

An ACCOUNT of
CONFERENCES held,
A N D
T R E A T I E S made,

Between Major-general
Sir WILLIAM JOHNSON, Bart.

A N D
The chief SACHEMS and WARRIOURS

O F T H E

<i>Mohawks,</i>	<i>Skaniadaradighronos,</i>
<i>Oneidas,</i>	<i>Chugnuts,</i>
<i>Onondagas,</i>	<i>Mabickanders,</i>
<i>Cayugas,</i>	<i>Shawanese,</i>
<i>Senekas,</i>	<i>Kanuskagos,</i>
<i>Tuskaroras,</i>	<i>Toderigbronos, and</i>
<i>Aughquageys,</i>	<i>Oghquagoes,</i>

Indian Nations in North America,

At their Meetings on different Occasions at *Fort Johnson*
in the County of *Albany*, in the Colony of *New York*,
in the Years 1755 and 1756.

W I T H

A Letter from the Rev. Mr. HAWLEY to Sir
WILLIAM JOHNSON, written at the Desire
of the DELAWARE INDIANS.

And a PREFACE

Giving a short Account of the SIX NATIONS, some
Anecdotes of the Life of Sir *WILLIAM*, and Notes
illustrating the Whole;

Also an APPENDIX

Containing an Account of Conferences between several
Quakers in *Philadelphia*, and some of the Heads of
the *Six Nations*, in *April 1756*.

L O N D O N :

Printed for A. MILLAR, in the *Strand*. M.DCC.LVI.

[Price 1*s.* 6*d.*]



P R E F A C E.

 *N* perusing the following papers, in a fair manuscript, sent hither from America, and from which they are now faithfully printed, I was of opinion, that their publication might be acceptable to the curious, especially to every man who loves his country.

An English neutral, a British subject, who views the war we are now so justly engaged in, the causes that led us into it, and the consequences that may attend it, as so many trifling occurrences; who can read his Majesty's and the French king's declarations of war with the same goût as he would those of Carthage against Rome, and Rome against Carthage; who is no more concerned at their events, than at the achievements of the renowned Don Quixote; and who beholds such formidable armaments now on the ocean, and on lands far and near, with the same indifference

A
rence

rence as he does the flight and return of birds of passage; even such an unthinking Briton, if such there be, may be supposed to have curiosity enough to read, with some pleasure, the sentiments of nations, as far distant from him on the globe, as, perhaps, he imagines them to be, with respect to his superior attainments as a rational creature. But,

To the truly British soul, whose eyes are fixed on every object that may affect his country; to the loyal heart which glows with warmth at the name of the honoured and illustrious hero of these pages, to him this book will afford a pleasing entertainment.

He who knows the valour and military qualifications of Sir William Johnson, together with the importance of the Indians in North America, especially the Six Nations, to us as well as to the French, will here be agreeably entertained with specimens of the political talents of that victorious general, and the sagacity of the Indians.

Whoever pretends to say, as some have fatally imagined, that the American savages are of little or no account to our interest on that continent, and that, therefore, it is not of great consequence, whether or no we endeavour to cultivate friendship with them; must be so extremely

[iii]

extremely ignorant, or else so wilfully perverse, that it would be wasting time to expose the absurdity of such preposterous suggestions.

Hyde-park education may, undoubtedly, qualify troops for being useful in Flanders, or in any European field; and the arts and intrigues of French policy must necessarily be studied and practised, when we negotiate with the court of France.

But very useless, indeed, will either of those arts appear, when transported to the banks of the Ohio, or applied to treaties with wild Indians.

That we differ from the native Americans, no less in our martial and political conduct and principles, than in our complexions and manners; the whole series of facts, which have passed within these two years, sufficiently evince.

Of what consequence the life of this brave general is to the glory of his King, and to the happiness of his fellow-subjects, let Lake George, let the eighth of September one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, and general Dieskau bear witness! And of what farther service to both he has been, and still may be, in treating with the heads of powerful Indian nations, these sheets will sufficiently

sufficiently convince the impartial and intelligent Reader.

A short account of the Six Nations, and of general Johnson, it is presumed, may not be unacceptable to many of our readers.

The first, I shall extract from the History, written by the honourable Cadwallader Colden, president of his Majesty's council and surveyor-general of New-York, to which, the reader is referred for farther information. The last I shall give, not only from my own personal knowledge of that gentleman, but also from what I have been credibly informed of, by his intimate acquaintance in the government where he lives.

"The Five Nations consist of so many tribes
 "or nations, joined together by a league or
 "confederacy like the united provinces, and
 "without any superiority.——This union
 "has continued so long that we know no-
 "thing of its original.——They are known
 "to us by the names of the Mohawks, One-
 "does, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senekas.
 "——The Tuskaroras, after a war they
 "had with the people of Carolina, fled to the
 "Five Nations, and are incorporated with
 "them; so that now, indeed, they properly
 "consist of six nations.——Each of them

"is

" is again divided into three different tribes;
 " who distinguish themselves by three different
 " arms, viz. the Bear, the Tortoise, and the
 " Wolf; the Sachems put that, belonging to
 " their tribe, to every publick paper. ——
 " They think themselves, by nature, superior
 " to the rest of mankind, and assume the
 " name of Ongue-honwe, that is, men sur-
 " passing all others.—This opinion gives them
 " that courage, which has been so terrible to
 " all the nations of North America; — and
 " that opinion, they have taken such care to im-
 " press on all their neighbours, that on all oc-
 " casions, they yield to them the most submis-
 " sive obedience.—They have such absolute
 " notions of liberty, that they allow of no kind
 " of superiority, and banish all servitude from
 " their territories.—All the nations round
 " them have, for many years, entirely sub-
 " mitted to them, and pay a yearly tribute
 " to them in Wampum *; they dare neither

" make

* " 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

† As the Indians live far from the sea, our people make and sell
 these, or exchange them for beaver skins, &c. and many, at Albany
 particularly, make a handsome living by that trade.

" make peace or war without the consent of
 " the Mohawks : two old men commonly go
 " about every year or two, to receive this
 " tribute ; and I have often observed, what
 " anxiety the poor Indians were under, while
 " these two old men remained among them.
 " An old Mohawk Sachem, in a poor blan-
 " ket and dirty shirt, issues his orders, with
 " as arbitrary an authority as a Roman dic-
 " tator.—The authority of their Sachems,
 " who govern in all publick affairs, as well
 " as that of their leaders and captains, con-
 " fests wholly, and is only obtained by the
 " good opinion the nation have of the wis-
 " dom and integrity of the former, and of
 " the courage and conduct of the latter ; and
 " they lose it by a failure in those virtues.

" Their instruments of war are muskets,
 " hatchets, and long sharp-pointed knives ;
 " these they always carry about with them.
 " The hatchet, in war time, they stick in their
 " girdle behind ; and they have the art of
 " directing and regulating its motion, so
 " that though it turns round as it flies, the
 " edge
 " 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 are wanting, fastened to the belt by a string."

" edge always sticks in the tree, near the
 " place they aim at.—The use of bows and
 " arrows is now entirely laid aside, except
 " among the boys.—Their castles [or towns]
 " are generally a square surrounded with
 " pallisadoes, without any bastions or out-
 " works—They express peace by the meta-
 " phors of a tree and fire; and all Indians
 " make use of a hatchet or * ax, as an em-
 " blem of war."

Sir William Johnson, Bart. was born in Ireland, and is nephew of the late Sir Peter Warren. His uncle, while captain of a twenty gun ship of war, stationed at New-York, the year I cannot ascertain, married a lady, a native of that city. Soon after, he purchased large tracts of land in that colony, and sent to Ireland for his said nephew, then about seventeen or eighteen years of age, whom he put in possession of a considerable part of it, lying contiguous to the Mohawk country. By a constant residence there † ever since,

and

* We are at a loss to account for the expression in the 23d page, of its being “fix’d in their heads.”

† There he learned the Mohawk language. This I assert, from hearing him often converse in it, with great facility; and yet we find, when he appears at these solemnities, to treat with them on behalf of his King, they consider him as an Englishman, ignorant of their language; conversing all along by an interpreter.

and by pursuing, with indefatigable industry, every prudent measure, that occurred, he has many years since improved wild, woody lands into plentiful rich farms; thereby has had the pleasure of living in a neighbourhood of wealthy farmers and industrious tradesmen; all his own tenants; who were first invited thither by him, and from the lowest circumstances, have arrived to what they are, by the liberality of his purse, and the wisdom of his instructions.

*Besides the attention his estate demanded, which must have been considerable, he, till very * lately, traded largely as a merchant with his Indian neighbours, and more especially with our Indian traders, who go every spring from Albany, and other parts, to Oswego; where multitudes of Indians from distant regions assemble, and barter beaver skins, &c. for European commodities. These the principal traders used to take from Sir William's store, on credit, as they passed by his door in their boats on the Mohawk river, in their way to Oswego; and pay for them on their return, the ensuing fall, in the goods they got in exchange.*

As

* See one of his speeches to the Kanuskado Indians in page 54, where we learn "he has no goods of his own to sell."

As our trade with the Indians is of great advantage to us, and had in him one of its principal supports, I should with much regret have heard of his declining business, had I not known, that the perfidy and ambition of a restless and dangerous neighbour, and the good of his country called him to action in a nobler sphere. Few merchants had faith like him, to trust large effects in the hands of young, raw and unexperienced men, whom he chose to encourage for their industry; indeed few could, none having such a capital, nor any in the country so large an assortment: add to this, that his house, very properly called Fort Johnson, is situated above 30 miles back from Albany by land, a great way farther by water; which considerably lessened the expence, trouble and time of the traders, and consequently enabled them to deal to better advantage. But what rendered him of yet more utility, in this respect, was, that in all his transactions he ever acted with so much openness and integrity, that those who once dealt with him thought themselves happy in improving the correspondence.

For many years he has been colonel of militia in the county of Albany; and about six years ago he was appointed one of his Majesty's honourable Council of the province of

*New York; thence is he stiled the Honourable
in this book. He is turned of forty years of
age, of stature near six feet, of a most comely
aspect, and is every way well form'd for the
most manly exercises. Notwithstanding what
I have said of him, should I be asked, Whether
he has any enemies in the circle of his ac-
quaintance? I would answer, What is the
natural, the unavoidable consequence of merit?
is it not to be envied?*

*The reader will find, that the conferences
are not inserted in order of time; if that be
a fault, it should not be charged to our account;
the whole being exactly printed from our ori-
ginal, and from which, we apprehend, we
were not at liberty to depart. The notes, ex-
cept one in page 37, and another in page 45,
are by*

THE EDITOR.

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 Place, 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. (Colden.)

<i>Names used by the French.</i>	<i>The same called by the English, or Five Nations.</i>
----------------------------------	---

Abenaguias.	Owenagungas, or New-England Indians, and are sometimes called the Eastern Indians.
Algonkins.	Adirondacks.
Amihouis.	Dionondadies, or Tuinondadeks, a Branch or Tribe of the Quatoghes.
Amiez.	Mohawks, called likewise Maquas.
Bay des puans.	Enitajiche.
Chigagou.	Caneraghik.
Corlaer, or Corlard.	Schenectady. But the Five Nations

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

	<i>Nations commonly call the Governor of New York by this Name, and oftentime People of the Province of New York in general.</i>
Detroit.	Teuchsagrondie.
Hurons.	Quatogbie.
Hinois.	Chictaghicks.
Iroquois.	<i>The Five Nations.</i>
Dac huron.	Caniatare, or Quatoghe lake
Loups.	Scahkook Indians.
Manhattan.	New York City.
Mascoutcs.	Odilaftagheks.
Mourigan.	Mahikander, or River Indians, living on Hudson's River below Albany.
Miamies.	Twightwies.
Mifflimakinak.	Teiodondoraghie.
Miffisakies.	Achisaghecks.
Oneyouts.	Oneydoes.
Ontario lac.	Cadarackui lake.
Orange.	Albany.
Outagamies.	Quacksies and Scunkfiks.
Outawas.	Utawawas, or Dewagunhas
Renards.	Quaksies.
Sauiteurs.	Eftiaghicks.
Shaouonons.	Satanas.
Tateras.	Todericks.
Terre rouge.	Scunkfik.
Tongorias.	Erighecks.
Tsonontouans.	Senekas.



Fort Johnson, Decemb. 7. 1755.

The SPEECH of the honourable major-general Johnson at a meeting of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Tuscaroras and Senecas.

Arent Stevens, interpreter.

Brethren of the Mohawks, Senecas, Oneidas, and Tuscaroras,

 Am glad to see you here at the meeting-place of all the nations, after the dangers and fatigues of the campaign. The reason of my sending for you immediately on my return is very pressing.

Your brother the governor of New-York wrote me a letter, dated nine days ago, which overtook me at Skenactady, acquainting me, that the Shawanees, Delawares, and River-indians were committing hostilities in the southern parts of this province, as well as in the Jerseys and Pennsylvania; that they had burnt several out-settlements in those provinces, and killed many of our people who never offended them: as those Indians are looked upon by us as allies and dependants of you the six nations, and living within the

B limits

[4]

limits of your country, I must desire you will, without loss of time, reprimand them for what they have already done, prevent their doing any more mischief, and insist on their turning their arms with us against the French and their Indians ; both your and our common enemy, and that without loss of time. This is what you engaged to do at the general meeting last June at my house : I am surprized you have not done it before, and I expect you will now do it without loss of time ; if not, we will endeavour to put a stop to their barbarities, and do ourselves that justice the law of nature allows.

A belt.

Brethren of the confederate nations,
I desire you will send me, from time to time, what news you receive from your allies to the southward and westward, as at all times it is very necessary for me to know it, and more particularly so at this time : in return, you may depend on my giving you all the news among us, which may be useful to you.

A large belt.

Their answer.

Brother,

We are obliged to you for the welcome you give us, and assure you we are equally rejoiced to meet you here at our fire, after your great fatigue and danger ; and congratulate you on your succels over our common enemy.

It gives us the greatest concern, to hear of the barbarities of our cousins the Delawares, to our brethren the English ; and we assure you we shall, without loss of time, forward your message through

[5]

through all the nations, and use all arguments in our power for their exerting themselves on this important occasion.

A belt.

Brother,

We will also recommend it to them to keep up a constant correspondence with you, as we are sensible it is of the utmost consequence at all times, but more so at present.

A belt.

At a meeting of the Mohawks, Oneidas, and Tuscaroras, December 26. 1755.

Sequareesere, a chief of Tuscarora, spoke.

Brother Warraghiyage *,

We return you our hearty thanks for the care you take of us in supplying us with ammunition, large guns and paint; as we do not know how soon the enemy will come upon us: we have been speaking to our eldest brothers these four years, about having a place of defence made against the French, but could never bring them to a conclusion until now, having promised to join and assist our brothers the English against any attempts which the French shall make upon them.

A string of wampum.

Canaghquayeson spoke.

Brother Warraghiyage,

We join with our brothers, the Tuscaroras, in returning you our hearty thanks for advising us

B 2 to

* The name given by the Mohawk-indians to general Johnson, on his being many years ago adopted into their nation.

[6]

to be upon our guard against the malicious designs of the French, and that you would supply us with ammunition, large guns, paint, &c.

A belt.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We own we have been lost or drunk these several years past, in not listening to you and our youngest brothers in joining the two castles together ; but we have now opened our ears which have been stopped, and are determined to live and die with you.

A belt.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

You acquainted us some time ago, of the designs of the French in encroaching upon our hunting-grounds, and advised us to be upon our guard against them, or otherwise they would come and dispossess and destroy us all ; it seems to us now that they had blinded our eyes, and it is plain to us as the sun that rises in the morning, that they had it in view.

No doubt but you have heard that the French had invited us to meet them at Swegatly ; but we have taken a firm resolution never to listen to any but yourself : we don't speak this from our lips only, but it comes from the bottom of our hearts.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

You blame us for not taking care of our allies to the southward, but we assure you we have some time ago sent four large belts to them, desiring they would not join with any but whom the five nations joined ; and since we are informed that the belts and messages we sent were directly made known to the French. Now, brother, we have sent another message, desiring that they

[7]

they would come and speak with us ; and be assured we will do our utmost endeavours to put a stop to any more bloodshed that way ; and we hope, that you will desire the governors to do their utmost in bringing them over to us, as we are sure there is nothing draws them from us but the large presents which the French make them.

A belt.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We have sent to the River-indians and Shawaneese to come to our castle, to hear from their own mouths what they have to say for their killing so many of our brothers ; and if they should not come upon our message, we the Oneidas, and Tuscaroras Sachems, are determined to go to them and know the reason of it.

Governor Shirley promised to have a fort built for us, and men to garrison it ; and not hearing any thing about it since, we think he will defer it until spring ; so hope that you will have a fort built immediately, and men to garrison it, as we are certain the French only wait a favourable opportunity to fall upon us.

A string.

My * answer made February 17. 1756.

Arent Stevens, interpreter.

Brethren of Tuscarora,

I received the friendly speech which you made at my house when I was at New-York, together with your acknowledgments for the arms, ammunition, &c. I gave your nation ; I heartily wish they may answer the end they were designed for, which was to enable you to secure yourselves against

* Viz. general Johnson.

against any attempts of the French, or any other enemy. I highly approve of your wisdom and timely advice to your elder brothers the Oneidas, and am extremely glad that you and they have at last agreed to build a place of defence, and to join your brethren the English against any attempts of your and our common enemy the French.

A belt.

Brethren of Oneida.

It highly pleases me to find you so grateful for the advice I have given you, and the assistance I promised you should have, as well as your brethren the Tuscaroras; and I expect you and they, together with the Skaniadaradighronos, will live so compact, and have your castle fortified in such a manner, as may enable you to make a bold defence, should any attempts be made against you.

If you do this, and have a good officer with a party of men there, nothing can hurt you.

A belt.

Brethren,

Nothing can give me greater satisfaction, than to find you have at last come to your senses, and to the use of your hearing, of which you have acknowledged to have been bereft some time.

As I have a great regard for you, I most sincerely wish you may continue in your senses, that you may follow the wholesome advice which your brother the Tuscarora, although younger, has given you, and that which I shall from time to time give you.

Brethren,

Had you been in your right senses, and your eyes open when I timely acquainted you with the designs

[9]

designs of the French encroaching on your hunting-grounds, and destroying you, and had followed my advice, the French would not have been now in possession of the best part of your country, and bid you defiance as they now do.

Shake away then that infatuation, which has so long had the better of you, and exert yourselves now in conjunction with your Father the King's troops, and you may still recover your lands and be a happy people, which is the sincere wish of your Father and all your brethren.

Your not complying with the governor of Canada's invitation to meet him at Swegatsy, was quite right ; and I am glad you have taken so firm a resolution of adhering to your engagements : had you acted otherwise, it would have been a breach of the many solemn promises you have made to me on that head.

A belt.

Brethren of Oneida and Tuscarora,

I am heartily pleased to hear from you, that you have not been so remiss as I imagined, with regard to the Delawares and Shawanees; and that you are determined to have a conference with them. I must press you in the most strenuous manner to exert your authority at said meeting, and let me know the result thereof as soon as possible.

A belt.

Brethren,

I heard general Shirley say, that he had ordered a fort to be built for you some time ago : why his orders have not been complied with I cannot say ; but this I may venture to affirm, it was not his fault : however, as you now desire it
may

[10]

may be built, I will order proper persons to go about it as soon as possible.

A belt.

Ended.

Copy of a letter of the Rev. Mr. Hawley at One-hughquagey, to the honourable William Johnson, dated Oneburghquagey, December 27. 1755.

Very honoured Sir,

The Sachems who went from hence with your message to the Delawares, just now returned from Tiaogo, and desire me to pen the following letter to your honour; in which you have a brief account how the quarrel between the English and Delawares began, and what has happened since, according to the account which we have from Tiaogo. In which also your honour has the answer of the Delawares to the message you sent them by the bearer hereof, and a short speech which those Indians desired me to pen relative to the affairs. Your honour will pardon me if I am not so particular in my narration as the Indians are in telling a story. The letter which I am desired to write, except abbreviations, is as follows:

Brother Johnson,

We have been to Tiaogo upon your affairs. In the first place we relate what news we hear; the Indians there inform us that about two months ago, there was a party of English at Tsineanke, alias Shamokin, upon a scouting design; and that while they were there, news came that there was a party of French and Indians from Ohio about there; and Skaronyade advised the English party to

to return back, and by all means to keep on the east-side of the river : they took his advice, 'tis said, and returned, but went the west-side of the river, and that before they had gone far a French party came upon them, fired, and drove them into the river, where four of the English were drowned. Not long after this, that an Englishman came to Skahandow-ane alias Wayoming, and as he used to trade upon this river, the Indians asked him whether he brought any goods with him ; he said no, but I have brought my body, my flesh, and you may do what you please with me : 'tis you, said he, and the six nations, who killed our people the other day, I was there, I know your language, it was certainly you that did the mischief ; and now, said he, you and the English will fight ; may be you think that you and your uncle the six nations are able to stand the English : I tell you, said he, that we can pinch you between our fingers ; I don't cheat you, and act in the dark and under-handed, as you do, but tell you plainly that the English are going to fight you : in six days more the English will set out from all points against you. The Englishman returned to the white people, and informed them that a great multitude of Indians of all nations were gathered at Wayoming, &c. Then the English that way made it their busines to take as many of the Delawares who lived among, or near the white people, and made them prisoners, as they could lay hands on ; the number they took, 'tis said, is 232 in all ; one old man they took, who heard the account which the Englishman brought from Wayoming, made his escape with much difficulty, and carried the news back to Wayoming.

and gave an account of the English taking the Delawares who lived near the white people, &c. &c.

The Indians of Wayoming, 'tis said, were much concern'd after the Englishman had been there, and kept scouts out to see if any English were coming against them ; at last they saw a single man coming, the Indians went to the white man, and asked him whether he was alone ; he told them, that three more, who were gentlemen, were coming to have a treaty with them : they soon arrived, and called the Indians together, and informed them that they were sent to treat with them about building a fort there, that their squas and children might be protected from the French. The Indians desired to see their commission, they produced a certificate of it in writing ; the Indians objected against their not having wampum ; with that they produced another paper. Now the old man, who had been taken by the English, and made his escape, said to the Indians, don't you believe these men, they only mean to deceive you, and make you prisoners, or put you to the fword.

At that the Indians took their hatchets, and knocked them all on the head, except the Indian trader, who came there before, and was now with these gentlemen that made his escape.

Thus, brother Johnson, we have given you an account how the quarrel began between the English and Delawares, and what has happened since ; and if they have told us a pack of lyes, we cannot help it.

Now, my brother, we give you the answer of the Delawares to the message you sent by the bearer ; this is the answer our nephew gives.

Brother

Brother Johnson,

We desire to know what is the reason of the quarrel between us and our brethren the English; you say you are ignorant of it, so are we; we don't know the cause of this quarrel.

'Tis true, brother, as you say, we are not at our own command, but under the direction of the six nations; we are women, our uncle must say what we must do; he has the hatchet, and we must do as he says. 'Tis true, brother, we have not the hatchet, we are poor women, and out of temper: we are much obliged to you, brother, that you tell us to stop, and leave off that which we have begun to do; we hear you, we stop and repent.

But, brother Johnson, some of our young men, a few days ago, went out against the English; we can't help it, though we have sent after them as soon as we heard from you, brother, to stop them, and call them back. Now, brother, you must take care of your side too; many of our people are now captives among the English, we must see every one of them return again, or else it will not be well. We shall wait two months to see whether our captives are given up, and if we don't see them then, we don't know what we shall do; when we see our people again, then we shall contrive to make up the matter, and settle affairs, and not till then.

Thus, brother Johnson, you have the answer of my nephew to your message.

Now, brother, we that are young ones here would say a few words; by and by you shall hear from our heads; we ask leave for once, according to the English custom, to use paper instead of wampum.

Brother Johnson,

Be strong, do all you can on your part, and we will do all we can on ours : let us, both of us, be engaged to pursue to the things that make for peace and harmony ; you'll not doubt brother, but that the six nations will make it their business to set things to right again, and make up the unhappy quarrel between our brethren the English and the Delawares our nephews.

Be strong, brother, be engaged and we will assist you, and we need not doubt but we shall gain the point.

We would inform you, brother, that the Delawares tell us that two companies of their men set out not long ago against the English ; but they have now sent after them to bring them back. They say that there were 80 in one and 40 in the other company ; and that a number are sent out from Ohio lately against the English frontiers.

Thus, honoured Sir, I have wrote all that the Indians desired, I have wrote in haste, and not correct as I might, had I had leisure ; the Indians from Tiaogo arrived just at sun-set, and the bearer designing to set out early in the morning, I must send this rough account just as it is, I rely on your honour's candour.

If I can serve your honour in any thing in your public affairs, I am yours at command,

Gidn. Hawley.

P.S. I propose to your honour's consideration, whether it would be well for the English to build a fort and keep a garrison. I don't at all think that the Delawares design to be peaceable ; a fort here perhaps will be necessary to keep the rest of the Indians on the river in good order.

To the honourable William Johnson.

Fort

Fort Johnson, February 29, 1756.

*At a meeting of the Aughquageys, Tuscaroras, Skaniadaradighronos, Chugnutes, Mabickanders and Shawanese, Thomas their speaker stood up and went through the ceremony of condolance for the loss of my sister and brother-in-law *, and then proceeded as follows :*

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We will now open our hearts to you, and throw off the burthen which lays so heavy upon us ; it grieved us much to hear it was suggested, that all the nations living upon the banks of Susquehanna, even as far as Aughquagey had joined the French. We assure you it is a false report, and we appeal to you, brother, whether we have not (since your acquaintance with us) always proved true brethren to the English, and strictly adhered to the agreements made so long ago between them and our fore-fathers ; and depend upon it we ever shall, notwithstanding all the temptations of the French. What we now say comes not from our lips only, but from the very bottom of our hearts.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We speak now in behalf of the Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Skaniadaradighronos and Chugnutes ; and we may say we speak also in behalf of the Shawanese, who are now upon their way to Chugnut, where they are to settle and live under our protection ; also the Delaware-indians, who live upon

* Capt. Ferrall, his sister's husband, killed in the battle at Lake-George, September 7, 1755. Vide General Johnson's letter in London Gazette, 28 October 1755.

[16]

upon the east branch of that river near the head of it, have given us the strongest assurances, that they will live and die with us, and in consequence of that will keep up the same friendship and alliance with the English, which now subsists between us and them ; and this belt we hereby deliver to you as a testimony thereof.

Gave the belt.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We beg leave to lay our immediate danger and distress before you ; we are now entirely exposed to the merciless power of the French and their Indians, our and your common enemy ; their hatchet is ready to fall upon our heads, their Indians who live not far from us, threaten us for our attachment to you, for they call and look upon us as English, as we truly are. Now, brother, our earnest request is, that you would build us a small place of defence, wherein our old men, women, and children may have shelter in this time of danger ; and that you would also supply us with arms, ammunition, &c. wherewith to defend ourselves from any attempts the enemy may make upon us.

Gave a belt.

February 2, 1756.

At a meeting of the Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Skaniadaradighronos, Chugnuts, and Mabickanders, I made an answer to their speech in the presence of,

The Rev. Mr. Hawely, Mr. Daniel Clause,
Lieutenant Miller, Arent Stevens,
Mr. Reed, William Printup,
Three Interpreters,

Canadagaye

Canadagaye a Mohawk chief, my speaker, stood up and answered to their speech as follows, *viz.*

Brethren of the Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Skaniadaradighronos, Mahickanders, Chug-nuts, and Shawanese.

I approve much of your openness of heart to me on this occasion, and as that is the surest way of having your grievances redressed, I would advise you (as I have often your brethren of the six nations) always to follow that method, and you may be assured I will endeavour to ease your minds, and do every thing in my power to contribute to your happiness. As for the idle fumfises of, or reports spread by any ill minded silly people, who know nothing of your sentiments, or the state of your or our affairs, I must desire you will not give ear to, nor be in the least uneasy at them, for their words are like wind and not to be noticed. If at any time your minds are disturbed, or that you labour under any difficulties, let me know it immediately, you may depend upon relief. The strong assurances you now, and always have given me of your attachment to your brethren the English, and of your gathering together, gives me the greatest pleasure, and will animate me to take more care of you, which you may depend upon as long as you continue stedfast friends to the English, which you will ever find it your interest to do.

A belt.

Brethren of the several before-mentioned nations,

Your case I have considered, and agree with you in opinion, that your present situation is far from

from being safe, having so dangerous and deceitful an enemy, as the French are notoriously known to be on the one side, and their blind-folded, rash Indians (who know not their own interest) on the other. Wherefore, agreeable to your request, I shall immediately have a fort built for the safety of your old people, children, and friends, living round about there ; I will also supply you with arms, ammunition, &c. to defend the said fort, against any attempts the French, or their Indians, may make upon you : keep a good look out, and if at any time you find a design against you, let me know it, and I will come immediately to your assistance. This I confirm by this belt of wampum.

A belt.

February 2, 1756.

The answer of the Augbquageys, Tuscaroras, Skaniadaradighronos, Mahickanders, Chugnuts, and Shawaneje.

Adam, speaker.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We the several nations of Indians living at and about Susquehanna river and its branches, here present, return you our most hearty thanks for your kind compliance to our requests, as well as for the great regard you shew for our safety, by promising to come in person to our assistance, should there be occasion at any time for it : this convincing proof of your love for us, at this critical time, lays us under the greatest obligations ; and be assured we and ours shall never forget it as long as the waters of Susquehanna run.

A belt, and finished, giving six shouts of approbation.

Friday

[19]

Friday 6th, I sent an Indian express, with a belt of wampum, to know the reason of the six nations delay.

Monday 9th, Not hearing from them yet, and all the other nations waiting here impatiently, dispatched Jacobus Clemont, one of the interpreters, to bring them down speedily.

Wednesday 11th, Three Onondago warriors arrived at my house, with three strings of wampum from the Sachems, acquainting me that their nations Cayougas, and Senecas, were making all the haste possible, and would be here to-morrow in a body: in the afternoon the Onondagos and Cayougas arrived, and told me that fifty Senecas would be here to-morrow.

The Mohawk Sachems came to me with an express from their brethren the Canajoharees, acquainting them and me, that the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, were to be on Friday at their castle, in order to condole the death of the great Hendrick, and the other chiefs of that castle, who were slain at Lake George, and desired theirs and my attendance at the ceremony; I gave them the proper belts of wampum on that occasion, and desired they would act for me, as I could not possibly attend, there being so many Indians at my house, which they readily agreed to, and set off.

Thursday 12th, The Senecas arrived and told me, that the Oneidas and Tuscaroras would not be here until Saturday or Sunday, for the above-mentioned reason.

Friday 13th, Some more of the Senecas arrived, when I performed the necessary ceremony on that occasion.

D

Saturday

Saturday 14th, I had an express sent me by the Canajoharees, that a great number of the Oneidas, Tuscaroras and Mohawks, were met there, and would finish their condolence that day, and set off the next; which they accordingly did: and on

Monday 16th, The Oneidas and Tuscaroras arrived here, when I received them, and performed the usual ceremony on that occasion.

After that Canaghquayeson, an Oneida Sachem, stood up and spake:

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We doubt not but you have been uneasy at our staying so long after our brethren of the other nation; the reason is this, we have been clearing up the road of our fore-fathers, as is customary among us (meaning the condoling of the loss of several of their people, who died and were killed since they travelled that road before) particularly at Canajoharee, where we have lost two great men, in whose stead or room we have appointed others. Our brethren of the other nations have passed by and neglected this, which we think wrong. Now we are here compleat, and beg you will be easy in your mind.

A belt.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

Hoping we have now quieted your mind, we beg you will think and speak coolly, otherwise it may be of ill consequence to us, as our welfare depends greatly on your cool deliberations.

A belt.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

As this is the council room, where all the affairs of the six nations are transacted; and as you told

told me you would keep a white wing hanging in it to sweep it clean with, we now take this fan down, and sweep all dust and dirt out of it, so as nothing may interrupt us in our councils and deliberations.

Three strings of wampum.

February 16th, 1756.

My answer to the Oneidas and Tuscaroras speech.

Brethren,

On your arrival yesterday you expressed your concern, lest I might be uneasy at your staying so much longer than the rest of your brethren, and than the time appointed. The reasons you have given for it are a sufficient apology; I am very glad you have done every thing necessary on your part, agreeable to your customs, and the rules laid down to you by your wise ancestors. So many of you appearing here now at this council, and at so bad a season of the year, gives me great pleasure, as it plainly demonstrates your regard to my invitation.

A belt.

Brethren,

I thank you for the prudent and kind steps you have taken to quiet my mind at this time; I assure you it is quite settled, and my thoughts fixed upon nothing so much, as what may tend to your welfare, and that of all your brethren in general.

A belt.

Brethren,

I have had this council room (on my inviting you and the rest of the nations to it) well cleansed; but as you imagined it might have (by your stay-

D 2 ing

ing so much longer than the time appointed for meeting) gathered some dust; I am glad you have taken down the fan, and swept it so, that nothing might in the least impede our consultations.

Three strings of wampum.
Ended this affair.

*At a private meeting of the upper Mohawk
castile, Wednesday the 18th,*

P R E S E N T all the sachems and warriors,
Abraham Hendrick's brother, stood up and spoke.

Brother Warraghiyagey,
We return you our hearty thanks, for the care you have taken in fortifying our castle last summer, agreeable to our desire, and also of garrisoning it in our absence, for the security of our old people and children. And as we look upon it as necessary now as ever (from the many reports we daily have, of the French's intentions of attacking us for our attachment to you) we earnestly desire there may be an officer, and a proper number of men, posted there, as soon as possible for our defence.

A belt.

Brethren of Canajoharee,
As I am fully convinced of your sincerity and attachment to his Majesty's interest, I readily comply with your request, not doubting it will be very agreeable to your Father the great king, who has nothing more at heart than the safety and welfare of you his faithful children; as an assurance of what I say, and now promise to you, I give you this belt of wampum.

A belt.

So this meeting ended.

44

*At a meeting of five hundred and eighty-six
of the six nations and their allies, at Fort
Johnson, February the 18th 1756.*

P R E S E N T,	
The honourable Willi-	Lieut. Pottinger,
am Johnson, sole su-	Lieut. Mills ‡,
perintendent of their	Lieut. Lottridge,
Affairs,	Capt. Butler §, and other
The Rev. Dr. Ogilvie*,	Indian officers,
The Rev. Mr. Hawley,	Several gentlemen,
Capt. Beckwith,	The deputy secretary,
Lieut. Miller,	And four interpreters,
Lieut. Dunbar,	

I, (*viz. Gen. Johnson*) spoke as follows:

Brethren of the six united nations,

I have heard with great concern that a war-party of the Senecas, the most remote nation of the confederacy, have had a considerable misunderstanding with their brethren the English to the southward, which has been fatal to some of that nation. I am extremely unable to express my concern for that unhappy affair; and as the hatchet remains fixed in your heads, I do with the greatest affection and tenderness remove it thence.

A belt.

Brethren,

With this belt I cleanse and purify the beds of those who fell in that unfortunate affair, from the defilement they have contracted.

A belt.

Brethren,

* Missionary, stationed among the Mohawks. ‡ A brave English-man, Lieutenant of the independant companies in the province of New-York. § An Irish gentleman, in the same rank with Mills, and has resided among the Mohawks above 20 years.

Brethren,

I am informed that upon that unhappy occasion you have lost three of your principal warriors; I do with this belt cover their dead bodies, that they may not offend our fight any more, and bury the whole affair in eternal oblivion.

A belt.

Brethren,

I have now agreeable to your antient customs scattered those clouds that looked with so dark and threatning an aspect; the sun now shines bright again, therefore let us under its enlightning and cherishing influences, proceed upon our important businels, with our usual chearfulness and unanimity.

A belt.

The remaining part of the ceremony of condolence, jointly in the name of General Johnson and Governor Morris, whom Skaronyade the half king, and Mr. Montour, represented.

Brethren of the Cayugas and Toderighronos,

By constant experience we discover, that the life of man is as the flower of the field; in this transitory scene, therefore, resignation becomes us under the loss of our nearest and dearest friends: comfort yourselves, therefore, under the losses you have sustained, as becomes reasonable creatures. With this belt I cover all your dead, that they may no more offend your fight. A belt.

Brethren of the Onondagas, Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Skaniadaradighronos, Aughquageys, and the Mohawks of both castles,

I perform the same ceremony to you. After the ceremonhy, six French prisoners, some of those who were taken at the late battle, near Lake George, were delivered with great ceremony to the

the Indians, in order to replace the following Indians, who were killed in that battle, viz. Tayanoga, alias Hendrick Tarraghiyoris; Waniancoone of Canajoharee; Skahyowio Onienkoto of the Mohawks; Nica-anawa Skaronyade's son; and Cayadanora, a Tuscarora.

They received the prisoners with the greatest marks of gratitude and satisfaction; every nation giving the shout of approbation, and then carried off the prisoners to their respective families.

Thus ended the ceremony necessary on those occasions, agreeable to their customs.

*The answer of the six nations and their allies,
February 17th 1756.*

Read Head, speaker.

P R E S E N T,	
The hon. William John-	Lieut. Dunbar,
son,	Capt. Butler, and other
The Rev. Dr. Ogilvie,	Indian officers,
The Rev. Mr. Hawley,	Three interpreters.
Lieut. Miller,	

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We the sachems and warriors of the Seneca nation, return you our sincere and hearty thanks, for the great affection in drying our tears, and driving sorrow from our hearts; and we in return perform the same ceremony to you with the like hearty affection.

A string of wampum.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We are sensible of your goodness, expressed to us in removing the cause of our grief, and tenderly taking the ax out of our heads. A belt.

Brother

[26]

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We are thankful to you for cleaning the blood out of our sight, agreeable to the antient custom of our forefathers.

A belt.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We are thankful likewise for covering the graves of those who were slain in that unhappy affair.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We acknowledge your goodness in thus settling our minds, which were so much discomposed, and that you have so seasonably reminded us of that harmony, that has always subsisted between our fore-fathers and our brethren the English, an account of which has been handed down, to us by tradition, from father to son. We promise due attention to your advice, which we are convinced tends to our welfare; and assure you, that we bury that unfortunate affair in eternal oblivion.

A belt.

The Cayugas and Toderighronos, return their hearty thanks to the General, for his affectionate and public condolence, with a belt.

A belt.

The Onondagas acknowledge the same with a belt.

A belt.

The Oneidas do the same:

A belt.

The Tuscaroras and Skaniadaradighronos the same.

A belt.

The two castles of the Mohawks the same.

A belt.

Brother

Brother Warraghiyagey,

The six united nations, as one body, do with the greatest thankfulness acknowledge your brotherly affection, in thus effectually cleansing and purifying all our habitations from all the blood and defilement, which they had contracted by the death of so many of our principal men.

A belt.

The speaker then took up a large belt, which the general gave, with an emblem of the six nations joined hand in hand with us, and spoke as follows :

Brother Warraghiyagey,

Look with attention on this belt, and remember the solemn and mutual engagements we entered into, when you first took upon you the management of our affairs ; be assured, we look upon them as sacred, and shall, on our parts, punctually perform them as long as we are a people.

A prodigious large belt !

The speaker then took up another very large belt, which was given them by the governor of New York some years ago.

He then repeated the solemn promises, that were then made them by the representatives of all the governments then present, and said,

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We hope our brethren the English will seriously remember the promise made us by this belt, and exactly perform them ; and we promise to do the same, though we have no records but our memories.

A very large belt.

E

Brother

Brother Warraghiyagey,

As you, and the governor of Philadelphia, have asked us, what reason we can possibly assign for the barbarous behaviour of our nephews the Delawares; all we can say at present is, that they are deluded by the craft and subtily of our old and perfidious enemy the French; but we promise on our part, we will try all means to stop their proceeding further in their hostilities, and beg you will do the same.

Three strings of wampum.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We earnestly entreat, that you will immediately acquaint all the governors concerned, that we the six nations have not been inattentive to this important affair, but have already sent some of our people to take the hatchet out of the hands of our nephews the Delawares; and we should be glad that you would draw your troops from the frontiers; then we will endeavour to bring our nephews the Delawares to deliver up all the prisoners they have taken from their brethren the English, and to make the best acknowledgment in their power for their base and treacherous behaviour.

A belt.

Brethren of the six nations,

I am extremely pleased with your kind and friendly acknowledgments of my public condolence yesterday. And as all causes of uneasiness to either of us are now removed, I propose tomorrow to deliver you a speech relative to our present circumstances, which I hope you will be properly prepared to hear.

Ended.

February

February 19. 1756.

At a meeting of several principal warriors, from the most remote parts of the Seneca's country, who never came down before to any meeting, the chief man named Kayan-dagaron, alias Kendorondy, spoke as follows :

Brother Warraghiyagey,

I, with my party of warriors from Canuskako, the door of the six nations, embrace this first opportunity of shaking you by the hand, and of assuring you, that nothing but my regard for you, and my desire of hearing your sentiments from your own mouth, could have induced me, and my young men, to take such a journey at this time of the year, as we had several of our sachems attending at the meeting. We are now here at the fire-place of all the nations, and assure you we are heartily glad to see you.

Brethren of Canuskako.

As I have nothing more at heart than the welfare of the six nations, and their allies, it always gives me the most sensible pleasure to see, or even to hear from any of them, and more especially you, whom I never saw before, as it affords me an opportunity of commencing that acquaintance and friendship with you, which is natural among brethren, and which my inclination will always lead me to improve, especially with so brave a people as your nation has always been deemed.

Here I ended.

E 2

February

[30]

February 20. 1756.

P R E S E N T at the following public speech

The hon. William John- son, sole superinten- dant of their affairs,	Lieut. Pottinger, Lieut. Lee, Lieut. Kennedy,
The Rev. Dr. Ogilvie,	Lieut. Mills,
The Rev. Mr. Hawley,	Ensign Penington,
Capt. Beckwith,	Several Indian officers,
Lieut. Miller,	and other gentlemen,
Lieut. Dunbar,	Three interpreters.

Brethren of the six united nations, your al-
lies and dependants,

It always gives me the most solid pleasure
to meet you here, that we may felicitate our-
selves in the cherishing warmth and light of
that fire, kindled here for our mutual good ;
may it ever burn bright as the sun that illumi-
nates and guides the day, that you and your po-
sterity, to the latest generations, may rejoice in
its benevolent influence !

A belt.

Brethren,

It gives me a particular satisfaction to meet
you here at this time, for two important reasons.
The first is, that it affords us an opportunity of
a friendly interview under the shade of that tree,
which was lately so solemnly and judiciously
planted ; and of calmly consulting and maturely
deliberating matters of the utmost consequence,
and which nearly concerns our mutual safety,
welfare and honour.

A belt.

The

[3 :]

The second is, that it gives me an opportunity of shaking you by the hand with a brotherly affection, and in the name of the great King your Father, congratulating you upon our late happy success, which I make no doubt must give you the most sensible pleasure ; and I flatter myself from your late repeated protestations of fidelity to your brethren the English, it will prove a means of animating you, and all your faithful allies, to stand forth with your usual bravery upon all future occasions.

A belt.

How much greater might our success have been ! how much more sensibly would it have been felt by our treacherous and common enemy, had more of your warriors appeared in the field on that important day, had all our force been united ? If the bubbling or drops of our war-kettle did so much, how great would have been the consequence, had it boiled with its usual fury ! It would, like a mighty torrent, carried all before it ; and it would have founded the fame of our victorious arms far and near, and spread universal terror all around us !

I, now, in the name of the great King your Father, in this public manner return you thanks for joining our arms last summer, and for your gallant behaviour in that Action. This gives him reason to expect the like fidelity and courageous conduct from you all for the future, and greatly endears you to him, and to all his loving subjects your affectionate brethren.

A belt.

This animates me with fresh pleasure and affection at this important conjuncture of affairs, to brighten and strengthen the covenant-chain, that

that has so long linked us together, in mutual friendship and mutual affection, which, I hope, will continue inviolable and sacred, as long as the sun shines, or the rivers continue to water the earth, notwithstanding all the intrigues of our old and perfidious enemies, who have left no means untried, and especially at this time, to weaken and divide us, that so they may in the event root out the remembrance of your name and nations from the face of the earth.

A large covenant-belt.

Brethren,

On my arrival from lake George last December, I had from your brother the governor of New York, and since from the governor of Pennsylvania, the shocking news of (your nephews) the Delawares and Shawanees falling upon your brethren of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia in the most cruel and treacherous manner, killing and barbarously butchering the innocent defenceless people, who lived on the frontiers of the said governments ; burning and destroying all they had, and that without any just cause or reason, as I understand. This I communicated to you by one of your own people, a Seneca, with a belt of wampum, desiring you would, without loss of time, put a stop to your nephews spilling any more of your brethrens blood ; and that you would enquire into, and let me know the reason of such their wicked and unparalleled behaviour to the King's subjects, your brethren and friends. I now repeat the same, and expect to hear what you have done in consequence of said message and desire.

Brethren, I tell you with concern, that I plainly foresee, unless you, the six nations, who

[33]

have always maintained a superiority over the Indians, will now exert yourselves in this case, you will not only lose that authority which they hitherto acknowledged, but will have them your enemies.

A large black belt,

Brethren,

I told you before the governor of Pennsylvania had acquainted me with the base behaviour of your nephews the Shawanees and Delawares, and has also sent your friend Skaronyade and Andrew Montour to you with his message, and to know your sentiments thereon : I desire and expect you will pay a just regard to his message, and afford him all the assistance you can, in bringing that unhappy affair to as good an issue as possible.

A belt.

Brethren,

I am now to acquaint you, that the great King of England, your Father, on the death of the late general Braddock, has committed the command of all his forces raised, and to be raised upon the continent of North America, to general Shirley ; and has in a particular manner commanded him to protect your country, and the lands which your forefathers have conquered, and are of right your territories, against all violence and attempts of the French our common enemy ; and to cultivate a strict friendship between him and you ; he takes the first opportunity of communicating this to you by me, and of assuring you of his intentions, fully to follow his majesty's instructions herein.

A belt of black wampum.

Brethren,

Brethren,

General Shirley also desires me to acquaint you, that he is to have a great army this ensuing spring for the defence of your country, and the recovery of such parts of it as have been encroached upon by the French; and that in the mean time his majesty's troops in the province of New York, shall be held in readiness to defend you against any attempts the French may make before the opening of the campaign.

A belt.

Brethren,

On my return from New York, I received your kind message and information of the design of the French attacking his majesty's garrison at Oswego: I am extremely obliged to you for your friendly notice, which I immediately acquainted general Shirley and governor Hardy with, by express from Albany, who by their answers to me, are also greatly pleased with you, for the concern you shew for our mutual safety; and I expect you will not only continue your vigilance, but will also be ready (like unalterable friends and brethren) to use the ax which I gave you last summer, in conjunction with his majesty's troops, whenever called upon, either at Oswego, or any where else they may be employed, to the utmost of your power, as it is his majesty's intention to stand by you, and protect you, as well as his own subjects, against the insults or attempts of any enemy whatever. Believe me, Brethren, this is the proper time to convince your Father, the great King of England, and your Brethren, of your sincerity and attachment to their interest, by your acting vigorously with his troops, which I most heartily advise you to do,

[35]

do, as it is of the utmost consequence to our mutual interest.

A large belt.

Brethren,
I must now acquaint you, that I propose meeting you at Oswego next spring, and desire you will join with me in the invitation I shall send to your friends and allies, far and near, to come to said meeting; when and where you and they shall receive a handsome present from your Father the great King of England, who is very desirous of bringing all nations worthy of his and your alliance, into the covenant-chain at that meeting. I hope, we shall then be able to make such an alliance, and settle matters in such a manner, and so much to our mutual advantage, as will give reason to all concerned, and their posterity, to bless that happy day we met together.

A belt.

The answer of the six nations, the 21st of February 1756.

Red Head, speaker.

P R E S E N T

The hon. Will. Johnson, Lieut. Miller,
The Rev. Dr. Ogilvie, Lieut. Dunbar,
Capt. Buckworth, Three Interpreters.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We meet you with the greatest pleasure at this fire-place, and heartily join you in your wishes, that it may burn bright to the latest posterity; let us mutually endeavour to collect such materials for the use of this our fire, as may tend

F to

[36]

to support it in its full strength, as long as the sun and moon endureth.

A belt.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We acknowledge that this tree was solemnly and judiciously planted for our mutual welfare, its roots reach to the remotest habitations of the confederacy, and its branches afford a friendly retreat to us and all our allies and dependants. Brother, take a tender care of it, see that it be fed plentifully by friendly streams, that it may increase and spread its branches so far, that it may be a sufficient shade, not only for us, but also for all other nations, which may hereafter come into our alliance.

A belt.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We heartily rejoice with you upon our late success, and assure you it gives us a solid pleasure.

A belt.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We are extremely well pleased, that our late conduct was so highly acceptable to the great King our Father.

A belt.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We assure you, that we, on our parts, do with equal pleasure and friendship join with you at this time of public commotion, in brightening and strengthening the covenant-chain, that has so long united us together. Let us mutually and steadfastly adhere to our engagements, notwithstanding the crafty intrigues of our perfidious and blood-thirsty enemies. Let us vigorously endeavour to frustrate all their treacherous designs, that so we may reap the good effects of

[37]

this our union, which has long been the object of their envy. With this belt we do most solemnly renew the engagements of the antient covenant-chain.

A belt.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We always look'd upon the Delawares as the more immediate care of *Onas, that they were within the circle of his arms; we are therefore of opinion, that he has not taken that friendly care of them as he ought to do, and therefore our common enemy hath taken the advantage of his neglect; for we can't but think, that if there had been proper measures taken, they would have still continued faithful friends to the English Interest.

A belt.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We are sensible of the care of the great King's appointing general Shirley to succeed general Braddock; and we are extremely thankful for the particular instructions he has given him, to cultivate a strict friendship between us and him, and to protect our lands, and recover those encroached upon by our common enemy: we hope and expect, that he will strictly adhere to his majesty's instructions, by protecting us from the bloody incursions of our treacherous enemies, and use his utmost endeavours to recover those lands which they have clandestinely wrested out of our hands.

A belt.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We are very thankful for the assurance he gives us, that the soldiers posted in this province

F 2

vince

* By Onas, they, here, mean governor Morris.

vince are to hold themselves in readiness to defend us upon any sudden emergency ; for we assure you, we are apprehensive, that as the French find, that all their delusive and wheedling arts have not had their desired effect, they may throw off their disguise, and rush in upon us with a voracious fury, like the wolves of the wilderness.

A belt.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We are pleased that the information we gave, with respect of the designs of the French against Oswego, has been acceptable to you, and our brethren the English ; and we promise, for the future, to keep up a strict vigilance. The ax has been frequently put into the hands of our fore-fathers, by our brethren the English, and they always used it with the utmost vigour, till it was taken out of their hands. We assure you, that we intend, punctually, to conform to the bright and brave examples they set us ; and we hope, this will be a sufficient proof of our sincerity and fidelity to the great King our Father,

A belt.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

Your proposal of taking a few embers from the fire at Onondago, to kindle a fire at Oswego, and meeting us there this spring, is highly acceptable to us, as we have good reason to think that the light and warmth of that fire, will invite many nations to meet us there ; and, we make no doubt that the things you will propose to their consideration, will carry such light and conviction with them, as will be sufficient to engage them to join in our confederacy ; and we promise, to use the utmost endeavours to accomplish that great event ; and we doubt not, but that our

childrens

[39]

childrens children will have reason to remember that happy day.

Brother, we very chearfully concur with this your proposal, as we are convinced you will propose nothing but what is for our mutual interest.

A belt.

Brother Warraghiyagey.

We have now opened our minds with freedom and sincerity, and we understand each other clearly ; let us mutually remember our engagements, which we have again so solemnly renewed ; and if at any time, our enemy should attack us, prove, by your readiness to support and assist us, that you really love us ; and we assure you, we shall not be wanting on our parts, to give proofs of the like fidelity and friendship.

A belt.

*At a meeting of the six nations, February
the 23d. 1756.*

P R E S E N T

The hon Will. Johnson, Capt. Butler, and other
The Rev. Dr. Ogilvie, Indian officers,
The Rev. Mr. Hawley, Three interpreters.

Brethren,

As it was very cold and late when I delivered you my speech on Friday night, I told you, I would then postpone some things I had further to say ; I now take this opportunity of communicating them to you.

In the first place, I must recommend to you, in the strongest manner, as his majesty's troops will be passing and repassing to Oswego next spring, that you endeavour all in your power, to keep

keep open the road thither, and not suffer any obstructions or stoppages to be thrown in the way by the enemy, as there is the greatest necessity, for our keeping that road clear and open, it being for our mutual interest and safety.

A belt.

Brethren,

Now is your time, to have forts or trading-houses built in your countries, while your Father the great King of England has your interest so much at heart : if at any time you incline to have such built in any of your castles, only let me know it, and it shall be done.

A belt.

Brethren,

Governor Hardy * desired me to acquaint you, that he had a present from your Father the King for you, which he intends to deliver to you here, as soon as possible he can, and expects your attendance.

Three strings.

Brethren,

The one great end proposed in calling you here, at this season of the year, was, to have that affair of the Delawares and Shawanese settled ; but I am sorry to find you are not so hearty in the affair, as I expected you would, or as, at this important time, you ought to be ; I must therefore urge you, most strenuously, to fall upon and settle this affair, before you leave this place, as there is no time to be lost ; besides, your brethren of the several governments, with impatience, wait the result of this meeting, on which, let me tell you, much depends.

A large belt.

Brethren,

* Of New York.

Brethren,

It is my kind concern for your welfare, that leads me to propose the following advice to you. I have your happiness very much at heart, and most zealously wish your prosperity; therefore I conjure you, to observe and follow the friendly hints, I am now going to give you.

1st. Endeavour to bring as many nations of Indians into your alliance as possibly you can; and try all means, without loss of time, to settle the minds of all such as are wavering, and those who are now ready to rebel against you. If you can accomplish this, let your study be, ever after, to keep up that correspondence, faith and friendship with them, which is absolutely necessary between friends and allies, and without which, neither friendship or alliance can long subsist.

2dly. I would have you to adhere, inviolably, to all the engagements you have, or shall enter into, with your brethren the English; who have always been your steady friends, and are determined ever to continue such: besides, they are the ablest, and will be the readiest to protect and defend, you against any attempts of an enemy; and moreover, can, and will supply you, and all your allies, with the necessaries of life at a cheaper rate, than the French can.

3dly. Be not any longer wheedled, blind-folded, and imposed on, by the artful speeches of the French; for their tongues are full of deceit; do not imagine the fine cloaths, &c. they give you, are given out of love or regard to you; no! they are only as baits to catch fish; they mean to enslave you thereby, and entail that curse upon your children, after you, who will have reason to
repent

repent the day you begot them ; be assured, they are your inveterate, implacable enemies, and only wish, for a difference to arise between you and us, that then they may put you out of their way, by cutting you off the face of the earth.

4thly. Fall upon a method of collecting each nation into a compact body : where you have good land, and a good situation, there fortify your castle in such a manner, as you may be able to defend yourselves, against any number with small arms : above all things, be unanimous in your councils, and also in the field.

5thly. If at any time your brethren the English, or any of your Indian allies, are injured or threatened from any quarter, the whole body of the confederacy should rise, and endeavour to bring about an honourable accommodation ; but if your enemy should not hearken to reason, but still persist in acting unjustly, then the whole body should, as one man, join their arms against the enemy ; by which means, you will always be able to bring them to what terms may be thought proper : you will, in that state, be a terror to the French, who now, well knowing your unsettled, divided disposition, at every turn of the wind, use threats and menaces against you. Be not afraid of them; cleave to your brethren the English, and they cannot hurt you.

6thly. If you duly observe these wholesome admonitions, you will again become numerous, and retrieve your pristine fame. Then, the very name of the six nations, and their allies, will be a terror to their enemies ! and their arms will carry conquest with them, as heretofore.

7thly. But, brethren and friends, if you continue any longer in your past, lethargic and supine state,

[43]

ftate, and neglect this my friendly advice, and earnest desire, I greatly fear you will, sooner or later, have cause to repent it, and wish too late you had followed it. Let all your youngest people hear what I say, and your men and women seriously consider it; and let your and their memory witness for me, that I have given you all this timely and wholesome advice.

Take this pipe to your great council-chamber at Onondago, let it hang there in view; and should you be wavering in your minds at any time, take and smoke out of it, and think of my advice given with it, and you will recover and think properly.

Gave the largest pipe in America, made on purpose.

As it is now late, I shall deliver you the present I have got, made on purpose for you, to-morrow morning; by which time, I hope to have your definitive answer, to the points I now spoke to you upon.

Ended here.

The answer of the six nations, February 24th 1756.

Red Head, speaker.

P R E S E N T,

The hon. William John- Capt. Butler, and other
son. Indian officers,

The Rev. Dr. Ogilvie, Three interpreters.

The Rev. Mr. Hawley,

Brother Warraghiyagey,

You have very reasonably put us in mind of that superiority which we, by a series of conquests, have obtained over the Delawares, Shawanees and others; we are sensible of it, and, therefore, no sooner did you send us the shock-

G

ing tidings of their treacherous and barbarous behaviour, but we looked upon ourselves nearly concerned to interpose ; we immediately dispatched a message to them, to enquire into the cause of this their unparalleled conduct ; we backed this with a second message, with equal warmth ; both proving abortive, we obtained an interview by the means of our brethren of Oncida. At this meeting, we reminded them of their subordination, we shook them by the head and demanded the reasons of their conduct ; we put them in mind how contrary this behaviour was to the covenant subsisting between the confederacy and the English ; we told them, that our latest posterity would have reason to curse their action, and that it would give our brethren reason to suspect us all of treachery, while we so basely abuse the confidence they repose in us ; we again and again desired they would immediately change their behaviour, at least, that they would suspend hostilities, 'till they heard from us at our return from this meeting : they seemed sensible of their fault, and promised they would cease committing any further hostilities.

A string of wampum.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We look upon you as one of our own body, and, therefore, as you have out of sincere regard to our common welfare, pressed upon us to put an effectual stop to the ravages and devastations made by our nephews the Delawares and Shawanees ; we solemnly promise in the name of the sachems and warriors of the five nations, that we will use our utmost endeavour, to put a speedy and effectual stop to those unhappy proceedings ; and it is the firm resolution of the whole confederacy,

deracy, to conform themselves entirely to your reasonable request in this important point ; but, as the Mohawks are the head of our confederacy, we leave the management of that affair entirely to them. We sincerely wish, that the great Spirit ! who governs all things, may succeed them in this important undertaking, as it will greatly contribute to our mutual happiness and strength.

This confirmed with a large belt.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

The Missisagas acknowledge a message sent them by General Shirley last year, giving them an invitation to meet him at Oswego : they answer, that the season of the year was too far advanced to admit of a meeting then ; but that, they promise to come early in the spring, and be attentive to what their brethren the English have to say.

They desired that this string might be kept at Onondago, lest it might be intercepted by the French ; for, should they be acquainted with their design of meeting the English, they feared they would fall upon and destroy them.

A string of wampum.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

Be attentive to what I now propose, they are the real sentiments of the five nations, not merely the sounds of their breath, but the genuine resolutions of their hearts. Look upon this belt* as a pledge of our inviolable attachment to you, and of our unshaken resolution, of joining you in all

G 2 your

* This belt was the largest ever given ! upon it was wrought the sun, by way of the emblem of light, and some figures representing the six nations ; it was intended to signify, that they now saw objects in their proper light, and that they were fully convinced of the truth of every thing proposed.

your measures : our determinations are founded upon clear conviction, as clear as that sun that now shines in the firmament. We shall send this belt to the Senecas, that from thence it may be conveyed to the remotest nations, as an emblem of the happiness we enjoy by our union ; at the same time kindly inviting them to come in and join our covenant chain.

Brother, you may depend upon this as our resolutions, which we will put into immediate execution.

What you have said, in regard to the trade, we look upon as a convincing proof of your love and affection to us, and it gives us pleasure that it now becomes a matter of serious consideration with you ; we are sensible of your ability to supply us with all the necessaries of life cheaper and better than the French can possibly do : indeed, brother, there is nothing you should more seriously attend to, as it would greatly tend to cement that friendship that subsists between us, and would be the most likely means of bringing in the most remote nations to an acquaintance and union with us.

A prodigious large belt !

The general had frequently insisted upon knowing their resolutions, with respect to the ravages committed by the Delawares, &c. This paragraph is intended as an apology, for their not making their answer sooner.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

You have most earnestly and frequently pressed us to accommodate that unhappy breach, between the Delawares and our brethren the English ; our delay did not proceed from any backwardness

nes

[47]

ness on our part, but from the great sense we had of its importance : we hope you have received satisfaction upon that head, by the great belt we just now delivered with so much solemnity and sincerity.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

You have acquainted us, that the great King, our Father, is firmly resolved to defend our country, and recover such parts of it, as the French have encroached upon ; also, to protect us to the utmost of his power, by erecting forts for our safety and defence ; we are grateful for this instance of his goodness ; but have not yet concluded any thing with regard to the latter.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

You have informed us, that the governor of New York has a present for us, from the great king, our Father, we are thankful for it ; but are afraid, that as it comes so soon upon the back of this meeting, it will be inconvenient for our aged people to attend ; but our warriors shall come upon that occasion.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

As you have given us a large pipe, to be a constant memorial of the important advice you have given us, when you are dead and gone, and to smoke out of it, at our public meeting-place, when we jointly and maturely reflect upon our engagements ; we assure you, we shall hang it up in our council-chamber, and make proper use of it upon all occasions ; we likewise beg, that you on your part, will likewise seriously consider your engagements, and faithfully perform them.

The general concluded with the following words:

Brethren,

Brethren,

I do not think you have been so explicit, with regard to what I proposed to you, concerning your keeping open a clear road to Oswego, as I could wish.

They made the following apology :

Brother Warraghiyagey,

With respect to the article relative to the keeping open the road to Oswego, we imagined our answer was contained in our general reply, wherein we assured you, we would support and assist each other, upon all occasions; but as you did not look upon that sufficient, we now assure you, that we shall punctually conform to your desire, herein.

The General added :

The present waits your acceptance. As there has been frequent complaints, with respect to the division of the presents given at these public meetings, it is my earnest desire, that they may be so divided, as to prevent all jealousy and complaints.

He then delivered them a very handsome publick present; which, together with the private gifts, to the several chiefs and sachems, amounted to,

York currency * £. 1085 9 8 $\frac{1}{2}$.

*At a meeting of the six nations, February
26th, 1756.*

Brother Warraghiyagey,

It was yesterday agreed upon by us, that our eldest brother, the Mohawk, should take upon him, to settle that unhappy affair, between the Delawares and our brethren the English; but, on more mature deliberation, having the thing so much at heart, we, have now, unanimously agreed,

that

* Upwards of £. 620 sterling.

[49]

that several delegates, from the six nations, should use their utmost endeavours to accommodate that difference ; and, depend upon it, we shall lose no time, for we shall immediately dispatch a message to them by the Skaniadaradighronos and Oneidas, and desire them, to meet us at Otsineange, where the council is to be held.

A belt.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We have, agreeable to your repeated desire, kept a good look out, and daily watch the motions of the French ; we must acquaint you, that they have lately sent a message to our brethren, the Cayugas, to let them know their resolution, of attacking Oswego, and desiring their opinion upon it : hereupon, three of their sachems, and seven of their young men, are gone to Niagara, with a design to forbid the French attacking Oswego, or any Indians, they may see, joining them : we daily expect their return, when you shall immediately hear what they have done.

A belt.

Brethren of the six nations,

I greatly approve of the alteration you have made, in the method of accommodating that unhappy breach between the Delawares and your brethren the English, as it must certainly have greater weight now, as it is the act of the whole body, and the more likely to succeed ; I look upon this, as a very considerable proof of the unanimity and zeal, that you have expressed at this present meeting.

A belt.

Brethren,

I must repeat to you, that I am extremely pleased at, and much obliged to you for the kind intelligence,

intelligence, you have given me, of the designs of the French attacking Oswego, and desire you will continue that vigilance, and let me have every information you can, relative to the proceedings and motions of the French; as nothing can contribute more to the defeating all their designs, than our having constant and good intelligence. I wish your brethren of Cayouga, may succeed in their intentions, of indeavouring to prevent any Indians, they may see, joining the French; but as they can do nothing without their assistance, I doubt of their success; however, it is good to try what can be done in that case; but be that as it will, we do not fear what the French can do, neither should you, after the strong and many assurances, we have given you, of his Majesty's protection and friendship.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We are now ready to return home, as all affairs, for which we came here, are settled to our satisfaction, and we hope to yours; we shall finish, with assuring you, we will strictly act up to every thing agreed upon at this meeting, and hope you will do the same.

So ended the congress.

*At a private meeting of the Oneidas nation,
February 25th, 1756.*

Canaghquayeson their speaker, spoke as follows:

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We, some time ago, applied to General Shirley, to have a fort built, for the security of our castle; we now acquaint you with our unanimous resolution

resolution of having one, and should be glad it could be accomplished as soon as possible, and that you will be particularly careful, in the choice of those you employ in that work ; and to charge them strictly, by no means, to bring any spirituous liquor among our people, as they are very ungovernable and turbulent when intoxicated by liquor.

A string of wampum.

Brethren,

As I have general orders to build forts, for the safety and protection of any of our brethren of the six nations ; I do, with the greatest chearfulness comply with your request, and shall immediately employ proper persons to that purpose : I am convinced it must be the fault of those people, whom General Shirley employed, that it was not done sooner, for he had given orders for that purpose so long ago as last October.

Then the Tuscarora chief spoke,

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We have some time since set up stockadoes for the defence of our castle, as we were, and are still, apprehensive of the French acting against us in a hostile manner ; we as yet want some block-houses, to make it the more defensible, and some soldiers to garrison it, which we hope will be readily granted us ; we acknowledge the receipt of the swivels and ammunition, you so seasonably sent us ; for which, we return you our hearty thanks.

Brethren,

I shall represent your case to General Shirley, who, I doubt not, will readily grant you a sufficient number of men to garrison your fort ; and

as to the blockhouses you desire, when I go to Oswego, I shall point out a proper situation for them, and then order them to be built.

*At a meeting of the Kanuskago-indians, Fe-
bruary 25th, 1756.*

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We the warriors of the Kanuskago, upon our arrival, informed you, we were come down merely to see you, and hear your words at this publick meeting; as we are young and unexperienced, and have never been at any meeting with the governor, we hope you will make a kind allowance, for our want of ability in speaking; and we beg leave to assure you, that the reason of our never attending the meetings before, was not the want of affection to the English, but was entirely owing to our remote situation, which prevented a timely and proper notice.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

As goods are vastly dear and ordinary in our parts, upon our determination to come to this meeting, we thought proper to bring some skins and furs with us, in order to purchase some necessaries for ourselves and families; and we beg you will, as a brother, direct us where we may be supplied with the best, and upon the most reasonable terms.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We beg leave to assure you, nothing can give us more satisfaction than the speech we heard you deliver to the six nations, on our arrival; as it contained nothing but what is quite right, and has a direct tendency to our welfare, we think our time well

[53]

well spent in coming down ; for, if we had not, probably we should not have heard all you have said, for we are convinced, from what we now heard you say, that our sachems heretofore, have smothered the greatest part of your former advices ; and we assure you, we shall now spread your advice among all our people, who are considerably numerous.

Threw down a pack of skins.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

As we are warriors, we are not acquainted with the ceremonials of publick meetings, and, therefore, express what we have to say, in a narrow compass ; we have no more to offer at present, and hope, you will excuse the trouble we have given you on this occasion.

And so ended.

Brethren,

I have given attention to your words, and shall seriously consider your desire ; but cannot give you an answer until to-morrow ; I chuse to deliberate maturely upon every thing that I say, because my word once given, is as binding as cement to a stone.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We return you thanks, for your kind promises, of considering our desire, and as we see you are crowded, and full of busines, of more importance, we shall with patience wait your leisure.

February 26th, 1756.

Brethren,

I told you last night, that I paid due attention to what you had said, and would consider your request, and give you answer this day.

H 2

In

In the first place, I assure you, it gives me no small pleasure to hear, that my speech was so agreeable to you, and that you would acquaint all your nation with the contents of it. I beg you will not fail in this particular, as it points out, what will make you a happy people, if duly attended to; which, from your unanimity and zeal at this conference, I have no reason to doubt. I am sorry you have not been duly invited to former meetings, agreeable to my orders, and promise that for the future you shall have proper notice; and I hope you will be always ready to assist us, both in the council and the field, with all the chiefs and warriors of that castle, who shall be treated as friends and brethren.

Brethren,

In the next place, as I have no goods to sell myself, I will take all possible care that you are not imposed upon in your trade, at Schenectady. I shall give directions to Mr. Stevens, the interpreter, to assist you, and see that justice be done you, in every respect, for I have a great regard for your castle, and as a proof of it I present you with these goods.

Giving them at the same time a handsome present, and three silver gorgets to three of their principal warriors, viz. Tarrawariax, Tahononsaronwe, and Kindarundy, who was the chief.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We return you our hearty thanks, for all your kind expressions of affection, and love shewn to us at this time; and we in return assure you, that you may depend on our sincerity and readiness to serve you, whenever you call upon us; and you

[55]

you know very well, that whatever warriors promise, is sacred.

Brethren,
I return you thanks for your sincere professions
of friendship.

And so parted.

February 27. 1756.

At a meeting of the Onondagas.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We, the Onondagas, very readily embrace this opportunity offered us, of having a fort built for the protection of our castle ; and upon our return home, shall chuse a proper situation for it ; as soon as the season of the year will permit, we beg you will not delay to send proper workmen to build it. As we have for some time past had an acquaintance with lieut. Mills, we should be glad to have him as our officer. And as William Printup understands the Indian language well, it would be agreeable to us to have him reside with us, as a smith, and at the same time to serve as an interpreter between the officer and us.

Brethren,
I shall acquaint general Shirley with your desire, and make no doubt he will comply with it. The fort shall be built with all possible expedition ; and whatever officer is posted in it, will no doubt have particular orders, to be careful of your safety, and to treat you with all the marks of affection and friendship.

Ended.

February

February 27. 1756.

At a meeting of the Senecas.

Takeaghfado, speaker.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

Our brother, the governor of New York, was so good the last year, as to promise us a smith to mend our arms and tools, and that he should reside among us until the corn was a foot high; but he labouring under the misfortune of a fore leg, was obliged to leave us some time sooner. We acknowledge, you sent us a smith last summer, with whom we are well pleased, and beg you will continue him with us till the corn is a foot high; then he may come down for the necessaries he may have occasion for, and then we hope, he will soon return to us.

Brethren,

I was present when the governor of New York last year, promised to send you a smith, which he accordingly did, and one agreeable to you; if he did not stay there the time appointed, the governor was not culpable, as he could not be supposed to know any thing of his coming away. I am very glad, you are pleased with the smith I sent you last year; and, as you are desirous he should remain there, until your corn is such a length, I very readily agree to it, and shall order him, accordingly, to stay that time.

Ended.

February

[57]

February 27. 1756.

*At a private meeting of the sachems and
warriors of the Canajoharee-castle.*

Abraham, the great Hendrick's brother, speaker.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We, the sachems and warriors of Canajoharee, take this opportunity, to say something to you, relative to our own affairs ; as your great trouble is now mostly over.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

When first we were alarmed with these public commotions, you was so kind, at our request, to promise us a fort for the protection of our castle. We acknowledge you have punctually performed your promise, so that, at the time when the confederacy was coming down last summer, it was completely finished. Mr. Fry, on hearing of our application for men to garrison it, applied to you on behalf his son, that he might be the commander thereof; you answered, that you would consult the Indians, whether he was agreeable or no, which you did. In answer to which, we declared, he was agreeable to us, and, that it would be more acceptable to have those, with whom we were acquainted, than strangers.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We were mistaken in our choice ; for altho' he made us the fairest promises, that he would, during our absence, take care of our lands and the crop then in the field, he was altogether deficient in the performance, by which neglect, we entirely lost our crops ! In this melancholy situation,

[58]

ation, we make our application to you, assuring you, that without your assistance, in this article, we must greatly suffer.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We, the warriors of this castle, look on ourselves as under obligation, always to be ready at a call, upon any emergency ; and therefore, as we cannot at present fall upon any means of retrieving our los's, we look to you for support : our fences have also suffered much, in our absence ; we beg your assistance in repairing them.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

As soon as you informed us, that you were ready for war, we gave you a sufficient proof of our regard for you, in our readiness to attend you ; we have also, at your request, stopp'd all our warriors, for some years past, from making any excursions against the Flatheads *, and turned our weapons against our common enemy, agreeable to your desire : in short, we hope we have, upon all occasions, given you reason to think, that we have a sincere regard for you.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

Our spirits are now pretty much funk, at the loss of so many of our principal sachems and warriors, who fell at Lake George ; we look to you, to raise them up agreeable to our customs.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

At the request of the upper nations, without our consent, the selling of strong liquor is entirely forbid ;

* Who live several hundred miles from the six nations, and with whom they have been at war time immemorial.

forbid; we have no design to contradict anything they do, but only request, that we may have leave to procure a little for our comfort.

Three strings of wampum.

Brethren,

It gives me great concern, with you, that the person who had the care of your fort and castle, had, in your absence, neglected the charge I gave him of both; but as he was your own choice, there is the less to be said; however, I shall reprimand him for it, severely. As I am fully convinced of your loyalty to his Majesty, and readiness at all times to follow my direction, you shall not want any assistance in my power, to supply your wants, and to contribute to your happiness; as a proof of which, I shall now order you three hundred skipples of corn, for your support; and should that fall short, let me know it, and you shall have a further supply, until you are able to raise your own grain. I shall also give orders, that your fences be immediately repaired; and as for your warriors, I shall send you a present by the first opportunity, worthy the singular services you have done your country, with me last campaign.

Three strings of wampum.

Brethren,

As I have nothing more at heart, than the welfare and happiness of the people of your castle, who have always been our steady friends, I am sensibly affected, and sincerely sympathize with you, upon the great loss you have sustained, by the death of two of your principal sachems, and likewise some of your young men at Lake George; we should comfort ourselves with the thoughts, that those friends of ours, who dropped that day,

I died

died bravely in their country's cause, and that their memory will be honoured to the end of time.

As it is necessary for us to supply as well, and as soon as we can, the place of the two great sachems lost that day, I hope you have considered of proper persons for that important trust; if you have, I should be glad you would produce them, that I may give them the proper marks of distinction, and enter their names among the rest of the sachems.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We, the sachems and warriors of the Canajoharee-castle, are much obliged to you, for your friendly and good opinion of us; we assure you, we shall daily endeavour to merit it more and more, by convincing proofs of our loyalty on any occasion.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We, the sachems and warriors, return you our most hearty thanks, for your kind and well-timed supply of corn, and promise of a further supply, if necessary; the repairing of our fences, will be likewise of the greatest service to us, as without them, we can raise no grain for the ensuing year. This care of us, in our distress, adds greatly to the many obligations we already lie under, and can never be forgot.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We, the warriors of Canajoharee, are extremely pleased with the favourable opinion you have of our behaviour in the late action at Lake George, which alone animates us much, and greatly

greatly elevates our minds, notwithstanding they were so much depreſ'd : we are extremely obliged to you, for the present you intended us, and shall receive it with the greatest gratitude.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We take your anxiety, for supplying the place of the two great sachems lost, who chiefly managed our affairs, as a singular mark of your regard for our welfare : we present you one of our most capable men to succeed our deceased brother, Tarraghioris, of the tribe of the Turtle, and hope, our choice may meet your approbation. We have not as yet fixed upon one to succeed the great Hendrick ; when we do, we shall immediately acquaint you.

Three strings of wampum.

Brethren,

As a proof of my regard for your choice, I * now in the presence of your whole castle, invest him with all the powers of a sachem, and put on him those marks of distinction, which I wish him long life to wear.

Ended.

The Oghquagoe Indians, before they parted, made the following speech.

Adam, speaker.

Brother Warraghiyagey,

We are now ready to return, having heard all you had to say ; which, we assure you, has made so deep an impression on our minds, as not to be forgot. We would only beg leave to desire

I 2 one

* The first British subject, or European, perhaps, that ever they honoured so much ! Never was one more beloved by them.—We are sorry we are ignorant of this grand ceremony.

one favour of you, before we go ; that is, to have a trading-house built in our country, and a constant supply of goods; which would not only add greatly to our happiness, but would also increase our numbers, as it would draw Indians from all parts within 100 miles of us, to settle among us : if you will gratify us in this, you will greatly add to the many favours already received.

A belt.

Brethren of Oghquagoe,

I have so good an opinion, and so many convincing proofs, of your loyalty to the great King your Father, and affection to your brethren the English, that I have not the least reason to doubt your sincerity, nor the least objection to building you a trading-house, as soon as that unhappy affair is settled, between the Indians of the lower settlements on your river and your brethren the English, which I hope will be very soon.

They returned their hearty thanks, and so parted.

F I N I S,



A D-

ADVERTISEMENT.

*A*S several copies of the following account of conferences had been dispersed about town, one of which having fallen into our hands, on a perusal, we judged its publication, in an appendix to the foregoing sheets, might likewise be acceptable. It contains the substance of what passed between some of the chiefs of the same Indians, who were the principal speakers at Sir William Johnson's treaties, and divers eminent Quakers, at the house of a gentleman remarkable for his polite behaviour, good sense, and a steady attachment to the principles he makes a profession of.

As the subject-matter, then treated on, differs widely from what passed at Fort Johnson, though entirely consistent with the public tenets of the whole body of christians under the above name, we shall not anticipate any opinion the reader may form, by an eulogy on the subject, nor on both or either of the parties; neither shall we pass any censure; but leave every one to make what judgment he pleases. We shall only add, that it would be ill-natured to insinuate, that the liberty we take in publishing this, can give the least cause of offence to that society. They are too

wise

wise a people, to be ashamed of having their transactions laid before the public, when conducted in the manner those have been. Plots against government, juggling parties in their own fraternity, and doctrines they hold, but are ashamed to avow, and unwilling to defend, never could be charged to their account, without doing them the most manifest injustice.





A P P E N D I X.

Substance of Conferences between several Quakers in Philadelphia, and the heads of the six Indian nations.

*Substance of an occasional conversation with several Indians after dinner, at Israel Pemberton's, on the 19th 4mo, * 1756.*

P R E S E N T

Scarroyada, an Indian chief,	Abraham Farrington,
Kaghwooghtaniyonde, or the old belt †,	Joshua Dixon,
Kayenquirigoa, or Jonathan,	Israel Pemberton,
Canachtogo, a Cayuga, Jonathan's wife and son,	Mary Pemberton,
	Owen Jones,
	Anthony Benezet,
	James Pemberton.

Conrad Weiser
Andrew Montour }
Daniel Claus } interpreters.

Israel Pemberton, addressing himself to the Indians, said,
Brethren,

 Am glad to see you here, and to have an opportunity of informing you, that as William Penn, and our fathers, who first settled this province, were men of peace, and against all wars, so there are still many of us, their children, who hold the same principles;

* Viz. April. † This, and the other English additions to their names, are given by the English.

[66]

ciples ; and we hope there are many of your people, who still have a love and regard for their old friends.

To which Scarroyada replied,

I am very glad to hear this account ; we love that principle of peace, and wish all mankind were of the same mind ; knowing, it would prevent any cause of difference or contention between us and the English, and take away the occasion of war.

Israel Pemberton.

It gives me great pleasure to hear what you say, and that the remembrance of William Penn is so dear to you : my grandfather and great grandfather were his particular friends, his counsellors, and men of the same principles ; and there are many of my friends who really love and respect you ; and though we are not concerned in the government, have good estates in it, and wish its welfare and prosperity : but we are made very sorrowful, by the bad conduct of your cousins the Delawares, who, contrary to the friendship they formerly had for us, have done very wickedly, and shed the blood of many of our brethren, without any cause given them, that we know of.

Scarroyada answers,

What you now say to us, I take to be said to all our brethren of the six nations. I shall answer you in their name : We are glad to hear, there are some people left of the peaceable principle ; we wish it had been told us sooner, and that you had always spoke and acted agreeable to this prin-

principle; for we are sure, though our cousins the Delawares have struck the blow, they would not hurt any of you, if they knew you as such; and if you had taken sufficient care in time, you might have kept them under your eye as children*.

Israel Pemberton.

We wish the Delawares could be restrained from doing any more mischief; and the greatest proof we can give of our love and regard for one another, is, by convincing them of their bad conduct, to engage them to return to their allegiance; for as the government cannot but be highly displeas'd, and is determined to punish them, and has therefore declared war against them, no doubt, but many of them will suffer for their folly and wickedness. Now if you will use your hearty endeavours with them, we will likewise stand between them and our government; for as we consider they have no king, and their wise old men are gone, we look upon them as children, who do not know what they are doing; therefore, if they will forbear any farther mischief, and repent, we will do all we can to have them forgiven.

Scarroyada.

* The interpreter explained this -- that the Indians expressions imply'd, we had too much neglected cultivating our friendship with the Indians, and that if we had been more conversant with each other, the Delawares would have remained more subject, both to the six nations and us; that now, they were grown stiff like a strong tree, and not easily bow'd; but that, if we had conversed with each other, with the freedom our forefathers did, and manifested that we had nothing but love and good will in our hearts to them, they might have been kept under our notice and direction, as children under a father; and that as the six nations had been too negligent, as well as we, he would now have us to reflect on it, and alter our meaures.

K

Scarroyada.

We attend to what you have said, and will hold it fast (clasping his hands, and keeping it close) till we come to the six nations, where we are now going, and then we will lay it open to them in a strait line (opening his hands wide, with the back of it on the table, and setting his fingers and a pipe strait before him) and it will be joyful news to them ; and when I relate it to them, it will make their hearts melt.

Your peaceable principle is noble ; and the great Spirit * above, that is over all, will protect you, if you steadily keep to it.

They were then told, that some more of our brethren in town, who professed the same principle of peace, would be pleased with an opportunity of seeing them, and making ourselves more known to them.

On the 21st 4mo. 1756. in the morning.

At a conference PRESENT

Joshua Dixon,	Israel Pemberton,
Abraham Farrington,	William Logan,
Anthony Morris,	John Smith,
Mordecai Yarnell,	James Pemberton,
Samuel Powell,	Samuel Abbot,
Isaac Lane,	John Armit,
James Lownes,	Owen Jones,
Anthony Benezet,	Thomas Brown,
Daniel Stanton,	John Reynell,
John Pemberton,	Thomas Say,

The same Indians as before, and 8 or 10 more.

First-

* We meet with the same expression, in the foregoing speeches to general Johnson.

Israel Pemberton first gave a string of wampum, requesting their attention to what was about to be said to them, being a matter of great importance.

Brethren,

The opportunity some of us had of your company the other day, has given us great satisfaction ; and finding you retain so lively and affectionate a remembrance of William Penn, and our forefathers, and the friendship that subsisted between them and your fathers, it hath rejoiced our brethren who have heard of it, and some more of them are come here to see you ; for, though we have long lain hid, and almost buried by the great numbers of other people who are come into this province, many of whom are men of different principles from us ; yet we can inform you, there is a great number in this city, and other parts of the province, and some on the frontiers, where a great deal of blood has been shed, who are the children of William Penn, and the first settlers, that are men of the same peaceable principles, and who love you as our brethren. We shall now arise, and shew ourselves to you ; for as we are sorrowful that differences have arisen between your cousins the Delawares and our people, we are desirous of using our endeavours to restore peace ; and if they will stop from doing further mischief, we shall be ready to stand between them and the government, that they may be forgiven ; and as a proof of our sincerity, we give you this belt, (a large white belt) which you see is white, without any mixture, as our love and friendship to you is ; and, as it is made of many pieces, which were small, and of little weight or strength before they

were knit together, but is now strong and firm ; so we, when collected and united together, shall appear to our brethren : and we desire you, by this belt, to let both the six nations and Delawares, know, that we have not forgot the love and kindness of their fathers to ours ; and as we are men of the same peaceable principles, we are ready to give our assistance in any manner we can, to put a stop to the present bloodshed, and to pave the way for a treaty, in which all uneasinesses may be freely opened ; and when the grounds thereof are known, we will endeavour to get them removed in every respect.

Gave a large belt of white wampum.

Scarroyada answered,

Brethren,

We are glad to hear what you have said to us, and to understand by the belt you gave us, that you offer to stand up as William Penn's children ; and that the old principle of peace and love are yet in being. Your fathers declared, that they had nothing but love and good-will in their hearts to all men. We thought, that the people of that profession, had been all dead and buried in the bushes or ashes ; but, we are very glad that there are some of the same men living, and that you offer to stand as mediators between our cousins the Delawares, and this government, now at variance. We will heartily join you herein ; it is not only us few that hear you, but all the six nations. As to this misfortune, it came upon us, as if an evil spirit had arisen from under the ground, and spread all over the country ; and the blood was begun to be spilt before we had time to think : but we must now all apply to the good

[71]

good Spirit, to assist both you and us to subdue
the evil spirit.

Israel Pemberton.

Brethren,

As you are wise men, we desire you to consider, in what manner we may soonest be able to put a stop to the shedding of blood; for as many of our friends, of the same peaceable principle with us, for whom you express so much regard, live in different parts of the province, and some on the very frontiers, without something be done soon, they may be destroy'd, among others; therefore for their sakes in particular, as well as for our countrymen in general, we are concerned to have some speedy stop put to the shedding of blood.

Gave a string with some medals,
with the King's head.

Scarroyada's answer.

Brethren,

We will think of the best way to advise you, and communicate our sentiments before we leave town: we shall fix the medals you gave us on our breasts, and whenever we look on them, we shall remember, and let others know, that some of William Penn's descendants, of the same principles, are living.

The foregoing is the substance of the conversation between Israel Pemberton, on behalf of the Quakers, and Scarroyada, an Indian chief, 29 and 30 April 1756.

Conrad Weiser,

Dan. Claus,

Hendrick [H. M.] Montour,

vulgè Andrew.

4

*At a conference the 23d 4mo, 1756, in the
house of Israel Pemberton,*

P R E S E N T

Samuel Powel,	John Pemberton,
Anthony Morris,	Owen Jones,
James Lowns,	John Reynell,
Abraham Farrington,	John Armit,
Joshua Dixon,	Mordecai Yarnall,
William Logan,	Daniel Stanton,
John Smith,	Thomas Brown,
Anthony Benezet,	Thomas Say,
Israel Pemberton,	Isaac Lane,
James Pemberton,	Thomas Lightfoot.

Indians P R E S E N T.

Scarroyada, or Monakateetha,	
Kagwooghtaniyonde, or the belt,	
Kayenquirigoa, or Jonathan,	
Sadekaronyes, or Iggrea,	
Karondow, or New-castle,	
Oftinados, Sincha George,	
Oghsaghrahke, Thick-leg,	
Oghwiltoony the smith, or Lance-indian.	
Ifohogata, Green-jacket,	
Iyadaroonie, David,	
Thonaghtogo, the Cayuga,	
Woatsadacko, Scanoyada's boy,	
Aroas, Silver-heels,	
William Loquus, a Delaware,	
And several Indian women,	
Conrad Weiser	} interpreters.
Andrew Montour	
Daniel Claus	

Scarroyada

Scarroyada standing up said,

Brethren,

Directing his discourse to Onas (by which they mean, people like minded with the first settlers) we are very glad to hear so many of your sort of people are now alive, that you rise again from the dead; and though we have been lost, to one another, a great while, we are very glad to hear you are of the same sentiments with Onas: since he was dead there have from time to time come new governors, one after another, and another sort of people, different from the first settlers; and since we lost him, (meaning Onas) we are very glad at your rising up, and holding the white belt in your hands, as an emblem of peace, to endeavour to reconcile the people, that are at war: we will hold fast what you say, and carry it to the six nations, and add strength to it, who will be very glad to hear there are some people, of the same principles of the first settlers, for we have not heard of you for many years.

A string.

Brethren,

We are glad to hear you speak after the language of Onas, and of the principles of peace, he preached or recommended; we thought there were no more of the people, of that principle, left in this country; we are glad to see you now, and hear you speak; we will assist you, and lay your belt of peace before the six nations, who will be glad to hear of you; and though this may look to contradict what the governor has said to us, we do not mean so; but let that be as it is, we assure you, what you propose to us, is what we like best, and we will assist you in it,

and shall send these three Indians, pointing to Newcastle, Iggrea, and William Loquus, to Wymoang, to let our cousins know there are a people risen in Philadelphia, who desire to have peace restored ; and that they must cease from doing any more mischief, and not be afraid, but be willing, to treat with you ; and we are sure they will mind our message, and what we desire will be granted.

Second string.

Brethren,

As things are now circumstanced, we would not have you to venture your lives to go, or send any message, over the mountains, to the Delawares and Shawanee, they are now your and our enemies ; we will venture our lives to make the road clear ; but do you stay where you are, if they have their throats cut, you cannot then hear from them ; but it may please the Most High, that they may return messengers of peace ; and if they should bring you an agreeable answer, we then desire you may act the part of wise men, and be careful in settling a treaty, and then you may go to meet them ; but do not stir till you hear from us.

A third string.

Brethren,

As we told you before, these three men, (two of whom are of the council of the six nations and warriors, and the other one of our cousins) have undertaken to go wherever we shall send them ; and, perhaps, it may please the Most High, to bring them back in safety, and with an agreeable answer : if they come back, take notice of them as of your firm friends ; and as you are children of Onas, and some of us are of the council, and some

[75]

Some warriors of the six nations, we are very desirous, that by your means, the treaties of friendship, which have formerly subsisted between us, may now be renewed, and remain from generation to generation, that the chain may be kept bright, and never contract any rust again.

Gave a string of wampum.

Brethren,

We hope you will not take amiss our answering you with so little wampum, and not making a return of a belt; the times are very difficult with us, and we have very little wampum here, and we look upon the white belt you gave us, as belonging to you and us, and as an emblem of peace, and shall preserve it as such, and carry it to the six nations.

We have examined the foregoing, and certify that it contains the substance of the conference held between the Indians, and William Logan, and others, the 23d of April 1756.

Conrad Weiser,

Daniel Claus,

Hendrick [H M] Montour,
vulgè Andrew.

The preceding minutes being called for, to lay before the governor, sooner than expected, there was not time to review and add the following minutes, which ought to have been done, viz.

Israel Pemberton,

We are glad to hear what you said to us: we believe it to be spoken in sincerity, and what you really think; and though we judge it necessary, on matters of importance, to observe the good method

L

method

method practised by you, to take time to deliberate ; yet, as we now believe you have opened the real sentiments of your hearts to us, so we, being all of one heart and mind, and knowing many more of our brethren, true Quakers, who will join us herein ; can without any hesitation readily answer, and assure you, that we receive all you have said with great pleasure ; and whatever may be the event of our endeavours, we hope, on all occasions, to demonstrate our real love and regard to you.

To which they all gave the usual expressions of approbation.

Then Scarroyada, addressing himself to the interpreters, said :

As we are obliged to make use of your ears and tongues, we desire you may be hearty and sincere in attending to the business now undertaken, and to join, with our brethren and us, in carrying the same into execution ;—and he intimated, that if they did so, they would merit our mutual regard.

To which Israel Pemberton answered :

We approve of the prudent advice you gave them, and we hope they will remember it, and approve themselves worthy of our regard, which we shall not be wanting to manifest to them in a grateful manner ; and added :

As you are now going on your journey, and the weather grows warm, we give you some handkerchiefs to wipe the sweat from your faces, and some small matters † for your wives, with some more medals, which they thankfully received, and distributed

† Gave them 20 large flowered silk India handkerchiefs, such as they are fond of, with some trifles for their women.

distributed to each present, reserving a few for some of their brethren, &c. in town sick, and then Israel Pemberton added :

As you mentioned to us, you thought we all ought to apply to the Good Spirit, that is over all, to subdue the evil spirit, which had influenced those, who had done so much mischief ; we sincerely and heartily agree with you, and shall fervently desire, and pray to God, to change their hearts ; and that if it be his will, he would protect the messengers now going, and grant that they may return safely, and with the message of peace.

Which they attended to, and received with a becoming solidity and satisfaction.

Brother Onas,

We that are both councillors and warriors of the six nations, and women ; we return you many thanks for what you have given us, and should be glad we had words sufficiently expressive of our love and regard to you.

Then, with mutual, friendly salutations, by the good old custom of shaking hands, the conferences ended, and Scarroyada, and most of the Indians, set out on the 25th 4mo, for New York, and thence to Onondago, and the three ambassadors, under the conduct of A. I. Spangenberg and others, by way of Bethlehem to Wyoming.

Copy examined,

ISRAEL PEMBERTON.

F I N I S.

E R A T U M.

In the note, page 15, l. 2. for 7, read 3.

