the said Province.

XIII.

THAT for the better Management of the Powers and Trust afore said, the provincial Council shall from time to time divide itself into four distinct and proper Committees, for the more easy Administration of the Affairs of the Province, which divides the Seventy-two into four Eighteens, every one of which Eighteens shall consist of six out of each of the three Orders or yearly Elections, each of which shall have a distinct Portion of Business, as followeth: *First*, a Committee of Plantations, to situate and settle Cities, Ports, and Market-Towns, and Highways, and to hear and decide all Suits and Controversies relating to Plantations. *Secondly*, a Committee of Justice and Safety, to secure the Peace of the Province, and punish the Male-Administration of those who subvert Justice to the Prejudice of the publick or private Interest. *Thirdly*, a Committee of Trade and Treasury, who shall regulate all Trade and Commerce according to Law, encourage Manufacture and Country-Growth, and defray the publick Charge of the Province. And *Fourthly*, a Committee of Manners, Education, and Arts, that all wicked and scandalous Living may be prevented, and that Youth may be successfully trained up in Virtue and useful Knowledge and Arts: The *Quorum* of each of which Committees being six, *that is*, two out of each of the three Orders or yearly Elections, as afore said, make a constant and standing Council of TWENTY-FOUR, which

which will have the Power of the provincial Council, being the *Quorum* of it, in all Cases not excepted in the fifth Article; and in the said Committees and standing Council of the Province, the Governor or his Deputy shall or may preside, as aforesaid; and in the Absence of the Governor or his Deputy, if no one is by either of them appointed, the said Committees or Council shall appoint a President for that Time, and not otherwise; and what shall be resolved at such Committees, shall be reported to the said Council of the Province, and shall be by them resolved and confirmed before the same shall be put in Execution; and that these respective Committees shall not sit at one and the same Time, except in Cases of Necessity.

XIV.

AND, to the End that all Laws prepared by the Governor and provincial Council aforesaid, may yet have the more full Concurrence of the Freemen of the Province, it is declared, granted, and confirmed, That at the Time and Place or Places for the Choice of a provincial Council as aforesaid, the said Freemen shall yearly chuse Members to serve in a general Assembly as their Representatives, not exceeding two hundred Persons, who shall yearly meet from the twentieth Day of the second Month, which shall be in the Year *One Thousand Six Hundred Eighty and Three* following, in the capital Town or City of the said Province, where during eight Days the several Members may freely confer with one another; and, if any of them see meet, with a Committee of the provincial Council (consisting of three out of each of the four Committees aforesaid, being twelve in all) which shall be at that Time, purposely appointed to receive from any of them Proposals for the Alterations or Amendment of any of the said proposed and promulgated Bills: And on the ninth Day from their so meeting, the

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said

said general Assembly, after Reading over the proposed Bills by the Clerk of the provincial Council, and the Occasions and Motives for them being opened by the Governor or his Deputy, shall give their Affirmative or Negative, which to them seemeth best, in such Manner as herein after is express'd. But not less than two-thirds shall make a *Quorum* in the Passing of Laws, and Choice of such Officers as are by them to be chosen.

XV.

THAT the Laws so prepared and proposed as aforesaid, that are assented to by the general Assembly, shall be enrolled as Laws of the Province, with this Stile: *By the Governor, with the Assent and Approbation of the Freemen in provincial Council and general Assembly.*

XVI.

THAT, for the better Establishment of the Government and Laws of this Province, and to the End there may be an universal Satisfaction in the Laying of the Fundamentals thereof; the general Assembly shall, or may for the first Year, consist of all the Freemen of and in the said Province, and ever after it shall be yearly chosen as aforesaid; which Number of two hundred shall be enlarged as the Country shall encrease in People, so as it do not exceed five hundred at any Time: The Appointment and Proportioning of which, as also the Laying and Methodizing of the Choice of the provincial Council and general Assembly in future Times, most equally to the Divisions of the Hundreds and Counties, which the Country shall hereafter be divided into, shall be in the Power of the provincial Council to propose, and the general Assembly to resolve.

XVII.

THAT the Governor and the provincial Council shall erect from time to time standing Courts of Justice,

Justice, in such Places and Number as they shall judge convenient for the good Government of the said Province. And that the provincial Council shall on the thirteenth Day of the first Month yearly, elect and present to the Governor or his Deputy, a double Number of Persons, to serve for Judges, Treasurers, Masters of Rolls, within the said Province for the Year next ensuing; and the Freemen of the said Province in the County-Courts, when they shall be erected, and till then in the general Assembly, shall on the three and twentieth Day of the second Month yearly, elect and present to the Governor or his Deputy, a double Number of Persons to serve for Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and Coroners, for the Year next ensuing; out of which respective Elections and Presentments, the Governor or his Deputy shall nominate and commissionate the proper Number for each Office the third Day after the said Presentments; or else the first named in such Presentment for each Office, shall stand and serve for that Office the Year ensuing.

XVIII.

BUT forasmuch as the present Condition of the Province requires some immediate Settlement, and admits not of so quick a Revolution of Officers; and to the End the said Province may, with all convenient Speed, be well ordered and settled, I *William Penn* do therefore think fit to nominate and appoint such Persons for Judges, Treasurers, Masters of the Rolls, Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and Coroners, as are most fitly qualified for those Employments; to whom I shall make and grant Commissions for the said Officers, respectively, to hold to them to whom the same shall be granted, for so long Time as every such Person shall well behave himself in the Office or Place to him respectively granted, and no longer. And upon the Decease or Displacing of any of the said Officers,

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the succeeding Officer or Officers shall be chosen as
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XIX.

THAT the general Assembly shall continue so long as may be needful to impeach Criminals fit to be there impeached, to pass Bills into Laws that they shall think fit to pass into Laws, and till such Time as the Governor and provincial Council shall declare that they have nothing further to propose unto them for their Assent and Approbation: And that Declaration shall be a Dismiss to the general Assembly for that time; which general Assembly shall be notwithstanding capable of assembling together upon the Summons of the provincial Council, at any Time during that Year, if the said provincial Council shall see Occasion for their so assembling.

XX.

THAT all the Elections of Members or Representatives of the People to serve in provincial Council and general Assembly, and all Questions to be determined by both or either of them, that relate to passing of Bills into Laws, to the Choice of Officers, to Impeachments made by the general Assembly, and Judgment of Criminals upon such Impeachments by the provincial Council, and to all other Cases by them respectively judged of Importance, shall be resolved and determined by the Ballot; and unless on sudden and indispensable Occasions, no Business in provincial Council, or its respective Committees, shall be finally determined the same Day that it is moved.

XXI.

THAT at all times, when, and so often as it shall happen that the Governor shall or may be an Infant under the Age of one and twenty Years, and no Guardians or Commissioners are appointed in Writing by the Father of the said Infant, or that
such

such Guardians or Commissioners shall be deceased; that during such Minority, the provincial Council shall from Time to Time, as they shall see meet, constitute and appoint Guardians or Commissioners, not exceeding three; one of which three shall preside as Deputy and chief Guardian, during such Minority, and shall have, and execute, with the Consent of the other two, all the Power of a Governor, in all the publick Affairs and Concerns of the said Province.

XXII.

THAT as often as any Day of the Month mentioned in any Article of this Charter, shall fall upon the first Day of the Week, commonly called *the Lord's Day*, the Business appointed for that Day shall be deferred till the next Day, unless in case of Emergency.

XXIII.

THAT no Act, Law, or Ordinance whatsoever, shall at any time hereafter be made or done by the Governor of this Province, his Heirs or Assigns, or by the Freemen in the provincial Council, or the general Assembly, to alter, change or diminish the Form or Effect of this Charter, or any Part or Clause thereof, or contrary to the true Intent and Meaning thereof, without the Consent of the Governor, his Heirs or Assigns, and six Parts of seven of the said Freemen in provincial Council and general Assembly.

XXIV.

AND LASTLY, That I the said *William Penn*, for myself, my Heirs and Assigns, have solemnly declared, granted, and confirmed, and do hereby solemnly declare, grant, and confirm, That neither I, my Heirs nor Assigns, shall procure or do any Thing or Things, whereby the Liberties in this

Charter contained and expressed shall be infringed or broken; and if any Thing be procured by any Person or Persons contrary to these Premisses, it shall be held of no Force or Effect. IN WITNESS whereof, I the said *William Penn* have unto this present Charter of Liberties set my Hand and broad Seal, this *five and twentieth* Day of the second Month, vulgarly called *April*, in the Year of our LORD *One Thousand Six Hundred and Eighty-two*.

WILLIAM PENN.

LAW S agreed upon in England, &c.

I.

THAT the Charter of Liberties, declared, granted, and confirmed the *five and twentieth* Day of the second Month, called *April*, 1682, before divers Witnesses, by *William Penn*, Governor and chief Proprietor of *Pensilvania*, to all the Freemen and Planters of the said Province; is hereby declared and approved, and shall be for ever held for Fundamental in the Government thereof, according to the Limitations mentioned in the said Charter.

II.

THAT every Inhabitant in the said Province, that is or shall be a Purchaser of one hundred Acres of Land, or upwards, his Heirs and Assigns, and every Person who shall have paid his Passage, and taken up one hundred Acres of Land at one Penny an Acre, and have cultivated ten Acres thereof; and every Person that hath been a Servant or Bondsman, and is free by his Service, that shall have taken up his fifty Acres of Land, and cultivated twenty thereof; and every Inhabitant, Artificer, or other Resident in the said Province, that pays Scot and Lot to the Government, shall be deemed and

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accounted a Freeman of the said Province: And every such Person shall and may be capable of electing, or being elected Representatives of the People in provincial Council or general Assembly in the said Province.

III.

THAT all Elections of Members, or Representatives of the People and Freemen of the Province of *Pensilvania*, to serve in provincial Council or general Assembly to be held within the said Province, shall be free and voluntary: And that the Elector, that shall receive any Reward or Gift, in Meat, Drink, Monies, or otherwise, shall forfeit his Right to elect; and such Person as shall directly or indirectly give, promise, or bestow any such Reward as aforesaid, to be elected, shall forfeit his Election, and be thereby incapable to serve as aforesaid: And the provincial Council and general Assembly shall be the sole Judges of the Regularity or Irregularity of the Elections of their own respective Members.

IV.

THAT no Money or Goods shall be raised upon, or paid by any of the People of this Province by way of publick Tax, Custom, or Contribution, but by a Law for that Purpose made; and whosoever shall levy, collect, or pay any Money or Goods contrary thereunto, shall be held a publick Enemy to the Province, and a Betrayer of the Liberties of the People thereof.

V.

THAT all Courts shall be open, and Justice shall neither be sold, denied, nor delayed.

VI.

THAT in all Courts, all Persons of all Persuasions may freely appear in their own Way, and according to their own Manner, and there personally

plead their own Cause themselves; or if unable, by their Friend: And the first Process shall be the Exhibition of the Complaint in Court, fourteen Days before the Trial; and that the Party complained against may be fitted for the same, he or she shall be summoned, no less than ten Days before, and a Copy of the Complaint delivered him or her, at his or her Dwelling-house. But before the Complaint of any Person be received, he shall solemnly declare in Court, That he believes in his Conscience his Cause is just.

VII.

THAT all Pleadings, Processes, and Records in Court shall be short, and in *English*, and in an ordinary and plain Character, that they may be understood, and Justice speedily administered.

VIII.

THAT all Trials shall be by twelve Men, and as near as may be, Peers or Equals, and of the Neighbourhood, and Men without just Exception in Cases of Life, there shall be first twenty-four returned by the Sheriffs for a Grand Inquest, of whom twelve at least shall find the Complaint to be true; and then the twelve Men, or Peers, to be likewise returned by the Sheriff, shall have the final Judgment. But reasonable Challenges shall be always admitted against the said twelve Men, or any of them.

IX.

THAT all Fees in all Cases shall be moderate, and settled by the provincial Council and general Assembly, and be hung up in a Table in every respective Court; and whosoever shall be convicted of taking more, shall pay two-fold, and be dismissed his Employment, one Moiety of which shall go to the Party wronged.

X.

X.

THAT all Prisons shall be Work-houses for Felons, Vagrants, and loose and idle Persons; whereof one shall be in every County.

XI.

THAT all Prisoners shall be bailable by sufficient Sureties, unless for capital Offences, where the Proof is evident, or the Presumption great.

XII.

THAT all Persons wrongfully imprisoned or prosecuted at Law, shall have double Damages against the Informer or Prosecutor.

XIII.

THAT all Prisons shall be free as to Fees, Food, and Lodging.

XIV.

THAT all Lands and Goods shall be liable to pay Debts, except where there is legal Issue, and then all the Goods, and one third of the Land only.

XV.

THAT all Wills in Writing attested by two Witnesses, shall be of the same Force, as to Lands, as other Conveyances, being legally proved within forty Days, either within or without the said Province.

XVI.

THAT seven Years quiet Possession shall give an unquestionable Right, except in Cases of Infants, Lunatics, married Women, or Persons beyond the Seas.

XVII.

THAT all Briberies and Extortions whatsoever, shall be severely punished.

XVIII.

XVIII.

THAT all Fines shall be moderate, and saving Mens Contenements, Merchandize, or Wainage.

XIX.

THAT all Marriages (not forbidden by the Law of God, as to Nearness of Blood and Affinity by Marriage) shall be encouraged; but the Parents or Guardians shall be first consulted, and the Marriage shall be published before it be solemnized; and it shall be solemnized by taking one another as Husband and Wife, before credible Witnesses, and a Certificate of the whole, under the Hands of Parties and Witnesses, shall be brought to the proper Register of that County, and shall be registred in his Office.

XX.

AND to prevent Frauds and vexatious Suits within the said Province, that all Charters, Gifts, Grants, and Conveyances of Land, (except Leases for a Year or under) and all Bills, Bonds, and Specialties above *five Pounds*, and not under three Months, made in the said Province, shall be enrolled or registred in the publick Enrolment-Office of the said Province, within the Space of two Months next after the Making thereof, else to be void in Law. And all Deeds, Grants, and Conveyances of Land (except as aforesaid) within the said Province, and made out of the said Province, shall be enrolled or registred as aforesaid, within six Months next after the Making thereof, and settling and constituting an Enrolment-Office or Registry within the said Province, else to be void in Law against all Persons whatsoever.

XXI.

THAT all Defacers or Corrupters of Charters, Gifts, Grants, Bonds, Bills, Wills, Contracts, and Conveyances, or that shall deface or falsify any Enrolment, Registry or Record within this Province, shall

shall make double Satisfaction for the same; half whereof shall go to the Party wronged, and they shall be dismissed of all Places of Trust, and be publickly disgraced as false Men.

XXII.

THAT there shall be a Register for Births, Marriages, Burials, Wills, and Letters of Administration, distinct from the other Registry.

XXIII.

THAT there shall be a Register for all Servants, where their Names, Time, Wages, and Days of Payment shall be registred.

XXIV.

THAT all Lands and Goods of Felons shall be liable to make Satisfaction to the Party wronged twice the Value; and for Want of Lands or Goods, the Felons shall be Bondmen to work in the common Prison or Work-house, or otherwise, till the Party injured be satisfied.

XXV.

THAT the Estates of capital Offenders, as Traitors and Murderers, shall go one third to the next of kin to the Sufferer, and the Remainder to the next of kin to the Criminal.

XXVI.

THAT all Witnesses, coming or called to testify their Knowledge in or to any Matter or Thing in any Court, or before any lawful Authority within the said Province, shall there give or deliver in their Evidence or Testimony by solemnly promising to speak the Truth, the whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth, to the Matter or Thing in Question. And in case any Person so called to Evidence, shall be convicted of wilful Falshood, such Person shall suffer and undergo such Damage or Penalty, as the Person or Persons against whom he or she bore false Witness, did or should undergo; and shall also make Satisfaction to the Party wronged,

wronged, and be publickly exposed as a false Witness, never to be credited in any Court, or before any Magistrate in the said Province.

XXVII.

AND to the end that all Officers chosen to serve within this Province, may with more Care and Diligence answer the Trust reposed in them, it is agreed, That no such Person shall enjoy more than one publick Office at one Time.

XXVIII.

THAT all Children within this Province of the Age of twelve Years, shall be taught some useful Trade or Skill, to the end none may be idle, but the Poor may work to live, and the Rich, if they become poor, may not want.

XXIX.

THAT Servants be not kept longer than their Time, and such as are careful, be both justly and kindly used in their Service, and put in fitting Equipage at the Expiration thereof, according to Custom.

XXX.

THAT all scandalous and malicious Reporters, Backbiters, Defamers, and Spreaders of false News, whether against Magistrates or private Persons, shall be accordingly severely punished, as Enemies to the Peace and Concord of this Province.

XXXI.

THAT for the Encouragement of the Planters and Traders in this Province, who are incorporated into a Society, the Patent granted to them by *William Penn*, Governor of the said Province, is hereby ratified and confirmed.

XXXII.

XXXII.

XXXIII.

THAT all Factors or Correspondents in the said Province, wronging their Employers, shall make Satisfaction and one third over, to their said Employers: And in case of the Death of any such Factor or Correspondent, the Committee of Trade shall take care to secure so much of the deceased Party's Estate, as belongs to his said respective Employers.

XXXIV.

THAT all Treasurers, Judges, Masters of the Rolls, Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and other Officers and Persons whatsoever, relating to Courts or Trials of Causes, or any other Service in the Government; and all Members elected to serve in provincial Council and general Assembly, and all that have Right to elect such Members, shall be such as profess Faith in Jesus Christ, and that are not convicted of ill Fame, or unsober and dishonest Conversation, and that are of *twenty-one* Years of Age at least; and that all such so qualified, shall be capable of the said several Employments and Privileges as aforesaid.

XXXV.

THAT all Persons living in this Province, who confess and acknowledge the one Almighty and Eternal God, to be the Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the World; and that hold themselves obliged in Conscience to live peaceably and justly in civil Society, shall in no Ways be molested or prejudiced for their religious Persuasion or Practice in Matters of Faith and Worship, nor shall they be compell'd at any Time to frequent or maintain any religious Worship, Place or Ministry whatever.

XXXVI.

XXXVI.

THAT according to the good Example of the primitive Christians, and the Ease of the Creation, every *first* Day of the Week, called the Lord's Day, People shall abstain from their common daily Labour, that they may the better dispose themselves to worship God according to their Understandings.

XXXVII.

THAT as a careless and corrupt Administration of Justice draws the Wrath of God upon Magistrates, so the Wildness and Looseness of the People provoke the Indignation of God against a Country: Therefore, That all such Offences against God, as Swearing, Cursing, Lying, prophane Talking, Drunkenness, Drinking of Healths, obscene Words, Incest, Sodomy, Rapes, Whoredom, Fornication, and other Uncleaness (not to be repeated) all Treasons, Misprisions, Murders, Duels, Felony, Sedition, Maims, forcible Entries, and other Violences, to the Persons and Estates of the Inhabitants within this Province. All Prizes, Stage-plays, Cards, Dice, Maygames, Gamesters, Masques, Revels, Bull-baitings, Cock-fightings, Bear-baitings, and the like, which excite the People to Rudeness, Cruelty, Looseness, and Irreligion, shall be respectively discouraged and severely punish'd, according to the Appointment of the Governor and Freemen in provincial Council and general Assembly; as also all Proceedings contrary to these Laws, that are not here made expressly penal.

XXXVIII.

THAT a Copy of these Laws shall be hung up in the provincial Council, and in publick Courts of Justice: And that they shall be read yearly at the Opening of every provincial Council and general Assembly, and Court of Justice; and their Assent shall be testified,

testified, by their standing up after the Reading thereof.

XXXIX.

THAT there shall be at no time any Alteration of any of these Laws, without the Consent of the Governor, his Heirs or Assigns, and six Parts of seven of the Freemen, met in provincial Council and general Assembly.

XL.

THAT all other Matters and Things not herein provided for, which shall and may concern the publick Justice, Peace or Safety of the said Province; and the raising and imposing Taxes, Customs, Duties, or other Charges whatsoever, shall be and are hereby referred to the Order, Prudence and Determination of the Governor and Freemen in provincial Council and general Assembly, to be held from time to time in the said Province.

*Signed and Sealed by the Governor and Freemen
aforesaid, the fifth Day of the third Month,
called May, One Thousand Six Hundred and
Eighty-Two.*

*Certain CONDITIONS or CONCESSIONS agreed
upon by WILLIAM PENN, Proprietor and
Governor of the Province of Pensilvania, and
those who are the Adventurers and Purchasers
in the same Province, the Eleventh of July,
One Thousand Six Hundred and Eighty-one.*

F I R S T.

THAT so soon as it pleaseth God, that the above said Persons arrive there, a certain Quantity of Land or Ground Plat, shall be laid out for a large Town or City, in the most convenient Place upon the River for Health and Navigation; and every

every Purchaser and Adventurer, shall by Lot have so much Land therein as will answer to the Proportion which he hath bought or taken up upon Rent : But it is to be noted, that the Surveyors shall consider what Roads or Highways will be necessary to the Cities, Towns, or thro' the Lands. Great Roads from City to City shall not contain less than *forty* Foot in Breadth, and shall be first laid out and declared to be for Highways, before the Dividend of Acres be laid out for the Purchaser ; and the like Observation to be had for the Streets in the Towns and Cities, that there may be convenient Roads and Streets preserved, not to be incroached upon by any Planter or Builder, that none may build irregularly to the Damage of another. *In this, Custom governs.*

II.

THAT the Land in the Town be laid out together after the Proportion of *ten thousand* Acres of the whole Country, that is, *two hundred* Acres if the Place will bear it : However, that the Proportion be by Lot, and entire, so as those that desire to be together, especially those that are by the Catalogue laid together, may be so laid together both in the Town and Country.

III.

THAT when the Country-Lots are laid out, every Purchaser, from *one thousand* to *ten thousand* Acres, or more, not to have above *one thousand* Acres together, unless in *three* Years they plant a Family upon every *thousand* Acres ; but that all such as purchase together, lie together ; and if as many as comply with this Condition, that the whole be laid out together.

IV.

THAT where any Number of Purchasers, more or less, whose Number of Acres amounts to *five* or

ten thousand Acres, desire to sit together in a Lot or Township, they shall have their Lot or Township cast together, in such Places as have convenient Harbours or navigable Rivers attending it, if such can be found; and in case any one or more Purchasers plant not according to Agreement in this Concession, to the Prejudice of others of the same Township, upon Complaint thereof made to the Governor or his Deputy, with Assistance, they may award (if they see Cause) that the complaining Purchaser may, paying the Survey-Money, and Purchase-Money, and Interest thereof, be entitled, inrolled and lawfully invested in the Lands so not seated.

V.

THAT the Proportion of Lands that shall be laid out in the first great Town or City, for every Purchaser, shall be after the Proportion of *ten Acres* for every *five hundred Acres* purchased, if the Place will allow it.

VI.

THAT notwithstanding there be no mention made, in the several Deeds made to the Purchasers, yet the said *William Penn* does accord and declare, that all Rivers, Rivulets, Woods and Underwoods, Waters, Water-courses, Quarries, Mines and Minerals (except Mines Royal) shall be freely and fully enjoyed, and wholly by the Purchasers, into whose Lot they fall.

VII.

THAT for every *fifty Acres* that shall be allotted to a Servant at the End of his Service, his Quit-Rent shall be *two Shillings per Annum*, and the Master or Owner of the Servant, when he shall take up the other *fifty Acres*, his Quit-Rent shall be *four Shillings* by the Year, or if the Master of the Servant (by Reason in the Indentures he is so obliged to do) allot out to the Servant *fifty Acres* in his own Division, the said Master shall have on Demand al-

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lotted him, from the Governor, the *one hundred Acres* at the chief Rent of *six Shillings per Annum*.

VIII.

AND for the Encouragement of such as are ingenious and willing to search out Gold and Silver Mines in this Province, it is hereby agreed, that they have Liberty to bore and dig in any Man's Property, fully paying the Damage done; and in case a Discovery should be made, that the Discoverer have one *fifth*, the Owner of the Soil (if not the Discoverer) a *tenth* Part, the Governor *two fifths*, and the rest to the publick Treasury, saving to the King the Share reserved by Patent.

IX.

IN every *hundred thousand Acres*, the Governor and Proprietary, by Lot, reserveth *ten* to himself, what shall lie but in one Place.

X.

THAT every Man shall be bound to plant or man so much of his Share of Land as shall be set out and surveyed, within *three Years* after it is so set out and surveyed, or else it shall be lawful for new Comers to be settled thereupon, paying to them their Survey-Money, and they go up higher for their Shares.

XI.

THERE shall be no buying and selling, be it with an *Indian*, or one among another, of any Goods to be exported, but what shall be performed in publick Market, when such Places shall be set apart or erected, where they shall pass the publick Stamp or Mark. If bad Ware, and prized as good, or deceitful in Proportion or Weight, to forfeit the Value as if good and full Weight and Proportion, to the publick Treasury of the Province, whether it be the Merchandize of the *Indian*, or that of the Planters.

XII.

XII.

AND FORASMUCH as it is usual with the Planters, to over-reach the poor Natives of the Country in Trade, by Goods not being good of the Kind, or debased with Mixtures, with which they are sensibly aggrieved, it is agreed, whatever is sold to the *Indians*, in Consideration of their Furs, shall be sold in the Market-Place, and there suffer the Test, whether good or bad; if good, to pass; if not good, not to be sold for good, that the Natives may not be abused nor provoked.

XIII.

THAT no Man shall by any Ways or Means, in Word or Deed, affront or wrong any *Indian*, but he shall incur the same Penalty of the Law, as if he had committed it against his Fellow-Planter; and if any *Indian* shall abuse, in Word or Deed, any Planter of this Province, that he shall not be his own Judge upon the *Indian*, but he shall make his Complaint to the Governor of the Province, or his Lieutenant or Deputy, or some inferior Magistrate near him, who shall, to the utmost of his Power, take Care with the King of the said *Indian*, that all reasonable Satisfaction be made to the said injured Planter.

XIV.

THAT all Differences between the Planters and the Natives, shall also be ended by *twelve* Men, that is, by *six* Planters and *six* Natives, that so we may live friendly together as much as in us lieth, preventing all Occasions of Heart-burnings and Mischief.

XV.

THAT the *Indians* shall have Liberty to do all Things relating to the Improvement of their Ground, and providing Sustenance for their Families, that any of the Planters shall enjoy.

XVI.

THAT the Laws as to Slanders, Drunkenness, Swearing, Cursing, Pride in Apparel, Trespases, Distresses, Replevins, Weights and Measures, shall be the same as in *England*, till altered by Law in this Province.

XVII.

THAT all shall mark their Hogs, Sheep and other Cattle, and what are not marked within *three* Months after it is in their Possession, be it young or old, it shall be forfeited to the Governor, that so People may be compelled to avoid the Occasions of much Strife between Planters.

XVIII.

THAT in clearing the Ground, Care be taken to leave one Acre of Trees for every *five* Acres clear'd, especially to preserve Oak and Mulberries for Silk and Shipping.

XIX.

THAT all Ship-Masters shall give an Account of their Countries, Names, Ships, Owners, Freights and Passengers, to an Officer to be appointed for that Purpose, which shall be registred within *two* Days after their Arrival; and if they shall refuse so to do, that then none presume to trade with them, upon Forfeiture thereof; and that such Masters be looked upon, as having an evil Intention to the Province.

XX.

THAT no Person leave the Province, without Publication being made thereof, in the Market-Place, *three* Weeks before, and a Certificate from some Justice of the Peace, of his Clearness with his Neighbours, and those he hath dealt withal, so far as such an Assurance can be attained and given: And if any Master of a Ship shall, contrary hereunto, receive and carry away any Person, that hath

not

not given that publick Notice, the said Master shall be liable to all Debts owing by the said Person, so secretly transported from the Province. *Lastly*, that these are to be added to, or corrected, by and with the Consent of the Parties hereunto subscribed.

*Sealed and delivered in
the Presence of*

WILLIAM PENN:

William Boelham,
Harbert Springet,
Thomas Prudyard.

Sealed and delivered in the Presence of all the Proprietors who have hereunto subscribed, except Thomas Farrinborough and John Goodson, in the Presence of

Hugh Chamberlen,
R. Murray,
Harbert Springet,
Humphry South,
Thomas Barker,
Samuel Jobson,
John-Joseph Moore,

William Powel,
Richard Davie,
Griffith Jones,
Hugh Lambe,
Thomas Farrinborough,
John Goodson.

Act ACT of SETTLEMENT, made at
Chester, 1682.

WHEREAS WILLIAM PENN, Proprietary and Governor of the Province of *Pensylvania*, and Territories thereunto belonging, hath, out of his great Kindness and Goodness to the Inhabitants thereof, been favourably pleased to give and grant unto them a Charter of Liberties and Privileges, dated the *twenty-fifth* Day of the *second* Month, *One Thousand Six Hundred and Eighty-two*: By which Charter it is said, the Government shall

consist of the Governor and Freemen of the said Province, in the Form of a provincial Council and general Assembly; and that the provincial Council shall consist of *seventy-two* Members, to be chosen by the Freemen; and that the general Assembly may, the *first* Year, consist of the whole Body of the Freeholders, and ever after of an elected Number, not exceeding *two hundred* Persons, without the Consent of the provincial Council and general Assembly: And such Assembly to sit yearly on the *twentieth* Day of the *third* Month, as in the *first*, *second*, *third*, *sixth*, *fourteenth* and *sixteenth* Articles of the Charter, Reference being thereunto had, doth more at large appear.

AND FORASMUCH as this Charter was the *first* of those probationary Laws, that were agreed to and made by and between the Proprietary, and Governor, and Freemen in *England*, that were Purchasers in this Province, which said Laws, in the whole and in every Part thereof, were to be submitted to the Explanation and Confirmation of the *first* provincial Council and general Assembly that was to be held in this Province, as by the Title and *first* Law of the said Agreement, doth plainly appear.

AND WHEREAS, the Proprietary and Governor hath, according to that Charter, issued out Writs to the respective Sheriffs of the *six* Counties of this Province, to summon the Freemen thereof, to chuse in each County *twelve* Persons of most Note for their Sobriety, Wisdom, and Integrity, to serve in provincial Council; and also to inform the Freemen that they might come, for this Time, in their own Persons, to make up a general Assembly, according to Charter. And that the said respective Sheriffs by their Returns, and the Freemen by their Petitions to the Proprietary and Governor, have plainly declared, that the Fewness of the People, their Inability in Estate, and Unskilfulness in Mat-

ters of Government, will not permit them to serve in so large a Council and Assembly, as by the Charter is expressed; and therefore do desire, that the Members now chosen to be their Deputies and Representatives, may serve both for provincial Council and general Assembly; that is to say, *three* out of each County for the provincial Council, and the remaining *nine* for the general Assembly, according to Act, as fully and amply as if the said provincial Council and general Assembly had consisted of the said Numbers of Members mentioned in the Charter of Liberties, upon Consideration of the Premises; and that the Proprietary and Governor may testify his great Willingness to comply with that which may be most easy and pleasing, he is willing that it be enacted.

AND BE IT ENACTED by the Proprietary and Governor, by and with the unanimous Advice and Consent of the Freemen of this Province, and Territories thereunto belonging, in provincial Council and general Assembly met, That the Numbers desired by the Inhabitants in their several Petitions, and express'd to be their Desires by the Sheriffs Returns to the Proprietary and Governor, to serve as the provincial Council and general Assembly, be allowed and taken, to all Intents and Purposes, to be the provincial Council and general Assembly of this Province: And that the *Quorum* shall be proportionably settled, according to the Method express'd in the *fifth* Article; that is to say, *two thirds* to make a *Quorum* in extraordinary Cases, and *one third* in ordinary Cases, as is provided in the said *fifth* Article: Which said provincial Council and general Assembly, so already chosen, are and shall be held and reputed the legal provincial Council and general Assembly of the Province and Territories thereof, for this present Year; and that from and after the Expiration of this present Year, the provincial Council shall consist of *three* Persons

out of each County, as aforefaid; and the Affembly fhall confift of *fix* Perfons out of each County, which faid provincial Council and general Affembly may be hereafter enlarged, as the Governor, and provincial Council and Affembly fhall fee Caufe, fo as the faid Number do not, at any time, exceed the Limitations exprefs'd in the *third* and *sixteenth* Article of the Charter, any Thing in this Act, or any other Act, Charter or Law, to the contrary in any wife notwithstanding.

AND because the Freemen of this Province and Territories thereof, are deeply fenfible of the kind and good Intentions of the Proprietary and Governor in this Charter, and of the fingular Benefit that redounds to them thereby, and are defirous that it may in all Things beft answer the Design of the publick Good, the Freemen of the faid provincial Council and general Affembly met, having unanimoſly requested ſome Variations, Explanations and Additions, in and to the faid Charter, he the Proprietary and Governor, hath therefore yielded that it be enacted :

AND it is hereby ENACTED, That the Time for the Meeting of the Freemen of this Province and Territories thereof, to chuſe their Deputies to repreſent and ſerve them, in provincial Council and general Affembly, ſhall be yearly hereafter, on the *tenth* Day of the *firſt* Month, which Members ſo choſen for the provincial Council, ſhall make their Appearance, and give their Attendance, in provincial Council, within *twenty* Days after their Election; and the faid Members elected to ſerve in general Affembly, ſhall yearly meet and aſſemble, on the *tenth* Day of the faid *third* Month, to the End and Purpoſes declared in the Charter, at and in ſuch Place as is limited in the faid Charter, unleſs the Governor and provincial Council ſhall, at any time, ſee Caufe to the contrary.

AND

AND WHEREAS it is express'd in the said Charter, That the Governor and provincial Council shall prepare and propose to the general Assembly, all Bills which they shall think fit to pass into Laws, within the said Province: BE IT ENACTED by the Authority aforesaid, That the Governor and provincial Council, shall have the Power of preparing and proposing to the general Assembly, all Bills that they shall jointly assent to and think fit to have pass'd into Laws, in the said Province and Territories thereof, that are not inconsistent with, but according to the Powers granted by the King's Letters Patents to the Proprietary and Governor aforesaid; which Bills shall be published in the most noted Towns and Places in the said Province and Territories thereof, *twenty Days* before the Meeting of the general Assembly aforesaid.

AND for the better Decision and Determination of all Matters and Questions upon Elections of Representatives, and Debates in provincial Council and general Assembly, It is hereby declared and ENACTED, &c. That all Questions upon Elections of Representatives, and Debates in provincial Council and general Assembly, in personal Matters, shall be decided by the Ballot; and all Questions about preparing and enacting Laws, shall be determined by the Vote.

AND that so united an Interest may have an united Term and Stile to be express'd by, It is hereby declared and ENACTED, That the general Assembly shall be henceforth termed or called THE ASSEMBLY; and the Meeting of the Governor, provincial Council, and Assembly, and their Acts and Proceedings, shall be stiled and called THE MEETINGS, SESSIONS, ACTS or PROCEEDINGS of the GENERAL ASSEMBLY of the Province of Pensilvania, and the Territories thereunto belonging. And that the Freemen of this Province,
and

and the Territories thereof, may not on their Part, seem unmindful or ungrateful to their Proprietary and Governor, for the Testimony he hath been pleased to give, of his great Good-Will towards them and theirs, nor be wanting of that Duty they owe to him and themselves, they have prayed Leave hereby to declare their most hearty Acceptance of the said Charter, and their humble Acknowledgments for the same, solemnly promising, that they will inviolably observe and keep the same, except as is therein excepted, and will neither directly nor indirectly contrive, propose, enact, or do any Thing or Things whatsoever, by Virtue of the Power thereby granted unto them, that shall or may redound to the Prejudice or Disadvantage of the Proprietary and Governor, his Heirs and Successors, in their just Rights, Properties and Privileges, granted to him and them by the King's Letters Patents, and Deeds of Release and Feoffment made to him by *JAMES Duke of YORK and ALBANY, &c.* and whom they desire may be hereby acknowledged and recognized the true and rightful Proprietaries and Governors of the Province of *Pensylvania*, and Territories annexed, according to the King's Letters Patents, and Deeds of Release and Feoffment from *James, Duke of York and Albany*, unto the said Proprietary and Governor, his Heirs and Successors; any Thing in this Act, or any other Act, Grant, Charter, or Law, to the contrary of these Things herein and hereby explained, altered, limited, promised, declared, and enacted, in any wise notwithstanding.

The FRAME of the Government of the Province of Pensylvania, and Territories thereunto annexed in America.

TO ALL PERSONS, To whom these Presents may come. WHEREAS King CHARLES the Second, by his Letters Patents, under the great Seal of *England*, bearing Date the fourth Day of *March*, in the thirty and third Year of the King, for divers Considerations therein mentioned, hath been graciously pleased to give and grant unto me *William Penn* (by the Name of *William Penn*, Esq; Son and Heir of Sir *William Penn* deceased) and to my Heirs and Assigns for ever, all that Tract of Land, or Province called *Pensylvania*, in *America*, with divers great Powers, Preheminences, Royalties, Jurisdictions, and Authorities, necessary for the Well-being and Government thereof. AND WHEREAS the King's dearest Brother, *James Duke of York and Albany*, &c. by his Deeds of Feoffment, under his Hand and Seal, duly perfected, bearing Date the four and twentieth Day of *August*, One Thousand Six Hundred Eighty and Two; did grant unto me, my Heirs and Assigns, all that Tract of Land, lying and being from twelve Miles Northward of *Newcastle* upon *Delaware River*, in *America*, to *Cape Hinlopen*, upon the said River and Bay of *Delaware* Southward, together with all Royalties, Franchises, Duties, Jurisdictions, Liberties and Privileges thereunto belonging.

NOW KNOW YE, That for the Well-being and good Government of the said Province and Territories thereunto annexed, and for the Encouragement of all the Freemen and Planters, that may be therein concerned, in Pursuance of the Rights and Powers afore-mentioned, I the said *William Penn* have declared, granted and confirmed, and by these Presents, for me, my Heirs and Assigns,
do

do declare, grant and confirm unto all the Freemen, Planters and Adventurers of, in and to the said Province and Territories thereof, these Liberties, Franchises and Properties, so far as in me lieth, to be held, enjoyed and kept by the Freemen, Planters and Adventurers of and in the said Province of *Pensylvania* and Territories thereunto annexed, for ever.

IMPRIMIS.

THAT the Government of this Province and Territories thereof shall, from Time to Time, according to the Powers of the Patent and Deeds of Feoffment aforesaid, consist of the Proprietary and Governor, and Freemen of the said Province and Territories thereof, in Form of provincial Council and Assembly, which provincial Council shall consist of *eighteen* Persons, being *three* out of each County, and which Assembly shall consist of *thirty-six* Persons, being *six* out of each County, Men of most Note for their Virtue, Wisdom and Ability, by whom all Laws shall be made, Officers chosen, and publick Affairs transacted, as is hereafter limited and declared.

II.

THERE being *three* Persons already chosen for every respective County of this Province and Territories thereof, to serve in the provincial Council, *one* of them for *three* Years, *one* for *two* Years, and *one* for *one* Year; and *one* of them being to go off yearly in every County; that on the *tenth* Day of the *first* Month yearly, for ever after, the Freemen of the said Province and Territories thereof shall meet together in the most convenient Place in every County of this Province and Territories thereof, then and there to chuse *one* Person, qualified as aforesaid, in every County, being *one third* of the Number to serve in provincial Council, for *three* Years; it being intended, that *one third* of the whole provincial Council, consisting and to consist
of

of *eighteen* Persons, falling off yearly, it shall be yearly supplied with such yearly Elections, as aforesaid; and that *one* Person shall not continue in longer than *three* Years; and in Case any Member shall decease before the last Election, during his Time, that then at the next Election ensuing his Decease, another shall be chosen to supply his Place for the remaining Time he was to have served, and no longer.

III.

THAT after the *first seven* Years, every one of the said *third* Parts that goeth yearly off, shall be incapable of being chosen again for one whole Year following, that so all that are capable and qualified as aforesaid, may be fitted for Government, and have a Share of the Care and Burthen of it.

IV.

THAT the provincial Council in all Cases and Matters of Moment, as their arguing upon Bills to be passed into Laws, or Proceedings about erecting of Courts of Justice, sitting in Judgment upon Criminals impeached, and Choice of Officers in such Manner as is herein after expressed, not less than *two thirds* of the whole shall make a *Quorum*; and that the Consent and Approbation of *two thirds* of that *Quorum* shall be had in all such Cases or Matters of Moment: And that in all Cases and Matters of lesser Moment, *one third* of the whole shall make a *Quorum*, the Majority of which shall and may always determine in such Cases and Causes of lesser Moment.

V.

THAT the Governor and provincial Council, shall have the Power of preparing and proposing to the Assembly hereafter mentioned, all Bills which they shall see needful, and that shall at any Time be past into Laws within the said Province and Territories thereof, which Bills shall be published and

affixed to the most noted Place in every County of this Province and Territories thereof, *twenty Days* before the Meeting of the Assembly, in order to passing them into Laws.

VI.

THAT the Governor and provincial Council shall take Care, that all Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances, which shall at any Time be made within the said Province and Territories, be duly and diligently executed.

VII.

THAT the Governor and provincial Council shall, at all Times, have the Care of the Peace and Safety of this Province and Territories thereof; and that nothing be by any Person attempted to the Subversion of this Frame of Government.

VIII.

THAT the Governor and provincial Council shall, at all Times, settle and order the Situation of all Cities and Market-towns in every County, modelling therein all publick Buildings, Streets, and Market-places; and shall appoint all necessary Roads and Highways in this Province and Territories thereof.

IX.

THAT the Governor and provincial Council shall, at all Times, have Power to inspect the Management of the publick Treasury, and punish those who shall convert any Part thereof to any other Use, than what hath been agreed upon by the Governor, provincial Council, and Assembly.

X.

THAT the Governor and provincial Council, shall erect and order all publick Schools, and encourage and reward the Authors of useful Sciences and laudable Inventions, in the said Province and Territories thereof.

XI.

THAT *one third* of the provincial Council residing with the Governor, shall with the Governor, from Time to Time, have the Care of the Management of all publick Affairs, relating to the Peace, Justice, Treasury, and Improvement of the Province and Territories, and to the good Education of Youth, and Sobriety of the Manners of the Inhabitants therein, as aforesaid.

XII.

THAT the Governor or his Deputy, shall always preside in the provincial Council, and that he shall at no Time therein perform any publick Act of State whatsoever, that shall or may relate unto the Justice, Trade, Treasury, or Safety of the Province and Territories aforesaid, but by and with the Advice and Consent of the provincial Council thereof.

XIII.

AND to the End that all Bills prepared and agreed by the Governor and provincial Council, as aforesaid, may yet have the more full Concurrence of the Freemen of the Province and Territories thereof, it is declared, granted and confirmed, that at the Time and Place in every County, for the Choice of *one* Person to serve in provincial Council, as aforesaid, the respective Members thereof, at their said Meeting, shall yearly chuse out of themselves *six* Persons of most Note, for Virtue, Wisdom, and Ability, to serve in Assembly, as their Representatives, who shall yearly meet on the *tenth* Day of the *third* Month, in the capital Town or City of the said Province, unless the Governor and provincial Council shall think fit to appoint another Place to meet in, where, during *eight* Days, the several Members may confer freely with one another; and if any of them see meet, with a Committee

mitte of the provincial Council, which shall be at that Time purposely appointed, to receive from any of them, Proposals for the Alterations or Amendment of any of the said proposed and promulgated Bills; and on the *ninth* Day from their so meeting, the said Assembly, after their reading over of the proposed Bills, by the Clerk of the provincial Council, and the Occasions and Motives for them being opened by the Governor or his Deputy, shall, upon the Question by him put, give their Affirmative or Negative, which to them seemeth best, in such Manner as is hereafter expressed: But not less than *two thirds* shall make a *Quorum* in the passing of all Bills into Laws, and Choice of such Officers as are by them to be chosen.

XIV.

THAT the Laws so prepared and proposed as aforesaid, that are assented to by the Assembly, shall be enrolled as Laws of this Province and Territories thereof, with this Stile, *By the Governor, with the Assent and Approbation of the Freemen in provincial Council and Assembly met*; and from henceforth, the Meetings, Sessions, Acts, and Proceedings of the Governor, provincial Council and Assembly, shall be stiled and called, *The Meeting, Sessions, and Proceedings, of the general Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania, and the Territories thereunto belonging.*

XV.

AND that the Representatives of the People in provincial Council and Assembly, may in after Ages bear some Proportion with the Increase and multiplying of the People, the Number of such Representatives of the People, may be from Time to Time increased and enlarged, so as at no Time the Number exceed *seventy-two* for the provincial Council, and *two hundred* for the Assembly; the Appointment and Proportion of which Number, as
also

also the laying and methodizing of the Choice of such Representatives in future Time, most equally to the Division of the Country, or Number of the Inhabitants, is left to the Governor and provincial Council to propose, and the Assembly to resolve, so that the Order of Proportion be strictly observed, both in the Choice of the Council and the respective Committees thereof, *viz. one third* to go off and come in yearly.

XVI.

THAT from and after the Death of this present Governor, the provincial Council shall, together with the succeeding Governor, erect from Time to Time, standing Courts of Justice, in such Places and Number, as they shall judge convenient for the good Government of the said Province and Territories thereof; and that the provincial Council shall, on the *thirteenth* Day of the *second* Month then next ensuing, elect and present to the Governor or his Deputy, a double Number of Persons, to serve for Judges, Treasurers, and Masters of the Rolls, within the said Province and Territories, to continue so long as they shall well behave themselves in those Capacities respectively; and the Freemen of the said Province, in an Assembly met on the *thirteenth* Day of the *third* Month, yearly, shall elect and then present to the Governor or his Deputy, a double Number of Persons to serve for Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace and Coroners, for the Year next ensuing; out of which respective Elections and Presentments, the Governor or his Deputy, shall nominate and commissionate the proper Number for each Office, the *third* Day after the said respective Presentments; or else the *first* named in such Presentment for each Office as aforesaid, shall stand and serve in that Office, the Time before respectively limited; and in Case of Death or Default, such Vacancy shall be supplied by the

S Governor

Governor and provincial Council in Manner afore-said.

XVII.

THAT the Assembly shall continue so long as may be needful, to impeach Criminals fit to be there impeached, to pass such Bills into Laws as are proposed to them, which they shall think fit to pass into Laws; and till such Time as the Governor and provincial Council shall declare, *That they have nothing further to propose unto them for their Assent and Approbation*; and that Declaration shall be a Dismiss to the Assembly for that Time; which Assembly shall be notwithstanding, capable of assembling together, upon the Summons of the Governor and provincial Council, at any Time during that Year, if the Governor and provincial Council shall see Occasion for their so assembling.

XVIII.

THAT all the Elections of Members or Representatives of the People to serve in provincial Council and Assembly, and all Questions to be determined by both or either of them, that relate to Choice of Officers, and all or any other personal Matters, shall be resolved or determined by the *Ballot*; and all Things relating to the preparing and passing of Bills into Laws, shall be openly declared and resolved by the *Vote*.

XIX.

THAT at all Times when the Proprietary and Governor shall happen to be an Infant, and under the Age of *one and twenty* Years, and no Guardians or Commissioners are appointed in Writing, by the Father of the said Infant, or that such Guardian shall be deceased, that during such Minority, the provincial Council shall, from Time to Time, as they

they shall see meet, constitute and appoint Guardians and Commissioners not exceeding *three*, one of which shall preside as Deputy and chief Guardian during such Minority, and shall have and execute, with the Consent of one of the other two, all the Power of a Governor in all publick Affairs and Concerns of the said Province and Territories thereof, according to Charter; which said Guardian so appointed, shall also have the Care and Oversight of the Estate of the said Minor, and be yearly accountable and responsible for the same to the provincial Council, and the provincial Council to the Minor, when of Age, or to the next Heir, in case of the Minor's Death, for the Trust before expressed.

XX.

THAT as often as any Days of the Month mentioned in any Article of this Charter, shall fall upon the *first* Day of the Week, commonly called the *Lord's-day*, the Business appointed for that Day, shall be deferred until the next Day, unless in Cases of Emergency.

XXI.

AND for the Satisfaction and Encouragement of all Aliens, I do give and grant, that if any Alien, who is or shall be a Purchaser, or who doth or shall inhabit in this Province or Territories thereof, shall decease at any Time before he can well be naturalized, his Right and Interest therein, shall notwithstanding descend to his Wife and Children, or other his Relations, be he Testate or Intestate, according to the Laws of this Province and Territories thereof in such Cases provided, in as free and ample Manner, to all Intents and Purposes, as if the said Alien had been naturalized.

XXII.

AND that the Inhabitants of this Province and Territories thereof, may be accommodated with

such Food and Sustenance, as God in his Providence hath freely afforded, I do also further grant to the Inhabitants of this Province and Territories thereof, Liberty to fowl and hunt upon the Lands they hold, and all other Lands therein not enclosed; and to fish in all Waters in the said Lands, and in all Rivers and Rivulets in and belonging to this Province and Territories thereof, with Liberty to draw his or their Fish on Shore on any Man's Lands, so as it be not to the Detriment or Annoyance of the Owner thereof, except such Lands as do lie upon Inland Rivulets that are not Boatable, or which are or may be hereafter erected into Manors.

XXIII.

AND that all the Inhabitants of this Province and Territories thereof, whether Purchasers or others, may have the last worldly Pledge of my good and kind Intentions to them and theirs, I do give, grant, and confirm to all, and every one of them, full and quiet Possession of their respective Lands, to which they have any lawful or equitable Claim, saving only such Rents and Services for the same as are or customarily ought to be reserved to me, my Heirs or Assigns.

XXIV.

THAT no Act, Law or Ordinance whatsoever, shall at any Time hereafter be made or done by the Proprietary and Governor of this Province and Territories thereunto belonging, his Heirs or Assigns, or by the Freemen in provincial Council or Assembly, to alter, change, or diminish, the Form or Effect of this Charter, or any Part or Clause thereof, contrary to the true Intent and Meaning thereof, without the Consent of the Proprietary and Governor, his Heirs or Assigns, and *six* Parts of *seven* of the said Freemen in provincial Council and Assembly met.

XXV.

XXV.

AND LASTLY, I the said *William Penn*, Proprietary and Governor of the Province of *Pennsylvania* and Territories thereunto belonging, for me, my Heirs and Assigns, have solemnly declared, granted and confirmed, and do hereby solemnly declare, grant and confirm, that neither I, nor my Heirs nor Assigns, shall procure or do any Thing or Things, whereby the Liberties in this Charter contained and expressed, shall be infringed or broken: And if any Thing be procured by any Person or Persons, contrary to these Premises, it shall be held of no Force or Effect. IN WITNESS whereof, I the said *William Penn*, at *Philadelphia* in *Pennsylvania*, have unto this present Charter of Liberties set my Hand and broad Seal, this *second Day* of the *second Month*, in the Year of our Lord *one Thousand six Hundred Eighty and Three*, being the *five and thirtieth* Year of the King, and the *third* Year of my Government.

WILLIAM PENN.

THIS within CHARTER, which we have distinctly heard read and thankfully received, shall be by us inviolably kept; at *Philadelphia*, the *second Day* of the *second Month*, one Thousand six Hundred Eighty and Three.

The Members of the provincial Council present.

William Markham,
John Moll,
William Haige,
Christopher Taylor,
John Simcock,
William Clayton,
Francis Whittwel,
Thomas Holme,

William Clark,
William Biles,
James Harrison,
John Richardson,
Philip-Thomas Lenman,
Secr. Gov.
Richard Ingelo, Cl. Coun.

The Members of the Assembly present.

<i>Casparus Harman,</i>	<i>Thomas Hassald,</i>
<i>John Darby,</i>	<i>John Hart,</i>
<i>Benjamin Williams,</i>	<i>Robert Hall,</i>
<i>William Guest,</i>	<i>Robert Bedwell,</i>
<i>Valentine Hollingsworth,</i>	<i>William Simsmore,</i>
<i>James Boyden,</i>	<i>Samuel Darke,</i>
<i>Bennony Bishop,</i>	<i>Robert Lucas,</i>
<i>John Beazor,</i>	<i>James Williams,</i>
<i>John Harding,</i>	<i>John Blunston,</i>
<i>Andrews Bringston,</i>	<i>John Songhurst,</i>
<i>Simon Irons,</i>	<i>John Hill,</i>
<i>John Wood,</i>	<i>Nicholas Waln,</i>
<i>John Curtis,</i>	<i>Thomas Fitzwater,</i>
<i>Daniel Brown,</i>	<i>John Clows,</i>
<i>William Fitcher,</i>	<i>Luke Watson,</i>
<i>John Kipshaven,</i>	<i>Joseph Phipps,</i>
<i>Alexander Molestine,</i>	<i>Dennis Rotchford,</i>
<i>Robert Bracy, sen.</i>	<i>John Brinklair,</i>
<i>Thomas Bracy,</i>	<i>Henry Bowman,</i>
<i>William Yardly,</i>	<i>Cornelius Verboofe,</i>
<i>John Hastings,</i>	<i>John Southworth, Cl. of</i>
<i>Robert Wade,</i>	<i>the Synod.</i>

Some of the Inhabitants of *Philadelphia* present.

<i>William Howel,</i>	<i>Henry Lewis,</i>
<i>Edmund Warner,</i>	<i>Samuel Miles.</i>

The CHARTER of the City of PHILADELPHIA.

WILLIAM PENN, Proprietary and Governor of the Province of *Pensylvania*, &c. To all to whom these Presents shall come, sends greeting. KNOW YE, That at the humble Request

Request of the Inhabitants and Settlers of this Town of *Philadelphia*, being some of the first Adventurers and Purchasers within this Province, for their Encouragement, and for the more immediate and entire Government of the said Town, and better Regulation of Trade therein: I have by Virtue of the King's Letters Patent, under the Great Seal of *England*, erected the said Town into a Borough, and by these Presents do erect the said Town and Borough of *Philadelphia* into a CITY; which said City shall extend the Limits and Bounds, as it is laid out between *Delaware* and *Skuykill*.

AND I do for me, my Heirs and Assigns, grant and ordain, that the Streets of the said City, shall for ever continue as they are now laid out and regulated; and that the End of each Street extending into the River *Delaware*, shall be and continue free for the Use and Service of the said City, and the Inhabitants thereof, who may improve the same for the best Advantage of the City, and build Wharfs so far out into the River there, as the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-council, herein after mentioned, shall see meet.

AND I do nominate *Edward Shippen* to be the present Mayor, who shall so continue until another be chosen, as is herein after directed.

AND I do hereby assign and name *Thomas Story* to be present Recorder, to do and execute all Things which unto the Office of Recorder of the said City doth or may belong.

AND I do appoint *Thomas Farmer* to be the present Sheriff, and *Robert Ashteton* to be the present Town-clerk, and Clerk of the Peace, and Clerk of the Court and Courts.

AND I do hereby name, constitute, and appoint, *Joshua Carpenter*, *Griffith Jones*, *Anthony Morris*, *Joseph Wilcox*, *Nathan Stanbury*, *Charles Rea*, *Thomas Masters*, and *William Carter*, Citi-

zens and Inhabitants of the said City, to be the present Aldermen of the said City of *Philadelphia*.

AND I do also nominate and appoint *John Parsons, William Hudson, William Lee, Nebemiah Allen, Thomas Paschal, John Bud, jun. Edward Smout, Samuel Buckley, James Atkinson, Pentecost Teague, Francis Cook, and Henry Badcocke*, to be the twelve present Common-council Men of the said City.

AND I do by these Presents, for me, my Heirs and Successors, give, grant and declare, that the said Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, and Common-council Men for the Time being, and they which hereafter shall be Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen and Common-council Men within the said City, and their Successors, for ever hereafter be and shall be, by Virtue of these Presents, one Body corporate and politick in Deed, and by the Name of the Mayor and Commonalty of the City of *Philadelphia*, in the Province of *Pensylvania*: And them by the Name of Mayor and Commonalty of the City of *Philadelphia*, one Body politick and corporate in Deed and in Name, I do for me, my Heirs and Successors, fully create, constitute and confirm, by these Presents; and that by the same Name of Mayor and Commonalty of the City of *Philadelphia*, they may have perpetual Succession; and that they and their Successors, by the Name of Mayor and Commonalty of the City of *Philadelphia*, be and at all Times hereafter shall be Persons able and capable in Law, to have, get, receive, and possess, Lands and Tenements, Rents, Liberties, Jurisdictions, Franchises and Hereditaments, to them and their Successors in Fee-simple, or for Term of Life, Lives, Years, or otherwise; and also Goods, Chattels, and other Things, of what Nature, Kind, or Quality soever.

AND also to give, grant, let, sell and assign the same Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, Goods, Chattels,

Chattels, and to do and execute all other Things about the same, by the Name aforesaid; and also that they be and shall be for ever hereafter Persons able and capable in Law, to sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded, answer and be answered unto, defend and be defended, in all or any the Courts and other Places, and before any Judges, Justices, and other Persons whatsoever within the said Province, in all Manner of Actions, Suits, Complaints, Pleas, Causes and Matters whatsoever, and of what Nature or Kind soever.

AND that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Mayor and Commonalty of the said City of *Philadelphia*, and their Successors, for ever hereafter, to have and use one common Seal for the sealing of all Busineses touching the said Corporation, and the same from Time to Time at their Will and Pleasure to change or alter.

AND I do for me, my Heirs and Successors, give, and by these Presents, grant full Power and Authority unto the Mayor, Recorder and Common-Council of the said City of *Philadelphia*, or any *five* or more of the Aldermen, and *nine* or more of the Common-Council Men, the Mayor and Recorder for the time being, or either of them, being present, on the *first third* Day of the Week, in the *eighth* Month yearly for ever hereafter, publickly to meet at a convenient Room or Place within the said City, to be by them appointed for that Purpose, and then and there nominate, elect and chuse one of the Aldermen to be Mayor for that ensuing Year.

AND also to add to the Number of Aldermen and Common-Council Men, such and so many of those, that by Virtue of these Presents shall be admitted Freemen of the said City from Time to Time, as they the said Mayor, Aldermen and Common-Council shall see Occasion.

AND

AND that such Person who shall be so elected, Mayor aforesaid, shall within *three* Days next after such Election, be presented before the Governor of this Province, or his Deputy for the time being, and there shall subscribe the Declarations and Profession of his Christian Belief, according to the late Act of Parliament made in the *first* Year of King William's Reign, entitled, *An Act for exempting their Majesties Subjects dissenting from the Church of England, from the Penalties of certain Laws*; and then and there the Mayor so presented, shall make his solemn Affirmation and Engagement for the due Execution of his Office.

AND that the Recorder, Sheriff, Aldermen, and Common-council Men, and all other Officers of the said City, before they or any of them shall be admitted to execute their respective Offices, shall make and subscribe the said Declarations and Profession aforesaid, before the Mayor for the Time being, and at the same Time shall be attested for the due Execution of their Offices respectively; which Declarations, Promises and Attestations, the Mayor of the said City for the Time being, is hereby impowered to take and administer accordingly.

AND that the Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen of the said City, for the Time being, shall be Justices of the Peace and Justices of Oyer and Terminer; and are hereby impowered to act within the said City and Liberties thereof accordingly, as fully and amply as any Justice or Justices of the Peace or Oyer and Terminer, can or may do within the said Province.

AND that they or any *four* or more of them (whereof the Mayor and Recorder of the said City for the Time being, shall be *two*) shall and may for ever hereafter have Power and Authority, by Virtue of these Presents, to hear and enquire into all and all Manner of Treasons, Murthers, Man-slaughters,

slaughters, and all Manner of Felonies and other Crimes and Offences, Capital and Criminal, whatsoever, according to the Laws of this Province and of the Kingdom of *England*, with Power also to hear and determine all petty Larcenies, Routs, Riots, unlawful Assemblies; and to try and punish all Persons that shall be convicted for Drunkenness, Swearing, Scolding, breaking the Peace, or such like Offences, which are by the Laws of this Province to be punished by Fine, Imprisonment or Whipping; with Power also to award Process against all Rioters and Breakers of the Peace, and to bind them, and all other Offenders and Persons of evil Fame, to the Peace or good Behaviour, as any Justice or Justices of the Peace can do, without being accountable to me or my Heirs, for any Fines or Amerciaments to be imposed for the said Offences or any of them.

A N D I do hereby impower them or any *four* of them (whereof the Mayor and Recorder for the Time being, shall be *two*) with the City Sheriff and Town-clerk, to hold and keep a Court of Record, Quarterly, or oftener, if they see Occasion, for the enquiring, hearing and determining of the Pleas and Matters aforesaid; and upon their own View, or after a legal Procedure in some of those Courts, to cause all Nuisances and Encroachments in the Streets of the said City to be removed, and punish the Parties concerned, as the Law and Usage in such Cases shall require.

A N D I do by these Presents assign and appoint, that the present Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen herein before-mentioned, be the present Justices of the Peace, and Oyer and Terminer, within the said City; and that they and all others that shall be Mayors, Records and Aldermen of the said City for the Time being, shall have full Power and Authority, and are hereby impowered

and

and authorized, without any further or other Commission, to be Justices of the Peace, and of Oyer and Terminer, within the said City for ever; and shall also be Justices of the Peace, and the Mayor and Recorder shall be of the *Quorum* of the Justices of the County Courts, Quarter-sessions, Oyer and Terminer, and Goal Delivery, in the said County of *Philadelphia*; and shall have full Power to award Process, bind to the Peace or Behaviour, or commit to Prison, for any Matter or Cause, arising without the said City and within the Body of the aforesaid County, as Occasion shall require; and to cause Kalendars to be made of such Prisoners, which, together with all Recognizances and Examinations taken before them, for or concerning any Matter or Cause not determinable by them, shall be duly returned to the Judges or Justices of the said County, in their respective Courts where the same shall be cognizable.

AND that it may be lawful to and for the said Mayor and Commonalty and their Successors, when they see Occasion, to erect a Goal or Prison and Court-house within the said City.

AND that the Mayor and Recorder for the Time being, shall have, and by these Presents have Power to take Recognizance of Debts there, according to the Statute of Merchants, and of Action Burnel; and to use and affix the common Seal thereupon, and to all Certificates concerning the same.

AND that it may be lawful to and for the Mayor of the said City, for the Time being, for ever hereafter to nominate, and from Time to Time appoint the Clerk of the Market, who shall have Affize of Bread, Wine, Beer, Wood, and other Things; and to do, execute and perform all Things belonging to the Clerk of the Market within the said City.

AND

AND I will that the Coroners to be chosen by the County of *Philadelphia* for the Time being, shall be Coroners of the said City and Liberties thereof; but that the Freemen and Inhabitants of the said City shall from Time to Time, as often as Occasion be, have equal Liberty with the Inhabitants of the said County, to recommend or chuse Persons to serve in the respective Capacities of Coroners and Sheriffs for the County of *Philadelphia*, who shall reside within the said City.

AND that the Sheriff of the said City and County for the Time being, shall be the Water-Bailiff, who shall and may execute and perform all Things belonging to the Officer of Water-Bailiff, upon *Delaware* River, and all other navigable Rivers and Creeks within the said Province.

AND in Case the Mayor of the said City for the Time being, shall, during the Time of his Mayoralty, misbehave himself, or misgovern in that Office, I do hereby empower the Recorder, Aldermen and Common-council Men, or *five* of the Aldermen and *nine* of the Common-council Men of the said City of *Philadelphia*, for the Time being, to remove such Mayor from his Office of Mayoralty; and in such Case, or in Case of the Death of the said Mayor for the Time being, that then another fit Person shall, within *four* Days next after such Death or Removal, be chosen in Manner as is above directed for electing of Mayors, in the Place of him so dead or removed.

AND lest there should be a Failure of Justice or Government in the said City, in such Interval, I do hereby appoint, That the eldest Alderman for the Time being, shall take upon him the Office of a Mayor there, and shall exercise the same till another Mayor be chosen as aforesaid; and in Case of the Disability of such eldest Alderman, then the
next

next in Seniority, shall take upon him the said Office of Mayor, to exercise the same as aforesaid.

AND in Case the Recorder, or any of the Aldermen or Common-council Men of or belonging to the said City, for the Time being, shall misbehave him or themselves in their respective Offices and Places, they shall be removed and others chosen in their Stead, in Manner following, *that is to say*, The Recorder for the Time being, may be removed (for his Misbehaviour) by the Mayor, and *two thirds* of the Aldermen and Common-council Men respectively; and in Case of such Removal or of the Death of the Recorder, then to chuse another fit Person skilled in the Law, to be the Recorder there, and so to continue during Pleasure as aforesaid.

AND the Alderman so misbehaving himself, may be removed by the Mayor, Recorder and *nine* of the Aldermen and Common-council Men; and in Case of such Removal or Death, then within *four* Days after, to chuse a fit Person or Persons to supply such Vacancies; and the Common-council Men, Constables, and Clerk of the Market, for Misbehaviour, shall be removed and others chosen, as is directed in the Case of Aldermen.

AND I do also, for me and my Successors, by these Presents, grant to the said Mayor and Commonalty, and their Successors, that if any of the Citizens of the said City, shall be hereafter nominated, elected, and chosen to the Office of Mayor, Aldermen and Common-council Men as aforesaid, and having Notice of his or their Election, shall refuse to undertake and execute that Office to which he is so chosen, that then, and so often it shall and may be lawful for the Mayor and Recorder, Aldermen and Common-council Men, or the major Part of the Aldermen and Common-council Men for the Time being, according to their Discretion, to impose

pose such moderate Fines upon such Refusers, so as the Mayor's Fine exceed not *forty Pounds*, the Alderman's *five and thirty Pounds*, and Common-council Men *twenty Pounds*, and other Officers proportionably, to be levied by Distress and Sale, by Warrant under the common Seal, or by other lawful Ways, to the Use of the said Corporation.

AND in such Cases it shall be lawful to chuse others to supply the Defects of such Refusers, in Manner as is as above directed for Elections.

AND that it shall and may be lawful to and for the Mayor, Recorder, and at least *three* Aldermen for the Time being, from Time to Time, so often as they shall find Occasion, to summon a Common-council of the said City.

AND that no Assembly or Meeting of the said Citizens, shall be deemed or accounted a Common-council, unless the said Mayor and Recorder, and at least *three* of the Aldermen for the Time being, and *nine* of the Common-council Men be present.

AND also that the said Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen and Common-council Men for the Time being, from Time to Time, at their Common-council, shall have Power to admit such and so many Freemen into their Corporation and Society as they shall think fit.

AND to make (and they may make, ordain, constitute and establish) such and so many good and reasonable Laws, Ordinances and Constitutions (not repugnant to the Laws of *England* and this Government) as to the greater Part of them at such Common-council assembled (where the Mayor and Recorder for the Time being, are to be always present) shall seem necessary and convenient for the Government of the said City.

AND the same Laws, Ordinances, Orders and Constitutions so to be made, to put in Use and Execution accordingly, by the proper Officers of the said

said City; and at their Pleasure to revoke, alter, and make anew, as Occasion shall require.

AND also impose such Mulcts and Amerciaments upon the Breakers of such Laws and Ordinances, as to them in their Discretion shall be thought reasonable; which Mulcts, as also all other Fines and Amerciaments to be set or imposed by Virtue of the Powers granted, shall be levied as above is directed in Case of Fines, to the Use of the said Corporation, without rendering any Account thereof to me, my Heirs and Successors; with Power to the Common-council aforesaid, to mitigate, remit, or release such Fines and Mulcts, upon the Submission of the Parties. *Provided always*, That no Person or Persons hereafter, shall have Right of electing or being elected, by Virtue of these Presents, to any Office or Place judicial or ministerial, nor shall be admitted Freemen of the said City, unless they be free Denizens of this Province, and are of the Age of *twenty-one* Years or upwards, and are Inhabitants of the said City, and have an Estate of Inheritance or Freehold therein, or are worth *fifty Pounds* in Money, or other Stock, and have been resident in the said City for the Space of *two* Years, or shall purchase their Freedom of the Mayor and Commonalty aforesaid.

AND I do further grant to the said Mayor and Commonalty of the City of *Philadelphia*, that they and their Successors, shall and may for ever hereafter hold and keep within the said City, in every Week of the Year, *two* Market-days, the one upon the *fourth* Day of the Week, and the other upon the *seventh* Day of the Week, in such Place or Places as is, shall, or may be appointed for that Purpose, by the said Commonalty or their Successors, from Time to Time.

AND also *two* Fairs therein every Year, the one of them to begin on the *sixteenth* Day of the *third*

third Month, called *May*, yearly, and so to be held in and about the Market-place, and continue for that Day and *two* Days next following; and the other of the said Fairs to be held in the aforesaid Place on the *sixteenth* Day of the *ninth* Month yearly, and for *two* Days next after.

A N D I do for me, my Heirs and Assigns, by Virtue of the King's Letters Patent, make, erect and constitute the said City of *Philadelphia*, to be a Port or Harbour for discharging and unlading of Goods and Merchandize out of Ships, Boats, and other Vessels; and for landing and shipping them in or upon such and so many Places, Keys and Wharfs there, as by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-council of the said City, shall from Time to Time be thought most expedient for the Accommodation and Service of the Officers of the Customs, in the Management of the King's Affairs and Preservation of his Duties, as well as for Conveniency of Trade.

A N D I do ordain and declare, that the said Port or Harbour shall be called the Port of *Philadelphia*, and shall extend and be accounted to extend into all such Creeks, Rivers, and Places within this Province, and shall have so many Wharfs, Keys, Landing-places and Members belonging thereto, for landing and shipping of Goods, as the said Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-council for the Time being, with the Approbation of the chief Officer or Officers of the King's Customs, shall from Time to Time think fit to appoint.

A N D I do also ordain, that the Landing-places now and heretofore used at the *Penny-pot-house* and *Blue-anchor*, saving to all Persons their just and legal Right and Properties in the Lands so to be open; as also the Swamp between *Bud's* Buildings and the *Society-hill*, shall be left open and common for the Use and Service of the said City and all others, with Liberty to dig Docks and make Har-

bours for Ships and Vessels, in all or any Part of the said Swamp.

AND I do hereby grant, that all the vacant Land within the Bounds and Limits of the said City, shall remain open as a free Common of Pasture, for the Use of the Inhabitants of the said City, until the same shall be gradually taken in, in order to build or improve thereon, and not otherwise. *Provided always*, That nothing herein contained, shall debar me or my Heirs in Time to come, from fencing in all the vacant Lands that lie between the Center Meeting-house and the *Schuylkil*, which I intend shall be divided from the Land by me allotted for *Delaware Side*, by a strait Line along the *Broad-street* from *Edward Shippen's* Land through the *Center Square* by *Daniel Pegg's* Land; nor shall the fencing or taking in any of the Streets, happening to be within that Inclosure on *Skuylkil*, be deemed or adjudged to be an Incroachment, where it shall not interfere or stop any of the Streets or Passages leading to any of the Houses built or to be built on that Side, any Thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

AND I do grant, that this present Charter, shall, in all Courts of Law and Equity, be construed and taken most favourably and beneficially, for the said Corporation.

IN WITNESS whereof, I have hereunto set my Hand, and caused my great Seal to be affixed. Dated at *Philadelphia* the *five and twentieth* Day of *October*, Anno Domini *one Thousand seven Hundred and One*, and in the *thirteenth* Year of the Reign of King *WILLIAM the Third*, over *England*, &c. and the *one and twentieth* Year of my Government.

WILLIAM PENN.

The CHARTER *of* PRIVILEGES
granted by WILLIAM PENN, Esq; to the
Inhabitants of Pensylvania and Territories.

WILLIAM PENN, Proprietary and Governor of the Province of *Pensylvania*, and Territories thereunto belonging. To all to whom these Presents shall come, sendeth Greeting. WHEREAS King CHARLES the Second, by his Letters Patents, under the Great Seal of *England*, bearing Date the *fourth* Day of *March*, in the Year *one Thousand six Hundred and Eighty*, was graciously pleased to give and grant unto me, and my Heirs and Assigns for ever, this Province of *Pensylvania*, with divers great Powers and Jurisdictions for the well Government thereof.

AND WHEREAS the King's dearest Brother, JAMES Duke of YORK and ALBANY, &c. by his Deeds of Feoffment, under his Hand and Seal duly perfected, bearing Date the *twenty-fourth* Day of *August*, *one Thousand six Hundred Eighty and Two*, did grant unto me, my Heirs and Assigns, all that Tract of Land, now called the Territories of *Pensylvania*, together with Powers and Jurisdictions for the good Government thereof.

AND WHEREAS for the Encouragement of all the Freemen and Planters, that might be concerned in the said Province and Territories, and for the good Government thereof, I the said WILLIAM PENN, in the Year *one Thousand six Hundred Eighty and Three*, for me, my Heirs and Assigns, did grant and confirm unto all the Freemen, Planters and Adventurers therein, divers Liberties, Franchises and Properties, as by the said Grant, entitled, *The FRAME of the Government of the Province of Pensylvania, and Territories thereunto*
T 2 *belonging,*

belonging, in America, may appear; which Charter or Frame being found in some Parts of it, not so suitable to the present Circumstances of the Inhabitants, was in the third Month, in the Year one Thousand seven Hundred, delivered up to me, by six Parts of seven of the Freemen of this Province and Territories, in general Assembly met, Provision being made in the said Charter, for that End and Purpose.

AND WHEREAS I was then pleased to promise, That I would restore the said Charter to them again, with necessary Alterations, or in Lieu thereof, give them another, better adapted to answer the present Circumstances and Conditions of the said Inhabitants; which they have now, by their Representatives in general Assembly, met at *Philadelphia*, requested me to grant.

KNOW YE THEREFORE, That for the further Well-being and good Government of the said Province, and Territories; and in Pursuance of the Rights and Powers before-mentioned, I the said *William Penn* do declare, grant and confirm, unto all the Freemen, Planters and Adventurers, and other Inhabitants in this Province and Territories, these following Liberties, Franchises and Privileges, so far as in me lieth, to be held, enjoyed and kept, by the Freemen, Planters and Adventurers, and other Inhabitants of and in the said Province and Territories thereunto annexed, for ever.

F I R S T.

BECAUSE no People can be truly happy, though under the greatest Enjoyment of civil Liberties, if abridged of the Freedom of their Consciences, as to their religious Profession and Worship: And Almighty God being the only Lord of Conscience, Father of Lights and Spirits, and the Author as well as Object of all divine Knowledge,
Faith

Faith and Worship, who only doth enlighten the Minds, and perswade and convince the Understandings of People, I do hereby grant and declare, That no Person or Persons, inhabiting in this Province or Territories, who shall confess and acknowledge *One Almighty God*, the Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the World; and profess him or themselves obliged to live quietly under the civil Government, shall be in any Case molested or prejudiced, in his or their Person or Estate, because of his or their conscientious Persuasion or Practice, nor be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious Worship, Place or Ministry, contrary to his or their Mind, or to do or suffer any other Act or Thing, contrary to their religious Persuasion.

AND that all Persons who also profess to believe in *Jesus Christ*, the Saviour of the World, shall be capable (notwithstanding their other Persuasions and Practices in Point of Conscience and Religion) to serve this Government in any Capacity, both legislatively and executively, he or they solemnly promising, when lawfully required, Allegiance to the King as Sovereign, and Fidelity to the Proprietary and Governor, and taking the Attests as now established by the Law made at *Newcastle* in the Year *one Thousand and seven Hundred*, entitled, *An Act directing the Attests of several Officers and Ministers, as now amended and confirmed by this present Assembly.*

II.

FOR the well governing of this Province and Territories, there shall be an Assembly yearly chosen, by the Freemen thereof, to consist of *four* Persons out of each County, of most Note for Virtue, Wisdom and Ability, (or of a greater Number at any Time, as the Governor and Assembly shall agree) upon the *first* Day of *October* for ever; and shall sit on the *fourteenth* Day of the same

Month, at *Philadelphia*, unless the Governor and Council for the Time being, shall see Cause to appoint another Place within the said Province or Territories: Which Assembly shall have Power to chuse a Speaker and other their Officers; and shall be Judges of the Qualifications and Elections of their own Members; sit upon their own Adjournments; appoint Committees; prepare Bills in order to pass into Laws; impeach Criminals, and redress Grievances; and shall have all other Powers and Privileges of an Assembly, according to the Rights of the free-born Subjects of *England*, and as is usual in any of the King's Plantations in *America*.

A N D if any County or Counties, shall refuse or neglect to chuse their respective Representatives as aforesaid, or if chosen, do not meet to serve in Assembly, those who are so chosen and met, shall have the full Power of an Assembly, in as ample Manner as if all the Representatives had been chosen and met, provided they are not less than *two Thirds* of the whole Number that ought to meet.

A N D that the Qualifications of Electors and Elected, and all other Matters and Things relating to Elections of Representatives to serve in Assemblies, though not herein particularly expressed, shall be and remain as by a Law of this Government, made at *New-Castle* in the Year *one Thousand seven Hundred*, entitled, *An Act to ascertain the Number of Members of Assembly, and to regulate the Elections*,

III.

T H A T the Freemen in each respective County, at the Time and Place of meeting for electing their Representatives to serve in Assembly, may as often as there shall be Occasion, chuse a double Number of Persons to present to the Governor for Sheriffs and Coroners, to serve for *three* Years, if so long they behave themselves well; out of which
 respective

respective Elections and Presentments, the Governor shall nominate and commissionate one for each of the said Offices, the *third* Day after such Presentment, or else the *first* named in such Presentment, for each Office as aforesaid, shall stand and serve in that Office for the Time before respectively limited; and in Case of Death or Default, such Vacancies shall be supplied by the Governor, to serve to the End of the said Term.

PROVIDED ALWAYS, That if the said Freemen, shall at any Time neglect or decline to chuse a Person or Persons for either or both the aforesaid Offices, then and in such Case, the Persons that are or shall be in the respective Offices of Sheriffs or Coroners, at the Time of Election, shall remain therein, until they shall be removed by another Election as aforesaid.

AND that the Justices of the respective Counties, shall or may nominate and present to the Governor *three* Persons, to serve for Clerk of the Peace for the said County, when there is a Vacancy, one of which the Governor shall commissionate, within *ten* Days after such Presentment, or else the *first* nominated, shall serve in the said Office during good Behaviour.

IV.

THAT the Laws of this Government shall be in this Stile, viz. *By the Governor, with the Consent and Approbation of the Freemen in General Assembly met*; and shall be, after Confirmation by the Governor, forthwith recorded in the Rolls-office, and kept at *Philadelphia*, unless the Governor and Assembly shall agree to appoint another Place.

V.

THAT all Criminals shall have the same Privileges of Witnesses and Council as their Prosecutors.

VI.

THAT no Person or Persons shall or may, at any Time hereafter, be obliged to answer any Complaint, Matter or Thing whatsoever, relating to Property, before the Governor and Council, or in any other Place, but in ordinary Course of Justice, unless Appeals thereunto shall be hereafter by Law appointed.

VII.

THAT no Person within this Government, shall be licensed by the Governor to keep an Ordinary, Tavern, or House of publick Entertainment, but such who are first recommended to him, under the Hands of the Justices of the respective Counties, signed in open Court; which Justices are and shall be hereby impowered, to suppress and forbid any Person, keeping such Publick-house as aforesaid, upon their Misbehaviour, on such Penalties as the Law doth or shall direct; and to recommend others from Time to Time, as they shall see Occasion.

VIII.

IF any Person, through Temptation or Melancholy, shall destroy himself, his Estate, real and personal, shall notwithstanding descend to his Wife and Children, or Relations, as if he had died a natural Death; and if any Person shall be destroyed or killed by Casualty or Accident, there shall be no Forfeiture to the Governor by Reason thereof.

AND no Act, Law or Ordinance whatsoever, shall at any Time hereafter, be made or done, to alter, change or diminish the Form or Effect of this Charter, or of any Part or Clause therein, contrary to the true Intent and Meaning thereof, without the Consent of the Governor for the Time being, and *six* Parts of *seven* of the Assembly met.

BUT

BUT because the Happiness of Mankind depends so much upon the enjoying of Liberty of their Consciences as aforesaid, I do hereby solemnly declare, promise and grant, for me, my Heirs and Assigns, that the *first* Article of this Charter relating to Liberty of Conscience, and every Part and Clause therein, according to the true Intent and Meaning thereof, shall be kept and remain without any Alteration, inviolably for ever.

AND LASTLY, I the said *William Penn*, Proprietary and Governor of the Province of *Pennsylvania*, and Territories thereunto belonging, for myself, my Heirs and Assigns, have solemnly declared, granted and confirmed, and do hereby solemnly declare, grant and confirm, That neither I, my Heirs or Assigns, shall procure or do any Thing or Things, whereby the Liberties in this Charter contained and expressed, nor any Part thereof, shall be infringed or broken: And if any Thing shall be procured or done, by any Person or Persons, contrary to these Presents, it shall be held of no Force or Effect.

IN WITNESS whereof, I the said *William Penn*, at *Philadelphia* in *Pennsylvania*, have unto this present Charter of Liberties, set my Hand and broad Seal, this *twenty-eighth* Day of *October*, in the Year of our Lord, *one Thousand seven Hundred and One*, being the *thirteenth* Year of the Reign of King *WILLIAM the Third*, over *England, Scotland, France, and Ireland*, &c. and the *twenty-first* Year of my Government.

AND NOTWITHSTANDING the Closure and Test of this present Charter as aforesaid, I think fit to add this following Proviso thereunto, as Part of the same, *That is to say*, That notwithstanding any Clause or Clauses in the above-mentioned Charter, obliging the Province and Territories, to join together in Legislation, I am
content,

content, and do hereby declare, That if the Representatives of the Province and Territories shall not hereafter agree to join together in Legislation, and that the same shall be signified unto me, or my Deputy, in open Assembly, or otherwise, from under the Hands and Seals of the Representatives, for the Time being, of the Province and Territories, or the major Part of either of them, at any Time within *three* Years from the Date hereof, that in such Case, the Inhabitants of each of the *three* Counties of this Province, shall not have less than *eight* Persons to represent them in Assembly, for the Province; and the Inhabitants of the Town of *Philadelphia* (when the said Town is incorporated) *two* Persons to represent them in Assembly; and the Inhabitants of each County in the Territories, shall have as many Persons to represent them, in a distinct Assembly for the Territories, as shall be by them requested as aforesaid.

NOTWITHSTANDING which Separation of the Province and Territories, in Respect of Legislation, I do hereby promise, grant and declare, That the Inhabitants of both Province and Territories, shall separately enjoy all other Liberties, Privileges and Benefits, granted jointly to them in this Charter, any Law, Usage, or Custom of this Government heretofore made and practised, or any Law made and passed by this General Assembly, to the contrary hereof notwithstanding.

WILLIAM PENN.

THIS CHARTER of PRIVILEGES
*being distinctly read in Assembly, and the whole
 and every Part thereof, being approved of and
 agreed to, by us, we do thankfully receive the
 same from our Proprietary and Governor, at
 Philadelphia, this twenty-eighth Day of Oc-
 tober,*

tober, one Thousand seven Hundred and One.
Signed on Behalf, and by Order of the Assembly,
per Joseph Growdon, Speaker.

Edward Shippen,
Phineas Pemberton,
Samuel Carpenter,
Griffith Owen,
Caleb Pusey,
Thomas Story,

} Proprietary and Gover-
nor's Council.

F I N I S.



This Day is published,

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