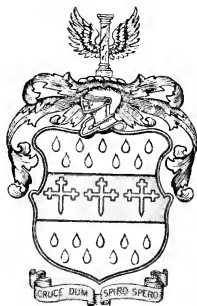
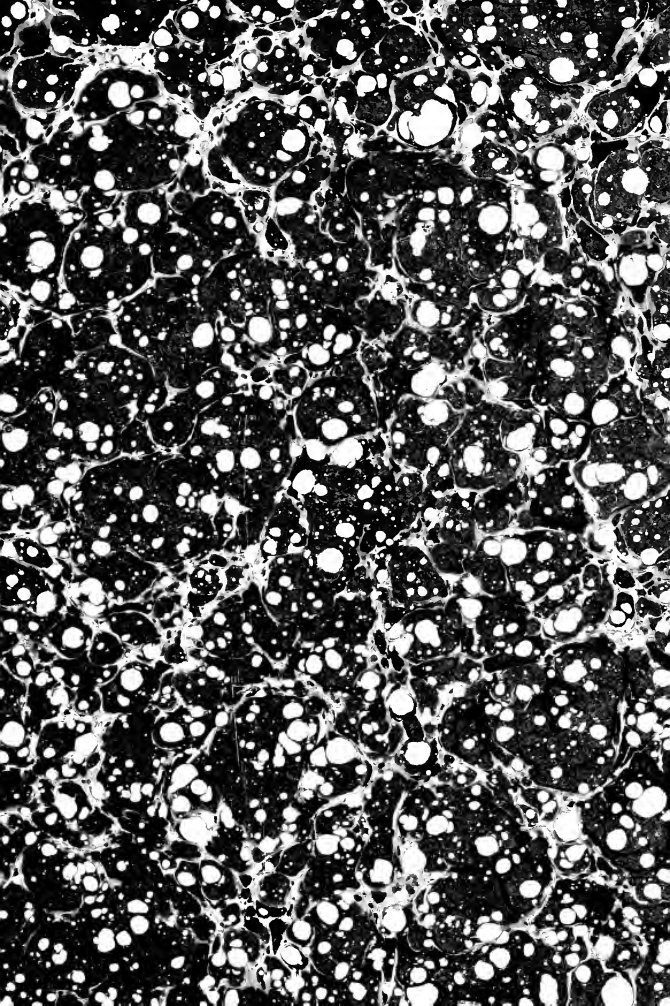


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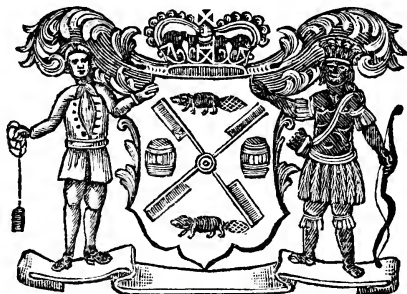
The Honourable GEORGE CLINTON,

Captain General and Governor in Chief of the Province of New-York, and the Territories thereon depending in AMERICA, Vice-Admiral of the same, and Vice-Admiral of the Red Squadron of His Majesty's Fleet.

A N D

The Six United *Indian* Nations, and other *Indian* Nations, depending on the PROVINCE of *NEW-YORK*.

Held at *ALBANY* in the Months of *August* and *September*,
1 7 4 6.



NEW-YORK:

Printed and Sold by *James Parker* at the New-Printing Office in Beaver-Street, 1746.

A T R E A T Y *between His Excellency the Governor of the Province of New-York, and the Six Nations, and other Indian Nations, depending on said Province.*

IT is well known in the Province of *New-York*, that the *Six Nations* of *Indians* depending in this Province, (called *Iroquois* by the *French*) had lately on several Occasions, appear'd dissatisfied and wavering in their Fidelity to the *British* Crown. No doubt, this was principally occasion'd by the Artifices of the *French* of *Canada*, who had constantly Emisfaries among them : But at the same Time there is Reason to think, the suspicious Behaviour of these Nations, in Favour of their once inveterate Enemy the *French*, could not have arriv'd to the Pitch it did, otherwise than by some Neglects or Misconduct of those who were entrusted by the Government of *New-York* with the Management of the *Indian* Affairs.

His Excellency the Governor of *New-York*, having received his Majesty's Commands, to engage the *Indian* Nations depending on his Government, to join in the Expedition then intended against *Canada*, and to make them the usual Presents on that Occasion ; and being sensible of the great Use these Nations may be to the Success of this Enterprize, and likewise of the Difficulties that probably might attend his Endeavours at this Time, was desirous to have had the Assistance of as many of the Members of his Majesty's Council as the Circumstances of Affairs would permit ; but they all declined to give their Attendance, except Mr. *Colden* and Mr. *Livingston*. His Excellency was therefore obliged to act with the smallest Number of Members, which by his Majesty's Commission can form a Council, *viz.* Three ; the above two Gentlemen and Capt. *Rutherford*, who was then at his Post in *Albany*.

As soon as his Excellency received his Majesty's Commands, he dispatched from *Albany* such Persons as, by the best Information he could receive, had Influence among the *Six Nations*, to invite them severally to meet him at *Albany*, on the 20th of *July*. His Excellency arrived at *Albany* the 21st of *July*, where having heard, that, besides the Small-Pox, (which his Excellency never had) many were sick of a contagious malignant Fever, he continued on board the Sloop which carried him up, to consider where to lodge with the least Danger to his Person from the Infection of these Distempers ; and the next Morning resolved to go into the Fort. He was received at his Landing with the usual Marks of Respect from the Corporation, the Independent Companies of regular Troops then in the Place, and the Militia, under a Discharge of the Cannon of the Fort and Town.

In the Afternoon of the same Day on which his Excellency came on Shore, three *Indians*, *viz.* Two *Onandagos* and an *Oneydo*, brought two *French* Scalps and presented to his Excellency : At which Time the Leader of the Party made a formal Speech to the following Purpose : ' That having had repeated Accounts of the Mischiefs done by the *French*, and of the frequent Murders committed by them, and that the *Mohawks*, notwithstanding of their Professions of Friendship, suffered this Bloodshed to remain unrevenged,

his Heart could bear it no longer; he thereupon resolv'd to open for his Brethren the Path to Revenge: That these two Scalps which he now presented were taken at Noon Day in Sight of the *French Fort at Crown Point.* His Excellency told him how well he took this special Mark of his Fidelity, and assur'd him, that he would not only now reward him and his Companions, by particular Presents, but would always remember this Act of Friendship. They had already received the Reward given by the Act of Assembly. His Excellency gave each of them four *Spanish Dollars*; to the Leader a fine laced Coat and Hat, and a Silver Breast-Plate; and to each of the others a Stroud Blanket and lac'd Hat.

These *Indians* told us, that they lay several Days among the Bushes, from whence they could see every Man that came out of the Fort-Gate. They endeavour'd for some time to take a Prisoner, but observing that none went to such a Distance from the Fort that they could hope to carry him off, they resolv'd to take the first Opportunity for a Scalp: Two Soldiers coming out of the Fort; after the Chapel Bell had rung about Noon, one of the *Indians*, by their Leader's Order, fired with Swan Shot upon them while they were near to each other. It is a constant Rule among these sculking Parties, never to fire without Orders from their Leader. One of the *French Men* was killed upon the Spot, the other wounded and fled immediately towards the Fort Gate, the *Indian* who had fired, pursu'd, and with his Hatchet brought him down within a hundred Steps of the Fort Gate; and, tho' the *French* in the Fort rush'd out at the Gate, he took his Scalp off; the others had scalped the Man that was first killed, and then they all fled. The *French* in their Hurry had run out without their Arms, and upon recollecting themselves return'd to Arm, which facilitated the Escape of the *Indians*.

His Excellency being inform'd, that the Leader of this Party was desirous to be distinguished by his Excellency's giving him a new Name, and that the Name -----, which in the Language of the *Six Nations* signifies the *Path-opener*, would be most acceptable to him; his Excellency honour'd him with that Title; which he accepted very thankfully, and seem'd exceedingly pleas'd with it: Whereupon he said, that the other two *Indians* having associat'd with a *Mebikander*, or *River Indian*, were resolv'd to go out against the Enemy: But as he thought he might be more useful by staying, to assist at the ensuing Treaty, he was resolv'd to remain here. He added, that in Case the Interpreter, and others sent to invite the *Six Nations* to meet here, fail'd in any Part, he would go among the *Six Nations*, and doubted not to bring many by his Influence, who otherwise might stay.

In a Day or too after, six of seven *Indians*, who had been sent out by the Commissioners for *Indian Affairs* to *Crown-Point*, to take Prisoners and gain Intelligence, returned and said, That they had gone to that Place, and that in Sight of it they had separated, with Design thereby to surprize any Stragler that might have come out of the Fort: That while they were thus separated, two of their Number were suddenly surrounded and taken by the Enemy: One of these two, after having been detained three or four Days, join'd the others at *Saraghtoga*. He said, that he had been threatned with Death by the *Adirondax* ^(a); but that the *Cabnuagas* ^(b) interpos'd, and by their Intercession

(a) A Nation of *Indians* living in *Canada*, who have always been firm Friends to the *French*, and formerly were at War with the *Six Nations*.

(b) A Number of *Indians* originally of the *Five Nations*, and deserters from them, now settled near *Montreal*, by whom the illicit Trade between *Albany* and *Montreal* was carried on: They are well acquainted with the Country about *Albany*.

Intercession he was set at Liberty; and some of the *Cabnuagas* conducted him through *Lac Sacrement*. He reported, that there was a great Number of Men, *French* and *Indians*, at *Crown-Point*. The other Prisoner, an *Onondaga*, consented to remain with the *French*, and was sent to *Canada*.

Soon after this, sixteen *Mohawk* Indians came to the Town, who had been sent out, from the lower *Mohawk* Castle by Mr. *Johnson*, to gain Intelligence near *Crown-Point*, and to take Prisoners. They reported, that they had discovered so great a Number of *French* and *Indians* at *Crown-Point*, that they had no Hopes of being able to bring off any Prisoners, and thought it adviseable to return speedily and inform of the great Danger they thought this Place was in. His Excellency invited them to go thither again, in order to descry the Motions of the Enemy: And as a farther Encouragement to them, to either Scalp or take Prisoners, he offered every Person of said Party that should take a Scalp or Prisoner, a Piece of Stroud, and a Suit of laced Cloaths, besides the Bounty; but they, being frightned with the Apprehensions of Danger, declined going back, and said, they must return Home and acquaint their Friends and Relations with what they had heard and seen. Several other *Indians* likewise alarmed the *Mohawks*, by telling them that the *French* had a great Force at *Crown-Point*, and that they would certainly attack either *Albany* or *Schenechtade*, or the Settlements on the *Mohawks* River, or perhaps several Places at the same Time.

Mr. *Johnson*, and the commanding Officer of the Garrison of regular Troops in the *Mohawks* Country, by their Letters to his Excellency, confirm'd these Reports; and added, the *Mohawks* had entertain'd Apprehensions of the *French* Force at *Crown Point*, which was like to have a bad Effect. On this his Excellency wrote to Mr. *Johnson*, that all these Stories of the *French* Force at *Crown Point*, were only Artifices of the *French* to intimidate the *Indians*, or to amuse them, with Design to frustrate the Treaty which he intended to have with them; and that he was to assure the *Indians*, that they could be in no Danger from the *French*: However, that they might see that he would omit nothing which they think necessary for their Security, he had ordered a Lieutenant of Militia with Thirty Men to reinforce the lower Castle, and had likewise ordered the Captain of Militia near the upper Castle, to assist the *Indians* there in fortifying their Castle, and to hold himself in Readiness to support them on any Emergency.

One *John Colan*, a *French* Man, who some Years since had removed from *Canada*, and settled and married at *Schenechtade*, and who has since that Time lived in good Reputation there, was sent by Major *Glen*, to inform his Excellency, that one *Aaron*, a noted *Mohawk* Sachem, who with several others of the *Six Nations*, had been last Spring in *Canada* to treat with the Governor there, did then entertain two *Cabnuaga* Indians. This Man, *John Colan*, acquainted his Excellency, that having discovered the *Cabnuaga* Indians, he told them he was a *French* Man, and was desirous of returning to his own Country, on which they began presently to propose to him Methods for his Escape; at which Time, this *Aaron* coming near them, he express'd his Fears of being discovered by him. They answered, that he need not fear *Aaron*, for he was their Friend, and designed to go with them. As they propos'd to him to escape privately by himself, and to meet them at a Place they named, he told them of his Fears, in that Case, of meeting with the *French* Indians while he was alone. They answered, that if he dress'd himself like an *Indian*, the *French* Indians would do him no Hurt, without first

calling to him ; upon which, if he stopp'd and call'd out *Maria*, the *French* Indians would be so far from hurting him, that they would immediately come up to him and take him by the Hand. From this, and several other Incidents, which it would be tedious to relate, his Excellency was convinced of some secret Understanding between the *Six Nations* and the *Cabnuagas*, or *French* Indians : And that, however any Party of our *Indians* might be induced to fall upon the *French*, they would not at that Time molest the *French* Indians, nor prevent the Mischiefs which the Inhabitants received from their sculking Parties.

For this Reason, his Excellency endeavoured to send out again the Company of Rangers, which had formerly been employed against the sculking *Indians* : But, as the Assembly had made no Provision for this Expence, they refused to go, unless he gave his personal Bond for their Pay, at *Three Shillings* a Day for each private Man, besides their Provision ; and would not be satisfied with the Promises that he, by the Advice of Council, made them of recommending their Service to the General Assembly, and the Assurances he gave them of their being rewarded as they desired.

On their continuing obstinate, his Excellency was of Opinion, that no considerable Service could be expected from Men, who were moved by no other Principle but that of excessive Wages : And he had Reason afterwards to be confirmed in this Opinion, when Capt. *Langdon*, and afterwards Capt. *Thebout*, voluntarily went with their Companies of the new levied Troops to scour the Woods, and took some of these *Albany* Men with them as Guides, who whenever they apprehended themselves in Danger, by the Discovery of recent Tracts, some one or other of them could not be kept from firing their Guns, or making some Noise, by which the *French* Indians, if any were near them, must know how to avoid them. Some *Indians*, who were likewise sent out in Company with these Men, complained in like Manner.

The publick Interpreter, whom the Governor (as before observed) had sent with others, to invite the *Six Nations* to meet him at *Albany*, wrote to the Commissioners for *Indian* Affairs, That they met with great Difficulties and Obstructions from the *Sachems*, who had been lately at *Canada* : That the *Oneydoes* refused to give any Answer, tho' they had stayed there thirteen Days endeavouring to persuade them ; and that the *Cayugas* had absolutely refused to meet the Governor. On which his Excellency desired to be informed by the Commissioners of *Indian* Affairs, whether they knew of any Person of Influence or Interest with the *Indians*, and fit to be sent among them on this Occasion. They answered, that they knew of none ; and that the *Indians* were in a very bad Disposition, and much under the Influence of the *French*.

About this time his Excellency being informed, that the Interpreter, and others sent with him, had neglected to send proper Invitations to the *Indians* living on the Branches of *Susquehannah* River ; and that Capt. *Vroman*, of *Scobary*, was a proper Person to be sent to those *Indians* ; he sent him, in Company with Capt. *Staats*, with a Belt of *Wampum* to invite them.

While the *Indian* Affairs appear'd in this discouraging State, an Account came to Town, that about Twenty young *Chickesaws* were come to the *Senekas*, to desire them to shew them the Way to *Canada*. The *Chickesaws* had always been Enemies to the *French* : A Party of about Five Hundred Men had four Years since been sent out against them from *Canada*, who were so entirely routed by the *Chickesaws* that few returned. These young
Chickesaws

Chickesaws told the *Senekas*, that the *French* of *Canada* had about four Years since made them a Visit, and were so kind to leave them four Hundred Guns, which were now wore out; and, since the *French* had not thought fit to bring them any more Guns, they were resolved to go to *Canada* to fetch new Ones; and promised, that if the *Senekas* would shew them the Way, they would go Home and return with four Hundred stout Fellows. Some other *Indian* Nations who lived to the Westward, discovering their Aversion to the *French* at the same Time, these Incidents assisted the Governor's Messengers in bringing more *Indians* to *Albany* than they expected, when they wrote to the Commissioners for *Indian* Affairs.

While the Interpreter was at the more distant *Indian* Castles, Mr. *William Johnson* was indefatigable among the *Mohawks*; he dressed himself after the *Indian* Manner, made frequent Dances, according to their Custom when they excite to War, and used all the Means he could think of, at a considerable Expence, (which his Excellency had promised to repay him) in order to engage them heartily in the War against *Canada*. Tho' he succeeded, beyond what any Man in *Albany* thought could be done, yet several of the *Sachems* (in the *Conajohary*, or upper *Mohawk* Castle, chiefly) refused to engage in the War; but insisted, that as this War was entred into between the *English* and *French*, in which they had no Interest, they ought to remain Neuter. The *English* and *French* they said, could at any Time make Peace; but if they should enter into the War, *Indians* could not make up the Quarrel among themselves, otherwise than by the Destruction of one or the other. The *French* could have no Hopes of engaging the *Six Nations* on their Side against the *English*, and therefore wisely play'd this Game of endeavouring to make them stand Neuter, which they could enforce by strong political Arguments, of which the *Indians* were sensible enough. *It is your Interest*, the *French* Emisaries said, *not to suffer either the French or the English to be absolute Masters; for in that Case you must become Slaves to the one or the other.* From this politic View chiefly, the Interpreter met with so much Opposition every where: Tho' it is not to be doubted, but that at the same Time, the *French* had gain'd some particular *Sachems* entirely into their Interest; however many were prevailed on to come to *Albany*, to hear what the Governor of *New-York* had to say to them; tho' several *Sachems* staid behind. When they of the more distant Nations came along with the Interpreter to the lower *Mohawk* Castle, and found that Mr. *Johnson* had already engaged many of the young Men there to join the Army against *Canada*, the others blamed the *Mohawks*; telling them with some Warmth, That they had been very rash in engaging so far. 'They ought, the others said, to have considered that they, the *Mohawks*, were the smallest in Number of any of the *Six Nations*, and ought not to have proceeded to so great a Length, without the previous Consent of the others.' To this the *Mohawks* answered, *It is true, we are less considerable as to Number, than any of the other Nations; but our Hearts are truly English, and all of us are Men (a); so that, if our Force be put to the Trial, perhaps it will be found greater than you imagine.* These Disputes, however, continued so far, that the *Mohawks* and the other *Five Nations*, could not go in Company to *Albany*; the *Mohawks* marched on one side of the River, while the other Nations went on the other Side. [There are two Roads from the *Mohawks* Castle to *Schenectada*, one on each Side of the *Mohawks* River.]

When

(a) The *Six Nations* reckon all other *Indian* Nations, Women, in comparison to themselves.

When the *Indians* came near the Town of *Albany*, on the 8th of *August*, Mr. *Johnson* put himself at the Head of the *Mohawks*, dressed and painted after the Manner of an *Indian War Captain*; and the *Indians* who followed him, were likewise dressed and painted, as is usual with them when they set out in War. The *Indians* saluted the Governor as they passed the Fort, by a running Fire; which his Excellency ordered to be answered by a Discharge of some Cannon from the Fort: He afterwards received the Sachems in the Fort Hall, bid them Wellcome, and treated them with a Glass of Wine.

As, by all Accounts, the Disposition of the *Six Nations* seemed at this Time less in Favour of the *British* Interest than was to be wished; his Excellency thought it necessary to have frequent Conferences, in private, with the principal Sachems of each *Nation*; sometimes separately and singly, at other Times with some of each *Nation* jointly. There were only two of the *Mohawk* Sachems (besides *Aaron* before mentioned, who left the Castle at this Time) that could not be prevailed on by Mr. *Johnson*, to declare themselves for entering into the War against *Canada*: They were both of the *Conajobary* or Upper-Castle, and one of them the Head of the Tribe called the *Tortoise*; (which, tho' not so numerous as that of the *Bear*, yet is looked on as the First in Rank or Dignity;) and, as he had been with the Governor of *Canada* last Spring, it was thought to be of some Consequence to gain him. Mr. *Colden*, above Twenty Years since, had the Complement of being received into that Castle; and, about Seven Years since (the last Time he had been with the *Mohawks*) had contracted some more particular Acquaintance with these two Sachems: He invited them to a private Conference, at which the Reverend Mr. *Barclay* assisted as Interpreter; they met him, and brought five more with them: After this Conference these Sachems appear'd as hearty as any of the others. He that was Head of the Tribe call'd the *Tortoise*, said, ' His Uncle had been the chief War Captain among the *Mohawks*: That his Uncle had particularly distinguished himself in their Wars against the *French*, and he was resolv'd to shew himself not unworthy of his Ancestors, nor of his Uncle's Name, which he had obtained after his Death.'

After the principal Sachems had, at these Conferences, been brought to a good Disposition, his Excellency advis'd with the Gentlemen of the Council, and the Commissioners from the *Massachusetts Bay*, on what may be proper to be said to the *Six Nations* in the Publick Speech, which he now propos'd to make to them. Col. *Wendell* and Mr. *Wells* had arriv'd from *Boston* about the End of *July*, and soon after they came to Town, his Excellency order'd the Gentlemen of the Council to communicate to them all the Information which had been received, with respect to the *Indian Affairs*: And they had frequent Conferences together from Time to Time, as Occasion required: It was likewise thought proper to communicate, what his Excellency intended to say to some of the Sachems of each *Nation*, who were thought most hearty in the *British* Interest; who said, that it was well conceiv'd as could have been done, had they themselves advis'd upon the Subject; only as it had been advis'd to observe in the first Draught, That some of his Majesty's Subjects had been instigated by the *French* to rise in Rebellion against the King; that they had been defeated by one of the King's Sons; that these poor People were now utterly ruined, and had nothing left but to bewail their Folly in the Misery that was brought upon them, by suffering themselves to be deluded by the fair Promises of the *French*; they said, that they

they did not understand the Affairs on the other Side of the Sea, nor did they trouble their Heads about them ; and as they had no Method of retaining what is spoke to them but by their Memories, they were afraid that this might perplex their Memories, and make them less attentive to what is properly their Business ; and advised, that it should be left out ; which accordingly was done.

Another Difficulty remained ; the publick Interpreter had been taken dangerously ill in his Return to *Albany*, and was at this Time confined to his Bed. Tho' several were employed, who had Knowledge sufficient in the Language of the *Six Nations*, to make themselves be understood, and to understand what was spoke to them ; yet none of them were so much Masters of the Language, as to speak with that Propriety and Distinctness that is expected, and usual on so solemn an Occasion. It was thought therefore proper, to make one of the Sachems understand the Speech, by the Assistance of the common Interpreters, that he might be able to deliver it Paragraph by Paragraph, as it should be spoke. At first a *Mohawk* Sachem was pitched upon ; but the Sachems themselves told us, That for some time past a kind of Party-Division among the *Six Nations* had subsisted : That the *Mohawks*, *Onandagas* and *Senekas*, form'd one Party ; and the *Oneydoes*, *Tuscaroras* and *Cayugas*, the other : That, as the *Mohawks* might be suspected to be more partial to the *English*, it would be of more Use to employ one of the other Party ; and an *Oneydo* Sachem was propos'd for that Purpose. This Man was easily enough made to understand the Speech, and he repeated it several Times over in private, and was instructed where to make the proper Stops. After the Speech was delivered, some of the Commissioners for *Indian* Affairs, and other Persons present at the Delivery, who understood both Languages, acknowledged, that this *Indian* had acquitted himself of his Trust faithfully, and had delivered the Sense of the Speech clearly and distinctly.

While these last Preparations were making, his Excellency was taken ill of a Fever, which occasioned some further Delay ; and as his Excellency did not recover so soon as was wish'd, the Sachems were told, that his Excellency being unwilling to detain them without Necessity, would, if they desired it, direct Mr. *Colden* to speak to them in his Name, what he design'd to say. They answer'd, that they would be well pleas'd to hear it from Mr. *Colden's* Mouth.

At *ALBANY* the *Twenty Ninth* of *August*, 1746.

P R E S E N T,

The Honourable { CADWALLADER COLDEN, } Esqrs. Of his Majesty's
 PHILIP LLIVINGSTON, } Council for the Province
 JOHN RUTHERFORD, } of *New-York*.

The Commissioners from the Government of the *Massachusetts-Bay*.

The Commissioners of the Province of *New-York* for *Indian* Affairs.

The Mayor and Corporation of *Albany*. The Officers of the Independent Companies, and of the new Levies then at *Albany*. Several Gentlemen of the Province of *New-York* : And Strangers.

Mr. Colden introduc'd the Speech as follows :

HIS Excellency our Governor having been taken ill, and as yet not so well recovered as that he can safely come abroad ; has ordered me (being the next Person to him in the Administration) to speak to you in his Name, which I shall do in the same Words which he design'd to have spoke, had he not been prevented by Sickness.

C

Brethren,

Brethren,

I AM glad to see so many of our ancient Friends here, and heartily bid you Wellcome. [Gave three Strings of Wampum.]

I have call'd you to this Place for two great Ends ; in which the Province of the *Massachusetts-Bay* have sent Commissioners to concur with me ; who are here present.

The *First* is, to renew the Covenant Chain with you ; and I now by this Belt, in your Father the King of *Great-Britain's* Name, in Behalf of his Majesty's Subjects in *North-America*, renew and confirm the Covenant Chain, and all former Treaties and Engagements entered into with you. This Chain has from the Beginning, remained so firm and strong, that it has never once broke or slipt since it was first made ; and we, on our Parts, shall endeavour that it remain so, unshaken, as long as the Sun and Moon shall endure. [Gave a Belt.]

Last Fall I told you, that his Majesty's Subjects in this Country had, the Summer before, lain still, without attempting any thing against the *French* Settlements : But that the *French* had by Surprize, attacked and destroyed a small Place near *Cape-Breton*, belonging to us.

That they afterwards laid Siege to *Annapolis-Royal*, and were beat off.

I likewise told you, That the Governor of the *Massachusetts-Bay*, in Conjunction with *Connecticut* and *New-Hampshire* ; had, in Revenge to these Injuries, sent an Army against *Louisburg*, on the Island of *Cape-Breton* ; that the Army was joined by a Number of his Majesty's Ships of War, under the Command of your Friend Admiral *Warren*.

I told you, that the Town of *Louisburg*, which is the Strongest the *French* have in *America*, was reduced by this Force ; and that the *French* there, had surrendered themselves and their Country to the *English*.

I likewise told you, how we in this Part of the Country, had lain still ; hoping that the *French* in *Canada*, would either be quiet, or carry on the War in a manly Manner, and after the Manner of Christians. And to induce them thereto, a Message had been sent from this Place to the Governor of *Canada*, to tell him, That if he should revive the inhuman Custom of murdering private People, by sculking *Indians*, that the several Governors of his Majesty's Colonies, together with you our Brethren of the *Six Nations*, would join and make Reprisals on them in the like Manner ; at which time you publickly declared, that if any of his Majesty's Subjects, in any Part of his Governments, should be killed by any *Indians* ; you would immediately join in the War against them, and the *French*.

And last Fall, when I delivered the Hatchet into your Hands, you told me, and confirm'd it with a Belt, That you would send some of your People (who were then ready) to *Canada*, to demand Satisfaction ; and that if Satisfaction was refused, you would use the Hatchet against them, whenever I should order it.

And you further promised, That if the Enemy should commit any further Hostilities, you would then (upon my Commands) immediately make Use of the Hatchet.

I need not tell you, how far the *French* have been from giving Satisfaction ; on the Contrary, you are well acquainted with the cruel and barbarous Murders that have been committed, since that Time, by the *French* *Indians* at *Saraghtoga*, and in the Neighbourhoods of this Place, and on the Frontiers of *New-England* ; as you have not hitherto fulfilled your Promises,

“ Promises, I suspect that they did not come from your Hearts: I therefore, by this Belt, demand an immediate Performance of your Promises, to shew that they come from the Bottom of your Hearts; as all the Promises I make come from mine, and ever shall. [Gave a Belt.]

“ Brethren, I now come to the *Second* and principal Design of our present Meeting, in which I hope and expect to find you hearty, and united in your Councils and Opinions. [Gave a Belt.]

“ The King your Father, having been informed of the unmanly Murders committed on the Frontiers of *New-England*, and of this Province; is resolved to subdue the Country of *Canada*, and thereby put an End to all the mischievous Designs of the *French* in these Parts. And for this Purpose, he has ordered his Governors of *Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania,* and *New-Jersey*, to join their Forces to the Forces of this Province, to attack *Canada* by Land: They are all now upon their March, and you will soon see them here.

“ At the same Time the Forces of the *Massachusetts-Bay, Connecticut, Rhode-Island,* and *New-Hampshire*, are to go in Ships to *Cape-Breton*, and there join with his Majesty's Ships of War, and a great Army of experienc'd Soldiers from *Great-Britain*.

“ Many Ships of War are already arriv'd there, and some Thousand of Soldiers; many more Ships and Soldiers are following; and I expect every Hour to hear of their Arrival; after which the Attack upon *Canada* will be made on all Sides, both by Sea and Land.

“ You may perceive the King has ordered a Strength sufficient to subdue *Canada*; but at the same Time, the King your Father expects and orders you his Children, to join with your whole Force in this Enterprize; and thereby gives the *Six Nations* a glorious Opportunity of establishing their Fame and Renown over all the *Indian Nations* in *America*, in the Conquest of your inveterate Enemies the *French*; who, however they may dissemble and profess Friendship, can never forget the Slaughter which your Fathers made of them; and for that Purpose, cares those Nations who have always been your inveterate Enemies, and who desire nothing so much as to see the Name of the *Six Nations* become obliterate, and forgot for ever. [Gave a Belt.]

“ Brethren, The *French*, on all Occasions, shew, that they act against your Brethren the *English*, like Men that know they dare not look them in the Face in Day-Light; and therefore, like Thieves, steal upon poor People, who do not expect them in the Night, and consequently are not prepared for them: Your Brethren in their Revenge, have acted like Men of Courage; they do not attack poor Farmers at their Labour, but boldly attempted the Reduction of *Louisburg*, the strongest Town the *French* had in *America*; in the Fortifying of which they had spent above Twenty Years: It was surrounded with strong Walls and Forts, in which they had planted their largest Cannon in every Place, where they thought the *English* could come near them; notwithstanding of all these Precautions and Advantages, they were forced to submit to the *English* Valour.

“ You must have heard from your Fathers, and I doubt not several of your old Men still remember, what the *French* did at *Onondaga*; how they surprized your Country-Men at *Cadarackui*; how they invaded the *Senekas*, and what Mischiefs they did to the *Mohawks*; how many of
“ your

“ your Country-Men suffered by the Fire at *Montreal*. Before they entered upon these cruel and mischievous Designs, they sent Priests among you to delude you, and lull you a Sleep, while they were preparing to knock you in the Head ; and I hear they are attempting to do the same now.

[Gave a Belt.]

“ I need not put you in Mind what Revenge your Fathers took for these Injuries, when they put all the Island of *Montreal*, and a great Part of *Canada*, to Fire and Sword ; can you think that the *French* forget this ? No, they have the Ax privately in their Hands against you, and use these deceitful Arts, by which only they have been able to gain Advantage over you, that by your trusting to them, they may at some time or other, at one Blow, remove from the Face of the Earth, the Remembrance of a People that have so often put them to Shame and Flight.

“ If your Fathers could now rise out of their Graves, how would their Hearts leap with Joy to see this Day ; when so glorious an Opportunity is put into their Hands to revenge all the Injuries their Country has received from the *French*, and be never more exposed to their Treachery and Deceit. I make no doubt you are the true Sons of such renowned and brave Ancestors, animated with the same Spirit for your Country's Glory, and in Revenge of the Injuries your Fathers received, incapable of being deluded by the flattering Speeches of them, who always have been, and always must be, in their Hearts, your Enemies, and who desire nothing more, than the Destruction of your Nations.

“ I therefore invite you, *Brethren*, by this Belt, to join with us, and to share with us, in the Honour of the Conquest of our, and your deceitful Enemies ; and that you not only join all the Force of the *Six Nations* with us, but likewise invite all the Nations depending on you, to take a Share in this glorious Enterprize : And I will furnish your fighting Men with Arms, Ammunition, Cloathing, Provisions, and every Thing necessary for the War ; and in their Absence, take Care of their Wives and Children.

[Gave the War Belt.]

“ *Brethren*, You have seen how daring and insulting on you, as well as us, the *French* Indians have been, in cruelly murdering several of our People since you have come to this Place ; and therefore, for the many Reasons now laid before you, I make no doubt but your Answer will clearly manifest your Duty to the King your Father, and your Love to your Brethren ; and by this Belt I do assure you, that our Intent is, to live and die together.

[Gave a Belt of Friendship.]

At every Stop where a Belt was given, one of the Sachems call'd out *Yo-bay*, to which all the rest answered in a Sound which cannot be expressed in our Letters, but seem'd to consist of two Words remarkably distinguished in the Cadence ; it seem'd to this purpose, *Do you hear?* the Sachem calls : The Answer is, We attend and remember, or understand ; or it is a Kind of Applaudit our Interpreters could not explain. And at the Close of the Speech, one Sachem of each Nation calls out severally the *Yo-bay*, to which the others of the same Nation answer severally : But when the War-Belt was thrown down, they gave the War-Shout. We expected but Six of these Applaudits, according to the Number of the *Six Nations* ; but eight were distinctly delivered, by which we understood some other Nations were united with them on this Occasion.

After

After the Speech was delivered, the Sachems of the several Nations had Conferences together; and some time being spent in deliberating, they acquainted his Excellency, ' That they had agreed upon their Answer, which ' they were ready to give whenever he would appoint a Time to receive it; ' and he named the next Day.

Accordingly on the 23^d of *August*, His EXCELLENCY being present; the Gentlemen of the Council; the Commissioners from *Boston*; the Commissioners for *Indian Affairs*; the Corporation of *Albany*; and many Gentlemen, as at the Time when his Excellency's Speech was delivered,

An *Onondaga* Sachem, who had formerly been Speaker for the *Six Nations* on several Publick Occasions, rose up and spoke: What he said was publickly interpreted, in the Hearing of several who understood the *Indian Language* well, as follows:

Brethren of *New-York*, and of the *Massachusetts-Bay*,

WE the Six Nations are now assembled together as one Man, and we take in the Messagages for the Seventh Nation; and what is now to be spoken by one Mouth, are the joint and sincere Thoughts of every Heart.

We are pleas'd that you follow the Steps of our Fore-Fathers, in wiping off the sorrowful Tears from our Eyes, by which the Sotppage of our Throats are opened, and the bloody Bed wash'd clean. [Gave three Strings of Wampum.]

Brethren, The first Time we met together, we only saluted each other by shaking of Hands; we afterwards made a Covenant Chain of Silver, which we mutually have held fast to this Day; should it now slip from either of our Hands, it would prove Destruction to both Sides, since our Enemies have drawn the Sword. [Gave a Bel.]

Brother of *New-York*; Last Year you gave us the Hatchet to be made Use of against your Enemies, (the French which we accepted) and promised to make use of it if they should commit any farther Hostilities upon the English, which they have now done by destroying *Saragotoga*, and shedding a great deal of Blood: Hitherto we have made no use of the Hatchet; but as you now call upon us, we are ready, and do declare from the Bottom of our Hearts, that we will from this Day, make use of it against the French, and their Children, (meaning their Indians.)

[N. B. The Question was asked them by his Excellency, Whether by the Words their Children, they meant all the Indians in Alliance with the French? to which they answered, Yes.]

[At the End of the foregoing Paragraph, the Speaker threw down a War-Belt of Wampum on the Ground, it being the *Indian Custom* to deliver War-Belts, or make Declaration of War in this Manner: This he did with a remarkable Shew of Indignation, intending thereby to express their Resentment against the French and their Allies, and their Zeal for the English.] [Gave a Belt.]

Brother of *New-York*; According to your Exhortation in your Speech to us, we are firmly united together from this Time, to act as having one Heart; the Messagages are in the same Manner joined and united with us, likewise the Southern Nations bordering upon us; and we hope that you, and the other

Governors on the Continent, will be in the same Manner joined and united together. [Gave a Belt.]

[They repeated over his Excellency's Speech in Relation to the Conquest of Cape-Breton; and added, *We hope that our Fleet and Army will be also Victorious in the present Expedition against Canada; for the French are a mischievous People.* [Gave a Belt.]

As to your Suspensions of our admitting French Priests among us, they are become groundless, since we have now declared War against them: The admitting of Priests, would only tend to lull us asleep to our Destruction; should any now dare to come, we know no Use for them but to roast them. The Thoughts of the Treatment we formerly received from the French, thro' the Means of their Priests, and which you now seasonably have brought to our Remembrance, makes our Blood to boil.

Brother of New-York; This is the second Time you have put the Hatchet into our Hands, which we accept, and are ready to go upon Service. You may see that we have but a Handful of fighting Men here at present; however, some of them from each Nation shall be left behind us to follow your Orders.

When we return to our respective Castles, we shall send down a great Number of our Warriors, and of those of the Nations in Alliance with us, as soon as possible.

This we assure you of from the Truth and Sincerity of our Hearts; and we receive, and shall preserve this large Belt, [holding it up at the same Time] which you have now given us, as a War-Hatchet.

Brethren, This is the Belt of Union with which we are to go Hand in Hand to the Gate of our Enemies, and by it we declare our Intention to conquer or dye in the Common Cause.

There is a Nation call'd the Messesagues, whose Delegates are here present: They consist of five Castles, containing Eight Hundred Men, who are all determined and do agree to join us, in this Common Cause, against our Enemies the French, and their Indians; and we hope you, and the Commissioners from Boston, will use them in such a Manner that they will go home content and satisfied.

[Gave a Belt of Union, in which the Figures of several Persons join'd Hand in Hand, was wrought.

The Person who interpreted, returned the *Yo-hay* at the End of every Paragraph, and having done the same at the time they declared War, it occasion'd Laughter among them; upon which, observing his Mistake, he began the War-Shout, in which all the *Indians* joined.

The *Messesagues* are a Nation of *Indians* living near the Place called *De Troit*, by the *French*, and situate between Lake *Erie* and the *Huron* Lake.

After the Speaker had finished, his Excellency told them by the Interpreter, that the King their Father had ordered him to make them a Present on this Occasion; and that the Government of *Virginia* had on the same Occasion sent them a Present. The Commissioners from *Boston* at the same time told them, that they had a Present from their Government; and as they were soon to return Home, desired the *Six Nations* to come to their Lodgings to receive it; on which the *Indians* desired his Excellency to delay his Present to next Day, and they immediately went to receive their Presents from the Commissioners of the *Massachusetts-Bay*.

The next Day, the Presents from the King being expos'd on one Part, and those from *Virginia* separately near them, it was agreed by the People of *Albany*, who had seen many publick Presents given to the *Six Nations* on Treaties with them, that this was the most Valuable ever given. His Excellency on the giving the Presents, said ;

Brethren,

YOU here see a Token of the Regard the King your Father has for you ; and there is a Token of the Friendship of the Government of *Virginia* : But on this Occasion I cannot forbear taking Notice to you, that some of your People being at *Canada*, when the News of the Reduction of *Cape-Breton* came there, and when the *French* expected that *Quebec* would be immediately attacked in Consequence of it ; several of them joined with the *French*, and promised them Assistance. This occasion'd some Uncaresness to your Brethren, being contrary to the Faith of your Nations, as well as to your Brethren's Expectations ; however, you may now, by performing the Promises you Yesterday made in the most solemn Manner, remove all Suspicions ; and for ever secure the Friendship of your Brethren, which hitherto has from the Beginning, remain'd unviolated on their Parts. The Goods now before you, are Presents to the *Six Nations* ; and, as we have received the *Messengers* into the Covenant between you and us, I expect that they shall share with you. Besides these general Presents now made to your Nations, I have prepared proper Cloathing for your War-Captains, and the Warriors who shall go under their Command ; together with Arms, Ammunition and Provisions, which shall be delivered to the several Parties at the Time they shall go out on Service."

What his Excellency said having been interpreted by a *Mohawk* Sachem, the Sachem added of his own Head, *You now see how you are here treated, really like Brethren ; the Governor of Canada does not treat his Indians so ; they are set on like his Dogs, and they run on without Thought or Consideration : You see what a noble Present is made to you ; if the Governor of Canada should seize all the Goods in that Country, it would not be in his Power to make such a Present.*

The *Onondaga* Sachem, Speaker of the *Six Nations*, immediately replied,

Brethren of *New-York*, *New-England*, and *Virginia* ;

WE heard, and observe well, what you now and formerly spoke to us ; and we beg no mention may hereafter be made of what pass'd last Fall, since we are now heartily enter'd into the War with you, and have promised as many fighting Men from each Castle as can be spared ; and likewise to engage as great Numbers of every Nation in Alliance with us, as we can, to join immediately with us in the War against the *French*, and the Nations who adhere to them.

Brethren of *New-York*, *New-England*, and *Virginia*,

You must not suspect that it proceeds from any Backwardness in us, that a greater Number of our People do not at this Instant join with you ; the Reason is, our Castles have but few fighting Men in them, many are now abroad, some hunting and trading with far distant Nations, and others out fighting against our Enemies ; all these we shall recall home as soon as possible, in order to enter with all our Force, into the War against your and our common Enemy.

Brother, We have no more to say at this Time, but only to tell you, we are sorry that we can so little shew our Hearts by the Presents we now offer ; our hunting

hunting has been so very poor, that we cannot make you Presents suitable to our Inclinations.

The *Mobawks* added separately : *We have been employed all Summer in your Service as Out-scouts, to gain Intelligence, or in some Manner or other, and thereby kept from hunting : We have no Furs to offer you, but we here present our Persons, to serve you wherever you shall command.*

That Day was spent in dividing the Presents among themselves. We were told, That these Presents were divided into eight equal Parts, of which they gave two to the *Messeague* Deputies.

The next Day the War-Kettle was set over the Fire, and towards Evening the *Indians* in his Excellency's Presence, where many Gentlemen attended him, began the War-Dance, and continued it till late in the Night : They were painted as when they go to War. The Dance is a slow and solemn Motion, accompanied with a pathetick Song. The *Indians* in their Turns perform this singly ; but it is not easy to describe the Particularities of it.

His Excellency call'd several of the chief Sachems who had been useful in the Treaty, to him in private, and gave them Presents severally ; neither did he forget the *Messeague* Deputies : He had a particular Conference with one of them in private, the other was sick of the Small-Pox. At this Conference this Deputy assur'd his Excellency of the good Inclinations of his Nation to the *English*, and their Aversion to the *French* ; he said, ' That many of the Nations to the Westward of them, disliked the *French* ;' and as an Instance of it, he told, ' That the *French* lately having pressed a neighbouring Nation to take up the Hatchet against the *English*, they received it ; but made Use of it against the *French* themselves, and kill'd all the *French* then with them, being Sixty in Number, with the Loss of only one Man of their own Nation.' His Excellency made him handfom Presents, and gave him a Belt to carry to his Nation, with an Invitation to join in the War against the *French* ; the *Messeague* received them with a Profession of the most sincere and hearty Friendship, and that he made no doubt of bringing two, three, or four Hundred Men of his Nation to serve this Fall against the *French*. He added, ' That he and several of his Relations would immediately use their best Endeavours with several other Nations to the Westward of them, who were numerous, to join against the *French* ; in which, he said, he had great Hopes of Success, because they were dissatisfied with the *French*.

His Excellency took all possible Care of the Sick *Messeague*, had him brought into a House, and ordered him to be attended by two Physicians ; but the poor Man had the Misfortune to dye, after he had been above a Fortnight ill. When he found himself near his End, he sent to the Governor, to desire him as his last Request, that his Excellency would send the first *French* Scalp that should be taken, to his Mother ; and when he was told that his Excellency had promised it, he shew'd a Contentedness and Resignation to Death. This Misfortune was increased by the Death of the other *Messeague* Deputy likewise, who was taken ill in his Way home, and died. The *Six Nations* took Care of their Wives and Children, who had come with them ; and it was not doubted but that they, and all the Presents given them, would be safely conveyed to their own Homes.

Having

Having so far given an Account of what passed with the *Six Nations*, it may be proper next to relate the Treaty with the *Mebikanders* or *River Indians*; viz. The several Tribes of *Indians* living at several Places on each Side of *Hudson's River*.

On his Excellency's Arrival at *Albany*, having found that there had been a Neglect in sending for the *Esopus* and *Minissink* *Indians*, he sent Orders for them to be invited. The *Mebikanders* being convened the 21st; His Excellency directed Mr. *Colden* to speak to them in his Name and Words; which Mr. *Colden* did; the other Gentlemen of the Council; the Commissioners from *Boston*; the Commissioners for *Indian Affairs*, and several other Gentlemen being present; in the Words following :

Children,

I AM glad to meet you at this Time, as do likewise the Commissioners from the *Massachusetts-Bay*, who are now come hither to concur with me upon the present Occasion; and I take this Opportunity to renew the ancient Covenant Chain with you, in Behalf of this and all his Majesty's Governments in *America*, which you know has always been kept bright and clean, without any of the least Stain or Rust; and which by this Belt I strengthen. [Gave a Belt.]

Children, My meeting you here, besides renewing the Covenant Chain, is with Intention that you should join your Force with ours, by taking up the Hatchet against our and your common Enemies the *French*, and their *Indians*; who have in a very unmanly Manner, by sculking Parties, murder'd, in cold Blood, many of your Brethren in this and the Province of the *Massachusetts-Bay*.

This Behaviour lays us under a Necessity of making Reprisals on them in like Manner, in which I make no doubt of your Assistance; and we are resolved to take a thorough Revenge of our and your perpetual Enemies, by reducing the Country of *Canada*, that it may not be in the Power of these perfidious, deceitful and cruel People, to do you or us any Injury for the future: For which Purpose all the neighbouring Colonies, together with many Ships of War and Soldiers from *Great-Britain*, are resolved to unite their Force, and to attack *Canada* in all Parts, both by Sea and Land; and I make no doubt, you will on this Occasion shew your selves dutiful Children, in joining heartily with us and the *Six Nations*, in this glorious Enterprize; by which you will not only gain Honour and Renown, but also Safety and Prosperity to your Selves, your Wives, and Children forever afterwards: And for which End I will furnish your fighting Men with Arms, Ammunition, Cloathing, Provisions, and every Thing necessary for the War. [Gave a War-Belt.]

On the 26th they gave their Answer, which was interpreted in the following Words; (The same Persons being Present that were when the Governor's Speech was delivered to them.)

Father,

WE are glad to see you; and we are come to renew the Covenant Chain, and make it fast and bright as ever, and free from Rust; and as a Token thereof we give you this Belt. [Gave a Belt.]

Father, You have told us what Mischief the *French* have done, and what Murders upon the *Christians* they have committed; therefore we declare from

our Hearts, and not from our Lips only, that as you have ordered us to shed the Enemies Blood in Return for what they have done, we are resolved to live and die with you in the Common Cause.

When you Christians are at War, you make Peace with one another; but it is not so with us; therefore we depend upon you to take Care of us; in Confidence of which, we now take up the Hatchet, and will make Use of it against the French, and their Indians. [Gave a Belt with a Hatchet.]

After their Answer they began the War-Dance, and his Excellency ordered a considerable Present in Goods to be publicly given them. None of these are suspected to be under French Influence.

As there was no Advice of the Arrival of the Fleet, and no Plan of Operations agreed on in Case the Fleet did not arrive, the Supporting of about Seven Hundred Indians was a great Expence to his Excellency, for which he had no Allowance from the Province of *New-York*; or for any other Charge attending this Treaty: And as many of the Indians, (above Twenty) had got the Small-Pox, it being impracticable to prevent their going into Town, or conversing with the Town's People, and the Indians becoming uneasy by reason of the Sicknefs of many, and Death of some; his Excellency thought it most prudent to dismiss them as soon as possible from this Place, and to give Orders to Mr. *Johnson*, to send out several Parties from *Schenectade*, or his own Settlement near the lower *Mohawk* Castle, to harass the French Settlements in *Canada*; and for that Purpose delivered to him Cloathing, Arms and Ammunition, to be given to the fighting Men, as his Excellency had promised them whenever they entered on Service, and empowered him to furnish them with Provisions and whatever Necessaries they should want.

Before they went, his Excellency sent to them, to desire them to leave their Sick, with a Promise to take all Care possible of them; and that he would order Physicians to attend them. They were very sensible of this Kindness, and acknowledged it; but not above two or three could be prevailed to stay, who were so ill that they could not be removed: All possible Care was taken of the other Sick, in the Waggon which carried them to *Schenectade*.

On the 26th of September the Capts. *Staats* and *Vromen* brought the Indians living on the Branches of the *Susquehannab* River; they came in the Indian Order, marching in a single Line one after the other, and as they passed the Fort, saluted by a running Fire along the Line; which Salute the Governor ordered to be returned by a Discharge of some Cannon from the Fort.

On Monday the 8th of the same Month his Excellency spoke to them, telling them the Substance of what he had ordered to be said to the *Six Nations*, and their Answer; and as this has been set forth at Length before, it is needless to repeat what was then said. The Reason of his Excellency's speaking to them in this Manner, was, because these Nations living on the *Susquehannab* River and its Branches, are known to be Dependents on the *Six Nations*.

The next Day they gave their Answer; the Gentlemen of the Council; the Commissioners for Indian Affairs; the Corporation of *Albany*; the Officers of the four Independent Companies; and several Officers of the new Levies, and other Gentlemen being present, as they were when his Excellency spoke to the Indians: Their Answer was publicly interpreted as follows;

Brother

Brother of New-York,

WE live at Ohguago; what News you send to the Six Nations is not truly reported to us, nor what the Governor of Canada sends to them; we have not been properly taken Notice of, nor timely acquainted with your Design to treat with the Six Nations, till near the Time that your Interview with them was over; otherwise we should have readily come along with them, to hear what our Brother had to propose to us; and if we had received earlier Notice, a much larger Number of our fighting Men would have come along with us: Our Settlements are scattering, and some of them at a great Distance from others, and many of our Men are from Home a hunting; we have, however sent the Belt of Invitation forward to those who live at a greater Distance, that they may be able at the Time appointed to come and join us in the War, as by your Belt we were desired.

Brother, You Yesterday inform'd us of what you had said to the Six Nations, and their Answer; we are griev'd that the Six Nations have not already made use of the Hatchet, but have hitherto kept it by them, and have not sent out their young Men to revenge the Murders which have been committed by the Enemy.

We are resolv'd to make use of the Hatchet against the French, to revenge the Injuries done to you and your People, our Brethren.

We have received at Times very different Kind of News from the Six Nations, sometimes it seem'd as if the French would be Masters; but it cannot be so, they are a deceitful People, and cannot be trusted; they make fair Promises, and have no Intention to perform them; they flatter themselves with Hopes to be Masters, but they shall be disappointed; for we shall keep the Hatchet firmly in our Hands, and are resolv'd to make Use of it.

We know several Roads that lead to Canada; we want to see the Hatchet that we may take it up.

Upon which his Excellency threw down a Hanger; which the Speaker took up and began the War-Dance, and several others danced the same after him.

After which they desired his Excellency to take Care of them, as he had promised.

His Excellency returned them Thanks for their so readily taking up the Hatchet; he said, that he would presently set the War-Kettle over the Fire, and provide them with every Thing necessary for the War. His Excellency gave them a handsome Present in Publick for their Nations in general, and private Presents to their principal Sachems; one of which promised, that after his return Home, he would go round all the *Indian* Settlements, to invite them into the War against the *French*, and their *Indians*; and that he did not doubt to be able to bring Six Hundred Men from the *Indian* Settlements on the *Susquebannab* River and its Branches, to march at any Time and to any Place his Excellency shall appoint, in order to join the Forces intended against *Canada*; in the mean Time they would cause a Party of their Men to go out with his Men to scour the Woods, and clear them of the *French* sculking *Indians*.

About this Time a Serjeant of Capt. *Livingston's* Company was surprized and kill'd by a sculking Party of *French* Indians: In a few Minutes after the Account of this came to his Excellency, who happened to be Dining at that Time in Capt. *Wrexall's* Tent, fourteen of the *Susquebannab* Indians were observ'd running past the Tent, in order to cross the River, and meet the *French* Indians; which his Excellency observing, and being apprehensive that they might meet with some of the Parties of the new Levies that were gone

gone out for the same Purpose, and that they might be in Danger of being attacked through Mistake; he ask'd if any of the Guard which then attended, would voluntarily go along with the *Indians*? Two Men offered themselves, who went with one who understood the *Indian* Language, in order to prevent Mistakes. Happy it was that this Precaution was taken; for Capt. *Fanning* with a great Part of his Company, having gone out with the same Intention of intercepting the *French* *Indians*, he discovered this Party of our *Indians*, and taking them to be *French* *Indians*, he kept his Men under the Cover of some Bushes, with their Arms ready to fire, expecting the nearer Approach of the *Indians*; when one of the Christians, who were with them, observing Capt. *Fanning's* Men, call'd out, and came up to Capt. *Fanning* when his Men were ready to fire. None of the Parties that went out were able to discover any of the Enemy.

His Excellency afterwards sent out sixteen of these *Indians*, and cloathed them for that Purpose, together with about sixty Men detached from the Companies levied in the County of *Albany*, in order to scour the Woods, and to advance as far as the Lakes to gain Intelligence, by taking Prisoners or otherwise. While this Party was out, some of the *Indians* fell sick, and the others being apprehensive of the same Misfortune, they return'd, after having been but a few Days in the Woods. His Excellency then perceiving the Uneasiness the *Indians* were under from the Apprehensions of Sickness, found it necessary to dismiss them all, on their Promise to return, whenever his Excellency shall order, with all the Force they shall be able to collect; and which, they said, as before observed, might amount to Six Hundred Men. The Number of *Indians* that came at this Time from the *Susquehannab* River, consisted only of about Sixty fighting Men, besides old Men, Women and Children: More had come near to *Albany*, but having there heard of the Small-Pox and Sickness that was at *Albany*, and that many of the *Six Nations* had caught the Infection, and several of them dead, they returned back.

After the *Six Nations* left *Albany*, many of them were taken sick on their Way home, before they reached the *Mohawk* Castles, and a considerable Number of the briskest young Men of the *Mohawks*, died. This retarded the Execution of the Order given to Mr. *Johnson*, to send out Parties to harass the *French* Settlements in *Canada*, tho' he used all the Means in his Power to effect it. While he was pressing them to this Purpose, one of the *Sichems* who had promised to head a Party from the *Canajohary* Castle, said, *You seem to think that we are Brutes, that we have no Sense of the Loss of our dearest Relations, and some of them the bravest Men we had in our Nation: You must allow us Time to bewail our Misfortune.*

About ten Days before his Excellency left *Albany*, a Party of upwards of Seventy Men, consisting of some of each Nation, went against *Canada*: Some Christians were of the Party to assist and direct, and to be Witnesses of the Behaviour of the *Indians*. They were to avoid all the Lakes, and the usual Roads and Passes to *Canada*, and were to go through the Woods over Mountains, that are seldom passed, to prevent the Enemies discovering of them: But after these had been out, Capt. *Butler's* Son, to whom the chief Direction of this Party was committed, was taken ill of the Small-Pox, and five of the *Indians* were obliged to return to carry him Home. Another small Party was sent out to take Prisoners and gain Intelligence at *Crown-Point*. At the Writing of this it is not known what Success they have had.

When the *Six Nations* had come as far as the Lower *Mohawk* Castle, in their return Home, they were met by about six Men of their own Nations, who delivered a Message from *Canada*, which had been brought by the *Indian* who was taken by the *French* at *Crown Point* and carried to *Canada*. The Message was interpreted in the following Words: "The Governor of *Canada* had called the *Cabnuaga* Indians to him, and then complain'd to them, that some of the *Six Nations*, his Children, had kill'd some of his People: You all know, *he said*, that I am not hasty or passionate, but will rather bear a great Deal than shew Resentment; wherefore I am resolv'd to pass this over; but in the mean Time I must desire you to go among the *Six Nations*, to find out the Reason of this Proceeding, and to tell them, that if any Thing like it happen again, I will make them smart: You may, nevertheless, assure my Children (a) of the *Six Nations*, that I love and esteem them equally with the *Cabnuagas* or *Shawendadies*, (b) being of the same Blood. And to convince them of my Love, I now send back to them one of their People that was taken at *Crown Point*, without eating his Flesh. And now, *Cabnuagas*, my Children, I would not have you spill any more Blood from *Albany*, upwards; for I begin to pity their Weakness; but turn your Arms towards *New-England*, against your most inveterate Enemies, there is the Place for you to gain Honour now."

The *Cabnuagas* gave the following Answer to the Governor of *Canada*: Father, *You are in the Wrong*, to desire us to go among the *Six Nations* for Intelligence, or with Menaces; for such will only stir them up, and bring them and all their Allies (who are very numerous) upon you, to destroy you at once. We know they are not to be bullied by your Words or ours; wherefore, Father, we must leave you to go through this Work by yourself.

After having, as above, related what had passed between them and the Governor of *Canada*; they sent the following Message from themselves:

Brethren of the *Six Nations*, "We hear the Governor of *New-York* has invited you to meet him; we intreat you not to mind any thing he shall say, in order to set you against us; for if you do, you, as well as we, must all dye: Wherefore, Brethren, we conjure you by all the Ties of Friendship subsisting between us; to inform us of any Design that is plotting against us; and that, when any such Thing shall be discovered, you will send an Express to *Cadarackui*, (c) where our Fire always burns.

Brethren, We shall be glad to see you next Spring at *Cabnuaga*, to hold a Council together, where you shall be as safe and wellcome as ever.

Brethren, The Governor our Father, being informed, that your Governor is raising Men to come against *Canada*, desires us to tell you, that he has One Thousand eight hundred Men at *Crown Point*, ready to give them Battle; in which Number the Men of eight Castles of the *Utawawas* are included.

Brethren, Be not angry at our destroying *Saraghtoga* last Fall; Col. *Schuyler* dar'd us to it, by saying he wished to see a *French* Army there: We gratified him in his Wish."

A *Cabnuaga* Indian was sent along with the Prisoner that was restored; but when he came near the Settlements of the *Six Nations*, his Heart fail'd him, and he sent the Prisoner forward by himself with the Message.

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(a) The Governor of *Canada* calls the *Six Nations*, (and all the *Indian* Nations depending on him) Children, as the Governor of *New-York* calls them Brethren.

(b) Another Settlement of Deferters from the *Six Nations*, and dwelling near *Montreal*.

(c) A *French* Fort opposite to *Oswego*, and the East End of *Cadarackui* Lake, or *Lake Frontenac*.

The Readiness with which the *Six Nations* communicated this Message, and the Slight they in all Appearance put upon it, is some Proof of their Sincerity in the Promises they made to his Excellency; neither from any Thing which has happened can it be shewn, that they were not sincere. On the Contrary, it appears by Mr. *Johnson's* Letter to his Excellency, of the 21st of *October*, That several Parties are now out against the *French*; and that Mr. *Johnson* having received Orders from Col. *Roberts*, to send as many *Indians* as possible to join the Army; all the *Mohawks*, even their old Men, were fitted out and ready; and having sent to the Upper Castles at the same Time, they appeared so hearty, that there would not have remained above three old Men in any of the next Castles: And that Col. *Roberts* afterwards contradicting these Orders, they had appeared very uneasy on their being stopt. It was not expected, that they would enter into the War without us, or by themselves, neither are they a People of so little Thought as to give any Reason to expect it from them.

When the Companies rais'd in *Pennsylvania* arriv'd at *Albany*, his Excellency was informed by their Captains, that Mr. *Thomas*, Governor of that Province, had sent *Conrad Weiser*, their publick Interpreter, among the *Susquebannab* *Indians*; and that they expected his Arrival at this Place in a little Time, with, at least, three hundred *Indians*. The Treaties with the *Indians*, which Mr. *Thomas* has published, gave great Hopes of the Success that Interpreter would have; and thereby increased the Disappointment, when Mr. *Weiser* arrived a few Days before his Excellency left *Albany*, and did not bring one *Indian* with him.

His Excellency Governor *Clinton*, had perhaps more Difficulties to struggle with on this Occasion, than any Governor of *New-York* had at any Time: The *Six Nations* had on several Occasions given Grounds of Mistrust; the Governor of *Canada* was attempting all the Means in his Power to divert their Affections from us; the People of the County of *Albany* had for some time past, entertain'd a Dissatisfaction in the Conduct of the Commissioners for *Indian* Affairs; the Commissioners themselves were divided in their Sentiments, and several of them refused to attend their Meetings; and they confest'd to his Excellency, that they had lost all Influence on the *Indians*; Mr. *Gooch* having declined the Command of the Forces at *Albany*, his Excellency was forced likewise to undertake a new and great Care, which he in no Manner expected when he left the City of *New-York*, and which from many Incidents, was attended with many Difficulties. If these Things be duly considered, and the Dangers his Person was in from the Infection of two different Diseases, which at that Time raged in the City of *Albany*, of which great Numbers died during his Residence there of near three Months; none can doubt of his hearty Zeal for the Success of an Affair, in which the Safety and Prosperity of all the Colonies in North *America*, were immediately concerned.

But as every one may not be sufficiently apprized of what Consequence the *Six Nations* being hearty, is of to the Interest of *Great Britain*, it may be proper to observe, That tho' a Number of *Indians* to march with the Army, which was intended to attack *Canada*, would be of great Use in discovering and defeating the Ambushes of the Enemy's *Indians*, while they were every Day to be guarded against by the Forces which were to march by Land, and would by their Incurfions into the Enemy's Country, terribly harass them, and keep them from joining their Forces into any great Body to oppose the Design; these are not the most considerable Advantages may be gain'd from the Affection

of the *Six Nations* at this Time, or any Time of War ; for if the inland Extent of the Colonies from *Nova Scotia* to *Georgia* be considered, and at the same Time the numerous *Indian Nations* on the Continent of *America*, who may by the Artifices of the *French* be induced to make Incurfions every where ; and the cruel Methods by which the *Indians* make Incurfions in small Parties from the vast Forest which every where covers the Continent, and which in many Places is impenetrable ; it must evidently appear, that tho' the *English* Colonies be of much superior Force to the *French* in Numbers of Men, yet their Number would not be sufficient to protect their Frontiers from the Incurfions of the *Indians* in every Place : And, that while their Forces must in this Case be divided and scattered all over their Frontiers, it may be in the Power of the *French* in *Canada*, to invade with Success any Part of the *English* Colonies. On the other Hand, if a proper Attempt were to be made by the northern Colonies alone, without the Assistance of their Mother Country, but with the Assistance of the *Indians*, it would in all Appearance be sufficient to reduce *Canada* ; for if the *Indian Nations* can be persuaded to join heartily, (as from what is above related seems probable they may) it will be impossible for the Inhabitants of *Canada* to defend themselves from the Incurfions of these numerous *Indian Nations*, and from a Body of regular Troops at the same Time. As the *French* are very sensible of these Advantages to be gain'd from the Friendship of the *Indian Nations*, they neglect no Means in their Power to procure them : And it is to be hoped, that the northern Colonies will be no less assiduous in a Matter on which their Well-being at least depends.

Some People wish, that the *Indians* may remain Neuter, and think it advisable to pursue Measures for that Purpose, by which many horrid Barbarities would be prevented. No doubt this is to be wished ; but can the *English* Colonies by any Means be assured, that the *French* will be sincere in preserving such a Neutrality ? And if they be not sincere, we shall more certainly expose ourselves to all these Calamities, than we are now by *Indians* being engaged on both Sides. The *Six Nations* are by their natural Inclinations disposed to War-like Enterprizes : They never have been at Peace with all their Neighbours since they were known to Christians. The Reputation they have gain'd among all the *Indian Nations* in North *America*, gives them an Influence in the Councils of every Nation. It may then be easy for the *French* to turn this Disposition to War in the *Six Nations*, against us, and by their Influence draw all the *Indian Nations* in North *America* upon us. The Genius of the *Six Nations* will not suffer them to remain inactive while their Neighbours are at War.

In the last Place, it may not be improper to observe at this Time, that tho' the Colonies to the Southward (and the Inhabitants of the Parts of the northern Colonies, which are less exposed to the Incurfions of *Indians*) think themselves little concern'd in Interest, or in the Consequences of the present War ; yet if they would consider that the northern Colonies are really their Frontier, and that they defend the others from all the Calamities of a most barbarous War ; the southern Colonies must think that any Contribution of Men and Money, which is expected from them, is an easy Purchase of the Freedom from such Calamities to which their Brethren are subjected ; and that while they can follow their Occupations at Ease, they are much better enabled to support the Expence of a War than the northern Colonies are, where the Inhabitants are every Day in Danger of their Lives from a cruel Enemy, while at their daily and innocent Labours. If the southern Colonies neglect to keep the War at a Distance from them, they may at an improper Time, become sensible of the Evils their Brethren suffer, and of their own Folly at the same Time.



