



THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
FIVE Indian NATIONS  
DEPENDENT  
On the Province of NEW-YORK.  
PART II.



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THE  
P R E F A C E  
To the SECOND PART.

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

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

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P A R T II. Trade

IV      *The PREFACE to the SECOND PART.*

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

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

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

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

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

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PART II.

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

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CHAP. I.

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

WE left the *Five Nations* triumphing over CHAP. I.  
the *French* in *Canada*, and they almost re-  
duced to Despair. The Revolution, which  
happened at this Time in *England*, seemed to be a  
favourable Conjunction for the *Five Nations*; the  
*English* Colonies, by the War at that Time declared  
against

CHAP. against *France*, becoming Parties in their Quarrel :

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

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

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

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

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

The

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

The greatest Number of the Inhabitants of the  
 Province of *New-York* being *Dutch*, still retained an  
 Affection to their Mother Country, and by their  
 Aversion to the *English* weakened the Administrati-  
 on. The common People of *Albany*, who are all  
*Dutch*, could not forbear giving the *Indians* some ill  
 Impressions of the *English*; for the *Mohawks*, in  
 one of their publick Speeches, expressed themselves  
 thus: "We hear a *Dutch Prince* reigns now in *Eng-*  
 " *land*, why do you suffer the *English Soldiers* to  
 " remain in the Fort? put all the *English* out of  
 " the Town. When the *Dutch* held this Country  
 " long ago, we lay in their Houses; but the *Eng-*  
 " *lish* have always made us lie without Doors." It  
 is true, that the Plantations were first settled by the  
 meanest People of every Nation, and such as had  
 the least Sense of any Honour. The *Dutch* first  
 Settlers, many of them I may say, had none of the  
 Virtues



Virtues of their Countrymen, except their Industry CHAP. I.  
 in getting Money, and they sacrificed every Thing, other People think honourable or most sacred, to their Gain: But I do not think it proper to give particular Instances of this.

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

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

*Canada* was at this Time in a very distressed Condition, the Country and out Plantations burnt and destroyed, their Trade intirely at a stand, great Numbers of their People slain, and the remainder in danger of perishing by Famine, as well as by the Sword of inveterate cruel Enemies. When such

Misfor-

CH A P. Misfortunes happen to a Country, under any Administration, though in Truth the Conduct of Affairs be not to be blamed, it is often prudent to change the Ministers; for the common People never fail to blame them, notwithstanding their having acted with the greatest Wisdom, and therefore cannot so soon recover their Spirits, that are sunk by Misfortunes, as by putting their Affairs into different Hands.

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

mencies of the Climate and Season, and the Difficulty of such a Passage. CHAP. I.

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

The Count *de Frontenac* brought back with him *Tawerabet*, a *Capiga Sachem*, one of the thirteen Prisoners that *Mr. de Nonville* took at *Cadarakui*, and sent to *France*. He was in Hopes this *Indian* would be useful in procuring a Treaty of Peace with the *Five Nations*, for they had an extraordinary Opinion of *Tawerabet*; and the *French* had found, by sad Experience, that they could not be Gainers by continuing the War: For this Purpose the Count used *Tawerabet* with much Kindness, during his Voyage, and, after he arrived at *Quebeck*, lodged him in the Castle under his own Roof, and took such Pains with this *Sachem*, that he forgot all the ill Usage he had formerly received.

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

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

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

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

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

They

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

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

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

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

## C H A P. II.

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

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

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

The *Five Nations* answered by *Tabajadoris*, a *Mohawk Sachem*, on the twenty fourth of *September*. He made a long Oration, repeating all that the Agent from *New-England* had said, the Day before, and desired them to be attentive to the Answer now to be made to them. They commonly repeat over all that has been said to them, before they return any Answer, and one may be surprized at the Exactness of these Repetitions. They take the following Method to assist their Memories: The *Sachem*, who presides at these Conferences, has a Bundle of small Sticks in his Hand; as soon as the Speaker has finished any one Article of his Speech, this *Sachem* gives a Stick to another *Sachem*, who is particularly

particularly to remember that Article ; and so when another Article is finished, he gives a Stick to another to take Care of that other, and so on. In like Manner when the Speaker answers, each of these has the particular Care of the Answer resolved on to each Article, and prompts the Orator, when his Memory fails him, in the Article committed to his Charge. *Tabajadoris* addressing himself to the Agents, said :

“ *Bretbren,*

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

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

“ The Covenant-chain between us is ancient (as you tell us) and of long standing, and it has been kept inviolably by us. When you had Wars some time ago with the *Indians*, you desired us to help you ; we did it readily, and to the Purpose ; for we pursued them closely, by which we prevented the Effusion of much of your Blood. This was a certain Sign that we loved truly and sincerely, and from our Hearts. Gives a Belt.

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

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


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

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

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

“ We



“ We promise to preserve the Chain inviolably, and C H A R.  
 “ wish that the Sun may always shine in Peace over II.  
 “ all our Heads that are comprehended in this Chain.   
 “ We give two Belts, one for the Sun, the other  
 “ for its Beams.

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

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

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

The *Five Nations* answered :

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

After the Company had separated, the *Sachems* sent to the *New-England* Agents, desiring to speak with them in private; which being granted, the

CHAP. II. Speaker said, we have something to tell you, which was not proper to be spoken openly, for some of our People have an Affection to the *Owenagungas*; and we were afraid, that they would discover or hinder our Designs.

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

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

It is probable, that the *Sachems* acted with some Art on this Occasion, for they really had favourable Inclinations towards the *Owenagungas*; and they had Reason not to increase the Number of their Enemies, by making War on the *Eastern Indians*, who avoided doing them any Injury. The People of *Albany* likewise have always been averse to engage our *Indians* in a War with the *Eastern Indians*, lest it should change the Seat of the War, and bring it to their own Doors.

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

\* Called by the People of *New-England* *Panocot Indians*.

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

## C H A P. III.

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

ON the 27th of December 1689, two Indians CHAP.  
 came to *Albany*, being sent by the *Onondaga* III.  
 and *Oneydo Sachems*, with seven Hands of Wampum  
 from each Nation, to tell their Brethren in *New-York*  
 and *New-England*, that three of their old Friends,  
 who had been carried Prisoners to *France*, were come  
 with Proposals from *Canada*; that there was a Coun-  
 cil of the *Sachems* appointed to meet at *Onondaga*,  
 and that they therefore desired the Mayor of *Albany*,  
*Peter Scheyler*, and some others of their Brethren,

CHAP. III. to come thither, to be present and to advise on an Affair of so great Consequence; for they were resolved to do nothing without the Knowledge and Consent of all those that were included in the Chain with them.

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

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

On the 4th of *January* one of the chief *Mohawk Sachems* came to *Albany*, to tell the *Magistrates*, that he was to go to *Onondaga*, and desired the Brethren's Advice how to behave there; on which the *Magistrates* thought it necessary to send likewise the publick Interpreter, and another Person to assist at the general Meeting, with written Instructions; but no Person of Note, that had any Influence on the *Indians*, went.

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

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

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

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

The Governor of *Canada* notifies his Arrival to us, that he is the Count *de Frontenac*, who had been formerly Governor there; that he had brought back with him *Towerabet* a *Cayuga Sachem*, and twelve Prisoners, that had been carried to *France*; then taking the Belt of *Wampum* in his Hand, and holding it by the Middle, he added, what I have said relates only to one Half of the Belt, the other Half is to let us know, that he intends to kindle again his Fire at *Cadarackui* next Spring, and therefore invites his Children, and *Dekansera* an *Onondaga Captain* in particular, to treat there with him about the old Chain. Then *Adarabia* the chief *Sachem* of the *praying Indians* stood up, and said, with three Belts in his Hand, I advise you to meet the Governor of *Canada* as he desires; agree to this, if you would live, and gives one Belt of *Wampum*.

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

This third Belt is from \* *Tburensera*, † *Obgucsse*, and † *Ertel*, who say by it, to their Brethren: We have interceded for you with *Onandio*, and therefore ad-

\* *Tburensera* signifies the Dawning of the Day, and was the Name given by the *Indians* to the Jesuit *Lamberville*, who had formerly resided at *Onondaga*. † *Monfr. le Merve*, the Word signifies a Partridge. † *Ertel* signifies a Rose, the Name of some other *French Gentleman*, for whom the *Indians* had an Esteem.

CHAP. III. wife you to meet him at *Cadarakui* in the Spring, because it will be for your Advantage.

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

After this *Canneboot* a *Seneka Sacbem* stood up, and gave the general Council a particular Account of a Treaty made last Summer, between the *Senekas* and the *Wagunba* Messengers, (one of the *Utawawa* Nations) who had concluded a Peace for themselves, and seven other Nations, to which the other four Nations were desired to agree, and their Brethren of *New-York* to be included in it. He said the Proposals made in several Propositions were as follow.

1. We are come to join two Bodies into one. Delivering up at the same Time two Prisoners.
2. We are come to learn Wisdom of you *Senekas*, and of the other *Five Nations*, and of your Brethren of *New-York*. Giving a Belt.
3. We by this Belt wipe away the Tears from the Eyes of your Friends, whose Relations have been killed in the War, and likewise \* the Paint from your Soldiers Faces. Giving another Belt.
4. We now throw aside the Ax, which *Yonondio* put into our Hands, by this third Belt.
5. Let the Sun, as long as he shall endure, always shine upon us in Friendship. Here he gave a red Marble Sun as large as a Plate.
6. Let the Rain of Heaven wash away all Hatred, that we may again smoke together in Peace, giving a large Pipe of red Marble.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

After these Ceremonies were over, *Sadekanabtie*, an *Onondaga* Speaker, stood up, and said, Brethren,

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

CHAP. we must stick to our Brother *Quider*, and look on  
 III. *Yonondio* as our Enemy, for he is a Cheat: By *Qui-*  
 der they meant *Peter Stbyler* the Mayor of *Albany*,  
 who had gained a considerable Esteem among them;  
 as they have no Labels in their Language, they  
 pronounce *Peter* by the Sound *Quider*.

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

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

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

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

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



*Corkar* and *Kingbon*, Courage! Courage! In the CH. 4.  
Spring to *Quebeck*, take that Place, and you'll have III.  
your Feet on the Necks of the *French*, and all their  
Friends in *America*.

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

1. *Tonondio*, you have notified your Return to us, and that you have brought back 13 of our People that were carried to *France*, we are glad of it. You desire us to meet you at *Cadarackui* next Spring, to treat of the old Chain; but *Tonondio*, how can we trust you, after you have acted deceitfully so often? Witness what was done at *Cadarackui*; the Usage our Messengers met with at *Uawawa*, and what was done to the *Senekas* at *Uawawa*. This was their Answer; however, they sent a Belt with this, which always shews a Disposition to treat.

2. *Verhansera*, *Ogbuesse* and *Britel*, do you observe Friendship with us, if you have not, how come you to advise us to renew Friendship with *Tonondio*, they sent them likewise a Belt?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The *Mobawk* Messengers, that had been sent from *Albany*, had carried with them Goods to sell at the general Council. This was taken Notice of at the general Council, and gave the *Indians* a mean Opinion of the People of *Albany*, and particularly of *Peter Schyler*; for it is exceedingly scandalous among the *Indians*, to employ a Merchant in publick Affairs; Merchants, (I mean the Traders with the *Indians*) are looked upon by them as Liars, and People

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

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

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#### C H A P. IV.

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

THE Count De Frontenac being desirous, as before observed, to raise the drooping Spirits of the *French* in *Canada*, by keeping them in Action, and engaging the most daring of them, in Enterprises that might give Courage to the rest, had sent out three Parties against the *English* Colonies, in Hopes thereby to lessen the Confidence which the *Five Nations* had in the *English* Assistance, now that *England* had declared War against *France*. The Party sent against *New-York* was commanded by *Monfr. De Herville*, and was ordered to attempt the surprizing of *Schenectady*, the nearest Village to the *Mohawks*. It consisted of 150 *French Bush-lopers* or *Indian Traders*,

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CHAP. Traders, and of as many *Indians*, the most of them  
 IV. *French* Converts from the *Abnawks*, commonly called the *Praying Indians*, settled at a Place near *Montreal*, called *Cabruaga*. They were well acquainted with all that Part of the Country round *Schenectady*; and came in Sight of the Place the 8th of *February* 1689-90.

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

Tho' the People of *Schenectady* were informed in the Evening before the Place was surpris'd, that several sculking *Indians* were seen near the Place, they concluded, that they could be only some of the neighbouring *Indians*; and as they had no Officer of any Esteem among them, not a single Man could be persuaded to watch in such severe Weather, tho', as the *French* owned afterwards, if they had found the least Guard or Watch, they would not have attempted the Place, but have surrendered themselves Prisoners: They were so exceedingly distressed with the Length of their March, and with Cold, and Hunger, but finding the Place in fatal Security, they marched into the Heart of the Village, without being discovered by any one Person; then they raised their War Shout, entered the Houses, murdered every Person they met, Men, Women, and Children, naked and in cold Blood; and at the same Time set Fire to the Houses. A very few escaped, by running out naked into the Woods in  
 this

this terrible Weather: And several hid themselves, till CHAP. the first Fury of the Attack was over; but these VI. were soon driven from their lurking Places by the Fire, and were all made Prisoners.

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

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

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

The *French* marched back, without reaping any visible Advantage from this barbarous Enterprize, besides the murdering sixty-three innocent Persons in cold Blood, and carrying twenty-seven of them away Prisoners.

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

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

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

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

“ Brethren,

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

“ Great and sudden is the Mischief, as if it had fal-  
 “ len from Heaven upon us. Our Forefathers taught  
 “ us to go with all Speed to bemoan and lament with  
 “ our Brethren, when any Disaster or Misfortune hap-  
 “ pens to any in our Chain. Take this Bill of Vi-  
 “ gillance, that you may be more watchful for the fu-  
 “ ture. *We give our Brethren Eye-Water* to make  
 “ them sharp sighted, giving a fourth Belt.

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

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

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

“ We will never desist, so long as a Man of us re-  
 “ mains. Take Heart, do not pack up and go  
 “ away, \* this will give Heart to a dastardly Enemy.

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

CHAP. " We are of the Race of the Bear, and a Bear you  
 IV. " know never yields, while one Drop of Blood is left.  
 " *We must all be Bears*; giving a sixth Belt.

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

(To the English.)

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

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

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

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

Send



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

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

Brethren, we are glad to find you are not discour-  
 aged. The best and wisest Men sometimes make  
 Mistakes. Let us now pursue the War vigorously.  
 We have a hundred Men out, they are good Scouts.  
 We expect to meet all the *Sachems* of the other Na-  
 tions, as they come to condole with you. You need  
 not fear our being ready, at the first Notice. Our Ax  
 is always in our Hands, but take Care that you be  
 timely ready. Your Ships, that must do the prin-  
 cipal Work, are long a fitting out. We do not de-  
 sign to go out with a small Company, or in sculking  
 Parties; but as soon as the Nations can meet, we  
 shall be ready with our whole Force. If you  
 would bring this War to a happy Issue, you must  
 begin soon, before the *French* can recover the Los-  
 ses they have received from us, and get new Vi-  
 gour and Life, therefore send in all Hastē to *New-*  
*England*. Neither you nor we can continue long in  
 the Condition we are now in, we must order Mat-  
 ters so, that the *French* be kept in continual Fear  
 and Alarm at home; for this is the only Way to  
 be secure, and in Peace here.

The *Scabkok Indians*, in our Opinion, are well  
 placed where they are (to the Northward of *Alba-*  
*ny*); they are a good Out-guard; they are our Chil-  
 dren, and we shall take Care that they do their

CHAP. Duty: But you must take Care of the *Indians* below  
 IV. the Town; place them nearer the Town, so as they  
 may be of most Service to you.

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

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

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

sure to meet with the Favour of the People, almost in every Case. On the other Hand, the Opinion the *French* had of the Count de *Frontenac's* publick Spirit, and of his Wisdom and Diligence, made them enter into all his Measures without hesitating, and cheerfully obey all his Commands.

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C H A P. V.

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

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

The *Five Nations* kept out at this Time small Parties, that continually harassed the *French*. The Count de *Frontenac* sent Captain *Louvoigni* to *Missilimakinak*, to relieve the Garison, and he had Orders, by all Means, to prevent the Peace which the *Utawawas* and *Quatoghies* were upon the Point of concluding with the *Five Nations*. He carried with him one hundred forty three *French*, and six *Indians*, and was likewise accompanied with a Lieutenant and thirty Men, till he got one hundred twenty Miles from *Montreal*. They were met in *Cadarackui River*,  
at

CHAP. at a Place called the *Cats*, by a Party of the *Five Nations*, who fell vigorously on their Canoes, killed several of the *French*, and made them give Way; but *Louigni*, by putting his Men ashore, at last got the better, after a smart Engagement, in which the *Indians* had several Men killed, and two Men, and as many Women, taken Prisoners. I am obliged to rely on the *French* Account of these Skirmishes; they do not mention the Number of the *Indians* in this Rencounter, but I suspect them to have been much fewer than the *French*; for when the Enemy are equal in Number, or greater, they seldom forget to tell it. One of the *Indian* Prisoners was carried by them to *Missilmackinak*, to confirm this Victory, and was delivered to the *Utawawas*, who eat him. The Lieutenant carried the other back with him. He was given to *Therawaet*.

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

The *Five Nations* had conceived great Hopes from the Assistance of the *English*, as the Magistrates

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

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

Colonel *Slaughtier*, who was then Governor of *New-York*, being informed that the *Five Nations* were like to make Peace with the *French*, by their having lost much of their Confidence in the *English* Assistance, found it necessary to meet them, which  
he

CHAP. he did in the End of *May* 1691. There were  
 V. present at that Time six *Oneydo*, eleven *Onondaga*,  
 four *Cayuga*, and ten *Seneka Sachems*. He renewed  
 the Covenant with them, and gave them Presents.  
 The *Mohawks* having entered into a Treaty with  
 the *French*, did not join with the other four Nations  
 in their Answer.

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

They assured the Governor, that they were re-  
 solved to prosecute the War against the *French* as  
 long as they lived, and that they would never speak  
 of Peace, but with the common Consent. They  
 abhor those that do otherwise, and desired that the  
 Brethren might not keep a Correspondence with  
*Canada* by Letters. You need not (said they) press  
 us to mind the War, we mind it above all Things;  
 do you but your Parts, lay aside all other Thoughts  
 but

but that of the War, for it is the only Thing we have at Heart. They gave Bevers at the End of every distinct Part of their Answer.

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V.  
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On the fourth the *Mobawks* spoke to the Governor, in Presence of the other four Nations: They confessed the Negotiations they had with the *Praying Indians*, and with the Governor of *Canada*, and that they had received a Belt from him. Then they restored one of the Prisoners taken at *Schenectady*, as the Fruit of that Negotiation. They desired the Governor's Advice, and the Advice of the whole House, what Answer to return to the Governor of *Canada*; and lastly, desired the *Senecas* to release the Prisoners they had taken from the *Praying Indians*.

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

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

*The HISTORY of the*

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

“ *Mohawks*, our Brethren, in answer to your  
 “ Proposals from the Governor of *Canada*, we must  
 “ put you in Mind of his Deceit and Treachery ;  
 “ we need only give one recent Instance, how he  
 “ lately sent to the *Senekas* to treat of Peace, and at  
 “ the same Time fell upon *Schenectady*, and cut that  
 “ Place off. We tell you, that the Belt sent by  
 “ the *French* Governor is Poison ; we spew it out of  
 “ our Mouths, we absolutely reject it, and are re-  
 “ solved to prosecute the War as long as we live.”  
 Then they left the Belt lying on the Ground.

## C H A P. VI.

*The English attack Montreal by Land, in Con-  
 junction with the Indians, and Quebec by  
 Sea.*

CHAP. VI. **I**T was now evident that the *Indians* could no longer be amused with Words, and that, unless the *English* entered soon upon Action, the *French* would carry their Design of making Peace with the *Five Nations*, and the *English* be left to carry on the War in *America* by themselves. Certainly a more proper Opportunity of doing it with Success could not be expected, than at present, while the *French* in *Canada* had neither recovered their Spirits, nor the Strength they had lost, by the terrible IncurSIONS of the *Five Nations*. A joint Invasion on *Canada* was concerted with *New-England*, they were to attack *Quebeck* by Sea, while *New-York* attacked *Montreal* by Land. The Governor therefore proposed to the *Indians* to join with him in attacking *Canada*, for which Purpose he told them, that he designed



designed to send a considerable Force this Summer. CHAP. VI.  
 They desired Time to consult on it at their general Meeting, which was soon to be held at *Onondaga*, and to know what Number of Christians he designed to send, that they might join a suitable Number of their Men. To this the Governor answered, that he must not communicate the Particulars of his Design to so many, because they could not then be kept secret from the Enemy; as he found by the Discoveries that were last Year made to the *French* by that Means.

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

Major *Peter Schuyler*, the same whom the *Indians* call *Quider*, commanded the Party sent from *New-York*, which consisted of three hundred Men, one half Christians, the other *Mohawks* and *Scabhook Indians*. He set out from *Albany* about Midsummer. As he was preparing his Canoes to pass *Corlear's Lake*, he was discovered by the *French Indians*, who immediately returned to *Montreal*, to give Information of what they had seen. The *Chevalier Clermont* was sent out to make further Discoveries: He found the *English* above *Chamblic*, and went immediately back with the Intelligence he there gained. In the mean while Mr. *de Collieres*, Governor of *Montreal*, did all in his Power to give Major *Schuyler* a proper Reception, by drawing the Militia and regular Troops together for the Defence of the Place. There happened to be a very considerable Number of *Utawawas* trading at that Time at *Montreal*, Mr. *de Colliere*, in Order to engage them to join him, made a great Feast for them, went among them, and, after the *Indian Manner*, began the war Song; leading up the Dance with his

CHAP. V. AXE in his Hand, and shouting and hollowing in the same wild Manner the *Indians* do. This done, he carried his whole Force, which consisted of twelve hundred Men, cross the River, and encamped on the south Side, at *la Prairie de la Magdeleine*, together with a great Number of *Ulawawas*, the *Praying Indians*, and other *French Indians*. The famous *Tberawaet* being now entirely gained by the Caresses of the Count *de Frontenac*, made one of the Number. They encamped round the Fort, which stood on a steep rising Ground between two Meadows.

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

In this Attack the *Mohawks* signalized themselves, but the *Scabcock Indians* did not behave themselves well. The *Mohawks*, upon no Occasion,

on, yielded an Inch of Ground, till the *English* first gave Way. The *French*, by their own Accounts, lost, in the several Attacks made by *Schuyler*, two Captains, six Lieutenants, and five Ensigns, and, in all, three hundred Men, so that their Slain were in Number more than Major *Schuyler* had with him. The *Mohawks* suffered much, having seventeen Men killed, and eleven wounded. They returned to *Albany* the eleventh of *August*.

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

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

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

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

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The *French*, in their Account of this Action, say, that the Men, though they appeared to be as little disciplined as Men could be, behaved with great Bravery, but that Sir *William's* Conduct was such, that, if he had been in Concert with them, he could not have done more to ruin the Enterprize; yet his Fidelity was never suspected. In short, this Defeat was so ill managed, that the *English* got on Board again in the Night, with the Loss of all the Cannon and Baggage which they had landed.

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

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

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

Notwithstanding that the *French* preserved their Country, these warlike Expeditions, and the Necessity they were under of being on their Guard, prevented their cultivating the Ground, or of reaping the Fruit of what they had sowed or planted. This

occasioned a Famine in *Canada*, and, to increase the Misery of the poor Inhabitants, they were forced to feed the Soldiers gratis, while their own Children wanted Bread.

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

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

## C H A P. VII.

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

**T**HE old *French* Governor kept up his Vi-CHAP  
gour and Spirits wonderfully, no Fatigue VII.  
made him ever think of Rest. He knew of what  
Use it would be to convince the *Five Nations*, that  
the joint Attack of the *English* and *Indians* had  
neither weakened him, nor frightened him from  
carrying on the War with as much Vigour as before.

CHAP. VII. It was absolutely necessary that the *Utawawas* and other *Western Indians*, who came to *Montreal* to trade, should return safe to their own Country, otherwise there would be an End to the *French Trade* with those Nations, upon which the Being of *Canada* depends; for it is only by the *Fur-trade* with these Nations that they make Returns to *Europe*; and if these Nations did not return in Time, all the *Western Indians* would look on the *French* as lost, and consequently would make Peace with the *Five Nations*, and perhaps join in the Destruction of *Canada*.

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

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

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

The Count *de Frontenac* being informed, that a considerable Party of the *Five Nations* hunted Beaver on the Neck of Land between *Catarackui Lake* and *Lake Erie*, with great Security, resolved to give them

them a better Opinion of the Strength and Courage of the *French*. For this Purpose he sent three hundred and twelve Men to surprize them, under the Command of Mr. *Beaucour*, a young Gentleman. The *Praying Indians* of *Montreal* were of the Party. This Expedition being in the Winter, they were obliged to undergo cruel Fatigues, while they marched on the Snow with snow Shoes, and carried all their Provision on their Backs. Several of the *French* had their Feet frozen, which obliged fifteen to return, with some old *Indians*, that could not bear the Fatigue; and it was with much Difficulty that *Beaucour* could persuade the rest to continue their March. After a March to a surprizing Distance, at that Season of the Year, they surprized eighty of the *Five Nations*, who notwithstanding made a brave Defence, and did not run before they left most of their Men dead on the Spot. Three Women were made Prisoners, with whom the *French* immediately turned back to *Montreal*. Some stragling Parties went towards *Albany*, but did no more Mischief than killing two or three stragling Persons, and alarming the Country.

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

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

CHAP, The *Quasogbics* and the *Bullheads* \* having in-  
 VII. formed the *French* of another smaller River, which  
 falls into *Cadarackui River*, and runs to the North-  
 ward of it, by which a Passage might be made to  
 the Lakes, it was resolved to attempt this Passage,  
 though it were much farther round, and more danger-  
 ous, there being many more rapid Falls in that River.  
 Three Officers, with thirty Soldiers, were sent with  
 the Traders for this Purpose, but a Party of the  
*Five Nations* meeting with them in the long Fall,  
 before they reached this River, they were all killed  
 or taken, except four that escaped back to *Mont-  
 real*.

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

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

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



and many common Soldiers, and they took five Men, nine Women, and five Children Prisoners. CHAP. VII.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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## C H A P. VIII.

*The Five Nations treat with Captain Ingoldsbey.*

**T**HE Governor of *New-York*, Colonel *Slaugh-* C H A P. VIII.  
*ter's* Death, soon after his Arrival, was very  
 prejudicial to the Affairs of *New-York*; for Captain  
*Ingoldsbey*, who had no other Commission but that of  
 Captain of one of the Independent Companies of  
 Foot,

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

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

The *Five Nations* answered by *Gbedá*, an *Oneydo* CHAP.  
*Sachem* : VIII.

“ *Brother Corlear*,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAP.  
VIII.

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

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

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

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

*The History of the*

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

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

## C H A P. IX.

*The French surpris and take three Mohawk Castles.*

CHAP. IX. **T**HE *Praying Indians* promised their Endeavours to reconcile their Brethren the *Mohawks* to the *French*, on whom the *French* expected they would have much Influence; but their Endeavours proving ineffectual, their Correspondence began to be suspected. The *French* thought they did more Hurt than Good, by the Intelligence the Enemy by their Means received. The *French* in *Canada* began to lose their Spirits, by being obliged to remain so long upon the defensive, as the *Five Nations* gained more Courage by it. The Count *de Frontenac* thought it therefore absolutely necessary to undertake some bold Enterprize, to shew the *Five Nations*, that they had to do with an Enemy still able to act offensively: An Attack on the *Mohawks* he thought would be most effectual for this Purpose, because it would shew, at the same Time, that



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

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

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

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

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

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

When the Account came to *Albany*, how much the *Mobawks*, who were at *Schenectady*, were enraged, that no Assistance was sent to their Countrymen;

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

CHAP. IX. cuted themselves, by felling the Trees between them, and the Enemy sallied out to prevent them, but were soon beat back. The *Indians* fell to Work again, and desired the Christians to assist them, which was done, but in such Confusion, that they themselves were in Danger from the falling Trees. The *French* sallied a second Time with all their Force, crying out, *They run, we'll cut them off, and get their Provisions*; but they were warmly received, and beat back into their Fort. They sallied a third Time, and were beat back with considerable Loss, the *Indians* bringing in several Heads and Scalps. As soon as the Skirmishing was over, the Major sent back an Express, to hasten the Men that were to reinforce him, and were to bring Provision, some of the Men having had no Provision for two Days. The Major then secured himself, under the Cover of the fallen Trees, and kept out Watches to observe the *French*.

The 18th proving a cold stormy Day, with Snow, he was informed, by a Defeater, that the *French* were upon their March, it not being easy to follow their Tracks, or to discover them in such Weather. The Officers were commanded to pursue and retard their March, till the Reinforcement should come up, but the Men refused to march without Provision. The Officers, with about 60 Men, and a Body of *Indians*, followed the Enemy till Night, when they began to secure themselves, by fortifying their Camp. The Officers wanting a sufficient Number to secure themselves in like Manner, or to fight the Enemy, returned, leaving about forty Christians, and one hundred *Indians*, to observe them. On the 19th the Provisions, with about 80 Men, arrived, under the Command of Captain *Sims* of the regular Troops. Every Man, as he was served with Provision, marched towards the Enemy. The Van was commanded by Captain *Peter Matthews* of the regular Troops, who coming up

up with the Enemy's Rear, would have attacked them, to retard their March, but the *Mohawks* were averse to fighting. The *French* dropt on purpose several of their Prisoners, who told the *Mohawks*, that the *French* were resolved to put all the Prisoners to the Sword, if they should be attacked. The Enemy passed the North Branch of *Hudson's* River upon a Cake of Ice, which, very opportunely for them, stuck there in one Place, while it was open by a late Thaw, both above and below. The Weather continuing very cold, and the *Indians* averse to fighting, Major *Schuyler* gave over the Pursuit on the 20th, having lost only four private Men, and as many *Indians*, two Officers and twelve Men Christians and *Indians* were wounded. The *French* lost thirty three Men (the Bodies, of twenty seven were found) of whom four were Officers, and twenty-six wounded, as the Deserters told him. Between forty and fifty Prisoners were recovered. I have been told, that Captain *Matthews* desired Coll. *Schuyler*, when he came first up with the *French*, to summon them to surrender; he said, the *French* are in great Distress, and this will give them an Opinion of our Strength; but Coll. *Schuyler* refused, tho' he was brave, he was no Soldier; and it is very probable, that the *French* observing the want of Conduct and Discipline, were encouraged. It is true, the *English* were in great Want of Provisions at that Time. The *Indians* eat the Bodies of the *French* that they found. Coll. *Schuyler* (as he told me himself) going among the *Indians* at that Time, was invited to eat Broth with them, which some of them had ready boiled, which he did, till they, putting the Ladle into the Kettle to take out more, brought out a *French* Man's Hand, which put an End to his Appetite.

The *French* went home as fast as they could carry their wounded Men with them; but coming to a Place, where they had hid Provisions for their Sup-

CHAP. IX. ply in their return, they found it all spoiled. This put them in great Distress, so that they were forced to eat their Shoes; they sent some of the nimblest Men forward to *Monreal*, that Provision might meet them. As soon as they came near the Settlements they dispersed, every Man running home to eat, so that they returned to *Canada* like an Army routed. The *French* own they lost eighty Men, and had thirty three wounded in this Expedition.

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

When the Information of the *French* came to *Sabeneetady*, an Express was sent to *New-York* to Coll. *Fletcher* then Governor there; the Express reached *New-York*, an hundred and fifty Miles from *Albany*, the 12th at ten in the Night. The Governor got the City Regiment under Arms by eight the next Morning.

He called out to know who were willing to go with him to the Frontiers, they all immediately threw up their Hats, and answered one and all. Indeed the People of this Province have, upon all Occasions, shewn their Courage and Resolution in Defence of their Country; but the Misfortune is, they are under no Discipline, and have been seldom led by Men that knew their Duty. The Governor order-

dered an hundred and fifty Volunteers for this Service, and as many more from *Long-Island*. The River then happened to be open by a sudden Thaw, which does not, at that Time of the Year, happen once in twenty Years. He embarked three hundred Men in five Sloops, by four in the Afternoon of the 14th, and arrived at *Albany* the 17th. at nine in the Morning. The same Day the Governor went to *Schenectady*, and ordered the Men to follow, but before they could get every Thing ready for their March into the Woods, they had an Account, that Major *Schuyler* was upon his Return. Several Gentlemen of *Albany*, particularly Mr. *Lanslear*, a Gentleman of the best Estate there, went out Volunteers under Major *Schuyler*, which I ought not to have forgot.

Coll. *Fletcher* made a Speech to the *Mobawks* at *Albany*, he blamed their supine Negligence, in suffering themselves to be surpris'd in the Manner they were in Time of War. He told them that they had Reason to be convinced, that the *English* were their Friends heartily, by the Number of Men he had marched to their Assistance in a very little Time, upon the first Notice. He promised to wipe away their Tears in the Spring, by considerable Presents; and that he would, in the mean while, take Care of their Subsistence, by providing Houses and Victuals for them. He told them, he doubted they had some false Brethren among them, that gave the *French* Information, and favoured their Designs; and in the last Place, advised them to convince the *French*, that they had not lost their Courage with this Misfortune.

The *Mobawks*, in their Answer, called Coll. *Fletcher* by the Name of *Cayenguirago*; and he was called so by the *Indians* always after this. It signifies a great swift Arrow, as an Acknowledgement of the Speed he made to their Assistance. But they appeared, in their Answer, to be quite disheartned; they had not, in the Memory of any Man, received

*The HISTORY of the*

ceived such a Blow. They said their Strength was quite broke, by the Continuance of the War; but they added, if all the *English* Colonies would join, they could still easily take *Canada*: Their being so ill armed, was the Reason (they said) that the *French* had now escaped.

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

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

C H A P. X.

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

CHAP. X. AS by this Time the Reader may be tired with the horrid Scenes of a barbarous War, it may be some Relief to observe the *Indian* Genius in the Arts of negotiating; and see how a barbarous People, without



out any of the Arts and Sciences in which we value CH A P. our selves, manage their Interest with the most learned, most polite, and artificial Nation in Europe. IX. The *Five Nations* were informed, that the Governor of *Canada* had received from *Europe* a very considerable Recruit of Soldiers, and of all Sorts of Ammunition. This, with the great Loss the *Mohawks* had lately suffered, while they had been amused by the *English* with great Hopes, and very little real Assistance, made the *Oneydes*, at last yield to the Solicitations of the Jesuit *Milet*, to send a Message to the *French* for Peace. It is probable he had the Art to influence the People at *Albany* to favour his Designs, by giving them Hopes of being included in the Peace, as may be conjectured, from what will appear in the Sequel.

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

He first excused his not meeting them as he had promised, at the Time the Sap begins to run in the Trees, by Reason of his having received a Commission to be Governor of *Pensilvania*, to which Place he was obliged at that Time to go. He put them in Mind with what Speed he came to their Assistance last Winter, and how effectual, in all Probability, it would have been, had they only retarded the Enemy's March till he could have reached them: He advised them to guard against being drunk, and shewed them the ill Consequences of it in Time of War.

Then he said, " I have received Information, " that some of the Brethren are wavering, and " inclined to Peace with the Enemy; and am assured, that such Thoughts must arise from the " Instigation of the Jesuit *Milet*, whom some of " the Brethren have suffered to live so long among " them, and whose only Practice is to delude and " betray

CHAP. "betray them. Let me therefore advise you to  
X. "remove that ill Person from among you."

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

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

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

Brother *Cayenguirago*,

"We are involved in a bloody War, which makes us sit in Sorrow and Grief; and being about to speak of Matters of Importance, we, in the first Place, clear the Mouth and Throat of our Interpreters, by giving her these three Beaver Skins.

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

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

"We are glad that our Brother *Cayenguirago* renews the Chain, not only between us and this Government, but likewise with *New-England*, *Virginia*, *Maryland* and *Pensylvania*; it shall be kept inviolable by us the *Five Nations*, as long as the Sun shines. We pray our Brother *Cayenguirago*

“ *guirago* to have a watchful Eye, that none  
 “ of the other Colonies keep any Correspondence  
 “ with the Enemy, but use their Endeavours to de-  
 “ stroy them. We heard nothing of what you  
 “ told us of the Priest *Milet*, who lives at *Oneydo*,  
 “ till we came to this Town. We have enquired  
 “ the Truth of our Brethren the *Oneydoes*, who con-  
 “ fess, that the Priest sent an *Indian* to *Canada* with  
 “ Letters, which has surpris'd us very much.

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

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

“ Brother *Cayenguirago*, we were told in our own  
 “ Country, not only that the King had made you  
 “ Governor of *Pensylvania*, but likewise that you  
 “ were preparing a Fleet to take *Canada*. O! what  
 “ joyful News this was to our young Men. *Sadaga-*  
 “ *rus*, the great *Seneka* Captain, was to command  
 “ them. Now they said, we need only make one,  
 “ hearty

CHAP. " hearty Push, while the Fleet is before *Qybeck*.

X. " Now there will be an End to this bloody War,  
 " and all our Troubles; But alas, now we are come  
 " here, we hear not one Word of this Design.

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

" Brother *Coynguirago*, we are very glad to hear  
 " that *Pensilvania* is come under your Government,  
 " bring their young Men here, with their Bows and  
 " Arrows and Hatchets in their Hands, for this  
 " is the Place of Action. We are pleased that  
 " the *Showonons* or *Satanas*, who are our Enemies,  
 " have applied to you for Protection; and that you  
 " sent them to us to endeavour a Peace, and that  
 " you sent Christians with them, to conduct them  
 " back again. We wish they were come to assist us  
 " against the common Enemy.

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

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

Coll. *Fletcher* not being satisfied with their Answer,  
 concerning the Jesuit *Milet*, made this further  
 Proposal to them. " As to *Milet* the Priest, whom  
 " the Brethren of *Onydo* still harbour among them.

“ I must tell you again, that he betrays you, and  
 “ all your Councils; and that you may see I desire  
 “ not to diminish your Number, I am willing to  
 “ give you a pretty *Indian Boy*; in Lieu of the  
 “ old Priest; and accordingly the Boy was brought  
 “ and delivered to them. ...

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

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

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

Notwithstanding what the Speaker of the *Five*  
*Nations* had promised to the Governor, to bring all  
 the Papers the *Oneyda Messenger* should bring from  
*Canada*, before the Jesuit *Milet* should have Li-  
 berty to see them, it could not be difficult for the  
 Jesuit, to persuade them to keep the Power of  
 making Peace in their own Hands, and for that  
 Purpose, to call a Meeting of the *Sachems* of *Onor-*  
*dago*,

CHAP. *daga*, where all such Matters had been formerly  
 X. transacted among themselves, and there to deter-  
 mine independently, rather than to submit them-  
 selves to another Nation at *Albany*. They only  
 invited the *English* to assist at the general Council.  
 The *English* used what Arguments they could to  
 dissuade this Meeting, but rather to observe the  
 Promise made to the Governor; and it seems used  
 some Threatning. The *Mohawks* had so much  
 Regard to the *English*, that they refused to assist at  
 the Council. The other four, notwithstanding this,  
 met, and resolved on an Answer to be sent to the  
 Governor of *Canada*; but at the same Time, to shew  
 their Regard to the *Mohawks* and *English*, these Re-  
 solutions were not to be final, till they should first  
 be communicated to the *English* and *Mohawks*, and  
 their Advice received thereon; for which Purpose  
 several *Sachems* were sent to *Albany*, of whom *De-*  
*canesora* was the Principal and the Speaker.

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

taken against their Advice, and contrary to their Interest. CHAP. X.

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

“ Brother *Cayenguirago* \*, we are come to acquaint you, that our Children the *Oneydoes* having of themselves sent a Messenger to *Canada*, he has brought back with him a Belt of Peace from the Governor of *Canada*.

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

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

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

CHAP. " I have Orders from the King my Master to grant  
 X. " you Peace, if you come in your proper Persons  
 " to talk it. The Governor of *Canada* afterwards  
 " said,

" Children of the *Five Nations*, I have Compassion for your little Children, therefore come speedily, and speak of Peace to me, otherwise I'll stop my Ears for the future: By all Means let *Decansers* come, for if the *Mohawks* come alone, I will not hear them, some of all the *Five Nations* must come. Now *Tariba* return home, and tell the *Five Nations*, that I will wait for their coming till the Trees bud, and the Bark can be parted from the Trees. I design for *France* in the Spring, and I leave a Gentleman to command here, to whom I have given Orders to raise Soldiers, if you do not come in that Time, and then what will become of you? I am truly grieved to see the *Five Nations* so debauched and deceived by *Cayonguirago*, who is lately come to *New-York*, and by *Quider*. Formerly the chief Men of the *Five Nations* used to converse with me; but this Governor of *New-York* has so deluded you, that you hearken to none but him; but take Care of what will follow, if you hearken to none but him."

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

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

That



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

“ The four Nations that met there resolved to  
 “ send Deputies to *Canada*, and that I *Desansora* was  
 “ to be one of them; but at the same Time ordered  
 “ me, with some others, to communicate the Re-  
 “ solutions of the General Council to our Brethren  
 “ at *Albany*, and to the *Mohawks*, to be farther  
 “ advised by them.

“ The Resolutions are, to send three Belts to  
 “ the Governor of *Canada*, with the following Pro-  
 “ positions.

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

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

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

“ When this was concluded the Jesuit *Milet*,  
 “ and another *French* Gentleman (who had been)  
 “ taken

CHAP. " taken Prisoner, and was taken into the Place of  
 X. " the chief *Sachem* of *Onondaga*, formerly lost in  
 " the War, and thereby became a *Sachem*) de-  
 " fired Leave to add two Belts to the other three.  
 " By their being *Sachems* they had a Vote in the  
 " General Council; and a Right to propose any  
 " Thing. They wrote and read to us the Pur-  
 " ports of their Belts, and we have brought their  
 " Papers with us, to shew to our Brethren."

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

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

The Jesuit's Papers being read to them, several Things were found in them which he had not read to the General Council. To this *Decanesera* answered ; " We know that the Priest favours his  
 " own Nation, and deceives us in many Things ;  
 " but

“ but it is not in his Power to alter our Affection  
 “ to our Brethren, we wish you would bury all  
 “ Misunderstandings that you have conceived on  
 “ his Account; and we likewise wish you gave  
 “ less Credit to the Rum-Carriers than you do.”

CHAP.  
 X.

Here we see, by this Appellation, what a contemptible Character the Traders have among the *Indians*, and yet the Government of *New-York* has almost perpetually trusted the Management of the *Indian* Affairs to these Traders.

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

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

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

M

Major

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

*Desanejora* answered to this, " I have no Authority to answer this Question. I shall lay the Belt down in every one of the Castles, and tell, that by it all Correspondence is desired to stop with the *French*; but I cannot promise that this will be complied with."

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

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

we can go. We desire at least, that if you will not send a Messenger, that you put the Message in Writing, as a Token of your Assent to it. This last was agreed to, and the Message was put in Writing in the following Words, and translated into *French*.

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

*First Belt.*

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

*Second Belt.*

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

*Third Belt.*

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

These Belts were accordingly presented to the *Praying Indians* of *Cabnuaga*, who refused to receive them but in the Presence of *Mr. de Callieres*,

CHAP. Governor of *Montreal*. Mr. de *Callieres* acquainted  
 X. ed the Count de *Frontenac* with the Contents. Af-  
 ter which the *Praying Indians*, in Presence of Mr.  
 de *Callieres*, gave the following Answer.

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

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

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

“ this. The Reason of our doing It is truly this, CHAP.  
 “ we are afraid of the Enemy. X.

“ When a Messenger came last Year from *Canada*  
 “ to *Onondaga*, our Brother *Cayenguirago* discharged  
 “ our Meeting in General Council at *Onondaga*, to  
 “ consult on that Message, and ordered us to hold  
 “ our General Council here at *Albany* on that Af-  
 “ fair. The Privilege of meeting in General Coun-  
 “ cil, when we please, is a Privilege we always  
 “ have enjoyed ; no former Governor, of the Name  
 “ of *Corlear*, ever obstructed this Privilege. We  
 “ planted a Tree of Peace in this Place with them,  
 “ its Roots and Branches extend as far as *Virginia*  
 “ and *New-England*, and we have reposed with  
 “ Pleasure under its Shade. Brother, let us keep  
 “ to that first Tree, and let us be united and u-  
 “ nanimous ; such Prohibition of our Assemblies  
 “ will be of ill Consequence, and occasion Diffe-  
 “ rences between us.

“ We acknowledge, I say, our sending Agents  
 “ to *Canada* for Peace, we were encouraged in do-  
 “ ing this, by the Knowledge we have of the Go-  
 “ vernor of *Canada*. He is an old Man, and was  
 “ formerly Governor of that Place. He was always  
 “ esteemed a wise peaceable Man, and therefore  
 “ we trust our Message will have a good Issue. We  
 “ did not take it amiss that you sent to the *Dewa-*  
 “ *gunbas*, nor that *Arnout* was sent to the *Sata-*  
 “ *nas*, both of them our Enemies ; and, for the  
 “ same Reason, our Brother *Cayenguirago* ought  
 “ not to be displeas'd with our sending to the *French*  
 “ for Peace.

“ We, *Onondagas*, acknowledge ourselves to  
 “ have been the chief Promoters of this Message,  
 “ we have sent in all nine *Sachems* with nine Belts.  
 “ It is true we are now under much Uneasiness in  
 “ having trusted so many *Sachems* in the *French*

CHAP. " Hands, being almost half the Number we have  
 X. " in our Nation, but we were in haste to prevent  
 " the Designs the *French* had against our Countries  
 " and yours, by the great warlike Preparations they  
 " were making in *Canada*."

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

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

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

" As to the *Dewarunbas* and *Showmons*, we are confident *Cayenguirago* will not admit them into his Government, till they have made Peace with us, which we shall willingly grant. When our Enemies are humbled, and beg Peace, why should  
 " they



“ they not have it? Let them come and live with  
 “ us, it will strengthen our Country. C H A P.  
X.

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

“ The only Reason, to be plain with you, continu-  
 “ ed he, of our sending to make Peace with the *French*,  
 “ is the low Condition to which we are reduced, while  
 “ none of our Neighbours send us the least Assist-  
 “ ance, so that the whole Burthen of the War lies  
 “ on us alone. Our Brethren of *New-England, Con-*  
 “ *necticut, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia*, of  
 “ their own accord thrust their Arms into our  
 “ Chain; but since the War began we have receiv-  
 “ ed no Assistance from them. We alone cannot

CH A. P. “ continue the War against the *French*, by Reason of  
 X. “ the Recruits they daily receive from the other Side  
 “ the great Lake.

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

“ Brother *Cayenguirago*, I have truly told you the  
 “ Reasons which have induced us to offer Peace to  
 “ the *French*; we shall likewise, from the Bottom  
 “ of our Hearts, inform you of the Design we  
 “ have in this Treaty. When the Governor of  
 “ *Canada* shall have accepted the nine Belts, of which  
 “ I have just now told you, then we shall have  
 “ something more to say by two large Belts, which  
 “ lye still hid in our Bosom. We shall lay down  
 “ first one and say, We have a Brother *Cyenguirago*,  
 “ with whose People we have been united in  
 “ one Chain from the Beginning, they must be in-  
 “ cluded in this Treaty; we cannot see them in-  
 “ volved in bloody War, while we sit in easy Peace.  
 “ If the Governor of *Canada* answer, that he has  
 “ made a separate Peace with us, and that he can-  
 “ not make any Peace with *Cayenguirago*, because  
 “ the War is from over the great Lake; then we  
 “ shall lay down the second great broad Belt, and  
 “ tell the Governor of *Canada*, if you will not in-  
 “ clude *Cayenguirago's* People, the Treaty will be-  
 “ come thereby void, as if it had never been  
 “ made; and if he persists, we will absolutely leave  
 “ him.”

While

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

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

Colonel *Fletcher* being sensible of what Consequence this Treaty between the *French* and *Five Nations* might be of to all the *English* Colonies, gave them Notice of it, and informed them of the Reasons which had induced the *Indians* to enter in-

to

CHAP. X. to it. He told them, there was no Possibility of preventing it, but by the *Indians* being assured of more effectual Assistance, than they had hitherto received, and advised them to send Commissioners for that Purpose to *Albany* in *August*, at which Time he intended to meet the *Five Nations* there, after the Return of their Messengers from *Canada*. Accordingly, *Andrew Hamilton*, Esq; Governor of *New-Jersey*, Colonel *John Pinckon*, *Samuel Sands*, Esq; and Major *Pen Townsend*, Commissioners from *Massachusetts's Bay*, and Colonel *John Hauley* and Captain *Stanley*, Commissioners from *Connecticut*, waited on Colonel *Fletcher* at *Albany*, who carried with him likewise a Part of the Council of *New-York*.

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

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

“ while we grow lean: They flourish while we do CHAP. X.  
 “ cay.

“ This Chain made us the Envy of the *French*,  
 “ and if all had held it as fast as *Coyenguirago*, it  
 “ would have been a Terror also. If we would  
 “ all heartily join and take the Hatchet in our  
 “ Hand, our common Enemy would soon be de-  
 “ stroyed, and we should for ever after live in Peace  
 “ and Ease. Do you but your Parts, and Thunder  
 “ itself cannot break our Chain.”

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

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

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

“ Father, if we do not conclude a Peace now, it will be your Fault; for we have already taken the Hatchet out of the Hands of the *River Indians* (*Hudson's River*) whom we incited to the  
 “ War”

CHAP. " War. But we must tell you, that you are an ill  
 X. " Man, you are inconstant and not to be trusted ;  
 " we have had War together a long Time, and  
 " though you occasioned the War, we never hated  
 " the House of *Ogbeffa*, (a Gentleman living at  
 " *Montreal*) let him undertake the toilsome Jour-  
 " ney to *Onondaga* ; for if he will he shall be wel-  
 " come.  
 " Father, we are now speaking of Peace, and  
 " therefore I must speak a Word to the *Praying In-*  
 " *dians*, and first to those of *Cabnaaga* (chiefly *Mo-*  
 " *bowks*) you know our Customs and Manners,  
 " therefore make *Onondio* acquainted therewith, and  
 " be assisting in the prosecuting of this good Work.  
 " Then to the other Castle, called *Canassadaga*,  
 " (chiefly *Onondagas*) you are worse than the *French*  
 " themselves, you deserted from us, and side with  
 " our Enemies to destroy us ; make some amends  
 " now, by forwarding Peace.  
 " You have almost eat us up, our best Men are  
 " killed in this bloody War ; but we now forget  
 " what is past. Before this we once threw the  
 " Hatchet into the River of *Kaibobage*,\* but you  
 " fished it up, and treacherously surprised our Peo-  
 " ple at *Cadarackui*. After this you sent to us to  
 " have our Prisoners restored ; then the Hatchet  
 " was thrown up to the Sky, but you kept a String  
 " fastened to the Helve, and pulled it down, and  
 " fell upon our People again. This we revenged  
 " to some Purpose, by the Destruction of your Peo-  
 " ple and Houses in the Island of *Montreal*.  
 " Now we are come to cover the Blood from our  
 " Sight, which has been shed by both Sides during  
 " this long War.

\* The *French* call it *la Famine*, near *O'swego*. The Treaty with *Mr. de la Bar* was made there.

“ *Onondio*, we have been at War a long Time, we  
 “ now give you a Medicine to drive away all ill  
 “ Thoughts from your Heart, to purge it and make  
 “ it clean, and restore it to its former State. CHAP. X.

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

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

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

“ The

CHAP. " The Governor of *Canada* insisted three Days to  
 X. " have Hostages left, which I refused, but two a-  
 " greeing of their own accord to stay, they were  
 " left, viz. one an *Onondago*, another a *Seneka*.  
 " Then the Governor of *Canada* made the follow-  
 " ing publick Answer :

" I. I accept of Peace as you offer.

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

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

" After this the Governor of *Canada* delivered  
 " me a Belt, which I now lay down before you ;  
 " by it he said, desire *Cayenguirago* to send a wife  
 " Man to me, and he shall have Protection accord-  
 " ing to the Custom of Christians ; and added,  
 " Children of the *Five Nations*, if *Cayenguirago*  
 " shall employ you to do any Service for him, do  
 " not accept of it, let him send his own People."  
*Decanesora* added, that the Governor of *Canada* had  
 fixed eighty Days for a Return to this Belt.

He continued and said, " The *Sachems* of the  
 " *Dionondadies* were present ; after I had finished  
 " my Speech, they said ; May what you have now  
 " said be from your Hearts ; we suspect you are not  
 " sincere ; let us no longer feel the Smart of the  
 " Hatchet, and gave this Belt which I now lay  
 " down.

" The *Praying Indians* next said, Brethren,  
 " our Father *Onondio* has told you to bring Home  
 " all the Prisoners, do not fail in this ; giving two  
 " Belts.

" Brother *Cayenguirago*, you will find what I have  
 " now said confirmed by this Paper, which the Go-  
 " vernor



“ verner of *Canada* gave me. I brought Letters  
 “ likewise for the Jesuit *Milet*, who was to read the  
 “ Paper to us.” The Paper contained the Articles  
 in *French*, in which the Governor of *Canada* was  
 willing to make Peace. C H A P.  
X.

But besides what *Decanofora* here tells, the *French*  
 Accounts say, that he brought two Belts under-  
 ground (that is privately) from three *Onondaga Sa-*  
*chems*, to assure the Governor of *Canada* of their  
 particular Affection, which the Governor of *Canada*  
 answered, by a private Belt to them.

As soon as *Decanofora* had done speaking, Colonel  
*Fletcher* rejected the Belt sent by the Governor of  
*Canada*, saying; If the Governor of *Canada* have  
 any Thing to say to me, let him send some of  
 his People to *Albany*, and they shall have Protec-  
 tion.

Next Day *Sadekanabtie*, after he had sung a long  
 Song, gave the following Account of their Negotia-  
 tions with the *Devaagunbas* and *Dionondadies*, which  
 they had undertaken by the Governor's Advice.

“ We were afraid, says he, to send Messengers  
 “ of our own People, and therefore we employed  
 “ two Prisoners we had of the *Dionondadies* with  
 “ the Governor's Belt. Some time after this, some  
 “ of the *Senekas* hunting near the *Dionondadies*, two  
 “ of them were taken; but when they were car-  
 “ ried to the *Dionondadie* Castle, they were not  
 “ treated like Prisoners; they were used kind-  
 “ ly, and sent back with the following Offers of  
 “ Peace.

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

“ We are glad of this Opportunity to tell you,  
 “ that we have been both drunk in making War on  
 “ one

CHAP. " one another ; we now give you a Cordial to ease  
 X. " your Hearts, that there be no longer War between  
 " us, by this Belt.

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

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

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

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

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

" Brethren, we put the Hatchet into the Hands  
 " of the *Chightagbies*, *Twitbtwies*, and *Odfrachies*,  
 " to war against you ; but we shall in three Days  
 " go to these Nations and take the Hatchet out of  
 " their Hands ; giving half a Stone Pipe.

" You *Senekas* are stupid Creatures, we must  
 " therefore warn you not to hunt so far from your  
 " Castles, lest you be hurt by any of these three  
 " Nations

“ Nations, and then blame us. They then gave  
 “ the other half of the Pipe. CH A P.  
X.

“ But Brother *Cayenguirago*, says *Sadakabnitie*, do  
 “ not suffer these Nations to come nearer than the  
 “ *Senekas* Country, lest they discover our Weak-  
 “ nefs, and to what a low Condition the War has  
 “ reduced us. These Nations have been so long  
 “ in Friendship with the *French*, and are so much  
 “ under their Influence, that we cannot trust them  
 “ yet, or be too much upon our Guard against  
 “ them.”

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

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

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

CHAP. added, if you permit the *French* to build any where  
 X. on that Lake, there will be an End to your Liberty,  
 your Posterity will become Slaves to the *French*.  
 If ever you should permit them, I will look on it as  
 an absolute Breach of the Chain with us: If the  
*French* attempt it give me Notice, and I will march  
 the whole Force of my Government to your Assistance.  
 We shall find afterwards, however, that the Government  
 of *New-York* was far from making good this Promise.

The Governor told them, that they had lost much  
 of their Honour in creeping to the *French*, in such  
 an abject Manner; for, says he, the Governor of  
*Canada's* Paper, which you brought with you, says,  
 that you came in the most humble and penitent  
 Manner, and begged Peace. To which they answered,  
 the Governor of *Canada* has no Reason to make  
 such Reflexions, we have many of his Belts  
 to shew, by which he again and again sued to us  
 for Peace, before we would hearken to him. But,  
 replies the Governor, how came you to call him  
 Father? For no other Reason, they replied, but because  
 he calls us Children. These Names signify  
 nothing.

They desired the Governor not to say any Thing  
 particularly of *Cadarakui*, in his publick Speech that  
 he was to make next Day, for they had, they said,  
 some among them that would tell all to the Governor  
 of *Canada*; and concluded, with wishing that  
 they had some one, who could write and read all  
 that the Governor had said to them, that they  
 might not forget any Part of it, when they come  
 to consult and resolve on this weighty Affair, at their  
 General Council at *Onondaga*.

Here we see these Barbarians, these Savages, as  
 we call them, acting with the greatest regard to the  
 Treaties they had entered into with their Allies,  
 and

and that at a Time when the Exigences of their own Affairs, and when the faint feeble Assistance, which their Allies had contributed in the common Cause, would, among Christian Potentates, have been thought a sufficient Excuse for their taking Care of themselves separately, in breach of the most solemn Confederacy they could enter into.

CHAP.  
X.

The *Sachems* of the *Five Nations* being met at *Onondaga*, to consult on the Terms offered by the *French*, they were divided in their Opinions; the *Cayugas*, and Part of the *Senekas*, were most favorable to the *French* Proposals; but the major Part was absolutely against allowing the *French* to rebuild a Fort at *Cadarackui*, nor would they consent to include all the *French* Allies in the Treaty, with some of which they had particular Causes of Animosity.

The Party that was most for Peace obtained Leave to go to *Canada*, to try whether they could obtain Terms less disagreeable. They accordingly went thither, within the Time prefixed by the Governor of *Canada*, for an Answer; and to make themselves more acceptable to the *French*, they carried thirteen Prisoners with them, and delivered them up. The Jesuit *Millet* was of this Number, who had been taken in the Year 1689, and one *Janscaire*, who had been long a Prisoner among the *Senekas*: He had been delivered up to a Family of the *Senekas*, that had lost some considerable Relation, and was by them adopted. He ingratiated himself so much with that Nation, that he was advanced to the Rank of a *Sachem*, and preserved their Esteem to the Day of his Death; whereby he became, after the general Peace, very useful to the *French* in all Negotiations with the *Five Nations*, and to this Day they shew their Regard to his Family and Children.

*The HISTORY of the*

When the Governor of *Canada* came to Particulars with these Deputies, he could obtain nothing but ambiguous or dubious Answers, as to the rebuilding of *Cadarackui Fort*, and the including of all the *French Allies* in the Peace. Whereupon he dismissed them with Presents, and made them many fair Promises, in Case of their Compliance; but threatened them with utter Destruction, in Case of their refusing the Terms he had offered. Many of the *French Indian Allies* were present, when the Governor of *Canada* refused any Agreement without his Allies being included in it, and this attached them exceedingly to the *French Interest*. This Regard, which the *French* generally shew for the Interest of their Allies, is a Piece of Policy which, upon all Occasions, proves useful to them; whereas, the Neglect of this Piece of natural Justice has as often been prejudicial to others, who have not had so tender a Sense of it. But it is not so easy for a weak State to keep up its Honour in such Cases, as it is for a powerful Prince.

## C H A P. XI.

*The War renewed. The French repossess themselves of Cadarackui Fort, and find Means to break off the Treaty between the Five Nations and Dionondadies.*

CHAP.  
XI.

THE *Five Nations* refusing to come to the Governor of *Canada's* Terms, he resolved to force them; and as he suspected that they continued obstinate, by the Advice of the *English*, and the Confidence they had of the *English Assistance*, he thought he would most effectually lessen that Confidence,

dence, by attacking and destroying the remainder of the *Mobawks*, who liv'd adjoining to the *English* Settlements. For this Purpose he resolv'd to march, in the Winter, the whole Force of *Canada* against that Nation; but one of the Prisoners learning their Design, made his Escape, and informed the *Mobawks* of it. This made him alter his Measures, knowing well enough, that if the *English* were prepared to receive them, such an Enterprize would only lead those engaged in it to certain Destruction. He then sent three hundred Men into the Neck of Land between *Lake Erie* and *Cadarackui Lake*, the usual hunting Place of the *Five Nations*, in hopes of surprizing them while they hunted carelessly there, and at the same Time to view the old *French* Fort there, to observe in what Condition it remained.

This Party met with three or four Men, who defended themselves obstinately, till they all fell dead on the Spot. They surprized likewise a Cabin, where they took some Men and Women Prisoners; and four of them were publickly burnt alive at *Montreal*. So far the Count *de Frontenac* thought it more proper to imitate the *Indians* in their most savage Cruelties, than to instruct them, by his Example, in the Compassion of the Christian Doctrine. A Party of one hundred and fifty of the *Five Nations* fell upon the *Dewagonbas*, in their Way to *Canada*, and entirely routed them. Ten Prisoners were taken, nine of which were burnt alive, in revenge of the same Fate the four Men of the *Five Nations* had received at *Montreal*.

This Year also some sculking *French* *Indians* murdered some People near *Albany* and *Schenectady*.

The Party sent to view *Cadarackui Fort* found it in a better Condition than they expected, the *Indians* having neglected to demolish and level the Bastions, and probably they had not Instruments sufficient to

CHAP. do it. The Count de Frontenac therefore, in the  
 X. Summer of the Year 1695, sent a considerable Body  
 of Men, both *French* and *Indians*, thither, to repair  
 the Fortifications, and to cover those that should be  
 at work. The *Five Nations*, in *August*, sent Mes-  
 sengers to *Albany*, to acquaint the *English* that the  
*French* had taken Possession of *Cadarackui*, and were  
 repairing of it. They demanded, in Consequence  
 of the Promise Colonel *Fletcher* had given them,  
 the Assistance of five hundred Men and some Canon,  
 which they promised they would draw over Land,  
 where they could not be carried by Water. At the  
 same Time they desired, that the People of *New-  
 England* might be told, that many of the *Owen-  
 agungas* were gone with the *French* to *Cadarackui*,  
 and that this was a proper Time to fall upon  
 those that remained, and to destroy them, and the  
 Women and Children.

Coll. *Fletcher* came to *Albany* in *September*; there,  
 in a Speech to the *Five Nations*, he blamed them  
 for being asleep, when they suffered the *French* to  
 take Possession of *Cadarackui*; it would have been  
 much easier, he said, to have prevented their get-  
 ting the Possession, than to drive them out, now  
 they are in it, especially as now you yourselves  
 are convinced, that it is impossible to carry Cannon  
 thither from this Place. All, says he, I can now  
 do, is to advise you to invest the Place with your Par-  
 ties, so as to prevent their receiving any Supply of  
 Provisions: By this Means you may force them to  
 desert it. Then he gave them 1000 Pound of  
 Powder, two Thousand Pound of Lead, 57 Fuses,  
 one Hundred Hatchets, three Hundred and forty  
 eight Knives, and two Thousand Flints, besides  
 Cloathing, &c. But in my Opinion, the Government  
 of *New-York* have, on all Occasions, been exceeding-  
 ly to be blamed, in not having some Men of Experi-  
 ence



ence among the *Five Nations* to advise and direct them on all Emergencies of Importance. The *French* are very careful of this, and the *Officers* of the regular Troops are obliged to take their Tours among their *Indians*, while the Captains of the independent Companies of Fusiliers at *New-York* live like military Monks, in Idleness and Luxury.

CHAP.  
XI.

The *French* gained a great Advantage, by possessing this Place, as it is of great Security to their Traders, in their passing between *Montreal* and *Mississimakinak*. It served likewise as a Place of Stores, and Retreat in all their Enterprises against the *Five Nations*, that Place being nearly about half Way between *Montreal* and the Country of the *Five Nations*. It likewise exposed the *Five Nations* in their hunting, to the Incurfions of that Garifon, by its being in the Neighbourhood of their principal hunting Place for Bever.

The *French* grew exceedingly uneasy, when they found, that the *Dionondadies*, who live near *Mississimakinak*, had almost concluded a Peace with the *Five Nations*, and that the rest of their Allies were like to follow their Example: Some of these Nations had been at *Montreal*, and at their Return forwarded the Peace, that thereby they might be at Liberty to go to *Albany*; for they informed their Neighbours, that the *Five Nations* had intirely shut up the Path to *Montreal*; and besides that, the *French* were not in a Condition to supply them, for they had nothing for themselves, not so much as a Drop of strong Spirits. If these Nations had, at that Time, deserted the *French*, it might probably have put an End to the *French* Colony; for as the Lands of *Canada* barely produce sufficient for the Subsistence of its Inhabitants, the only Means they have of purchasing Cloathing and other Necessaries is by their Trade with the *Indians*. The *French*

CHAP. likewise had been in Danger of greater Mischief by  
 XI. the Peace, for these Nations being at War with the  
*Five Nations*, and lying on the Back of them, obliged the *Five Nations* to keep always a very considerable Part of their Force at home, to defend themselves against these Nations, and to revenge the Injuries they received from them; but if the Peace had been concluded with these Nations, the *Five Nations* could have turned their whole Force against *Canada*, and probably might have persuaded these Nations to have joined with them in warring on the *French*.

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

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

their receiving again Prisoners which had been taken by the *Five Nations*, gave the Commandant sufficient Ground to suspect what was doing. The *Dionondadies* at last took seven Men of the *Five Nations* Prisoners, and carried them to *Misslimakinak*. The *French* perceiving, by their Manner of bringing them in, that the *Dionondadies* intended to treat them with the Civility they had lately used to others, murdered two of them with their Knives as they stept ashore. On this the *Dionondadies* immediately took to their Arms, saved the other Five, and carried them safe to their Castle; and continuing in Arms, threatened Revenge for the Insult they had received.

The *French* were forced in like Manner to stand to their Arms, and as there are always many different Nations at *Misslimakinak* trading, some of which were inveterate Enemies of the *Five Nations*, they joined with the *French*. The *Utawawas* stood neuter. This gave the Commandant Means of ending the Dispute by Composition. He in the first Place assured them, that the Christians abhorred all Manner of Cruelty, and then told them, that as the *French* shared with the *Dionondadies* in all the Dangers and Losses sustained by the War, they ought in like Manner to partake with them in any Advantage. The *Dionondadies* on this were persuaded to deliver up one of the Prisoners. What I am about to relate, I think, gives Room to charge the *French* with a Piece of Policy, not only inconsistent with the Christian Religion, but likewise with the Character of a polite People; and that all Considerations from Religion, Honour, and Virtue, must give Way to the present Exigencies of their Affairs. That an End might be put to the Beginnings of a Reconciliation between these People and the *Five Nations*, the *French* gave a publick Invitation to feast on the Soup to be made on this Prisoner, and, in a more particular

Manner,

C H A P.  
XI.

## C H A P. XII.

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

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

It is to be observed, that it is impossible to pass the vast Forests between the Countries of the *Five Nations* with Waggons, or other Carriages, or on Horseback, or even on Foot, in the summer Time, by Reason of many impassible thick Swamps and Morasses. For this Reason, the only Method of travelling

travelling is in Bark Canoes, or very light Battoes, along the Rivers, which may be easily carried on Men's Shoulders, where the Stream of the River becomes too rapid, and from one River to another; for which Purpose the shortest Passes are always chosen, and are called, for this Reason, Carrying Places.

The Count *de Frontenac* marched from *la Chine*, in the south End of the Island of *Montreal*, the fourth of *July*. He divided five hundred *Indians* so, that the greatest Number of them should always be in the Van, which consisted of two Battalions of the regular Troops. They were followed by the Canoes which carried the Provisions. The Van was commanded by the *Chevalier de Callieres*, Governor of *Montreal*; he had with him two large Battoes, which carried two small Pieces of Cannon, small Mortars, Granadoes, and the Utensils of the Artillery. The Count *de Frontenac* was at the Head of the main Body, accompanied by the Engineer and several Gentlemen Volunteers. The Body consisted of four Battalions of the Militia, who, in War with *Indians*, were then more depended on than the regular Troops; these were commanded by *Monsieur Ramsay*, Governor of *Trois Rivieres*. The Rear, which consisted of two Battalions of regular Troops, and of the rest of the *Indians*, was under the Command of the *Chevalier de Vaudreuil*. All the *Indians* had *French* Officers set over them.

In this Order the Army marched, only those that were in the Van one Day, were in the Rear the next; and they always kept a Number of *Indians* on the Scout, to discover the Tracks of the Enemy, for fear of Ambuscades. And when they were obliged to carry the Canoes, and drag the large Battoes, several Parties were detached to cover the Men that worked.

After

CHAP. After twelve Days March they arrived at *Cadarackui Fort*, one hundred eighty Miles from *Montreal*. Here they waited for the *Utawawas*, who disappointed them; and in the mean Time raised a Bark, which had remained sunk since *Cadarackui Fort* was deserted. They crossed over *Cadarackui Lake* to *Onondaga River* (now *Obfwega*). This River being narrow and rapid, they ordered fifty Men to march on each Side of it, to prevent their being surpris'd, and the Army moved slowly along the River, according to the Intelligence they received from their Scouts. They found a Tree, as they passed along, on which the *Indians* had, in their Manner, painted the *French Army*, and had laid by it two Bundles of cut Rushes. This was a Defiance in the *Indian Manner*, and to tell them by the Number of Rushes, that fourteen hundred thirty four Men would meet them. The *French* passed the little Lake, between *Obfwega* and *Onondaga*, in Order of Battle; and the two Wings, to prevent their being surpris'd, and to make the Place of their Landing more uncertain to the Enemy, took a Circuit along the Coast. As soon as they had landed they rais'd a Fort. A *Seneka*, who had been some time a Prisoner in *Canada*, and pretended an Attachment to the *French*, was sent out to make a Discovery. He deserted to the *Onondagas*. He found them waiting for the *French*, with a Resolution to defend their Castle, and to fight the *French*; for which Purpose they had sent away their Women and Children. The *Seneka* told them that the *French Army* was as numerous as the Leaves on the Trees; that they had Machines which threw Balls up in the Air, and which falling on their Castle burst to Pieces, and spread Fire and Death every where, against which their Stockadoes could be of no Defence. This was confirm'd by another *Seneka*, who deserted. Upon which the *Onondagas* thought it most

most advisable to retire, leaving their poor Fort and bark Cottages all in Flames.

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After the General had an Account of this, he marched to their Village in Order of Battle. The Army was divided into two Lines: The first commanded by the Chevalier *de Callieres*, who placed himself on the Left, consisted of two Battalions of the Inhabitants in the Center, and a Battalion of the regular Troops on each Wing. The Artillery followed them. Most of the *Indians* of this Division were upon the Right, who continually sent out Scouts. The second Line was commanded by the Chevalier *de Vaudreuil*, composed of the same Number of Battalions, and in the same Order. The Count *de Frontenac* was carried in a Chair directly after the Artillery. But it was impossible for them to keep their Order, in passing through thick Woods, and in passing Brooks. In this formidable Manner the aged General marched up to the Ashes of the Village, and his Army exerted their Fury on the *Indian* Corn, which covered a large Field in thick Ranks.

An *Indian Sachem*, about one hundred Years old, would not retire with the rest, but chose this Time to end his Days. The *French Indians* had the Pleasure of tormenting him, which he bore with surprising Evenness of Mind, and with that Resolution which becomes a *Sachem* of the *Five Nations*. He told his Tormentors to remember well his Death, when his Countrymen should come to take terrible Vengeance of them. Upon which, one stabbing him several Times with his Knife, he thanked him but said, you had better make me die by Fire, that these Dogs of *Frenchmen* may learn how to suffer like Men. You *Indians*, their Allies, you Dogs of Dogs, think of me when you shall be in the like State. Thus this old *Sachem*, under all the Weakness of old Age, preserved a Greatness of Soul, and  
a due

CHAP. a due Regard for the Honour of his Country, to the  
XII. last Moment of his Breath.

The Chevalier *de Vaudreuil* was sent with a Detachment of six or seven hundred Men to destroy the *Oneydoes* Corn, who liv'd but a small Distance from *Onondaga*, which he performed without any Resistance. The Jesuit *Milet* had lived for the most Part with the *Oneydoes*; he had infused into them the most favourable Sentiments of the *French*, and they had been the most inclined to Peace on the *French* Terms. Thirty five of them staid in their Castle to make the *French* welcome; but the only Favour they obtained, was to be made Prisoners, and carried to *Montreal*. The *French* Governor declared his Resolutions to extirpate the *Onondagas*, and for that Reason gave Orders to give no Quarter.

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

The *Onondagas* suffered nothing by this chargeable Expedition, but the Loss of their Corn, and their Bark Cottages. They lost not one Man, but the old *Sacbem*, who resolved to die a Martyr to his Country's Honour. The *French* suffered considerably by its Consequences; for all the Planters being taken off from their Labour, either in this Expedition, or in watching and securing their Forts  
and



and Country, a Famine ensued; and this I find has often happened in *Canada*, where all the Men, fit to bear Arms, have been employed in such like Expeditions. If the *Oneydoes* had not timely surrendered themselves, the Count had not been able to have carried Home the least Token of a Victory. And all that can be said for this Enterprize is, that it was a kind of heroick Dotage.

The Influence that the Jesuit *Milet* had obtained over the *Oneydoes* was such, that some Time after this, thirty of them deserted to the *French*, and desired that he might be appointed their Pastor.

In the following Winter the *Mobawks*, with the Governor of *New-York's* Privacy, sent one to the *Praying Indians* with two Belts, and he carried two Prisoners with him. By the first Belt he asked, whether the Path was entirely shut up between their two Countries; and, by the second, demanded the Restitution of a Prisoner the *Praying Indians* had taken: But his real Design was, to learn the State of their Country, and what Designs were forming. Notwithstanding the Influence and Artifice of the *French* Priests over these Converts, they still retained an Affection to their Countrymen; for which Reason the Count *de Frontenac* entertained a Jealousy of these Intercourses, and threatened to put to Death any that should come in that Manner again; but the Messenger had the Satisfaction of discovering the distressed Condition of *Canada* by Famine.

A Party of the *French* was sent out in the Winter, to make some Attempt upon the *English* Settlements near *Albany*; but some *Mobawks* and *Seakkook Indians* meeting with them, before they reached the Settlements, they were intirely routed. The commanding Officer, *one du Bau*, and two others, saved themselves from the Fury of the *Indians*,

CHAP. ans, by running to *Albany*; the rest were either  
 XII. killed or perished in the Woods, so that not one  
 Man of this Party got back to *Canada*.

It was much easier for the *French* to set the *Praying Indians* upon the *English*, against whom it is possible many of them had personal Animosities, that made them go over to the *French*, than to fight their Countrymen. Several of them came this Winter skulking about *Schenectady* and *Albany*; and being well acquainted with the Country, and speaking likewise the *Mohawk's* Language, by which they sometimes deceived the Inhabitants, they surpris'd some of the Inhabitants, and carried away their Scalps.

The *Five Nations*, to shew that the Count *de Frontenac's* Expedition had no Way discouraged them, sent out several Parties against *Canada*. One of them met with a Party of *French* upon *St. Laurence River*, near *Montreal*. The *French* were routed, and their Captain killed. As soon as this was heard at *Montreal*, *Repentigni* was sent out after them with a considerable Party of *French*, *Nepiscirinsien Indians* and *Praying Indians*; but this Party was likewise defeated, and the Captain, with many of his Men, killed.

Thus the War was continued till the Peace of *Reswick*, by small Parties of *Indians*, on both Sides, harassing, surprising, and scalping the Inhabitants near *Montreal* and *Albany*.

Some Time this Year the chief *Sachem* of the *Dionondadies* (whom the *French* call the *Baron*) went to *Quebeck*, pretending a strong Attachment to the *French*, but really to conceal the Treaty of Peace that he was on the Point of concluding with the *Five Nations*; for which Purpose he had sent his Son with nineteen Belts to the *Senckas*. The Substance of whose Commission was as follows:

The *French* have for many Years confounded our Resolutions, and deceived us, but now we are resolved to break all their Artifices, by stopping our Ears. We come now to unite with you, while the *French* know nothing of the Matter. The Commandant at *Misslimakinak* has told us many Lies, he has betrayed us, and made us kill one another, but we are firmly resolved never to hearken to him any more. The Peace was accordingly firmly concluded, notwithstanding all the Opposition the *French* could make. The *French* Authors say, the only Reason that induced the *Diamondadies* was, that the *English* sold them Goods cheaper than the *French* could.

Some Time before the News of the Peace arrived, the *French* at *Montreal* being informed that a Party of the *Five Nations* were discovered near *Carle's Lake*, sent out a Captain with a Party of Soldiers and *Indians*, who being well experienced in the Manner of making War with *Indians*, marched through the thickest Woods, and by the least frequented Places, so that he discovered the Enemy, without being discovered. He surpris'd that Party, killed several, and took one Prisoner. The *Ustavwas* being then trading at *Montreal*, the Count *de Frontenac* invited them to a Feast to be made of this Prisoner, and caused him to be burnt publickly alive at *Montreal*, in the Manner of which I have already given two Accounts from the *French* Authors.

## C H A P. XIII.

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

CHAP. XIII. **S** OON after the News of the Peace of *Reswick* reached *New-York*, the Governor sent an Express to *Canada*, to inform the Governor there of it, that Hostilities might cease. The *Five Nations* having an Account of the Peace earlier than they had it in *Canada*, took Advantage of it, in hunting *Bever* near *Cadarackui Fort*. The Governor of *Canada* being informed of this, and believing that the *Five Nations* thought themselves secure by the general Peace, resolved to take his last Revenge of them. For this Purpose he sent a considerable Party of *Adirondacks* to surprise them, which they did, and killed several, but not without Loss of many of their own Men. The Loss of one of their greatest Captains at that Time gave the *Five Nations* the greatest Affliction. After he was mortally wounded, he cried out: "Must I, who have made the whole Earth tremble before me, now die by the Hands of Children?" for he despised the *Adirondacks*.

A Dispute at this Time arose, between the Government of *New-York* and *Canada*, about the *French* Prisoners which the *Five Nations* had in their Hands. The Earl of *Bellamont*, then Governor of *New-York*, would have the *French* receive those Prisoners from him, and directed the *Five Nations* to bring them to *Albany* for that Purpose. The *French*, on the other Hand, refused to own the *Five Nations* as subject to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, and threat-

ened to continue the War against the *Five Nations*,<sup>CHAP.</sup> if they did not bring the Prisoners to *Montreal*,<sup>XIII.</sup> and deliver them there. The Count de *Fronsenac* sent some of the *Praying Indians* with a Message to this Purpose, and to have all the *French Allies* included in the general Peace.

The Messenger on his Return told the Count, publickly in Presence of several *Utawawas*, that the *Five Nations* refused to include several of his Allies, but were resolved to revenge the Injuries they had received. The *Utawawas* were exceedingly discomposed at hearing this, and the Count, to recover their Spirits, assured them, that he never would make Peace without including all his Allies in it, and without having all their Prisoners restored. At the same Time he made Preparations to attack the *Five Nations* with the whole Force of *Canada*.

The Earl of *Bellamont* being informed of this, sent Captain *John Schuyler* (of the Militia) to tell the Count, that he had the Interest of the King his Master too much at Heart, to suffer the *French* to treat the *Five Nations* like Enemies, after the Conclusion of the general Peace; for which Reason he had ordered them to be on their Guard, and had furnished them with Arms and Ammunition; that he had ordered the Lieutenant-Governor, in Case they were attacked, either by the *French* or their Allies, to join them with the regular Troops; and that, if he found it necessary, he would raise the whole Force of his Government in their Defence.


This put a Stop to the *French* Threatening, and both Sides made Complaints to their Masters. The two Kings ordered their respective Governors to be assisting to each other, in making the Peace effectual to both Nations, and to leave the Disputes, as to the Dependency of the *Indian Nations*, to be de-

CHAP. terminated by Commissioners, to be appointed pursuant to the Treaty of *Reswick*.

It is exceedingly impolitick, when weaker Potentates, engaged in a Confederacy against one powerful Prince, leave any Points to be determined after the Conclusion of a Peace; for if they cannot obtain a Concession, while the Confederacy stands and their Force is united, how can a weaker Prince hope to obtain it, when he is left alone to himself, after the Confederacy is dissolved? The *French* have so often found the Benefit of this Piece of Imprudence, that in all their Treaties they use all the Cajoling, and every Artifice in their Power, to obtain this Advantage, and they seldom miss it.

About the Time of the Conclusion of the Peace at *Reswick*, the noted *Iberouet* died at *Montreal*. The *French* gave him Christian Burial in a poisonous Manner, the Priest, that attended him at his Death, having declared that he died a true Christian; for, said the Priest, while I explained to him the Passion of our Saviour, whom the *Jews* crucified, he cried out; "Oh! had I been there, I would have revenged his Death, and brought away their Scalps."

Soon after the Peace was known at *Montreal*, three considerable Men of the *Praying Indians* came to *Albany*; they had fine laced Coats given them, and were invited to return to their own Country. They answered, that they were young Men, and had not Skill to make a suitable Answer, and had not their ancient Men to consult with; but promised to communicate the Proposals to their old Men, and would bring back an Answer in the Fall. I find nothing more of this in the Register of *Indian Affairs*, though it might have been of great Consequence had it been pursued to Purpose; but such Matters, where there is not an immediate private Profit,

Profit, are seldom pursued by the *English* with that CHAR.  
Care and Assiduity, with which they are by the XIII  
*French*. 

While Captain *Schuyler* was in *Canada*, he entered into some indiscreet Discourse with Monsieur *Maricour*, for whom the *Five Nations* had a particular Esteem, and call *Stowowisse*. Captain *Schuyler*, in asserting the Dependency of the *Five Nations* on *New-York*, said, that those Nations were their Slaves. Mr. *Maricour* told this Discourse to an *Onandaga*, with all the Aggravations he could, and added, that it was intirely owing to the *English* that the Peace was not absolutely concluded, and that Captain *Schuyler* prevented their Prisoners being restored, because he would have them sent to *Albany*, as being Slaves to the *English*. That the *French* had no Dispute with the *English*, but for the Independency of the *Five Nations*. This indiscreet Conduct of Captain *Schuyler* was so much resented by the *Five Nations*, that a Deputation of the most considerable *Sachems* was sent to *Albany* in *June* 1699, to complain of it; and they sent at the same Time Deputies to *Canada* to conclude the Peace, independently of the *English*. These Deputies that came to *Albany* were so far convinced that the *French* had abused them, and how much more it was for their Security to be included in the general Peace with the *English*, than to have only the *French* Faith for their Security, that they immediately dispatched a Messenger after their Deputies that were gone to *Canada*. Though this Messenger reached them too late to stop their Proceeding, it convinced the Deputies so far of its being for their Interest to be joined with the *English* in the Peace, as they had been in the War, that they insisted that the Exchange of Prisoners be made at *Albany*. At the same Time the Messenger was sent after their Deputies to *Canada*, Colonel *Peter Schuyler* was

CHAP. was sent with others to *Onondaga*, to remove the  
XIII. Prejudices they had received there.

The Count *de Frontenac* died while these Disputes continued. Monsieur *de Callieres*, who succeeded him, put an End to them, by agreeing to send to *Onondaga* to regulate the Exchange of Prisoners there; for which Purpose Monsieur *Maricour*, *Ioncaire*, and the Jesuit *Bruyas*, were sent.

When the *French* Commissioners were come within less than a Mile of *Onondaga* Castle, they put themselves in Order and marched with the *French* Colours carried before them, and with as much Show as they could make. *Decanesora* met them without the Gate, and complimented them with three Strings of Wampum. By the first he wiped away their Tears for the *French* that had been slain in the War. By the second he opened their Mouths, that they might speak freely; that is, promised them Freedom of Speech. By the third he cleaned the Matt, on which they were to sit, from the Blood that had been spilt on both Sides: The Compliment was returned by the Jesuit, then they entered the Fort, and were saluted with a general Discharge of all the fire Arms. They were carried to the best Cabin in the Fort, and there entertained with a Feast. The Deputies of the several Nations not being all arrived, the Jesuit, and Monsieur *Maricour*, passed the Time in visiting and conversing with the *French* Prisoners. The General Council being at last met, the Jesuit made the following Speech, which I take from the Relation the *Five Nations* afterwards made of it to the Earl of *Bellamont*.

- “ 1. I am glad to see the *Five Nations*, and that  
 “ some of them went to *Canada*, notwithstanding  
 • “ *Corlear* forbid them: I am sorry for the Loss of  
 your



“ your People killed by the remote *Indians* ; I con-  
 “ dole their Death, and wipe away the Blood by this  
 “ Belt. C H A P.  
XIII.

“ 2. The War Kettle boiled so long, that it  
 “ would have scalded all the *Five Nations* had it  
 “ continued ; but now it is overfet, and turned up-  
 “ side down, and a firm Peace made.

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

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

“ 5. Deliver up the *French* Prisoners you have,  
 “ and we shall deliver not only those of your Na-  
 “ tion we have, but all those likewise taken by  
 “ any of our Allies ; and gave a Belt.

“ 6. I offer myself to you to live with you at  
 “ *Onondaga*, to instruct you in the Christian Re-  
 “ ligion, and to drive away all Sickness, Plagues  
 “ and Diseases out of your Country, and gave a  
 “ third Belt.

“ 7. This last Belt, he said, is from the *Ron-*  
 “ *daxe*, or *French Indians*, to desire Restitution of  
 “ the Prisoners taken from them.”

The Jesuit in the Conclusion said ; “ Why does  
 “ not *Corlear* tell you what passes between the Go-  
 “ vernor of *Canada* and him ? He keeps you in  
 “ the Dark, while the Governor of *Canada* con-  
 “ ceals nothing from his Children. Nor does the  
 “ Governor of *Canada* claim your Land, as *Corlear*  
 “ does.”

The General Council immediately rejected the  
 Belt by which the Jesuit offered to stay with them,  
 saying, We have already accepted *Corlear's* Belt, by  
 which he offers us Pastors to instruct us. *Decans-*  
*sora*

CHAP. fore added, The Jesuits have always deceived us, XIII. for while they preached Peace, the *French* came and knocked us on the Head. To this the Jesuit replied, that if he had known that *Corker* intended to send them Pastors, he would not have offered this Belt.

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

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

The *French* Commissioners carried several of the principal *Sachets* of the *Five Nations* back with them, who were received at *Montreal* with great Joy. They were saluted by a Discharge of all the great Guns round the Place, as they entered. The *French* Allies took this amis, and asked if their Governor was entering. They were told, that it

was a Compliment paid to the *Five Nations*, whose *Sachems* were then entering the Town. We perceive, they replied, that Fear makes the *French* shew more Respect to their Enemies, than Love can make them do to their Friends.

*Monsieur de Callieres* assembled all the *French* Allies, (who were then very numerous at *Mont-real*) to make the Exchange of Prisoners, and they delivered the Prisoners they had taken, though the *Five Nations* had sent none to be exchanged for them. Thus we see a brave People struggle with every Difficulty, till they can get out of it with Honour; and such People always gain Respect, even from their most inveterate Enemies.

I shall finish this Part by observing, that notwithstanding the *French* Commissioners took all the Pains possible to carry Home the *French*, that were Prisoners with the *Five Nations*, and they had full Liberty from the *Indians*, few of them could be persuaded to return. It may be thought that this was occasioned from the Hardships they had endured in their own Country, under a tyrannical Government and a barren Soil: But this certainly was not the only Reason; for the *English* had as much Difficulty to persuade the People, that had been taken Prisoners by the *French* *Indians*, to leave the *Indian* Manner of living, though no People enjoy more Liberty, and live in greater Plenty, than the common Inhabitants of *New-York* do. No Arguments, no Intreaties, nor Tears of their Friends and Relations, could persuade many of them to leave their new *Indian* Friends and Acquaintance; several of them that were by the Caressings of their Relations persuaded to come Home, in a little Time grew tired of our Manner of living, and run away again to the *Indians*, and ended their Days with them. On the other Hand, *Indian* Children have been carefully educated among the *Eng-*  
*lish*,

CHAP. XIII. *lib*, clothed and taught, yet, I think, there is not one Instance, that any of these, after they had Liberty to go among their own People, and were come to Age, would remain with the *English*, but returned to their own Nations, and became as fond of the *Indian* Manner of Life as those that knew nothing of a civilized Manner of living. What I now tell of Christian Prisoners among *Indians*, relates not only to what happened at the Conclusion of this War, but has been found true on many other Occasions.

*The End of the SECOND PART.*

