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

PART I.

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

CHAP. I.

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAP.
I.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Time

CHAP. Time one of the Captains of greatest Fame among 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, * 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, mur-

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

dered the whole Family, and carried their Scalps in-
 to 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 like-
 wise 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 De-
 sign 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 appre-
 hensive 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 Cou-
 rage 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 ci-
 vilized.

CHAP. The *Five Nations* are so much delighted with
 I. Stratagems in War, that no Superiority of their
 Forces ever make them neglect them. They amused
 the *Adirondacks* and their Allies the *Quatogbies* (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 *Quatogbies*, and they defeated the *Quatogbies* in a dreadful Battle fought within two Leagues of *Quebeck*.

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

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

The *Nipicerimiens*, 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 *Quatogbies* fled with the *Utauowas* Southwestward; and for the greater Security, settled in an Island, which being further than the Name of the *Five Nations* had then reached, they trusted to the Distance of the Place, and the Advantage of its Situation.

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

WINTER to visit *Tonnendio*, (the Name they give to CH A P. the Governor of *Canada*;) these Visits are always I. made with much Shew. Under this Pretence they gathered together 1000 or 1200 Men. Their out Scouts met with *Piskaret* near *Nicolet River*, and still pretending a friendly Visit to the Governor of *Canada*, as their only Design, he told them, that the *Adirondacks* were divided into two Bodies, one of which hunted on the North Side of *St. Laurence River* at *Whabmake*, 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 *Quatogbies* 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

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

This

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

C H A P. 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 Traft* appointed *Viceroy 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. Courjel* 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 * *Skenetady*, a small Town which *Corlear* (a considerable Man among the *Dutch*) had then newly settled. When they appeared near *Skenetady*, they were almost dead with Cold and Hunger; and the *Indians*, who were

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

CHAP. then in that Village, had intirely destroyed them, if

II. *Corlear*, (in Compassion to his fellow Christians) had not contriv'd their Escape. He had a mighty Influence over the *Indians*; and it is from him, and in Remembrance of his Merit, that all Governors of *New-York* are called *Corlear* by the *Indians* to this Day, tho' he himself was never Governor. He 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 overfet, and he was drowned; and from this Accident that Lake has ever since been called *Corlear's Lake*, by the People of *New-York*. There is a Rock in this Lake, on which the Waves dash and fly up to a great Height; when the Wind blows hard, the *Indians* believe, that an old *Indian* lives under this Rock, who has the Power of the Winds; and therefore, as they pass it in their Voyages over, they always throw a Pipe, or some other small Present to this old *Indian*, and pray a favourable Wind. The *English* that pass with them sometimes laugh at them, but they are sure to be told of *Corlear's* Death. Your great Countryman *Corlear* (say they) as he passed by this Rock, jested at our Fathers making Presents to this Old *Indian*, and in Derision turned up his Backside, but this Affront cost him his Life.

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

destroy

deſtroy this Nation, which by their Wars not only prevented their Commerce with the weſtern *Indians*, but likewiſe often put their Colony in Danger. It certainly was a bold Attempt, to march above 700 Miles from *Quebeck* through vaſt unknown Foreſts. The *Mobawks* 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* ſire 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

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

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

The *English* and *French* (Peace being every where settled) now endeavoured to extend their Commerce and Alliances among the *Indian Nations*, that live to the westward of *New-York*. The *French* however, in their Measures, discovered always a Design of conquering and commanding; for with this View *M^r. 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 *Cadarackwi Lake*, under Pretence of a Store for *Merchandise*, and the Security of his Traders, and under the same Pretence built several other Forts at some other considerable Places far in the Country.

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

Good. Their Trade was likewise considerably hindered by the War which the *Five Nations* had at that Time with the * *River Indians*, which forced many of those *Indians* to seek Shelter among the *Utawawas*, who fell under the *French* Government at last; however, the *English*, *Dutch* and *French* having all made Peace in *Europe*, and the Government of *New-York* likewise having obtained a Peace between the *Five Nations* and *Mabikindars* 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

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

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

C H A P. III.

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

CHAP.
III.

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

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

The

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

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

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

The *Mobawks*, 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 *Englisch*; the national Differences, that were then recent, bred a Rancour in their Spirits. Some *Dutchmen* persuaded the *Oneydoes*, that the *Englisch* at *New-York* were resolv'd 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 *Englisch* Friendship, and to have their Jealousy removed; which being done, *Swerise*, one of the chief *Sachems* of the *Oneydoes*, excus'd his Countrymen at *Albany* the fifteenth of *February* 167 $\frac{1}{2}$, by laying the Blame on the People of *Schenectady*, who had inform'd not one, but several of their People, and at several Times, that the *Englisch* design'd to cut them all off; and said, had they not Reason to believe the People of *Schenectady*, who are Friends and Neighbours to the *Englisch*? They brought with them a Christian Woman and her Child, that had been taken Prisoners, and restored them, praying the Governor to use his Interest to have their People restored, that had been taken by the People of *Virginia*; but they kept another Christian Woman and her two Children, which they said they did only till such
Time

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

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

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

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

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

“ *Bretbren,*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

They,

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

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

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

† Comprehended under the general Name of *Uerawwas*.

“ the

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

CHAP. III.

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

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

CH. A P. *North America* to the Crown of *France*. For this

III. Reason, the Governors of *New-York* have always, with the greatest Caution, avoided a Breach with these Nations, on Account of the little Differences they had with the neighbouring Colonies. These new Incurfions of these two Nations were so 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 *Senekas* being far off, were not then arrived.

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

To

The Mohawks, Oneydoes, Onnondagas, and Cayugas.

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

“ designed to have revenged on you, but at the CHAP.
 “ Desire of Sir *Edmond Andross*, then Governor- III.
 “ general of this Country, we desisted from de-
 “ stroying you, and sent our Agents, Colonel *Wil-*
 “ *liam Kendal*, and Colonel *Soutbley Littleton*, to
 “ confirm and make sure the Peace, that Colonel
 “ *Coursey* of *Maryland* included us in, when he first
 “ treated with you. We find, that as you quickly
 “ forgot what you promised Colonel *Coursey*, so you
 “ have wilfully broke the Covenant-chain which
 “ you promised our Agent, Colonel *Kendal*, should
 “ be kept more strong and bright, if we of *Vir-*
 “ *ginia* would bury, in the Pit of Oblivion, the
 “ Injury then done us; which, upon Governor *An-*
 “ *dross*'s Intercession, and your Submission, we
 “ were willing to forget: But you not at all mind-
 “ ing the Covenant then made, have every Year
 “ since, come into our Country in a war-like Man-
 “ ner, under Pretence of fighting with our *Indi-*
 “ *ans*, our Friends and Neighbours, which you
 “ ought not to have done, our Agent having inclu-
 “ ded them likewise in the Peace. You not only
 “ destroyed, and took several of them Prisoners,
 “ but you have also killed and burnt our Christian
 “ People, destroying Corn and Tobacco, more than
 “ you made Use of, killed our Horses, Hogs, and
 “ Cattle; not to eat, but to let them lie in the
 “ Woods and stink: This you did, when you were
 “ not denied any Thing you said you wanted.
 “ I must also tell you, that, under the Pretence
 “ of Friendship, you have come to Houses at the
 “ Heads of our Rivers (when they have been for-
 “ tified) with a white Sheet on a Pole, and have
 “ laid down your Guns before the Fort; upon
 “ which, our People taking you for Friends, have
 “ admitted your great Men into their Forts, and
 “ have given them Meat and Drink, what they de-
 “ sired. After the great Men had refreshed them-
 “ selves, and desiring to return, as they were let out
 “ of

CHAP. III. “ 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 Out-
 “ rages, till I came to *New-York*, to Colonel *Thomas*
 “ *Dongan*, your Governor-general, to desire him,
 “ as we are all one King’s Subjects, to assist me in
 “ warring against you, to revenge the Christian
 “ Blood that you have shed, and to make you
 “ give full Satisfaction for all the Goods that you
 “ have destroyed: But by the Mediation of your
 “ Governor, I am now come to *Albany* to speak
 “ with you, and to know the Reason of your break-
 “ ing the Covenant-chain, not only with us and
 “ our neighbour *Indians*, but with *Maryland*, who
 “ are great King *Charles’s* Subjects; for our *Indians*
 “ have given King *Charles* their Land; therefore I,
 “ the Governor of *Virginia*, will protect them, as
 “ your Governor, under the great *Duke of York* and
 “ *Albany*, will henceforth you, when the Chain of
 “ Friendship is made between us all.
 “ Now I have let you know, that I am sensible
 “ of all the Injuries you have done us, and by the
 “ Desire of your Governor-general, I am willing
 “ to make a new Chain with you for *Virginia*, *Ma-*
 “ *ryland*, and our *Indians*, that may be more strong
 “ and lasting, even to the Word’s End; so that we
 “ may be Brethren, and great King *Charles’s* Chil-
 “ dren.

“ I pro-

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

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

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

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

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

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

“ That

CHAP.
III.



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

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

“ We must, in the first Place, say something to
 “ the other three Nations, by Way of Reproof, for
 “ their not keeping the former Chain, as they
 “ ought ; and therefore we desire you, great *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 Un-
 “ derstanding, we must stamp Understanding into
 “ you. Let the new Chain made Yesterday be care-
 “ fully preserved for the future. This we earnest-
 “ ly recommend to you, for we are ready to cry
 “ for Shame of you ; let us be no more ashamed on
 “ your Account, but be obedient, and take this
 “ Belt, to keep what we say in your Memory.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Then *Gadianne*, 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 *Affarigoa* * 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.

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

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

CHAP. " make it stronger. (Then pointing to the three
 III. " other Nations, said.) But they are Chain-break-
 " ers. I lay down this as a Token, that we *Mo-*
 " *bawks* have preserved the Chain intire on our
 " Parts. Gives two Bevers and a 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 *, whose Top will reach
 " the Sun, and its Branches spread far abroad, so
 " that it shall be seen afar off; and we shall shelter
 " ourselves under it, and live in Peace without Mo-
 " lestation. Here he gave two Bevers.
 " You proposed Yesterday, that if we were de-
 " sirous to see the *Indians* of *Virginia*, you are will-
 " ing to send some of their *Sachems* next Summer,
 " about this Time, to this Place. This Proposal
 " pleases me very much, the sooner they come the
 " better, that we may speak with them in this
 " House, which is appointed for our speaking with
 " our Friends; and give two Belts to confirm it.
 " You have now heard what Exhortation we have
 " made to the other three Nations; we have taken
 " the Hatchet out of their Hands; we now there-
 " fore pray, that both your Hatchets may likewise
 " be buried in a deep Pit. Giving two Bevers.
 " *Affarigoa*, some of us *Mobawks* are out against
 " our Enemies, that lie afar off, they will do you
 " no Harm, nor plunder, as the others do. Be
 " kind to them, if they shall happen to come to
 " any of your Plantations; give them some To-
 " bacco and some Victuals; for they will neither
 " rob nor steal, as the *Oneydoes*, *Onnondagas*, and
 " *Cayugas* have done.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Coll. *Bird*, one of the Council of *Virginia*, and **CHAP. III.**
Edmond Jennings Esq; *Attorney General* of that Pro-
 vince, came with four *Indian Sachems*, (according
 to the *Lord Howard's* Promise) to renew and con-
 firm 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 Par-
 ties that were out when the Peace was concluded,
 who knew nothing of it; which Accident they had
 provided against in their Articles. They said, the
 four Boys were given to the Relations of those Men
 that were lost; and it would be difficult to obtain
 their Restoration: But they at last promised to deli-
 ver them up.

The *Senakas* and *Mobawks* 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 Na-
 tions, and to what Christian like Purpose they used
 it.

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

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

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

CHAP. III. *ly* 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 *Sacbem*, and had so great an Influence over them, that the other Nations could not prevail with them to part with him. While he lived with them, the *Oneydoes* were frequently turned against the Southern *Indians* (Friends of the *English* Southern Colonies); and

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

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

C H A P. IV.

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

THE *French*, in the Time they were at Peace C H A P. IV.
 with the *Five Nations*, built their Forts at *Tatidonderagbi* and *Missilmakinak*, 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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* *Ronoon* signifies Nation or People, in the Language of the
 Five Nations; they say *Tuhtuuh.ronoon*, *Chichigbik.ronoon*,
Deonndadik.ronoon, &c.

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

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

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

“ Subjects to the King of *England* and Duke of *CHAP.*
York, but we say we are Brethren. We must V.
 “ 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 dissatis-
 “ fied; should we not embrace this Happiness of-
 “ fered us, *v.z.* Peace, in the Place of War; yea,
 “ we shall take the Evil Doers, the *Senekas*, by the
 “ Hand, and *la Barre* likewise, and their Ax and his
 “ Sword shall be thrown into a deep Water. We
 “ wish our Brother *Corlear* were present, but it seems
 “ the Time will not permit of it.”

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

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

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

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

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

CHAP. IV. “ of Peace together, but on this Condition, that you
 “ promise me, in the Name of the *Senekas, Cayugas,*
 “ *Onondagas, and Mobawks,* to give intire Satisfac-
 “ tion and Reparation to his Subjects; and for
 “ the future never to molest them.
 “ The *Senekas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneydoes,*
 “ and *Mobawks* have robbed and abused all the
 “ Traders that were passing to the *Illinois* and
 “ *Umamies,* and other *Indian* Nations, the Children
 “ of my King. They have acted, on these Occasi-
 “ ons, contrary to the Treaty of Peace with my Pre-
 “ decessor. I am ordered therefore to demand Sa-
 “ tisfaction, and to tell them, that in case of Re-
 “ fusal, or their plundering us any more, that I
 “ have express Orders to declare War. This Belt
 “ confirms my Words. The Warriors of the *Five*
 “ *Nations* have conducted the *English* into the Lakes,
 “ which belong to the King, my Master, and brought
 “ the *English* among the Nations that are his Chil-
 “ dren, to destroy the Trade of his Subjects, and
 “ to withdraw these Nations from him. They have
 “ carried the *English* thither, notwithstanding the
 “ Prohibition of the late Governor of *New-York,*
 “ who foresaw the Risque that both they and you
 “ would run. I am willing to forget these Things,
 “ but if ever the like shall happen for the future, I
 “ have express Orders to declare War against you.
 “ This Belt confirms my Words. Your Warriors have
 “ made several barbarous Incurfions on the *Illinois*
 “ and *Umamies*; they have massacred Men, Wo-
 “ men, and Children, and have made many of these
 “ Nations Prisoners, who thought themselves safe
 “ in their Villages in Time of Peace. These People,
 “ who are my King’s Children, must not be your
 “ Slaves; you must give them their Liberty, and

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

Part I. FIVE INDIAN NATIONS, &c.

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

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

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

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

Garangula's Answer.

“ *Yonondio*,

“ 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.

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

“ I see *Yonnondio* raving in a Camp of sick Men, CHAP.
 “ whose Lives the great Spirit has saved, by in- V.
 “ flicting this Sickness on them. Hear, *Yonnondio*,
 “ our Women had taken their Clubs, our Children
 “ and old Men had carried their Bows and Arrows
 “ into the Heart of your Camp, if our Warriors
 “ had not disarmed them, and kept them back,
 “ when your Messenger, *Obgusse*, came to our
 “ Castles. It is done, and I have said it. Hear,
 “ *Yonnondio*, we plundered none of the *French*, but
 “ those that carried Guns, Powder, and Ball to the
 “ *Iwikties* and *Chittagbicks*, because those Arms
 “ might have cost us our Lives. Herein we follow
 “ the Example of the Jesuits, who stave all the
 “ Cags 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 *Englisb* into our Lakes, to trade
 “ there with the *Uwowas* and *Quatogbies*, as the
 “ *Adirondacks* brought the *French* to our Castles, to
 “ carry on a Trade which the *Englisb* say is theirs.
 “ We are born free, we neither depend on *Yonnon-*
 “ *dio* nor *Corlear*.

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

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

CHAP. " the *Satanas* * into their Country, to take Part
 IV. " with them, after they had concerted all 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 *Sen-*
 " *kas*, *Cayugas*, *Onondagas*, *Oneydoes*, and *Mo-*
 " *bawks* say, that when they buried the Hatchet at
 " *Cadarackui* (in the Presence of your Predecessor)
 " in the Middle of the Fort, they planted the Tree
 " of Peace in the same Place, to be there carefully
 " preserved, that, in Place of a Retreat for Sol-
 " diers, that Fort might be a Rendezvous for Mer-
 " chants; that, in Place of Arms and Ammu-
 " nition of War, Bevers and Merchandise should
 " only enter there.
 " Hear, *Yonnondio*, take Care for the future,
 " that so great a Number of Soldiers, as appear
 " there, do not choke the Tree of Peace planted
 " in so small a Fort. It will be a great Loss, if af-
 " ter it had so easily taken Root, you should stop
 " its Growth, and prevent its covering your Coun-
 " try and ours with its Branches. I assure you, in
 " the Name of the *Five Nations*, that our Warriors
 " shall dance to the *Calumet* of Peace under its
 " Leaves, and shall remain quiet on their Mats,
 " and shall never dig up the Hatchet, till their Bre-
 " thren, *Yonnondio* or *Corlear*, shall either jointly
 " or separately endeavour to attack the Country,
 " which the great Spirit has given to our An-
 " cestors. This Belt preserves my Words, and this
 " other, the Authority which the *Five Nations* has
 " given me."

* Called *Sauvonnas* by the *French*.

Then

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

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

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

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

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

C H A P. V.

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

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

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

* Called *Illinois* by the *French*.

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

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

The *Putewatemies*, *Malbominies*, and *Puans* offered themselves willingly, and went to the Rendezvous at *Misslimakinak*; 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 Norville*, with his Orders to the Officers. This Canoe, in her Passage, discovered some *Englisb*, commanded by Major *Mac Gergory*, in their Way to *Teiodonderagbie*. The *Englisb* 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 *Englisb*, and conducted them

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

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

The *Five Nations* being informed of the *French* Preparations, laid aside their Design against the *Twibtwies*, and prepared to give the *French* a warm Reception. Upon this the Priest at *Onondaga* left them, but the Priest at *Oneydo* had the Courage to stay. The *Senecas* 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 Norville'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 surpris'd two Villages of the *Five Nations*, that were settled about eight Leagues from that Place, to prevent their giving any Intelligence to their own Nation of the *French* Preparations, or of the State of their Army, as it was supposed they did in the last Expedition under Monsieur

Part I. FIVE INDIAN NATIONS, &c.

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

CHA P.
V.

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

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

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

young

CHAPTER V. *young Canadian was shot to Death, as a Deserter*
 for conducting the *English* into the Lakes, though the two Nations were not only at Peace, but their Kings in stricter Friendship than usual. But this Piece of Severity is not to be wondered at, when this War was undertaken, chiefly to put a Stop to the *English* Trade, which now began to extend itself far into the Continent, and would in its Consequence ruin theirs. The next Day the Army began to march towards the chief Village of the *Senekas*, which was only seven Leagues distant, every Man carrying ten Biskets for his Provision. The *Indian* Traders made the Van with Part of the *Indians*, the other Part marched in the Rear, while the regular Troops and Militia composed the main Body. The Army marched four Leagues the first Day without discovering any Thing; the next Day the Scouts advanced before the Army, as far as the Corn of the Villages, without seeing any Body, though they passed within Pistol-shot of five-hundred *Senekas*, that lay on their Bellics, 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 ran to the Right and Left, and, in the Confusion, fired upon one another. When the *Senekas* perceived their Disorder, they fell in among them pell-mell, till the *French* *Indians*, more used to such Way of fighting, gathered together and repulsed the *Senekas*. There were (according to the *French* Accounts) a hundred *Frenchmen*, ten *French* *Indians*,
 and

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

Monsieur de Nonville was so disappointed 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 Villages, but when he came there, he found that the *Senkas* had saved him the Trouble; for they had hid 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 *Cadarakui* 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 *Teiodondragbie*, and in his Return to *Canada*, which was by the North Side of the Lake, he left a sufficient
Number

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

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

C H A P. VI.

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

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

“ *Brethren,*

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

“ As soon as I heard their Design to war with
 “ you, I gave you Notice, and came up hither my-
 “ self, that I might be ready to give all the Assist-
 “ ance and Advice that so short a Time would al-
 “ low me.

“ I am now about sending a Gentleman to *Eng-
 “ land*, 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 wil-
 “ lingly know, whether the Brethren have given
 “ the

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

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

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

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

CHAP. VI. " 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 Cap-*
 " *tains*, of each Nation, to be a Council to manage
 " all Affairs of the War. They to give Orders to
 " the rest of the Officers what they are to do, that
 " your Designs may be kept private ; for after it
 " comes among so many People, it is blazed abroad,
 " and your Designs are often frustrated ; and those
 " chief Men should keep a Correspondence with me
 " by a trusty Messenger.

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

" 4thly, Another Thing of Concern is, that you CHAP. VI.
 " ought to do what you can to open a Path for all
 " the North Indians and *Mabikanders*, that are a-
 " mong the *Uiewawas* 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 De-
 " struction; 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 *Chris-
 " tian Indians at Canada*, to persuade them to come
 " Home to their native Country. This will be an-
 " other 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 Ne-
 " cessity; 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 *Onon-
 " dagas* do, but bury it a great Way in the
 " Woods, where few People may know where it
 " is, for fear of such an Accident as has happened to
 " the *Senekes*.

" 8thly, I have given my Advice in your General
 " Assembly by Mr. *Dirk Wessels*, and *Akus* the In-
 " terpreter, how you are to manage your Partics,
 " and how necessary it is to get Prisoners, to ex-
 " change for your own Men that are Prisoners with
 " the French; and I am glad to hear that the Bre-
 " thren are so united, as Mr. *Dirk Wessels* tells me

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ture they should desist from doing any Injury to the People of *Virginia*, or their *Indians*, otherwise all the *English* would unite to destroy them. But at the same time he freed the *Senecas* 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.

CHAP.
VI.

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

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

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

CHAP. no Accident might prevent this, and blast so favourable an Opportunity of making Peace to the best Advantage, 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 surpris'd 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 surpris'd, and killed or taken Prisoners. As soon as the Prisoners were all secured, the cunning *Deonondadi* told them, "That he having been informed, by the Governor of *Canada*,
" that

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

The Ambassadors being much surpris'd at the *French* Perfidy, told *Adario* the Design of their Journey, who, the better to play his Part, seem'd to grow mad and furious, declaring against *Monfr. De Norville*, 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 *Dekanesora* 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 assur'd him, that he and his Nation might make their Peace when they pleas'd. *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 *Missimakinak*, who to keep up the Enmity between the *Deonondadies* and the *Five Nations*, order'd him to be shot to Death. *Adario* call'd one of the *Five Nations*, who had been long a Prisoner, to be an Eye Witness of his Countryman's Death, then bid him make his Escape to his own Country.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

If the *Indians* had understood the Method of attacking Forts, nothing could have preserved the *French* from an entire Destruction at this Time; for whoever considers the State of the *Indian Affairs* during this Period, how the *Five Nations* were divided in their Sentiments and Measures; that the *Onondagas*, *Cayugas*, and *Oneydoes*, under the Influence of the *French Jesuites*, were diverted from prosecuting the War against *Canada*, by the *Jesuites* cunningly spiriting up those three Nations against the *Virginia Indians*, and persuading them to send out their Parties that Way: That the *Senecas* had a War at the same Time upon their Hands with three numerous *Indian Nations*, the *Utawawas*, *Chicktagbicks*, and *Twiwewies*; 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*.