

A
T R E A T Y

HELD WITH THE
O H I O I N D I A N S,

A T
C A R L I S L E,

In OCTOBER, 1753.



PHILADELPHIA:

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P R I N T E D

Printed and Sold by B. FRANKLIN, at the Sign of the Ship, in the City of Philadelphia.

A

T R E A T Y, &c.

To the Honourable JAMES HAMILTON, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor, and Commander in Chief, of the Province of Pennsylvania, and Counties of New-Castle, Kent and Suffex, upon Delaware,

The R E P O R T of RICHARD PETERS, ISAAC NORRIS, and BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, Esquires, Commissioners appointed to treat with some Chiefs of the Ohio Indians, at Carlisle, in the County of Cumberland, by a Commission, bearing Date the 22d Day of September, 1753.

May it please the GOVERNOR,

NO T knowing but the *Indians* might be waiting at *Carlisle*, we made all the Dispatch possible, as soon as we had received our Commission, and arrived there on the Twenty-sixth, but were agreeably surprized to find that they came there only that Day.

1753.

IMMEDIATELY ON OUR Arrival we conferred with *Andrew Montour*, and *George Croghan*, in order to know from them what had occasioned the present coming of the *Indians*, that we might, by their Intelligence, regulate our first Intercourse with them; and were informed, that tho' their principal Design, when they left *Ohio*, was to hold a Treaty with the Government of *Virginia*, at *Winchester*, where they had accordingly been; yet they intended a Visit to this Province, to which they had been frequently encouraged by *Andrew Montour*, who told them, he had the Governor's repeated Orders to invite them to come and see him, and assured them of an hearty Welcome, and that they had moreover some important Matters to propose and transact with this Government.

THE Commissioners finding this to be the Case, and that these *Indians* were some of the most considerable Persons of the *Six Nations*, *Delawares*, *Shawoneese*, with Deputies from the *Twightwees*, and *Owendachts*, met them in Council, in which the Commissioners declared the Contents of their Commission, acknowledged the Governor's Invitation, and bid them heartily welcome among their Brethren of *Pennsylvania*, to whom their Visit was extremely agreeable.---*Conrad Weiser* and *Andrew Montour* interpreting between the Commissioners and *Indians*, and several Magistrates, and others, of the principal Inhabitants of the County, favouring them with their Presence.

THE *Twightwees* and *Delawares* having had several of their great Men cut off by the *French* and their *Indians*, and all the Chiefs of the *Owendachts* being lately dead, it became necessary to condole their Loss; and no Business could be begun, agreeable to the *Indian* Customs, till the Condolances were passed; and as these could not be made, with the usual Ceremonies, for want of the Goods, which were not arrived, and it was uncertain when they would, the Commissioners were put to some Difficulties, and ordered the Interpreters to apply to *Scarrooyady*, an *Oneido* Chief, who had the Conduct of the Treaty in *Virginia*, and was a Person of great Weight in their Councils, and to ask his Opinion, whether the Condolances would be accepted by Belts and Strings, and Lists of the particular Goods intended to be given, with Assurances of their Delivery as soon as they should come. *Scarrooyady* was pleased with the Application; but frankly declared, that the *Indians* could not proceed to Business while the Blood remained on their Garments, and that the Condolances could not be accepted unless the Goods, intended to cover the Graves, were actually spread on the Ground before them. A Messenger was therefore forthwith sent to meet and hasten the Waggoners, since every Thing must stop till the Goods came.

It was then agreed to confer with *Scarrooyady*, and some other of the Chiefs of the *Shawoneese* and *Delawares*, on the State of Affairs at *Ohio*, and from them the Commissioners learned, in sundry Conferences, the following Particulars, viz.

“ THAT when the Governor of *Pennsylvania*'s Express arrived at *Ohio*, with the Account of the March of a large *French* Army to the Heads of *Ohio*, with Intent to take Possession of that Country, it alarmed the *Indians* so much, that the *Delawares*, at *Weningo*, an *Indian* Town, situate high up on *Ohio* River, went, agreeable to a Custom established among the *Indians*, and forbad, by a formal Notice, the Commander of that Armament, then advanced to the Straits, between *Lake Ontario* and *Lake Erie*, to continue his March, at least not to presume to come farther than *Niagara*: This had

not

1753.

not however any Effect, but, notwithstanding this Notice, the *French* continued their March; which, being afterwards taken into Consideration by the Council, at *Logs-Town*, they ordered some of their principal *Indians* to give the *French* a second Notice to leave their Country, and return Home; who meeting them on a River running into Lake *Erie*, a little above *Weningo*, addressed the Commander in these Words:

The second Notice delivered to the Commander of the French Army, then near Weningo.

Father Onontio,

YOUR Children on *Ohio* are alarmed to hear of your coming so far this Way. We at first heard you came to destroy us; our Women left off planting, and our Warriors prepared for War. We have since heard you came to visit us as Friends, without Design to hurt us; but then we wondered you came with so strong a Body. If you have had any Cause of Complaint, you might have spoke to *Onas*, or *Corlaer* (meaning the Governors of *Pennsylvania*, and *New-York*) and not come to disturb us here. We have a Fire at *Logs-Town*, where are the *Delawares*, and *Shawonefe*, and Brother *Onas*; you might have sent Deputies there, and said openly what you came about, if you had thought amiss of the *English* being there; and we invite you to do it now, before you proceed any further.

The French Officer's Answer.

Children,

I FIND you come to give me an Invitation to your Council Fire, with a Design, as I suppose, to call me to Account for coming here. I must let you know that my Heart is good to you; I mean no Hurt to you; I am come by the great King's Command, to do you, my Children, Good. You seem to think I carry my Hatchet under my Coat; I always carry it openly, not to strike you, but those that shall oppose me. I cannot come to your Council Fire, nor can I return, or stay here; I am so heavy a Body that the Stream will carry me down, and down I shall go, unless you pull off my Arm: But this I will tell you, I am commanded to build four strong Houses, viz. at *Weningo*, *Mohongialo Forks*, *Logs-Town*, and *Beaver Creek*, and this I will do. As to what concerns *Onas*, and *Assaragooa* (meaning the Governors of *Pennsylvania* and *Virginia*) I have spoke to them, and let them know they must go off the Land, and I shall speak to them again; if they will not hear me, it is their Fault, I will take them by the Arm, and throw them over the Hills. All the Land and Waters on this Side *Allegheny Hills* are mine, on the other Side theirs; this is agreed on between the two Crowns over the great Waters. I do not like your selling your Lands to the *English*; they shall draw you into no more foolish Bargains. I will take Care of your Lands for you, and of you. The *English* give you no Goods but for Land, we give you our Goods for nothing."

WE were further told by *Scarrooyady*, that when the Answer to this Message was brought to *Logs-Town*, another Council was held, consisting of the *Six Nations*, *Delawares*, and *Shawonefe*, who unanimously agreed to divide themselves into two Parties, one to go to *Virginia*, and *Pennsylvania*, with *Scarrooyady*, and the other to go with the *Half King* to the *French* Commander, who had it in Charge to make the following Declaration, as their third and last Notice.

The third Notice, delivered by the Half King to the Commander of the French Fortes.

Father,

You say you cannot come to our Council Fire at *Logs-Town*, we therefore now come to you, to know what is in your Heart. You remember when you were tired with the War (meaning *Queen Anne's War*) you of your own Accord sent for us, desiring to make Peace with us; when we came, you said to us, Children, we make a Council Fire for you; we want to talk with you, but we must first eat all with one Spoon out of this Silver Bowl, and all drink out of this Silver Cup; let us exchange Hatchets; let us bury our Hatchets in this bottomless Hole; and now we will make a plain Road to all your Countries, so clear, that *Onontio* may sit here and see you all eat and drink out of the Bowl and Cup, which he has provided for you. Upon this Application of yours we consented to make Peace; and when the Peace was concluded on both Sides, you made a solemn Declaration, saying, Whoever shall hereafter transgress this Peace, let the Transgressor be chastised with a Rod, even tho' it be I, your Father.

Now, Father, notwithstanding this solemn Declaration of yours, you have whipped several of your Children; you know best why. Of late you have chastised the *Twightwees* very severely, without telling us the Reason; and now you are come with a strong Band on our Land, and have, contrary to your Engagement, taken up the Hatchet without any previous Parley. These Things are a Breach of the Peace; they are contrary to your own Declarations: Therefore, now I come to forbid you. I will strike over all this Land with my Rod, let it hurt who it will. I tell you, in plain Words, you must go off this Land. You say you have a strong Body, a strong Neck, and a strong Voice, that when you speak all the *Indians* must hear you. It is true, you are a strong Body, and ours is but weak, yet we are not afraid of you. We forbid you to come any further; turn back to the Place from whence you came.

SCARROOYADY, who was the Speaker in these Conferences, when he had finished this Relation, gave his Reason for setting forth these three Messages to the *French* in so distinct a Manner; because, said he, the Great Being who lives above, has ordered us to send three Messages of Peace before we make War:--And as the *Half King* has, before this Time, delivered the third and last Message, we have nothing now to do but to strike the *French*.

THE Commissioners were likewise informed, by Mr. *Croghan*, that the *Ohio Indians* had received from the *Virginia* Government a large Number of Arms in the Spring, and that at their pressing Instances a suitable Quantity of Ammunition was ordered in the Treaty at *Winchester* to be lodged for them, in a Place of Security, on this Side the *Ohio*, which was committed to the Care of three Persons, viz.

Guest, *William Trent*, and *Andrew Montour*, who were impowered to distribute them to the *Indians* as their Occasions and Behaviour should require. That all the Tribes settled at or near *Allegheny* would take their Measures from the Encouragement which these *Indians* should find in the Province of *Virginia*; and that the kind Intentions of this Government in the Appropriation of a large Sum of Money for the Use of these *Indians*, in case they should be distressed by their Enemies, and their Hunting and Planting prevented, were well known to them by the repeated Informations of *Andrew Montour* and the Traders.

CONRAD WEISER, to whom it was earnestly recommended by the Commissioners, to procure all the Information possible from the *Indians* of his Acquaintance, touching their Condition and Disposition, and the real Designs of the *French*, did likewise acquaint us, that all Persons at *Ohio* would have their Eyes on the Reception of those *Indians*, now at *Carlisle*, and judge of the Affection of this Province by their Treatment of them; and that as the intended Present was no Secret to those *Indians*, it was his Opinion, that the Whole should, at this Time, be distributed; for if any Thing can, such a generous Donation must needs attach the *Indians* entirely to the *English*.

THESE several Matters being taken into Consideration by the Commissioners, and the Governor having given them express Directions to accommodate themselves to the Circumstances of the *Indians*, as they should appear in examining them at the Place of Treaty, we were unanimously of Opinion, that an Addition should be made to the Goods bought at *Philadelphia*, in which a Regard should be had to such Articles as were omitted or supplied in less Quantities than was suitable to the present Wants of the *Indians*. On this Resolution the Lists of Goods were examined, and an additional Quantity bought of *John Carson*, at the *Philadelphia* Price, and usual Rate of Carriage.

DURING these Consultations, it was rumoured that the *Half King* was returned to *Logstown*, and had received an unsatisfactory Answer, which was confirmed, but not in such Manner as could be positively relied on, by a Brother of *Andrew Montour*, and another Person who came directly from *Allegheny*. This alarmed the Commissioners, and made them willing to postpone Business till they should know the Certainty thereof, judging, that if the *Half King* was returned, he would certainly send a Messenger Express to *Carlisle*, with an Account of what was done by him; and from this the Commissioners might take their Measures in the Distribution of the Present.

A LETTER, wrote by *Taaf*, and *Callender*, two *Indian* Traders, dated the Twenty-eighth Day of *September*, from a Place situate a little on this Side *Allegheny* River, directed to *William Buchanan*, was given him the Morning of the first Day of *October*, and he immediately laid it before the Commissioners for their Perusal. In this Letter an Account is given, that the *Half King* was returned, and had been received in a very contemptuous Manner by the *French* Commander, who was then preparing with his Forces to come down the River; and that the *Half King*, on his Return, shed Tears, and had actually warned the *English* Traders not to pass the *Ohio*, nor to venture either their Persons or their Goods, for the *French* would certainly hurt them. On this News the Conferences with *Scarrooyady*, and the Chiefs of the *Six Nations*, *Delawares*, and *Shawoneese*, were renewed, and the Letter read to them, at which they appeared greatly alarmed; but, after a short Pause, *Scarrooyady*, addressing himself to the *Delawares* and *Shawoneese*, spoke in these Words:

Brethren and Cousins,

I LOOK on this Letter as if it had been a Message from the *Half King* himself: We may expect no other Account of the Result of his Journey. However, I advise you to be still, and neither say nor do any Thing till we get Home, and I see my Friend and Brother the *Half King*, and then we shall know what is to be done.

THE Forms of the Condolances, which depend entirely on *Indian* Customs, were settled in Conferences with *Scarrooyady*, and *Cayanguileguoa*, a sensible *Indian*, of the *Mobock* Nation, and a Person intimate with and much consulted by *Scarrooyady*, in which it was agreed to take the *Six Nations* along with us in these Condolances; and accordingly the proper Belts and Strings were made ready, and *Scarrooyady* prepared himself to express the Sentiments of both in the *Indian* Manner. And as the Goods arrived this Morning before Break of Day, the several Sorts used on these Occasions were laid out; and the *Indians* were told that the Commissioners would speak to them at Eleven a Clock.

At a Meeting of the Commissioners, and Indians, at *Carlisle*, the first Day of *October*, 1753.

P R E S E N T,

RICHARD PETERS, }
ISAAC NORRIS, } Esquires, Commissioners!
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, }

The Deputies of the *Six Nations*, *Delawares*, *Shawoneese*, *Twightwees*, and *Owendaets*.

CONRAD WEISER, } Interpreters. JAMES WRIGHT, } Esquires, Members of Assembly!
ANDREW MONTOUR, }

The Magistrates, and several other Gentlemen and Freeholders of the County of *Cumberland*.

The SPEECH of the Commissioners.

Brethren, *Six Nations*, *Delawares*, *Shawoneese*, *Twightwees*, and *Owendaets*,

THOUGH the City of *Philadelphia* be the Place where all *Indians* should go, who have Business to transact with this Government, yet at your Request, signified to Colonel *Fairfax*, at *Winchester*, and by him communicated to our Governor, by an Express to *Philadelphia*, he has been

1753.

pleas'd on this particular Occasion to dispense with your coming there, and has done us the Honour to depute us to receive and treat with you at this Town, in his Place and Stead; this is set forth in his Commission, which we now produce to you, under the Great Seal of this Province, the authentick Sign and Testimony of all Acts of Government.

Brethren,

By this String we acquaint you, that the *Six Nations* do, at our Request, join with us in condoling the Losses you have of late sustained by the Deaths of several of your Chiefs and principal Men; and that *Scarrooyady* is to deliver for both what has been agreed to be said on this melancholy Occasion.

Here the Commissioners gave a String of Wampum.

Then Scarrooyady spoke as follows:

Brethren, the Twightwees and Shawonefe,

It has pleas'd Him who is above, that we shall meet here To-day, and see one another; I and my Brother *Onas* join together to speak to you. As we know that your Seats at Home are bloody, we wipe away the Blood, and set your Seats in Order at your Council Fire, that you may sit and consult again in Peace and Comfort as formerly; that you may hold the antient Union, and strengthen it, and continue your old friendly Correspondence.

Here a String was given.

Brethren, Twightwees, and Shawonefe,

We suppose that the Blood is now washed off. We jointly, with our Brother *Onas*, dig a Grave for your Warriors, killed in your Country; and we bury their Bones decently; wrapping them up in these Blankets; and with these we cover their Graves.

Here the Goods were given to the Twightwees, and Shawonefe.

Brethren, Twightwees, and Shawonefe,

I, and my Brother *Onas*, jointly condole with the Chiefs of your Towns, your Women and Children, for the Loss you have sustained. We partake of your Grief, and mix our Tears with yours. We wipe your Tears from your Eyes, that you may see the Sun, and that every Thing may become clear and pleasant to your Sight; and we desire you would mourn no more.

Here a Belt was given.

THE same was said to the *Delawares*, *mutatis mutandis*.

AND then he spoke to the *Owendaets*, in these Words:

Our Children, and Brethren, the Owendaets,

YOU have heard what I and my Brother *Onas* have jointly said to the *Twightwees*, *Shawonefe*, and *Delawares*: We now come to speak to you. We are informed that your good old wise Men are all dead, and you have no more left.

WE must let you know, that there was a Friendship established by our and your Grandfathers; and a mutual Council Fire was kindled. In this Friendship all those then under the Ground, who had not yet obtained Eyes or Faces (that is, those unborn) were included; and it was then mutually promised to tell the same to their Children, and Childrens Children: But so many great Men of your Nation have died in so short a Time, that none but Youths are left; and this makes us afraid, lest that Treaty, so solemnly established by your Ancestors, should be forgotten by you: We therefore now come to remind you of it, and renew it; we re-ignite the old Fire, and put on fresh Fuel.

Here a String was given.

THE other Speeches, of burying the Dead, &c. were the same as those to the *Twightwees*, &c.

AFTER each had been spoken to, *Scarrooyady* proceeded thus:

Brethren, Delawares, Shawonefe, Twightwees, and Owendaets,

WE, the *English*, and *Six Nations*, do now exhort every one of you to do your utmost to preserve this Union and Friendship, which has so long and happily continued among us: Let us keep the Chain from rusting, and prevent every Thing that may hurt or break it, from what Quarter soever it may come.

THEN the Goods allotted for each Nation, as a Present of Condolance, were taken away by each, and the Council adjourn'd to the next Day.

At a Meeting of the Commissioners, and Indians, at Carlisle, the 2d of October, 1753.

P R E S E N T,

The Commissioners, The same *Indians* as Yesterday,
The Magistrates, and several Gentlemen of the County.

The SPEECH of the Commissioners.

Brethren, Six Nations, Delawares, Shawonefe, Twightwees, and Owendaets,

NOW that your Hearts are eas'd of their Grief, and we behold one another with cheerful Countenances, we let you know that the Governor, and good People of *Pennsylvania*, did not send us to receive you empty-handed; but put something into our Pockets, to be given to such as should favour

Favour us with this friendly Visit: These Goods we therefore request you would accept of, and divide amongst all that are of your Company, in such Proportions as shall be agreeable to you. You know how to do this better than we. What we principally desire, is, that you will consider this Present as a Token of our cordial Esteem for you; and use it with a Frugality becoming your Circumstances, which call at this Time for more than ordinary Care.

Brethren,

WITH Pleasure we behold here the Deputies of five different Nations, viz. the *United Six Nations*, the *Delawares*, the *Shawoneese*, the *Twightwees*, and the *Owendaets*. Be pleased to cast your Eyes towards this Belt, whereon six Figures are delineated, holding one another by the Hands. This is a just Resemblance of our present Union: The five first Figures representing the five Nations, to which you belong, as the sixth does the Government of *Pennsylvania*; with whom you are linked in a close and firm Union. In whatever Part the Belt is broke, all the Wampum runs off, and renders the Whole of no Strength or Consistency. In like Manner, should you break Faith with one another, or with this Government, the Union is dissolved. We would therefore hereby place before you the Necessity of preserving your Faith entire to one another, as well as to this Government. Do not separate: Do not part on any Score. Let no Differences nor Jealousies subsist a Moment between Nation and Nation; but join all together as one Man, sincerely and heartily. We on our Part shall always perform our Engagements to every one of you. In Testimony whereof, we present you with this Belt.

Here the Belt was given.

Brethren,

WE have only this one Thing further to say at this Time: Whatever Answers you may have to give, or Business to transact with us, we desire you would use Dispatch; as it may be dangerous to you, and incommodious to us, to be kept long from our Homes, at this Season of the Year.

At a Meeting of the Commissioners, and Indians, the 3d of October, 1753.

P R E S E N T,

The Commissioners,

The same *Indians* as before.

Several Gentlemen of the County.

Scarrooyady, Speaker.

Brother Onas,

WHAT we have now to say, I am going to speak, in Behalf of the *Twightwees*, *Shawoneese*, *Delawares*, and *Owendaets*.

You have, like a true and affectionate Brother, comforted us in our Affliction. You have wiped away the Blood from our Seats, and set them again in order. You have wrapped up the Bones of our Warriors, and covered the Graves of our wise Men; and wiped the Tears from our Eyes, and the Eyes of our Women and Children: So that we now see the Sun, and all Things are become pleasant to our Sight. We shall not fail to acquaint our several Nations with your Kindness. We shall take Care that it be always remembered by us; and believe it will be attended with suitable Returns of Love and Affection.

Then one of the Twightwees stood up, and spoke as follows: (Scarrooyady Interpreter.)

Brother Onas,

THE *Outawas*, *Cheepaways*, and the *French*, have struck us.---The Stroke was heavy, and hard to be borne, for thereby we lost our King, and several of our Warriors; but the Loss our Brethren, the *English*, suffered, we grieve for most. The Love we have had for the *English*, from our first Knowledge of them, still continues in our Breasts; and we shall ever retain the same ardent Affection for them.---We cover the Graves of the *English* with this Beaver Blanket. We mourn for them more than for our own People.

Here he spread on the Floor some Beaver Skins, sewed together in the Form of a large Blanket.

Then Scarrooyady spoke as follows:

Brother Onas,

I SPEAK now on Behalf of all the *Indians* present, in Answer to what you said when you gave us the Goods and Belt. What you have said to us Yesterday is very kind, and pleases us exceedingly. The Speech which accompanied the Belt, is particularly of great Moment. We will take the Belt home to *Ohio*, where there is a greater and wiser Council than us, and consider it, and return you a full Answer. We return you Thanks for the Present.

Gave a String.

Brother Onas,

LAST Spring, when you heard of the March of the *French* Army, you were so good as to send us Word, that we might be on our Guard: We thank you for this friendly Notice.

Brother Onas,

YOUR People not only trade with us in our Towns, but disperse themselves over a large and wide extended Country, in which reside many Nations: At one End live the *Twightwees*, and at the other

End

1753. End the *Caghnawogas*, and *Adirondacks*; these you must comprehend in your Chain of Friendship; they are, and will be, your Brethren, let *Onontio* say what he will.

Gave a String.

Brother Onas,

I DESIRE you would hear and take Notice of what I am about to say now. The Governor of *Virginia* desired Leave to build a strong House on *Ohio*, which came to the Ears of the Governor of *Canada*; and we suppose this caused him to invade our Country. We do not know his Intent; because he speaks with two Tongues. So soon as we know his Heart, we shall be able to know what to do; and shall speak accordingly to him. We desire that *Pennsylvania* and *Virginia* would at present forbear settling on our Lands, over the *Allegheny Hills*. We advise you rather to call your People back on this Side the Hills, lest Damage should be done, and you think ill of us. But to keep up our Correspondence with our Brother *Onas*, we will appoint some Place on the Hills, or near them; and we do appoint *George Croghan*, on our Part, and desire you to appoint another on your Part, by a formal Writing, under the Governor's Hand. Let none of your People settle beyond where they are now; nor on the *Juniata* Lands, till the Affair is settled between us and the *French*. At present, *George Croghan's* House, at *Juniata*, may be the Place where any Thing may be sent to us. We desire a Commission may be given to the Person intrusted by the Government of *Pennsylvania*; and that he may be directed to warn People from settling the *Indians* Lands, and impowered to remove them.

Gave a Belt and String.

Brother Onas,

ALL we who are here desire you will hear what we are going to say, and regard it as a Matter of Moment: The *French* look on the great Number of your Traders at *Ohio* with Envy; they fear they shall lose their Trade. You have more Traders than are necessary; and they spread themselves over our wide Country, at such great Distances, that we cannot see them, or protect them. We desire you will call back the great Number of your Traders, and let only three Sets of Traders remain; and order these to stay in three Places, which we have appointed for their Residence, *viz.* *Logs-Town*, the Mouth of *Canawa*, and the Mouth of *Mobongely*; the *Indians* will then come to them, and buy their Goods in these Places, and no where else. We shall likewise look on them under our Care, and shall be accountable for them. We have settled this Point with *Virginia* in the same Manner.

Gave a String.

Brother Onas,

THE *English* Goods are sold at too dear a Rate to us. If only honest and sober Men were to deal with us, we think they might afford the Goods cheaper: We desire therefore, that you will take effectual Care hereafter, that none but such be suffered to come out to trade with us.

Gave a String.

Brother Onas,

YOUR Traders now bring scarce any Thing but Rum and Flour: They bring little Powder and Lead, or other valuable Goods. The Rum ruins us. We beg you would prevent its coming in such Quantities, by regulating the Traders. We never understood the Trade was to be for Whiskey and Flour. We desire it may be forbidden, and none sold in the *Indian* Country; but that if the *Indians* will have any, they may go among the Inhabitants, and deal with them for it. When these Whiskey Traders come, they bring thirty or forty Cags, and put them down before us, and make us drink; and get all the Skins that should go to pay the Debts we have contracted for Goods bought of the Fair Traders; and by this Means, we not only ruin ourselves, but them too. These wicked Whiskey Sellers, when they have once got the *Indians* in Liquor, make them sell their very Clothes from their Backs.---In short, if this Practice be continued, we must be inevitably ruined: We most earnestly therefore beseech you to remedy it.

A treble String.

Brother Onas,

I HAVE now done with generals; but have something to say for particular Nations.

THE *Shawonefe* heard some News since they came here, which troubled their Minds; on which they addressed themselves to their Grandfathers, the *Delawares*; and said, Grandfathers, we will live and die with you, and the *Six Nations*: We, our Wives and Children; and Children yet unborn.

N. B. This was occasioned by *Conrad Weiser's* having told them in private Conversation, that while he was in the *Mohock* Country, he was informed, that the *French* intended to drive away the *Shawonefe* (as well as the *English*) from *Ohio*.

SCARROOYADY then proceeded, and said, I have something farther to say on Behalf of the *Shawonefe*.

Brother Onas,

AT the Beginning of the Summer, when the News was brought to us, of the Approach of the *French*, the *Shawonefe* made this Speech to their Uncles, the *Delawares*, saying, "Uncles, you have often told us, that we were a sensible and discreet People; but we lost all our Sense and Wits, when we slipp'd out of your Arms; however, we are now in one another's Arms again, and hope we shall slip out no more. We remember, and are returned to our former Friendship, and hope it will always continue. In Testimony whereof, we give you, our Uncles, a String of ten Rows."

THE *Shawonefe* likewise, at the same time, sent a Speech to the *Six Nations*, saying, "Our Brethren, the *English*, have treated us as People that had Wit: The *French* deceived us: But we now turn our Heads about, and are looking perpetually to the Country of the *Six Nations*, and our Brethren, the *English*, and desire you to make an Apology for us; and they gave eight Strings of Wampum." The

The *Delawares* and *Six Nations* do therefore give up these Strings to *Onas*, and recommend the *Shaw-
oneſe* to him as a People who have ſeen their Error, and are their and our very good Friends. 1753.
Gave eight Strings.

Brother Onas,
BEFORE I finiſh, I muſt tell you, we all earneſtly requeſt you will pleaſe to lay all our preſent Tran-
ſactions before the Council of *Onondago*, that they may know we do nothing in the Dark. They may
perhaps think of us, as if we did not know what we were doing; or wanted to conceal from them
what we do with our Brethren; but it is otherwiſe; and therefore make them acquainted with all our
Proceedings: This is what we have likewiſe deſired of the *Virginians* when we treated with them at
Wincheſter.

Brother Onas,
I FORGOT ſomething which I muſt now ſay to you; it is to deſire you would aſſiſt us with ſome
Horses to carry our Goods; becauſe you have given us more than we can carry ourſelves. Our Wo-
men and young People preſent you with this Bundle of Skins, deſiring ſome Spirits to make them
chearful in their own Country; not to drink here.

Preſented a Bundle of Skins.

Then he added:

THE *Twightwees* intended to ſay ſomething to you; but they have miſlaid ſome Strings, which has
put their Speeches into Diſorder; theſe they will rectify, and ſpeak to you in the Afternoon.

Then the Indians withdrew.

At a Meeting of the Commiſſioners and Indians the 3d of October, 1753. P. M.

P R E S E N T,

The Commiſſioners,

The ſame *Indians* as before.

The Magiſtrates, and ſeveral Gentlemen of the County.

The Twightwees ſpeak by Andrew Montour.

Brother Onas,
H E A R K E N what I have to ſay to the *Six Nations*, *Delawares*, *Shawoneſe*, and *Engliſh*.
THE *French* have ſtruck us; but tho' we have been hurt, it is but on one Side; the other Side is
ſafe. Our Arm on that Side is entire, and with it we laid hold on our Pipe and have brought it along
with us, to ſhew you it is as good as ever: And we muſt leave it with you, that it may be always
ready for us and our Brethren to ſmoke in when we meet together.

Here he delivered over the Calumet, decorated with fine Feathers.

Brother Onas,
WE have a ſingle Heart. We have but one Heart. Our Heart is green, and good, and found;
This Shell, painted green on its hollow Side, is a Reſemblance of it.

THE Country beyond us, towards the Setting of the Sun, where the *French* live, is all in Darkneſs;
we can ſee no Light there: But towards Sun-riſing, where the *Engliſh* live, we ſee Light; and that is
the Way we turn our Faces. Conſider us as your faſt Friends, and good Brethren.

*Here he delivered a large Shell, painted green on the Concave-side, with
a String of Wampum tied to it.*

Brother Onas,
THIS Belt of Wampum was formerly given to the King of the *Piankaſſas*, one of our Tribes, by
the *Six Nations*; that if at any Time any of our People ſhould be killed, or any Attack made on
them by their Enemies, this Belt ſhould be ſent with the News, and the *Six Nations* would believe it.

THE *Twightwees*, when they brought this Belt to the Lower *Shawoneſe* Town, addreſſed themſelves
to the *Shawoneſe*, *Six Nations*, *Delawares*, and then to the *Engliſh*, and ſaid;

Brethren,
WE are an unhappy People: We have had ſome of our Brethren, the *Engliſh*, killed and taken
Prifoners in our Towns. Perhaps our Brethren, the *Engliſh*, may think, or be told, that we were the
Cause of their Death: We therefore apply to you the *Shawoneſe*, &c. to aſſure the *Engliſh* we were
not. The Attack was ſo ſudden, that it was not in our Power to ſave them. And we hope, when
you deliver this Speech to the *Engliſh*, they will not be prejudiced againſt us, but look on us as their
Brethren: Our Hearts are good towards them.

A large Belt of fourteen Rows.

Brethren,
ONE of our Kings, on his Death-bed, delivered to his Son, the young Boy who ſits next to me,
theſe eight Strings of Wampum, and told him, Child, "I am in Friendſhip with the *Shawoneſe*, *De-
lawares*, *Six Nations*, and *Engliſh*; and I deſire you, if by any Miſfortune I ſhould happen to die, or
be killed by my Enemies, you would ſend this String to them, and they will receive you in Friendſhip
in my Stead.

Delivers the Strings.

1753.

THE following is a Speech of the Wife of the *Piankasha* King, after her Husband's Death, addressed to the *Shawonefe*, *Six Nations*, *Delawares*, and *English*: "Remember, Brethren, that my Husband took a fast Hold of the Chain of Friendship subsisting between your Nations: Therefore I now deliver up his Child into your Care and Protection, and desire you would take Care of him; and remember the Alliance his Father was in with you, and not forget his Friendship, but continue kind to his Child."

Gave four Strings black and white.

Brethren, *Shawonefe*, *Delawares*, *Six Nations*, and *English*,

WE acquaint all our Brethren, that we have prepared this Beaver Blanket as a Seat for all our Brethren to sit on in Council. In the Middle of it we have painted a green Circle, which is the Colour and Resemblance of our Hearts; which we desire our Brethren may believe are sincere towards our Alliance with them.

Delivered a Beaver Blanket.

Then Scarrooyady stood up and said:

Brother Onas,

THE *Shawonefe* and *Delawares* delivered this Speech to the *Six Nations*, and desired they would deliver it to the *English*; and now I deliver it on their Behalf.

Brethren,

WE acquaint you, that as the Wife of the *Piankasha* King delivered his Child to all the Nations, to be taken Care of, they desire that those Nations may be interceeded with, to take Care that the said Child may be placed in his Father's Seat, when he comes to be a Man, to rule their People. And the *Six Nations* now, in Behalf of the Whole, request, that this Petition may not be forgot by the *English*, but that they would see the Request fulfilled.

Gave four Strings.

THEN *Scarrooyady* desired the *Six Nations* Council might be made acquainted with all these Speeches: And added, that they had no more to say; but what they have said is from their Hearts.

At a Meeting of the Commissioners, and Indians, the 4th of October, 1753.

P R E S E N T,

The Commissioners,

The same *Indians* as before.

The Gentlemen of the County.

The Commissioners, unwilling to lose any Time, prepared their Answers early this Morning, and sent for the *Indians*; who having seated themselves, the following Speech was made to them:

Brethren, *Six Nations*, *Delawares*, *Shawonefe*, *Twightwees*, and *Owendaets*,

THE several Matters delivered by you Yesterday have been well considered; and we are now going to return you our Answers.

THE Concern expressed by the *Twightwees* for the Death and Imprisonment of the *English*, with their Professions of Love and Esteem, denotes a sincere and friendly Disposition, which entitles them to our Thanks, and the Continuance of our Friendship; this they may certainly depend on.

Brethren,

You have recommended to us the several Nations, who, you say, live in that great Extent of Country, over which our Traders travel to dispose of their Goods, and especially the *Twightwees*, *Adirondacks*, and *Caghawagas*, who you say live at different Extremities, and have good Inclinations towards the *English*.---We believe you would not give them this Character unless they deserved it. Your Recommendations always will have a Weight with us, and will dispose us in Favour of them, agreeable to your Request.

Brethren,

THE several Articles which contain your Observations on the *Indian* Traders, and the loose straggling Manner in which that Trade is carried on, thro' Countries lying at great Distances from your Towns---Your Proposals to remedy this, by having named three Places for the Traders to reside in, under your Care and Protection, with a Request, that the Province would appoint the particular Persons to be concerned in this Trade, for whom they will be answerable---What you say about the vast Quantities of Rum, and its ill Effects, and that no more may be brought amongst you; all these have made a very strong Impression upon our Minds; and was it now in our Power to rectify these Disorders, and to put Matters on the Footing you propose, we would do it with great Pleasure: But these are Affairs which more immediately concern the Government; in these therefore, we shall imitate your Example, by laying them before the Governor, assuring you, that our heartiest Representations of the Necessity of these Regulations shall not be wanting, being convinced, that unless something effectual be speedily

speedily done in these Matters, the good People of this Province can no longer expect Safety or Profit in their Commerce, nor the Continuance of your Affection.

1753

Brethren,

WE will send an Account to *Onondago* of all that has been transacted between us.

WE will assist you with Horses for the Carriage of the Goods given you.

WE grant your Women and young Men their Request for Rum, on Condition it be not delivered to them until you shall have passed the Mountains.

SCARROOYADY some Days ago desired us to give Orders for the Mending of your Guns, &c. and we did so; being obliged to send for a Gunsmith out of the Country, as no One of that Trade lived in the Town; who promised to come: But having broke his Word, it has not been in our Power to comply with this Request.

Here the String given with the Request was returned.

HAVING delivered our general Answer, we shall now proceed to give one to what was said by particular Nations, as well by the *Shawonefe* in the Forenoon, as by the *Twightwees* in the Afternoon.

Brethren, Delawares, and Shawonefe,

WE are glad to see you in such good Dispositions to each other. We entreat you to do every Thing you can to preserve the Continuance of this agreeable Harmony. The *Shawonefe* may be assured we retain no Manner of Remembrance of their former Miscarriages: We are perfectly reconciled, and our Esteem for their Nation is the same as ever.

Gave a large String.

Brethren, Twightwees,

WE shall take your several Presents, Shells, Strings, Beaver Blanket, and Calumet Pipe, with us, and deliver them to the Governor; that these, and the several Things said at the Delivery of them, may remain in the Council Chamber, at *Philadelphia*, for our mutual Use and Remembrance, whenever it shall please the Great Being, who sits above, to bring us together in Council again.

Gave a long String.

Brethren,

WE desire you will send these two Strouds to the young King, as an Acknowledgment of our affectionate Remembrance of his Father's Love to us, and of our Good-will to him.

BE pleased to present to the Widow of the *Piankasha* King, our late hearty Friend, these Handkerchiefs, to wipe the Tears from her Eyes, and likewise give her Son these two Strouds to clothe him.

Here two Handkerchiefs and two Strouds were given.

Brethren Twightwees,

WE assure you we entertain no hard Thoughts of you; nor in any wise impute to you the Misfortune that befel the *English* in your Town; it was the Chance of War; We were struck together; we fell together; and we lament your Loss equally with our own.

Brethren, Six Nations, Delawares, Shawonefe, Twightwees, and Owendaets,

WE have now finished our Answers; and we hope they will be agreeable to you; Whatever we have said, has been with a hearty Good-will towards you; our Hearts have accompanied our Professions, and you will always find our Actions agreeable to them. Then the Commissioners were silent; and, after a Space of Time, renewed their Speeches to them.

Brethren, Six Nations, Delawares, Shawonefe, Twightwees, and Owendaets,

WE have something to say to you, to which we entreat you will give your closest Attention, since it concerns both us and you very much.

Brethren,

WE have held a Council on the present Situation of your Affairs. We have Reason to think, from the Advices of *Taaf* and *Callender*, that it would be too great a Risque, considering the present Disorder Things are in at *Ohio*, to encrease the Quantity of Goods already given you: We therefore acquaint you, that, though the Governor has furnished us with a larger Present of Goods, to put into your publick Store-house, as a general Stock, for your Support and Service, and we did intend to have sent them along with you; we have, on this late disagreeable Piece of News, altered our Minds, and determined, that the Goods shall not be delivered till the Governor be made acquainted with your present Circumstances, and shall give his own Orders for the Disposal of them. And that they may lie ready for your Use, to be applied for, whenever the Delivery may be safe, seasonable, and likely to do you the most Service; we have committed them to the Care of your good Friend *George Croghan*, who is to transmit to the Governor, by Express, a true and faithful Account how your Matters are likely to turn out; and on the Governor's Order, and not otherwise, to put you into the Possession of them.

THIS we hope you will think a prudent Caution, and a Testimony of our Care for your real Good and Welfare,

Brethren,

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Brethren,
WE have a Favour of a particular Nature to request from your Speaker, *Scarrooyady*, in which we expect your Concurrence, and joint Interest; and therefore make it to him in your Presence. Here the Commissioners applying to *Scarrooyady*, spoke as follows:

Respected Chief and Brother Scarrooyady,
WE have been informed by *Andrew Montour*, and *George Crogban*, that you did at *Winchester*, in publick Council, undertake to go to *Carolina*, to sollicit the Release of some Warriors of the *Shawonese* Nation, who are said to be detained in the publick Prison of *Charles-Town*, on Account of some Mischief committed by them, or their Companions, in the inhabited Part of that Province; and these two Persons, who are your very good Friends, have given it as their Opinion, if, after you know what has passed at *Ohio*, you shall now leave this Company of *Indians*, and not return with them to their Families, and assist in the Consultations with the *Half King*, and their other Chiefs, what Measures to take in this unhappy Situation of your Affairs, all may be irrecoverably lost at *Allegheny*, and the Loss with Justice be laid at your Door. You may, perhaps, be afraid to disoblige the *Shawonese*, as it was at their Instance you undertook this Journey; but we intend to speak to them, and have no Doubt of obtaining their Consent; convinc'd as we are, that the Release of these Prisoners will be sooner and more effectually procur'd by the joint Interposition of the Governors of *Pennsylvania* and *Virginia*, than by your personal Sollicitation; in as much as our Governor, to whom we shall very heartily recommend this Affair, can send, with greater Dispatch, his Letters to *Carolina*, than you can perform the Journey; for at this Season, Opportunities present every Day of sending by Sea to *Charles-Town*; and an Express by Land may be dispatched to Governor *Dunwiddie*, as soon as we return to *Philadelphia*.

Gave a String.

THE *Shawonese* Chiefs expressing Dissatisfaction at this Endeavour of the Commissioners to stop *Scarrooyady*, it gave us some Trouble to satisfy them, and obtain their Consent; but at last it was effected; and when this was signified to *Scarrooyady*, he made this Answer.

Brother Onas,
I WILL take your Advice, and not go to *Virginia* at this Time,---but go Home, and do every Thing in my Power for the common Good. And since we are here now together, with a great deal of Pleasure I must acquaint you, that we have set a Horn on *Andrew Montour's* Head, and that you may believe what he says to be true, between the *Six Nations* and you, they have made him one of their Counsellors, and a great Man among them, and love him dearly.

Scarrooyady gave a large Belt to Andrew Montour, and the Commissioners agreed to it.

AFTER this Difficulty was got over, nothing else remained to be done; and as the Absence of these *Indians* was dangerous, the Commissioners put an End to the Treaty, and took their Leave of them, making private Presents at parting, to such of the Chiefs, and others, as were recommended by the Interpreters to their particular Notice.

THUS, may it please the Governor, we have given a full and just Account of all our Proceedings, and we hope our Conduct will meet with his Approbation. But, in Justice to these *Indians*, and the Promises we made them, we cannot close our Report, without taking Notice, That the Quantities of strong Liquors sold to these *Indians* in the Places of their Residence, and during their Hunting Seasons, from all Parts of the Counties over *Sasquehannab*, have encreased of late to an inconceivable Degree, so as to keep these poor *Indians* continually under the Force of Liquor, that they are hereby become dissolute, enfeebled and indolent when sober, and untractable and mischievous in their Liquor, always quarrelling, and often murdering one another: That the Traders are under no Bonds, nor give any Security for their Observance of the Laws, and their good Behaviour; and by their own Intemperance, unfair Dealings, and Irregularities, will, it is to be feared, entirely estrange the Affections of the *Indians* from the *English*; deprive them of their natural Strength and Activity, and oblige them either to abandon their Country, or submit to any Terms, be they ever so unreasonable, from the *French*. These Truths, may it please the Governor, are of so interesting a Nature, that we shall stand excused in recommending in the most earnest Manner, the deplorable State of these *Indians*, and the heavy Discouragements under which our Commerce with them at present labours, to the Governor's most serious Consideration, that some good and speedy Remedies may be provided, before it be too late.

RICHARD PETERS,
ISAAC NORRIS,
BENJ. FRANKLIN.

November 1, 1753.