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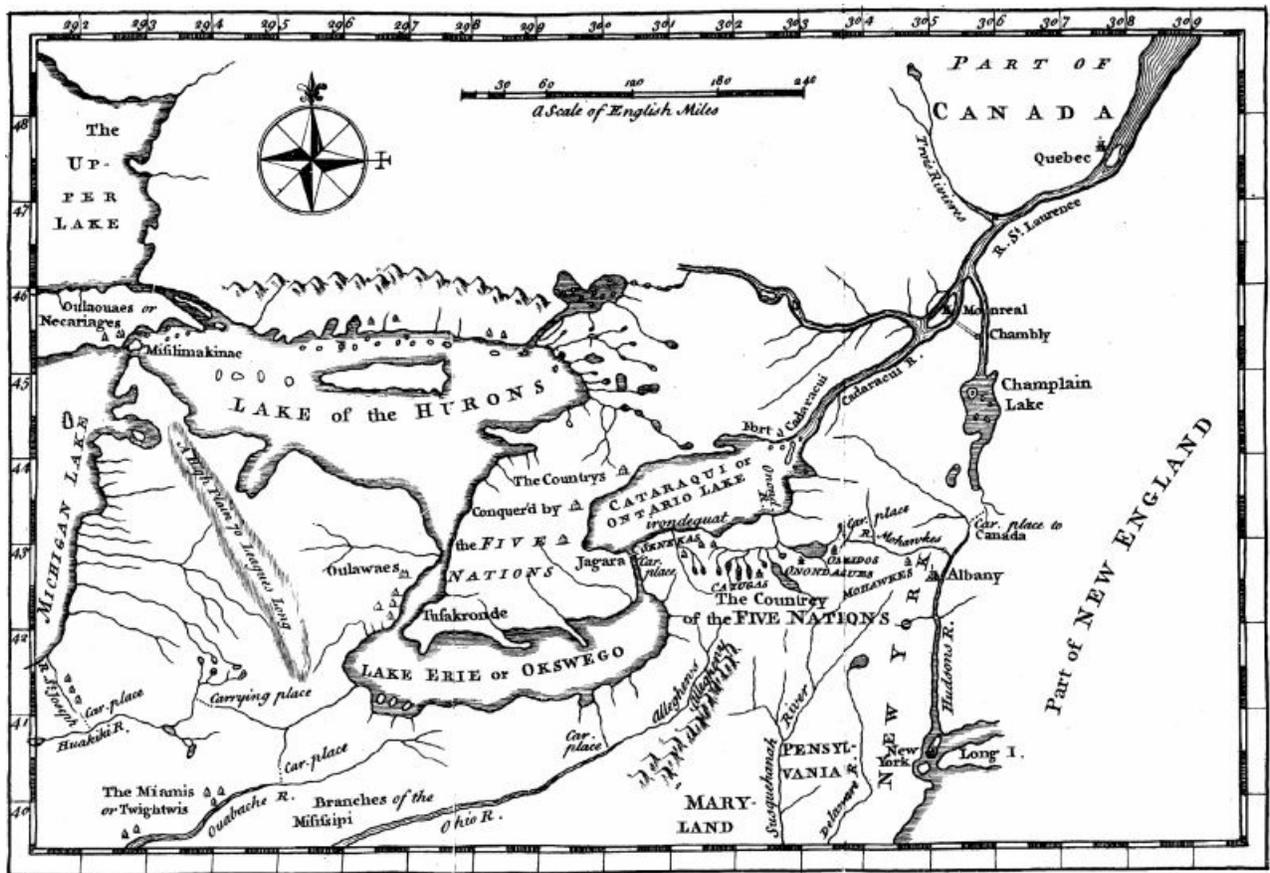
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*A MAP of the Country of the FIVE NATIONS, belonging to the Province of NEW YORK; and of the LAKES near which the Nations of FAR INDIANS live, with part of CANADA.*



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

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

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

In which are shewn

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

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

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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. A Work highly entertaining to all, and particularly useful to the Persons who have any Trade or Concern in that Part of the World.

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LONDON:

Printed for T. OSBORNE, in *Gray's-Inn*. MDCCXLVII.

TO THE HONOURABLE

# GENERAL

## O G L E T H O R P E .

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 were under no Apprehensions from the *Indians* themselves) it would be highly imprudent in us to suffer such People to grow Rich and Powerful, while it is in our Power to prevent it, with much less Charge and Trouble, than it is in theirs to accomplish their Designs.

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

---

The *Five Nations* are a poor and, generally called, barbarous People, bred under the darkest Ignorance; and yet a bright and noble Genius shines through these black Clouds. None of the greatest *Roman* Heroes have discovered a greater Love to their Country, or a greater Contempt of Death, than these people called Barbarians have done, when Liberty came in Competition. Indeed, I think our *Indians* have outdone the *Romans* in this Particular; some of the greatest of those have we know murdered themselves 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<sup>[1]</sup>; 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 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 Patronage; and on these only it is that I presume to offer my best Endeavours in this, who am, with the greatest Respect,

*S I R,*

*Your most obedient,*

*and most humble Servant,*

Cadwallader Colden.

**THE**

# **P R E F A C E**

**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 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 those skulking Parties, and has obliged the Christians to imitate the Indians in this Method of making War among them. And some would, doubtless, be desirous to know the Manners and Customs of the Indians, in their publick Treaties especially, who could not be satisfied without taking Notice of several minute Circumstances, and Things otherwise of no Consequence. We are fond of searching into remote Antiquity, to know the Manners of our earliest Progenitors; and, if I am not mistaken, the Indians are living Images of them.*

*My Design therefore in the second was, that thereby the Genius of the Indians might appear. An Historian may paint Mens Actions in lively Colours, or in faint Shades, as he likes best, and in both Cases preserve a perfect Likeness; but it will be a difficult Task to shew the Wit, Judgment, Art, Simplicity, and Ignorance of the several Parties, managing a Treaty, in other Words than their own. As to my Part, I thought myself incapable of doing it, without depriving the judicious Observer of the Opportunity of discovering much of the Indian Genius, by my contracting or paraphrasing their Harangues, and without committing often gross Mistakes. For, on these Occasions, a skilful Manager often talks confusedly, and obscurely, with Design; which if an Historian should endeavour to amend, the Reader would receive the History in a false Light.*

*The Reader will find a great Difference between some of the Speeches here given of those made at Albany, and those taken from the French Authors. Ours are genuine and truly related, as delivered by the sworn Interpreters, of whom Truth only is required; a rough 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 of the Registers, when this is once done, he that shall write afterwards, need not*

*act with so much Caution.*

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

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

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

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

**A**

# V O C A B U L A R Y

## 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. **O**wenagungas, or New-England Indians, and are sometimes called the Eastern Indians.

Algonkins. Adirondacks.

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

Amihouis.

Aniez. Mohawks, called likewise Maquas.

Bay des Puans. Enitajiche.

Chigagou. Caneraghik.

Corlaer, or  
Corlard.

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

Hinois. Chictaghicks.

Iroquois. *The Five Nations.*

Lac Huron. Caniatore, 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. Toderiks.

Terre rouge. Scunksik.  
Tongorias. Erighecks.  
Tsonontouans. Senekas.

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

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

Their great Men, both *Sachems* and Captains, are generally poorer than the common People; for they affect to give away and distribute all the Presents or Plunder they get in their Treaties or in War, so as to leave nothing to themselves. There is not a Man in the Ministry of the *Five Nations*, who has gain'd his Office, otherwise than by Merit; there is not the least Salary, or any Sort of Profit, annexed to any Office, to tempt the Covetous or Sordid; but, on the contrary, every unworthy Action is unavoidably attended with the Forfeiture of their Commission; for their Authority is only the Esteem of the People, and ceases the Moment that Esteem is lost. Here we see the natural Origin of all Power and Authority among a free People, and whatever artificial Power or Sovereignty any Man may have acquired, by the Laws and Constitution of a Country, his real Power will be 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 remembered the Time when the *Mohawks* made War on their *Indians*, that as soon as a single *Mohawk* was discover'd in the Country, their *Indians* raised a Cry from Hill to Hill, *A Mohawk! A Mohawk!* upon which they all fled like Sheep before Wolves, without attempting to make the least Resistance, whatever Odds were on their Side. The poor *New England Indians* immediately ran to the Christian Houses, and the *Mohawks* often pursued them so closely, that they entered along with them, and knocked their Brains out in the Presence of the People of the House; but if the Family had Time to shut the Door, they never attempted to force it, and on no Occasion did any Injury to the Christians. All the Nations round them have, for many Years, intirely submitted to them, and pay a yearly Tribute to them in *Wampum*<sup>[2]</sup>; they dare neither 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 a dirty Shirt, may be seen issuing his Orders with as arbitrary an Authority, as a *Roman Dictator*. It is not for the Sake of Tribute however, that they make War, but from the Notions of Glory, which they have ever most strongly imprinted on their Minds; and the farther they go to seek an Enemy, the greater Glory they think they gain; there cannot, I think, be a greater or stronger Instance than this, how much the Sentiments, impressed upon a People's Mind, conduce to their Grandeur, or one that more verifies a Saying often to be met with, though but too little minded, That it is in the Power of the Rulers of a People to make them either Great or Little; for by inculcating only the Notions of Honour and Virtue, or those of Luxury and Riches, the People, in a little Time, will become such as their Rulers desire. The *Five Nations*, in their Love of Liberty, and of their Country, in their Bravery in Battle, and their Constancy in enduring Torments, equal the Fortitude of the most renowned *Romans*. I shall finish their general Character by what an Enemy, a *Frenchman*, says of them, *Monsieur De la Poterie*, in his History of *North America*.

"When we speak (says he) of the *Five Nations* 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 judicious, as well can be conceived; and this appears 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 ancient 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 *Phoenicians* burning their own Children alive in Sacrifice; and several Passages in the *Jewish History*; and witness, in later Times, the Christians burning one another alive, for God's Sake.

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

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

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

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

After the Expedition is over, they stop at the same Place in their Return, and send to their Castle, to inform their Friends of their Arrival; that they may be prepared to give them a solemn Reception, suited to the Success they have had. In the mean Time, they represent on the same, or some Tree near it, the Event of the Enterprize, and now the Canoes are painted with their Heads turned towards the Castle; the Number of the Enemy killed, is represented by Scalps painted black, and the Number of Prisoners by as many Withs, (in their Painting not unlike 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 Achievements. The solemn Reception of these Warriors, and the Acclamations of Applause, which they receive at their Return, cannot but have in the Hearers the same Effect, in raising an Emulation for Glory, that a Triumph had on the old *Romans*.

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

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

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

Their only Instruments of War are Musquets, Hatchets, and long sharp pointed Knives; these they always carry about with them: Their Hatchet, in War-time, is stuck in their Girdle behind them; and besides what Use they make of this Weapon in their Hand, they have a dexterous Way of throwing it, which I have seen them often practise in their Exercise,

by throwing it into a Tree at a Distance: They have, in this, the Art of directing and regulating the Motion, so that though the Hatchet turns round as it flies, the Edge always sticks in the Tree, and near the Place at which they aim it. The Use of Bows and Arrows are now intirely laid aside, except among the Boys, who are still very dexterous in killing Fowls and other Animals with them.

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

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

The *Five Nations* have such absolute Notions of Liberty, that they allow of no Kind of Superiority of one over another, and banish all Servitude from their Territories. They never make any Prisoner a Slave; but it is customary among them to make a Compliment of Naturalization into the *Five Nations*; and, considering how highly they value themselves above all others, this must be no small Compliment. This is not done by any general Act of the Nation, but every single Person has a Right to do it, by a Kind of Adoption. The first Time I was among the *Mohawks*, I had this Compliment from one of their old *Sachems*, which he did, by giving me his own Name, *Cayenderongue*. He had been a notable Warrior; and he told me, that now I had a Right to assume to myself all the Acts of Valour he had performed, and that now my Name would echo from Hill to Hill all over the *Five Nations*. As for my Part, I thought no more of it at that Time, than as an Artifice to draw a Belly full of strong Liquor from me, for himself and his Companions; but when about ten or twelve Years afterwards, my Business led me again among them, I directed 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 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 Midwife, and, soon after their Delivery, return to their usual Employment. They alone also perform all the Drudgery about their Houses, they plant their Corn, and labour it, in every Respect, till it is brought to the Table: They likewise cut all their Fire-wood, and bring it Home on their Backs, and in their Marches bear the Burdens. The Men disdain all Kind of Labour, and employ themselves alone in Hunting, as the only proper Business for Soldiers. At Times, when it is not proper to hunt, one finds the *old Men* in Companies, in Conversation; the young Men at their Exercises, shooting at Marks, throwing the Hatchet, Wrestling, or Running, and the Women all busy at Labour in the Fields.

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

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

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

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

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

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

They have some Kind of Elegancy in varying and compounding their Words, to which, not many of themselves attain, and this principally distinguishes their best Speakers. I have endeavoured to get some Account of this, as a Thing that might be acceptable to the Curious; but, as I have not met with any one Person who understands their Language, and also knows any Thing of Grammar, or of the learned Languages, I have not been able to attain the least Satisfaction. Their present Minister tells me, that their Verbs are varied, but in a Manner so different from the *Greek* or *Latin*, that he cannot discover by what Rule it was done; and even suspects, that every Verb has a peculiar Mode: They have but few radical Words, but they compound their Words without End; by this their Language becomes sufficiently copious, and leaves Room for a good Deal of Art to please a delicate Ear. Sometimes one Word among them includes an entire Definition of the Thing; for Example, they call *Wine Oneharadeseboengtseragberie*, as much as to say, a *Liquor made of the Juice of the Grape*. The Words expressing Things lately come to their Knowledge are all Compounds: They have no 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, 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 displeas'd with some that mimick'd the Cry of that Bird in the Night. An Officer of the regular Troops has inform'd me also, that while he had the Command of the Garrison at *Oswego*, a Boy of one of the far Westward Nations died there; the Parents made a regular Pile of split Wood, laid the Corps upon it, and burnt it; while the Pile was burning, they stood gravely looking on, without any Lamentation, but when it was burnt down, they gathered up the Bones with many Tears, put them into a Box, and carried them away with them; and this Inclination, which all ignorant People have to Superstition and amusing Ceremonies, gives the Popish Priests a great Advantage 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 Chappel, and a valuable set of Plate for the Communion Table; and (if I am not mistaken) the like Furniture and Plate for each of the other Nations, though that of the *Mohawks* was only applied to the Use designed. The common Prayer, or at least a considerable Part of it, was translated also into their Language and printed; some other Pieces were likewise translated for the Minister's Use, *viz.* An Exposition of the Creed, Decalogue, Lord's Prayer, and Church Catechism, and a Discourse on the Sacraments. But as that Minister was never able to attain any tolerable Knowledge of their Language, and was naturally a heavy Man, he had but small Success; and his Allowance failing, by the Queen's Death, he left them. These Nations had no Teacher, from that Time, till within these few Years, that a young Gentleman, out of pious Zeal, went voluntarily among the *Mohawks*. He was at first intirely ignorant of their Language, and had no Interpreter, except one of the *Indians*, who understood a little *English*, and had, in the late Missionary's Time, learn'd to read and write in his own Language. He learned from him how to pronounce the Words in the Translations, which had been made for the late Missionary's Use. He set up a School, to teach their Children to read and write their own Language; and they made surprizing Proficiency, considering their Master did not understand their Language. I happened to be in the *Mohawk* Country, and saw several of their Performances; I was present at their Worship, where they went through some Part of the Common Prayer with great Decency. I was likewise present, several Times, at their private Devotions, which some of them performed 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:

"Drunkness 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 intirely reformed, and the Men very much. They have intirely left off Divorces, and are legally married. They are very

constant and devout at church and Family Devotions. They have not been known to exercise Cruelty to Prisoners, and have, in a great Measure, left off going a fighting, which I find the most difficult, of all Things, to dissuade them from. They seem also persuaded of the Truths of Christianity. The greatest Inconveniency I labour under, is the Want of an Interpreter, which could I obtain, for two or three Years, I should hope to be tolerably Master of their Language, and be able to render it easier to my Successor."

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

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

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

**THE**

# HISTORY

OF THE

**FIVE *INDIAN* NATIONS,**

**DEPENDING**

**On the Province of *NEW-YORK*.**

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# 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.*

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# 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 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<sup>[3]</sup> 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 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*<sup>[4]</sup>, a less warlike Nation, who then lived on the Banks of the Lakes; for they found it was difficult to remove the Dread their People had of the Valour of the *Adirondacks*. The *Five Nations* soon subdued the *Satanas*, and drove them out of their Country; and their People's Courage being thus elevated, they, from this Time, not only defended themselves bravely against the whole Force of the *Adirondacks*, but often carried the War into the Heart of the *Adirondacks's* Country, and, at last, forced them to leave it, and to fly into that Part of the Country, where *Quebeck* is now built.

There are more Instances than one in History, of poor dispirited Nations, that by some signal Affront or Abuse have had their Spirits so raised, that they have not only performed notable Things on a sudden, but, if they happened, at the same Time, to be led and governed by wise Men, have so far kept up, and improved that Spirit, that they have become, in a Manner, a different People. Let us examine History, and we shall find, that the different Figure every Country has made in the World, has been ever principally owing to the Principles which were inculcated into, and carefully cultivated in the People. In this chiefly consists the Art of making a Nation glorious, or the Crime of debasing them into Servitude or Slavery. It was from the Notions of Liberty, Honour, and Glory, and such wise and generous Principles, which the meanest Citizen among the old *Romans* entertained, that they became so great and powerful, and a Terror to all Nations; as the sordid, timorous, cunning Artifices, and the Love of Wealth and sensual Pleasures, cultivated among the present *Romans*, has debased them now into the meanest and least feared Nation on the Earth. The History of the *Five Nations* will readily shew, how far the ancient *Roman* Principles have been cultivated among them.

Soon after this Change of the People of these Nations, the *French* arrived at *Canada*, and settled at *Quebeck*; and they thinking it adviseable to gain the Esteem and Friendship of the *Adirondacks*, in whose Country they settled, *Monsieur Champlain*, the first Governor of *Canada*, joined the *Adirondacks* in an Expedition against the *Five Nations*. They met a Party of two-hundred Men of the *Five Nations* in *Corlar's Lake*, which the *French*, on this Occasion called by *Monsieur Champlain's* Name, and both Sides went ashore to prepare for Battle, which proved to the Disadvantage of the *Five*

*Nations*. The *French*, in short, kept themselves undiscover'd, till the Moment they began to join Battle; and their Fire-arms 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 increased, and their Fire-arms giving them new Confidence, proposed nothing less to themselves, than the intire Destruction of the *Five Nations*. Upon this, their young Warriors became fierce and insolent, and would not be kept under any Discipline or Subjection to their Captains; but, upon all Occasions, rashly attacked the Enemy, who were obliged to keep themselves upon the defensive; and to make up what they wanted in Force, by Stratagems, and a skilful Management of the War. The young Men of the *Five Nations* soon perceived the Advantages they gained by this Conduct, and every Day grew more submissive to their Captains, and diligent in executing any Enterprize.

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

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

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

It is not improper to observe here, once for all, that in writing the History of *Indians*, it is often necessary to give an Account of the Enterprizes of single Persons, otherwise the *Indian* Genius can never be known, or their Manner of making War understood. An *Indian* named *Piskaret* was at this Time 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 Musquets, which they loaded with two Bullets apiece, joined with a small Chain ten Inches long; they met with five Canoes in *Sorel River*, each having ten Men of the *Five Nations* on Board. *Piskaret* and his Captains, as soon as those of the *Five Nations* drew near, pretended to give themselves up for lost, and sung their Death Song,<sup>[5]</sup> then suddenly fired upon the Canoes, which they repeated with the Arms that lay ready loaded, and tore those Birch Vessels betwixt Wind and Water. The Men of the *Five Nations* were so surprized, that they tumbled out of their Canoes, and gave *Piskaret* and his Companions the Opportunity of knocking as many of them on the Head as they pleased, and saving the others, to feed their 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 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, knock'd them all on the Head, and carried away their Scalps with the rest. Such Stories as these are told among the *Indians*, as extraordinary Instances of the Courage and Conduct of their Captains. The *Indians* will often travel thus three or four Hundred Miles singly, or two or three in Company, and lurk about their Enemy's Borders for several

Weeks, in Hopes to revenge the Death of a near Relation or dear Friend. Indeed they give themselves so very much up to Revenge, that this Passion seems to gnaw their Souls, and gives them no Rest till they satisfy it. It is this Delight in Revenge, that makes all barbarous Nations cruel; and the curbing such Passions is one of the happy Effects of being civilized.

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

Their last Expedition having succeeded so well, the *Five Nations* gave out, that they intended next Winter to visit *Yonnendio*, (the Name they give to the Governor of *Canada*;) these Visits are always made with much Shew. Under this Pretence they gathered together 1000 or 1200 Men. Their out Scouts met with *Piskaret* near *Niccolet River*, and still pretending a friendly Visit to the Governor of *Canada*, as their only Design, he told them, that the *Adirondacks* were divided into two Bodies, one of which hunted on the North Side of *St. Laurence River* at *Wabmake*, three Leagues above *Trois 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, tho' when the *French* first settled at *Quebeck*, 1500 fighting Men of them lived between that Place and *Sillerie*, which are only a League distant, besides those that lived at *Saquenay*, *Trois 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 *Atawawas* 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 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 Governor General of *Canada*; he brought with him a Regiment and several Families, with all Things necessary for establishing of a Colony. Their Force being now thus considerably augmented, the *French* Governor 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*<sup>[6]</sup>, a small Town which *Corlear* (a considerable Man among the *Dutch*) had then newly settled. When they appeared near *Shenectady*, they were almost dead with Cold and Hunger; and the *Indians*, who were then in that Village, had intirely destroyed them, if *Corlear*, (in Compassion to his fellow Christians) had not contriv'd their Escape. He had a mighty Influence over the *Indians*; and it is from him, and in Remembrance of his Merit, that all Governors of *New-York* are called *Corlear* by the *Indians* to this Day, tho' he himself was never Governor. He 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* Governor, in Order to reward so signal a Service, invited *Corlear* to *Canada*; but as he went through the great Lake, which lies to the Northward of *Albany*, his Canoe was 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 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 dye than to desert their Houses.

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

The *Five Nations* however being naturally very enterprizing and haughty, one of their Parties some Time after met with some *French* in their hunting, and quarrelled with them. The *Indians* had the Advantage, they killed several of the *French*, and carried one Prisoner into their own Country. Monsieur de *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.

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*<sup>[7]</sup>, 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 *Mahikandars* 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 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.*

**T**he *Five Nations* being now amply supplied by the *English* with Fire-Arms and Ammunition, give full Swing to their warlike Genius, and soon resolved to revenge the Affronts they had at any Time received from the *Indian Nations* that lived at a greater Distance from them. The nearest Nations, as they were attack'd, commonly fled to those that were further off, and the *Five Nations* pursued them. This, together with a Desire they had of conquering, or Ambition of making all the Nations round them their Tributaries, or to acknowledge the *Five Nations* to be so far their Masters, as to be absolutely directed by them in all Affairs of Peace and War with their Neighbours, made them overrun great Part of *North-America*. They carried their Arms as far South as *Carolina*, to the Northward of *New-England*, and as far West as the River *Mississippi*, over a vast Country, which extends twelve hundred Miles in Length, from North to South, and about six hundred Miles in breadth; where they intirely destroyed many Nations, of whom there are now no Accounts remaining among the *English*.

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

The *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 Incouragement in their Power. The chief View of these Priests was, to give the *Indians* the highest Opinion of the *French Power* and Wisdom, and to render the *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 that were in Friendship with the *English*, and lived in their Neighbourhood, sent *Colonel Coursey*, in the Year 1677, to *Albany*, to increase the Friendship between *Virginia* and *Maryland* on the one Part, and the *Five Nations* on the other; and, accordingly, both Sides gave mutual Promises at *Albany*: But this good 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 *Indian Language*, to persuade the *Oneydoes* to come to *Albany*, in Order to be assured of the *English* Friendship, and to have their Jealousy removed; which being done, *Swerise*, one of the chief *Sachems* of the *Oneydoes*, excused his Countrymen at *Albany* the fifteenth of *February* 1678/9, 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 *Andross*, being acquainted by Letter with this last Proposal of the *Oneydoes*, required the immediate Delivery of the Christian Prisoners, and promised to write to *Virginia* to have the *Indian* Prisoners sav'd. Some Presents being given to the *Oneydoes*, and they promised to bring them in a Month's Time.

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

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

Then delivering the Prisoners one by one, said, "We have, we say, now performed our Promises, and 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 faithfully 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 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 careful to release our People that are Prisoners; and you may be convinced it was so, when you consider that it was said after your Answer, and without laying down either Bever, or any Belt or Wampum, as we always do, when we make Propositions<sup>[8]</sup>; 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 *Sinondowans*<sup>[9]</sup> came to them with eight Belts, desiring them no longer to prosecute the War with the *Virginia Indians*, but to go to War against the *Dewaganas*<sup>[10]</sup>, 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 *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 Respect *Virginia* has to their Nations, and by the Persuasions of the Governor of *New-York*, and the Information he has given the Government of *Virginia*, that they had quietly and peaceably delivered to him the Prisoners taken from *Virginia*, who were returned safely; and their excusing the same, and Inclination to live peaceably, without injuring *Virginia* for the future; the Government of *Virginia* did forgive all the Damages the *Five Nations* have done to the People of *Virginia*, though very great; provided 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 *Virginia* Agent spoke to them, in the same Words he did to the *Oneydoes*. It does not appear, by the Register of *Indian* Affairs, what Answer the *Oneydoes* and *Onnondagas* made, but it is certain they did not observe Friendship with *Virginia*, but molested them with reiterated 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 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 *Senecas* 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, carrying 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 Andross*, then Governor-general of this Country, we desisted from destroying 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 *Andross's* Intercession, and your Submission, we were willing to forget: But you not at all minding 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 included them likewise in the Peace. You not only destroyed, and took several of them Prisoners, but you have also killed and burnt our Christian People, destroying Corn and Tobacco, more than you made Use of, killed our Horses, Hogs, and Cattle; not to eat, but to let them lie in the Woods and stink: This you did, when you were not denied any Thing you said you wanted.

"I must also tell you, that, under the Pretence of Friendship, you have come to Houses at the Heads of our Rivers (when they have been 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 commonly 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 Injuries that you have done us, have caused me to raise Forces, to send to the Heads of our Rivers, to defend our People from these 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 Satisfaction for all the Goods that you have destroyed: But by the Mediation of your Governor, I am now come to *Albany* to speak with you, and to know the Reason of your breaking the Covenant-chain, not only with us and our neighbour *Indians*, but with *Maryland*, who are great King *Charles's* Subjects; for our *Indians* have given King *Charles* their Land; therefore I, the Governor of *Virginia*, will protect them, as your Governor, under the great *Duke of York* and *Albany*, will henceforth you, when the Chain of Friendship is made between us all.

"Now I have let you know, that I am sensible of all the Injuries you have done us, and by the Desire of your Governor-general, I am willing to make a new Chain with you for *Virginia*, *Maryland*, and our *Indians*, that may be more strong and lasting, even to the Word's End; so that we may be Brethren, and great King *Charles's* 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 Mountains, it having been their Country, and none of yours; they never go into your Country to disturb any of you.

"*Thirdly*, Though the Damages you have done our Country be very great, and would require a great deal of Satisfaction, which you are bound to give; yet we assure you, that only by the Persuasions of your Governor, who is at a vast deal of Trouble and Charge for your Welfare, which you ever ought to acknowledge, I have pass'd it by and forgiven you; upon this Condition, 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 <sup>[11]</sup> Hatchets buried, as a final Determination of all Wars and Jarrings between us; one on behalf of us and our *Indians*, and the other for all your *Nations* united together, that ever did us any Injury, or pretended to war against our *Indian* Friends, or those of *Maryland*.

"And that nothing may be wanting for Confirmation 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 Governor, may be firmly kept and performed on your Parts, as it always has been on ours; and that you do not break any one Link of the Covenant-chain for the future, by your People's coming near our Plantations; when you march to the Southward, keep to the Feet of the Mountains, and do not come nigh the Heads of our Rivers, there being no Bever-hunting there; for we shall not for the future, though you lay down your Arms as Friends, ever trust you more, you have so often deceived us."

The next Day the *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 *Sachem of Virginia*, and you *Corlaer*, and all here present to give Ear, for we will conceal nothing of the Evil they have done." [Then turning to the other Nations.] "You have heard Yesterday all that has been said; as for our Parts, we are free of the Blame laid on us; we have always been obedient to *Corlaer*, and have steadily kept our Chain with *Virginia*, *Maryland*, and *Boston*; but ye are stupid and brutish, and have no Understanding, we must stamp Understanding into you. Let the new Chain made Yesterday 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 former 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 Understanding 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 Governor, to forgive all former Faults. We are very glad to hear you, and see your Heart softened. **Take these three Bevers** as a Token.

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

"We are glad that *Assarigoa*<sup>[12]</sup> 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-breakers. I lay down this as a Token, that we *Mohawks* have preserved the Chain intire on our Parts. **Gives two Bevers and a Raccoon.**

"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<sup>[13]</sup>, whose Top will reach the Sun, and its Branches spread far abroad, so that it shall be seen afar off; and we shall shelter ourselves under it, and live in Peace without Molestation. Here he **gave two Bevers.**

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

"You have now heard what Exhortation we have made to the other three Nations; we have taken the Hatchet out of their Hands; we now 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 Tobacco and some Victuals; for they will neither rob nor steal, as the *Oneydoes*, *Onnondagas*, and *Cayugas* have done.

"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 Nations*, in giving this Belt.

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

"The *Oneydoes* **give twenty Bevers**, as a Satisfaction for what they promised the Lord *Baltimore*, and desire that they may be discharged of that Debt."

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

Then the *Indians* desired that the Hole might be dug, to bury the Axes, *viz.* one in Behalf of *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 buried, and **gave a Belt.**

"I speak in the Name of all three Nations, and include them in this Chain, which we desire may 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*<sup>[14]</sup>. To which they answered, *Corlear* 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 *Massachusetts Bay* had appointed Colonel *Stephanus Cortland*, one of the Council of *New-York*, their Agent at this Time, to renew their Friendship likewise with the *Five Nations*, and to give them some small Presents; which was accordingly done.

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

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

"*Brother* *Corlear*,

"Your *Sachem* is a great *Sachem*, and we are but a small People; but when the *English* came first to *Manhatan*,<sup>[15]</sup> to *Aragiske*<sup>[16]</sup> and to *Yakokranagary*,<sup>[17]</sup> 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 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 *Corlear*, our Governor, may send this our Proposition 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 if it were upon our Fingers Ends. O *Corlear*! we thank you for having been our Intercessor, so that the Axe has not fallen upon us.

"And you *Assarigoa*, great *Sachem of Virginia*, we thank you for burying all Evil in the Pit. We are informed, that the *Mohawks*, *Oneydoes*, *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 therefore, 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 broken. The Tree of Peace is planted so firmly, that it cannot be moved, let us on both Sides hold the Chain fast.

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

"You tell us, that the *Cahnawaas* will come hither, to strengthen the Chain. Let them not make any Excuse, that they are old and feeble, or that their Feet are sore. If the old *Sachems* 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 Plantations, but keep at the Foot of the Mountains; for tho' we lay down our Arms, as Friends, we shall not be trusted for the future, but looked on as Robbers. We agree however to this Proposition, and shall wholly stay away from *Virginia*: And this we do in Gratitude to *Corlear*, who has been at so great Pains to persuade you, great Governor of *Virginia*, to forget what is past. You are wise in giving Ear to *Corlear's* good Advice, for we shall now go a Path which was never trod 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* Country to the *Cayugas*, have delivered up the *Susquehana* 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 *Edmond Jennings Esq*; Attorney General of that Province, came with four *Indian Sachems*, (according to the Lord *Howard's* Promise) to renew and confirm the Peace, and met the *Five*

*Nations at Albany in September 1685.*

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

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

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

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

The *Mohawks* Speaker said, "Where shall I seek the Chain of Peace? Where shall I find it but upon our Path<sup>[18]</sup>? And whither doth our Path lead us, but into this House? This is a House of Peace;" after this he sang all the Links of the Chain over. He afterwards sang by Way of Admonition to the *Onondagas*, *Oneydoes*, and *Cayugas*, and concluded all with a Song to the *Virginia* Indians.

The *French* Priests however still employed their Influence over the *Onondagas*, *Cayugas*, and *Oneydoes*; and it was easy for them to spirit up the *Indians* (naturally revengeful) against their old Enemies. A Party of the *Oneydoes* went out two Years after this against the *Wayanoak* Indians, Friends of *Virginia*, and killed some of the People of *Virginia*, who 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 *English*, in which we find the *English* pursuing nothing but peaceable and Christian-like Measures; and the *Five Nations* (tho' Barbarians) living with the People of *New-York*, like good Neighbours and faithful Friends, and generally with all the *English* also, except when they were influenced by the *Jesuites*; at the same Time, one cannot but admire the Zeal, Courage, and Resolution of these *Jesuites*, that would adventure to live among *Indians* at War with their Nation; and the better to carry their Purposes, to comply with all the Humours and Manners of such a wild People, so as not to be distinguished by Strangers from meer *Indians*. One of them, named *Milet*, remained with the *Oneydoes* till after the Year 1694; he was advanced to the Degree of a *Sachem*, and had so great an Influence over them, that the other Nations could not prevail with them to part with him. While he lived with them, the *Oneydoes* were frequently turned against the Southern *Indians* (Friends of the *English* southern Colonies) and 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.*

**T**he *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 *Mississippi*; they not only prosecuted their Trade among these Nations, but did all they could to secure their Obedience, and to make them absolutely subject to the Crown of *France*, by building Forts at the considerable Passes, and placing small Garisons in them. They took in short all the Precautions in their Power, not only to restrain the *Indians* by Force, but likewise to gain their Affections, by sending *Missionaries* among them. The only Obstruction they met with was from the *Five Nations*, who introduced the *English* of *New-York* into the Lakes to trade with the *Indians* that lived round them. This gave the *French* much Uneasiness, because they foresaw, that the *English* would not only prove dangerous Rivals, but that the Advantages which they had in Trade, beyond what it was possible for the Inhabitants of *Canada* to have, would enable the People of *New-York* so far to undersel them, that their Trade would soon be ruined, and all the Interest lost which they had gained with so much Labour and Expence. The *Five Nations* likewise continued in 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. *De la Barre* (Governor of *Canada*) sent a Messenger to Coll. *Dungan*, to complain of the Injuries the *Senakas* had done to the *French*, and to shew the Necessity he was under to bring the *Five Nations* to Reason by Force of Arms. This Messenger happening to arrive at the Time the *Indians* met the Lord *Howard* at *Albany*, Coll. *Dungan* told the *Senakas* the Complaints that the *French* Governor made of them. To which they gave him the following Answer, in Presence of Mr. *De la Barre's* Messenger, on the 5th of *August* 1684.

"We were sent for, and are come, and have heard what you have said to us, that *Corlear* hath great Complaints of us, both from *Virginia* and *Canada*. What they complain of from *Canada* may possibly be true, that some of our young Men have taken some of their Goods, but *Yonnendio* the Governor of *Canada*, is the Cause of it. He not only permits his People to carry Ammunition, Guns, Powder, Lead, and Axes to the *Tuihtuih-ronoons*<sup>[19]</sup> 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 Bevers to *Canada* that we would have brought to 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.

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

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

"But, O *Corlear*! O *Assarigoa*! we must complain to you; you *Corlear* are a Lord, and govern 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 removed, because they had furnished our Enemies with Ammunition; but we are disappointed in our Hopes, for we find our Enemies are still supplied. Is this well done? Yea, he often forbids us to make War on any of the

Nations with whom he trades; 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 Governor of *Canada* hath made of us to *Corlear*. *Corlear* said to us, that Satisfaction must be made to the *French* for the Mischief we have done them. This he said before he heard our Answer. Now let him that hath Inspection over all our 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 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 speek to him that governs 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 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 the like 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 Main*, 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*<sup>[20]</sup> (Monsr. *la Maine*) is the Governor of *Canada's*; and there<sup>[21]</sup> sits our Father; *Yonnondio* acquainted us some Time ago, that he would speak with us, before he would undertake any Thing against the *Senakas*. Now he hath sent for all the Nations to speak with him in Friendship, and that at a Place not far from *Onnondaga*, even at *Kaihohage*. But our Brother *Corlear* tells us, that we must not meet the Governor of *Canada* without his Permission; and that if *Yonnondio* have any Thing to say to us, he must first send to *Corlear* for Leave to speak with us. *Yonnondio* has sent long ago to us to speak with him, and he has lately repeated that Desire by *Onnissantie* the Brother of our Father *Twirhaersira*<sup>[22]</sup> that sits there; he has not only entreated us by

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

Accordingly *Garangula*, one of the chief *Sachems* of the *Onondaga's*, with thirty Warriors, went with Mr. *Le Maine*, to meet the Governor of *Canada* at *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, completed the Circle on the other.)

Monsr. De la Barre's *Speech* to *Garangula*.<sup>[23]</sup>

"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 *Ohquesse* to the *Onondagas*, to bring the chief *Sachem* to my Camp. The Intention of the great King is, that you and I may smoke the *Calumet*<sup>[24]</sup> of Peace together, but on this Condition, that you promise me, in the Name of the *Senekas*, *Cayugas*, *Onondagas*, and *Mohawks*, to give intire Satisfaction and Reparation to his Subjects; and for the future never to molest them.

"The *Senekas*, *Cayugas*, *Onondagas*, *Oneydoes*, and *Mohawks* have robbed and abused all the Traders that were passing to the *Illinois* and *Umamies*, and other *Indian* Nations, the Children of my King. They have acted, on these Occasions, contrary to the Treaty of Peace with my Predecessor. I am ordered therefore to demand 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 *English* thither, notwithstanding the Prohibition of the late Governor of *New-York*, who foresaw the Risque that both they and you would run. I am willing to forget these Things, but if ever the like shall happen for the future, I have express Orders to declare War against you. This Belt confirms my Words. Your Warriors have made several barbarous Incursions on the *Illinois* and *Umamies*; they have massacred Men, Women, and Children, and have made many of these Nations Prisoners, who thought themselves safe in their Villages in Time of Peace. These People, who are my King's Children, must not be your Slaves; you must give them their Liberty, and 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*, *Oneydoes*, *Cayugas*, and *Mohawks* the Declaration which the King, my Master, has commanded me to make. He doth not wish them to force him to send a great Army to *Cadarackui* Fort, to 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 endeavour, on both Sides, to prevent such Misfortunes. The *French*, who are the Brethren and Friends of the *Five Nations*, will never trouble their Repose, provided that the Satisfaction which I demand be given, and that the Treaties of Peace be hereafter observed. I shall be extremely grieved if my Words do not produce the Effect which I expect from them; for then I shall be obliged to join with the 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."

*Garangala* 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 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 overflown their Banks, that they had surrounded our Castles, and that it was impossible for us to get out of them. Yes, *Yonnondio*, surely you must have dreamt so, and the Curiosity of seeing so great a Wonder has brought you so far. Now you are undeceived, since that I and the Warriors here present are come to assure you, that the *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, discovers to me a great Captain at the Head of a Company of Soldiers, who speaks as if he were dreaming. He says, that he only came to the Lake to smoke on the great *Calumet* with the *Onondagas*. But *Garangula* says, that he sees the contrary, that it was to knock them on the Head, if Sickness had not weakened the Arms of the *French*.

"I see *Yonnondio* raving in a Camp of sick Men, whose Lives the great Spirit has saved, by inflicting this Sickness on them. Hear, *Yonnondio*, our Women had taken their Clubs, our Children and old Men had carried their Bows and Arrows into the Heart of your Camp, if our Warriors had not disarmed them, and kept them back, when your Messenger, *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 *Chictaghicks*, because those Arms might have cost us our Lives. Herein we follow the Example of the Jesuits, who stave all the Caggs of Rum brought to our Castles, lest the drunken *Indians* should knock them on the Head. Our Warriors have not Bevers enough to pay for all these Arms, that they have taken, and our old Men are not afraid of the War. This Belt preserves my Words.

"We carried the *English* into our Lakes, to trade there with the *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 *Twihwies* and *Chictaghicks* on the Head, because they had cut down the Trees of Peace, which were the Limits of our Country. They have hunted Bevers on our Lands: They have acted contrary to the Customs of all *Indians*; for they left none of the Bevers alive, they killed both Male and Female. They brought the *Satanas*<sup>[25]</sup> into their Country, to take Part with them, after they had concerted ill Designs against us. We have done less than either the *English* or *French*, that have usurped the Lands of so many *Indian* Nations, and chased them from their own Country. This Belt preserves my Words. Hear, *Yonnondio*, what I say is the Voice of all the *Five Nations*; hear what they answer, open your Ears to what they speak: The *Senekas*, *Cayugas*, *Onondagas*, *Oneydoes*, 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 Merchandise should only enter there.

"Hear, *Yonnondio*, take Care for the future, that so great a Number of Soldiers, as appear there, do not choak the Tree of Peace planted in so small a Fort. It will be a great Loss, if 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 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, *Ohguesse*, you have Spirit, speak, explain my Words, forget nothing, tell all that your Brethren and Friends say to *Yonnondio*, 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 Nations*."

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

*Garangula* feasted the *French* Officers, and then went Home, and 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 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 considerable 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 *Twihwies* and *Chictaghicks*, who had put themselves under the *French* Protection; for the *Five Nations* having intirely subdued the *Chictaghicks*<sup>[26]</sup>, after a six Years War, they resolved next to fall upon the *Twihwies*, 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 *Twihwies* 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 *Twihwies*. The *English* were the better pleased with this War, because they thought that it would divert the *Five Nations* from the *Virginia Indians*: But the *French* were resolved to support their Friends more effectually by a powerful Diversion, and to change the Seat of the War.

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

The *Twihwies* 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 *Twihwies*, who were to march by Land to *Teuchsagrondie*, where there was a *French* Fort, at which they were to be supplied with Ammunition. But after the *French* Officer left them, the *Utagamies* and *Maskuticks* were dissuaded by some of the *Mahikander Indians*, 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 Gergory*, in their Way to *Teiodonderaghie*. The *English* thought (after they had an Account of the new Alliance their King had entered into with the *French*) that the *French* would not disturb them in prosecuting a Trade with the *Indians* every where, and that the Trade would be equally free and open to both Nations. With these Hopes a considerable Number of Adventurers went out, under the Conduct of Major *Mac Gergory*, to trade with the *Indians* that lived on the Banks of the Lakes; and that they might be the more welcome, persuaded the *Five Nations* to set all the *Dionondadie* Prisoners at Liberty, who went along with the *English*, and conducted them 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*.

<sup>[27]</sup> The *Utawawas* and *Dionondadies* having likewise an Account of the *English*, designed to support their own Independency, and to incourage the *English* Trade. The return of the *Dionondadie* Prisoners made that Nation very hearty in favouring the *English*, they therefore marched immediately off, with Design to join Major *Mac Gergory*; but the *Utawawas* were divided in their Inclinations, their Chief, with about thirty more, joined the *French*, the rest remained in suspense, and stood neuter.

The *Utawawas* thus wavering, disconcerted the Measures of the *Dionondadies*, for they began to 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*, 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 Notions 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 among the *Chictaghicks*, met with another Party of the *English* of about thirty Men, in Lake *Erie*, as he marched with the *Chictaghicks* and *Twihwies*, and other neighbouring Nations, to the general Rendezvous. He fell upon the *English*, plundered them, and took them Prisoners. The *French* divided all the Merchandize among the *Indians*, but kept the Rum to themselves, and got all drunk. The *Deonondadie* Prisoners, that conducted the *English*, joined with the *Mahikander Indians* that were among Mr. *Tonti's* *Indians* (who had privately dissuaded about twenty of the neighbouring Nations from going with *Tonti*) and endeavoured to persuade all the *Indians* to fall upon the *French*, while they were drunk, and destroy them; saying, the *French* are a proud, imperious, covetous People, that sell their Goods at an extravagant Price; the *English* are a good natured honest People, and will furnish you with every Thing at reasonable Rates. But these Arguments were to no Purpose, for these far *Indians* had 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 *Twihwies*, 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 Misfortune shall happen to us. It may be we shall never see you again; for we are resolved to behave so, as our Brethren shall have no Reason to be ashamed of us."

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

Monsieur *Campagne* 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 cold Blood to the Fort, and tied to Stakes, to be tormented by the *French Indians*, (Christians, as they call them) while they continued singing in their country Manner, and upbraiding the *French* with their Perfidy and Ingratitude.

While Monsieur *de Nonville* was at *Cadarackui* Fort, he had an Account, that the *Chictaghicks* and *Twihwies* waited

for the *Quatoghies* and *Utawawas* at Lake *St. Clair*<sup>[28]</sup>, with whom they designed to march to the general Rendezvous, at the Mouth of the *Senekas* River. For this Expedition was chiefly designed against the *Senekas*, who had absolutely refused to meet Monsieur *de la Barre*, and were most firmly attached to the *English*. The *Senekas*, for this Reason, were designed to be made Examples of the *French* Resentment to all the other Nations of *Indians*.

The Messenger having assured the General, that it was Time to depart, in order to meet with the western *Indians*, that came to his Assistance, he set out the twenty-third of *June*, and sent one Part of his Army in Canoes, along the North Shore of the Lake, while he, with the other Part, passed along the South, that no Accidents of Wind might prevent the one or the other reaching, within the Time appointed, at the Place the *Indians* were to meet him. It happened, by reason of the good Weather, that both arrived on the same Day, and joined the western *Indians* at *Trondequat*, As soon as the Men were put on Shore, they hawled up the Canoes, and began a Fort, where four hundred Men were left to guard the Canoes, and the Baggage. Here a young *Cannadian* 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 a League from the Village, the *Senekas* suddenly raised the Warshout, with a Discharge of their Fire-arms. This put the regular Troops, as well as the Militia, into such a Fright, as they marched through the Woods, that the Battalions immediately divided, and run to the Right and Left, and, in the Confusion, fired upon one another. When the *Senekas* perceived their Disorder, they fell in among them pell-mell, till the *French Indians*, more used to such Way of fighting, gathered together and repulsed the *Senekas*. There were (according to the *French* Accounts) a hundred *Frenchmen*, ten *French Indians*, and 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 Territories on this Side of the great Lake, and warred upon the Brethren his Subjects. I therefore would willingly know, whether the Brethren have given the Governor of *Canada* any Provocation 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 your selves, and, as I believe, this is the only Reason of their falling on you at this Time.

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

"Now since there is a War begun upon you by the Governor of *Canada*, I hope without any Provocation by you given, I desire and command you, that you hearken to no Treaty but by my Advice; which if you follow, you shall have the Benefit of the great Chain of Friendship between the great King of *England* and the King of *France*, which came out of *England* the other Day, and which I have sent to *Canada* by *Anthony le Junard*. In the mean Time, I will give you such Advice 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 themselves, and weaken their Enemy. My Opinion is, that the Brethren should send Messengers to the *Utawawas*, *Twihwies*, and the farther *Indians*, and to send back likewise some of the 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 whoever is an Enemy to one, must be to both.

"4thly, Another Thing of Concern is, that you ought to do what you can to open a Path for all the *North Indians* and *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 purpose to join with the other Nations against you, for your Destruction; for you know, that one of them is worse than six of the others; therefore all Means must be used to bring them Home, and use them kindly as they pass through your Country.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

that unlucky Peace with the *French*, three Years ago.

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

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

The great Dispute between Coll. *Dungan* and the *French* was in this, that Coll. *Dungan* would force the *French* to apply to him, in all Affairs relating to the *Five Nations*, and the *French* would treat with them independently of the *English*. For this Reason Coll. *Dungan* refused any Assistance to the *French*, till they, by such Application, should acknowledge the Dependence 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 *Deonondadies*, finding that his Nation was become suspected by the *French*, since the Time they had shewn so much Inclination to the *English*, when they attempted to trade at *Missilimakinak*, resolved, by some notable Action against the *Five Nations*, to recover the good Graces of the *French*.

For this Purpose, he marched from *Missilimakinak*, at the Head of a Hundred Men; and that he might act with the more Security, he took *Cadarackui* Fort in his Way for Intelligence: The Commandant informed him, that 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 *Dekaneforma* was the principal Ambassador) *Adario* said to them, Go, my Brethren, I unty your Bonds, and send you home again, tho' our Nations be at War: The *French* Governor has made me commit so black an Action, that I shall never be easy after it, till the *Five Nations* shall have taken full Revenge.

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

The Ambassadors were chiefly, if not all, *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 heightened 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 the *French* had no Suspicion of 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 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 seven Nations, that lived near *Missilimakinak*, in this Peace.

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

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

*Canada* was now in a most miserable Condition, for while the greatest Number of their Men had been employed in the Expedition against the *Five Nations*, and in trading among the far Nations, and making new Discoveries and Settlements, Tillage and Husbandry had been neglected; and they lost several Thousands of their Inhabitants, by the continual 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 tho' they were every where almost starving, they could not plant nor sow, or go from one Village to another for Relief, but with imminent Danger of having their Scalps carried away by the sculking *Indians*; at last the whole Country being laid waste, Famine began to rage, and was like to have put a miserable End to that Colony.

If the *Indians* had understood the Method of attacking Forts, nothing could have preserved the *French* from an entire Destruction at this Time; for whoever considers the State of the *Indian* Affairs during this Period, how the *Five Nations* were divided in their Sentiments and Measures; that the *Onondagas*, *Cayugas*, and *Oneydoes*, under the Influence of the *French* Jesuites, were diverted from prosecuting the War against *Canada*, by the Jesuites cunningly spiriting up those

three Nations against the *Virginia Indians*, and persuading them to send out their Parties that Way: That the *Senekas* had a War at the same Time upon their Hands with three numerous *Indian Nations*, the *Utawawas*, *Chicktaghicks*, and *Twihwies*; and that the Measures the *English* observed all King *James's* Reign, gave the *Indians* rather Grounds of Jealousy than Assistance: I say, whoever considers all these Things, and what the *Five Nations* did actually perform, under all these Disadvantages against the *French*, will hardly doubt, that the *Five Nations* by themselves were at that Time an Overmatch for the *French* of *Canada*.

**THE**

# HISTORY

OF THE

**FIVE Indian NATIONS**

**DEPENDENT**

**On the Province of NEW-YORK.**

**PART II.**

**THE**

# P R E F A C E

## To the Second Part.

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

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

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

# HISTORY

OF THE

**FIVE *INDIAN* NATIONS,  
DEPENDING  
On the Province of *NEW-YORK*.**

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## PART II.

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

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# CHAP. I.

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

**W**e 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*, *Twihwies*, *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 Divisions and Parties in the Province of *New-York*, in Proportion to the Number of People, as it did in *Britain*, if not greater. The Governor and all the Officers either fled or absconded; the Gentlemen of the King's Council, and some of the most considerable or richest People, either out of Love, or what they thought Duty, to King *James*, or rather from an Opinion they had that the *Prince of Orange* could not succeed, refused to join in the Declaration the People made in favour of that Prince, and suffered the Administration to fall into different Hands, who were more zealous for the Protestant Interest, and who were joined by the far greatest Number of the Inhabitants. After the Revolution was established, they that had appeared so warmly for it, thought that they deserved best of the Government, and expected to be continued in the Publick Offices; the others were zealous to recover the Authority they had lost, and used the most persuasive Means with the Governors for that Purpose, while the former trusted to their Merit. This begat great Animosities, which continued many Years. Each Party, as they were at different Times favoured by several Governors, opposed all the Measures taken by the other, while each of them were by Turns in Credit with the People or the Governor, and sometimes even prosecuted each other to Death. The publick Measures were by these Means perpetually fluctuating, and often one Day contradictory to what they were the Day before. The succeeding Governors, finding their private Account in favouring sometimes the one Party, and at other Times the other, kept up the Animosities all King *William's* Reign, though very much to the publick Prejudice; for each Party was this while so eager in resenting private Injuries, that they intirely neglected the publick Good.

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

The 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 *English* 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 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 remembering the old Difference they had with the People of *New England*, and the Relation they bore to the *Eastern Indians*, did countenance and assist these *Indians* in the War against *New England*. They had Reason for these Jealousies, for the *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 out Plantations burnt and destroyed, their Trade intirely at a stand, great Numbers of their People slain, and the remainder in danger of perishing by Famine, as well as by the Sword of inveterate cruel Enemies. When such 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. 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 this *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* 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 *Senecas*, *Cayugas*, *Onondagas*, and *Oneydoes*, the twenty seventh of *June* 1689, before any Governor arrived, renewed the old Covenant (as they said) which was first made many Years ago with one *Tagues*, who came with a Ship into their River. "Then we first became Brethren, said they, and continued so till last fall, that Sir *Edmond Andross* came and made a new Chain, by calling us Children; but let us stick to the old Chain, which has continued from the first Time it was made, by which we became Brethren, and have ever since always behaved as such. *Virginia*, *Maryland*, and *New-England*, have been taken into this silver Chain, with which our Friendship is locked fast. We are now come to make the Chain clear and bright. Here they gave two **Bever**s."

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

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

## 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 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 appointed for our Treaties and publick Business with the Christians; we thank you for renewing the Covenant-chain. It is now no longer of Iron and subject to Rust, as formerly, but of pure Silver, and includes in it all the King's Subjects, from the *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 Purpose; for we pursued them closely, by which we prevented the Effusion of much of your Blood. This was a certain Sign that we loved truly and sincerely, and from our Hearts. **Gives a Belt**.

"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 Injuries 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 reconciled as long as one *Frenchman* is alive. We shall never make Peace, though our Nation should be ruined by it, and every one of us cut in Pieces. Our Brethren of the three Colonies may depend on this. **Gives a Bever**.

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

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

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

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

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

The *Five Nations* answered:

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

After the Company had separated, the *Sachems* sent to the *New-England* Agents, desiring to speak with them in private; which being granted, the 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*<sup>[29]</sup>; 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 dye 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 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 attempt any Thing this Way, all the *Five Nations* will come to your Assistance, for our Brethren and we are

but one, and we will live and dye together. We have desired a hundred Men of our Brethren of *Boston* to assist us here, because this Place is most exposed; but if the Governor of *Canada* is so strong, as to overcome us all united together, then he must be our Master, and is not to be resisted; but we have Confidence in a good and just Cause; for the great God of Heaven knows how deceitfully the *French* have dealt with us, their Arms can have no Success. The Great God hath sent us Signs in the Sky to confirm this. We have heard uncommon Noise in the Heavens, and have seen Heads fall down upon Earth, which we look upon as a certain Presage of the Destruction of the *French*: Take Courage! On this they all immediately joined in singing and crying out, Courage! Courage!"

## 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 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 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 *Thurensere*<sup>[30]</sup>, *Ohguesse*<sup>[31]</sup>, and *Ertel*<sup>[32]</sup>, 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 *Utawawa* 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<sup>[33]</sup> 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.
10. We will bring your Prisoners when the Strawberries shall be in blossom,<sup>[34]</sup> 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 Schyler* the Mayor of *Albany*, who had gained a considerable Esteem among them; as they have no Labels in their Language, they pronounce *Peter* by the Sound *Quider*.

The Messenger from *Canada* had brought Letters, and some medicinal Powder, for the Jesuit *Milet*, who resided at *Oneydo*. These Letters and the Powder were delivered to the Interpreter from *Albany* to be 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 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 13 of our People that were carried to *France*, we are glad of it. You desire us to meet you at *Cadarackui* next Spring, to treat of the old Chain; but *Yonondio*, how can we trust you, after you have acted deceitfully so often? Witness what was done at *Cadarackui*; the Usage our Messengers met with at *Utawawa*, and what was done to the *Senekas* at *Utawawa*. This was their Answer; however, they sent a Belt with this, which always shews a Disposition to treat.

2. *Therhansera*, *Ohguesse* 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 Fair-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 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*<sup>[35]</sup> with a Belt, in which three Axes were represented. Perhaps by this Representation only three Nations joined in sending it, the *Cayugas* and *Oneydoes* being more under the Influence of the Jesuit *Milet*, who lived among them intirely, according to their Manner of Life, and was adopted by the *Oneydoes*, and made one of their *Sachems*. The Letters from *Canada* to him were read,

they contained nothing but common News and Compliments.

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

The Magistrates of *Albany* advised the *Sachems*, to send the Jesuit Prisoner to *Albany*, where he might be kept securely, without having it in his Power to do 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.*

**T**he *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. 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 cold Blood, and carrying twenty-seven of them away Prisoners.

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

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

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

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

"Brethren, 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 happen to us; and therefore we come to bury our Brethren at *Schenectady* with **this third Belt**.

"Great and sudden is the Mischief, as if it had 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 Misfortune 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**.

"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 Silver Chain, it can neither rust nor be broken. We, as to our Parts, are resolute to continue the War.

"We will never desist, so long as a Man of us remains. Take Heart, do not pack up and go away, <sup>[36]</sup> 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 Affliction which has fallen from Heaven upon us. The Sun, which hath been cloudy, and sent this Disaster, will shine again with its pleasant Beams. Take Courage, said he, Courage, repeating the Word several Times as they **gave a seventh Belt**.

(To the English.)

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

We would have humbled them effectually, but now we dye. The Obstructions you then made now ruin us. Let us after this

be steady, and take no such false Measures for the future, but *prosecute the War vigorously*. **Giving a Bever Skin.**

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

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

Send 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 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 most Service to you*.

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

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

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



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

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

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

The *Mohawks* sent one of their *Sachems*, *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 (said they) press us to mind the War, we mind it above all Things; do you but your Parts, lay aside all other Thoughts but 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 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 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 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 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 seventeen Men killed, and eleven wounded. They returned to *Albany* the eleventh of *August*.

After the *English* under Major *Schuyler* had retired, an *Owenagunga Indian* came from *New-England*, with an Account of the Preparations made there against *Canada*, and that they had actually 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 not have done more to ruin the Enterprize; yet his Fidelity was never suspected. In short, this Descent was so ill managed, that the *English* got on Board again in the Night, with the Loss of all the Cannon and Baggage which they had landed.

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

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

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

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

In *October* the *Onondagas*, *Cayugas*, and *Oneydoes* came to *Albany*, to condole with the *English*, for the Men lost in the Expedition against *Montreal*, as they had already done with the *Mohawks*. They said it was ever their Custom to condole with their Friends when they lost any Number of Men in Battle, though they had the Victory. They at the same Time, as they had often done before, complained of the 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 there not being a sufficient Number of *English* sent against *Montreal*, the People of *Albany* upbraided them with a Breach of Promise, in not sending that Party down *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 Nations that they make Returns to *Europe*; and if these Nations did not return in Time, all the *Western Indians* would look on the *French* as lost, and consequently would make Peace with the *Five Nations*, and perhaps join in the Destruction of *Canada*.

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

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

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

The Count *de Frontenac* being informed, that a considerable Party of the *Five Nations* hunted 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 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*<sup>[37]</sup> having informed the *French* of another smaller River, which falls into *Cadarackui River*, and runs to the Northward of it, by which a Passage might be made to the Lakes, it was resolved to attempt this Passage, though it were much farther round, and more dangerous, there being many more rapid Falls in that River. Three Officers, with thirty Soldiers, were sent with the Traders for this Purpose, but a Party of the *Five Nations* meeting with them in the long Fall, before they reached this River, they were all killed or taken, except four that escaped back to *Montreal*.

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

*Blackkettle* overrun the Country (to use the *French* Expression) as a Torrent does the Low-lands, when it overflows its Banks, and there is no withstanding it. The Soldiers had Orders to stand upon the defensive within their Forts. Mr. *de Vaudreuil* pursued this Party (after they had burnt and ravaged the whole Country) at the Head of four hundred Men; he overtook them and 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 *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 instill into Mens Minds, even where the Knowledge of true Religion is wanting; and on the other Hand, how far a false Policy, under a corrupt Religion, can debase even great Minds.

The Count *de Frontenac*, I say, condemned two Prisoners of the *Five Nations* to be burnt publicly 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 Example, to frighten the *Five Nations* from approaching the Plantations, since the Indulgence, that had hitherto been shewn, had encouraged 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 Reprizals. 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, 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 flead his Scalp from his Skull, and poured scalding hot Sand upon it;

at which Time the Intendant's Lady obtained Leave of the Governor to have the *Coup-de-grace* given, and I believe she thereby likewise obtained a Favour to every Reader, in delivering him from a further continuance of this Account of *French Cruelty*.

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

## CHAP. VIII.

### *The Five Nations treat with Captain Ingoldsby.*

**T**he 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 Incursions of their Parties into the Enemy's Country, and to give him timely Notice of all their Motions. He told them in the next Place, that he heard the *French* were still using their wonted Artifice, of amusing them with Offers of Peace; but the former Proceedings of the *French* sufficiently demonstrates, said he to the Brethren, that while Peace is in their Mouths, War is in their Hearts, and the late horrid Murder of the Brethren, after Quarter given, sufficiently shews the Perfidy and Rancour of their Hearts. It is in vain, said he, to think of any Cessation of Arms, much less of a Peace, while the two Kings are at War at Home. He added, *Virginia* is ready to assist us, and only waits the King's Orders, which are daily expected, and then renewed the Chain for *Virginia*. In the last Place he told them, that he heard the *Dionondadas* had sent two Prisoners Home, with a View thereby to procure Peace; and advised them by all Means to make Peace with that Nation.

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

"*Brother Corlear*,

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

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

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

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

Brother *Corlear*, we are all Subjects of one great King and Queen, we have one Head, one Heart, one Interest, and are all engaged in the same War. You tell us, that we must expect no Peace while the Kings are at War on the other Side the great Water. We thank you for being so plain with us. We assure you we have no Thoughts of Peace. We are resolved to carry on the War, though we know we only are in danger of being Losers. Pray do you prosecute the War with the same Resolution. You are strong and have many People. You have a great King, who is able to hold out long. We 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 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 joyn, 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 Brethren's Backwardness in pushing on the War. The *French* spread Reports among us to this Purpose, and say, that they had in a Manner concluded the Matter with you. We rejoice to be now assured of this Falshood. We shall never desist fighting the *French* as long as we shall live. And **gave a Belt of Wampum.**

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

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

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

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

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

## CHAP. IX.

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

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

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

They set out from *la Prairie de Magdeleine* 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 *Mohawks*, 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 the Account came to *Albany*, how much the *Mohawks*, who were at *Schenectady*, were enraged, that no Assistance was sent to their Countrymen; *Peter Schuyler* a Major of the Militia offered himself to go with what Force could be got ready for their Assistance. He went himself immediately to *Schenectady*, and sent out to discover the Enemy: His Scouts brought him Intelligence, first, that the *French* were in Possession of the two smallest Forts, afterwards, that they had heard great Firing at the largest Fort; and at last, that it was taken. Having received 200 Men, partly regular Troops, but most of the Militia, he began his March on the 12th in Quest of the Enemy; but hearing soon after, that six hundred Men of the upper Castles were on their March, 'tis probable he did not endeavour to be up with the *French* so soon as he might;

for I find by his Journal, that he was nearer them on the fourteenth, than he was two Days after. He had not sufficient Force to fight them: He sent therefore to the upper *Indians*, to hasten their March. On the 15th he was joined by these *Indians*, in all two hundred and ninety Men and Boys, very ill armed. His Body then consisted of two hundred and fifty Christians, and two hundred and ninety *Indians*, armed fighting Men. They had no other Provision but some Biscuit every Man had in his Pocket. On the 16th he was informed by an *Indian*, who pretended to be a Deserter, that the *French* had built a Fort, where they designed to wait for him, and fight him; whereupon he sent an Express to Coll. *Ingoldesby*, then Commandant at *Albany*, to hasten more Men to join him, with sufficient Provision for the whole. He found afterwards, that this *Indian* was sent by the *French*, on purpose to persuade the *Indians* to give over the Pursuit. Major *Schuyler* came up to the Enemy on the 17th; when he came near them he did not go on streight towards them, for Fear of Ambuscades, but marched round. As soon as he came in Sight, he was saluted with three loud Shouts, which were answered with as much Noise. The *Indians* began in their Manner to 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 Skirmishing was over, the Major sent back an Express, to hasten the Men that were to reinforce him, and were to bring Provision, some of the Men having had no Provision for two Days. The *Major* then secured himself, under the Cover of the fallen Trees, and kept out Watches to observe the *French*.

The 18th proving a cold stormy Day, with Snow, he was informed, by a Deserter, that the *French* were upon their March, it not being easy to follow their Tracks, or to discover them in such Weather. The Officers were commanded to pursue and retard their March, till the Reinforcement should come up, but the Men refused to march without Provision. The Officers, with about 60 Men, and a Body of *Indians*, followed the Enemy till Night, when they began to secure themselves, by fortifying their Camp. The Officers wanting a sufficient Number to secure themselves in like Manner, or to sight the Enemy, returned, leaving about forty Christians, and one hundred *Indians*, to observe them. On the 19th the Provisions, with about 80 Men, arrived, under the Command of Captain *Sims* of the regular Troops. Every Man, as he was served with Provision, marched towards the Enemy. The Van was commanded by Captain *Peter Matthews* of the regular Troops, who coming up 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 lyes much warmer, than one imagines that never tried it.

When the Information of the *French* came to *Schenectady*, an Express was sent to *New-York* to Coll. *Fletcher* then Governor there; the Express reached *New-York*, an hundred and fifty Miles from *Albany*, the 12th at ten in the Night. The 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 ordered 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. *Lanslear*, 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*, he 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 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 *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 our selves, manage their Interest with the most learned, most polite, and artificial Nation in *Europe*. The *Five Nations* were informed, that the Governor of *Canada* had received from *Europe* a very considerable Recruit of Soldiers, and of all Sorts of Ammunition. This, with the great Loss the *Mohawks* had lately suffered, while they had been amused by the *English* with great Hopes, and very little real Assistance, made the *Oneydoes*, at last yield to the Solicitations of the Jesuit *Milet*, to send a Message to the *French* for Peace. It is probable he had the Art to influence the People at *Albany* to favour his Designs, by giving them Hopes of being included in the Peace, as may be conjectured, from what will appear in the Sequel.

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

He first excused his not meeting them as he had promised, at the Time the Sap begins to run in the Trees, by Reason of his having received a Commission to be Governor of *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 assured, that such Thoughts must arise from the Instigation of the Jesuit *Milet*, whom some of the Brethren have suffered to live so long among them, and whose only Practice is to delude and 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 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 Ammunition especially.

"We are glad that our Brother *Cayenguirago* renews the Chain, not only between us and this Government, but likewise with *New-England*, *Virginia*, *Maryland* and *Pensilvania*; it shall be kept inviolable by us the *Five Nations*, as long as the Sun shines. We pray our Brother *Cayenguirago* to have a watchful Eye, that none of the other Colonies keep any Correspondence with the Enemy, but use their Endeavours to destroy 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 confess, 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 disturbed when any of our Prisoners misbehave, for they are not countenanced by us; and all proper 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 *Cayenguirago*, In former Times our Propositions to one another were only Discourses of Peace and Friendship, and in giving Presents; but how much is the Case altered of late? Now we talk of nothing but War, and are continually prompting one another to it. As to our Parts, we will keep close to the War to the last Drop of our Blood; and tho' we be tossed to and fro with Storms, we will remain stedfast to the last Man, as it was resolved by both in the Beginning of the War.

"Brother *Cayenguirago*, we were told in our own Country, not only that the King had made you Governor of *Pensilvania*, but likewise that you were preparing a Fleet to take *Canada*. O! what joyful News this was to our young Men. *Sadagarus*, 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 Government, bring their young Men here, with their Bows and Arrows and Hatchets in their Hands, for this is the Place of Action. We are pleased that the *Showonons* or *Satanas*, who are our Enemies, have applied to you for Protection; and that you sent them to us to endeavour a Peace, and that you sent Christians with them, to conduct them back again. We wish they were come to assist us against the common Enemy.

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

They made the Governor a considerable Present of Furs, to shew their Respect to his Person; but they did not give one Belt to confirm any one 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 willing 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 Papers shall be taken from him, and be forthwith brought to our Brother *Cayenguirago*, before the Priest shall see any of them: we are willing to take the Boy in Exchange for the Priest, but it is not safe to do it, while our Messenger is in the Power of the Enemy; let the Boy stay here till we bring the Priest, which shall be as soon as the Messenger shall return". But he gave no Belt, or other Present, to confirm this Promise. He added,

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

*Decanesora* had for many Years the greatest Reputation among the *Five Nations* for speaking, and was generally employed as their Speaker, in their Negotiations with both *French* and *English*: He was grown old when I saw him, and heard him speak; he had a great Fluency in speaking, and a graceful Elocution, that would have pleased in any Part of the World. His Person was tall and well made, and his Features, to my thinking, resembled much the Bustos of *Cicero*. I shall give an Account of these Negotiations from *Decanesora's* Mouth, because his Narration agrees in the main with the Account the *French* give of them, and carries along with it as strong Evidences of Truth, as that of the *French* do: but the chief Reason is, that I intend to give the Reader as perfect a Notion as I can of the *Indian* Genius; and here it will appear, what Art *Decanesora* had, to make an Account of an Affair less disagreeable to *English* Ears, which had been undertaken 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*<sup>[38]</sup>, we are come to acquaint you, that our Children the *Oneydoes* having of themselves sent a Messenger to *Canada*, he has brought back with him a Belt of Peace from the Governor of *Canada*.

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

"He was carried to *Quebeck*, where he delivered his Belt, with the following Propositions. *Onondio*, if you would have Peace go to *Albany*, and ask it there, for the *Five Nations* will do nothing without *Cayenguirago*. The Governor of *Canada* was angry at this, and said, he had nothing to do with the Governor of *New-York*, he would treat only with the *Five Nations*; the Peace between the Christians must be made on the other Side the great Lake. He added, he was sorry to see the *Five Nations* so far degenerated, as to take a sixth Nation into their Chain, to rule over them. If you had desired me to come and treat in any of your Castles, I would have done it; but to tell me I must go to *Albany*, is to desire of me what I can by no Means do. You have done very ill, to suffer the People of *New-York* to govern you so far, that you dare do nothing without their Consent. I advise you to send two of each Nation to me, and let *Decanesora* be one of them. 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 Compassion for your little Children, therefore come speedily, and speak of Peace to me, otherwise I'll stop my Ears for the future: By all Means let *Decanesora* come; for if the *Mohawks* come alone, I will not hear them, some of all the *Five Nations* must come. Now *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 Gentleman to command here, to whom I have given Orders to raise Soldiers, if you do not come in that Time, and then what will become of you? I am truly grieved to see the *Five Nations* so debauched and deceived by *Cayenguirago*, who is lately come to *New-York*, and by *Quider*. Formerly the chief Men of the *Five Nations* used to converse with me; but this Governor of *New-York* has so deluded you, that you

hearken to none but him; but take Care of what will follow, if you hearken to none but him."

Then *Decanesora* excused the not sending the Letters to *Albany*, which came by *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 *Onondagas*, 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<sup>[39]</sup>.

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 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.

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"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 Inspiration 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.

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"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*) desired 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 Purports of their Belts, and we have brought their Papers with us, to shew to our Brethren."

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

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

The Jesuit's Papers being read to them, several Things were found in them which he had not read to the General Council. To this *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 contemptible Character the Traders have among the *Indians*, and yet the Government of *New-York* has almost perpetually trusted the Management of the *Indian* Affairs to these Traders.

*Decanesora* ended his Conference as follows:

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

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

They agreed to meet the Governor at that Time;

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

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

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

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

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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* tye their Hatchets down at the same Time.

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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 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 however assure you, that if the Deputies come in that Time the Path shall be safe both coming and going."

Whether the Accounts given of the coming of the *Shawonons* was only an Amusement, or whether they were diverted on their March, I know not, for I find no farther Account of them in the Register of the *Indian Affairs*: However it was, the Impression made on the *Indians* by that News, was not sufficient to withstand the Force of the resolute Answer their Messenger received from the *Praying Indians*. *Decanesora* and the other Deputies went early in the Spring to *Canada*; the other *Sachems* met Colonel *Fletcher* at *Albany*, the fourth of *May* 1694. The *Indians* spoke first by *Sadakanahitie*, 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 likewise 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 *Canada* to *Onondaga*, our Brother *Cayenguirago* discharged our Meeting in General Council at *Onondaga*, to consult on that Message, and ordered us to hold our General Council here at *Albany* on that Affair. The Privilege of meeting in General Council, when we please, is a Privilege we always have enjoyed; no former Governor, of the Name of *Corlear*, ever obstructed this Privilege. We planted a Tree of Peace in this Place with them, its Roots and Branches extend as far as *Virginia* and *New-England*, and we have reposed with Pleasure under its Shade. Brother, let us keep to that first Tree, and let us be united and unanimous; such Prohibition of our Assemblies will be of ill Consequence, and occasion Differences between us.

"We acknowledge, I say, our sending Agents to *Canada* for Peace, we were encouraged in doing this, by the Knowledge we have of the Governor of *Canada*. He is an old Man, and was formerly Governor of that Place. He was always esteemed a wise peaceable Man, and therefore we trust our Message will have a good Issue. We did not take it amiss that you sent to the *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 displeas'd 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 Countries and yours, by the great warlike Preparations they were making in *Canada*."

Then he told all the Orders and Directions which their Ambassadors had received; which agreeing with the Account which *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* contrary to your Advice; but several *Sachems* being arrived since I spoke, I have been better informed by them, who were present at those Transactions. We find it, in every Circumstance, as our Brother *Cayenguirago* says; that you did not obstruct our keeping General Councils at *Onondaga*, but only cautioned us in hearkening to the Fallacies of the *French*, and in holding Meetings on that Occasion. We assure you we will never separate from you, we still have one Head, one Blood, one Soul, and one Heart with you; and as a Confirmation of this I **give this Belt seven deep**.

"As to the *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 kindly. When they were but a small People, we entered 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 Christians) arrived, this General Council at *Onondaga* planted this Tree at *Albany*, whose Roots and Branches have since spread as far as *New-England*, *Connecticut*, *Pensilvania*, *Maryland* and *Virginia*; and under the Shade of this Tree all these *English* Colonies have frequently been sheltered. Then (**giving seven Fathom of Wampum**) he renewed the Chain, and promised, as they likewise expected, mutual Assistance, in Case of any Attack from any Enemy.

"The only Reason, to be plain with you, continued 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 Burthen of the War lyes on us alone. Our Brethren of *New-England*, *Connecticut*, *Pensilvania*, *Maryland* and *Virginia*, of their own accord thrust their Arms into our Chain; but since the War began we have received no Assistance 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 *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 Treaty hitherto entered into, we will prosecute the War as hotly as ever. But if our Neighbours will not assist, we must make Peace, and we submit it to your Consideration, by **giving this great Belt fifteen deep**.

"Brother *Cayenguirago*, I have truly told you the Reasons which have induced us to offer Peace to the *French*; we shall likewise, from the Bottom of our Hearts, inform you of the Design we have in this Treaty. When the Governor of *Canada* shall have accepted the nine Belts, of which I have just now told you, then we shall have something more to say by two large Belts, which lye 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 Beginning, 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 *Canada* 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 Governor of *Canada*, if you will not include

*Cayenguirago's* People, the Treaty will become thereby 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 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.

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

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

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

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

"Father, if we do not conclude a Peace now, it will be your Fault; for we have already taken the Hatchet out of the Hands of the *River Indians* (*Hudson's River*) whom we incited to the War. 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 hated the House of *Oghessa*, (a Gentleman living at *Montreal*) let him undertake the toilsome Journey to *Onondaga*; 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 Indians*, and first to those of *Cahnuaga* (chiefly *Mohawks*) you know our Customs and Manners, therefore make *Onondio* acquainted therewith, and be assisting in the prosecuting of this good Work. Then to the other Castle, called *Canassadaga*, (chiefly *Onondagans*) 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 *Kaihoage*<sup>[40]</sup>, 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 Destruction 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 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 rebuilding that Fort, but the Passage through the River shall be free and clear. We make the Sun clean, and drive away all Clouds and Darkness, that we may see the Light without Interruption.

"*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, continued he, the Governor of *Canada* told me, that he would not make Peace with *Cayenguirago*. To this I answered, these Words displease me much, you shall keep Peace with him. *Onondio* said again, I must fight with *Cayenguirago*, it is not in my Power to make Peace; this can only be done by my 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 Traytor; I can treat with you no longer. The Argument on this Subject lasted three Days, at last the Governor of *Canada* assured me, that he would not undertake any Enterprize against *Cayenguirago* this Summer, but would wait to hear what he would say.

"The Governor of *Canada* insisted three Days to have Hostages left, which I refused, but two agreeing of their own accord to stay, they were left, viz. one an *Onondago*, another a *Seneka*.

"Then the Governor of *Canada* made the following publick Answer:

"I. I accept of Peace as you offer.

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

"III. Children, erect my Fire again at *Cadarackui*, 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 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 underground (that is privately) from three *Onondaga Sachems*, to assure the Governor of *Canada* of their particular Affection, which the Governor of *Canada* answered, by a private Belt to them.

As soon as *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 *Sadekanahatie*, 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. Some time after this, some of the *Senekas* hunting near the *Dionondadies*, two of them were taken; but when they were carried to the *Dionondadie* Castle, they were not treated like Prisoners; they were used kindly, and sent back with the following Offers of Peace.

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

"We are glad of this Opportunity to tell you, that we have been both drunk in making War on one another; we now give you a Cordial to ease your Hearts, that there be no longer War between us, by **this Belt.**

"We are glad that you have set the Doors open as far as *Cayenguirago's* House, that we may freely go thither. Carry him **this second Belt.**

"Brethren, we thank you for having prepared a Place for us at your General Council of *Onondaga*. Our Country is every where free to you to treat with us, by **this third Belt.**

"Brethren, our whole Country rejoiced when you invited us into your Country, and from thence to go where *Cayenguirago* dwells; be not afraid to come to our Country, you shall meet with no Molestation.

"Brethren, we thank you for putting us in Mind of what was formerly agreed to, *viz.* that when any ill Accident happens, we were to meet together to compose Matters, and not to revenge it with War. We are now together to put an End to all Misunderstanding, by **this fourth Belt.**

"Brethren, (we include all the Nations from the *Senekas* Country to *New-York* in this Name) hearken to us. We rend the Clouds asunder, and drive away all Darkness from the Heavens, that the Sun of Peace may shine with Brightness over us all; **giving a Sun** of a round red polished Stone.

"Brethren, we put the Hatchet into the Hands of the *Chightaghies*, *Twithtwies*, and *Odsirachies*, 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 *Senekas* Country, lest they discover our Weakness, and to what a low Condition the War has reduced us. These Nations have been so long in Friendship with the *French*, and are so much under their Influence, that we cannot trust them yet, or be too much upon our Guard against them."

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

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

The Governor next asked them, whether they would permit the *French* to build again at *Cadarackui*; they answered, they would never permit it, and were resolved to insist on it, in all the ensuing Treaties, that he never shall. Then the Governor 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 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 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 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.*

**T**he *Five Nations* refusing to come to the Governor of *Canada*'s Terms, he resolved to force them; and as he suspected that they continued obstinate, by the Advice of the *English*, and the Confidence they had of the *English* Assistance, he thought he would most effectually lessen that Confidence, 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 publicly burnt alive at *Montreal*. So far the Count *de Frontenac* thought it more proper to imitate the *Indians* in their most savage Cruelties, than to instruct them, by his Example, in the Compassion of the Christian Doctrine. A Party of one hundred and fifty of the *Five Nations* fell upon the *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 *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 Cannon, 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 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 lying on the Back of them, obliged the *Five Nations* to keep always a very considerable Part of their Force at home, to defend themselves against these Nations, and to revenge the Injuries they received from them; but if the Peace had been concluded with these Nations, the *Five Nations* could have turned their whole Force against *Canada*, and probably might have persuaded these Nations to have joined with them in warring on the *French*.

The *French* Commandant at *Missilimakinak* had his Hands full at this Time; and if he had not been a Man of great Abilities, he must have sunk under the Difficulties he had to go through; in the first Place, to contradict the Stories brought from *Montreal*, he ordered the Stores of his Fort to be sold to the *Indians* at the cheapest Rate, and assured them, that great Quantities were every Day expected from *France*, which were only detained by contrary Winds; and after these Goods shall arrive, said he, they will be sold cheaper than ever they have been. He told them likewise, that the Count *de Frontenac* would never make Peace with the *Five Nations*, but was resolved to extirpate them; for which Purpose he was now rebuilding *Cadarackui Fort*. At the same Time he took all possible Methods to extinguish the Beginnings of Friendship, which appeared between the *Five Nations* and *Dionondadies*.

The *Dionondadies* durst not avow their treating with the *Five Nations* to the *French*, neither durst the *Five Nations* trust their Agents in a Place where they knew the *French* had so great Influence; both Sides therefore agreed to carry on their Treaty by Means of Prisoners which they took from one another. The Civility with which the *Dionondadies* treated these Prisoners, their dismissing them, and their 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 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. 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 Onondagies.*

The Count *de Frontenac* having secured *Cadarackui Fort*, which was called by his Name, as a Place of Arms and Provisions, and for a Retreat to the Men that should happen to be sick or wounded, resolved to make the *Five Nations* feel his Resentment of their refusing his Terms of Peace. For this Purpose he assembled all the regular Troops of *Canada*, the Militia, the *Owenagungas*, the *Quatoghies* of *Loretto*, the *Adirondacks*, *Sokokies*, *Nepiciriniens*, the *Praying Indians* of the *Five Nations*, and a few *Utawawas*, at *Montreal*, in *June* 1696. The other western *Indians* near *Missilimakinak*, by their late Correspondence with the *Five Nations*, and the Dissatisfaction they had manifested, were not trusted. The Manner of making War with the *Indians* in a Country wholly covered with Woods, must be so much different from the Methods used in *Europe*, that I believe the Reader will be pleased to have a particular Account of the Count *de Frontenac's* Conduct in this, who was an old experienced General, in the seventy fourth Year of his Age.

It is to be observed, that it is impossible to pass the vast Forests between the Countries of the *Five Nations* with 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*. 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 some time a Prisoner in *Canada*, and pretended an Attachment to the *French*, was sent out to make a Discovery. He deserted to the *Onondagas*. He found them waiting for the *French*, with a Resolution to defend their Castle, and to fight the *French*; for which Purpose they had sent away their Women and Children. The *Seneka* told them that the *French* Army was as numerous as the Leaves on the Trees; that they had Machines which threw Balls up in the Air, and which falling on their Castle burst to Pieces, and spread Fire and Death every where, against which their Stockadoes could be of no Defence. This was confirmed by another *Seneka*, who deserted. Upon which the *Onondagas* thought it most 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 surprising Evenness of Mind, and with that Resolution which becomes a *Sachem* of the *Five Nations*. He told his Tormentors to remember well his Death, when his Countrymen should come to take terrible Vengeance of them. Upon which, one stabbing him several Times with his Knife, he thanked him but said, you had better make me die by Fire, that these Dogs of *Frenchmen* may learn how to suffer like Men. You *Indians*, their Allies, you Dogs of Dogs, think of me when you shall be in the like State. Thus this old *Sachem*, under all the Weakness of old Age, preserved a Greatness of Soul, and a due 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 infused into them the most favourable Sentiments of the *French*, and they had been the most inclined to Peace on the *French* Terms. Thirty five of them staid in their Castle to make the *French* welcome; but the only Favour they obtained, was to be made Prisoners, and carried to *Montreal*. The *French* Governor declared his Resolutions to extirpate the *Onondagas*, and for that Reason gave Orders to give no Quarter.

The Difficulty of supporting so many Men in these Deserts, made it necessary for the Count *de Frontenac* to return as speedily as possible. Though the *French* Army was much an Overmatch for the *Onondagas*, both in Number of Men and in their Arms, the *Onondagas* were not so far dispirited, as not to follow them in their Return. They found Opportunities to revenge themselves in some Measure, by cutting off every Canoe that happened at any Time to be at a Distance from the main Body. This obliged the Count to hasten his March, so that he returned to *Montreal* the tenth of *August*.

The *Onondagas* suffered nothing by this chargeable Expedition, but the Loss of their Corn, and their Bark Cottages. They lost not one Man, but the old *Sachem*, who resolved to die a Martyr to his Country's Honour. The *French* suffered considerably by its Consequences; for all the Planters being taken off from their Labour, either in this Expedition, or in watching and securing their Forts and 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 intirely routed. The commanding Officer, one *du Bau*, and two others, saved themselves from the Fury of the *Indians*, 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 *Mohawk's* Language, by which they sometimes deceived the Inhabitants, they surprised some of the Inhabitants, and carried away their Scalps.

The *Five Nations*, to shew that the Count *de Frontenac's* Expedition had no Way discouraged them, sent out several Parties against *Canada*. One of them met with a Party of *French* upon *St. Laurence River*, near *Montreal*. The *French* were routed, and their Captain killed. As soon as this was heard at *Montreal*, *Repentigni* was sent out after them with a considerable Party of *French*, *Nepiciriniens* 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 the Peace arrived, the *French* at *Montreal* being informed that a Party of the *Five Nations* were discovered near *Corlear's Lake*, sent out a Captain with a Party of 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. 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. 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 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 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 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 upside down, and a firm Peace made.

"3. I now plant the Tree of Peace and Welfare at *Onondaga*.

"4. Keep fast the Chain you have made with *Corlear*, for now we have one Heart and one Interest with them; but why is *Corlear* against your corresponding with us, ought we not to converse together when we are at Peace and in Friendship?

"5. Deliver up the *French* Prisoners you have, and we shall deliver not only those of your Nation 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 Religion, 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 *Rondaxe*, or *French Indians*, to desire Restitution of the Prisoners taken from them."

The Jesuit in the Conclusion said; "Why does not *Corlear* tell you what passes between the Governour

of *Canada* and him? He keeps you in the Dark, while the Governor of *Canada* conceals 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. *Decanesora* added, The Jesuits have always deceived us, for while they preached Peace, the *French* came and knocked us on the Head. To this the Jesuit replied, that if he had known that *Corlear* intended to send them Pastors, he would not have offered this Belt.

It is to be observed that the *Indian* Council refused to hear the *French*, or to give them an Answer, but in Presence of the Commissioners from *Albany*.

The *French* Commissioners having assured the Peace with the *Five Nations*, the Inhabitants of *Canada* esteemed it the greatest Blessing that could be procured for them from Heaven; for nothing could be more terrible than this last War with the *Five Nations*. While this War lasted, the Inhabitants eat their Bread in continual Fear and Trembling. No Man was sure, when out of his House, of ever returning to it again. While they laboured in the Fields, they were under perpetual Apprehensions of being killed or seized, and carried to the *Indian* Country, there to end their Days in cruel Torments. They many Times were forced to neglect both their Seed Time and Harvest. The Landlord often saw all his Land plundered, his Houses burnt, and the whole Country ruined, while they thought their Persons not safe in their Fortifications. In short, all Trade and Business was often at an intire Stand, while Fear, Despair, and Misery appeared in the Faces of the poor Inhabitants.

The *French* Commissioners carried several of the principal *Sachems* of the *Five Nations* back with them, who were received at *Montreal* with great Joy. They were saluted by a Discharge of all the great Guns round the Place, as they entered. The *French* Allies took this amiss, and asked if their Governor was entering. They were told, that it was a Compliment paid to the *Five Nations*, whose *Sachems* were then entering the Town. We perceive, they replied, that Fear makes the *French* shew more Respect to their Enemies, than Love can make them do to their Friends.

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 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.

***The End of the SECOND PART.***



## FOOTNOTES:

[1] This will appear by several Instances in the Second Part of this History.

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

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

[4] They are called *Shaouonons*, by the *French*, and live now on one of the Banks of the Misissipi.

[5] 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.

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

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

[8] 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*.

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

[10] Comprehended under the general Name of *Utawawas*.

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

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

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

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

[15] *New-York*.

[16] *Virginia*.

[17] *Maryland*.

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

[19] *Ronoon* signifies Nation or People, in the Language of the *Five Nations*; they say *Tuihtuih-ronoons*, *Chichighik-ronoon*, *Deonondadik-ronoon*, &c.

[20] That is, the *Partridge*.

[21] Pointing to the *Jesuite*.

[22] 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.

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

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

at a Loss to conceive by what Means they pierced these Pipes, and shaped them so finely, before they had the Use of Iron.

[25]Called *Sawanons* by the *French*.

[26]Called *Illinois* by the *French*.

[27]History de le Amerique Septentrionale, par Mr. de la Poterie, Tome ii. Cap. 16.

[28]In the Straights between Lake *Erie* and *Quatoghie* Lake.

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

[30]*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*.

[31]Monsr. *le Morne*, the Word signifies a Partridge.

[32]*Ertel* signifies a Rose, the Name of some other *French* Gentleman, for whom the *Indians* had an Esteem.

[33]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.

[34]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.

[35]*Peter Schyler*, Mayor of *Albany*.

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

[37]The *Bullheads* are said to be cowardly People.

[38]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.

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

[40]The *French* call it *la Famine*, near *Oswego*. The Treaty with Mr. *de la Bar* was made there.

### Transcriber's Notes:

original hyphenation, spelling and grammar have been preserved as in the original

Page 3, who remembred the ==> who remembered the

Page 12, I immediately told ==> I immediately told

Page 18, to exereise Cruelty ==> to exercise Cruelty

Page 31, that the Chigtaghicks ==> that the Chictaghicks

Page 35, and Mahikindars or ==> and Mahikandars or

Page 51, desire may may be ==> desire may be

Page 52, the Peace. Gives ==> the Peace." Gives

Page 65, on the other. ==> on the other.)

Page 67, be extreamly grieved ==> be extremely grieved

Page 67, confirms my Words. ==> confirms my Words.

Page 71, Way towards Monreal ==> Way towards Montreal

Page 72, the Begining of ==> the Beginning of

Page 75, the Mihikander Indians ==> the Mahikander Indians

Page 84, Troies Rivieres ==> Trois Rivieres

Page 84, to the War. ==> to the War.

Page 87, intercepting them. ==> intercepting them.

Page 107, Belt of Wampum ==> Belt of Wampum.

Page 107 footnote, Ersel signifies ==> Ertel signifies

Page 111, Therhansera, Oghuesse and ==> Therhansera, Ohguesse and

Page 111, Our Far-fighters shall ==> Our Fair-fighters shall

Page 140, we are but ==> We are but

Page 141, the Brethrens Backwardness ==> the Brethren's Backwardness

Page 143, de Magdaleine the ==> de Magdeleine the

Page 152, three Bever Skins. ==> three Bever Skins.

Page 155, delivered to them. ==> delivered to them.

Page 172, those of Cahnaaga ==> those of Cahnuaga

Page 172 footnote, near Ohswego. ==> near Oswego.

Page 179, most favorable to ==> most favourable to

Page 181, an Enterprise would ==> an Enterprize would

Page 182, and some Canon ==> and some Cannon

Page 183, their Enterprises against ==> their Enterprizes against

[End of *The History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada (Volume 1 of 2)*, by Cadwallader Colden]