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THE HISTORY OF THE FIVE Indian NATIONS OF *CANADA*,

Which are dependent
On the Province of NEW-YORK in AMERICA,
AND
Are the Barrier between the ENGLISH and FRENCH in that Part of the World.

WITH

Particular Accounts of their Religion, Manners, Customs, Laws, and Forms of Government; their several Battles and Treaties with the *European* Nations; their Wars with the other *Indians*; and a true Account of the present State of our Trade with them.

In which are shewn,

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

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

To which are added,

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

In TWO VOLUMES.

The THIRD EDITION.

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TO THE HONOURABLE

GENERAL OGLETHORPE.

SIR,

THE *Indian* Affairs have ever appeared to your Judgment of ſuch Importance to the Welfare of our own People, that you have ever carefully applied your Thoughts to them; and that with ſuch Succeſs, that not only the preſent Generation will enjoy the Benefit of your Care, but our lateſt Poſterity bleſs your Memory for that Happineſs, the Foundation of which was laid under your Care, provided that the People here, whoſe Duty and Intereſt is chiefly concerned, do on their own Parts ſecond your Endeavours, towards ſecuring the Peace, and advancing the Proſperity of their Country.

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

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

The *Five Nations* are a poor, and generally called, barbarous People, bred under

under the darkeſt Ignorance; and yet a bright and noble Genius ſhines through theſe black Clouds. None of the greateſt *Roman* Heroes have diſcovered a greater Love to their Country, or a greater Contempt of Death, than theſe People called Barbarians have done, when Liberty came in Competition. Indeed, I think our *Indians* have outdone the *Romans* in this Particular; ſome of the greateſt of thoſe have we known murdered themſelves to avoid Shame or Torments; but our *Indians* have refuſed to die meanly, or with but little Pain, when they thought their Country's Honour would be at Stake by it *; but have given their Bodies, willingly, to the moſt cruel Torments of their Enemies, to ſhew, as they ſaid, that the *Five Nations* conſiſted of Men, whoſe Courage and Reſolution could not be ſhaken. They greatly ſully, however, thoſe noble Virtues, by that cruel Paſſion, Revenge; this they think is not only lawful, but

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

honourable, to exert without Mercy on their Country's Enemies, and for this only it is that they can deſerve the Name of Barbarians.

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

If Care were taken to plant and cultivate in them that general Benevolence to Mankind, which is the true firſt Principle of Virtue, it would effectually eradicate thoſe horrid Vices, occaſioned by their unbounded Revenge; and then they would no longer deſerve the Name of Barbarians, but would become a People, whoſe Friendſhip might add Honour to the *Britiſh* Nation.

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

Theſe Conſiderations, I believe, will induce you, Sir, to think a Hiſtory of the *Five Nations* not unworthy of your Patro-

Patronage; and on these only it is that I presume to offer my best Endeavours in this, who am, with the greatest Respect,

SIR,

Your most obedient,

and most humble Servant,

Cadwallader Colden.

THE PREFACE

To the FIRST PART.

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

contribute any Thing to so good a Purpose, I shall not think my Labour lost.

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

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

My Design, therefore, in the second was, that thereby the Genius of the Indians *might appear. An Historian may paint Mens Actions in lively Colours, or in faint Shades, as he likes best, and in both Cases preserve a perfect Likeness; but it will be a difficult Task to shew the Wit, Judgment, Art, Simplicity, and Ignorance of the several Parties, managing a* Treaty, *in other Words than their own. As to my Part, I thought myself incapable of doing it, without depriving the judicious Observer of the Opportunity of discovering much of the* Indian Genius, *by my contracting or paraphrasing their Harangues, and without committing of-*

often groſs Miſtakes. For, on theſe Occaſions, a ſkilful Manager often talks confuſedly, and obſcurely, with Deſign; which if an Hiſtorian ſhould endeavour to amend, the Reader would receive the Hiſtory in a falſe Light.

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

He that firſt writes the Hiſtory of Things, which are not generally known, ought to avoid, as much as poſſible, to make the Evidence of the Truth depend intirely on his own Veracity and Judgment; and for this Reaſon I have related ſeveral Tranſactions in the Words

Words of the Regiſters, when this is once done, he that ſhall write afterwards, need not act with ſo much Caution.

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

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

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

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

THE

A Vocabulary of Words and Names us'd by the *French* Authors, who treat of the *Indian* Affairs, is inſerted at the End of this Volume.

THE CONTENTS OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

THE Introduction, being a short View of the Form of Government of the Five Nations, *and of their Laws and Customs.* — pag. 1.

PART I. CHAP. I.

Of the Wars of the Five Nations, *with the* Adirondacks *and* Quatoghies. —— 21

CHAP. II.

The Wars and Treaties of Peace of the Five Nations *with the* French, *from* 1665 *to* 1683, *and their Affairs with* New-York *in that time.* 31

CHAP. III.

Of the Transactions of the Indians *of the* Five Nations *with the neigbouring* English *Colonies.* 36

CHAP. IV.

Monsr. De la Barre's *Expedition, and some remarkable Transactions* in 1684. —— 60

CHAP. V.

The Engliſh *attempt to trade in the Lakes, and the* French *attack the* Senekas. —— 73

CHAP. VI.

Colonel Dongan's *Advice to the* Indians, Adario's *Enterprize, and* Montreal *ſacked by the* Five Nations. —— —— —— 82

PART II. CHAP. I.

The State of Affairs in New-York *and* Canada, *at the Time of the* Revolution *in* Great-Britain. 97

CHAP. II.

A Treaty between the Agents of Maſſachuſets-Bay, New-Plymouth *and* Connecticut, *and the* Sachems *of the* Five Nations *at* Albany. 106

CHAP. III.

An Account of a general Council of the Five Nations *at* Onondaga, *to conſider of the Count* De Frontenac's *Meſſage.* —— 112

CHAP. IV.

The French *ſurprize* Schenectady. *The* Mohawks *Speech of Condolance on that Occaſion.* 120

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The Five Nations *continue the War with the* French. *The* Mohawks *incline to Peace. Their Conferences with the* Governor *of* New-York. —— 129

CHAP. VI.

The Engliſh *attack* Montreal *by Land, in Conjunction with the* Indians, *and* Quebeck *by Sea.* 134

CHAP. VII.

The French, *and the* Five Nations, *continue the War all Winter with various Succeſs. The* French *burn a Captain of the* Five Nations *alive.* 139

CHAP. VIII.

The Five Nations *treat with Cap.* Ingoldſby. 145

CHAP. IX.

The French *ſurprize, and take three* Mohawk *Caſtles.* —— —— 150

CHAP. X.

Treaties and Negotiations of the Five Nations *with the* Engliſh *and* French, 1693, 1694. 159

CHAP. XI.

The War continued. The French *repoſſeſs themſelves of* Cadarackui Fort; *and find Means to break off the Treaty between the* Five Nations *and* Dionondadies. —— —— 189

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

The Count De Frontenac *attacks* Onondaga *in Person with the whole Force of* Canada. *The* Five Nations *continue the War with the* French, *and make Peace with the* Dionondadies —— 197

CHAP. XIII.

The Conduct which the Engliſh *and* French *obſerved, in regard to the* Five Nations, *immediately after the Peace of* Reſwick. 205

Papers relating to an Act of the Aſſembly of the Province of New-York, *for the Encouragement of the* Indian *Trade, and for prohibiting the ſelling of* Indian *Goods to the* French *of* Canada. 214

THE INTRODUCTION;

BEING

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

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

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

Each of theſe Nations is again divided into three Tribes or Families, who diſtinguiſh themſelves by three different Arms or Enſigns, the *Tortoiſe*, the *Bear*, and the *Wolf*; and the *Sachems*,

chems, or old Men of these Families, put this Ensign, or Mark of their Family, to every publick Paper, when they sign it.

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

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

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

the

the natural Origin of all Power and Authority among a free People, and whatever artificial Power or Sovereignty any Man may have acquired, by the Laws and Conſtitution of a Country, his real Power will be ever much greater or leſs, in Proportion to the Eſteem the People have of him.

The *Five Nations* think themſelves by Nature ſuperior to the reſt of Mankind, and call themſelves *Ongue-honwe*; that is, Men ſurpaſſing all others. This Opinion, which they take Care to cultivate into their Children, gives them that Courage, which has been ſo terrible to all the Nations of *North America*; and they have taken ſuch Care to impreſs the ſame Opinion of their People on all their Neighbours, that they, on all Occaſions, yield the moſt ſubmiſſive Obedience to them. I have been told by old Men in *New-England*, who remembred the Time when the *Mohawks* made War on their *Indians*, that as ſoon as a ſingle *Mohawk* was diſcovered in the Country, their *Indians* raiſed a Cry from Hill to Hill, *A Mohawk! A Mohawk!* upon which they all fled like Sheep before Wolves, without attempting to make the leaſt Reſiſtance, whatever Odds were on their Side. The poor *New England Indians* immediately ran to the Chriſtian Houſes, and the *Mohawks* often purſued them ſo cloſely, that they entered along with them, and knocked their Brains out in the Preſence of the People of the Houſe; but if the Family had Time to ſhut the Door, they never attempted to force it, and on no Occaſion did any Injury to the Chriſtians. All the Nations round them have, for many Years intirely ſubmitted to them, and pay a yearly Tribute to them in *Wampum* *; they dare neither make

* *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

make War nor Peace, without the Consent of the *Mohawks*. Two old Men commonly go about every Year or two, to receive this Tribute; and I have often had Opportunity to observe what Anxiety the poor *Indians* were under, while these two old Men remained in that Part of the Country where I was. An old *Mohawk Sachem*, in a poor Blanket and dirty Shirt, may be seen issuing his Orders with as arbitrary an Authority, as a *Roman* Dictator. It is not for the Sake of Tribute however, that they make War, but from the Notions of Glory, which they have ever most strongly imprinted on their Minds; and the farther they go to seek an Enemy, the greater Glory they think they gain; there cannot, I think, be a greater or stronger Instance than this, how much the Sentiments impressed upon a People's Mind, conduce to their Grandeur, or one that more verifies a Saying often to be met with, though but too little minded, That it is in the Power of the Rulers of a People to make them either Great or Little; for by inculcating only the Notions of Honour and Virtue, or those of Luxury and Riches, the People, in a little Time, will become such as their Rulers desire. The *Five Nations*, in their Love of Liberty, and of their Country, in their Bravery in Battle, and their Constancy in enduring Torments, equal the Fortitude of the most renowned *Romans*. I shall finish their general Character by what an

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

Enemy, a *Frenchman*, ſays of them, *Monſieur De la Poterie*, in his Hiſtory of *North America*.

" When we ſpeak (ſays he) of the *Five Na-*
" *tions* in *France*, they are thought, by a common
" Miſtake, to be mere Barbarians, always thirſting
" after human Blood; but their true Character is
" very different. They are indeed the fierceſt
" and moſt formidable People in *North America*,
" and, at the ſame Time, are as politick and ju-
" dicious, as well can be conceived; and this ap-
" pears from the Management of all the Affairs
" which they tranſact, not only with the *French* and
" *Engliſh*, but likewiſe with almoſt all the *Indian*
" Nations of this vaſt Continent."

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

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

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

The Cruelty the *Indians* uſe in their Wars, towards thoſe that do not or cannot reſiſt, ſuch as Women and Children, and to their Priſoners, after they have them in their Power, is deſervedly indeed held in Abhorrence: But whoever reads the Hiſtory of the ſo famed Heroes, will find them, I'm afraid, not much better in this Reſpect. Does *Achilles*'s Behaviour to *Hector*'s dead Body, in *Homer*, appear leſs ſavage? This Cruelty is alſo not peculiar to the *Five Nations*, but equally practiſed by all other *Indians*. It is wonderful, how Cuſtom and Education are able to ſoften the moſt horrid Actions, even among a polite and learned People; witneſs the *Carthaginians* and *Phœnicians* burning their own Children alive in Sacrifice; and ſeveral Paſſages in the *Jewiſh Hiſtory*; and witneſs, in later Times, the Chriſtians burning one another alive, for God's Sake.

When any of the young Men of theſe Nations have a Mind to ſignalize themſelves, and to gain a Reputation among their Countrymen, by ſome notable Enterprize againſt their Enemy, they at firſt communicate their Deſign to two or three of their moſt intimate Friends; and if they come into it, an Invitation is made, in their Names, to all the young Men of the Caſtle, to feaſt on Dog's Fleſh; but whether this be, becauſe Dog's Fleſh is moſt agreeable to *Indian* Palates, or whether it be as an Emblem of Fidelity, for which the Dog is diſtinguiſhed by all Nations, that it is always uſed on this Occaſion, I have not ſufficient Information to de-

determine. When the Company is met, the Promoters of the Enterprize ſet forth the Undertaking in the beſt Colours they can; they boaſt of what they intend to do, and incite others to join, from the Glory there is to be obtained; and all who eat of the Dog's Fleſh, thereby inliſt themſelves.

The Night before they ſet out, they make a grand Feaſt, to this all the noted Warriors of the Nation are invited; and here they have their War-Dance, to the Beat of a kind of Kettle-drum. The Warriors are ſeated in two Rows in the Houſe, and each riſes up in his Turn, and ſings the great Acts he has himſelf performed, and the Deeds of his Anceſtors; and this is always accompanied with a Kind of a Dance, or rather Action, repreſenting the Manner in which they were performed; and from Time to Time, all preſent join in a Chorus, applauding every notable Act. They exaggerate the Injuries they have at any Time received from their Enemies, and extol the Glory which any of their Anceſtors have gained by their Bravery and Courage; ſo that they work up their Spirits to a high Degree of warlike Enthuſiaſm. I have ſometimes perſuaded ſome of their young *Indians* to act theſe Dances, for our Diverſion, and to ſhew us the Manner of them; and even, on theſe Occaſions, they have work'd themſelves up to ſuch a Pitch, that they have made all preſent uneaſy. Is it not probable, that ſuch Deſigns as theſe have given the firſt Riſe to Tragedy?

They come to theſe Dances with their Faces painted in a frightful Manner, as they always are when they go to War, to make themſelves terrible to their Enemies; and in this Manner the Night is ſpent. Next Day they march out with much Formality, dreſſed in their fineſt Apparel, and, in their March, obſerve a profound Silence. An Officer of the regular Troops told me, that

while he was Commandant of *Fort-Hunter*, the *Mohawks*, on one of these Occasions, told him, that they expected the usual military Honours as they passed the Garrison. Accordingly he drew out his Garrison, the Men presented their Pieces as the *Indians* passed, and the Drum beat a March; and with less Respect, the Officer said, they would have been dissatisfied. The *Indians* passed in a single Row, one after another, with great Gravity and profound Silence; and every one of them, as he passed the Officer, took his Gun from his Shoulder, and fired into the Ground near the Officer's Foot: They marched in this Manner three or four Miles from their Castle. The Women, on these Occasions, always follow them with their old Clothes, and they send back by them their Finery in which they marched from the Castle. But before they go from this Place, where they exchanged their Clothes, they always peel a large Piece of the Bark of some great Tree; they commonly chuse an Oak, as most lasting; upon the smooth Side of this Wood they, with their red Paint, draw one or more Canoes going from Home, with the Number of Men in them padling, which go upon the Expedition; and some Animal, as a Deer or Fox, an Emblem of the Nation against which the Expedition is designed, is painted at the Head of the Canoes; for they always travel in Canoes along the Rivers, which lead to the Country against which the Expedition is designed, as far as they can.

After the Expedition is over, they stop at the same Place in their Return, and send to their Castle, to inform their Friends of their Arrival; that they may be prepared to give them a solemn Reception, suited to the Success they have had. In the mean Time, they represent on the same, or some Tree near it, the Event of the Enterprize, and now the Canoes are painted

painted with their Heads turned towards the Caſtle; the Number of the Enemy killed, is repreſented by Scalps painted black, and the Number of Priſoners by as many Withs, (in their Painting not unlike Pothooks) with which they uſually pinion their Captives. Theſe Trees are the Annals, or rather Trophies of the *Five Nations*: I have ſeen many of them; and by them, and their War Songs, they preſerve the Hiſtory of their great Atchievements. The ſolemn Reception of theſe Warriors, and the Acclamations of Applauſe, which they receive at their Return, cannnot but have in the Hearers the ſame Effect, in raiſing an Emulation for Glory, that a Triumph had on the old *Romans*.

After their Priſoners are ſecured, they never offer them the leaſt Male-treatment, but, on the contrary, will rather ſtarve themſelves, than ſuffer them to want; and I have been always aſſured, that there is not one Inſtance, of their offering the leaſt Violence to the Chaſtity of any Woman that was their Captive. But notwithſtanding this, the poor Priſoners afterwards undergo ſevere Puniſhments before they receive the laſt Doom of Life or Death. The Warriors think it for their Glory, to lead them through all the Villages of the Nations ſubject to them, which lie near the Road; and theſe, to ſhew their Affection to the *Five Nations*, and their Abhorrence of their Enemies, draw up in two Lines, through which the poor Priſoners, ſtark naked, muſt run the Gauntlet; and on this Occaſion, it is always obſerved, the Women are much more cruel than the Men. The Priſoners meet with the ſame ſad Reception when they reach their Journey's End; and after this, they are preſented to thoſe that have loſt any Relation in that or any former Enterprize. If the Captives be accepted, there is an End to their Sorrow from that Moment; they are dreſſed as fine as they can make them;

they are abſolutely free (except to return to their own Country) and enjoy all the Privileges the Perſon had, in whoſe Place they are accepted; but if otherwiſe, they die in Torments, to ſatiate the Revenge of thoſe that refuſe them.

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

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

Their only Inſtruments of War are Muſquets, Hatchets, and long ſharp-pointed Knives; theſe they always carry about with them: Their Hatchet, in War-time, is ſtuck in their Girdle behind them; and beſides what Uſe they make of this Weapon in their Hand, they have a dexterous Way of throwing it, which I have ſeen them often practiſe in their Exerciſe, by throwing it into a Tree at a Diſtance: They have, in this, the Art of directing and regulating the Motion, ſo that though the Hatchet turns round as it flies, the Edge always ſticks in the Tree, and near the Place at which they aim it. The Uſe of Bows and Arrows are now intirely laid aſide, except among the Boys, who are ſtill very dexterous in killing Fowls and other Animals with them.

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

Thrice

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

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

The Hoſpitality of theſe *Indians* is no leſs remarkable, than their other Virtues; as ſoon as any Stranger comes, they are ſure to offer him Victuals. If there be ſeveral in Company, and come from a-far, one of their beſt Houſes is cleaned and given up for their Entertainment. Their Complaiſance, on theſe Occaſions, goes even farther than Chriſtian Civility allows of, as they have no other Rule for it, than the furniſhing their Gueſt with every Thing they think will be agreeable to him; for this Reaſon, ſome of their prettieſt Girls are always ordered to waſh themſelves, and dreſs in their beſt Apparel, in order to be preſented to the Stranger, for his Choice; and the young Lady, who has the Honour to be preferred on theſe Occaſions, performs all the Duties of a fond Wife, during the Stranger's Stay: But this laſt Piece of Hoſpitality is now either laid aſide by the *Mohawks*, or, at leaſt, they never offer it to any Chriſtian. This Nation, indeed, has laid aſide many of its ancient Cuſtoms, and ſo likewiſe have the other Nations, with whom we are beſt acquainted; and have adopted many of ours; ſo that it is not eaſy now to diſtinguiſh their original and genuine Manners, from thoſe which they have lately acquired; and for this Reaſon it is, that they now ſeldom offer Victuals to Perſons of any Diſtinction, becauſe they know, that their Food and Cookery is not agreeable to our delicate Palates. Their Men value themſelves, in having all Kind of Food in equal Eſteem. A *Mohawk Sachem* told me with a Kind of Pride, That a Man eats every Thing without Diſtinction, *Bears*, *Cats*, *Dogs*, *Snakes*, *Frogs*, &c. intimating, that it is Womaniſh, to have any Delicacy in the Choice of Food.

I can, however, give two ſtrong Inſtances of the Hoſpitality of the *Mohawks*, which fell under my own Obſervation; and which ſhew, that they have

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

Polygamy is not uſual among them; and indeed, in any Nation, where all are on a Par, as to Riches and Power, Plurality of Wives cannot well be introduced. As all kind of Slavery is baniſhed from the Countries of the *Five Nations*, ſo they keep themſelves free alſo from the Bondage of Wedlock; and when either of the Parties becomes diſguſted, they ſeparate without Formality or Ignominy to either, unleſs it be occaſioned by ſome ſcandalous Offence in one of them. And in Caſe of Divorce, the Children, according to the natural Courſe of all Animals, follow the Mother. The Women here bring forth their Children with as much Eaſe as other Animals, and without the Help of a Mid-

wife,

wife, and, ſoon after their Delivery, return to their uſual Employment. They alone alſo perform all the Drudgery about their Houſes, they plant their Corn, and labour it, in every reſpect, till it is brought to the Table: They likewiſe cut all their Fire-wood, and bring it Home on their Backs, and in their Marches bear the Burdens. The Men diſdain all Kind of Labour, and employ themſelves alone in Hunting, as the only proper Buſineſs for Soldiers. At Times, when it is not proper to hunt, one finds the *old Men* in Companies, in Converſation; the young Men at their Exerciſes, ſhooting at Marks, throwing the Hatchet, Wreſtling, or Running, and the Women all buſy at Labour in the Fields.

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

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

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

They never have been taught to conquer any Paſſion, but by ſome contrary Paſſion; and the Traders, with whom they chiefly converſe, are ſo far

far from giving them any Abhorrence of this Vice, that they encourage it all they can, not only for the Profit of the Liquor they ſell, but that they may have an Opportunity to impoſe upon them. And this, as they chiefly drink Spirits, has deſtroyed greater Numbers, than all their Wars and Diſeaſes put together.

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

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

They have ſome Kind of Elegancy in varying and compounding their Words, to which, not

many

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

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

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

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

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Inclination, which all ignorant People have to Superſtition and amuſing Ceremonies, gives the Popiſh Prieſts a great Advantage in recommending their Religion, beyond what the Regularity of the Proteſtant Doctrine allows of.

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

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and ſaw ſeveral of their Performances; I was preſent at their Worſhip, where they went through ſome Part of the Common Prayer with great Decency. I was likewiſe preſent, ſeveral Times, at their private Devotions, which ſome of them performed duly, Morning and Evening. I had alſo many Opportunities of obſerving the great Regard they had for this young Man; ſo far, that the Fear of his leaving them made the greateſt Reſtraint on them, with which he threatened them, after they had been guilty of any Offence. Soon after that Time, this Gentleman went to *England*, received Orders, and was ſent by the Society, Miſſionary to *Albany*, with Liberty to ſpend ſome Part of his Time among the *Mohawks*.

I had lately a Letter from him, dated the ſeventh of *December*, 1641, in which he writes as follows: "Drunkenneſs was ſo common among them, that "I doubt, whether there was one grown Perſon "of either Sex free from it; ſeldom a Day paſſed "without ſome, and very often forty or fifty being "drunk at a Time. But I found they were very "fond of keeping me among them, and afraid I "ſhould leave them, which I made Uſe of to good "Purpoſe; daily threatning them with my Departure, in Caſe they did not forſake that Vice, and "frequently requiring a particular Promiſe from "them ſingly; by which Means (through God's "Bleſſing) there was a gradual Reformation; and "I know not that I have ſeen above ten or twelve "Perſons drunk among them this Summer. The "Women are almoſt all entirely reformed, and "the Men very much. They have entirely left "off Divorces, and are legally married. They are "very conſtant and devout at Church and Family "Devotions. They have not been known to exerciſe Cruelty to Priſoners, and have, in a great "Meaſure, left off going a fighting, which I find

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" the moſt difficult, of all Things, to diſſuade them " from. They ſeem alſo perſuaded of the Truths " of Chriſtianity. The greateſt Inconveniency I " labour under, is the Want of an Interpreter, " which could I obtain, for two or three Years, I " ſhould hope to be tolerably Maſter of their Lan- " guage, and be able to render it eaſier to my " Succeſſor."

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

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

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

THE

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

PART I.

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

CHAP. I.

Of the Wars of the Five Nations *with the* Adirondacks *and* Quatoghies.

THE first Settlers of *New-York* having been little curious in inquiring into the *Indian Affairs*, further than what related to Trade; or, at leaſt, having neglected to tranſmit their Diſcoveries to Poſterity, it is much more difficult to give a juſt Hiſtory of theſe Nations before, than ſince the Time of their being under the *Crown of England.* What we can learn of Certainty, however, is this. The *French* ſettled at *Canada* in the Year 1603, ſix Years

Years before the *Dutch* poſſeſſed themſelves of *New-Netherlands*, now called *New-York*, and found the *Five Nations* at War with the *Adirondacks*, which, they tell us, was occaſioned in the following Manner.

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

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

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

informed of their Designs, thought to prevent them by reducing them with Force to their Obedience.

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

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

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

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

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

The *Adirondacks* having their Numbers thus inceaſed, and their Fire-arms giving them new Confidence, propoſed nothing leſs to themſelves, than the entire Deſtruction of the *Five Nations*. Upon this

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The *Quatoghies* and *Utawawas* now soon began to be in Want of the *European* Commodities, which had made them considerable among their new Friends. In order therefore to supply themselves anew, they returned to Trade at *Quebeck*; and by

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

thering together all the reſt of the Villages, purſued this Party of the *Five Nations*, and recovered the Priſoners.

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

CHAP. II.

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

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

This Party, however, fell in with * *Skenectady*, a ſmall Town which *Corlear* a (conſiderable Man among

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

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

in

in Deriſion turned up his Backſide, but this Affront coſt him his Life.

In the following Spring, the *Vice-Roy* and the *Governor of Canada*, with twenty-eight Companies of Foot, and all the Militia of the Colony, marched into the Country of the *Mohawks*, with a Deſign to deſtroy this Nation, which by their Wars not only prevented their Commerce with the Weſtern *Indians*, but likewiſe often put their Colony in Danger. It certainly was a bold Attempt, to march above 700 Miles from *Quebeck* through vaſt unknown Foreſts. The *Mohawks*, however, on their Approach, Men, Women and Children, retired into the Woods, and all that the *French* were able to do, was to burn ſome Villages, and to murder ſome old *Sachems* that (like the old *Roman* Senators) choſe rather to die than to deſert their Houſes.

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

The *Five Nations*, however, being naturally very enterprizing and haughty, one of their Parties ſome Time after met with ſome *French* in their hunting, and quarrelled with them. The *Indians* had the Advantage, they killed ſeveral of the *French*, and carried one Priſoner into their own Country. *Monſieur de Courſel* ſent on this to threaten the *Five Nations* with War, if they did not deliver up theſe Murderers; and the *Five Nations*, to ſhew their publick Diſpleaſure at this Breach of Peace, ſent *Agariata*, the Captain of the Company that did

the Miſchief, with forty others, to beg Pardon; but *Monſieur Courſel* was reſolved to make an Example of *Agariata*, and ordered him to be hanged in Sight of his Countrymen; and the *French* think that this Severity was a great Means of preſerving the Peace till the Year 1683.

The *Dutch*, who ſettled in the *New-Netherlands*, now called *New-York*, in 1609, entered into an Alliance with the *Five Nations*, which continued without any Breach on either Side, till the *Engliſh* gained this Country. The *Dutch* gained the Hearts of the *Five Nations* by their kind Uſage, and were frequently uſeful to the *French*, in ſaving thoſe of them that were Priſoners from the Cruelty of the *Indians*.

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

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

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The *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, on the contrary, proſecuted their Meaſures only with the Arts of Peace, by ſending People among the *Indians* to gain their Affections, and to perſuade them to come to *Albany* to trade; but the War with the *Dutch*, which happened about this Time, prevented even theſe honeſt Deſigns from having the Succeſs they otherwiſe might have had; for in the Year 1673, *New-York* being ſurpriſed by the *Dutch*, and reſtored the next Year to the *Engliſh*, the Alterations of Government, and of Maſters, obſtructed very much any Meaſures that could have been taken for the publick Good. Their Trade was likewiſe conſiderably hindered by the War which the *Five Nations* had at that Time with the * *River Indians*, which forced many of thoſe *Indians* to ſeek Shelter among the *Utawawas*, who fell under the *French* Government at laſt; however, the *Engliſh*, *Dutch* and *French*, having all made Peace in *Europe*, and the Government of *New-York* likewiſe having obtained a Peace between the *Five Nations* and *Mahikindars* or *River Indians*, both the *Engliſh* and *French* were at full Liberty to proſecute their Deſigns of extending their Commerce among the *Indians*, which both did with very conſiderable Succeſs and Advantage to the Inhabitants of their reſpective Colonies.

But this Juſtice muſt be done to the *French*, that they far exceeded the *Engliſh* in the daring Attempts of ſome of their Inhabitants, in travelling very far among unknown *Indians*, diſcovering new Countries, and every where ſpreading the Fame of the *French* Name and Grandeur. The *Sieur Perot* travelled in the Year 1667, as far as *the Fall*

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

St. Mary beyond *Miſſilimakinak*, and having learned thoſe *Indians* Language, gained them over to his Country's Intereſt.

The Courage and Reſolution of many of theſe Adventurers are deſervedly recorded by the *French*; but the *Engliſh* give it another Turn, and ſay it is the Barrenneſs and Poverty of *Canada* that puſhes the Men of Spirit there, upon Enterprizes, that they would not have attempted, if they had lived in the Province of *New-York*. The chief Reaſon, in my Opinion, however, of the *French* having ſo far ſucceeded beyond the *Engliſh*, is, that the *Indian Affairs* are the particular Care of the Governor and other principal Officers in *Canada*, who have the greateſt Knowledge and Authority; whereas thoſe Affairs in *New-York* are chiefly left to the Management of a few Traders with the *Indians*, who have no Care for, or Skill in publick Affairs, and only mind their private Intereſt.

CHAP. III.

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

THE *Five Nations* being now amply ſupplied by the *Engliſh* with Fire-Arms and Ammunition, give full Swing to their warlike Genius, and ſoon reſolved to revenge the Affronts they had at any Time received from the *Indian* Nations that lived at a greater Diſtance from them. The neareſt Nations, as they were attack'd, commonly fled to thoſe that were further off, and the *Five Nations* purſued them. This, together with a Deſire they had of conquering, or Ambition of making all the Nations round them their Tributaries, or to acknowledge the *Five Nations* to be ſo far their Maſters, as to be abſolutely directed by them in all Affairs of Peace and War with their Neighbours,

made

made them over-run great Part of *North-America*. They carried their Arms as far South as *Carolina*, to the northward of *New-England*, and as far Weſt as the River *Miſſiſſipi*, over a vaſt Country, which extends twelve hundred Miles in Length, from North to South, and about ſix hundred Miles in Breadth; where they entirely deſtroyed many Nations, of whom there are now no Accounts remaining among the *Engliſh*.

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

The *French* having a long Time felt the Inconveniencies and Dangers they were in from this reſtleſs warlike Spirit of the *Five Nations*, made uſe of this Time of Peace to guard againſt it for the future, and were very diligent in purſuing the moſt prudent Meaſures. They ſent ſome of their wiſeſt Prieſts and Jeſuits to reſide among them, and the Governors of *New-York* were ordered, by the *Duke of York*, to give theſe Prieſts all the Encouragement in their Power. The chief View of theſe Prieſts was, to give the *Indians* the higheſt Opinion of the *French Power* and Wiſdom, and to render the *Engliſh* as ſuſpected and as mean as poſſible in their Eyes. They waited likewiſe for every Opportunity to breed a Quarrel between the *Engliſh* and the *Indians*, and to withdraw the *Five Nations* from fighting with thoſe Nations that traded to *Canada*. For theſe Purpoſes theſe Prieſts were inſtrumental in turning the Reſentment of the *Five Nations* againſt the *Indians*, that were in Friendſhip with *Virginia* and *Maryland*. The Governor of *Maryland*, on the other Hand, to prevent the ill Conſequences that might happen by Wars between

Nations

Nations that were in Friendſhip with the *Engliſh*, and lived in their Neighbourhood, ſent *Colonel Courſey*, in 1677, to *Albany*, to increaſe the Friendſhip between *Virginia* and *Maryland* on the one Part, and the *Five Nations* on the other; and, accordingly, both Sides gave mutual Promiſes at *Albany*: But this good Underſtanding was ſoon ſhaken by ſome Parties of the *Oneydoes*, *Onondagas*, and *Senekas*, who were out when this Treaty was made, and were ignorant of it. One of them met with the *Suſquehana Indians*, who were in Friendſhip with *Maryland*, and fell upon them; they killed four of the *Suſquehanas*, and took ſix Priſoners. Five of theſe Priſoners fell to the Share of the *Senekas*, who, as ſoon as they arrived in their own Country, ſent them back with Preſents, to ſhew that they kept their Promiſes with *Maryland*; but the *Oneydoes* detained the Priſoner they had.

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

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

There is Reaſon to think that the *Dutch*, who lived about *Albany* at that Time, ſpirited up the *Indians* againſt the *Engliſh*; the national Differences, that were then recent, bred a Rancour in their Spirits. Some *Dutchmen* perſuaded the *Oneydoes*, that the *Engliſh* at *New-York* were reſolved to deſtroy them, and put them into a terrible Diſturbance; for here the *Dutch* and the *French* Prieſts joined in the ſame Meaſures. The Commandant at *Albany* hearing of this, ſent two Interpreters of the

the *Indian* Language, to perſuade the *Oneydoes* to come to *Albany*, in Order to be aſſured of the *Engliſh* Friendſhip, and to have their Jealouſy removed; which being done, *Sweriſe*, one of the chief *Sachems* of the *Oneydoes*, excuſed his Countrymen at *Albany* the 15th of *February* $167\frac{8}{9}$, by laying the Blame on the People of *Schenectady*, who had informed not one, but ſeveral of their People, and at ſeveral Times, that the *Engliſh* deſigned to cut them all off; and ſaid, had they not Reaſon to believe the People of *Schenectady*, who are Friends and Neighbours to the *Engliſh?* They brought with them a Chriſtian Woman and her Child, that had been taken Priſoners, and reſtored them, praying the Governor to uſe his Intereſt to have their People reſtored, that had been taken by the People of *Virginia*; but they kept another Chriſtian Woman and her two Children, which they ſaid they did only till ſuch Time as their Priſoners ſhould be reſtored, or ſome *Canaſtoga Indians* given in their Place.

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

Governor *Andros*, being acquainted by Letter with this laſt Propoſal of the *Oneydoes*, required the

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immediate Delivery of the Chriſtian Priſoners, and promiſed to write to *Virginia* to have the *Indian* Priſoners ſav'd. Some Preſents being given to the *Oneydoes*, and they promiſed to bring them in a Month's Time.

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

" *Brethren*,

" We are come to this Place with much Trouble,
" as we did laſt Winter, and renew the Requeſt
" we then made, that ſix *Indians* be delivered to
" us in the Room of theſe ſix Chriſtians, in Caſe
" our People, who are Priſoners, be dead. None
" of us have gone out againſt the Chriſtians ſince
" we were laſt here; but we told you then that
" ſome were then out, who knew nothing of the
" Governor's Orders, and we deſired, that if any
" Thing happened it might not be taken ill.
" Now thirteen of our People, who went out againſt
" our *Indian* Enemies, met eighteen Men on
" Horſe-

" Horſeback, as far from any of the *Engliſh* Plan-
" tations as *Cahnuaga* is from *Albany*, they fired
" upon our People; our Men, being Soldiers, re-
" turned their Fire, and killed two Men and two
" Horſes, and brought away their Scalps.

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

" We have now obſerved the Governor's Or-
" ders, in bringing the three other Chriſtian Pri-
" ſoners; and we truſt the Affair of our Priſoners
" wholly to the Governor.

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

Then delivering the Priſoners one by one, ſaid,
" We have, we ſay, now performed our Promiſes,
" and are not aſhamed. We hope *Corlaer*, who
" governs the whole Country, will likewiſe do
" that, of which he need not be aſhamed.

" *Corlaer* governs the whole Land, from *New-*
" *York* to *Albany*, and from thence to the *Senekas*
" *Land*; we, who are his Inferiors, ſhall faith-
" fully keep the Chain: Let him perform his
" Promiſe, as we have ours, that the Chain be
" not broken on his Side, who governs the whole
" Country."

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

After which *Sweriſe* ſtood up again and ſaid;
" Let *Corlaer* take Care, that the *Indian* Woman,
" that is wanting, be reſtored, and, for thoſe that
" are killed, others in their Room. If *Corlaer* will

not

" not give Ear to us in this Affair, we will not " hereafter give Ear to him in any Thing."

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

They, at the ſame Time, told them, That the *Simondowans* † came to them with eight Belts, deſiring them no longer to proſecute the War with the *Virginian Indians*, but to go to War againſt the *Dewaganas* ‡, a Nation lying to the North-weſtward; and that the *Sennekas* did deſire them to ſet theſe Chriſtians at Liberty, and to carry them to *Albany*; all which we promiſed to do.

The *Five Nations* continuing however ſtill to be troubleſome to *Virginia*, that Government, in *September* following, ſent Colonel *William Kendall*, and Colonel *Southley Littleton*, to *Albany*, to renew and confirm the Friendſhip between *Virginia* and

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

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

‡ Comprehended under the general Name of *Utawawas*.

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the *Five Nations*. Colonel *Littleton* died at *Albany*, before the *Indians* arrived; and Colonel *Kendall* ſpoke firſt to the *Oneydoes*, and told them in a ſet Speech, " That their People had taken away and " deſtroyed their Goods and People, and brought " ſome of the Women and Children of *Virginia* " Captives into their Caſtles, contrary to that " Faith and Promiſe, and in Breach of the Peace " made with Colonel *Courſey*, without any the " leaſt Provocation, or Injury done, by the People " of *Virginia*. However, through the great Re- " ſpect *Virginia* has to their Nations, and by the " Perſuaſions of the Governor of *New-York*, and " the Information he has given the Government " of *Virginia*, that they had quietly and peaceably " delivered to him the Priſoners taken from *Vir-* " *ginia*, who were returned ſafely; and their ex- " cuſing the ſame, and Inclination to live peaceably, " without injuring *Virginia* for the future; the " Government of *Virginia* did forgive all the " Damages the *Five Nations* have done to the " People of *Virginia*, though very great; pro- " vided that they, or any living among them, for " the future, do not offend, or moleſt the People " of *Virginia*, or *Indians* living among them."

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

The *Onnondagas* did not come till *November*; on the fifth of which Month the *Virginian* Agent ſpoke to them, in the ſame Words he did to the *Oneydoes*. It does not appear, by the Regiſter of *Indian* Affairs,

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

The *French* had no Hopes of perſuading the *Five Nations* to break with *New-York* directly, but they were in Hopes, that, by the *Indian* Parties doing frequent Miſchief in *Virginia*, the Government of *New-York* would be forced to join, in reſenting the Injury, and thereby that Union between the Government of *New-York* and the *Five Nations*, would be broke, which always obſtructed, and often defeated, the Deſign the *French* had, of ſubjecting all *North America* to the Crown of *France*. For this Reaſon, the Governors of *New-York* have always, with the greateſt Caution, avoided a Breach with theſe Nations, on Account of the little Differences they had with the neighbouring Colonies. Theſe new Incurſions of theſe two Nations were ſo troubleſome to the People of *Virginia*, that their Governor, the Lord *Howard of Effingham*, thought it neceſſary, for their Security, to undertake a Journey to *New-York*.

I ſhall give a particular Account of this Affair, which was thought of ſuch Conſequence, that a Peer of *England* left his Government, and travelled four-hundred Miles, to treat with the *Five Nations*; and

and ſhall take this Opportunity of deſcribing ſome Ceremonies they uſe, in making Peace.

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

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

To the Mohawks, Oneydoes, Onnondagas, *and* Cayugas.

" IT is now about ſeven Years, ſaid he, ſince you " (unprovoked) came into *Virginia*, a Country " belonging to the great King of *England*, and " committed ſeveral Murders and Robberies, car- " rying away our Chriſtian Women and Children " Priſoners into your Caſtles. All which Injuries " we deſigned to have revenged on you, but at the " Deſire of Sir *Edmond Andros*, then Governor- " general of this Country, we deſiſted from de- " ſtroying you, and ſent our Agents, Colonel " *William Kendal*, and Colonel *Southley Littleton*, " to confirm and make ſure the Peace, that Colonel " *Courſey* of *Maryland* included us in, when he firſt " treated with you. We find, that as you quickly " forgot what you promiſed Colonel *Courſey*, ſo " you have wilfully broke the Covenant-chain " which you promiſed our Agent, Colonel *Kendal*, " ſhould be kept more ſtrong and bright, if we of " *Virginia* would bury, in the Pit of Oblivion, the

" Injury then done us; which, upon Governor " *Andros*'s Interceſſion, and your Submiſſion, we " were willing to forget: But you not at all mind- " ing the Covenant then made, have every Year " ſince, come into our Country in a war-like " Manner, under Pretence of fighting with our " *Indians*, our Friends and Neighbours, which you " ought not to have done, our Agent having in- " cluded them likewiſe in the Peace. You not " only deſtroyed, and took ſeveral of them Pri- " ſoners, but you have alſo killed and burnt our " Chriſtian People, deſtroying Corn and Tobacco, " more than you made Uſe of, killed our Horſes, " Hogs, and Cattle; not to eat, but to let them " lie in the Woods and ſtink: This you did, when " you were not denied any Thing you ſaid you " wanted.

" I muſt alſo tell you, that, under the Pretence " of Friendſhip, you have come to Houſes at the " Heads of our Rivers (when they have been " fortified) with a white Sheet on a Pole, and have " laid down your Guns before the Fort; upon " which, our People taking you for Friends, have " admitted your great Men into their Forts, and " have given them Meat and Drink, what they " deſired. After the great Men had refreſhed " themſelves, and deſiring to return, as they were " let out of the Fort-gates, the young Men com- " monly ruſhed into the Fort, and plundered the " Houſes, taking away, and deſtroying all the " Corn, Tobacco, and Bedding, and what elſe " was in the Houſes. When they went away, " they generally alſo took ſeveral Sheep with them, " and killed ſeveral Cows big with Calf, and left " them behind them cut to Pieces, and flung about, " as if it were in Defiance of us, and in Deriſion " of our Friendſhip. Theſe, and many more In-

" juries that you have done us, have caused me to
" raise Forces, to send to the Heads of our Rivers,
" to defend our People from these Outrages, till
" I came to *New-York*, to Colonel *Thomas Dongan*,
" your Governor-general, to desire him, as we are
" all one King's subjects, to assist me in warring
" against you, to revenge the Christian Blood that
" you have shed, and to make you give full Satis-
" faction for all the Goods that you have destroyed:
" But by the Mediation of your Governor, I am
" now come to *Albany*, to speak with you, and to
" know the Reason of your breaking the Covenant-
" chain, not only with us and our neighbour *In-*
" *dians*, but with *Maryland*, who are great King
" *Charles*'s Subjects; for our *Indians* have given
" King *Charles* their Land; therefore I, the Go-
" vernor of *Virginia*, will protect them, as your
" Governor, under the great *Duke of York* and
" *Albany*, will henceforth you, when the Chain of
" Friendship is made between us all.

" Now I have let you know, that I am sensible
" of all the Injuries you have done us, and by the
" Desire of your Governor-General, I am willing
" to make a new Chain with you for *Virginia*,
" *Maryland*, and our *Indians*, that may be more
" strong and lasting, even to the World's End; so
" that we may be Brethren, and great King
" *Charles*'s Children.

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

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

" *Thirdly*,

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

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

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

" That the Covenant now made between us, in " this prefixed House, in the Presence of your Go- " vernor, may be firmly kept and performed on " your Parts, as it always has been on ours; and " that you do not break any one Link of the Co- " venant-chain for the future, by your People's " coming near our Plantations; when you march

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

to

" to the Southward, keep to the Feet of the Moun-
" tains, and do not come nigh the Heads of our
" Rivers, there being no Bever-hunting there;
" for we ſhall not for the future, though you lay
" down your Arms as Friends, ever truſt you more,
" you have ſo often deceived us."

The next Day the *Mohawks* anſwer'd firſt by their Speaker, ſaying:

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

" Hear now, now is the Time to hearken;
" the Covenant chain had very near ſlipt, by your
" not keeping it firmly. Hold it faſt now, when
" all former Evils are buried in the Pit.

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

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

" You *Cayugas*, do not return into your for- " mer Ways. There are three Things we muſt " all obſerve.

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

Then *Cadianne*, the ſame *Mohawk* Speaker, turning to my Lord, ſaid:

" We are very thankful to you, great *Sachem* " of *Virginia*, that you are perſuaded by *Corlear*, " our Governour, to forgive all former Faults. " We are very glad to hear you, and ſee your " Heart ſoftened. Take theſe three Beavers as a " Token.

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

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

" *Aſſarigoa*, you are a Man of Knowledge and " Underſtanding, thus to keep the Covenant-chain " bright as Silver; and now again to renew it, and " make it ſtronger. (Then pointing to the three " other Nations, ſaid,) But they are Chain-break-

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

ers.

" ers. I lay down this as a Token, that we *Mo-*
" *hawks* have preſerved the Chain intire on our
" Parts. Gives two Bevers and a Racoon.

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

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

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

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

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

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

" The *Oneydoes* particularly thank you, great " *Sachem* of *Virginia*, for conſenting to lay down " the Axe. The Hatchet is taken out of all their " Hands. Gives a Belt.

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

" We again pray *Aſſarigoa*, to take the *Oney-* " *does* into his Favour, and keep the Chain ſtrong " with them; for they are our Children. Gives a " Belt.

" The *Oneydoes* give twenty Bevers, as a Satis- " faction for what they promiſed the Lord *Balti-* " *more*, and deſire that they may be diſcharged of " that Debt."

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

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

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

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

" I ſpeak in the Name of all three Nations, and " include them in this Chain, which we deſire may

" be

" be kept clean and bright like Silver. Gives a " Belt.

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

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

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

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

They desired the Duke of *York's* Arms to put upon their *Castles*, which, from the Sequel of their Story, we may suppose they were told would save them from the *French*. Colonel *Dungan* desired them to call Home those of their Nations that had settled in *Canada*.* To which they answered, *Cor-*

* The *French Priests* had, from Time to Time, persuaded several of the *Five Nations* to leave their own Country, and to settle near *Montreal*; where the *French* are very industrious in encouraging them. Their Numbers have been likewise increased by the Prisoners the *French* have taken in War, and by others that have run from their own Country; because of some Mischief that they had done, or Debts which they owed the Christians. These *Indians* are all profess'd Papists, and for

that

lear keeps a Correſpondence and Friendſhip with *Canada*, and therefore he can prevail more than we can. Let *Corlear* uſe his Endeavours to draw our *Indians* Home to their own Country.

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

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

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

that Reaſon are commonly called the *praying Indians* by their Countrymen, and they are called *Cahnuagas* by the People of *Albany*, from the Place where they live; the *French* value them on Account of the Intelligence they give in Time of War, and their Knowledge of the Countries.

" *Brother*

" *Brother* Corlear,

" Your *Sachem* is a great *Sachem*, and we are " but a ſmall People; but when the *Engliſh* came " firſt to *Manhatan*, * to *Aragiſke* † and to *Yakok-* " *ranagary* ‡, they were then but a ſmall People, " and we were great. Then, becauſe we found " you a good People, we treated you kindly, and " gave you Land; we hope therefore, now that " you are great, and we ſmall, you will protect " us from the *French*. If you do not, we ſhall " loſe all our Hunting and Bevers: The *French* " will get all the Bevers. The Reaſon they are " now angry with us is, becauſe we carry our " Bever to our Brethren.

" We have put our Lands and ourſelves under " the Protection of the great *Duke of York*, the " Brother of your great *Sachem*, who is likewiſe a " great *Sachem*.

" We have annexed the *Suſquehana* River, which " we won with the Sword, to this Government; " and we deſire it may be a Branch of the great " Tree that grows in this Place, the Top of which " reaches the Sun, and its Branches ſhelter us from " the *French*, and all other Nations. Our Fire " burns in your Houſes, and your Fire burns with " us; we deſire it may be ſo always. But we will " not that any of the great *Penn*'s People ſettle " upon the *Suſquehana* River, for we have no " other Land to leave to our Children.

" Our young Men are Soldiers, and when " they are provoked, they are like Wolves in " the Woods, as you, *Sachem of Virginia*, very " well know.

" We have put ourſelves under the great *Sachem* " *Charles*, that lives on the other Side the great

* *New-York.* † *Virginia.* ‡ *Maryland.*

" Lake. We give you theſe two white dreſſed " Deer-ſkins, to ſend to the great *Sachem*, that he " may write on them, and put a great red Seal to " them, to confirm what we now do; and put " the *Suſquehana* River above the Falls, and all " the reſt of our Land under the great *Duke of* " *York*, and give that Land to none elſe. Our " Brethren, his People, have been like Fathers " to our Wives and Children, and have given us " Bread when we were in Need of it; we will " not therefore join ourſelves, or our Land, to " any other Government but this. We deſire *Cor-* " *lear*, our Governor, may ſend this our Propo- " ſition to the great *Sachem Charles*, who dwells " on the other Side the great Lake, with this " Belt of Wampum, and this other ſmaller Belt to " the *Duke of York* his Brother: And we give you, " *Corlear*, this Bever, that you may ſend over " this Propoſition.

" You great Man of *Virginia*, we let you " know, that great *Penn* did ſpeak to us here in " *Corlear*'s Houſe by his Agents, and deſired to " buy the *Suſquehana* River of us, but we would " not hearken to him, for we had faſtened it to " this Government.

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

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

" We have heard and underſtood what Miſchief " hath been done in *Virginia*; we have it as perfect

" as

" as if it were upon our Fingers Ends. O *Cor-*
" *lear!* we thank you for having been our Inter-
" ceſſor, ſo that the Axe has not fallen upon us.

" And you, *Aſſarigoa*, great *Sachem of Virgi-*
" *nia*, we thank you for burying all Evil in the
" Pit. We are informed that the *Mohawks*, *Oney-*
" *does*, *Onnondagas*, and *Cayugas*, have buried the
" Axe already; now we that live remoteſt off, are
" come to do the ſame, and to include in this Chain,
" the *Cahnawaas*, your Friends. We deſire there-
" fore, that an Axe, on our Part, may be buried
" with one of *Aſſarigoa*'s. O *Corlear! Corlear!*
" we thank you for laying hold of one End of the
" Axe; and we thank you, great Governor of
" *Virginia*, not only for throwing aſide the Axe,
" but more eſpecially for your putting all Evil
" from your Heart. Now we have a new Chain, a
" ſtrong and a ſtraight Chain, that cannot be bro-
" ken. The Tree of Peace is planted ſo firmly,
" that it cannot be moved, let us on both Sides
" hold the Chain faſt.

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

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

" We underſtand, that becauſe of the Miſchief
" that has been done to the People and Caſtles of
" *Virginia* and *Maryland*, we muſt not come near
" the Heads of your Rivers, nor near your Plan-
" tations, but keep at the Foot of the Mountains;
" for tho' we lay down our Arms, as Friends,
" we ſhall not be truſted for the future, but look-

" ed on as Robbers. We agree however to this " Propoſition, and ſhall wholly ſtay away from " *Virginia*: And this we do in Gratitude to *Cor-* " *lear*, who has been at ſo great Pains to per- " ſuade you, great Governor of *Virginia*, to for- " get what is paſt. You are wiſe in giving Ear to " *Corlear*'s good Advice, for we ſhall now go a " Path which was never trod before.

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

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

Coll. *Bird*, one of the Council of *Virginia*, and *Edmonds Jenning*, *Eſq*; *Attorney General* of that Province, came with four *Indian Sachems*, (accord- ing to the Lord *Howard*'s Promiſe) to renew and confirm the Peace, and met the *Five Nations* at *Albany* in *September* 1685.

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

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

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

So

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

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

The *French Prieſts* however ſtill employed their Influence over the *Onnondagas*, *Cayugas*, and *Oneydoes*; and it was eaſy for them to ſpirit up the *Indians* (naturally revengeful) againſt their old Enemies. A Party of the *Oneydoes* went out two Years after this againſt the *Wayanoack Indians*, Friends of *Virginia*, and killed ſome of the People of *Virginia*, who aſſiſted thoſe *Indians*. They took ſix Priſoners, but reſtored them at *Albany*, with an Excuſe, that they did not know they were Friends of *Virginia*. But Coll. *Dungan* on this Occaſion told them, that he only had kept all the *Engliſh* in *North-America* from joining together to deſtroy them; that if ever he ſhould hear of the like Complaint, he would dig up the Hatchet, and join with the reſt of the *Engliſh* to cut them off Root and Branch; for there were many Complaints made of him to the King by the *Engliſh*, as well as by the Governor of *Canada*, for his favouring of them.

We have now gone through the material Tranſactions which the *Five Nations* had with the *En-*

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

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

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

CHAP. IV.

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

THE *French*, in the Time they were at Peace with the *Five Nations*, built their Forts at *Taidonderaghi* and *Miſſilimakinak*, and made a Settlement there. They carried on their Commerce among the numerous Nations that live on the Banks of the great Lakes, and the Banks of the *Miſſiſſipi*; they not only proſecuted their Trade among theſe Nations, but did all they could to ſecure their Obedience, and to make them abſolutely ſubject to the Crown

Crown of *France*, by building Forts at the conſiderable Paſſes, and placing ſmall Garriſons in them. They took in ſhort all the Precautions in their Power, not only to reſtrain the *Indians* by Force, but likewiſe to gain their Affections, by ſending *Miſſionaries* among them. The only Obſtruction they met with was from the *Five Nations*, who introduced the *Engliſh* of *New-York* into the Lakes to trade with the *Indians* that lived round them. This gave the *French* much Uneaſineſs, becauſe they foreſaw, that the *Engliſh* would not only prove dangerous Rivals, but that the Advantages which they had in Trade, beyond what it was poſſible for the Inhabitants of *Canada* to have, would enable the People of *New-York* ſo far to underſel them, that their Trade would ſoon be ruined, and all the Intereſt loſt which they had gained with ſo much Labour and Expence. The *Five Nations* likewiſe continued in War with many of the *Nations*, with the *Chictaghicks* particularly, who yielded the moſt profitable Trade to the *French*; and as often as they diſcovered any of the *French* carrying Ammunition towards theſe Nations, they fell upon them, and took all their Powder, Lead and Arms from them. This made the *French* Traders afraid of travelling, and prevented their *Indians* from hunting, and alſo leſſened the Opinion they had of the *French Power*, when they found that the *French* were not able to protect them againſt the Inſults of the *Five Nations*.

The *Senakas* lie next to the Lakes, and neareſt to the Nations with whom the *French* carried on the greateſt Trade, theſe People were ſo averſe to that Nation, that they would never receive any Prieſts among them, and of Conſequence were moſt firmly attach'd to the *Engliſh* Intereſt, who ſupplied them with Arms and Powder (the Means to be revenged of their Enemies.) For theſe Reaſons

Mr.

Mr. *De la Barre* (Governor of *Canada*) ſent a Meſſenger to Coll. *Dungan*, to complain of the Injuries the *Senakas* had done to the *French*, and to ſhew the Neceſſity he was under to bring the *Five Nations* to Reaſon by Force of Arms. This Meſſenger happening to arrive at the Time the *Indians* met the Lord *Howard* at *Albany*, Coll. *Dungan* told the *Senakas* the Complaints that the *French* Governor made of them. To which they gave him the following Anſwer, in Preſence of Mr. *De la Barre*'s Meſſenger, on the 5th of *Auguſt*, 1684.

" We were ſent for, and are come, and have " heard what you have ſaid to us, that *Corlear* " hath great Complaints of us, both from *Virginia* " and *Canada*. What they complain of from *Ca-* " *nada* may poſſibly be true, that ſome of our " young Men have taken ſome of their Goods, " but *Yonnendio* the Governor of *Canada*, is the " Cauſe of it. He not only permits his People to " carry Ammunition, Guns, Powder, Lead, and " Axes to the *Tiuhtuih-ronoons* * our Enemies, " but ſends them thither on Purpoſe. Theſe " Guns which he ſends knock our Bever Hunters " on the Head, and our Enemies carry the Be- " vers to *Canada* that we would have broughtto " our Brethren. Our Bever-Hunters are Soldiers, " and could bear this no longer. They met " ſome *French* in their Way to our Enemies, " and very near them, carrying Ammunition, " which our Men took from them. This is " agreeable to our Cuſtoms in War; and we " may therefore openly own it, tho' we know " not whether it be practiſed by the Chriſtians " in ſuch like Caſes.

* *Ronoon* ſignifies Nation or People, in the Language of the *Five Nations*; they ſay *Tiuhtuih-ronoon*, *Chichighik-ronoon*, *Deonondadik-ronoon*, &c.

When

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

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

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

" Thus far in Anſwer to the Complaint the Go- " vernor of *Canada* hath made of us to *Corlear*.

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

" *Corlear*, hear what we ſay, we thank you for " the Duke's Arms, which you have given us to " be put in our Caſtles, as a Defence to them. " You command them. Have we wandered out

" of

" of the Way, as the Governor of *Canada* ſays? " We do not threaten him with War, as he " threatens us. What ſhall we do? Shall we " run away, or ſhall we ſit ſtill in our Houſes? " What ſhall we do? we ſpeak to him that go- " verns and commands us.

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

Monſieur *De la Barre* at this Time was gone, with all the Force of *Canada*, to *Cadarackui Fort*, and ordered the three Veſſels to be repaired which the *French* had built on *Cadarackui Lake*: His Deſign was to frighten the *Five Nations* into his own Terms, by the Appearance of the *French* Army, which conſiſted of 600 Soldiers of the regular Troops, 400 *Indians*, and 400 Men that carried Proviſions, beſides 300 Men that he left to ſecure *Cadarackui Fort*, and the weſtern *Indians*, that he expected would join him. But while he was at this Fort, the Fatigue of travelling in the Month of *Auguſt*, together with the Unhealthineſs of that Place (the Country thereabout being very marſhy) where he tarried ſix Weeks, occaſioned ſo great a Sickneſs in his Army, that he found himſelf unable to perform any Thing but by Treaty; and therefore ſent Orders to Monſr. *Dulhut*, who was come from *Miſſilimakinak* with 600 Men, *French* and *Indians*, to ſtop. Monſr. *De la Barre* paſſed acroſs the Lake, with as many Men as were able to travel, and arrived at the River which the *French* call *La Famine*, by the *Indians* called *Kaihohage*, which falls into the South-Side of *Cadarackui Lake*, about thirty Miles from *Onnondago*. There were two Villages of the *Five Nations* on the North-Side of the Lake, about fifteen Miles from the *French* Fort, conſiſting of thoſe *Indians* that

that had the moſt Inclination to the *French*: They provided the *French* Army with Proviſions, while they remained at the Fort; but it is probable, ſent an Account to their own Nations of every Thing that happened; and that this was the Reaſon of the Uſage they afterwards met with from the *French*.

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

The Interpreter ſucceeded in his Deſign with the *Mohawks*, and with the *Senakas*, who promiſed that they would not go near the *French* Governor: But he had not like the Succeſs with the *Onnondagas*, *Oneydoes*, and *Cayugas*, who had received the *French* Prieſts, for they would not hear the Interpreter, but in Preſence of the *French* Prieſts, and Monſr. *la Maine*, and three other *Frenchmen* that Monſr. *De la Barre* had ſent to perſuade them to meet him at *Kaihohage*; they gave the following Anſwer to the Interpreter.

" *Arie*, you are *Corlear's Meſſenger*, * *Ohqueſſe*
" (Monſr. *la Maine*) is the Governor of *Canada*'s;
" and there † ſits our Father; *Yonnondio* acquaint-
" ed us ſome Time ago, that he would ſpeak with

* That is, the *Partridge*. † Pointing to the *Jeſuite*.

" us

" us, before he would undertake any Thing againſt
" the *Senekas*. Now he hath ſent for all the Na-
" tions to ſpeak with him in Friendſhip, and that
" at a Place not far from *Onnondaga*, even at *Kai-*
" *hohage*. But our Brother *Corlear* tells us, that
" we muſt not meet the Governor of *Canada* with-
" out his Permiſſion; and that if *Yonnondio* have any
" Thing to ſay to us, he muſt firſt ſend to *Corlear*
" for Leave to ſpeak with us. *Yonnondio* has ſent
" long ago to us to ſpeak with him, and he has
" lately repeated that Deſire by *Onniſſantie* the
" Brother of our Father ‡ *Twirhaerſira* that ſits
" there; he not only has entreated us by our Father,
" but by two praying *Indians*, one an *Onnondaga*,
" the other the Son of an old *Mohawk Sachem*,
" *Connondowe*. They brought five great Belts of
" Wampum, not a Fathom or two only, as you
" bring. Now *Ohqueſſe* has been ſent with three
" *Frenchmen*; *Yonnondio* not being content with
" all this, has likewiſe ſent *Demehoct*, and two
" other *Mohawks*, to perſuade us to meet him, and
" to ſpeak with him of good Things. Should we
" not go to him after all this Intreaty, when he is
" come ſo far, and ſo near to us? Certainly if we
" do not, we ſhall provoke his Wrath, and not
" deſerve his Goodneſs. You ſay we are Sub-
" jects to the King of *England* and *Duke of York*,
" but we ſay we are Brethren. We muſt take
" Care of ourſelves. Thoſe Arms fixed upon the
" Poſts, without the Gate, cannot defend us
" againſt the Arms of *la Barre*. Brother *Corlear*,
" we tell you, that we ſhall bind a Covenant-
" Chain to our Arm, and to his, as thick as that

‡ The *Indians* commonly gave a new Name to any Perſon they receive or adapt into their Nation. This is the *Jeſuites Indian* Name, the Interpretation whereof I know not.

" Poſt,

" Poſt, (pointing to a Poſt of the Houſe) be not " diſſatisfied; ſhould we not embrace this Happi- " neſs offered us, *viz.* Peace, in the Place of " War, yea, we ſhall take the Evil Doers, the " *Senekas*, by the Hand, and *la Barre* likewiſe, " and their Axe and his Sword ſhall be thrown " into a deep Water. We wiſh our Brother *Cor-* " *lear* were preſent, but it ſeems the Time will " not permit of it."

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

* *Monſr.* De la Barre's *Speech to* Garangula.

" The King, my Maſter, being informed that " the *Five Nations* have often infringed the Peace, " has ordered me to come hither with a Guard, " and to ſend *Ohgueſſe* to the *Onnondagas*, to bring " the chief *Sachem* to my Camp. The Intention " of the great King is, that you and I may ſmoke " the *Calumet* † of Peace together, but on this " Con-

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

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

" Condition, that you promiſe me, in the Name " of the *Senekas*, *Cayugas*, *Onondagas*, and *Mo-* " *hawks*, to give intire Satisfaction and Repara- " tion to his Subjects; and for the future never to " moleſt them.

" The *Senekas*, *Cayugas*, *Onondagas*, *Oneydoes*, " and *Mohawks* have robbed and abuſed all the " Traders that were paſſing to the *Illinois* and " *Umamies*, and other *Indian* Nations, the Chil- " dren of my King. They have acted, on theſe " Occaſions, contrary to the Treaty of Peace with " my Predeceſſor. I am ordered therefore to de- " mand Satisfaction, and to tell them, that in " Caſe of Refuſal, or their plundering us any more, " that I have expreſs Orders to declare War. " This Belt confirms my Words. The Warriors " of the *Five Nations* have conducted the *Engliſh* " into the Lakes, which belong to the King, my " Maſter, and brought the *Engliſh* among the " Nations that are his Children, to deſtroy the " Trade of his Subjects, and to withdraw theſe " Nations from him. They have carried the *En-* " *gliſh* thither, notwithſtanding the Prohibition of " the late Governor of *New-York*, who foreſaw the " Riſque that both they and you would run. I " am willing to forget theſe Things, but if ever " the like ſhall happen for the future, I have ex- " preſs Orders to declare War againſt you. This " Belt confirms my Words. Your Warriors have " made ſeveral barbarous Incurſions on the *Illinois* " and *Umamies*: they have maſſacred Men, Wo- " men and Children, and have made many of theſe " Nations Priſoners, who thought themſelves ſafe

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

" in

" in their Villages in Time of Peace. Theſe Peo-
" ple, who are my King's Children, muſt not
" be your Slaves; you muſt give them their Li-
" berty, and ſend them back into their own
" Country. If the *Five Nations* ſhall refuſe to do
" this, I have expreſs Orders to declare War
" againſt them. This Belt confirms my Words.

" This is what I have to ſay to *Garangula*, that
" he may carry to the *Senekas*, *Onondagas*, *Oney-*
" *does*, *Cayugas* and *Mohawks* the Declaration
" which the King, my Maſter, has command-
" ed me to make. He doth not wiſh them to
" force him to ſend a great Army to *Cadarackui*
" Fort, to begin a War which muſt be fatal
" to them. He would be ſorry that this Fort,
" that was the Work of Peace, ſhould become
" the Priſon of your Warriors. We muſt endea-
" vour, on both Sides, to prevent ſuch Misfor-
" tunes. The *French*, who are the Brethren and
" Friends of the *Five Nations*, will never trouble
" their Repoſe, provided that the Satisfaction which
" I demand be given, and that the Treaties of
" Peace be hereafter obſerved. I ſhall be extream-
" ly grieved if my Words do not produce the Ef-
" fect which I expect from them; for then I ſhall
" be obliged to join with the Governor of *New-*
" *York*, who is commanded by his Maſter to aſſiſt
" me, and burn the Caſtles of the *Five Nations*,
" and deſtroy you. This Belt confirms my Words.

Garangula was very much ſurpriſed to find the ſoft Words of the *Jeſuit*, and of the Governor's Meſſengers, turned to ſuch threatening Language. This was deſigned to ſtrike Terror into the *Indians*; but *Garangula* having good Information from thoſe of the *Five Nations* living near *Cadarackui* Fort, of all the Sickneſs and other Misfortunes which afflicted the *French* Army, it was far from producing the deſigned Effect. All the Time that *Monſieur de la Barre* ſpoke, *Garangula* kept his Eyes fixed

on

on the End of his Pipe; as ſoon as the Governor had done ſpeaking, he roſe up, and having walked five or ſix Times round the Circle, he returned to his Place, where he ſpoke ſtanding, while *Monſieur de la Barre* kept his Elbow-Chair.

Garangula's *Anſwer*.

" *Yonnondio*,

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

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

Onon-

" *Onondagas.* But *Garangula* says, that he sees the " contrary, that it was to knock them on the Head, " if Sickness had not weakned the Arms of the " *French.*

" I see *Yonnondio* raving in a Camp of sick " Men, whose Lives the great Spirit has saved, " by inflicting this Sickness on them. Hear, *Yon-* " *nondio*, our Women had taken their Clubs, our " Children and old Men had carried their Bows " and Arrows into the Heart of your Camp, if " our Warriors had not disarmed them, and kept " them back, when your Messenger, *Ohgueſſe* " came to our Castles. It is done, and I have " said it. Hear, *Yonnondio*, we plundered none " of the *French*, but those that carried Guns, " Powder, and Ball to the *Iwikties* and *Chictag-* " *hicks*, because those Arms might have cost us our " Lives. Herein we follow the Examples of the " Jesuits, who stave all the Caggs of Rum brought " to our Castles, lest the drunken *Indians* should " knock them on the Head. Our Warriors have " not Bevers enough to pay for all these Arms, " that they have taken, and our old Men are not " afraid of the War. This Belt preserves my " Words. We carried the *English* into our " Lakes, to trade there with the *Utawawas* and " *Quatoghies*, as the *Adirondacks* brought the " *French* to our Castles, to carry on a Trade " which the *English* say is theirs. We are born " free, we neither depend on *Yonnondio* nor " *Corlear.*

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

" We knock'd the *Twihtwies* and *Chictaghicks* " on the Head, because they had cut down the

" Trees

" Trees of Peace, which were the Limits of our " Country. They have hunted Bevers on our " Lands: They have acted contrary to the Cuſtoms " of all *Indians*; for they left none of the Bevers " alive, they killed both Male and Female. They " brought the *Satanas* * into their Country, to take " Part with them, after they had concerted ill De- " ſigns againſt us. We have done leſs than either " the *Engliſh* or *French*, they have uſurped the " Lands of ſo many *Indian* Nations, and chaſed " them from their own Country. This Belt pre- " ſerves my Words. Hear, *Yonnondio*, what I " ſay is the Voice of all the *Five Nations*; hear " what they anſwer, open your Ears to what they " ſpeak: The *Senekas*, *Cayugas*, *Onondagas*, *Oney-* " *does*, and *Mohawks* ſay, that when they buried " the Hatchet at *Cadarackui* (in the Preſence of " your Predeceſſor) in the Middle of the Fort, they " planted the Tree of Peace in the ſame Place, " to be there carefully preſerved, that in Place of " a Retreat for Soldiers, that Fort might be a " Rendezvous for Merchants; that, in Place of " Arms and Ammunition of War, Bevers and " Merchandize ſhould only enter there.

" Hear, *Yonnondio*, take Care for the future, " that ſo great a Number of Soldiers, as appear " there, do not choak the Tree of Peace planted " in ſo ſmall a Fort. It will be a great Loſs, " if after it had ſo eaſily taken Root, you ſhould " ſtop its Growth, and prevent its covering your " Country and ours with its Branches. I aſſure " you, in the Name of the *Five Nations*, that our " Warriors ſhall dance to the *Calumet* of Peace " under its Leaves, and ſhall remain quiet on " their Matts, and ſhall never dig up the Hatchet, " till their Brethren, *Yonnondio* or *Corlear*, ſhall

* Called *Sawanons* by the *French*.

" either jointly or ſeparately endeavour to attack " the Country, which the great Spirit has given to " our Anceſtors. This Belt preſerves my Words, " and this other, the Authority which the *Five* " *Nations* has given me."

Then *Garangula* addreſſing himſelf to Monſieur *le Maine*, ſaid,

" Take Courage, *Obgueſſe*, you have Spirit, ſpeak, " explain my Words, forget nothing, tell all that " your Brethren and Friends ſay to *Yononndio*, your " Governor, by the Mouth of *Garangula*, who loves " you, and deſires you to accept of this Preſent of " Bever, and take Part with me in my Feaſt, to " which I invite you. This Preſent of Bever is " ſent to *Yonnondio* on the Part of the *Five Na-* " *tions*."

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

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

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

CHAP. V.

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

THE *Marquis de Nonville* having now ſucceeded Monſieur *de la Barre*, in the Year

1685, and having brought a Reinforcement of Soldiers with him, resolved to recover the Honour the *French* had lost in the last Expedition, and revenge the Slaughter the *Five Nations* continued to make of the *Twihtwies* and *Chictaghicks*, who had put themselves under the *French* Protection; for the *Five Nations* having intirely subdued the *Chictaghicks* *, after a six Years War, they resolved next to fall upon the *Twihtwies*, and to call them to an Account for the Disturbance they had given some of their People in their Bever Hunting. The *Five Nations* have few or no Bever in their own Country, and for that Reason are obliged to hunt at a great Distance, which often occasions Disputes with their Neighbours about the Property of the Bever. The Bever is the most valuable Branch of the *Indian* Trade, and as the *Twihtwies* carried their Bevers to the *French*, the *English* encouraged the *Five Nations* in these Expeditions, and particularly, in the Beginning of the Year 1687, made the *Five Nations* a Present of a Barrel of Powder, when their whole Force was preparing to go against the *Twihtwies*. The *English* were the better pleased with this War, because they thought that it would divert the *Five Nations* from the *Virginia Indians*: But the *French* were resolved to support their Friends more effectually by a powerful Diversion, and to change the Seat of the War.

For this Purpose Mr. *de Nonville* sent, in *May* 1687, great Quantities of Provision to *Cadaruckui* Fort, and gathered the whole Force of *Canada* to *Montreal*. His Army consisted of fifteen hundred *French* of the regular Troops and Militia, and five hundred *Indians* that lived near *Montreal* and *Quebeck*. He sent likewise Orders to the Commandant at *Missilimakinak* to assemble all the Nations

* Called *Ilinois* by the *French*.

tions living round him, and to march them to *Oniagara*, in order to join the Forces of *Canada* designed againſt the *Senekas*, and the other Officers poſted among the *Indians* Weſtward had the like Orders.

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

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

In the mean while a Canoe arrived, which was ſent by Mr. *de Nonville*, with his Orders to the Officers. This Canoe, in her Paſſage, diſcovered ſome *Engliſh*, commanded by Major *Mac Gregory*, in their Way to *Teidonderaghie*. The *Engliſh* thought (after they had an Account of the new Alliance their King had entered into with the *French*) that the *French* would not diſturb them in proſecuting a Trade with the *Indians* every where, and that the Trade would be equally free and open to both Nations. With theſe Hopes a conſiderable Number of Adventurers went out, under the Conduct of Major *Mac Gregory*, to trade with

the *Indians* that lived on the Banks of the Lakes; and that they might be the more welcome, perſuaded the *Five Nations* to ſet all the *Dionondadie* Priſoners at Liberty, who went along with the *Engliſh*, and conducted them towards *Miſſilimakinak*, or *Teiodonderaghie*; but the *Engliſh* found themſelves miſtaken, for the *French* Commandant at *Teiodonderaghie*, as ſoon as he had Notice of this, ſent three-hundred *French* to intercept the *Engliſh*.

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

The *Utowawas* thus wavering, diſconcerted the Meaſures of the *Dionondadies*, for they began to ſuſpect the *Utawawas*, and therefore immediately returned to ſecure their Wives and Children that they had left near the *French* Fort with the *Utawawas*. The *Engliſh* and their Effects were ſeized without any Oppoſition, and were carried to the *French* Fort at *Teiodonderaghie*.

The *Engliſh* brought great Quantities of Rum with them, (which the *Indians* love more than their Lives) and the *French* being afraid, that if the *Indians* took to Drinking, they would grow ungovernable, did what they could to keep them from it. They were moſt concerned that the *Putewatemies* (who had no Knowledge of the *Engliſh*,

* Hiſtoire de le Amerique Septentrionale, par Mr. de la Poterie, Tome ii. Cap. 16.

or

or of that bewitching Liquor, and were firmly attached to the *French*) ſhould not taſte it.

The *Utawawas* ſtill contrived Delays to the March, and having got ſome of the *Putewatemies* privately by themſelves, they offered them a Cag of Rum, and ſaid: "We are all Brethren, we ought "to make one Body, and to have one Soul. The "*French* invite us to War againſt the *Five Nations*, "with Deſign to make us Slaves, and that we "ſhould make ourſelves the Tools to effect it. As "ſoon as they ſhall have deſtroyed the *Five Nations*, "they will no longer obſerve any Meaſures with "us, but uſe us like thoſe Beaſts they tie to their "Ploughs. Let us leave them to themſelves, and "they will never be able to accompliſh any thing "againſt the *Five Nations*."

But the *Putewatemies* had entertained ſuch No-"tions of the *French*, as made them deaf to the "Politicks of the *Utawawas*.

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

Mr. *Tonti*, Commandant amongſt the *Chictaghicks*, met with another Party of the *Engliſh* of about thirty Men, in Lake *Erie*, as he marched with the *Chicktaghicks*, and *Twihtwies*, and other neighbouring Nations, to the general Rendezvous. He fell upon the *Engliſh*, plundered them, and took them Priſoners. The *French* divided all the Merchandize among the *Indians*, but kept the Rum to themſelves, and got all drunk. The *Deconondadie* Priſoners, that conducted the *Engliſh*, joined with the *Mihikander Indians* that were among Mr. *Tonti*'s *Indians* (who had privately diſſuaded about twenty of the neighbouring Nations from going with *Tonti*) and endeavoured to perſuade all the

Indians to fall upon the *French*, while they were drunk, and deſtroy them; ſaying, the *French* are a proud, impious, covetous People, that ſell their Goods at an extravagant Price; the *Engliſh* are a good-natured honeſt People, and will furniſh you with every Thing at reaſonable Rates. But theſe Arguments were to no Purpoſe, for theſe far *Indians* had entertained an extraordinary Opinion of the *French* Power, and knew nothing of the *Engliſh*.

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

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

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

Monſieur

Monſieur *Campagnie* marched eight or ten Days before the reſt of the Army, with between two and three hundred *Cannadians*. As ſoon as they arrived at *Cadarackui*, they ſurpriſed two Villages of the *Five Nations*, that were ſettled about eight Leagues from that Place, to prevent their giving any Intelligence to their own Nation of the *French* Preparations, or of the State of their Army, as it was ſuppoſed they did in the laſt Expedition under Monſieur *de la Barre*. Theſe People were ſurpriſed when they leaſt expected it, and by them from whom they feared no Harm, becauſe they had ſettled there at the Invitation, and on the Faith of the *French*. They were carried in cool Blood to the Fort, and tied to Stakes, to be tormented by the *French Indians*, (Chriſtians, as they call them) while they continued ſinging in their country Manner, and upbraiding the *French* with their Perfidy and Ingratitude.

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

The Meſſenger having aſſured the General, that it was Time to depart, in order to meet with the weſtern *Indians*, that came to his Aſſiſtance, he ſet out the twenty-third of *June*, and ſent one Part of

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

his Army in Canoes, along the North Shore of the Lake, while he, with the other Part, paſſed along the South, that no Accidents of Wind might prevent the one or the other reaching, within the Time appointed, at the Place the *Indians* were to meet him. It happened, by reaſon of the good Weather, that both arrived on the ſame Day, and joined the weſtern *Indians* at *Trondequat*. As ſoon as the Men were put on Shore, they hawled up the Canoes, and began a Fort, where four hundred Men were left to guard the Canoes and the Baggage. Here a young *Canadian* was ſhot to Death, as a Deſerter, for conducting the *Engliſh* into the Lakes, though the two Nations were not only at Peace, but their Kings in ſtricter Friendſhip than uſual. But this Piece of Severity is not to be wondered at, when this War was undertaken, chiefly to put a Stop to the *Engliſh* Trade, which now began to extend itſelf far into the Continent, and would in its Conſequence ruin theirs. The next Day the Army began to march towards the chief Village of the *Senekas*, which was only ſeven Leagues diſtant, every Man carrying ten Biſkets for his Proviſion. The *Indian* Traders made the Van with Part of the *Indians*, the other Part marched in the Rear, while the regular Troops and Militia compoſed the main Body. The Army marched four Leagues the firſt Day without diſcovering any Thing; the next Day the Scouts advanced before the Army, as far as the Corn of the Villages, without ſeeing any Body, though they paſſed within Piſtol-ſhot of five-hundred *Senekas*, that lay on their Bellies, and let them paſs and repaſs without diſturbing them.

On the Report which they made, the *French* haſtened their March, in hopes to overtake the Women, Children, and old Men; for they no longer doubted of all being fled. But as ſoon as the *French* reached the Foot of a Hill, about a Quarter of

of a League from the Village, the *Senekas* ſuddenly raiſed the War-ſhout, with a Diſcharge of their Fire-arms. This put the regular Troops, as well as the Militia, into ſuch a Fright, as they marched through the Woods, that the Battalions immediately divided, and run to the Right and Left, and, in the Confuſion, fired upon one another. When the *Senekas* perceived their Diſorder, they fell in among them pell-mell, till the *French Indians*, more uſed to ſuch Way of fighting, gathered together and repulſed the *Senekas*. There were (according to the *French* Accounts) a hundred *Frenchmen*, ten *French Indians*, and about fourſcore *Senekas* killed, in this Rencounter.

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

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

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

He ſent a Detachment of Soldiers to *Teiodonderaghie*, and in his Return to *Canada*, which was by the North Side of the Lake, he left a ſufficient Number of Men, and a Quantity of Proviſions, at *Cadarackui* Fort.

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

CHAP. VI.

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

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

" *Brethren*,

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

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

" I am now about ſending a Gentleman to
" *England*, to the King, my Maſter, to let him
" know, that the *French* have invaded his Terri-
" ritories on this Side of the great Lake, and
" warred upon the Brethren his Subjects. I there-
" fore would willingly know, whether the Brethren
" have given the Governor of *Canada* any Provo-
" cation or not; and if they have, how, and in
" what Manner; becauſe I am obliged to give a
" true Account of this Matter. This Buſineſs
" may cauſe a War between the King of *England*
" and the *French* King, both in *Europe* and here,
" and therefore I muſt know the Truth.

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

" Brethren, I took it very ill, that after you had
" put yourſelves into the Number of the great
" King of *England*'s Subjects, you ſhould ever offer
" to make Peace or War without my Conſent.
" You know that we can live without you, but
" you cannot live with[illegible] us. You never found
" that I told you a Ly[illegible] and I offered you the

" Assistance you wanted, provided that you would " be advised by me; for I know the *French* better " than any of you do.

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

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

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

" *3dly*, The great Matter under Consideration " with the Brethren is, how to strengthen them- " selves, and weaken their Enemy. My Opinion " is, that the Brethren should send Messengers to " the *Utawawas*, *Twihtwies*, and the *farther In-* " *dians*, and to send back likewise some of the

Pri-

" Priſoners of theſe Nations, if you have any left,
" to bury the Hatchet, and to make a Covenant-
" chain, that they may put away all the *French*
" that are among them, and that you will open a
" Path for them this Way, they being the King of
" *England*'s Subjects likewiſe, tho' the *French* have
" been admitted to trade with them; for all that
" the *French* have in *Canada*, they had it of the
" great King of *England*; that by that Means they
" may come hither freely, where they may have
" every Thing cheaper than among the *French*:
" That you and they may join together againſt the
" *French*, and make ſo firm a League, that who-
" ever is an Enemy to one, muſt be to both.

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

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

" 6*thly*, I think it very neceſſary, for the Brethren's
" Security and Aſſiſtance, and to the endamaging
" the *French*, to build a Fort upon the Lake, where
" I may keep Stores and Proviſions, in Caſe of

" Ne-

" Neceſſity; and therefore I would have the " Brethren let me know what Place will be moſt " convenient for it.

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

" 8*thly*, I have given my Advice in your General " Aſſembly by Mr. *Dirk Weſſels*, and *Akus* the In- " terpreter, how you are to manage your Parties, " and how neceſſary it is to get Priſoners, to ex- " change for your own Men that are Priſoners with " the *French*; and I am glad to hear that the " Brethren are ſo united, as Mr. *Dirk Weſſels* tells " me you are, and that there are no rotten Members " nor *French* Spies among you.

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

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

" 11*thly*, I would have the Brethren look out " ſharp, for Fear of being ſurprized. I believe all " the Strength of the *French* will be at their " Frontier Places, *viz.* at *Cadarackui* and *Oniagara*,

" where

" where they have built a Fort now, and at *Troies*
" *Rivieres*, *Montreal*, and *Chambly*.

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

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

Then he chid them for their Breach of Faith with *Virginia*. He told them, that he was informed, that laſt Spring they had killed a fine Gentleman, with ſome others; and that a Party of the *Oneydoes* was now there at the Head of *Tames River*, with Intention to deſtroy all the *Indians* thereabout. They had taken ſix Priſoners, whom he ordered them to bring to him, to be reſtored; and that for the future they ſhould deſiſt from doing any Injury to the People of *Virginia*, or their *Indians*, otherwiſe all the *Engliſh* would unite to deſtroy them. But at the ſame Time he freed the *Senekas* from any Blame, and commended them as a brave and honeſt People, who never had done any Thing contrary to his Orders, except in making that unlucky Peace with the *French*, three Years ago.

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

This honeſt Gentleman earneſtly purſued the Intereſt of his Country; but it ſeems his Meaſures were not agreeable to thoſe his Maſter had taken with the *French* King; for he had Orders to procure a Peace for the *French* on their own Terms, and

was

was ſoon after this removed from his Government. Indeed ſuch an active, as well as prudent Governor of *New-York*, could not be acceptable to the *French*, who had the univerſal Monarchy in View, in *America* as well as in *Europe*.

The great Diſpute between Col. *Dungan* and the *French* was in this, that Col. *Dungan* would force the *French* to apply to him, in all Affairs relating to the *Five Nations*, and the *French* would treat with them independently of the *Engliſh*. For this Reaſon Col. *Dungan* refuſed any Aſſiſtance to the *French*, till they, by ſuch Application, ſhould acknowledge the Dependance of the *Five Nations* on the Crown of *England*. But King *James* ordered him to give up this Point; and that he ſhould perſuade the *Five Nations* to ſend to *Canada*, to receive Propoſals from the *French Governor*; and for this Purpoſe, forced them to agree to a Ceſſation of Arms, till their Deputies ſhould go and return from *Canada*; and that they ſhould, in the mean Time, deliver up all the Priſoners they had taken from the *French*, and that no Accident might prevent this, and blaſt ſo favourable an Opportunity of making Peace to the beſt Advantage, Monſr. *De Nonville* ſent his Orders to all his Officers in the *Indian* Countries, to obſerve a Ceſſation of Arms, till the Ambaſſador of the *Five Nations* ſhould meet him at *Montreal*, as they had given him Reaſon to expect they would in a little Time, to conclude the Peace in the uſual Form.

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

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

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

The Ambaſſadors being much ſurpriſed at the *French* Perfidy, told *Adario* the Deſign of their Journey, who, the better to play his Part, ſeemed to grow mad and furious, declaring againſt Monſr. *De Nonville*, and ſaid he would, ſome Time or other, be revenged of him, for making a Tool of him, to commit ſuch horrid Treachery. Then looking ſtedfaſtly on the Priſoners (among whom *Dekanefora* was the principal Ambaſſador) *Adario* ſaid

ſaid to them, Go, my Brethren, I unty your Bonds, and ſend you Home again, though our Nations be at War: The *French* Governor has made me commit ſo black an Action, that I ſhall never be eaſy after it, till the *Five Nations* ſhall have taken full Revenge.

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

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

Adario delivered the Slave (his Priſoner) to the *French* at *Miſſilimakinak*, who to keep up the Enmity between the *Deonondadies* and the *Five Nations*, ordered him to be ſhot to Death. *Adario* called one of the *Five Nations*, who had been long a Priſoner, to be an Eye Witneſs of his Countryman's Death, then bid him make his Eſcape to his own Country, to give an Account of the *French* Cruelty, from which it was not in his Power to ſave a Priſoner, he himſelf had taken.

This heightned the Rage of the *Five Nations* ſo, that Monſr. *De Nonville*'s ſending to diſown *Adario* in this Action, had no Effect upon them; their Breaſts admitted of no Thoughts but that of Revenge. It was not long before the *French* felt the bloody Effects of this cruel Paſſion, for 1200 Men of the *Five Nations* invaded the Iſland of *Montreal*, when

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

The Conſequence of theſe Expeditions were very diſmal to the *French*, for they were forced to burn their two Barks, which they had on *Cadarackui* Lake, and to abandon their Fort there; they deſigned to have blown up their Works, when they left that Place; and for that End left a lighted Match where the Powder lay, but were in ſuch a Fright, that they durſt not ſtay to ſee what Effect it had. They went down *Cadarackui* River in ſeven Birch Canoes; and for greater Security, travelled in the Night. One of the Canoes, with all the Men

Men in it, were loſt, by their Precipitation, as they paſſed one of the Falls in that River. The *Five Nations* hearing the *French* had deſerted *Cadarackui* Fort, fifty *Indians* went and took Poſſeſſion of it, who found the Match the *French* had left, which had gone out, and twenty-eight Barrels of Powder in the ſame Place, together with ſeveral other Stores.

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

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

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

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

Canada was now in a moſt miſerable Condition, for while the greateſt Number of their Men had been employed in the Expedition againſt the *Five Nations*, and in trading among the far Nations, and making new Diſcoveries and Settlements, Tillage and

and Husbandry had been neglected; and they lost several Thousands of their Inhabitants, by the continual Incursions of small Parties, so that none durst hazard themselves out of fortified Places; indeed, it is hard to conceive what Distress the *French* were then under, for though they were every where almost starving, they could not plant nor sow, or go from one Village to another for Relief, but with imminent Danger of having their Scalps carried away by the sculking *Indians*; at last the whole Country being laid waste, Famine began to rage, and was like to have put a miserable End to that Colony.

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

PART

PART II.

THE

PREFACE.

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

For this Purpoſe he thought it neceſſary to put a Stop to the Trade between New-York *and* Canada, *by which the* French *ſupplied themſelves with the moſt valuable and neceſſary Commodities for the* Indian *Market, and to ſet the Inhabitants of the Province*

on

on trading directly with the Indians. *Besides the Consideration of Profit and Gain, he considered what Influence this Trade had on the numerous Nations of* Indians *living on the vast Continent of* North America, *and who surround the* British *Colonies; of what Advantage it might be of, if they were influenced by the* English *in Case of a War with* France; *and how prejudicial on the other Hand, if they were directed by* French *Counsels.*

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

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

This

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

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

THE

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

PART II.

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

CHAP. I.

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

WE left the *Five Nations* triumphing over the *French* in *Canada*, and they almoſt reduced to Deſpair. The Revolution, which happened at this Time in *England*, ſeemed to be a favourable Conjunction for the *Five Nations*; the *Engliſh* Colonies, by the War at that Time declared againſt *France*, becoming Parties in their Quarrel: For one will be ready to think, that the

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

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

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

the

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

The Conſtitution of Government in the *Engliſh Plantations*, where the Governors have no Salary, but what they can attain with the Conſent of the Aſſemblies or Repreſentatives of the People, gave Occaſion to imprudent Governors to fall upon theſe Expedients, as they ſometimes call them, for getting of Money. And a prevailing Faction, knowing for what Purpoſe the Governments in *America* were chiefly deſired by the *Engliſh* Gentlemen, uſed this great Privilege to tempt a Governor to be at the Head of a Party, when he ought to have been the Head of the Government. Indeed *New-York* has had the Misfortune, too frequently, to be under ſuch as could not keep their Paſſion for Money ſecret, though none found it ſo profitable a Government, as they did who followed ſtrict-

ly the true Maxims of governing, without making Money the only Rule of their Actions.

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

The greateſt Number of the Inhabitants of the Province of *New-York* being *Dutch*, ſtill retained an Affection to their Mother Country, and by their Averſion to the *Engliſh* weakened the Adminiſtration. The common People of *Albany*, who are all *Dutch*, could not forbear giving the *Indians* ſome ill Impreſſions of the *Engliſh*; for the *Mohawks*, in one of their publick Speeches, expreſſed themſelves thus: "We hear a *Dutch Prince* reigns "now in *England*, why do you ſuffer the *Engliſh* "Soldiers to remain in the Fort? put all the *En*-"*gliſh* out of the Town. When the *Dutch* held "this Country long ago, we lay in their Houſes; "but the *Engliſh* have always made us lie without "Doors." It is true, that the Plantations were

firſt

firſt ſettled by the meaneſt People of every Nation, and ſuch as had the leaſt Senſe of any Honour. The *Dutch* firſt Settlers, many of them I may ſay, had none of the Virtues of their Countrymen, except their Induſtry in getting Money, and they ſacrificed every Thing, other People think honourable or moſt ſacred, to their Gain: But I do not think it proper to give particular Inſtances of this.

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

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

Canada was at this Time in a very diſtreſſed Condition, the Country and our Plantations burnt

and deſtroyed, their Trade intirely at a ſtand, great Numbers of their People ſlain, and the Remainder in danger of periſhing by Famine, as well as by the Sword of inveterate cruel Enemies. When ſuch Misfortunes happen to a Country, under any Adminiſtration, though in Truth the Conduct of Affairs be not to be blamed, it is often prudent to change the Miniſters; for the common People never fail to blame them, notwithſtanding their having acted with the greateſt Wiſdom, and therefore cannot ſo ſoon recover their Spirits, that are ſunk by Misfortunes, as by putting their Affairs into different Hands.

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

Veſſel. By this the old Gentleman increaſed the Opinion and Hopes the People entertained of him, that, without ſtaying to refreſh himſelf after a fatiguing Sea-Voyage, he would immediately undertake another, that required all the Vigour and Heat of Youth to withſtand the Inclemencies of the Climate and Seaſon, and the Difficulty of ſuch a Paſſage.

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

The Count *de Frontenac* brought back with him *Tawerahet*, a *Capiga Sachem*, one of the thirteen Priſoners that Mr. *de Nonville* took at *Cadarackui*, and ſent to *France*. He was in Hopes this *Indian* would be uſeful in procuring a Treaty of Peace with the *Five Nations*, for they had an extraordinary Opinion of *Tawerahet*; and the *French* had found, by ſad Experience, that they could not be

Gainers by continuing the War: For this Purpoſe the Count uſed *Tawerahet* with much Kindneſs, during his Voyage, and, after he arrived at *Quebeck*, lodged him in the Caſtle under his own Roof, and took ſuch Pains with this *Sachem*, that he forgot all the ill Uſage he had formerly received.

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

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

The Governor of *Canada*, as I ſaid, conceived that there was no Way ſo proper to keep up the Spirits of the People, who had got new Life by his Arrival, as by putting them upon Action; and indeed their preſent miſerable Condition made them forward enough, to undertake the moſt deſperate Enterprize, when the frequent Incurſions of the

Indians

Indians made it as dangerous to be at Home, as to attack the Enemy abroad.

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

The *Five Nations* followed Colonel *Dungan*'s Advice, in endeavouring to bring off the *Weſtern Indians* from the *French*, and had all the Succeſs that could be expected, before Mr. *de Frontenac* arrived.

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

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

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

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

CHAP. II.

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

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

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

The *Five Nations* anſwered by *Tahajadoris*, a *Mohawk Sachem*, on the twenty fourth of *September*. He made a long Oration, repeating all that the Agent from *New-England* had ſaid, the Day before, and deſired them to be attentive to the Anſwer now to be made to them. They commonly repeat over all that has been ſaid to them, before they return

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any Anſwer, and one may be ſurprized at the Exactneſs of theſe Repetitions. They take the following Method to aſſiſt their Memories: The *Sachem*, who preſides at theſe Conferences, has a Bundle of ſmall Sticks in his Hand; as ſoon as the Speaker has finiſhed any one Article of his Speech, this *Sachem* gives a Stick to another *Sachem*, who is particularly to remember that Article; and ſo when another Article is finiſhed, he gives a Stick to another to take Care of that other, and ſo on. In like Manner when the Speaker anſwers, each of theſe has the particular Care of the Anſwer reſolved on to each Article, and prompts the Orator, when his Memory fails him, in the Article committed to his Charge. *Tahajadoris* addreſſing himſelf to the Agents, ſaid:

" *Brethren*,

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

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

" The Covenant-chain between us is ancient (as
" you tell us) and of long ſtanding, and it has been

" kept inviolably by us. When you had Wars
" ſome time ago with the *Indians*, you deſired us
" to help you; we did it readily, and to the Pur-
" poſe; for we purſued them cloſely, by which we
" prevented the Effuſion of much of your Blood.
" This was a certain Sign that we loved truly and
" ſincerely, and from our Hearts. Gives a Belt.

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

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

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

" either

" either *French* or *Indians*, then we will kill and " deſtroy them. Gives a Bever."

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

Afterwards the Speaker continued his Speech, and ſaid: " We have ſpoke what we had to ſay of " the War, we now come to the Affairs of Peace: " We promiſe to preſerve the Chain inviolably, " and wiſh that the Sun may always ſhine in Peace " over all our Heads that are comprehended in this " Chain. We give two Belts, one for the Sun, " the other for its Beams.

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

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

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

The *Five Nations* anſwered:

" We cannot declare War againſt the *Eaſtern* " *Indians*, for they have done us no Harm: Never- " theleſs our Brethren of *New-England* may be aſ- " ſured, that we will live and die in Friendſhip with " them.

" them. When we took up the Axe againſt the " *French* and their Confederates, we did it to re- " venge the Injuries they had done us; we did not " make War with them at the Perſuaſions of our " Brethren here; for we did not ſo much as ac- " quaint them with our Intention, till fourteen Days " after our Army had begun their March."

After the Company had ſeparated, the *Sachems* ſent to the *New-England* Agents, deſiring to ſpeak with them in private; which being granted, the Speaker ſaid, we have ſomething to tell you, which was not proper to be ſpoken openly, for ſome of our People have an Affection to the *Owenagungas*; and we were afraid, that they would diſcover or hinder our Deſigns.

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

But it is to be obſerved, that they confirmed nothing relating to theſe *Indians*, by giving Belts.

It is probable, that the *Sachems* acted with ſome Art on this Occaſion, for they really had favourable Inclinations towards the *Owenagungas*; and they had Reaſon not to increaſe the Number of their Enemies, by making War on the *Eaſtern Indians*, who avoided

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

doing

doing them any Injury. The People of *Albany* likewiſe have always been averſe to engage our *Indians* in a War with the *Eaſtern Indians*, leſt it ſhould change the Seat of the War, and bring it to their own Doors.

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

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

CHAP.

CHAP III.

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

ON the 27th of *December* 1689, two *Indians* came to *Albany*, being ſent by the *Onondaga* and *Oneydo Sachems*, with ſeven Hands of Wampum from each Nation, to tell their Brethren in *New-York* and *New-England*, that three of their old Friends, who had been carried Priſoners to *France*, were come with Propoſals from *Canada*; that there was a Council of the *Sachems* appointed to meet at *Onondaga*, and that they therefore deſired the Mayor of *Albany*, *Peter Scheyler*, and ſome others of their Brethren, to come thither, to be preſent and to adviſe on an Affair of ſo great Conſequence; for they were reſolved to do nothing without the Knowledge and Conſent of all thoſe that were included in the Chain with them.

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

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

On the 4th of *January* one of the chief *Mohawk Sachems* came to *Albany*, to tell the Magiſtrates, that he was to go to *Onondaga*, and deſired the Brethren's Advice how to behave there; on which the Magiſtrates thought it neceſſary to ſend likewiſe the publick Interpreter, and another Perſon to aſſiſt at the general Meeting, with written Inſtructions; but

but no Perſon of Note, that had any Influence on the *Indians*, went.

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

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

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

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

The Governor of *Canada* notifies his Arrival to us, that he is the Count *de Frontenac*, who had been formerly Governor there; that he had brought back with him *Tawerahet* a *Cayuga Sachem*, and twelve Priſoners, that had been carried to *France*; then taking the Belt of *Wampum* in his Hand, and holding it by the Middle, he added, what I have ſaid relates only to one half of the Belt, the other half is to let us know, that he intends to kindle again his Fire at *Cadarackui* next Spring, and therefore invites

vites his Children, and *Dekanaſora* an *Onondaga Captain* in particular, to treat there with him about the old Chain. Then *Adarahta* the chief *Sachem* of the *praying Indians* ſtood up, and ſaid, with three Belts in his Hand, I adviſe you to meet the Governor of *Canada* as he deſires; agree to this, if you would live, and gives one Belt of *Wampum*.

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

This third Belt is from * *Thurenſera*, † *Ohgueſſe*, and ‡ *Ertel*, who ſay by it, to their Brethren: We have interceded for you with *Yonondio*, and therefore adviſe you to meet him at *Cadarackui* in the Spring, becauſe it will be for your Advantage.

When this *Sachem* had done ſpeaking, the *Mohawk* Meſſenger ſent from *Albany* delivered his Meſſage Word for Word, as he had received it, without omitting the leaſt Article. The Interpreter, while the *Indian* was ſpeaking, read over a Paper, on which the Meſſage was ſet down, leſt any Thing ſhould have been forgot.

After this *Cannehoot* a *Seneka Sachem* ſtood up, and gave the general Council a particular Account of a Treaty made laſt Summer, between the *Senekas* and the *Wagunha* Meſſengers, (one of the *Uta-*

* *Thurenſera* ſignifies the Dawning of the Day, and was the Name given by the *Indians* to the Jeſuit *Lamberville*, who had formerly reſided at *Onondaga*.

† Monſr. *le Morne*, the Word ſignifies a Partridge.

‡ *Erſel* ſignifies a Roſe, the Name of ſome other *French* Gentleman, for whom the *Indians* had an Eſteem.

wawa

wawa Nations) who had concluded a Peace for themſelves, and ſeven other Nations, to which the other four Nations were deſired to agree, and their Brethren of *New-York* to be included in it. He ſaid the Propoſals made in ſeveral Propoſitions were as follow.

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

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

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

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

5. Let the Sun, as long as he ſhall endure, always ſhine upon us in Friendſhip. Here he gave a red Marble Sun as large as a Plate.

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

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

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

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

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

10. We

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

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

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

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

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

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

After these Ceremonies were over, *Sadekanahtie*, an *Onondaga* Speaker, stood up, and said, Brethren, we must stick to our Brother *Quider*, and look on *Yonondio* as our Enemy, for he is a Cheat: By *Quider* they meant *Peter Schuyler* the Mayor of *Albany*, who had gained a considerable Esteem among them; as they have no Labeals in their Language, they pronounce *Peter* by the Sound *Quider*.

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

The

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

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

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

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

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

Corlear and *Kinſhon*, Courage! Courage! In the Spring to *Quebeck*, take that Place, and you'll have

your

your Feet on the Necks of the *French*, and all their Friends in *America*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

As

As ſoon as the Council broke up, their Reſolutions were made publick to all their People, by the *Sachems* of their ſeveral Nations.

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

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

The *Mohawk* Meſſengers, that had been ſent from *Albany*, had carried with them Goods to ſell at the general Council. This was taken Notice of at the general Council, and gave the *Indians* a mean Opinion of the People of *Albany*, and particularly of

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

Peter

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

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

CHAP. IV.

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

THE *Count De Frontenac* being deſirous, as before obſerved, to raiſe the drooping Spirits of the *French* in *Canada*, by keeping them in Action, and engaging the moſt daring of them, in Enterprizes that might give Courage to the reſt, had ſent out three Parties againſt the *Engliſh* Colonies, in Hopes thereby to leſſen the Confidence which the *Five Nations* had in the *Engliſh* Aſſiſtance, now that *England* had declared War againſt *France*. The Party ſent againſt *New-York* was commanded by *Monſr.*

Monſr. De Herville, and was ordered to attempt the ſurpriſing of *Schenectady*, the neareſt Village to the *Mohawks:* It conſiſted of 150 *French Buſh-lopers* or *Indian* Traders, and of as many *Indians*, the moſt of them *French* Converts from the *Mohawks*, commonly called the *Praying Indians*, ſettled at a Place near *Montreal*, called *Cahnuaga*. They were well acquainted with all that Part of the Country round *Schenectady*; and came in Sight of the Place the 8th of *February* 1689-90.

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

Tho' the People of *Schenectady* were informed in the Evening before the Place was ſurpriſed, that ſeveral ſculking *Indians* were ſeen near the Place, they concluded, that they could be only ſome of the neighbouring *Indians*; and as they had no Officer of any Eſteem among them, not a ſingle Man could be perſuaded to watch in ſuch ſevere Weather, tho', as the *French* owned afterwards, if they had found the leaſt Guard or Watch, they would not have attempted the Place, but have ſurrendered themſelves Priſoners; they were ſo exceedingly diſtreſſed with the Length of their March, and with Cold, and Hunger: But finding the Place in fatal Security, they marched into the Heart of the Village, without being diſcovered by any one Perſon; then they raiſed their War Shout, entered

the Houſes, murdered every Perſon they met, Men, Women and Children, naked and in cold Blood; and at the ſame Time ſet Fire to the Houſes. A very few eſcaped, by running out naked into the Woods in this terrible Weather: And ſeveral hid themſelves, till the firſt Fury of the Attack was over; but theſe were ſoon driven from their lurking Places by the Fire, and were all made Priſoners.

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

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

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

The *French* marched back, without reaping any viſible Advantage from this barbarous Enterprize, beſides the murdering ſixty-three innocent Perſons

in

in cold Blood, and carrying twenty-ſeven of them away Priſoners.

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

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

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

" Brethren, we lament the Death of ſo many " of our Brethren, whoſe Blood has been ſhed at " *Schenectady*. We don't think that what the " *French* have done can be called a Victory, it is " only a farther Proof of their cruel Deceit. The " Governor of *Canada* ſends to *Onondaga*, and talks " to us of Peace with our whole Houſe, but War " was in his Heart, as you now ſee by woful Ex- " perience. He did the ſame formerly at *Cada-* " *rackui*, and in the *Senekas* Country. This is

" the third Time he has acted ſo deceitfully. He " has broken open our Houſe at both Ends, for- " merly in the *Sanekas* Country, and now here. " We hope however to be revenged of them. " One Hundred of our braveſt young Men are in " Purſuit of them, they are briſk Fellows, and " they will follow the *French* to their Doors. We " will beſet them ſo cloſely, that not a Man in " *Canada* ſhall dare to ſtep out of Doors to cut a " Stick of Wood; But now *we gather up our* " *Dead to bury them*, by this ſecond Belt.

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

" Great and ſudden is the Miſchief, as if it had " fallen from Heaven upon us. Our Forefathers " taught us to go with all Speed to bemoan and " lament with our Brethren, when any Diſaſter or " Misfortunes happens to any in our Chain. Take " this Bill of Vigilance, that you may be more " watchful for the future. *We give our Brethren* " *Eye-Water* to make them ſharp-ſighted, giving " a fourth Belt.

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

" Bre-

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

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

" We will never deſiſt, ſo long as a Man of us " remains. Take Heart, do not pack up and go " away, * this will give Heart to a daſtardly " Enemy ; We are of the Race of the Bear, and a " Bear you know never yields, while one Drop " of Blood is left. *We muſt all be Bears* ; giving " a ſixth Belt.

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

(*To the* Engliſh.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Brethren, we are glad to find you are not diſcouraged. The beſt and wiſeſt Men ſometimes make Miſtakes. Let us now purſue the War vigorouſly. We have a hundred Men out, they are good Scouts. We expect to meet all the *Sachems* of

of the other Nations, as they come to condole with you. You need not fear our being ready, at the firſt Notice. Our Ax is always in our Hands, but take Care that you be timely ready. Your Ships, that muſt do the principal Work, are long a fitting out. We do not deſign to go out with a ſmall Company, or in ſculking Parties; but as ſoon as the Nations can meet, we ſhall be ready with our whole Force. If you would bring this War to a happy Iſſue, you muſt begin ſoon, before the *French* can recover the Loſſes they have received from us, and get new Vigour and Life, therefore ſend in all Haſte to *New-England*. Neither you nor we can continue long in the Condition we are now in, we muſt order Matters ſo, that the *French* be kept in continual Fear and Alarm at Home; for this is the only Way to be ſecure, and in Peace here.

The *Scahkok Indians*, in our Opinion, are well placed where they are (to the Northward of *Albany)*; they are a good Out-guard; they are our Children, and we ſhall take Care that they do their Duty: But you muſt take Care of the *Indians* below the Town, place them nearer the Town, ſo as they may *be of more Service to you*.

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

The *Engliſh* of *New-York* and the *French* of *Canada* were now entering into a War, in which the Part the *Five Nations* are to take is of the greateſt Conſequence to both; the very Being of the *French* Colony depended on it, as well as the Safety of the *Engliſh*. The *Indians* at this Time had the greateſt Averſion to the *French*, and they deſired nothing ſo much, as that the *Engliſh* might

join heartily in this War. We ſhall ſee by the Sequel how a publick Spirit, directed by wiſe Counſels, can overcome all Difficulties, while a ſelfiſh Spirit loſes all, even natural Advantages. In the preſent Caſe, the Turn Things took ſeems to have been entirely owing to one Thing. The *French* in making the Count *de Frontenac* Governor of *Canada*, choſe the Man every Way the beſt qualified for this Service: The *Engliſh* ſeemed to have little Regard to the Qualification of the Perſon they ſent, but to gratify a Relation or a Friend, by giving him an Opportunity to make a Fortune; and as he knew that he was recommended with this View, his Counſels were chiefly employed for this Purpoſe.

By this Means an *Engliſh Governor* generally wants the Eſteem of the People; while they think that a Governor has not the Good of the People in View, but his own, they on all Occaſions are jealous of him; ſo that even a good Governor, with more Difficulty, purſues generous Purpoſes and publick Benefits, becauſe the People ſuſpect them to be mere Pretences to cover a private Deſign. It is for this Reaſon, that any Man, oppoſing a Governor, is ſure to meet with the Favour of the People, almoſt in every Caſe. On the other Hand, the Opinion the *French* had of the Count *de Frontenac*'s publick Spirit, and of his Wiſdom and Diligence, made them enter into all his Meaſures without heſitating, and chearfully obey all his Commands.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

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

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

The *Five Nations* kept out at this Time ſmall Parties, that continually haraſſed the *French*. The Count *de Frontenac* ſent Captain *Louvigni* to *Miſſilimakinak*, to relieve the Gariſon, and he had Orders, by all Means, to prevent the Peace which the *Utawawas* and *Quatoghies* were upon the Point of concluding with the *Five Nations*. He carried with him one hundred forty three *French*, and ſix *Indians*, and was likewiſe accompanied with a Lieutenant and thirty Men, till he got one hundred twenty Miles from *Montreal*. They were met in *Cadarackui River*, at a Place called the *Cats*, by a Party of the *Five Nations*, who fell vigorouſly on their Canoes, killed ſeveral of the *French*, and made them give Way; but *Louvigni*, by putting his Men aſhore, at laſt got the better, after a ſmart Engagement, in which the *Indians* had ſeveral Men killed, and two Men, and as many Women, taken Priſoners. I am obliged to rely on the *French* Account of theſe Skirmiſhes; they do not men-

tion the Number of the *Indians* in this Recounter, but I ſuſpect them to have been much fewer than the *French*; for when the Enemy are equal in Number, or greater, they ſeldom forget to tell it. One of the *Indian* Priſoners was carried by them to *Miſſilimakinak*, to confirm this Victory, and was delivered to the *Utawawas*, who eat him. The Lieutenant carried the other back with him. He was given to *Therawaet*.

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

The *Five Nations* had conceived great Hopes from the Aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh*, as the Magiſtrates of *Albany* had promiſed the *Mohawks*, when they came to condole, after the ſurpriſing of *Schenectady*; but the *Engliſh* were ſo far from performing theſe Promiſes, that many of the Inhabitants retired from *Albany* to *New-York*; and they who had the Adminiſtration of Affairs, were ſo intent on their Party-Quarrels, that they intirely neglected the *Indian* Affairs. Indeed the People of *New-York*,

York have too often made large Promiſes, and have thereby put the *Indians* upon bold Enterprizes, when no Meaſures were concerted for ſupporting them. This made the *Indians* think, that the *Engliſh* were laviſh of *Indian* Lives, and too careful of their own. The *Mohawks*, who lived neareſt the *Engliſh*, were moſt ſenſible of theſe Things, and entertained Notions prejudicial to the Opinion they ought to have had of the *Engliſh* Prudence and Conduct; it is even probable, theſe *Indians* began to entertain a mean Opinion of both the *Engliſh* Courage and Integrity. It is not ſtrange then, that the *Mohawks* at laſt gave Ear to the aſſiduous Application of their Countrymen, the *praying Indians*, who, with *French* Arguments, perſuaded them to make Peace as ſoon as poſſible, without truſting longer to the *Engliſh*, who had ſo often diſappointed or deceived them.

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

Colonel *Slaughter*, who was then Governor of *New-York*, being informed that the *Five Nations* were like to make Peace with the *French*, by their having loſt much of their Confidence in the *Engliſh* Aſſiſtance, found it neceſſary to meet them, which he did in the End of *May* 1691. There were preſent at that Time ſix *Oneydo*, eleven *Onondaga*, four *Cayuga*, and ten *Seneka Sachems*. He renewed the Covenant with them, and gave them Preſents. The *Mohawks* having entered into a Treaty with the *French*, did not join with the other four Nations in their Anſwer.

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

They assured the Governor, that they were resolved to prosecute the War against the *French* as long as they lived, and that they would never speak of Peace, but with the common Consent. They abhor those that do otherwise, and desired that the Brethren might not keep a Correspondence with *Canada* by Letters. You need not (say they) press us to mind the War, we mind it above all Things; do you but your Parts, lay aside all other Thoughts but that of the War, for it is the only Thing we have at Heart. They gave Bevers at the End of every distinct Part of their Answer.

On the fourth the *Mohawks* spoke to the Governor, in Presence of the other four Nations: They confessed the Negotiations they had with the

praying

praying Indians, and with the Governor of *Canada*, and that they had received a Belt from him. Then they reſtored one of the Priſoners taken at *Schenectady*, as the Fruit of that Negotiation. They deſired the Governor's Advice, and the Advice of the whole Houſe, what Anſwer to return to the Governor of *Canada*; and laſtly, deſired the *Senekas* to releaſe the Priſoners they had taken from the *praying Indians*.

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

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

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

" *Mohawks*, our Brethren, in anſwer to your " Propoſals from the Governor of *Canada*, we muſt " put you in Mind of his Deceit and Treachery; " we need only give one recent Inſtance, how he " lately ſent to the *Senekas* to treat of Peace, and

" at

" at the ſame Time fell upon *Schenectady*, and cut " that Place off. We tell you, that the Belt ſent " by the *French* Governor is Poiſon; we ſpew it " out of our Mouths, we abſolutely reject it, and " are reſolved to proſecute the War as long as " we live." Then they left the Belt lying on the Ground.

CHAP. VI.

The Engliſh *attack* Montreal *by Land, in Conjunction with the* Indians, *and* Quebeck *by Sea.*

IT was now evident that the *Indians* could no longer be amuſed with Words, and that, unleſs the *Engliſh* entered ſoon upon Action, the *French* would carry their Deſign of making Peace with the *Five Nations*, and the *Engliſh* be left to carry on the War in *America* by themſelves. Certainly a more proper Opportunity of doing it with Succeſs could not be expected, than at preſent, while the *French* in *Canada* had neither recovered their Spirits, nor the Strength they had loſt, by the terrible Incurſions of the *Five Nations*. A joint Invaſion on *Canada* was concerted with *New-England*; they were to attack *Quebeck* by Sea, while *New-York* attacked *Montreal* by Land. The Governor therefore propoſed to the *Indians* to join with him in attacking *Canada*, for which Purpoſe he told them, that he deſigned to ſend a conſiderable Force this Summer. They deſired Time to conſult on it at their general Meeting, which was ſoon to be held at *Onondaga*, and to know what Number of Chriſtians he deſigned to ſend, that they might join a ſuitable Number of their Men. To this the Governor anſwered, that he muſt not communicate the Particulars of his Deſign to ſo many, becauſe they could not then be kept ſecret from the Enemy; as he found by the Diſcoveries

Discoveries that were last Year made to the *French* by that Means.

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

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

Ca-

Careſſes of the Count *de Frontenac*, made one of the Number. They encamped round the Fort, which ſtood on a ſteep riſing Ground between two Meadows.

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

In this Attack the *Mohawks* ſignalized themſelves, but the *Scahkook Indians* did not behave themſelves well. The *Mohawks*, upon no Occaſion, yielded an Inch of Ground, till the *Engliſh* firſt gave Way. The *French*, by their own Accounts, loſt, in the ſeveral Attacks made by *Schuyler*, two Captains, ſix Lieutenants, and five Enſigns, and, in all, three hundred Men, ſo that their Slain were in Number more than Major *Schuyler* had with him. The *Mohawks* ſuffered much, having ſeven-

teen

teen Men killed, and eleven wounded. They returned to *Albany* the eleventh of *Auguſt*.

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

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

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

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

The *French*, in their Account of this Action, ſay, that the Men, though they appeared to be as little diſciplined as Men could be, behaved with great Bravery, but that Sir *William*'s Conduct was ſuch, that, if he had been in Concert with them, he could

could not have done more to ruin the Enterprize; yet his Fidelity was never ſuſpected. In ſhort, this Deſcent was ſo ill managed, that the *Engliſh* got on Board again in the Night, with the Loſs of all the Cannon and Baggage which they had landed.

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

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

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

Notwithſtanding that the *French* preſerved their Country, theſe warlike Expeditions, and the Neceſſity they were under of being on their Guard, prevented their cultivating the Ground, or of reaping the Fruit of what they had ſowed or planted. This occaſioned a Famine in *Canada*, and, to increaſe the Miſery of the poor Inhabitants, they were forced to feed the Soldiers *gratis*, while their own Children wanted Bread.

In

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

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

CHAP. VII.

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

THE old *French* Governor kept up his Vigour and Spirits wonderfully, no Fatigue made him ever think of Reſt. He knew of what Uſe it would be to convince the *Five Nations*, that the joint Attack of the *Engliſh* and *Indians* had neither weakened him, nor frightened him from carrying on the War with as much Vigour as before. It was abſolutely neceſſary that the *Utawawas* and other *Weſtern Indians*, who came to *Montreal* to trade, ſhould return ſafe to their own Country, otherwiſe there would be an End to the *French* Trade with thoſe Nations, upon which the Being of *Canada* depends; for it is only by the *Fur-trade* with theſe Na-

Nations, that they make Returns to *Europe*; and if theſe Nations did not return in Time, all the *Weſtern Indians* would look on the *French* as loſt, and conſequently would make Peace with the *Five Nations*, and perhaps join in the Deſtruction of *Canada*.

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

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

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

The Count *de Frontenac* being informed, that a conſiderable Party of the *Five Nations* hunted Bever on the Neck of Land between *Cadarackui Lake* and *Lake Erie*, with great Security, reſolved to give them a better Opinion of the Strength and Courage of the *French*. For this Purpoſe he ſent three hundred and twelve Men to ſurpriſe them, under the Command of Mr. *Beaucour*, a young Gentleman. The *Praying Indians* of *Montreal* were of the Party. This Expedition being in the Winter, they

they were obliged to undergo cruel Fatigues, while they marched on the Snow with Snow Shoes, and carried all their Proviſion on their Backs. Several of the *French* had their Feet frozen, which obliged fifteen to return, with ſome old *Indians*, that could not bear the Fatigue; and it was with much Difficulty that *Beaucour* could perſuade the reſt to continue their March. After a March to a ſurprizing Diſtance, at that Seaſon of the Year, they ſurpriſed eighty of the *Five Nations*, who notwithſtanding made a brave Defence, and did not run before they left moſt of their Men dead on the Spot. Three Women were made Priſoners, with whom the *French* immediately turned back to *Montreal*. Some ſtragling Parties went towards *Albany*, but did no more Miſchief than killing two or three ſtragling Perſons, and alarming the Country.

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

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

The *Quatoghies* and the *Bullheads* * having informed the *French* of another ſmaller River, which falls into *Cadarackui River*, and runs to the Northward of it, by which a Paſſage might be made to

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

the

the Lakes, it was reſolved to attempt this Paſſage, though it were much farther round, and more dangerous, there being many more rapid Falls in that River. Three Officers, with thirty Soldiers, were ſent with the Traders for this Purpoſe, but a Party of the *Five Nations* meeting with them in the long Fall, before they reached this River, they were all killed or taken, except four that eſcaped back to *Montreal*.

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

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

The

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

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

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

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

tions from approaching the Plantations, ſince the Indulgence, that had hitherto been ſhewn, had incouraged them to advance with the greateſt Boldneſs to the very Gates of their Towns; while they thought they run no other Riſque, but of being made Priſoners, where they live better than at Home. He added, that the *Five Nations* having burnt ſo many *French*, juſtified this Method of making Repriſals. But with Submiſſion to the Politeneſs of the *French* Nation, may I not aſk, whether every (or any) horrid Action of a barbarous Enemy, can juſtify a civilized Nation in doing the like?

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

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

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

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

CHAP. VIII.

The Five Nations *treat with Captain* Ingoldſby.

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

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

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

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

" *Brother*

" *Brother* Corlear,

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

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

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

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

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

to deſtroy the Enemy; but how ſtrange does it ſeem to us! How unaccountable! that while our great King is ſo inveterate againſt the *French*, and you are ſo earneſt with us to carry on the War, that Powder is now ſold dearer to us than ever? We are poor, and not able to buy while we neglect hunting; and we cannot hunt and carry on the War at the ſame Time: We expect, that this Evil we ſo juſtly complain of be immediately remedied. Giving nine Bevers.

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

We the *Five Nations*, *Mohawks*, *Oneydoes*, *Onondagas*, *Cayugas*, and *Senekas*, renew the Silver Chain whereby we are linked faſt with our Brethren of *Aſſarigoa* (*Virginia*) and we promiſe to preſerve it as long as the Sun ſhall ſhine in the Heavens. Giving ten Bevers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

his *Indians* with Guns as well as with Powder; he ſupplies them plentifully with every Thing that can hurt us. Giving five Otters.

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

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

CHAP. IX.

The French *ſurpriſe and take three* Mohawk *Caſtles.*

THE *Praying Indians* promiſed their Endeavours to reconcile their Brethren the *Mohawks* to the *French*, on whom the *French* expected they would have much Influence; but their Endeavours proving ineffectual, their Correſpondence began to be ſuſpected. The *French* thought they did more Hurt than Good, by the Intelligence the Enemy by their Means received. The *French* in *Canada* began to loſe their Spirits, by being obliged to remain ſo long upon the Defenſive, as the *Five Nations* gained more Courage by it. The Count *de Frontenac* thought it therefore abſolutely neceſſary to undertake ſome bold Enterprize, to ſhew the *Five Nations*, that they had to do with an Enemy ſtill able to act offenſively: An Attack on the *Mohawks* he thought would be moſt effectual for this Purpoſe, becauſe it would ſhew, at the ſame Time, that the *Engliſh* would not protect their

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

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

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

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

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

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

When

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

them he did not go on ſtreight towards them, for Fear of Ambuſcades, but marched round. As ſoon as he came in Sight, he was ſaluted with three loud Shouts, which were anſwered with as much Noiſe. The *Indians* began in their Manner to ſecure themſelves, by felling the Trees between them, and the Enemy ſallied out to prevent them, but were ſoon beat back. The *Indians* fell to Work again, and deſired the Chriſtians to aſſiſt them, which was done, but in ſuch Confuſion, that they themſelves were in Danger from the falling Trees. The *French* ſallied a ſecond Time with all their Force, crying out, *They run, we'll cut them off, and get their Proviſions*; but they were warmly received, and beat back into their Fort. They ſallied a third Time, and were beat back with conſiderable Loſs, the *Indians* bringing in ſeveral Heads and Scalps. As ſoon as the Skirmiſhes was over, the Major ſent back an Expreſs, to haſten the Men that were to reinforce him, and were to bring Proviſion, ſome of the Men having had no Proviſion for two Days. The *Major* then ſecured himſelf, under the Cover of the fallen Trees, and kept out Watches to obſerve the *French*.

The 18th proving a cold ſtormy Day, with Snow, he was informed, by a Deſerter, that the *French* were upon their March, it not being eaſy to follow their Tracks, or to diſcover them in ſuch Weather. The Officers were commanded to purſue and retard their March, till the Reinforcement ſhould come up, but the Men refuſed to march without Proviſion. The Officers, with about 60 Men, and a Body of *Indians*, followed the Enemy till Night, when they began to ſecure themſelves, by fortifying their Camp. The Officers wanting a ſufficient Number to ſecure themſelves in like Manner, or to fight the Enemy, returned, leaving about

about forty Chriſtians, and one hundred *Indians*, to obſerve them. On the 19th the Proviſions, with about 80 Men, arrived, under the Command of Captain *Sims* of the regular Troops. Every Man, as he was ſerved with Proviſion, marched towards the Enemy. The Van was commanded by Captain *Peter Matthews* of the regular Troops, who coming up with the Enemy's Rear, would have attacked them, to retard their March, but the *Mohawks* were averſe to fighting. The *French* dropt on purpoſe ſeveral of their Priſoners, who told the *Mohawks*, that the *French* were reſolved to put all the Priſoners to the Sword, if they ſhould be attacked. The Enemy paſſed the North Branch of *Hudſon*'s River upon a Cake of Ice, which very opportunely for them, ſtuck there in one Place, while it was open by a late Thaw, both above and below. The Weather continuing very cold, and the *Indians* averſe to fighting, Major *Schuyler* gave over the Purſuit on the 20th, having loſt only four private Men, and as many *Indians*, two Officers and twelve Men Chriſtians and *Indians* were wounded. The *French* loſt thirty-three Men (the Bodies of twenty-ſeven were found) of whom four were Officers, and twenty-ſix wounded, as the Deſerters told him. Between forty and fifty Priſoners were recovered. I have been told, that Captain *Matthews* deſired Coll. *Schuyler*, when he came firſt up with the *French*, to ſummon them to ſurrender; he ſaid, the *French* are in great Diſtreſs, and this will give them an Opinion of our Strength; but Coll. *Schuyler* refuſed, tho' he was brave, he was no Soldier; and it is very probable, that the *French* obſerving the Want of Conduct and Diſcipline, were encouraged. It is true, the *Engliſh* were in great Want of Proviſions at that Time. The *Indians* eat the Bodies of the *French* that they found. Coll. *Schuyler* (as he told me

himself) going among the *Indians* at that Time, was invited to eat Broth with them, which some of them had ready boiled, which he did, till they, putting the Ladle into the Kettle to take out more, brought out a *French* Man's Hand, which put an End to his Appetite.

The *French* went home as fast as they could carry their wounded Men with them: but coming to a Place, where they had hid Provisions for their Supply in their Return, they found it all spoiled. This put them in great Distress, so that they were forced to eat their Shoes; they sent some of the nimblest Men forward to *Montreal*, that Provision might meet them. As soon as they came near the Settlements they dispersed, every Man running Home to eat, so that they returned to *Canada* like an Army routed. The *French* own they lost eighty Men, and had thirty-three wounded in this Expedition.

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

When the Information of the *French* came to *Schenectady*, an Express was sent to *New-York* to Coll. *Fletcher* then Governor there; the Express reached *New-York*, an hundred and fifty Miles from

from *Albany*, the 12th at ten in the Night. The Governor got the City Regiment under Arms by eight the next Morning.

He called out to know who were willing to go with him to the Frontiers, they all immediately threw up their Hats, and anſwered one and all. Indeed the People of this Province have, upon all Occaſions, ſhewn their Courage and Reſolution in Defence of their Country; but the Misfortune is, they are under no Diſcipline, and have been ſeldom led by Men that knew their Duty. The Governor order an hundred and fifty Voluntiers for this Service, and as many more from *Long-Iſland*. The River then happened to be open by a ſudden Thaw, which does not, at that Time of the Year, happen once in twenty Years. He embarked three hundred Men in five Sloops, by four in the Afternoon of the 14th, and arrived at *Albany* the 17th at nine in the Morning. The ſame Day the Governor went to *Schenectady*, and ordered the Men to follow, but before they could get every Thing ready for their March into the Woods, they had an Account, that Major *Schuyler* was upon his Return. Several Gentlemen of *Albany*, particularly Mr. *Lanſſear*, a Gentleman of the beſt Eſtate there, went out Voluntiers under Major *Schuyler*, which I ought not to have forgot.

Coll. *Fletcher* made a Speech to the *Mohawks* at *Albany*, be blamed their ſupine Negligence, in ſuffering themſelves to be ſurpriſed in the Manner they were in Time of War. He told them that they had Reaſon to be convinced, that the *Engliſh* were their Friends heartily, by the Number of Men he had marched to their Aſſiſtance in a very little Time, upon the firſt Notice. He promiſed to wipe away their Tears in the Spring, by conſiderable Preſents; and that he would, in the mean while, take Care of their Subſiſtence, by providing

Houſes

Houſes and Victuals for them. He told them, he doubted they had ſome falſe Brethren among them, that gave the *French* Information, and favoured their Deſigns; and in the laſt Place, adviſed them to convince the *French*, that they had not loſt their Courage with this Misfortune.

The *Mohawks*, in their Anſwer, called Coll. *Fletcher* by the Name of *Cayenguirago*; and he was called ſo by the *Indians* always after this. It ſignifies *a great ſwift Arrow*, as an Acknowledgement of the Speed he made to their Aſſiſtance. But they appeared in their Anſwer, to be quite diſheartned; they had not, in the Memory of any Man, received ſuch a Blow. They ſaid their Strength was quite broke, by the Continuance of the War; but they added, if all the *Engliſh* Colonies would join, they could ſtill eaſily take *Canada*: Their being ſo ill armed, was the Reaſon (they ſaid) that the *French* had now eſcaped.

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

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

from *Miſſilimakinak*, arrived at *Montreal*, which gave as univerſal a Joy to *Canada*, as the Arrival of the *Galleons* give in *Spain*.

CHAP. X.

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

AS by this Time the Reader may be tired with the horrid Scenes of a barbarous War, it may be ſome Relief to obſerve the *Indian* Genius in the Arts of negotiating; and ſee how a barbarous People, without any of the Arts and Sciences in which we value ourſelves, manage their Intereſt with the moſt learned, and moſt polite, and artificial Nation in *Europe*. The *Five Nations* were informed, that the Governor of *Canada* had received from *Europe* a very conſiderable Recruit of Soldiers, and of all Sorts of Ammunition. This, with the great Loſs the *Mohawks* had lately ſuffered, while they had been amuſed by the *Engliſh* with great Hopes, and very little real Aſſiſtance, made the *Oneydoes* at laſt yield to the Solicitations of the Jeſuit *Milet*, to ſend a Meſſage to the *French* for Peace. It is probable he had the Art to influence the People at *Albany* to favour his Deſigns, by giving them Hopes of being included in the Peace, as may be conjectured, from what will appear in the Sequel.

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

He firſt excuſed his not meeting them as he had promiſed, at the Time the Sap begins to run in the Trees, by Reaſon of his having received a Commiſ-

ſion

ſion to be Governor of *Penſilvania*, to which Place he was obliged at that Time to go. He put them in Mind with what Speed he came to their Aſſiſtance laſt Winter, and how effectual, in all Probability, it would have been, had they only retarded the Enemy's March till he could have reached them: He adviſed them to guard againſt being drunk, and ſhewed them the ill Conſequences of it in Time of War.

Then he ſaid, " I have received Information, " that ſome of the Brethren are wavering, and " inclined to Peace with the Enemy; and am aſ- " ſured, that ſuch Thoughts muſt ariſe from the " Inſtigation of the Jeſuit *Milet*, whom ſome of " the Brethren have ſuffered to live ſo long among " them, and whoſe only Practice is to delude and " betray them. Let me therefore adviſe you to " remove that ill Perſon from among you."

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

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

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

Brother *Cayenguirago*,

" We are involved in a bloody War, which " makes us ſit in Sorrow and Grief; and being

" about

" about to ſpeak of Matters of Importance, we " in the firſt Place, clear the Mouth and Throat " of our Interpreteſs, by giving her theſe three " Bever Skins.

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

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

" We are glad that our Brother *Cayenguirago* " renews the Chain, not only between us and this " Government, but likewiſe with *New-England*, " *Virginia*, *Maryland* and *Penſilvania*; it ſhall be " kept inviolable by us the *Five Nations*, as long " as the Sun ſhines. We pray our Brother *Cayen-* " *guirago* to have a watchful Eye, that none " of the other Colonies keep any Correſpondence " with the Enemy, but uſe their Endeavours to de- " ſtroy them. We heard nothing of what you " told us of the Prieſt *Milet*, who lives at *Oneydo*, " till we came to this Town. We have enquired " the Truth of our Brethren the *Oneydoes*, who con- " feſs, that the Prieſt ſent an *Indian* to *Canada* with " Letters, which has ſurpriſed us very much.

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

Brother

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

" Brother *Caenguirago*, we were told in our own " Country, not only that the King had made you " Governor of *Penſilvania*, but likewiſe that you " were preparing a Fleet to take *Canada*. O! what " joyful News this was to our young Men. *Sadaga-* " *rus*, the great *Seneka* Captain, was to command " them. Now they ſaid, we need only make one " hearty Puſh while the Fleet is before *Quebeck*. " Now there will be an End to this bloody War, " and all our Troubles; But alas, now we are come " here, we hear not one Word of this Deſign.

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

" Brother *Cayenguirago*, we are very glad to " hear that *Penſilvania* is come under your Go- " vernment, bring their young Men here, with " their Bows and Arrows and Hatchets in their " Hands, for this is the Place of Action. We are " pleaſed that the *Showonons* or *Satanas*, who are " our Enemies, have applied to you for Protection; " and that you ſent them to us to endeavour a Peace,

" Peace, and that you ſent Chriſtians with them, " to conduct them back again. We wiſh they " were come to aſſiſt us againſt the common E- " nemy.

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

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

Coll. *Fletcher* not being ſatisfied with their Anſwer, concerning the Jeſuit *Milet*, made this further Propoſal to them. " As to *Milet* the Prieſt, " whom the Brethren of *Oneydo* ſtill harbour among " them, I muſt tell you again, that he betrays you, " and all your Councils; and that you may ſee I " deſire not to diminiſh your Number, I am wil- " ling to give you a pretty *Indian* Boy, in Lieu of " the old Prieſt; and accordingly the Boy was " brought and delivered to them.

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

Brother

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

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

Notwithſtanding what the Speaker of the *Five Nations* had promiſed to the Governor, to bring all the Papers the *Oneydo* Meſſenger ſhould bring from *Canada*, before the Jeſuit *Milet* ſhould have Liberty to ſee them, it could not be difficult for the Jeſuit, to perſuade them to keep the Power of making Peace in their own Hands, and for that Purpoſe, to call a Meeting of the *Sachems* of *Onondago*, where all ſuch Matters had been formerly tranſacted among themſelves, and there to determine independently, rather than to ſubmit themſelves to another Nation at *Albany*. They only invited the *Engliſh* to aſſiſt at the general Council. The *Engliſh* uſed what Arguments they could to diſſuade this Meeting, but rather to obſerve the Promiſe made to the Governor, and it ſeems uſed ſome Threatning. The *Mohawks* had ſo much Regard to the *Engliſh*, that they refuſed to aſſiſt at the Council. The other four, notwithſtanding this, met, and reſolved on an Anſwer to be ſent to the Governor of *Canada*; but at the ſame Time, to ſhew their Regard to the *Mohawks* and *Engliſh*, theſe Reſolutions were not to be final, till they ſhould firſt be communicated to the *Engliſh* and *Mohawks*, and their Advice received thereon; for which

which Purpoſe, ſeveral *Sachems* were ſent to *Albany*, of whom *Decaneſora* was the Principal and the Speaker.

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

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

" Brother *Cayenguirago* *, we are come to ac-
" quaint you, that our Children the *Oneydoes* hav-
" ing of themſelves ſent a Meſſenger to *Canada*,
" he has brought back with him a Belt of Peace
" from the Governor of *Canada*.

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

As

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

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

" Children of the *Five Nations*, I have Com- " paſſion for your little Children, therefore come " ſpeedily and ſpeak of Peace to me, otherwiſe " I'll ſtop my Ears for the future: By all Means " let *Decaneſora* come; for if the *Mohawks* come " alone, I will not hear them, ſome of all the " *Five Nations* muſt come. Now *Tariha* return

" home, and tell the *Five Nations*, that I will " wait for their coming till the Trees bud, and the " Bark can be parted from the Trees. I design " for *France* in the Spring, and I leave a Gentle- " man to command here, to whom I have given " Orders to raise Soldiers, if you do not come in " that Time, and then what will become of you ? " I am truly grieved to see the *Five Nations* so de- " bauched and deceived by *Cayenguirago*, who is " lately come to *New-York*, and by *Quider*. For- " merly the chief Men of the *Five Nations* used to " converse with me ; but this Governor of *New-* " *York* has so deluded you, that you hearken to " none but him ; but take Care of what will fol- " low, if you hearken to none but him."

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

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

" The four Nations that met there resolved to " send Deputies to *Canada*, and that I *Decanesora* " was to be one of them ; but at the same Time " ordered me, with some others, to communicate

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

" the

" the Reſolutions of the General Council to our " Brethren at *Albany*, and to the *Mohawks*, to be " farther adviſed by them.

" The Reſolutions are, to ſend three Belts to " the Governor of *Canada*, with the following " Propoſitions.

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

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

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

" When this was concluded the Jeſuit *Milet*, " and another *French* Gentleman (who had been " taken Priſoner, and was taken into the Place of " the chief *Sachem of Onondaga*, formerly loſt in " the War, and thereby became a *Sachem)* de- " ſired Leave to add two Belts to the other three. " By their being *Sachems* they had a Vote in the " General Council, and a Right to propoſe any " Thing. They wrote and read to us the Pur-

" ports

" ports of their Belts, and we have brought their " Papers with us, to ſhew to our Brethren."

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

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

The Jeſuits Papers being read to them, ſeveral Things were found in them which he had not read to the General Council. To this *Decaneſora* anſwered; " We know that the Prieſt favours his " own Nation, and deceives us in many Things; " but it is not in his Power to alter our Affection " to our Brethren, we wiſh you would bury all " Miſunderſtandings that you have conceived on " his Account; and we likewiſe wiſh you gave " leſs Credit to the Rum-Carriers than you do." Here we ſee, by this Appellation, what a con-

temptible Character the Traders have among the *Indians*, and yet the Government of *New-York* has almoſt perpetually truſted the Management of the *Indian* Affairs to theſe Traders.

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

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

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

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

Decaneſora anſwered to this, " I have no Au- " thority to anſwer this Queſtion. I ſhall lay the- " Belt

" down in every one of the Caſtles, and tell, that " by it all Correſpondence is deſired to ſtop with " the *French*; but I cannot promiſe that this will " be complied with."

Major *Schuyler* on the 6th called the *Indians* again together: He adviſed them not to ſubmit to, nor truſt ſuch a perfidious Nation as the *French* are, who have upon all Occaſions proved themſelves ſuch. Be not diſcouraged, (ſays he, giving a Belt) Heaven begins again to favour us. This Day the Forerunners of the *Shawonons* are come to Town, ſeven Nations are on their March following them, one Thouſand in Number, including Men, Women and Children, as you may learn from their own Mouths. Take Courage, and be not afraid, giving five Fathom of Wampum. This ſeemed a lucky Incident, and accordingly it had more Influence than all other Arguments together.

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

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

Firſt Belt.

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

Second Belt.

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

Third Belt.

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

Theſe Belts were accordingly preſented to the *Praying Indians* of *Cahnuaga*, who refuſed to receive them but in the Preſence of Mr. *de Callieres*, Governor of *Montreal*. Mr. *de Callieres* acquainted the Count *de Frontenac* with the Contents. After which the *Praying Indians*, in Preſence of Mr. *de Callieres*, gave the following Anſwer.

" We

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

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

" *Brother* Cayenguirago,

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

" When a Meſſenger came laſt Year from *Ca-* " *nada* to *Onondaga*, our Brother *Cayenguirago* diſ- " charged our Meeting in General Council at

" *Onondaga*, to conſult on that Meſſage, and or-
" dered us to hold our General Council here at
" *Albany* on that Affair. The Privilege of meet-
" ing in General Council, when we pleaſe, is a
" Privilege we always enjoyed; no former Go-
" vernor, of the Name of *Corlear*, ever obſtructed
" this Privilege. We planted a Tree of Peace in
" this Place with them, its Roots and Branches
" extend as far as *Virginia* and *New-England*, and
" we have repoſed with Pleaſure under its Shade.
" Brother, let us keep to that firſt Tree, and let
" us be united and unanimous; and ſuch Prohi-
" bition of our Aſſemblies will be of ill Conſe-
" quence, and occaſion Differences between us.

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

" We, *Onondagas*, acknowledge ourſelves to
" have been the chief Promoters of this Meſſage,
" we have ſent in all nine *Sachems* with nine Belts.
" It is true we are now under much Uneaſineſs in
" having truſted ſo many *Sachems* in the *French*
" Hands, being almoſt half the Number we have
" in our Nation; but we were in haſte to prevent
" the Deſigns the *French* had againſt our Coun-
" tries and yours, by the great warlike Prepara-
" tions they were making in *Canada*."

Then

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

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

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

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

" Brother *Cayenguirago*, when the Chriſtians firſt " arrived in this Country, we received them kind-

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

" The only Reaſon, to be plain with you, con-
" tinued he, of our ſending to make Peace with
" the *French*, is the low Condition to which we
" are reduced, while none of our Neighbours ſend
" us the leaſt Aſſiſtance, ſo that the whole Bur-
" then of the War lies on us alone. Our Bre-
" thren of *New-England*, *Connecticut*, *Penſilva-*
" *nia*, *Maryland* and *Virginia*, of their own ac-
" cord thruſt their Arms into our Chain; but
" ſince the War began we have received no Aſ-
" ſiſtance from them. We alone cannot continue
" the War againſt the *French*, by Reaſon of the
" Recruits they daily receive from the other Side
" the great Lake.

Brother

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

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

While the *Sachems* were at *Albany*, *Decaneſora* and the other Ambaſſadors arrived at the Caſtle of the *Praying Indians*, near the Falls above *Montreal*.

They were conducted from thence, by the Superior of the Jesuits, to *Quebeck*. They had their Audience of the Governor of *Canada* with great Solemnity, in the Presence of all the Ecclesiasticks and Officers of Distinction, and of the most considerable *Indians* then in the Place. They were every Day, while they staid in the Place, entertained at the Governor's Table, or at the Tables of the most considerable Officers. *Decanesora* on his Side made a good Appearance, being cloathed in Scarlet trim'd with Gold, and with a laced Bever Hat on his Head, which had been given him by Colonel *Fletcher* before he went.

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

Colonel *Fletcher* being sensible of what Consequence this Treaty between the *French* and *Five Nations* might be of to all the *English* Colonies, gave them Notice of it, and informed them of the Reasons which had induced the *Indians* to enter into it. He told them, there was no Possibility of preventing it, but by the *Indians* being assured of more effectual Assistance, than they had hitherto received, and advised them to send Commissioners

for

for that Purpoſe to *Albany* in *Auguſt*, at which Time he intended to meet the *Five Nations* there, after the Return of their Meſſengers from *Canada*. Accordingly, *Andrew Hamilton*, Eſq; Governor of *New-Jerſey*, Colonel *John Pinchon*, *Samuel Sands*, Eſq; and Major *Pen Townſend*, Commiſſioners from *Maſſachuſet's Bay*, and Colonel *John Hauley* and Captain *Stanley*, Commiſſioners from *Connecticut*, waited on Colonel *Fletcher* at *Albany*, who carried with him likewiſe a Part of the Council of *New-York*.

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

Sadakanahtie being choſen Speaker for that Day, roſe up, ſpoke much to the ſame Purpoſe as he had done to Colonel *Fletcher* in *May* laſt; giving a metaphorical Account of their League with the *Engliſh*, how it began, and by what Steps it had been inlarged and ſtrengthened; how the other Colonies had thruſt their Arms into this Chain, but had given little or no Aſſiſtance againſt the common Enemy. " Our Brother *Cayenguirago*'s Arms (ſays he) " and ours are ſtiff, and tired with holding faſt the " Chain, whilſt our Neighbours ſit ſtill and ſmoak " at their Eaſe. The Fat is melted from our Fleſh, " and fallen on our Neighbours, who grow fat " while we grow lean: They flouriſh while we " decay.

" This Chain made us the Envy of the *French*, " and if all had held it as faſt as *Cayenguirage*, it

" would have been a Terror alſo. If we would " all heartily join and take the Hatchet in our " Hand, our common Enemy would ſoon be de- " ſtroyed, and we ſhould for ever after live in " Peace and Eaſe. Do you but your Parts, and " Thunder itſelf cannot break our Chain."

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

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

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

" Father, if we do not conclude a Peace now, " it will be your Fault; for we have already " taken the Hatchet out of the Hands of the *Ri-* " *ver-Indians* (*Hudſon*'s River) whom we incited " to the War. But we muſt tell you, that you " are an ill Man, you are inconſtant and not to " be truſted; we have had War together a long " Time, and though you occaſioned the War, we

" never

" never hated the Houſe of *Oghejſa*, (a Gentle-
" man living at *Montreal)* let him undertake the
" toilſome Journey to *Onondoga*; for if he will
" he ſhall be welcome.

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

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

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

" *Onondio*, we have been at War a long Time,
" we now give you a Medicine to drive away all ill

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

Thoughts

" Thoughts from your Heart, to purge it and make
" it clean, and reſtore it to its former State.

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

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

" After I had finiſhed what I had to ſay, conti-
" tinued he, the Governor of *Canada* told me,
" that he would not make Peace with *Cayengui-*
" *rago*. To this I anſwered, theſe Words diſ-
" pleaſe me much, you ſhall keep Peace with
" him. *Onondio* ſaid again, I muſt fight with *Cay-*
" *enguirago*, it is not in my Power to make Peace;
" this can only be done by my Maſter, who
" lives over the great Water. To this I replied,
" I cannot bear this Diſcourſe; if you ſhould
" fight him now, and not ſtay till I get Home,
" all the Country will look on me as a Traitor;
" I can treat with you no longer. The Argu-
" ment on this Subject laſted three Days, at laſt
" the Governor of *Canada* aſſured me, that he
" would not undertake any Enterprize againſt *Cay-*
" *enguirago* this Summer, but would wait to hear
" what he would ſay.

" The Governor of *Canada* inſiſted three Days
" to have Hoſtages left, which I refuſed; but two

" agreeing

" agreeing of their own accord to ſtay, they were " left, *viz.* one an *Onondago*, another a *Seneka*.

" Then the Governor of *Canada* made the fol- " lowing publick Anſwer:

" I. I accept of Peace as you offer.

" II. Son, bring all the Priſoners back that you " have taken from me, and yours ſhall have Li- " berty to return Home, if they pleaſe.

" III. Children erect my Fire again at *Cada- " rackui*, and plant there the Tree of Peace.

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

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

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

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

" Brother *Cayenguirago*, you will find what I " have now ſaid confirmed by this Paper, which " the Governor of *Canada* gave me. I brought " Letters likewiſe for the Jeſuit *Milet*, who was

" to

" to read the Paper to us." The Paper contained the Articles in *French*, in which the Governor of *Canada* was willing to make Peace.

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

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

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

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

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

" We are glad of this Opportunity to tell you, " that we have been both drunk in making War on " one another; we now give you a Cordial to eaſe " your Hearts, that there be no longer War be- " tween us, by this Belt.

" We

" We are glad that you have ſet the Doors open " as far as *Cayenguirago*'s Houſe, that we may " freely go thither. Carry him this ſecond Belt.

" Brethren, we thank you for having prepared a " Place for us at your General Council of *Onon-* " *daga*. Our Country is every where free to you " to treat with us, by this third Belt.

" Brethren, our whole Country rejoiced when " you invited us into your Country, and from " thence to go where *Cayenguirago* dwells; be not " afraid to come to our Country, you ſhall meet " with no Moleſtation.

" Brethren, we thank you for putting us in " Mind of what was formerly agreed to, *viz.* that " when any ill Accident happens, we were to " meet together to compoſe Matters, and not to " revenge it with War. We are now together to " put an End to all Miſunderſtanding, by this " fourth Belt.

" Brethren, (we include all the Nations from " the *Senekas* Country to *New-York* in this Name) " hearken to us. We rend the Clouds aſunder, " and drive away all Darkneſs from the Heavens, " that the Sun of Peace may ſhine with Bright- " neſs over us all; giving a Sun of a round red " poliſhed Stone.

" Brethren, we put the Hatchet into the Hands " of the *Chightaghies*, *Twihtwies*, and *Odſira-* " *chies*, to war againſt you; but we ſhall in three " Days go to theſe Nations and take the Hatchet " out of their Hands; giving half a Stone Pipe.

" You *Senekas* are ſtupid Creatures, we muſt " therefore warn you not to hunt ſo far from your " Caſtles, leſt you be hurt by any of theſe three " Nations, and then blame us. They then gave " the other half of the Pipe.

" But Brother *Cayenguirago*, ſays *Sadakahnitie*, " do not ſuffer theſe Nations to come nearer than

" the

" the *Senekas* Country, leſt they diſcover our Weak-
" neſs, and to what a low Condition the War has
" reduced us. Theſe Nations have been ſo long
" in Friendſhip with the *French*, and are ſo much
" under their Influence, that we cannot truſt them
" yet, or be too much upon our Guard againſt
" them."

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

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

The Governor next aſked them, whether they would permit the *French* to build again at *Cadarackui*; they anſwered, they would never permit it, and were reſolved to inſiſt on it, in all the enſuing Treaties, that he never ſhall. Then the Governor added, if you permit the *French* to build any where on that Lake, there will be an End to your Liberty, your Poſterity will become Slaves to the *French*. If ever you ſhould permit them, I will look

look on it as an abſolute Breach of the Chain with us: If the *French* attempt it give me Notice, and I will march the whole Force of my Government to your Aſſiſtance. We ſhall find afterwards, however, that the Government of *New-York* was far from making good this Promiſe.

The Governor told them, that they had loſt much of their Honour in creeping to the *French* in ſuch an abject Manner; for, ſays he, the Governor of *Canada*'s Paper, which you brought with you, ſays, that you came in the moſt humble and penitent Manner, and begged Peace. To which they anſwered, the Governor of *Canada* has no Reaſon to make ſuch Reflexions, we have many of his Belts to ſhew, by which he again and again ſued to us for Peace, before we would hearken to him. But, replies the Governor, how came you to call him Father? For no other Reaſon, they replied, but becauſe he calls us Children. Theſe Names ſignify nothing.

They deſired the Governor not to ſay any Thing particularly of *Cadarackui*, in his publick Speech that he was to make next Day, for they had, they ſaid, ſome among them that would tell all to the Governor of *Canada*; and concluded, with wiſhing that they had ſome one, who could write and read all that the Governor had ſaid to them, that they might not forget any Part of it, when they come to conſult and reſolve on this weighty Affair, at their General Council at *Onondaga*.

Here we ſee theſe Barbarians, theſe Savages, as we call them, acting with the greateſt Regard to the Treaties they had entered into with their Allies, and that at a Time when the Exigences of their own Affairs, and when the faint feeble Aſſiſtance, which their Allies had contributed in the common Cauſe, would, among Chriſtian Potentates, have been thought a ſufficient Excuſe for their taking

Care

Care of themſelves ſeparately, in Breach of the moſt ſolemn Confederacy they could enter into.

The *Sachems* of the *Five Nations* being met at *Onondaga*, to conſult on the Terms offered by the *French*, they were divided in their Opinions; the *Cayugas*, and Part of the *Senekas*, were moſt favourable to the *French* Propoſals; but the major Part was abſolutely againſt allowing the *French* to rebuild a Fort at *Cadarackui*, nor would they conſent to include all the *French* Allies in the Treaty, with ſome of which they had particular Cauſes of Animoſity.

The Party that was moſt for Peace obtained Leave to go to *Canada*, to try whether they could obtain Terms leſs diſagreeable. They accordingly went thither, within the Time prefixed by the Governor of *Canada*, for an Anſwer; and to make themſelves more acceptable to the *French*, they carried thirteen Priſoners with them, and delivered them up. The Jeſuit *Milet* was of this Number, who had been taken in the Year 1689, and one *Jonſcaire*, who had been long a Priſoner among the *Senekas*: He had been delivered up to a Family of the *Senekas*, that had loſt ſome conſiderable Relation, and was by them adopted. He ingratiated himſelf ſo much with that Nation, that he was advanced to the Rank of a *Sachem*, and preſerved their Eſteem to the Day of his Death; whereby he became, after the general Peace, very uſeful to the *French* in all Negotiations with the *Five Nations*, and to this Day they ſhew their Regard to his Family and Children.

When the Governor of *Canada* came to Particulars with theſe Deputies, he could obtain nothing but ambiguous or dubious Anſwers, as to the rebuilding of *Cadarackui Fort*, and the including of all the *French* Allies in the Peace. Whereupon he diſmiſſed them with Preſents, and made them many

many fair Promiſes, in Caſe of their Compliance; but threatened them with utter Deſtruction, in Caſe of their refuſing the Terms he had offered. Many of the *French Indian* Allies were preſent, when the Governor of *Canada* refuſed any Agreement without his Allies being included in it, and this attached them exceedingly to the *French* Intereſt. This Regard, which the *French* generally ſhew for the Intereſt of their Allies, is a Piece of Policy which, upon all Occaſions, proves uſeful to them; whereas, the Neglect of this Piece of natural Juſtice has as often been prejudicial to others, who have not had ſo tender a Senſe of it. But it is not ſo eaſy for a weak State to keep up its Honour in ſuch Caſes, as it is for a powerful Prince.

CHAP. XI.

The War renewed. The French *repoſſeſs themſelves of* Cadarackui Fort, *and find Means to break off the Treaty between the* Five Nations *and* Dionondadies.

THE *Five Nations* refuſing to come to the Governor of *Canada*'s Terms, he reſolved to force them; and as he ſuſpected that they continued obſtinate, by the Advice of the *Engliſh*, and the Confidence they had of the *Engliſh* Aſſiſtance, he thonght he would moſt effectually leſſen that Confidence, by attacking and deſtroying the remainder of the *Mohawks*, who liv'd adjoining to the *Engliſh* Settlements. For this Purpoſe he reſolved to march, in the Winter, the whole Force of *Canada* againſt that Nation; but one of the Priſoners learning their Deſign, made his Eſcape, and informed the *Mohawks* of it. This made him alter his Meaſures, knowing well enough, that if the *Engliſh* were

prepared to receive them, ſuch an Enterprize would only lead thoſe engaged in it to certain Deſtruction. He then ſent three hundred Men into the Neck of Land between *Lake Erie* and *Cadarackui Lake*, the uſual hunting Place of the *Five Nations*, in Hopes of ſurpriſing them while they hunted careleſsly there, and at the ſame Time to view the old *French* Fort there, to obſerve in what Condition it remained.

This Party met with three or four Men, who defended themſelves obſtinately, till they all fell dead on the Spot. They ſurpriſed likewiſe a Cabin, where they took ſome Men and Women Priſoners; and four of them were publickly burnt alive at *Montreal*. So far the Count *de Frontenac* thought it more proper to imitate the *Indians* in their moſt ſavage Cruelties, than to inſtruct them, by his Example, in the Compaſſion of the Chriſtian Doctrine. A Party of one hundred and fifty of the *Five Nations* fell upon the *Dewagunhas*, in their Way to *Canada*, and entirely routed them. Ten Priſoners were taken, nine of which were burnt alive, in Revenge of the ſame Fate the four Men of the *Five Nations* had received at *Montreal*.

This Year alſo ſome ſculking *French Indians* murdered ſome People near *Albany* and *Schenectady*.

The Party ſent to view *Cadarackui Fort* found it in a better Condition than they expected, the *Indians* having neglected to demoliſh and level the Baſtions, and probably they had not Inſtruments ſufficient to do it. The Count *de Frontenac* therefore, in the Summer of the Year 1695, ſent a conſiderable Body of Men, both *French* and *Indians*, thither, to repair the Fortifications, and to cover thoſe that ſhould be at work. The *Five Nations*, in *Auguſt*, ſent Meſſengers to *Albany*, to acquaint the

the *Engliſh* that the *French* had taken Poſſeſſion of *Cadarackui*, and were repairing of it. They demanded, in Conſequence of the Promiſe Colonel *Fletcher* had given them, the Aſſiſtance of five hundred Men and ſome Canon, which they promiſed they would draw over Land, where they could not be carried by Water. At the ſame Time they deſired, that the People of *New-England* might be told, that many of the *Owenagungas* were gone with the *French* to *Cadarackui*, and that this was a proper Time to fall upon thoſe that remained, and to deſtroy them, and the Women and Children.

Coll. *Fletcher* came to *Albany* in *September*; there, in a Speech to the *Five Nations*, he blamed them for being aſleep, when they ſuffered the *French* to take Poſſeſſion of *Cadarackui*; it would have been much eaſier, he ſaid, to have prevented their getting the Poſſeſſion, than to drive them out, now they are in it, eſpecially as now you yourſelves are convinced, that it is impoſſible to carry Cannon thither from this Place. All, ſays he, I can now do, is to adviſe you to inveſt the Place with your Parties, ſo as to prevent their receiving any Supply of Proviſions: By this Means you may force them to deſert it. Then he gave them 1000 Pound of Powder, two thouſand Pound of Lead, 57 Fuſees, one Hundred Hatchets, three Hundred and forty-eight Knives, and two Thouſand Flints, beſides Cloathing, *&c.* But in my Opinion, the Government of *New-York* have, on all Occaſions, been exceedingly to be blamed, in not having ſome Men of Experience among the *Five Nations* to adviſe and direct them on all Emergencies of Importance. The *French* are very careful of this, and the *Officers* of the regular Troops are obliged to take their Tours among their *Indians*, while the

Cap-

Captains of the independent Companies of Fuſiliers at *New-York* live like military Monks, in Idleneſs and Luxury.

The *French* gained a great Advantage, by poſſeſſing this Place, as it is of great Security to their Traders, in their paſſing between *Montreal* and *Miſſilimakinak*. It ſerved likewiſe as a Place of Stores, and Retreat in all their Enterprizes againſt the *Five Nations*, that Place being nearly about half Way between *Montreal* and the Country of the *Five Nations*. It likewiſe expoſed the *Five Nations* in their hunting, to the Incurſions of that Gariſon, by its being in the Neighbourhood of their principal hunting Place for Bever.

The *French* grew exceedingly uneaſy, when they found, that the *Dionondadies*, who live near *Miſſilimakinak*, had almoſt concluded a Peace with the *Five Nations*, and that the reſt of their Allies were like to follow their Example: Some of theſe Nations had been at *Montreal*, and at their Return forwarded the Peace, that thereby they might be at Liberty to go to *Albany*; for they informed their Neighbours, that the *Five Nations* had intirely ſhut up the Path to *Montreal*; and beſides that, the *French* were not in a Condition to ſupply them, for they had nothing for themſelves, not ſo much as a Drop of ſtrong Spirits. If theſe Nations had, at that Time, deſerted the *French*, it might probably have put an End to the *French* Colony; for as the Lands of *Canada* barely produce ſufficient for the Subſiſtence of its Inhabitants, the only Means they have of purchaſing Cloathing and other Neceſſaries is by their Trade with the *Indians*. The *French* likewiſe had been in Danger of greater Miſchief by the Peace, for theſe Nations being at War with the *Five Nations*, and laying on the Back of them, obliging the *Five Nations* to keep always a very

very conſiderable Part of their Force at home, to defend themſelves againſt theſe Nations, and to revenge the Injuries they received from them; but if the Peace had been concluded with theſe Nations, the *Five Nations* could have turned their whole Force againſt *Canada*, and probably might have perſuaded theſe Nations to have joined with them in warring on the *French*.

The *French* Commandant at *Miſſilimakinak* had his Hands full at this Time; and if he had not been a Man of great Abilities, he muſt have ſunk under the Difficulties he had to go through; in the firſt Place, to contradict the Stories brought from *Montreal*, he ordered the Stores of his Fort to be ſold to the *Indians* at the cheapeſt Rate, and aſſured them, that great Quantities were every Day expected from *France*, which were only detained by contrary Winds; and after theſe Goods ſhall arrive, ſaid he, they will be ſold cheaper than ever they have been. He told them likewiſe, that the Count *de Frontenac* would never make Peace with the *Five Nations*, but was reſolved to extirpate them; for which Purpoſe he was now rebuilding *Cadarackui Fort*. At the ſame Time he took all poſſible Methods to extinguiſh the Beginnings of Friendſhip, which appeared between the *Five Nations* and *Dionondadies*.

The *Dionondadies* durſt not avow their treating with the *Five Nations* to the *French*, neither durſt the *Five Nations* truſt their Agents in a Place where they knew the *French* had ſo great Influence; both Sides therefore agreed to carry on their Treaty by Means of Priſoners which they took from one another. The Civility with which the *Dionondadies* treated theſe Priſoners, their diſmiſſing them, and their receiving again Priſoners which had been taken by the *Five Nations*, gave the Commandant ſufficient Ground to ſuſpect what was doing. The

Dionondadies at laſt took ſeven Men of the *Five Nations* Priſoners, and carried them to *Miſſilimakinak*. The *French* perceiving, by their Manner of bringing them in, that the *Dionondadies* intended to treat them with the Civility they had lately uſed to others, murdered two of them with their Knives as they ſtept aſhore. On this the *Dionondadies* immediately took to their Arms, ſaved the other Five, and carried them ſafe to their Caſtle; and continuing in Arms, threatened Revenge for the Inſult they had received.

The *French* were forced in like Manner to ſtand to their Arms, and as there are always many different Nations at *Miſſilimakinak* trading, ſome of which were inveterate Enemies of the *Five Nations*, they joined with the *French*. The *Utawawas* ſtood neuter. This gave the Commandant Means of ending the Diſpute by Compoſition. He in the firſt Place aſſured them, that the Chriſtians abhorred all Manner of Cruelty, and then told them, that as the *French* ſhared with the *Dionondadies* in all the Dangers and Loſſes ſuſtained by the War, they ought in like Manner to partake with them in any Advantage. The *Dionondadies* on this were perſuaded to deliver up one of the Priſoners. What I am about to relate, I think, gives Room to charge the *French* with a Piece of Policy, not only inconſiſtent with the Chriſtian Religion, but likewiſe with the Character of a polite People; and that all Conſiderations from Religion, Honour, and Virtue, muſt give Way to the preſent Exigencies of their Affairs. That an End might be put to the Beginnings of a Reconciliation between theſe People and the *Five Nations*, the *French* gave a publick Invitation to feaſt on the Soup to be made on this Priſoner, and, in a more particular Manner, invited the *Utawawas* to the Entertainment.

The

The Priſoner being firſt made faſt to a Stake, ſo as to have Room to move round it, a *Frenchman* began the horrid Tragedy, by broiling the Fleſh of the Priſoner's Legs, from his Toes to his Knees, with the red hot Barrel of a Gun; his Example was followed by an *Utawawa*, and they relieved one another as they grew tired. The Priſoner all this while continued his Death Song, till they clapt a red hot Frying-pan on his Buttocks, when he cried out, Fire is ſtrong and too powerful; then all their *Indians* mocked him, as wanting Courage and Reſolution. You, they ſaid, a Soldier and a Captain, as you ſay, and afraid of Fire; you are not a Man. They continued their Torments for two Hours without ceaſing. An *Utawawa* being deſirous to outdo the *French* in their refined Cruelty, ſplit a Furrow from the Priſoner's Shoulder to his Garter, and filling it with Gunpowder, ſet fire to it. This gave him exquiſite Pain, and raiſed exceſſive Laughter in his Tormenters. When they found his Throat ſo much parched, that he was no longer able to gratify their Ears with his howling, they gave him Water, to enable him to continue their Pleaſure longer. But at laſt his Strength failing, an *Utawawa* flead off his Scalp, and threw burning hot Coals on his Scull. Then they untied him, and bid him run for his Life: He began to run, tumbling like a drunken Man; they ſhut up the Way to the Eaſt, and made him run Weſtward the Country, as they think, of departed (miſerable) Souls. He had ſtill Force left to throw Stones, till they put an End to his Miſery by knocking him on the Head with a Stone. After this every one cut a Slice from his Body, to conclude the Tragedy with a Feaſt. It is doing no Injury, I think, to theſe *Frenchmen*, who thus glory in this horrid Cruelty,

to aſk them, whether they did not likewiſe regale their revengeful Appetites with a Share of this inhuman Feaſt?

Though I have had frequent Occaſions to mention theſe barbarous inhuman Cruelties, tranſacted by the *Indians*, yet I have avoided to relate the particular Circumſtances of them, becauſe I believe few civilized Ears can bear the reading of them without Horror. But when they are perpetrated by Chriſtians, and ſo far gloried in, as to be recorded in their own Hiſtory, I am willing to ſhew it to my Countrymen in its proper Colours. This laſt Piece of *French* Hiſtory is taken from *Hiſtoire de l'Amerique Septentrionale*, *par Monſr. de la Poterie*, publiſhed at *Paris* with the Royal Licence, and recommended to the Publick by Monſ. *Fontenelle*, Vol. ii. Page 298.

Though this cruel Act had its deſigned Effect, in breaking off this Method of negotiating between the *Five Nations* and *Dionondadies*, it did not prevent the Peace; and it had very near raiſed a civil War with their own *Indians*, which was only prevented by the dextrous Conduct of the *French* Officers, who in all Kind of Artifice, have always been ſuperior to the *Indians*. But let me obſerve on this Occaſion, that the avoiding any Misfortune, by any baſe or wicked Action, is commonly the Cauſe of greater Miſchiefs than what is thereby avoided; and of this numerous Examples may be given.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

The Count de Frontenac *attacks* Onondaga *in Perſon, with the whole Force of* Canada. *The* Five Nations *continue the War with the* French, *and make Peace with the* Dionondadies.

THE Count *de Frontenac* having ſecured *Cadarackui Fort*, which was called by his Name, as a Place of Arms and Proviſions, and for a Retreat to the Men that ſhould happen to be ſick or wounded, reſolved to make the *Five Nations* feel his Reſentment of their refuſing his Terms of Peace. For this Purpoſe he aſſembled all the regular Troops of *Canada*, the Militia, the *Owenagungas*, the *Quatoghies* of *Loretto*, the *Adirondacks*, *Sokokies*, *Nepicirinien*s, the *Praying Indians* of the *Five Nations*, and a few *Utawawas*, at *Montreal*, in *June* 1696. The other weſtern *Indians* near *Miſſilimakinak*, by their late Correſpondence with the *Five Nations*, and the Diſſatisfaction they had manifeſted, were not truſted. The Manner of making War with the *Indians* in a Country wholly covered with Woods, muſt be ſo much different from the Methods uſed in *Europe*, that I believe the Reader will be pleaſed to have a particular Account of the Count *de Frontenac*'s Conduct in this, who was an old experienced General, in the ſeventy-fourth Year of his Age.

It is to be obſerved, that it is impoſſible to paſs the vaſt Foreſts between the Countries of the *Five Nations* with Waggons, or other Carriages, or on Horſeback, or even on Foot, in the Summer Time, by Reaſon of many impaſſible thick Swamps and Moraſſes. For this Reaſon, the only Method of travelling is in Bark Canoes, or very Light Battoes, along the Rivers, which may be eaſily carried on

Men's Shoulders, where the Stream of the River becomes too rapid, and from one River to another; for which Purpoſe the ſhorteſt Paſſes are always choſen, and are called, for this Reaſon, Carrying Places.

The Count *de Frontenac* marched from *la Chine*, in the ſouth End of the Iſland of *Montreal*, the fourth of *July*. He divided five hundred *Indians* ſo, that the greateſt Number of them ſhould always be in the Van, which conſiſted of two Battalions of the regular Troops. They were followed by the Canoes which carried the Proviſions. The Van was commanded by the Chevalier *de Callieres*, Governor of *Montreal*; he had with him two large Battoes, which carried two ſmall Pieces of Cannon, ſmall Mortars, Granadoes, and the Utenſils of the Artillery. The Count *de Frontenac* was at the Head of the main Body, accompanied by the Engineer and ſeveral Gentlemen Voluntiers. The Body conſiſted of four Battalions of the Militia, who, in War with *Indians*, were then more depended on than the regular Troops; theſe were commanded by Monſieur *Ramſay*, Governor of *Trois Rivieres*. The Rear which conſiſted of two Battalions of regular Troops, and of the reſt of the *Indians*, was under the Command of the Chevalier *de Vaudreuil*. All the *Indians* had *French* Officers ſet over them.

In this Order the Army marched, only thoſe that were in the Van one Day, were in the Rear the next; and they always kept a Number of *Indians* on the Scout, to diſcover the Tracks of the Enemy, for fear of Ambuſcades. And when they were obliged to carry the Canoes, and drag the large Battoes, ſeveral Parties were detached to cover the Men that worked.

After twelve Days March they arrived at *Cadarackui Fort*, one hundred eighty Miles from *Montreal*.

real. Here they waited for the *Utawawas*, who diſappointed them, and in the mean Time raiſed a Bark which had remained ſunk ſince *Cadarackui Fort* was deſerted. They croſſed over *Cadarackui* Lake to *Onondaga* River (now *Ohſwega.*) This River being narrow and rapid, they ordered fifty Men to march on each ſide of it, to prevent their being ſurpriſed, and the Army moved ſlowly along the River, according to the Intelligence they received from their Scouts. They found a Tree, as they paſſed along, on which the *Indians* had, in their Manner, painted the *French* Army, and had laid by it two Bundles of cut Ruſhes. This was a Defiance in the *Indian* Manner, and to tell them by the Number of Ruſhes, that fourteen hundred thirty four Men would meet them. The *French* paſſed the little Lake, between *Ohſwega* and *Onondaga* in Order of Battle; and the two Wings, to prevent their being ſurpriſed, and to make the Place of their Landing more uncertain to the Enemy, took a Circuit along the Coaſt. As ſoon as they had landed they raiſed a Fort. A *Seneka*, who had been ſometime a Priſoner in *Canada*, and pretended an Attachment to the *French*, was ſent out to make a Diſcovery. He deſerted to the *Onondagas.* He found them waiting for the *French*, with a Reſolution to defend their Caſtle, and to fight the *French*; for which Purpoſe they had ſent away their Women and Children. The *Seneka* told them that the *French* Army was as numerous as the Leaves on the Trees; that they had Machines which threw Balls up in the Air, and which falling on their Caſtle burſt to Pieces, and ſpread Fire and Death every where, againſt which their Stockadoes could be of no Defence. This was confirmed by another *Seneka*, who deſerted. Upon which the *Onondagas* thought it moſt adviſeable

to retire, leaving their poor Fort and Bark Cottages all in Flames.

After the General had an Account of this, he marched to their Village in Order of Battle. The Army was divided into two Lines: The firſt commanded by the Chevalier *de Callieres*, who placed himſelf on the Left, conſiſted of two Battalions of the Inhabitants in the Center, and a Battalion of the regular Troops on each Wing. The Artillery followed them. Moſt of the *Indians* of this Diviſion were upon the right, who continually ſent out Scouts. The ſecond Line was commanded by the Chevalier *de Vaudreuil*, compoſed of the ſame Number of Battalions, and in the ſame Order. The Count *de Frontenac* was carried in a Chair directly after the Artillery. But it was impoſſible for them to keep their Order, in paſſing through thick Woods, and in paſſing Brooks. In this formidable Manner the aged General marched up to the Aſhes of the Village, and his Army exerted their Fury on the *Indian* Corn, which covered a large Field in thick Ranks.

An *Indian Sachem*, about one hundred Years old, would not retire with the reſt, but choſe this Time to end his Days. The *French Indians* had the Pleaſure of tormenting him, which he bore with a ſurpriſing Evenneſs of Mind, and with that Reſolution which becomes a *Sachem* of the *Five Nations*. He told his Tormentors to remember well his Death, when his Countrymen ſhould come to take terrible Vengeance of them. Upon which, one ſtabbing him ſeveral Times with his Knife, he thanked him, but ſaid, you had better make me die by Fire, that theſe Dogs of *Frenchmen* may learn how to ſuffer like Men. You *Indians*, their Allies, you Dogs of Dogs, think of me, when you ſhall be in the like State. Thus this old *Sachem*, under all the Weakneſs of old

Age,

Age, preſerved a Greatneſs of Soul, and a due Regard for the Honour of his Country, to the laſt Moment of his Breath.

The Chevalier *de Vaudreuil* was ſent with a Detachment of ſix or ſeven hundred Men to deſtroy the *Oneydoes* Corn, who liv'd but a ſmall Diſtance from *Onondaga*, which he performed without any Reſiſtance. The Jeſuit *Milet* had lived for the moſt Part with the *Oneydoes*; he had inſuſed into them the moſt favourable Sentiments of the *French*, and they had been the moſt inclined to Peace on the *French* Terms. Thirty five of them ſtaid in their Caſtle to make the *French* welcome; but the only Favour they obtained, was to be made Priſoners, and carried to *Montreal*. The *French* Governor declared his Reſolutions to extirpate the *Onondagas*, and for that Reaſon gave Orders to give no Quarter.

The Difficulty of ſupporting ſo many Men in theſe Deſarts, made it neceſſary for the Count *de Frontenac* to return as ſpeedily as poſſible. Though the *French* Army was much an Overmatch for the *Onondagas*, both in Number of Men and in their Arms, the *Onondagas* were not ſo far diſpirited, as not to follow them in their Return. They found Opportunities to revenge themſelves in ſome Meaſure, by cutting off every Canoe that happened at any Time to be at a Diſtance from the main Body. This obliged the Count to haſten his March, ſo that he returned to *Montreal* the tenth of *Auguſt*.

The *Onondagas* ſuffered nothing by this chargeable Expedition, but the Loſs of their Corn, and their Bark Cottages. They loſt not one Man, but the old *Sachem*, who reſolved to die a Martyr to his Country's Honour. The *French* ſuffered conſiderably by its Conſequences; for all the Planters being taken off from their Labour, either in this

Expedition, or in watching and ſecuring their Forts and Country, a Famine enſued; and this I find has often happened in *Canada*, where all the Men fit to bear Arms, have been employed in ſuch like Expeditions. If the *Oneydoes* had not timely ſurrendered themſelves, the Count had not been able to have carried Home the leaſt Token of a Victory. And all that can be ſaid for this Enterprize is, that it was a Kind of heroick Dotage.

The Influence that the Jeſuit *Milet* had obtained over the *Oneydoes*, was ſuch, that ſome Time after this, thirty of them deſerted to the *French*, and deſired that he might be appointed their Paſtor.

In the following Winter, the *Mohawks*, with the Governor of *New-York*'s Privacy, ſent one to the *Praying Indians* with two Belts, and he carried two Priſoners with him. By the firſt Belt, he aſked, whether the Path was entirely ſhut up between their two Countries; and, by the ſecond, demanded the Reſtitution of a Priſoner the *Praying Indians* had taken: But his real Deſign was, to learn the State of their Country, and what Deſigns were forming. Notwithſtanding the Influence and Artifice of the *French* Prieſts over theſe Converts, they ſtill retained an Affection to their Countrymen; for which Reaſon the Count *de Frontenac* entertained a Jealouſy of theſe Intercourſes, and threatened to put to Death any that ſhould come in that Manner again; but the Meſſenger had the Satisfaction of diſcovering the diſtreſſed Condition of *Canada* by Famine.

A Party of the *French* was ſent out in the Winter, to make ſome Attempt upon the *Engliſh* Settlements near *Albany*; but ſome *Mohawks* and *Scahkook Indians* meeting with them, before they reached the Settlements, they were entirely routed. The commanding Officer, one *du Bau*, and two others, ſaved themſelves from the Fury of the *Indians*,

dians, by running to *Albany*; the reſt were either killed or periſhed in the Woods, ſo that not one Man of this Party got back to *Canada*.

It was much eaſier for the *French* to ſet the *Praying Indians* upon the *Engliſh*, againſt whom it is poſſible many of them had perſonal Animoſities, that made them go over to the *French*, than to fight their Countrymen. Several of them came this Winter ſkulking about *Schenectady* and *Albany*; and being well acquainted with the Country, and ſpeaking likewiſe the *Mohawks* Language, by which they ſometimes deceived the Inhabitants, they ſurpriſed ſome of the Inhabitants, and carried away their Scalps.

The *Five Nations*, to ſhew that the Count *de Frontenac*'s Expedition had no way diſcouraged them, ſent out ſeveral Parties againſt *Canada*. One of them met with a Party of *French* upon *St. Laurence River*, near *Montreal*. The *French* were routed, and their Captain killed. As ſoon as this was heard at *Montreal*, *Repentigni* was ſent out after them with a conſiderable Party of *French*, *Nepicirinien Indians* and *Praying Indians*; but this Party was likewiſe defeated, and the Captain with many of his Men killed.

Thus the War was continued till the Peace of *Reſwick*, by ſmall Parties of *Indians*, on both Sides, haraſſing, ſurpriſing, and ſcalping the Inhabitants near *Montreal* and *Albany*.

Some Time this Year the chief *Sachem* of the *Dionondadies* (whom the *French* call the *Baron*) went to *Quebeck*, pretending a ſtrong Attachment to the *French*, but really to conceal the Treaty of Peace that he was on the Point of concluding with the *Five Nations*; for which Purpoſe he had ſent his Son with nineteen Belts to the *Senekas*. The Subſtance of whoſe Commiſſion was as follows:

The *French* have for many Years confounded our Reſolutions, and deceived us, but now we are reſolved to break all their Artifices, by ſtopping our Ears. We come now to unite with you, while the *French* know nothing of the Matter. The Commandant at *Miſſilimakinak* has told us many Lies, he has betrayed us, and made us kill one another, but we are firmly reſolved never to hearken to him any more. The Peace was accordingly firmly concluded, notwithſtanding all the Oppoſition the *French* could make. The *French* Authors ſay, the only Reaſon that induced the *Dionondadies* was, that the *Engliſh* ſold them Goods cheaper than the *French* could.

Some Time before the News of a Peace arrived, the *French* at *Montreal* being informed that a Party of the *Five Nations* were diſcovered near *Corlear*'s Lake, ſent out a Captain with a Party of Soldiers and *Indians*, who being well experienced in the Manner of making War with *Indians*, marched through the thickeſt Woods, and by the leaſt frequented Places, ſo that he diſcovered the Enemy without being diſcovered. He ſurpriſed that Party, killed ſeveral, and took one Priſoner. The *Utawawas* being then trading at *Montreal*, the Count *de Frontenac* invited them to a Feaſt to be made of this Priſoner, and cauſed him to be burnt publickly alive at *Montreal*, in the Manner of which I have already given two Accounts from the *French* Authors.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

The Conduct which the Engliſh *and* French *obſerved, in regard to the* Five Nations, *immediately after the Peace of* Reſwick.

SOON after the News of the Peace of *Reſwick* reached *New-York*, the Governor ſent an Expreſs to *Canada*, to inform the Governor there of it, that Hoſtilities might ceaſe. The *Five Nations* having an Account of the Peace earlier than they had it in *Canada*, took Advantage of it, in hunting Bever near *Cadarackui Fort*. The Governor of *Canada* being informed of this, and believing that the *Five Nations* thought themſelves ſecure by the general Peace, reſolved to take his laſt Revenge of them. For this Purpoſe he ſent a conſiderable Party of *Adirondacks* to ſurpriſe them, which they did, and killed ſeveral, but not without Loſs of many of their own Men. The Loſs of one of their greateſt Captains at that Time gave the *Five Nations* the greateſt Affliction. After he was mortally wounded, he cried out: "Muſt I who have made "the whole Earth tremble before me, now die "by the Hands of Children?" for he deſpiſed the *Adirondacks*.

A Diſpute at this Time aroſe, between the Government of *New-York* and *Canada*, about the *French* Priſoners which the *Five Nations* had in their Hands. The Earl of *Bellamont*, then Governor of *New-York* would have the *French* receive thoſe Priſoners from him, and directed the *Five Nations* to bring them to *Albany* for that Purpoſe. The *French*, on the other Hand, refuſed to own the *Five Nations* as ſubject to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, and threatened to continue the War againſt the *Five Nations*, if they did not bring the Priſoners to *Montreal*, and deliver them there.

there. The Count *de Frontenac* ſent ſome of the *Praying Indians* with a Meſſage to this Purpoſe, and to have all the *French* Allies included in the general Peace.

The Meſſenger on his Return told the Count, publickly in Preſence of ſeveral *Utawawas*, that the *Five Nations* refuſed to include ſeveral of his Allies, but were reſolved to revenge the Injuries they had received. The *Utawawas* were exceedingly diſcompoſed at hearing this, and the Count, to recover their Spirits, aſſured them, that he never would make Peace without including all his Allies in it, and without having all their Priſoners reſtored. At the ſame Time he made Preparations to attack the *Five Nations* with the whole Force of *Canada*.

The Earl of *Bellamont* being informed of this, ſent Captain *John Schuyler* (of the Militia) to tell the Count, that he had the Intereſt of the King his Maſter too much at Heart, to ſuffer the *French* to treat the *Five Nations* like Enemies, after the Concluſion of the general Peace; for which Reaſon he had ordered them to be on their Guard, and had furniſhed them with Arms and Ammunition; that he had ordered the Lieutenant-Governor, in Caſe they were attacked, either by the *French*, or their Allies, to join them with the regular Troops; and that if he found it neceſſary, he would raiſe the whole Force of his Government in their Defence.

This put a Stop to the *French* Threatening, and both Sides made Complaint to their Maſters. The two Kings ordered their reſpective Governors to be aſſiſting to each other, in making the Peace effectual to both Nations, and to leave the Diſputes, as to the Dependency of the *Indian Nations*, to be determined by Commiſſioners, to be appointed purſuant to the Treaty of *Reſwick*.

It is exceedingly impolitick, when weaker Potentates, ingaged in a Confederacy againſt one powerful Prince, leave any Points to be determined after the Concluſion of a Peace; for if they cannot obtain a Conceſſion, while the Confederacy ſtands and their Force is united, how can a weaker Prince hope to obtain it, when he is left alone to himſelf, after the Confederacy is diſſolved? The *French* have ſo often found the Benefit of this Piece of Imprudence, that in all their Treaties they uſe all the Cajoling, and every Artifice in their Power, to obtain this Advantage, and they ſeldom miſs it.

About the Time of the Concluſion of the Peace, at *Reſwick*, the noted *Therouet* died at *Montreal*. The *French* gave him Chriſtian Burial in a pompous Manner, the Prieſt, that attended him at his Death, having declared that he died a true Chriſtian; for, ſaid the Prieſt, while I explained to him the Paſſion of our Saviour, whom the *Jews* crucified, he cried out; "Oh! had I been there, I would "have revenged his Death, and brought away their "Scalps.

Soon after the Peace was known at *Montreal*, three conſiderable Men of the *Praying Indians* came to *Albany*; they had fine laced Coats given them, and were invited to return to their own Country. They anſwered, that they were young Men, and had not Skill to make a ſuitable Anſwer, and had not their ancient Men to conſult with; but promiſed to communicate the Propoſals to their old Men, and would bring back an Anſwer in the Fall. I find nothing more of this in the Regiſter of *Indian Affairs*, though it might have been of great Conſequence had it been purſued to Purpoſe; but ſuch Matters, where there is not an immediate private Profit, are ſeldom purſued by the *Engliſh* with that

that Care and Aſſiduity, with which they are by the *French*.

While Captain *Schuyler* was in *Canada*, he entered into ſome indiſcreet Diſcourſe with Monſieur *Maricour*, for whom the *Five Nations* had a particular Eſteem, and call *Stowtowiſſe*. Captain *Schuyler*, in aſſerting the Dependency of the *Five Nations* on *New-York*, ſaid, that thoſe Nations were their Slaves. Mr. *Maricour* told this Diſcourſe to an *Onondaga*, with all the Aggravations he could, and added, that it was intirely owing to the *Engliſh* that the Peace was not abſolutely concluded, and that Captain *Schuyler* prevented their Priſoners being reſtored, becauſe he would have them ſent to *Albany*, as being Slaves to the *Engliſh*. That the *French* had no Diſpute with the *Engliſh*, but for the Independency of the *Five Nations*. This indiſcreet Conduct of Captain *Schuyler* was ſo much reſented by the *Five Nations*, that a Deputation of the moſt conſiderable *Sachems* was ſent to *Albany* in *June* 1699, to complain of it; and they ſent at the ſame Time Deputies to *Canada* to conclude the Peace, independently of the *Engliſh*. Theſe Deputies that came to *Albany* were ſo far convinced that the *French* had abuſed them, and how much more it was for their Security to be included in the general Peace with the *Engliſh*, than to have only the *French* Faith for their Security, that they immediately diſpatched a Meſſenger after their Deputies that were gone to *Canada*. Though this Meſſenger reached them too late to ſtop their Proceeding, it convinced the Deputies ſo far of its being for their Intereſt to be joined with the *Engliſh* in the Peace, as they had been in the War, that they inſiſted that the Exchange of Priſoners be made at *Albany*. At the ſame Time the Meſſenger was ſent after their Deputies to *Canada*, Colonel *Peter Schuyler*

was

was ſent with others to *Onondaga*, to remove the Prejudices they had received there.

The Count *de Frontenac* died while theſe Diſputes continued. Monſieur *de Callieres*, who ſucceeded him, put an End to them, by agreeing to ſend to *Onondaga* to regulate the Exchange of Priſoners there; for which Purpoſe Monſieur *Maricour*, *Ioncaire*, and the Jeſuit *Bruyas*, were ſent.

When the *French* Commiſſioners were come within leſs than a Mile of *Onondaga* Caſtle, they put themſelves in Order and marched with the *French* Colours carried before them, and with as much Show as they could make. *Decaneſora* met them without the Gate, and complimented them with three Strings of Wampum. By the firſt he wiped away their Tears for the *French* that had been ſlain in the War. By the ſecond he opened their Mouths, that they might ſpeak freely; that is, promiſed them Freedom of Speech. By the third he cleaned the Matt, on which they were to ſit, from the Blood that had been ſpilt on both Sides: The Compliment was returned by the Jeſuit, then they entered the Fort, and were ſaluted with a general Diſcharge of all the Fire-Arms. They were carried to the beſt Cabin in the Fort, and there entertained with a Feaſt. The Deputies of the ſeveral Nations not being all arrived, the Jeſuit, and Monſieur *Maricour*, paſſed the Time in viſiting and converſing with the *French* Priſoners. The General Council being at laſt met, the Jeſuit made the following Speech, which I take from the Relation the *Five Nations* afterwards made of it to the Earl of *Bellamont*.

" 1. I am glad to ſee the *Five Nations*, and that " ſome of them went to *Canada*, notwithſtanding " *Corlear* forbid them: I am ſorry for the Loſs of " your People killed by the remote *Indians*; I " condole

" condole their Death, and wipe away the Blood " by this Belt.

" 2. The War Kettle boiled ſo long, that it " would have ſcalded all the *Five Nations* had it " continued; but now it is overſet and turned up- " ſide down, and a firm Peace made.

" 3. I now plant the Tree of Peace and Wel- " fare at *Onondaga*.

" 4. Keep faſt the Chain you have made with " *Corlear*, for now we have one Heart and one " Intereſt with them; but why is *Corlear* againſt " your correſponding with us, ought we not to " converſe together when we are at Peace and in " Friendſhip?

" 5. Deliver up the *French* Priſoners you have, " and we ſhall deliver not only thoſe of your Na- " tion we have, but all thoſe likewiſe taken by " any of our Allies; and gave a Belt.

" 6. I offer myſelf to you, to live with you at " *Onondaga*, to inſtruct you in the Chriſtian Re- " ligion, and to drive away all Sickneſs, Plagues " and Diſeaſes out of your Country, and gave a " third Belt.

" 7. This laſt Belt, he ſaid, is from the *Ron-* " *daxe*, or *French Indians*, to deſire Reſtitution of " the Priſoners taken from them."

The Jeſuit in the Concuſion ſaid; " Why does " not *Corlear* tell you what paſſes between the Go- " vernor of *Canada* and him? He keeps you in " the Dark, while the Governor of *Canada* con- " ceals nothing from his Children. Nor does the " Governor of *Canada* claim your Land, as *Corlear* " does."

The General Council immediately rejected the Belt by which the Jeſuit offered to ſtay with them, ſaying, We have already accepted *Corlear*'s Belt, by which he offers us Paſtors to inſtruct us. *Decane-* *ſora* added, The Jeſuits have always deceived us, for

for while they preached Peace, the *French* came and knocked us on the Head. To this the Jesuit replied, that if he had known that *Corlear* intended to send them Pastors, he would not have offered this Belt.

It is to be observed, that the *Indian* Council refused to hear the *French*, or to give them an Answer, but in Presence of the Commissioners from *Albany*.

The *French* Commissioners having assured the Peace with the *Five Nations*, the Inhabitants of *Canada* esteemed it the greatest Blessing that could be procured for them from Heaven; for nothing could be more terrible than this last War with the *Five Nations*. While this War lasted, the Inhabitants eat their Bread in continual Fear and Trembling. No Man was sure, when out of his House, of ever returning to it again. While they laboured in the Fields, they were under perpetual Apprehensions of being killed or seized, and carried to the *Indian* Country, there to end their Days in cruel Torments. They many Times were forced to neglect both their Seed Time and Harvest. The Landlord often saw all his Land plundered, his Houses burnt, and the whole Country ruined, while they thought their Persons not safe in their Fortifications. In short, all Trade and Business was often at an intire Stand, while Fear, Despair, and Misery appeared in the Faces of the poor Inhabitants.

The *French* Commissioners carried several of the principal *Sachems* of the *Five Nations* back with them, who were received at *Montreal* with great Joy. They were saluted by a Discharge of all the great Guns round the Place, as they entered. The *French* Allies took this amiss, and asked if their Governor was entring. They were told, that it was a Compliment paid to the *Five Nations*, whose

Sachems

Sachems were then entering the Town. We perceive, they replied, that Fear makes the *French* ſhew more Reſpect to their Enemies, than Love can make them do to their Friends.

Monſieur *de Callieres* aſſembled all the *French* Allies (who were then very numerous at *Montreal*) to make the Exchange of Priſoners, and they delivered the Priſoners they had taken, though the *Five Nations* had ſent none to be exchanged for them. Thus we ſee a brave People ſtruggle with every Difficulty, till they can get out of it with Honour; and ſuch People always gain Reſpect, even from their moſt inveterate Enemies.

I ſhall finiſh this Part by obſerving, that notwithſtanding the *French* Commiſſioners took all the Pains poſſible to carry Home the *French*, that were Priſoners with the *Five Nations*, and they had full Liberty from the *Indians*, few of them could be perſuaded to return. It may be thought that this was occaſioned from the Hardſhips they had endured in their own Country, under a tyrannical Government and a barren Soil: But this certainly was not the only Reaſon; for the *Engliſh* had as much Difficulty to perſuade the People, that had been taken Priſoners by the *French Indians*, to leave the *Indian* Manner of living, though no People enjoy more Liberty, and live in greater Plenty, than the common Inhabitants of *New-York* do. No Arguments, no Intreaties, nor Tears of their Friends and Relations, could perſuade many of them to leave their new *Indian* Friends and Acquaintance; ſeveral of them that were by the Careſſings of their Relations perſuaded to come Home, in a little Time grew tired of our Manner of living, and run away again to the *Indians*, and ended their Days with them. On the other Hand, *Indian* Children have been carefully educated among the *Engliſh*, cloathed and taught, yet, I think, there

is

is not one Inſtance, that any of theſe, after they had Liberty to go among their own People, and were come to Age, would remain with the *Engliſh*, but returned to their own Nations, and became as fond of the *Indian* Manner of Life as thoſe that knew nothing of a civilized Manner of living. What I now tell of Chriſtian Priſoners among *Indians*, relates not only to what happened at the Concluſion of this War, but has been found true on many other Occaſions.

PAPERS

PAPERS

RELATING TO

An ACT of the ASSEMBLY

OF THE

PROVINCE of *NEW-YORK*,

FOR

Encouragement of the *Indian Trade*, &c. and for prohibiting the ſelling of *Indian Goods* to the *French*, *viz.* of *CANADA*.

I. A PETITION of the Merchants of *London* to His Majeſty againſt the ſaid Act.

II. HIS MAJESTY'S Order in Council, referring the Petition to the Lords Commiſſioners of *Trade* and *Plantation*.

III. EXTRACT of the Minutes of the ſaid Lords, concerning ſome Allegations of the Merchants before them.

IV. The REPORT of the ſaid Lords to his Majeſty on the Merchants Petition, and other Allegations.

V. The REPORT of the Committee of Council of the Province of *New-York*, in Anſwer to the ſaid Petition.

VI. A MEMORIAL concerning the Furr Trade of *New-York*, by *C. Colden*, Eſq;

TO THE

KING'S Moſt Excellent Majeſty in Council,

The Humble Petition and Repreſentation of *Samuel Baker*, *Samuel Storke*, *John Bayeux*, *Richard Jeneway*, *Robert Hackſhaw*, *Joſeph Low*, *Joſeph Paice*, *George Streatfield*, *William Parkin* and *John Evered*, Merchants of *London*, trading to *New York*, in behalf of themſelves, and the reſt of the Perſons concerned in the *New-York* Trade.

SHEWETH,

THAT by an Act paſſed in *New-York* the 19th of *November*, 1720, entitled, *An Act for Encouragement of the* Indian *Trade, and rendering it more beneficial to the Inhabitants of this Province, and for prohibiting the ſelling of* Indian Goods *to the* French, all Trade whatſoever is prohibited in the ſtricteſt Manner, and under the ſevereſt Penalties, between the Inhabitants of *New-York* Government, and the *French* of *Canada*, or any Subjects of the *French King*, or any Perſon whatſoever, for or on the behalf of any ſuch Subjects; and which Act was to continue in Force for three Years.

That the Reaſons aſſigned in the Preamble of this Act, for the paſſing thereof, are, For that the *French* at *Canada*, by Means of *Indian* Goods purchaſed from the Inhabitants of *New-York*, had not only almoſt wholly engroſſed the *Indian Trade* to themſelves, but had, in great Meaſure, withdrawn the

the Affections of the *Five Nations* of *Indians* from the Inhabitants of *New-York*, and render'd them wavering in their Faith and Allegiance to your Majesty; and would, if such Trade was not prevented, wholly alienate the Minds of the said *Indians*, which might prove of dangerous Consequence to the *English Interest* in *America*.

That this Act was sent home for your Majesty's royal Consideration, but your Petitioners do not find that your Majesty ever signified your Allowance or Disallowance thereof; from whence, and from the Act's being to continue but three Years, your Petitioners humbly conceive the same was suffered to lie by probationary, to see whether the said Act, in its Effects, was really advantageous or prejudicial to the *British Trade* and *Interest* in *America*.

That your Petitioners have received Advice, That the Government of *New-York* either have, or are about passing an Act, to revive and continue the said Act for prohibiting all Trade between *New-York* and *Canada*.

Upon which Occasion, your Petitioners humbly beg Leave to represent to your Majesty, That the said Act, tho' in the first Intention of it, it might be well designed, yet, in its Effects, it has proved very pernicious to the *British Trade* in general, and to the Interest of *New-York* in particular: For, besides the Nations of *Indians* that are in the *English* Interest, there are very many Nations of *Indians*, who are, at present, in the Interest of the *French*, and who lie between *New-York* and the Nations of *Indians* in the *English Interest*; and this Act prohibiting all Trade between *New-York* and the *French* of *Canada*, or any of the Subjects of *France*, the *French*, and their *Indians*, would not permit the *English Indians* to pass over by their Forts, so as to carry on a free Trade with *New-*

York, but prevented their Paſſages, as much as poſſible, whereby that moſt conſiderable and only valuable Branch of Trade from *New-York*, hath, ever ſince the paſſing the ſaid Act, very much leſſened, from the great Difficulties of carrying on any Trade with the *Engliſh Indians*, and the Prohibition of all Trade with the *French*; and all the *Indian Goods* have, by this Act, been raiſed in their Price 25 *l.* to 30 *l. per Cent.*

Whereas, on the other hand, this Branch of the *New-York* Trade, by the Diſcouragements brought upon it by this Act, is almoſt wholly engroſſed by the *French*, who have already, by this Act, been encouraged to ſend proper *European Goods* to *Canada*, to carry on this Trade; ſo that ſhould this Act be continued, the *New-York* Trade, which is very conſiderable, muſt be wholly loſt to us, and center in the *French*.

And your Petitioners further beg Leave humbly to repreſent, That as they conceive nothing can tend more to the with-drawing the Affections of the *Five Nations* of *Indians* from the *Engliſh Intereſt*, than the Continuance of the ſaid Act, which, in its Effects, reſtrains them from a free Commerce with the Inhabitants of *New-York*, and may, too probably, eſtrange them from the *Engliſh Intereſt*: Whereas by a Freedom of Commerce, and an encourag'd Intercourſe of Trade with the *French*, and their *Indians*, the *Engliſh* Intereſt might, in Time, be greatly improved and ſtrengthened among the *Indians* in general, who, by ſuch Latitude of Trade, might be link'd to our Friendſhip in the ſtrongeſt Ties of their own Intereſt, as well as Inclinations.

That therefore, and as the ſaid Act was, in its Effects, ſo plainly deſtructive and prejudicial to the Trade and Intereſt of theſe Kingdoms, and ſo much for the Intereſt of the *French*, and greatly

promoted that Miſchief which it was intended to prevent,

Your Petitioners moſt humbly pray your Majeſty, That you would be graciouſly pleaſed to give the neceſſary Directions to your Governor of *New-York*, not to paſs any new Act for the reviving or continuing the ſaid Act prohibiting Trade with the *French* of *Canada*; and that if any ſuch Act, or any Act of the like Tendency, be already paſſed, that the ſame may be repealed. *And your Petitioners ſhall ever pray*, &c.

Samuel Baker,	*J. Bull*,
Rob. Hackſhaw,	*Fra. Wilks*,
Jo. Lloyd,	*Wm. Parkin*,
Sam. Storke,	*John Gilbert*,
J. Bayeux,	*Joſ. Paice*, jun.
Sam. Fitch,	*Rich. Mico*,
Rich. Jeneway,	*Jo. Miranda*,
Joſ. Lowe,	*Geo. Streatfield*,
Aſher Levy,	*John Everet*,
John Paine,	*Thompſon Hayne*.

At the Court at St. James's *the* 30*th Day of* April, 1724.

PRESENT

The KING's Moſt Excellent Majeſty in Council.

UPON Reading this Day at the Board the humble Petition and Repreſentation of *Samuel Baker*, *Samuel Storke*, and ſeveral others, Merchants of *London*, trading to *New-York*, in behalf of themſelves, and the reſt of the Perſons concern'd

in the *New-York* Trade, which *Petition* ſets forth, That great Diſcouragements have been brought upon the *Britiſh Trade*, by an Act paſſed in the ſaid Colony of *New-York*, the 19th of *November* 1720, entitled, *An Act for the Encouragement of the* Indian Trade, *and rendering of it more beneficial to the Inhabitants of this Province, and for prohibiting the ſelling of* Indian Goods *to the* French. And that as the ſaid Act was to continue in Force only for three Years, they are informed the Government of *New-York* either have, or are about paſſing an Act to revive and continue the ſame: Wherefore they humbly pray, that the Governor of that Colony may be ordered, not to paſs any new Act for that Purpoſe; and if any ſuch Act be already paſs'd, that it may be repealed.

It is ordered by his Majeſty in Council, That the ſaid Petition (a Copy whereof is hereunto annexed) be, and it is hereby referred to the Lords Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations, to examine into the ſame, and report to his Majeſty, at this Board, what they conceive fit to be done therein.

Signed,

James Vernon.

Extract of the Minutes of the Right Honourable the Lords Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations, the 7th of July 1724.

MR. *Sharp* attending as he had been deſired, with ſeveral *New-York* Merchants, their Lordſhips took again into Conſideration the Order of Council of the 30th of *April*, mentioned in the Minutes of the firſt of *May* laſt, referring to the

Board their Petition againſt their renewing an Act paſſed in *New-York*, in *November* 1720, entitled, *An Act for the Encouragement of the* Indian *Trade, and rendering of it more effectual to the Inhabitants of this Province, and for prohibiting the ſelling of* Indian *Goods to the* French. And Mr. *Sharp*, in behalf of the ſeveral Merchants, acquainted their Lordſhips, That he conceived this Act, tho' its Intention of gaining the *Indians* to the *Engliſh* Intereſt might be good, would have quite a contrary Effect, becauſe, if the Trade with the *French* was prevented, and the Merchants ſhould diſcontinue that with the *Indians*, (as he was informed they would) the *French* might lay hold of this Opportunity to furniſh themſelves with Goods from *Europe*, and ſupply the Five Nations of *Indians*, and thereby gain them to their Intereſt: And this, by reaſon of their Situation, would not be in the Power of the *Engliſh* to prevent: That they were two or three hundred Leagues diſtant from *Albany*, and that they could not come to trade with the *Engliſh* but by going down the River *St. Laurence*, and from thence through a Lake, which brought them within eighteen Leagues of *Albany*.

And that the *French* having made Settlements along the ſaid River, it would be in their Power, whenever they pleaſed, to cut off that Communication.

That this Act had been ſo great a Diſcouragement to the *Britiſh Trade*, in general, that there had not been, by far, ſo great a Quantity of Beaver, and other Furs, imported into *Great-Britain* ſince the paſſing the ſaid Act, as there was before; nor half the Quantity of *European Goods* exported.

That ſeveral Merchants who had ſent over to *New-York* conſiderable Quantities of *European Goods*, had received Advice from their Correſpondents,

dents, That ſhould another Act of the like Nature be paſſed, they could not find a Vent for them, and deſired they would ſend no more.

Upon the whole, Mr. *Sharp* deſired, in behalf of the Merchants, that Mr. *Burnet* might be directed not to paſs any Act of the like Nature for the future.

To the KING's Moſt Excellent Majeſty.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty;

IN Obedience to your Majeſty's Commands, ſignified to us by your Order in Council of the 30th of *April* laſt, referring to us the Petition of ſeveral Merchants of *London* trading to *New-York*, ſetting forth " That the great Diſcouragements " that have been brought upon the *Britiſh Trade* " by an Act paſſed in *New-York* the 19th of *No-* " *vember* 1720, entitled, *An Act for the Encourage-* " *ment of the* Indian Trade, *and rendering of it* " *more beneficial to the Inhabitants of this Province,* " *and for prohibiting the ſelling of* Indian Goods " *to the* French. And that as the ſaid Act is now " expired, the ſaid Merchants are informed the " Government of *New-York* either have, or are " about paſſing an Act to revive and continue the " ſame; and therefore pray, that a ſtop may be " put thereto." We humbly take leave to repreſent to your Majeſty,

That we have been attended by the Petitioners, who informed us, that they have found this Act, by Experience, to be ſo great a Diſcouragement to the *Britiſh Trade*, that there has not been, by far, ſo conſiderable a Quantity of Beaver, and other Furs, imported into *Great-Britain*, from *New-York*, ſince the paſſing the ſaid Act, as heretofore, nor half the Quantity of *European Goods* exported

 thither;

thither; in Conſequence whereof the Price of Furs is raiſed *Five and Twenty* and *Thirty per Cent.* to the great Prejudice of ſeveral *Britiſh* Manufacturers.

They likewiſe affirmed, that it was impracticable to hinder the *French* from ſupplying the *Indians* with *European* Goods: For tho' *New-York* ſhould not furniſh them, the *French* would find another Way to be ſupplied therewith, either from ſome other of his Majeſty's Plantations, or, it might be, directly from *Europe*. That it was of dangerous Conſequence to force this Trade into a new Channel, many of the Goods which the *Indians* want, being as eaſy to be had directly from *France* or *Holland*, as from *Great-Britain*.

They further added, That it was not likely the Act, in queſtion, ſhould produce the Effects expected from it, more particularly that of ſecuring the Five *Indian* Nations firmly to the *Britiſh* Intereſt; becauſe, if the *French* ſhould once get a Supply of the Goods neceſſary for the *Indian* Trade, from any other Place, as the Five *Indian* Nations are ſettled upon the Banks of the River of *St. Lawrence*, directly oppoſite to *Quebeck*, two or three hundred Leagues diſtant from the neareſt *Britiſh* Settlement in *New-York*, the Vicinity of the *French* would furniſh them with the Means of ſupplying even the *Five Nations* with theſe Goods, and conſequently of alienating their Affections from the *Britiſh* Intereſt. And that there was no Proſpect of obtaining a Trade with the *French Indians* by this Means, becauſe the *French* would always be able to prevent their Paſſage croſs the Lakes and River of *St. Lawrence* to our Settlements.

Theſe were the moſt material Objections made by the Merchants againſt the Bill.

On

On the other hand, the Preamble of the Act sets forth, That it was found by Experience, that the *French* of *Canada*, by means of *Indian* Goods brought from that Province, had not only almost wholly engrossed the *Indian* Trade, but had in great Measure, withdrawn the Affections of the *Five Nations* of *Indians* from the Inhabitants of that Province, and rendered them wavering in their Allegiance to your Majesty; and would, if such Trade were not prevented, altogether alienate the Minds of the said *Indians*, which would prove of dangerous Consequence to the *English* Interest in *America*.

And Mr. *Burnet*, your Majesty's Governor of *New-York*, informs us, That, since the passing of this Act, several of the far *Indians* had come to *Albany* to trade; That some of them came above one thousand Miles, and are now incorporated with the *Five Nations*: That he had likewise Intelligence of more far *Indians* that design'd to come to *Albany*, which he conceives to have been a good Effect proceeding from this Act: And likewise adds, That he did not doubt but the Cheapness of Goods in *Albany* would induce the *Indians* to trade there, rather than with the *French* at *Montreal*; and that the Traders of *Albany* began to be sensible of their Error in sharing a Trade with the *French*, which they now perceive they can keep wholly to themselves.

Upon the whole, being doubtful of some of the Facts alledged by the Merchants, and considering how far the *British Trade* may be affected by this Act, on the one hand; and how much the Security and Interest of your Majesty's Colonies in *America* may be concerned, on the other, we are humbly of Opinion, That no Directions should be sent

to *New-York*, upon the Subject-Matter of this Act, till Mr. *Burnet* ſhall have been acquainted with the Objections of the Merchants thereto, and his Anſwers and Obſervations received thereupon. For which End, if your Majeſty ſhall be graciouſly pleaſed to approve of this our Propoſal, we ſhall forthwith ſend him Copies both of the Merchants Memorial, and of what Objections they have made before us to the Subject-Matter of this Bill.

Which is moſt humbly ſubmitted. Signed,

Whitehall, *July* 14, 1724.

J. Chetwind,
T. Pelham,
M. Bladen,
R. Plummer,
Ed. Aſhe.

The Report of a Committee of the Council held at New-York, November 6, 1724.

May it pleaſe your Excellency,

IN Obedience to your Excellency's Commands in Council, the 29th of *October*, referring to us a Petition of ſeveral Merchants in *London*, preſented to the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, againſt renewing an Act paſſed in this Province, entitled, *An Act for the Encouragement of the* Indian *Trade, and rendering it more effectual to the Inhabitants of this Province, and for prohibiting the ſelling of* Indian *Goods to the* French; as likewiſe the ſeveral Allegations of the ſaid Merchants before the Right Hon. the Lords of Trade and Plantations, we beg Leave to make the following Remarks.

In order to make our Obſervations the more diſtinct and clear, we ſhall gather together the ſeveral Aſſertions of the ſaid Merchants both in their Petition, and delivered verbally before the Lords of Trade,

Trade, as to the Situation of this Province, with reſpect to the *French* and *Indian Nations*, and obſerve on them, in the firſt Place, they being the Foundation on which all their other Allegations are grounded. Afterwards we ſhall lay before your Excellency, what we think neceſſary to obſerve on the other Parts of the ſaid Petition, in the Order they are in the Petition, or in the Report of the Lords of Trade.

In their geographical Accounts they ſay, " Beſides the Nations of *Indians* that are in the *Engliſh* Intereſt, there are very many Nations of " *Indians*, who are at preſent in the Intereſt of the " *French*, and who lie between *New-York* and the " Nations of *Indians* in the *Engliſh* Intereſt.—— " The *French* and their *Indians* would not permit " the *Engliſh Indians* to paſs over by their Forts.

The ſaid Act " Reſtrains them *(the Five Nations)* from a free Commerce with the Inhabi- " tants of *New-York*.

" The *Five Indian Nations* are ſettled upon the " Banks of the River *St. Laurence*, directly oppoſite to *Quebeck*, two or three Hundred Leagues " diſtant from the neareſt *Britiſh* Settlements in " *New-York*.

" They (*the five Nations of Indians*) were two " or three Hundred Leagues diſtant from *Albany*; " and that they could not come to trade with the " *Engliſh* but by going down the River *St. Law-* " *rence*, and from thence through a Lake, which " brought them within eighteen Leagues of " *Albany*."

Theſe Things the Merchants have thought it ſafe for them, and conſiſtent with their Duty to his ſacred Majeſty, to ſay in his Majeſty's Preſence, and to repeat them afterwards before the Right Hon. the Lords of Trade, though nothing can be more directly contrary to the Truth. For there are no

Nations of *Indians* between *New-York* and the Nations of *Indians* in the *Engliſh Intereſt*, who are now ſix in Number, by the Addition of the *Tuſcaroras*. The *Mohawks* (called *Annies* by the *French*) one of the Five Nations, live on the South-ſide of a Branch of *Hudſon's-River*, (not on the North-ſide, as they are placed in the *French* Maps) and but forty Miles directly Weſt from *Albany*, and within the *Engliſh* Settlements, ſome of the *Engliſh* Farms upon the ſame River being thirty Miles further Weſt.

The *Oneidas* (the next of the Five Nations) lie likewiſe Weſt from *Albany*, near the Head of the *Mohawks-River*, about one Hundred Miles from *Albany*.

The *Onondagas* lie about one Hundred and Thirty Miles Weſt from *Albany*. And the *Tuſcaroras* live partly with the *Oneidas*, and partly with the *Onondagas*.

The *Cayugas* are about one hundred and ſixty Miles from *Albany*.

And the *Sennekas* (the furtheſt of all theſe Nations) are not above two hundred and forty Miles from *Albany*, as may appear by Mr. *De L'Iſle*'s Map of *Louiſiane*, who lays down the Five Nations under the Name of *Iroquois*.

And Goods are daily carried from this Province to the *Sennekas*, as well as to thoſe Nations that lie nearer by Water all the Way, except three Miles (or in the dry Seaſons, five Miles) where the Traders carry over Land between the *Mohawks-River* and the *Wood Creek*, which runs into the *Oneida-Lake*, without going near either *St. Lawrence-River*, or any of the *Lakes* upon which the *French* paſs, which are entirely out of their Way.

The neareſt *French* Forts or Settlements to *Albany*, are *Chambly* and *Montreal*, both of them lying about North and by Eaſt from *Albany*, and are near two hundred Miles diſtant from it. *Quebeck* lies

lies about three hunded and eighty Miles North-Eaſt from *Albany*. So far is it from being true, that the Five Nations are ſituated upon the Banks of the *River St. Lawrence*, oppoſite to *Quebeck*, that *Albany* lies almoſt directly between *Quebeck* and the *Five Nations*. And to ſay that theſe *Indians* cannot come to trade at *Albany*, but by going down the *River St. Lawrence*, and then into a *Lake* eighteen Leagues from *Albany* (we ſuppoſe they mean *Lake Champlain*) paſſing by the *French* Forts, is to the ſame Purpoſe as if they ſhould ſay, that one cannot go from *London* to *Briſtol*, but by the Way of *Edinburg*.

Before we go on to obſerve other Particulars, we beg Leave further to remark, that it is ſo far from being true that the *Indians* in the *French* Intereſt, lie between *New-York* and our *Five Nations of Indians*, that ſome of our Nations of *Indians* lie between the *French* and the *Indians*, from whence the *French* bring the far greateſt Quantity of their Furs: For the *Sennekas* (whom the *French* call *Sonontouons*) are ſituated between *Lake Erie* and *Cataraqui Lake* (called by the *French Ontario*) near the great Fall of *Jagara*, by which all the *Indians* that live round *Lake Erie*, round the Lake of the *Hurons*, round the Lake of the *Illenois*, or *Michegan*, and round the great *Upper Lake*, generally paſs in their Way to *Canada*. All the *Indians* ſituated upon the Branches of the *Miſſiſſippi*, muſt likewiſe paſs by the ſame Place, if they go to *Canada*. And all of them likewiſe in their Way to *Canada*, paſs by our Trading-Place upon the *Cataraqui Lake*, at the Mouth of the *Onondaga River*. The neareſt and ſafeſt Way of carrying Goods upon the *Cataraqui Lake* towards *Canada*, being along the South-ſide of that Lake, (near where our *Indians* are ſettled, and our Trade of late is fixed, and not by the

North-ſide and *Cataraqui*, or *Frontenac Fort*, where the *French* are ſettled.

Now that we have repreſented to your Excellency, that not one Word of the Geography of theſe Merchants is true, upon which all their Reaſoning is founded, it might ſeem needleſs to trouble your Excellency with any further Remarks, were it not to ſhew with what Earneſtneſs they are promoting the *French Intereſt* to the Prejudice of all his Majeſty's Colonies in *North America*, and that they are not aſhamed of aſſerting any Thing for that End, even in the Royal Preſence.

Firſt, They ſay, " That by the Act paſſed in " this Province, entitled, *An Act for Encourage-* " *ment of the* Indian *Trade*, &c. All Trade what- " ſoever is prohibited in the ſtricteſt Manner, and " under the ſevereſt Penalties, between the Inha- " bitants of *New-York* Government, and the " *French* of *Canada*.

This is not true, for only carrying Goods to the *French*, which are proper for the *Indian Trade*, is prohibited. The Trade as to other Things, is left in the ſame State it was before that Act was made, as it will appear to any Perſon that ſhall read it: And there are yearly large Quantities of other Goods openly carried to *Canada*, without any Hindrance from the Government of *New-York*. Whatever may be ſaid of the Severity and Penalties in that Act, they are found inſufficient to deter ſome from carrying Goods clandeſtinely to the *French*; and the Legiſlature of this Province are convinced that no Penalties can be too ſevere, to prevent a Trade which puts the Safety of all his Majeſty's Subjects of *North America* in the greateſt Danger.

Their next Aſſertion is, *All the* Indian *Goods have by this Act, been raiſed* 25l. to 30l. *per Cent.* This is the only Allegation in the whole Petition, that there is any Ground for. Nevertheleſs, though the

common

common Channel of Trade cannot be altered without ſome Detriment to it in the Beginning, we are aſſured from the Cuſtom-houſe Books, that there has been every Year, ſince the paſſing of this Act, more Furs exported from *New-York*, than in the Year immediately before the paſſing of this Act. It is not probable, that the greateſt Difference between the Exhortation any Year before this Act, and any Year ſince, could ſo much alter the Price of Beaver, as it is found to be this laſt Year. Beaver is carried to *Britain* from other Parts beſides *New-York*, and it is certain that the Price of Beaver is not ſo much altered here by the Quantity in our Market, as by the Demand for it in *Britain*. But as we cannot be ſo well informed here, what occaſions Beaver to be in greater Demand in *Britain*, we muſt leave that to be enquired after in *England*. However, we are fully ſatisfied that it will be found to be for very different Reaſons from what the Merchants alledge.

The Merchants go on and ſay, *Whereas on the other Hand, this Branch of the* New-York *Trade, by the Diſcouragements brought upon it by this Act, is almoſt wholly engroſſed by the* French, *who have already by this Act, been encouraged to ſend proper* European Goods *to* Canada, *to carry on this Trade, ſo that ſhould this Act be continued, the* New-York *Trade which is very conſiderable, muſt be wholly loſt to us, and center in the* French —— *Though* New-York *ſhould not furniſh them, the* French *would find another Way to be ſupplied therewith, either from ſome other of his Majeſty's Plantations, or it might be directly from* Europe. —— *Many of the Goods which the* Indians *want being as eaſy to be had directly from* France *or* Holland, *as from* Great-Britain.

This is eaſily anſwered, by informing your Excellency, that the principal of the Goods proper for

for the *Indian Market* are only of the Manufactures of *Great-Britain*, or of the *British Plantations*, *viz.* Strouds, or Stroud-Waters, and other Woollens, and Rum. The *French* muſt be obliged to buy all their Woollens (the Strouds eſpecially) in *England*, and thence carry them to *France*, in order to their Tranſportation to *Canada*. The Voyage to *Quebeck* through the Bay of *St. Lawrence*, is well known to be the moſt dangerous of any in the World, and only practicable in the Summer Months. The *French* have no Commodities in *Canada*, by reaſon of the Cold and Barrenneſs of the Soil, proper for the *Weſt-India* Markets, and therefore have no Rum but by Veſſels from *France*, that touch at their Iſlands in the *Weſt-Indies*. *New-York* has by Reaſon of its Situation, both as to the Sea and the *Indians*, every Way the Advantage of *Canada*. The *New-York* Veſſels make always two Voyages in the Year from *England*, one in Summer and another in Winter, and ſeveral Voyages in a Year to the *Weſt-Indies*. It is manifeſt therefore, that it is not in the Power of the *French* to import any Goods near ſo cheap to *Canada*, as they are imported to *New-York*.

But to put this out of all Controverſy, we need only obſerve to your Excellency, That Strouds (without which no conſiderable Trade can be carried on with the *Indians*) are ſold at *Albany* for 10 *l.* a Piece: They were ſold at *Montreal* before this Act took Place, at 13*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* and now they are ſold there for 25*l.* and upwards: Which is an evident Proof, that the *French* have not, in theſe four Years Time, (during the Continuance of this Act) found out any other Way to ſupply themſelves with Strouds, and likewiſe that they cannot trade without them, ſeeing they buy them at ſo extravagant a Price.

It likewiſe appears, that none of the neighbouring Colonies have been able to ſupply the *French* with theſe Goods; and thoſe that know the Geography of the Country, know it is impracticable to do it at any tolerable Rate, becauſe they muſt carry their Goods ten Times further by Land than we need to do.

We are likewiſe aſſured, that the Merchants of *Montreal* lately told Mr. *Vaudreuil* their Governor, that if the Trade from *Albany* be not by ſome Means or other encouraged, they muſt abandon that Settlement. We have Reaſon therefore to ſuſpect, that theſe Merchants (at leaſt ſome of them) have been practiſed upon by the *French* Agents in *London*; for no doubt, the *French* will leave no Method untried to defeat the preſent Deſigns of this Government, ſeeing they are more afraid of the Conſequences of this Trade between *New-York* and the *Indians*, than of all the warlike Expeditions that ever were attempted againſt *Canada*.

But to return to the Petitioners, *They conceive nothing can tend more to the withdrawing the Affections of the* Five Nations of Indians *from the* Engliſh Intereſt, *than the Continuance of the ſaid Act, which in its Effects reſtrains them from a free Commerce with the Inhabitants of* New-York, *and may too probably eſtrange them from the* Engliſh Intereſt, *whereas by Freedom of Commerce, and an encouraged Intercourſe of Trade with the* French *and their* Indians, *the* Engliſh Intereſt *might in Time, be greatly improved and ſtrengthened.*

It ſeems to us a ſtrange Argument to ſay, that an Act, the whole Purport of which is to encourage our own People to go among the *Indians*, and to draw the far *Indians* through our *Indian Country* to *Albany* (and which has truly produced theſe Effects) would on the contrary, reſtrain them from a free Commerce with the Inhabitants of *New-York*, and

may

may too probably eſtrange them from the *Engliſh Intereſt*; and therefore that it would be much wiſer in us to make uſe of the *French* to promote the *Engliſh Intereſt*; and for which End, we ought to encourage a free Intercourſe between them and our *Indians*. The Reverſe of this is exactly true, in the Opinion of our *Five Nations*; who in all their publick Treaties with this Government, have repreſented againſt this Trade, as *The building the* French *Forts with* Engliſh *Strouds:* That the encouraging a Freedom of Commerce with our *Indians*, and the *Indians* round them, who muſt paſs through their Country to *Albany*, would certainly increaſe both the *Engliſh Intereſt* and theirs, among all the Nations to the Weſtward of them; and that the carrying the *Indian Market* to *Montreal* in *Canada*, draws all the far *Indians* thither.

The laſt Thing we have to take Notice is, what the Merchants aſſerted before the Lords of Trade, *viz. That there has not been half the Quantity of* European *Goods exported ſince the paſſing of this Act, that uſed to be.*

We are well aſſured, that this is no better grounded than the other Facts they aſſert with the ſame Poſitiveneſs. For it is well known almoſt to every Perſon in *New-York*, that there has not been a leſs, but rather a greater Quantity of *European Goods* imported into this Place, ſince the paſſing of this Act, than was at any Time before it, in the ſame Space of Time. As this appears by the Manifeſts in the Cuſtom-houſe here, the ſame may likewiſe be eaſily proved by the Cuſtom-houſe Books in *London*.

As all the Arguments of the Merchants run upon the ill Effects this Act has had upon the Trade and the Minds of the *Indians*, every one of which we have ſhewn to be aſſerted without the leaſt Foundation to ſupport them, there nothing now remains,

but

but to ſhew the good Effects this Act has produced, which are ſo notorious in this Province, that we know not one Perſon that now opens his Mouth againſt the Act.

Before this Act paſſed, none of the People of this Province travelled into the *Indian Countries* to trade: We have now above forty young Men, who have been ſeveral Times as far as the Lakes a trading, and thereby become well acquainted, not only with the Trade of the *Indians*, but likewiſe with their Manners and Languages; and theſe have returned with ſuch large Quantities of Furs, that greater Numbers are reſolved to follow their Example. So that we have good Reaſon to hope, that in a little Time the *Engliſh* will draw the whole *Indian* Trade of the Inland Countries to *Albany*, and into the Country of the *Five Nations*. This Government has built a publick Trading-houſe upon *Cataraqui Lake*, at *Irondequat* in the *Sennekas* Land, and another is to be built next Spring, at the Mouth of the *Onondagas River*. All the far *Indians* paſs by theſe Places in their Way to *Canada*; and they are not above half ſo far from the *Engliſh* Settlements, as they are from the *French*.

So far is it from being true what the Merchants ſay, *That the* French *Forts interrupt all Communication between the* Indians *and the* Engliſh, that if theſe Places be well ſupported, as they eaſily can be from our Settlements, in caſe of a Rupture with the *French*, it will be in the Power of this Province, to intercept the greateſt Part of the Trade between *Canada* and the *Indians*, round the Lakes and the Branches of the *Miſſiſſipi*.

Since this Act paſſed, many Nations have come to *Albany* to trade, and ſettle Peace and Friendſhip, whoſe Names had not ſo much as been heard of among us.

In

In the Beginning of *May* 1723, a Nation of *Indians* came to *Albany* ſinging and dancing, with their Calumets before them, as they always do when they come to any Place where they have not been before. We do not find that the Commiſſioners of *Indian* Affairs, were able to inform themſelves what Nation this was.

Towards the End of the ſame Month, eighty Men, beſides Women and Children, came to *Albany* in the ſame Manner. Theſe had one of our Five Nations with them for an Interpreter, by whom they informed the Commiſſioners, that they were of a great Nation, called *Nehkereages*, conſiſting of ſix Caſtles and Tribes; and that they lived near a Place called by the *French Miſſilimakinak*, between the Upper Lake and the Lake of the *Hurons*. Theſe *Indians* not only deſired a free Commerce, but likewiſe to enter into a ſtrict League of Friendſhip with us and our *Six Nations*, that they might be accounted the *Seventh Nation* in the League; and being received accordingly, they left their Calumet as a Pledge of their Fidelity.

In *June* another Nation arrived, but from what Part of the Continent we have not learned.

In *July* the *Twihtwies* arrived, and brought an *Indian* Interpreter of our Nations with them, who told, that they were called by the *French Miamies*, aud that they live upon one of the Branches of the *River Miſſiſſipi*.

At the ſame Time ſome of the *Tahſagrondie Indians* who live between *Lake Erie* and the Lake of the *Hurons*, near a *French* Settlement, did come and renew their League with the *Engliſh*, nor durſt the *French* hinder them.

In *July* this Year, another Nation came, whoſe Situation and Name we know not. And in *Auguſt* and *September*, ſeveral Parties of the ſame *Indians* that had been here laſt Year. But the greateſt

Numbers

Numbers of these far *Indians* have been met this Year, in the *Indian* Country by our Traders, every one of them endeavouring to get before another, in order to reap the Profits of so advantagious a Trade, which has all this Summer long, kept about forty Traders constantly employed, in going between our Trading-places in our *Indian* Country, and *Albany*.

All these Nations of *Indians*, who came to *Albany* said, that the *French* had told them many strange Stories of the *English*, and did what they could to hinder their coming to *Albany*, but that they had resolved to break through by Force. The Difference on this Score between the *Tahsagrondie Indians* and the *French* (who have a Fort and Settlement there, called by them *Le Detroit*) rose to that Height this Summer, that Mr. *Tonti* who commanded there, thought it proper to retire, and return to *Canada* with many of his Men.

We are for these Reasons well assured, that this Year there will be more Beaver exported for *Great-Britain*, than ever was from this Province in one Year; and that if the Custom-house Books at *London* be looked into, it will be found, that there will be a far greater Quantity of Goods for the *Indians*, (Strouds especially) sent over next Spring, than ever was at any one Time to this Province; for the Merchants here tell us, that they have at this Time, ordered more of these Goods, than ever was done at any one Time before.

These Matters of Fact prove beyond Contradiction, that this Act has been of the greatest Service to *New-York*, in making us acquainted with many Nations of *Indians*, formerly entirely unknown and Strangers to us; in withdrawing them from their Dependence upon the *French*, and in uniting them to *us* and *our Indians* by means of Trade and mutual Offices of Friendship. Of what great Consequence

quence this may be to the *British Intereſt* in general, as to Trade, is apparent to any Body. It is no leſs apparent likewiſe, that it is of the greateſt Conſequence to the Safety of all the *Britiſh Colonies* in *North America*. We feel too ſenſibly, the ill Effects of the *French Intereſt* in the preſent War betwixt *New-England*, and only one Nation of *Indians* ſupported by the *French*. Of what diſmal Conſequences then might it be, if the *French* ſhould be able to influence in the ſame Manner, ſo many and ſuch numerous *Nations*, as lie to the Weſtward of *this Province*, *Penſylvania* and *Maryland?* On the other Hand, if all theſe *Nations* (who aſſert their own Freedom, and declare themſelves Friends to thoſe that ſupply them beſt with what they want) be brought to have a Dependance upon the *Engliſh* (as we have good Reaſon to hope, in a ſhort Time they will) the *French* of *Canada*, in caſe of a War, muſt be at the Mercy of the *Engliſh*.

To theſe Advantages muſt be added, that many of our young Men having been induced by this Act to travel among the *Indians*, they learn their Manners, their Languages, and the Situation of all their Countries, and become inured to all Manner of Fatigues and Hardſhips, and a great many more being reſolved to follow their Example; theſe young men, in Caſe of a War with the *Indians*, will be of ten Times the Service that the ſame Number of the common Militia can be of.

The Effects of this Act have likewiſe ſo much quieted the Minds of the People, with Reſpect to the Security of the Frontiers, that our Settlements are now extended above thirty Miles further Weſt towards the *Indian* Countries, than they were before it paſſed.

The only Thing that now remains to anſwer, is an Objection which we ſuppoſe may be made, *What can induce the Merchants of* London *to petition*

tion againſt an Act, which will be really ſo much for their Intereſt in the End? The Reaſon is in all Probability, becauſe they only conſider their preſent Gain; and that they are not at all concerned for the Safety of this Country, in encouraging the moſt neceſſary Undertaking, if they apprehend their Profit for two or three Years may be leſſened by it. This Inclination of the Merchants has been ſo notorious, that few Nations at War with their Neighbours, have been able to reſtrain them from ſupplying their Enemies with Ammunition and Arms. The Count *D'Eſtrade*, in his Letters in 1638, ſays, That when the *Dutch* were beſieging *Antwerp*, one *Beiland*, who had loaded four Flyboats with Arms and Powder for *Antwerp*, being taken up by the Prince of *Orange*'s Order, and examined at *Amſterdam*, ſaid boldly, *That the Burghers of* Amſterdam *had a Right to Trade every where: That he could name a Hundred that were Factors for the Merchants at* Antwerp, *and that he was one. That Trade cannot be interrupted, and that for his Part he was very free to own, that if to get any Thing by Trade it were neceſſary to paſs through Hell, he would venture to burn his Sails.* When this Principle ſo common to Merchants, is conſidered, and that ſome in this Place have got Eſtates by trading many Years to *Canada*, it is not to be wondered that they have acted as Factors for *Canada* in this Affair, and that they have tranſmitted ſuch Accounts to their Correſpondents in *London*, as are conſiſtent with the Truſt repoſed in them by the Merchants of *Canada*.

In the laſt Place, we are humbly of Opinion, that it may be proper to print the Petition of the Merchants of *London*, and their Allegations before the Lords of Trade, together with the Anſwers your Committee has made thereto, in Vindication of the Legiſlature of this Province, of which we

have

have the Honour to be a Part, if your Excellency ſhall approve of our Anſwers: That what we have ſaid may be expoſed to the Examination of every one in this Place, where the Truth of the Matters of Fact is beſt known; and that the Correſpondents of theſe Merchants may have the moſt publick Notice to reply, if they ſhall think it proper, or to diſown in a publick Manner, that they are the Authors of ſuch groundleſs Informations.

All which is unanimouſly and humbly ſubmitted by

Your Excellency's

Moſt obedient humble Servants,

R. Walter,
Rip Van Dam,
John Barberie,
Fr. Harriſon,
Cadwallader Colden,
Ja. Alexander,
Abraham Van Horn.

A Memorial concerning the Furr-Trade of the Province of New-York.

Preſented to his Excellency William Burnet, *Eſq*; *Captain-General and Governor*, &c. *by* Cadwallader Colden, *Surveyor-General of the ſaid Province, the* 10*th of* November 1724.

IT has of late been generally believed, that the Inhabitants of the Province of *New-York* are ſo advantageouſly ſituated, with Reſpect to the *Indian Trade*, and enjoy ſo many Advantages as to Trade in general, that it is in their Power not only to rival the *French* of *Canada*, who have amoſt entirely engroſſed the Furr-Trade of *America*, but that it is impoſſible for the *French* to carry on that Trade

Trade in Competition with the People of this Province. The enquiring into the Truth of this Propoſition, may not only be of ſome Conſequence, as to the Riches and Honour of the *Britiſh Nation*, (for it is well known how valuable the Furr-Trade of *America* is) but likewiſe as to the Safety of all the *Britiſh Colonies* in *North-America*. *New-France* (as the *French* now claim) extends from the Mouth of the River *Miſſiſſippi*, to the Mouth of the River *St. Lawrence*, by which the *French* plainly ſhow their Intention of encloſing the *Britiſh Settlements*, and cutting us off from all Commerce with the numerous Nations of *Indians*, that are every where ſettled over the vaſt Continent of *North-America*. The *Engliſh* in *America* have too good Reaſon to apprehend ſuch a Deſign, when they ſee the *French* King's Geographer publiſh a Map, by which he has ſet Bounds to the *Britiſh Empire* in *America*, and has taken in many of the *Engliſh Settlements* both in *South-Carolina* and *New-York*, within theſe Boundaries of *New-France*. And the good Services they intend us, with the *Indians*, but too plainly appears at this Day, by the *Indian War* now carried on againſt *New-England*.

I have therefore for ſome Time paſt, endeavoured to inform myſelf, from the Writings of the *French*, and from others who have travelled in *Canada*, or among the *Indians*, how far the People of this Province may carry on the *Indian Trade*, with more Advantage than the *French* can; or what Diſadvantages they labour under, more than the *French* do. As all Endeavours for the good of one's Country are excuſable, I do not doubt but my Intention in this will be acceptable to your Excellency, though I be not capable of treating the Subject as it deſerves.

I ſhall begin with *Canada*, and conſider what Advantages they have either by their Situation, or other-

otherwiſe. *Canada* is ſituated upon the River of *St. Lawrence*, by which the five great Lakes (which may properly be called, *The Five Inland Seas of North-America)* empty themſelves into the Ocean. The Mouth of this great River is in the Lat. of 50 Degrees, over-againſt the Body of *Newfoundland.* It riſes from the *Cataracui Lake*, (the Eaſtermoſt of the five great Lakes) about the Lat. of 44 Degree, and runs from thence about North-Eaſt to the Ocean, and is about nine hundred Miles in Length, from that Lake to the Ocean. The five great Lakes which communicate with each other, and with this River, extend about one thouſand Miles Weſtward, further into the Continent. So far the *French* have already diſcovered, and their Diſcoveries make it probable, that an Inland Paſſage may be found to the *South-Sea*, by the Rivers which run into theſe Lakes, and Rivers which run into the *South-Sea.*

The Method of carrying Goods upon the Rivers of *North-America*, into all the ſmall Branches, and over Land, from the Branches of one River to the Branches of another, was learned from the *Indians*, and is the only Method practicable through ſuch large Foreſts and Deſerts as the Traders paſs thro', in carrying from one Nation to another, it is this; the *Indians* make a long narrow Boat, made of the Bark of the Birch-tree, the Parts of which they join very neatly. One of theſe Canoes that can carry a Dozen Men, can itſelf be eaſily carried upon two Mens Shoulders; ſo that when they have gone as far by Water as they can (which is further than is eaſily to be imagined, becauſe their loaded Canoes don't ſink ſix Inches into the Water) they unload their Canoes, and carry both Goods and Canoes upon their Shoulders over Land, into the neareſt Branch of the River they intend to follow. Thus the *French* have an eaſy Communication with

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all the Countries bordering upon the River of *St. Lawrence*, and its Branches, with all the Countries bordering upon theſe Inland-Seas, and the Rivers which empty themſelves into theſe Seas, and can thereby carry their Burdens of Merchandize thro' all theſe large Countries, which could not by any other Means than Water-carriage be carried thro' ſo vaſt a Tract of Land.

This, however, but half finiſhes the View the *French* have, as to their Commerce in *North-America*. Many of the Branches of the River *Miſiſſippi* come ſo near to the Branches of ſeveral of the Rivers which empty themſelves into the great Lakes, that in ſeveral Places there is but a ſhort Land-Carriage from the one to the other. As ſoon as they have got into the River *Miſiſſippi*, they open to themſelves as large a Field for Traffick in the Southern Parts of *North-America*, as was before-mentioned with reſpect to the Northern Parts. If one conſiders the Length of this River, and its numerous Branches, he muſt ſay, *That by Means of this River, and the Lakes, there is open to his View ſuch a Scene of inland Navigation as cannot be parallel'd in any other Part of the World.*

The *French* have, with much Induſtry, ſettled ſmall Colonies, and built ſtockaded Forts at all the conſiderable Paſſes between the Lakes, except between *Cataracui Lake* (called by the *French Ontario*) and *Lake Erie*, one of our Five Nations of *Indians*, whom we call *Sennekas*, (and the *French Sonontouans*) having hitherto refuſed them Leave to erect any Buildings there.

The *French* have been indefatigable in making Diſcoveries, and carrying on their Commerce with Nations, of whom the *Engliſh* know nothing but what they ſee in the *French* Maps and Books. The Barrenneſs of the Soil, and the Coldneſs of the Climate of *Canada*, obliges the greateſt Number of

the Inhabitants to ſeek their living by travelling among the *Indians*, or by trading with thoſe that do travel. The Governor, and other Officers, having but a ſcanty Allowance from the King, and could not ſubſiſt were it not by the Perquiſites they have from this Trade; neither could their Prieſts find any Means to ſatisfy their Ambition and Luxury without it: So that all Heads and Hands are employed to advance it, and the Men of beſt Parts think it the ſureſt Way to advance themſelves by travelling among the *Indians*, and learning their Languages; even the Bigotry and Enthuſiaſm of ſome hot Heads has not been a little uſeful in advancing this Commerce; for that Government having prudently turn'd the Edge of the Zeal of ſuch hot Spirits upon converting the *Indians*, many of them have ſpent their Lives under the greateſt Hardſhips, in endeavouring to gain the *Indians* to their Religion, and to love the *French Nations*, while, at the ſame Time, they are no leſs induſtrious to repreſent the *Engliſh* as the *Enemies of Mankind*. So that the whole Policy of that Government, both civil and religious, is admirably turn'd to the general Advancement of this Trade. Indeed the Art and Induſtry of the *French*, eſpecially that of their religious Miſſions, has ſo far prevail'd upon all the *Indians* in *North-America*, that they are every where directed by *French Counſels*. Even our own *Five Nations*, (the *Iroquois*) who formerly were mortal Enemies of the *French*, and have always liv'd in the ſtricteſt Amity with the *Engliſh*, have, of late, (by the Practices of the *French Prieſts*) been ſo far gain'd, that ſeveral of the *Mohawks*, who live neareſt the *Engliſh*, have left their Habitations, and are gone to ſettle near *Montreal* in *Canada*; and all the reſt diſcover a Dread of the *French Power*. That much of this is truly owing to the *Prieſts*, appears from many

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of the *Sachems* of the *Iroquois* wearing Crucifixes when they come to *Albany:* And those *Mohawk Indians* that are gone to *Canada*, are now commonly known both to the *French* and *English*, by the Name of *The Praying Indians*, it being customary for them to go through the Streets of *Montreal* with their Beads, praying and begging Alms.

But notwithstanding all these Advantages, the *French* labour under Difficulties that no Art or Industry can remove. The Mouth of the River of *St. Lawrence*, and more especially the Bay of *St. Lawrence*, lies so far North, and is thereby so often subject to tempestuous Weather and thick Fogs, that the Navigation there is very dangerous, and never attempted but during the Summer Months. The Wideness of this Bay, together with the many strong Currents that run in it, the many Shelves and sunken Rocks that are every where spread over both the Bay and River, and the want of Places for anchoring in the Bay, all increase the Danger of this Navigation; so that a Voyage to *Canada* is justly esteem'd much more dangerous than to any other Part of *America*. The many Shipwrecks that happen in this Navigation, are but too evident Proofs of the Truth of this, particularly the Miscarriage of the last Expedition against *Canada*. The Channel is so difficult, and the Tides so strong, that after their Shipping get into the River, they never attempt to sail in the Night, tho' the Wind be fair, and the Weather good. These Difficulties are so considerable, that the *French* never attempt above one Voyage in a Year to *Europe*, or the *West Indies*, tho' it be really nearer *Europe* than any of the *English Colonies*, where the Shipping that constantly use the Trade, always make two Voyages in the Year.

The Navigation between *Quebeck* and *Montreal* is likewiſe very dangerous and difficult: The Tide riſes about 18 or 20 Feet, at *Quebeck*, which occaſions ſo ſtrong a Stream, that a Boat of ſix Oars cannot make way againſt it: The River in many Places very wide, and the Channel at the ſame time narrow and crooked; there are many Shelves and ſunken Rocks, ſo that the beſt Pilots have been deceived; for which reaſon the Veſſels that carry Goods to *Montreal*, are always obliged to anchor before Night, tho' both Wind and Tide be fair. The Flood goes no further than *Trois Rivieres*, half way to *Montreal*, and about ninety Miles from *Quebeck*: After they paſs this Place they have a ſtrong Stream always againſt them, which requires a fair Wind and a ſtrong Gale to carry the Veſſels againſt the Stream. And they are obliged in this Part of the River, as well as under the *Trois Rivieres*, to come to an anchor at Night, tho' the Wind be good. Theſe Difficulties make the common Paſſages take up three or four Weeks, and ſometimes ſix Weeks; tho' if they have the chance of a Wind to continue ſo long, they may run it in five or ſix Days.

After they paſs *Montreal*, they have a ſtrong Stream againſt them till they come near the Lakes; ſo that in all that, which is about one hundred and fifty Miles in Length, they force their Canoes forward with ſetting Poles, or drag them with Ropes along ſhore; and at five or ſix different Places in that way, the River falls over Rocks with ſuch Force, that they are obliged to unload their Canoes, and carry them upon their Shoulders. They never make this Voyage from *Montreal* to *Cataracui* in leſs than twenty Days, and frequently twice that Time is neceſſary.

Now we are come ſo far as the Lake, my Deſign leads me no further, for at this Lake all the

far Indians, that go to *Canada*, muſt paſs, by our Traders. And from thence the Road to the *Indian Countries* is the ſame from *Albany* that it is from *Montreal*.

Beſides theſe Difficulties in the Tranſportation, the *French* labour under greater in the purchaſing of the principal Goods proper for the *Indian Market*; for the moſt conſiderable and moſt valuable Part of their Cargo conſiſts in *Strouds*, *Duffils*, *Blankets* and other *Woollens*, which are bought at a much cheaper Rate in *England* than in *France*. The *Strouds* (which the *Indians* value more than any other Cloathing) are only made in *England*, and muſt be tranſported into *France*, before they can be carried to *Canada*. *Rum* is another conſiderable Branch of the *Indian Trade*, which the *French* have not, by reaſon they have no Commodities in *Canada* fit for the *Weſt-India* Market. This they ſupply with *Brandy*, at a much dearer Rate than Rum can be purchaſed at *New-York*, tho' of no more Value with the *Indians*. Generally, all the Goods uſed in the *Indian Trade*, except *Gun-Powder*, and a few Trinkets are ſold at *Montreal* for twice their Value at *Albany*. To this likewiſe muſt be added, the Neceſſity they are under of laying the whole Charge of ſupporting their Government on the *Indian Trade*. I am not particularly informed of their Duties or Impoſts, but I am well aſſured, that they commonly give ſix or ſeven hundred Livres for a Licence for one Canoe, in Proportion to her Largeneſs, to go with her Loading into the *Indian Country* to trade.

I ſhall next conſider the Advantages the Inhabitants of *New-York* have in carrying on this Trade. In the *firſt* place, the Ships that conſtantly uſe the Trade to *England*, perform their Voyage to and from *London* twice every Year; and thoſe that go to *Briſtol* (the Port from whence the greateſt part

of the Goods for the *Indian Trade* are exported) frequently return in four Months. Theſe Goods are bought much cheaper in *England* than in *France:* They are tranſported in leſs Time, with leſs Charge, and much leſs Riſque, as appears by the *Premio* for Inſurance between *London* and *New-York*, being only *Two per Cent.* Goods are eaſily carried from *New-York* to *Albany*, up *Hudſon's-River*, the Diſtance being only 140 Miles, the River very ſtrait all the way, and bold, and very free from Sand-banks, as well as Rocks; ſo that the Veſſels always ſail as well by Night as by Day, and have the Advantage of the Tide upwards as well as downwards, the Flood flowing above *Albany*. It may therefore be ſafely concluded, that all Sorts of Goods can be carried to *Albany* at a cheaper Rate than they can be to *Quebeck*, which is alſo three times further from the *Indian Country* than *Albany* is. To put the Truth of this out of all diſpute, I need only obſerve what is well known both at *New-York* and *Albany*, *viz.* That almoſt all the Strouds carried by the *French* into the *Indian Countries*, as well as large Quantities of other Goods, for the Uſe of the *French* themſelves, are carried from *Albany* to *Montreal*. There has been an Account kept of nine hundred Pieces of Strouds tranſported thither in one Year, beſides other Commodities of very conſiderable Value. The Diſtance between *Albany* and *Montreal* is about two hundred Miles, all by Water, except twelve Miles between *Hudſon's River* and the *Wood-Creek*, where they carry their Bark Canoes over Land, and about ſixteen Miles between *Chambly* and *La Praire*, over-againſt *Montreal*. And tho' the Paſſage be ſo ſhort and eaſy, theſe Goods are generally ſold at double their Value in *Albany*.

But as this Path has been thought extremely prejudicial to the Intereſt of this Colony, I ſhall leave it, and go on to another, that leads directly from

Albany

Albany into the *Cataracui* or *Ontario Lake*, without going near any of the *French* Settlements.

From *Albany* the *Indian* Traders commonly carry their Goods ſixteen Miles over Land, to the *Mohawks River* at *Schenechtady*, the Charge of which Carriage is *Nine Shillings New-York* Money, or *Five Shillings Sterling* each Waggon-Load. From *Schenechtady* they carry them in Canoes up the *Mohawks River* to the Carrying-place between the *Mohawks River*, and the River which runs into the *Oneida Lake*; which Carrying-place between is only three Miles long, except in very dry Weather, when they are obliged to carry them two Miles further. From thence they go with the Current down the *Onondaga River* to the *Cataracui Lake*. The Diſtance between *Albany* and the *Cataracui Lake* (this Way) is nearly the ſame with that between *Albany* and *Montreal*; and likewiſe with that between *Montreal* and the *Cataracui Lake*, and the Paſſage much eaſier than the laſt, becauſe the Stream of the *Mohawks River* is not near ſo ſtrong as the *Cataracui River* between the *Lake* and *Montreal*, and there is no Fall in the River, ſave one ſhort one; whereas there are (as I have ſaid) at leaſt five in the *Cataracui River*, where the Canoes muſt be unloaded. Therefore it plainly follows, that the *Indian Goods* may be carried at as cheap a Rate from *Albany* to the *Cataracui Lake*, as from *Albany* to *Montreal*. So that the People of *Albany* plainly ſave all the Charge of carrying Goods two hundred Miles from *Montreal* to that Part of the *Cataracui Lake*, which the *French* have to carry before they bring them to the ſame Place from *Montreal*, beſides the Advantage which the *Engliſh* have in the Price of their Goods.

I have ſaid, That when we are in the *Cataracui Lake*, we are upon a Level with the *French*, becauſe here we can meet with all the *Indians* that

design to go to *Montreal*. But besides this Passage by the *Lakes*, there is a River which comes from the Country of the *Sennekas*, and falls into the *Onondaga River*, by which we have an easy Carriage into that Country, without going near the *Cataracui Lake*. The Head of this River goes near to *Lake Erie*, and probably may give a very near Passage into that Lake, much more advantageous than the Way the *French* are obliged to take by the great Fall of *Jagara*, because narrow Rivers are much safer for Canoes than the Lakes, where they are obliged to go ashore if there be any Wind upon the Water. But as this Passage depends upon a further Discovery, I shall say nothing more of it at this Time.

Whoever then considers these Advantages *New-York* has of *Canada*, in the first buying of their Goods, and in the safe, speedy, and cheap Transportation of them from *Britain* to the *Lakes*, free of all Manner of Duty or Imposts, will readily agree with me, that the Traders of *New-York* may sell their Goods in the *Indian* Countries at half the Price the People of *Canada* can, and reap twice the Profit they do. This will admit of no Dispute with those that know that Strouds (the Staple *Indian Commodity*) this Year are sold for *Ten Pounds* apiece at *Albany*, and at *Montreal* for *Twenty-five Pounds*, notwithstanding the great Quantity of Strouds said to be brought directly into *Quebeck* from *France*, and the great Quantities that have been clandestinely caried from *Albany*. It cannot therefore be denied, that it is only necessary for the Traders of *New-York* to apply themselves heartily to this Trade, in order to bring it wholly into their own Hands; for in every thing besides Diligence, and Industry, and enduring Fatigues, the *English* have much the Advantage of the *French*. And all the *Indians* will

will certainly buy, where they can, at the cheapeſt Rate.

It muſt naturally be objected, *That if theſe things are true, how is it poſſible that the Traders of* New-York *ſhould neglect ſo conſiderable and beneficial Trade for ſo long time?*

In anſwering this Objection, I ſhall ſhew the Difficulties *New-York* has labour'd under, by giving a ſhort Hiſtory of the Country, ſo far as it relates to this Trade. Which Method, I think, can be liable to the leaſt Objection, and put the whole in the trueſt Light.

When this Country (the Province of *New-York*) came firſt under the Crown of *Great-Britain*, our *Five Nations* of *Indians* were mortal Enemies of the *French* at *Canada*, and were in a continual War with them, and all the *Nations* of *Indians* round the Lakes; ſo that then it was not ſafe for the *Engliſh* to travel further than the Countries of the *Five Nations*; nor would our *Indians* permit the *far Indians* (with whom they had conſtant War) to paſs thro' their Countries to *Albany*. Beſides, the *Five Nations* of *Indians* were at that time ſo numerous, (conſiſting of ten times the Number of fighting Men they now do) that the Trade with them alone was very conſiderable for ſo young and ſmall a Colony. In the latter End of King *Charles*'s Reign, when the *Duke of York*, and *Popiſh Councils* prevail'd, the Governor of *New-York* (who was likewiſe a *Papiſt*) had Orders to uſe all his Endeavours to make up a Peace between our Nations (the *Iroquois*) and the *French*; and that he ſhould perſuade the *Five Nations* to admit *French Prieſts* among them, in order to civilize them. The Conſequence of which was, that the *French* thereby obtained a free Commerce upon the *Lakes*, and obtained leave to build *Cataracui Fort* upon the North-ſide of *Cataracui Lake*, and have two Veſſels of Force upon the ſame Lake. From

this Time, during all King *James*'s Reign, the *French*, whenever they had any Differences with our *Five Nations*, threaten'd, that the *Engliſh* of *New-York* would join with them, and deſtroy the *Five Nations*; by which, and the Practices of the *French Prieſts*, our *Five Nations* became very much alienated in their Affections from the *Engliſh*, and look'd upon them as a People depending upon the *French*. The Conſequences of this appeared ſo dangerous to Colonel *Dungan*, the Governor of *New-York* (though, as I have ſaid, a *Papiſt*) that he again and again complained to his Maſter of the ill Offices the *French Prieſts* did the *Engliſh* among *our Nations*. When the *Engliſh* had thus procur'd a Peace for the *French*, they thought they might juſtly reap ſome Advantage from it; and it is hardly to be doubted, but that they had Promiſes of that kind. They were therefore encouraged to ſend forty Men, with great Quantities of Goods, into the *Lakes*, under the Command of Major *M'Gregory*, to trade with the *far Nations*. At this time Mr. *Denonville*, Governor of *Canada*, was gathering together all the Force of *Canada*, and of the *Indians*, (Enemies of the *Five Nations*) in order to ſurprize the *Five Nations*, and deſtroy them, at the Time they thought themſelves ſecure by the Peace ſo lately made. Major *M'Gregory*, and his Company, were met by a *French* Officer on *Lake Erie*, coming with a great Number of Men to the general Rendezvous of the *French*, and he, with all the *Engliſh*, were made Priſoners. They were uſed with ſuch Severity as has never been practis'd between *Chriſtian Nations* in open War, tho' the two Crowns, at that time, were not only at Peace, but under the ſtricteſt Ties of mutual Friendſhip; for the *French* uſed theſe People as Slaves in building *Cataraqui Fort*, and a poor *Frenchman* that had conducted them, was publickly ſhot to Death, as if he had brought an Enemy

Enemy into their Country. Such was their Apprehenſions then of the *Engliſh* getting any Footing among the *Indians*.

The *French* Governor ſurprized a Village of the *Five Nations*, who on the *French* Faith, liv'd in great Security, but ſeven or eight Leagues from the *French* Fort, and ſent theſe miſerable People to the Gallies in *France*. He afterwards fell upon the *Sennekas*, and burnt their Villages, but without any Advantage to the *French*, they having loſt more Men than the *Indians* did. This renew'd the War with greater Fury than ever, between the *French* and *our Indians*. For ſome time afterwards, *our Indians*, in a great Body, fell upon the Iſland of *Montreal*, while Mr. *Denonville* was in the Town: They burnt and deſtoyed all the Villages and Houſes round *Montreal*, and killed ſome hundreds of Men, Women, and Children. Afterwards they came into the open Fields before *Montreal*, and there defy'd the *French* Governor, who did not think it proper to fight them. And when they had done all the Miſchief they could, they retir'd without any Loſs.

About this Time the Revolution happened in *Great-Britain*, which was ſucceeded by a War between *Great-Britain* and *France*. In *February* 1689-90, a Party of three hundred Men, conſiſting of equal Numbers of *French* and *Indians*, ſurprized *Schenectady* in the Night-Time, when the poor People were in their Beds, in the greateſt Security, where they barbarouſly murdered ſixty-three Men, Women, and Children, in cold Blood, laid the Village in Aſhes, and then retir'd, without reaping any other Advantage beſides this cruel Revenge on innocent People, for the Miſchief *our Indians* had done them. This rais'd a cruel War between the two Colonies, in which there was

much Miſchief done, and Blood ſhed, without any Advantage to either ſide.

In Time of this War, the *moſt Chriſtian King*'s Governor of *Canada* was ſo much provoked, that he thought fit to follow the Example of our barbarous *Indians*, and burn his *Indian* Priſoners alive, in the moſt cruel Manner, in ſight of all the Inhabitants of *Quebeck*, and to deliver up the *Engliſh Priſoners* to the *French Indians*, who indeed had more Mercy, for they kill'd none of them.

King *William*'s Peace put an End to this War; but the Peace laſted ſo ſhort a while, that the People of this Province hardly had time to re-ſettle their Farms on the Frontiers, which they had deſerted in the Time of the War, much leſs to adventure trading in the *Indian Countries*, ſo lately the Scene of ſo much Cruelty. But both Colonies having now an Abhorrence of the Cruelties of the laſt War, agreed on a kind of Neutrality for the *Indians*, during Queen *Anne*'s War, in which Time we loſt much Ground with our own *Indians:* For the *French* having learn'd, by dear Experience, that it was not poſſible for them to conquer *our Five Indian Nations*, reſolved to try all Means to gain their Affections, and in this Art the *French* are always more ſucceſsful than in that of War; and the *Engliſh* failing in two ill-concerted Expeditions againſt *Canada*, the *Indians* loſt much of the Opinion they had of the *Engliſh* Power and Valour.

In Time of this laſt War, the clandeſtine Trade to *Montreal* began to be carried on by *Indians*, from *Albany* to *Montreal*. This gave Riſe to the *Kahnuaga*, or *Praying Indians*, who are entirely made up of Deſerters from the *Mohawks* and *River-Indians*, and were either enticed thither by the *French Prieſts*, or by our Merchants, in order to carry Goods

Goods from *Albany* to *Montreal*, or run away for ſome Miſchief done here. Theſe *Indians*, now conſiſt of about eighty fighting Men, and live about four Leagues above *Montreal:* They neither plant nor hunt, but depend chiefly upon this private Trade for their Subſiſtence. Theſe *Indians* in time of War, gave the *French* Intelligence of all Deſigns here againſt them: By them likewiſe the *French* engaged our *Five Nations* in a War with the *Indians* Friends of *Virginia*, and from them we might expect the greateſt Miſchief in Time of War, ſeeing every Part of the Province is as well known to them as to any of the Inhabitants. But if this Trade was entirely at an End, we have reaſon to believe, that theſe *Indians* would return to their own Tribes, for they then could not long ſubſiſt where they now are.

As ſoon as the Peace was proclaim'd, an open Trade with *Montreal* was carried on with ſuch Earneſt, that *Montreal* was filled with *Indian Goods*, and *Albany* exhauſted; by which means *Montreal* became the principal, if not the only *Indian Market*, and the *Indians* depended entirely on the *French* for what they wanted.

Our Merchants were fond of the *Canada* Trade, becauſe they ſold large Quantities of Goods without any Trouble, the *French* taking them from their Door; whereas the Trade with the *Indians* is carried on with a great deal of Toil and Fatigue; and as to the Intereſt of the Country, they either never thought any thing about it, or if they did, had no Regard to it.

Now I have brought this Account to the Time your Excellency arrived; what has happen'd ſince, your Excellency knows better than I can by any means inform you. From the whole it ſeems plain,

plain, that any Difficulties and Advantages this Province has been under, have only proceeded from the Wars, which have continued ſince the firſt ſettling of the Province, to the Beginning of the laſt general Peace. But now, that not only *this Province*, but likewiſe our *ſix Nations* of *Indians* are at Peace, and in Amity, both with the *French*, and all the *Indian Nations* with whom we can have any Commerce, theſe Difficulties are all remov'd, and we now enjoy the moſt favourable Time, that at any Time can be hoped for, in order to extend the *Britiſh Commerce* in *North-America*, while the *French* not only labour under the Difficulties which I have ſhewn to be inſeparable from the Situation of their Colony, but likewiſe under another Diſadvantage, (not before taken notice of) by the Furr-Trade of *Canada* being reſtrain'd to one Company. This Company is obliged to pay heavy Duties in *France* upon the Importation of Beaver, or any other Furr; for which Reaſon they always fix a Price upon Beaver, and their other Furrs in *Canada*; and the *Indian Traders* of *Canada* being reſtrain'd from ſelling to any but the Company's Agents there, they cannot raiſe the Price of *Indian Goods* as the Price of *European* riſe, or as their Profit on the Goods they ſell to the *Indians* is leſſen'd.

The Merchants of *New-York* allow our *Indian* Traders double the Price for Beaver, that the *French* Company allow their *Indian* Traders, the Price eſtabliſhed by the Company for Beaver, in *Canada*, being two Livres, or *eighteen Pence Sterling*, the Pound-weight; and the current Price of Beaver in *New-York* being *five Shillings New-York* Money, or *three Shillings Sterling* the Pound-weight. Therefore it plainly follows, that our *Indian Traders* could under-ſell the *French Traders*, tho' they were

to

to give as great a Price for *European Goods* as the *French* do, and did tranſport them at as great Charge, becauſe of the double Price they have for their Furrs in *New-York*.

But as our *Indian Traders* not only have a double Price for their *Indian Goods*, but likewiſe buy the Goods they ſell to the *Indians*, at half the Price the *French Indian Traders* do, the *French Traders* muſt be ruin'd by carrying on this Trade, in Competition with the *Engliſh* of *New-York*. And the *French Indian Traders* had been ruin'd before now, if they had not found Means to carry their Beaver to *Albany*, where they got double the Price they muſt have ſold for in *Canada*.

It may be objected, againſt this Argument, *That the* Canada *Company as ſoon at they find that the Traders cannot ſell at their eſtabliſhed Price, will allow a greater Price.* But if we conſider the Duties the *French Company* is obliged to pay to the King, they cannot allow ſo great a Price as the *Engliſh* can at *New-York*. And if it ſhould be inſiſted, *That the* French Company *may obtain a Remiſſion of thoſe*, yet if the clandeſtine Trade with *Albany* be entirely ſtopt, the *French Traders* will be ruin'd before ſuch Remiſſion can be obtain'd, and their Trade will be at an end.

My Inclination led me to ſhow what Advantages not only the *Indian Trade* would reap by extending our Frontiers as far as the Lakes, but likewiſe the *Britiſh Trade* in ſome other Branches, which the Parliament of *Great-Britain* ſeem to have much at Heart, *viz. Naval Stores*; for the Soil on both Sides of the *Mohawks River* being as rich as it is poſſible (I believe) for any Land to be, will be found the moſt proper for raiſing of HEMP, of any Part of *America*, and the whole Country round it

it being full of the largeſt Pines, the Royal Navy is as likely to be well provided with MASTS there, and at as cheap a Rate as any where elſe. But I have already too far preſum'd on your Excellency's Patience.

Cadwallader Colden.

To this it may not be improper to add the following Original Letter.

From J. A. *Eſq*; *to Mr.* P. C. *of* London, *ſhewing the Succeſs of the Meaſures taken at that Time.*

SIR, *New-York*, 1740.

IF you ſhould be at the Pains to read theſe printed Papers, it will be a Pleaſure to you to hear of the Succeſs of the Meaſures taken by Governor *Burnet* for redeeming the *Indian* Trade out of the Hands of the *French*. He has ſucceeded far above our Expectations.

Governor *Burnet*, through his earneſt Application, and at firſt chiefly with his Money, Credit, and Riſque, erected a Trading-Houſe and Fortification at the Mouth of the *Onondagues* River, called *Oſneigo*, where the Province of *New-York* ſupports a Garriſon of Soldiers, conſiſting of a Lieutenant and twenty Men, which are yearly relieved.

At this Place a very great Trade is carried on with the remote *Indians*, who formerly uſed to go down to the *French* at *Montreal*, and there buy our *Engliſh* Goods, at ſecond Hand, at above twice the Price they now pay for them at *Oſneigo*; whilſt, at the

the ſame Time, the *French* were chiefly ſupplied by one Gentleman at *New-York*, who almoſt entirely engroſſed the *Indian* Trade of this Province, and thereby acquired a very great Eſtate and Influence. But the prudent Steps taken by our late worthy Governor, to open a free Trade, was the Cauſe of the Engroſſer's loſing his.----The Probability of doing this, was the principal Motive of our applying to the King, which is ſhewn by theſe printed Papers.

The *Indian* Trade, to the great Advantage of this Province, is now divided into ſeveral hundred Hands, and there have been for many Years paſt upwards of one hundred young Men of this Province, who have gone yearly among the *Indians*, to ſupply them with our Goods.

By this Means, at a modeſt Eſtimate, I am aſſured, that the *Indian* Trade of this Province is now far above five Times as much as when Governor *Burnet* began to put his Scheme in Execution.

And this is not all the Advantages reaped thereby, but a much more conſiderable one to this, and all the other *Engliſh* Colonies is, that not only our own ſix Nations, but alſo many far and remote *Indian* Nations are drawn off from their Dependance on the *French*, and made, by Trade and Intercourſe, dependant on the *Engliſh*; by this Means a great Security and Protection is acquired by the *Engliſh*, in caſe of a War with *France*; and by this Trade our Settlements in this Province are extended up to the *Onondagues* Carrying-place, which is now well attended with Waggons, for the more commodious tranſporting of Goods to trade in the Lakes.

And they are now ſettling on the Branches of *Saſquehanah* River; and from the weſtern Branches of this River, there is but a ſmall Land-Carriage to *Allegheny*, a Branch of that great River *Miſſi-*

Miſſiſippi; which Branch extending a thouſand Miles from its Mouth, where it enters the ſaid River; and which joins ſo near to our Settlements, as is above taken Notice of, opens us a Trade to that vaſt Country, called by the *French Louiſiana*, which they poſſeſs on the *Miſſiſippi*.

I am,

SIR,

Your humble Servant,

J. A.

A VOCABULARY OF

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

Names used by the French.	*The same are called by the* Engliſh, *or by the* Five Nations.
A Benaguies.	OWenagungas, *or* New-England Indians, *and are sometimes called the* Eaſtern Indians.
Algonkins.	Adirondacks.
Amihouis.	Dionondadies, *or* Tuinondadeks, *a Branch or Tribe of the* Quatoghies.
Aniez.	Mohawks, *called likewiſe* Maquas.
Bay des Puans.	Enitajiche.
Chigagou.	Caneraghik.
Corlaer, or Corlard.	Schenectady. *But the* Five Nations *commonly call the Gover-*

Names used by the French.	*The same called by the* English, *or* Five Nations.
	Governor of New-York *by this Name, and often the People of the Province of* New-York *in general.*
Detroit.	Teuchſagrondie.
Hurons.	Quatoghie.
Hinois.	Chictaghicks.
Iroquois.	*The* Five Nations.
Lac Huron.	Caniatare, *or* Quatoghe lake.
Loups.	Scahkook Indians.
Manhattan.	New-York City.
Maſcoutecs.	Odiſlaſtagheks.
Mourigan.	Mahikander, *or* River Indians, *living on* Hudſon's *River below* Albany.
Miamies.	Twightwies.
Miſſilimakinak.	Teiodondoraghie.
Miſſiſakies.	Achſiſaghecks.
Oneyouts.	Oneydoes.
Ontario lac.	Cadarackui Lake.
Orange.	Albany.
Outagamies.	Quackſies *and* Scunkſiks.
Outawas.	Utawawas, *or* Dewagunhas.
Renards.	Quakſies.
Sauiteurs.	Eſtiaghicks.
Shaouonons.	Satanas.
Tateras.	Todericks.
Terre rouge.	Scunkſik.
Tongorias.	Erighecks.
Tſonontouans.	Senekas.

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