

DOCUMENTS,

LEGISLATIVE AND EXECUTIVE,

OF THE

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,

FROM THE FIRST SESSION OF THE FIRST TO THE THIRD SESSION OF THE
THIRTIETH CONGRESS, INCLUSIVE:

COMMENCING MARCH 3, 1789, AND ENDING MARCH 3, 1816.

SELECTED AND EDITED, UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF CONGRESS,

BY WALTER LOWRIE, *Secretary of the Senate,*

AND

MATTHEW ST. CLAIR CLARKE, *Clerk of the House of Representatives.*

VII
VOLUME IV.

WASHINGTON:

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1832.

FATHER:

The voice of the Seneca nation speaks to you, the great councillor, in whose heart the wise men of all the Thirteen Fires have placed their wisdom. It may be very small in your ears, and we therefore entreat you to hearken with attention: for we are about to speak of things which are to us very great. When your army entered the country of the Six Nations, we called you the town destroyer; and to this day, when that name is heard, our women look behind them and turn pale, and our children cling close to the necks of their mothers. Our councillors and warriors are men, and cannot be afraid; but their hearts are grieved with the tears of our women and children, and desire it may be buried so deep as to be heard no more.

When you gave us peace, we called you father, because you promised to secure us in the possession of our lands. Do this, and so long as the lands shall remain, that beloved name will live in the heart of every Seneca. FATHER: We mean to open our hearts before you, and we earnestly desire that you will let us clearly understand what you resolve to do. When our chiefs returned from the treaty at Fort Stanwix, and laid before our council what had been done there, our nation was surprised to hear how great a country you had compelled them to give up to you, without your paying to us any thing for it. Every one said that your hearts were yet swelled with resentment against us for what had happened during the war, but that one day you would reconsider it with more kindness. We asked each other, What have we done to deserve such severe chastisement?

FATHER: When you kindled your thirteen fires separately, the wise men that assembled at them told us, that you were all brothers, the children of one great father, who regarded, also, the red people as his children. They called us brothers, and invited us to his protection; they told us that he resided beyond the great water, where the sun first rises; that he was a king whose power no people could resist, and that his goodness was bright as that sun. What they said went to our hearts; we accepted the invitation, and promised to obey him. What the Seneca nation promised, they faithfully perform; and when you refused obedience to that king, he commanded us to assist his beloved men in making you sober. In obeying him, we did no more than yourselves had led us to promise. The men who claimed this promise told us that you were children, and had no guns; that when they had shaken you, you would submit. We hearkened to them, and were deceived, until your army approached our towns. We were deceived; but your people, in teaching us to confide in that king, had helped to deceive, and we now appeal to your heart—Is the blame all ours?

FATHER: When we saw that we were deceived, and heard the invitation which you gave us to draw near to the fire which you kindled, and talk with you concerning peace, we made haste towards it. You then told us that we were in your hand, and that, by closing it, you could crush us to nothing, and you demanded from us a great country, as the price of that peace which you had offered us; as if our want of strength had destroyed our rights; our chiefs had felt your power, and were unable to contend against you, and they therefore gave up that country. What they agreed to, has bound our nation; but your anger against us must, by this time, be cooled; and, although our strength has not increased, nor your power become less, we ask you to consider calmly, Were the terms dictated to us by your commissioners reasonable and just?

FATHER: Your commissioners, when they drew the line which separated the land then given up to you, from that which you agreed should remain to be ours, did most solemnly promise, that we should be secured in the peaceable possession of the lands which we inhabited east and north of that line. Does this promise bind you?

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Hear now, we beseech you, what has since happened concerning that land. On the day in which we finished the treaty at Fort Stanwix, commissioners from Pennsylvania told our chiefs that they had come there to purchase from us all the lands belonging to us, within the lines of their State, and they told us that their line would strike the river Sasquehanna below Joga branch. They then left us to consider of the bargain till the next day; on the next day we let them know that we were unwilling to sell all the lands within their State, and proposed to let them have a part of it, which we pointed out to them in their map. They told us that they must have the whole; that it was already ceded to them by the great king, at the time of making peace with you, and was *their own*; but they said that they would not take advantage of that, and were willing to pay us for it, after the manner of their ancestors. Our chiefs were unable to contend, at that time, and therefore they sold the lands up to the line, which was then shown to them as the line of that State. What the commissioners had said about the land having been ceded to them at the peace, our chiefs considered as intended only to lessen the price, and they passed it by with very little notice; but since that time, we have heard so much from others about the right to our lands, which the king gave when you made peace with him, that it is our earnest desire that you will tell us what it means.

FATHER: Our nation empowered John Livingston to let out part of our lands on rent, to be paid to us. He told us, that he was sent by Congress, to do this for us, and we fear he has deceived us in the writing he claimed from us. For, since the time of our giving that power, a man of the name of Phelps has come among us, and claimed our whole country northward of the line of Pennsylvania, under purchase from that Livingston, to whom, he said, he had paid twenty thousand dollars for it. He said, also, that he had bought, likewise, from the council of the Thirteen Fires, and paid them twenty thousand dollars more for the same.

And he said, also, that it did not belong to us, for that the great king had ceded the whole of it, when you made peace with him. Thus he claimed the whole country north of Pennsylvania, and west of the lands belonging to the Cayugas. He demanded it; he insisted on his demand, and declared that he would have it all. It was impossible for us to grant him this, and we immediately refused it. After some days, he proposed to run a line, at a small distance eastward of our western boundary, which we also refused to agree to. He then threatened us with immediate war, if we did not comply.

Upon this threat, our chiefs held a council, and they agreed that no event of war could be worse than to be driven, with their wives and children, from the only country which we had any right to, and, therefore, weak as our nation was, they determined to take the chance of war, rather than to submit to such unjust demands, which seemed to have no bounds. Still, the great leader to Niagara, was then with us, having come at the request of Phelps, and as he always professed to be our great friend, we consulted him upon this subject. He also told us, that our lands had been ceded by the king, and that we must give them up.

Astonished at what we heard from every quarter, with hearts aching with compassion for our women and children, we were thus compelled to give up all our country north of the line of Pennsylvania and east of the Genesee river, up to the fork, and east of a south line drawn from that fork to the Pennsylvania line.

For this land, Phelps agreed to pay us ten thousand dollars in hand, and one thousand a year for ever. He paid us two thousand and five hundred dollars in hand, part of the ten thousand, and he sent for us to come last spring, to receive our money; but instead of paying us the remainder of the ten thousand dollars, and the one thousand dollars due for the first year, he offered us no more than five hundred dollars, and insisted that he agreed with us for that sum, to be paid yearly. We debated with him for six days, during all which time he persisted in refusing to pay us our just demand, and he insisted that we should receive the five hundred dollars, and Street from Niagara, also insisted on our receiving the money, as it was offered to us. The last reason he assigned for not returning to pay us our just demand, and he insisted that we should receive the five hundred dollars, and Street with us for that sum, to be paid yearly.

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We debated with him for six days, during all which time he persisted

about it. But before we speak to you concerning this, we must know from you whether you mean to leave us and our children any land to till. Speak plainly to us concerning this great business. All the lands we have been speaking of belonged to the Six Nations; no part of it ever belonged to the King of England, and he could not give it to you. The land we live on, our fathers received from God, and they transmitted it to us. Our children, and we cannot part with it. FATHER: We told you that we would open our hearts to you. Hear us once more. At Fort Stanwix, we agreed to deliver up those of our people who should do you any wrong, that you might try them, and punish them according to your law. We delivered up two men according, but instead of trying them according to your law, the lowest of your people took them from your magistrates, and put them immediately to death. It is just to punish murder with death; but the Senecas will not deliver up their people to men who disregard the treaties of their own nation. FATHER: Innocent men of our nation are killed one after another, and of our best families; but none of your people who have committed the murder have been punished. We recollect that you did not promise to punish those who killed our people, and we now ask, was it intended that your people should kill the Senecas, and not only remain unpunished by you, but be protected by you against the revenge of the next of kin? FATHER: These are to us very great things. We know that you are very strong, and we have heard that you are wise, and we wait to hear your answer to what we have said, that we may know that you are just. Signed at Philadelphia, the first day of December, 1790.

CORNPLANTER, his x mark.
HALE-TOWN, his x mark.
GREAT-THREE, his x mark.

Present at signing, JOSEPH NICHOLSON, Interpreter, J. Y. MATLOCK.

The reply of the President of the United States to the speech of the Complainter, Half-Town, and Great-Tree, Chiefs and Counsellors of the Seneca nation of Indians.

I, the President of the United States, by my own mouth, and by a written speech, signed with my own hand, and sealed with the seal of the United States, speak to the Seneca nation, and desire their attention, and that they would keep this speech in remembrance of the friendship of the United States. I have received your speech with satisfaction, as a proof of your confidence in the justice of the United States, and I have attentively examined the several objects which you have laid before me, whether delivered by your own chiefs at Tiooga Point, in the last month, to Colonel Pickering, or laid before me in the present month, by the Corn-Planter and the other Seneca chiefs now in this city. In the first place, I observe to you, and request it may sink deeply into your minds, that it is my desire, and the desire of the United States, that all the miseries of the late war should be forgotten, and buried forever. That, in future, the United States and the Six Nations should be truly brothers, promoting each other's prosperity by acts of mutual friendship and justice. I am not uninformed, that the Six Nations have been led into some difficulties, with respect to the sale of their lands, since the peace. But I must inform you that these evils arose before the present Government of the United States was established, when the separate States, and individuals under their authority, undertook to treat with the Indian tribes respecting the sale of their lands. But the case is now entirely altered; the General Government only, has the power to treat with the Indian nations, and any treaty formed, and held without its authority, will not be binding. Here, then, is the security for the remainder of your lands. No State, nor person, can purchase your lands, unless at some public treaty, held under the authority of the United States. The General Government will never consent to your being defrauded, but it will protect you in all your just rights. Hear well, and let it be heard by every person in your nation, that the President of the United States declares, that the General Government considers itself bound to protect you in all the lands secured to you by the treaty of Fort Stanwix, the 22d of October, 1784, excepting such parts as you may have fairly sold, to persons properly authorized to purchase of you. You complain that John Livingston and Oliver Phelps, assisted by Mr. Street, of Niagara, have obtained your lands, and that they have not complied with their agreement. It appears, upon inquiry of the Governor of New York, that John Livingston was not legally authorized to treat with you, and that every thing he did with you has been declared null and void, so that you may rest easy on that account. But it does not appear, from any proofs yet in possession of Government, that Oliver Phelps has defrauded you. It, however, you have any just cause of complaint against him, and can make satisfactory proof thereof, the federal courts will be open to you for redress, as to all other persons. But your great object seems to be, the security of your remaining lands; and I have, therefore, upon this point, meant to be sufficiently strong and clear, that, in future, you cannot be defrauded of your lands, that you possess the right to sell, and the right of refusing to sell, your lands; that, therefore, the sale of your lands, in future, will depend entirely upon yourselves. But that, when you may find it for your interest to sell any part of your lands, the United States must be present, by their agent, and will be your security that you shall not be defrauded in the bargain you may make. It will, be important, that, before you make any further sales of your lands, you should determine among yourselves who are the persons among you, that shall give such conveyances thereof as shall be binding upon your nation, and forever prevent all disputes relative to the validity of the sale. That, besides the before mentioned security for your land, you will perceive, by the law of Congress for regulating trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, the latterly care the United States intend to take of the Indians. For Tiooga, which, with the law, I refer you to the explanations given thereof by Colonel Timothy Pickering, at your having said in your speech that the same is going away from among you, and that you thought it the design of the Great Spirit that you should till the ground; but before you speak upon this subject, you want to know whether the Union mean to leave you any land to till. You now know, that all the lands secured to you, by the treaty of Fort Stanwix, excepting such parts as you may have fairly sold, are yours, and that only your own acts can convey them away. Speak, therefore, your wishes, on the subject of tilling the ground. The United States will be happy in affording you every assistance, in the only business which will add to your numbers and happiness. The murders that have been committed upon some of your people, by the bad white men, I sincerely lament and reprobate; and I earnestly hope, that the real murderers will be secured, and punished as they deserve. This business has been sufficiently explained to you here, by the Governor of Pennsylvania, and by Colonel Pickering, on behalf of the United States, at Tiooga. The Senecas may be assured, that the rewards offered for apprehending the murderers, will be continued, until they are secured for trial; and that, when they shall be apprehended, they will be tried and punished as if they had killed white men. Having answered the most material parts of your speech, I shall inform you that some bad Indians, and the out-casts of several tribes, who reside at the Miami village, have long continued their murders and depredations upon the frontiers lying along the Ohio. That they have not only refused to listen to my voice, inviting them to peace, but that, upon receiving it, they renewed their incursions and murders, with greater violence than ever. I have, therefore, been obliged to strike those bad people, in order to make them sensible of their madness. I sincerely hope they will bearken to reason, and not require to be farther chastised. The United States desire to be the friends of the Indians, upon terms of justice and humanity; but they will not suffer the depredations of the bad Indians to go unpunished. My desire is, that you would caution all the Senecas, and Six Nations, to prevent their

rash young men from joining the Maumee Indians: for the United States cannot distinguish the tribes to which bad Indians belong, and every tribe must take care of their own people. The merits of the Complanter, and his friendship for the United States, are well known to me, and shall not be forgotten; and, as a mark of the esteem of the United States, I have directed the Secretary of War to make him a present of _____ dollars, either in money or goods, as the Complanter shall like best; and he may depend upon the future care and kindness of the United States; and I have also directed the Secretary of War to make suitable presents to the other chiefs in Philadelphia; and also, that some further tokens of friendship be forwarded to the other chiefs in ground of your future happiness, and you may rely upon their kindness and protection. An agent shall soon be appointed to reside in some place convenient to the Senecas and Six Nations. He will represent the United States, and apply to him on all occasions. If any man bring you evil reports of the intentions of the United States, mark that man as your enemy: for he will mean to deceive you, and lead you into trouble. The United States will be true and faithful to their engagements.

Given under my hand, and the seal of the United States, at Philadelphia, this twenty-ninth day of [L. s.] December, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety, and in the fifteenth year of the sovereignty and independence of the United States.

By the President:

TH: JEFFERSON.

By command of the President of the United States of America:

H. KNOX, Secretary for the Department of War.

The speech of the Complanter, Half-Town, and the Great-Tee, Chiefs of the Seneca nation, to the President of the United States of America.

FATHER: Your speech, written on the great paper, is to us like the first light of the morning to a sick man, whose pulse beats too strongly in his temples, and prevents him from sleep. He sees it, and rejoices, but he is not cured.

You say that you have spoken plainly on the great point. That you will protect us in the hands secured to us at fort Stanwix, and that we have the right to sell or to refuse to sell it. This is very good. But our nation complain that you compelled us at that treaty to give up too much of our lands. We confess that our nation is bound by what was there done; and, acknowledging your power, we have now appealed to yourselves against that treaty, as made while you were too angry at us, and, therefore, unreasonable and unjust. To this you have given us no answer.

FATHER: That treaty was not made with a single State, it was with the thirteen States. We never would have given all that land to one State. We know it was before you had the great authority, and as you have more wisdom than the commissioners, who forced us into that treaty, we expect that you have also more regard to justice, and will now, at our request, reconsider that treaty, and restore to us a part of that land.

FATHER: The land which lies between the line running south from lake Erie to the boundary of Pennsylvania, as mentioned at the treaty at fort Stanwix, and the eastern boundary of the land which you sold, and the Senecas confirmed to Pennsylvania, is the land on which Half-Town and all his people live, with other chiefs, who always have been, and still are, dissatisfied with the treaty at fort Stanwix. They grew out of this land, and their fathers' fathers grew out of it, and they cannot be persuaded to part with it. We therefore entreat you to restore to us this little piece.

FATHER: Look at the land which we gave to you at that treaty, and then turn your eyes upon what we now ask you to restore to us, and you will see that we ask you to return is a very little piece. By giving it back again, you will satisfy the whole of our nation. The chiefs who signed that treaty will be in safety, and peace between your children and our children will continue so long as your land shall join to ours. Every man of our nation will then turn his eyes away from all the other lands which we ther gave up to you, and forget that our fathers ever said that they belonged to them.

FATHER: We see that you ought to have the path at the carrying place from lake Erie to Niagara, as it was marked down at fort Stanwix, and we are all willing it should remain to be yours. And if you desire to reserve a passage through the Cowango, and through the Chataigne lake and land, for a path from that lake to lake Erie, take it where you best like. Our nation will rejoice to see it an open path for you and your children while the land and water remain. But let us also pass along the same way, and continue to take the fish of those waters in common with you.

FATHER: You say that you will appoint an agent to take care of us. Let him come and take care of our trade; but we desire he may not have any thing to do with our lands: for the agents which have come amongst us, and pretended to take care of us, have always deceived us whenever we sold lands; both when the King of England and when the States have bargained with us. They have by this means occasioned many wars, and we are therefore unwilling to trust them again.

FATHER: When we return home, we will call a great council, and consider well how lands may be hereafter sold by our nation. And when we have agreed upon it, we will send you notice of it. But we desire that you will not depend on your agent for information concerning land; for, after the abuses which we have suffered by such men, we will not trust them with any thing which relates to land.

FATHER: We will not hear lies concerning you, and we desire that you will not hear lies concerning us, and then we shall certainly live at peace with you.

FATHER: There are men who go from town to town and begot children, and leave them to perish, or, except better men take care of them, to grow up without instruction. Our nation has looked round for a father, but they found none that would own them for children, until you now tell us that your courts are open to us as to your own people. The joy which we feel at this great news, so mixed with the sorrows that are passed, that we cannot express our gladness, nor conceal the remembrance of our afflictions. We will speak of them at another time.

FATHER: We are ashamed that we have listened to the lies of Livingston, or been influenced by threats of war by Phelps, and would hide that whole transaction from the world, and from ourselves, by quietly receiving what Phelps promised to give us for the lands they cheated us of. But as Phelps will not pay us even according to that fraudulent bargain, we will lay the whole proceedings before your court. When the evidence which we can produce is heard, we think it will appear that the whole bargain was founded on lies, which he placed one upon another, that the goods which he charges to us as part payment were plundered from us; that, if Phelps was not directly concerned in the theft, he knew of it at the time, and concealed it from us; and that the persons we condoned in were bribed by him to deceive us in the bargain. And if these facts appear, that your court will not say that such bargains are just, but will set the whole aside.

FATHER: We apprehend that our evidence might be called for, as Phelps was here, and knew what we have said concerning him; and as Ebenezer Allen knew something of the matter, we desired him to continue here. Nicholson, the interpreter, is very sick, and we request that Allen may remain a few days longer, as he speaks our language.

FATHER: The blood which was spilled near Pine creek is covered, and we shall never look where it lies. We know that Pennsylvania will satisfy us for that which we spoke of to them before we spoke to you. The chain of friendship will now, we hope, be made strong as you desire it to be. We will hold it fast, and our end of it shall never rust in our hands.

FATHER: We told you what advice we gave the people you are now at war with, and we now tell you that they have promised to come again to our towns next spring. We shall not wait for their coming, but will set out very early, and shew to them what you have done for us, which must convince them that you will do for them every thing which they ought to ask. We think they will hear and follow our advice.

FATHER: You give us leave to speak our minds concerning the tilling of the ground. We ask you to teach us to plough and to grind corn; to assist us in building saw mills, and to supply us with broad axes, saws, augers, and other tools, so as that we may make our houses more comfortable and more durable; that you will send smiths among us, and, above all, that you will teach our children to read and write, and our women to spin and to weave. The manner of your doing these things for us we leave to you, who understand them; but we assure you that we will follow your advice as far as we are able.

CORNPLANTER, his x mark.
HALF-TOWN, his x mark.
GREAT-TREE, his x mark.

Present at signing, Joseph Nicholson, Interpreter.
Ty. Matlack.
John Dechart, his x mark.
Jem Hudson, his x mark.
Philadelphia, 10th January, 1791.

The speech of the President of the United States to the Cornplanter, Half-Town, and Big-Tree, chiefs of the Seneca nation of Indians.

BROTHERS:

I have maturely considered your second written speech.

You say your nation complain that, at the treaty of fort Stanwix, you were compelled to give up too much of your lands; that you confess your nation is bound by what was there done, and acknowledging the power of the United States; that you have now appealed to ourselves against that treaty, as made while we were angry against you, and

that the said treaty was, therefore, unreasonable and unjust. But, while you complain of the treaty of fort Stanwix, in 1784, you seem entirely to forget that you, yourselves, the Cornplanter, Half-Town, and Great-Tree, with others of your nation, confirmed, by the treaty of fort Stanwix, upon the Muskingum, so late as the ninth of January, 1789, the boundary marked at the treaty of fort Stanwix, and that, in consideration thereof, you then received goods to a considerable amount.

Although it is my sincere desire, in looking forward, to endeavor to promote your happiness, by all just and humane arrangements, yet I cannot disannul treaties formed by the United States, before my administration, especially, as the boundaries mentioned therein have been twice confirmed by yourselves. The lines fixed at fort Stanwix and fort Harmar, must, therefore, remain established. But Half-Town, and the others, who reside on the land you desire may be relinquished, have not been disturbed in their possession, and I should hope, while he and they continue to demean themselves peaceably, and to manifest their friendly dispositions to the people of the United States, that they will be suffered to remain where they are.

The agent who will be appointed by the United States, will be your friend and protector. He will not be suffered to defraud you, or to assist in defrauding you of your lands, or of any other thing, as all his proceedings must be reported in writing, so as to be submitted to the President of the United States.

You mention your design of going to the Miami Indians, to endeavor to persuade them to peace. By this humane measure you will render those mistaken people a great service, and, probably, prevent them from being swept from off the face of the earth. The United States require, only, that those people should demean themselves peaceably; but they may be assured, that the United States are able, and will, most certainly punish them severely for all their robberies and murders. You may, when you return from this city to your own country, mention to your nation my desire to promote their prosperity, by teaching them the use of domestic animals, and the manner that the white people plough, and raise so much corn. And if, upon consideration, it would be agreeable to the nation at large to learn these valuable arts, I will find some means of teaching them, at such places within your country as shall be agreed upon.

I have nothing more to add, but to refer you to my former speech, and to repeat my wishes for the happiness of the Seneca nation.

[L. s.] Given under my hand, and seal of the United States, at Philadelphia, this nineteenth day of January, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

The speech of Cornplanter, Half-Town, and the Big-Tree, Seneca Chiefs, to the Great Council of the Thirteen Fires.

FATHER:

No Seneca ever goes from the fire of his friend, until he has said to him, "I am going." We therefore tell you, that we are now setting out for our own country.

FATHER: We thank you, from our hearts, that we now know there is a country we may call our own, and on which we may lie down in peace. We see that there will be peace between your children and our children; and our hearts are very glad. We will persuade the Wyandots, and other Western nations, to open their eyes, and look towards the bed which you have made for us, and to ask of you a bed for themselves, and their children, that will not slide from under them.

We thank you for your presents to us, and rely on your promise to instruct us in raising corn, as the white people do; the sooner you do this, the better for us. And we thank you for the care you have taken to prevent bad men from coming to trade among us: if any come without your license, we will turn them back; and we hope our nation will determine to spill all the rum which shall, hereafter, be brought to our towns.

FATHER: We are glad to hear that you determine to appoint an agent that will do us justice, in taking care that bad men do not come to trade amongst us; but we earnestly intreat you that you will let us have an interpreter in whom we can confide, to reside at Pittsburg: to that place our people, and other nations, will long continue to resort; there we must send what news we hear, when we go among the Western nations, which, we are determined, shall be early in the spring. We know Joseph Nicholson, and he speaks our language so that we clearly understand what you say to us, and we rely on what he says. If we were able to pay him for his services, we would do it; but, when we meant to pay him, by giving him land, it has not been confirmed to him; and he will not serve us any longer unless you will pay him. Let him stand between, to intreat you.

FATHER: You have not asked any security for peace on our part, but we have agreed to send nine Seneca boys, to be under your care for education. Tell us at what time you will receive them, and they shall be sent at the time you shall appoint. This will assure you that we are, indeed, at peace with you, and determined to continue so. If you can teach them to become wise and good men, we will take care that our nation shall be willing to receive instruction from them.

Signed at Philadelphia, 7th February, 1791, in presence of
JOSEPH NICHOLSON, Interpreter,
THOMAS PROCTOR,
TY. MATLACK.

CORNPLANTER, his x mark.
HALF-TOWN, his x mark.
BIG-TREE, his x mark.

The speech of the Secretary of War to the Complainter, Half-Town, and Big-Tree, chiefs of the Seneca nation of Indians.

The subscriber, the Secretary of War, has submitted your speech, of yesterday, to the President of the United States, who has commanded him to assure you of his good wishes for your happiness, and that you may have a pleasant journey to your own country.

The Governor of the Western Territory will appoint you an interpreter whenever one shall be necessary. The President of the United States does not choose to interfere on this point.

The President of the United States thinks it will be the best mode of teaching you how to raise corn, by sending one or two sober men to reside in your nation, with proper implements of husbandry. It will, therefore, be proper that you should, upon consultation, appoint a proper place for such persons to till the ground. They are not to claim the land on which they shall plough.

The President of the United States, also, thinks it will be the best mode of teaching your children to read and write, to send a schoolmaster among you, and not for you to send your children among us. He will, therefore, look out for a proper person for this business.

As soon as you shall learn any thing of the intentions of the Western Indians, you will inform the Governor of the Western Territory thereof, or the officer commanding at fort Washington, in order to be communicated to the President of the United States.

Given at the War Office of the United States, this eighth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one.

H. KNOX, Secretary of War.

Message from the Complainter, New-Arrow, Half-Town, and Big-Tree, chiefs of the Seneca nation of Indians, to the President of the United States.

PITTSBURGH, March 17, 1791.

Sir: When we raised from the great council of the Thirteen Fires, we mentioned that we meant to have a council with the chiefs of the bad, angry Indians.

Through the whole Quaker State, as we came up the road, we were treated well, and they took good care of us until we came here. One misfortune happened only, that one of our wagons is not yet arrived here, the one we first engaged, with the goods you presented to us.

FATHER: Your promise to us was, that you would keep all your people quiet; but, since we came here, we find that some of our people have been killed—the good honest people who were here trading.

FATHER: We hope you will not suffer all the good people to be killed; but your people are killing them as fast as they can. Three men and one woman have been killed at Big Beaver creek, and they were good people, and some of the white people will testify the truth of this. When we heard the news, we found one boy had made his escape, and got to the trader's house, who saved his life; we now wait to see him.

FATHER: We have been informed that twenty-seven men came from another State, and murdered these men in the Quaker State, and took away nine horses, and all the goods they had purchased from the trader. Our father, and ruler over all mankind, now speak and tell us, did you order these men to be killed?

FATHER: Our word is pledged to you that we would endeavor to make peace with all warrior nations. If we cannot do it, do not blame us: you struck the innocent men first. We hope you will not blame us, as your people have first broke good rules; but, as for our people, they are as friendly and firm as ever.

FATHER: We must now acquaint you with the men's names who did this murder at Beaver creek: Samuel Brady, formerly a captain in your army, and under your command, also a Balden, were persons concerned in this murder.

FATHER: We can inform you little more, therefore will conclude with asking you how we should have come to the knowledge of this, or how we could have informed you, had it not been for our good friend Joseph Nicholson? Therefore beg you may grant him an appointment as interpreter: for we cannot see how we will do without him.

We know of no other man that speaks your language and ours so well as him.

CORNPLANTER, his + mark,
NEW-ARROW, his + mark,
HALF-TOWN, his + mark,
BIG-TREE, his + mark.

P. S. The boy who made his escape at Beaver creek has arrived at this place, and I have taken him under my protection. Father, your despatches for Detroit have been unavoidably detained, heretofore, but to-morrow Big-Tree and one other shall set off with them, and will also take the boy mentioned here, and deliver him to his relations. We part to-day at this place: Big-Tree is going amongst the cross Indians, to see if they will make peace and I go to my own people, to call them to council.

CORNPLANTER.

Message from the Secretary of War to the Complainter, and all the chiefs of the Six Nations of Indians.

BROTHERS: Your message of the seventeenth of the present month has been received, in which you complain that a number of friendly Indians were killed at Big Beaver creek, by Samuel Brady and others, who came from another State to commit this murder; and you ask whether the President of the United States has not, and will not, order any friendly Indians to be killed. That he did not order the men at Big Beaver to be killed; and that he will be very angry indeed when he shall hear of it. Major General St. Clair, the great warrior of the United States on the Ohio, will inquire into this matter, and will comfort the friends and relations of the persons who were killed, and will make them compensation for the horses and other property that were taken at Big Beaver.

BROTHERS: You may be convinced, that the President of the United States will do all in his power to bring the murderers to justice; and that he will consider the crime as bad, exactly, as if it had been committed against so many white people, and will use the same endeavors to bring them to justice.

BROTHERS: Hold fast the chain of friendship between you and the President of the United States. Do not suffer the conduct of bad men to create any coolness or disgust, and all will be well yet. By this time, it is to be hoped that Colonel Procter will have set off for the Miami Indians. Take care of him, and assist him in the good work of peace. Brothers, farewell; may no more accidents arise from the conduct of bad people to interrupt the friendship of the United States and the Six Nations.

Given under my hand, and the seal of the War Office, this twenty-eighth day of March, one thousand [L. a.] seven hundred and ninety-one.

H. KNOX, Secretary of War.

Instructions to Colonel Thomas Procter.

Sir: Having offered to you the execution of a mission, on the part of the United States, to the Miami and Wabash Indians, and you having accepted of the same, you are to receive these instructions as the rule of your conduct.

The great object of your long journey is, to impress the said Miami and Wabash Indians with the candor and justice of the General Government. That the United States require only that they would demean themselves peaceably.

That, if they should refuse to listen to this invitation, they only will be liable for the evil which will fall upon and crush them.

This invitation is not made in consequence of any principles of fear, but from a desire to pluck them, if possible, out of the fire, which is already kindled.

The message which is herewith delivered you, will show you the sentiments expressed to them, and you, and the Indians who may accompany you, are to say all that may be proper to enforce said sentiments.

You have been informed of the measures taken with the Cornplanter, Big-Tree, and Half-Town, and other Senecas, who were in this city lately, to go to the said Miami and Wabash Indians, with messages from their own nation, of similar import with the one with which you are charged.

You will, therefore, immediately repair to the Cornplanter's residence, which is upon a branch of the Alleghany river, near the creek called Oil Creek, and make known to him your intentions, and deliver him the speech here-

with delivered you for the Senecas, and others of the Six Nations.

It is possible he may not be at home, in which case it will be important to despatch, instantly, runners for him; or in case he should be counselling at Buffalo creek, with the other parts of the nation, it may be proper for you to repair thither.

You are to endeavor, by all possible means, to induce the Cornplanter, and as many other of the chiefs as possible, to go with you upon your mission to the Miami and Wabash Indians; and you will remember, that it is of the highest importance that you should set off without the least delay.

Having obtained, as companions, the chiefs of the Senecas, and others, you will proceed by land or water, as shall be judged best, to Sandusky, upon Lake Erie, where reside the Wyandot and Delaware tribes of Indians. These tribes are our friends, and in treaty with us, which, as far as is known, has been well observed by them.

You have also herewith delivered to you, two messages, one to each of the said tribes, written by General St. Clair, who made the treaties with them at Fort Hartman, in January, 1789.

You will inform them of the object of your journey, and desire that they will appoint some of their chiefs to accompany you, agreeably to the general desire in his messages.

You will proceed from the Wyandots and Delawares, directly to the Miami town, where you will assemble the Indians together, and speak to them in the style beforementioned.

If you succeed in persuading them to accompany you to fort Washington, you will set out immediately with them, sending Captain Houdin, and such chiefs of all the tribes present, as shall be agreed upon, to the Wea or Ojibwa towns, on the Wabash, and to the other tribes on that river and its vicinity, in order to persuade them also to repair to a treaty at fort Washington.

But, if, after using all your arguments to induce the Miami Indians to repair to fort Washington, you should fail, you must leave them, and with the friendly Indians who may accompany you, repair to fort Washington.

Let it be strongly impressed upon your mind, that every movement after you set out upon your journey must be most judiciously employed: for you must, if within the limits of possibility, be at fort Washington by the 5th of May next, whether you succeed or not.

The great retardment to be apprehended, will be at the Cornplanter's residence, or other parts of the Seneca nation; but you will endeavor to render your stay as short as possible.

A knowledge of your character induces a confidence, that you will execute the high trust reposed in you with all due despatch and address.

Your mission requires an acquaintance with human nature, and the art of managing the hopes and fears of an uncivilized race of men. You will be careful not to promise more than is reasonable to the Indians who may accom-

pany you, and all your promises of that sort shall be complied with.

Your business with the Miami and Wabash Indians will be to persuade them to repair to fort Washington, where they shall be treated kindly and justly; but you are not authorized to particularize to them any terms.

Considering the nature of the service, it is proper to be explicit as to the terms you are to receive from the public, which are as follows:

1st. Your reasonable expenses shall be borne by the public, and upon this point you will be careful to set down your expenses daily, in order that a judgment may be formed thereon, when your accounts are to be settled.

2d. As a reward for your services, you shall be allowed the sum of five dollars for each day, while you are actually employed on this business.

3d. If you succeed in bringing the real chiefs of the Miami and the Wabash Indians to a treaty at fort Wash-

ington, you shall receive the further sum of five hundred dollars.

4th. In case you should, in the course of the business, be wounded, or disabled from obtaining a livelihood by your personal exertions, attempts will be made to obtain for you a pension of a lieutenant-colonel-commandant,

wounded in the service of the United States.

5th. And in case you should unfortunately lose your life in the course of this business, the same attempts will be made to obtain the pension of seven years' half-pay of a lieutenant-colonel-commandant, to your orphan children.

Captain Michael Gabriel Houdin, a French officer of reputation, who served in the late war in the Massachusetts line, will accompany you in the prosecution of this business, and in case of any misfortune to you, by sickness or otherwise, he is to take these instructions, and pursue them, as if given to himself.

Captain Houdin is to be allowed his expenses, and two dollars per day, as a reward for his services. And in case he should be wounded or disabled, endeavors shall be used to obtain him a pension of a captain, wounded in the military service of the United States.

I have issued my warrant upon Joseph Howell, to pay you six hundred dollars, on account of your and Captain Houdin's expenses, and for which sum you are regularly to account.

Your route will be from this city to Sunbury, and thence, either directly for that part of the Alleghany where the Cornplanter lives, or to Tioga Point, as you may find best. If you go through Wyoming, inquire for a Captain Baldwin, who has agreed to keep school among the Senecas, on account of the United States.

Provided you should bring the Indians to fort Washington, you will stay there no longer than the treaty shall be accomplished; upon which, you and Captain Houdin will return with all convenient speed to this city.

You will keep a journal of your daily occurrences, and deliver me a copy thereof, when you shall deliver the report of your proceedings.

Given at the War Office of the United States, in the city of Philadelphia, this 11th day of March, 1791.

H. KNOX, Secretary of War.

Message from the Secretary of War to the Miami Indians.

To the Head-men and Warriors of the tribes of Indians of the Miami town, and its neighborhood, and inhabiting the waters of the Miami river of Lake Erie, and to the tribes inhabiting the waters of the river Wabash.

BROTHERS:

The President of the United States, General Washington, the great chief of the Thirteen Rives, speaks to you by this address. Listen attentively to him, for he speaks of things of the highest importance to your future welfare. The white men and the red men inhabit the same country, and ought to be good friends; but the contrary has been the case; injuries and hostilities have subsisted, and the last year many lives were sacrificed on both sides. This address

to you is the offering of a desire to save you from ruin; it is, therefore, of the last consequence, that you should understand and receive it aright. It is unmixed with fear, and dictated by the pure principles of humanity. The President of the United States is anxious that you should understand your true situation, and the consequences of your persisting any longer in the exercise of hostilities. The United States are powerful, and able to send forth such numbers of warriors as would drive you entirely out of the country. It is true, this conduct would occasion some trouble to us, but it would be absolute destruction to you, your women, and your children. The United States require nothing of you but peace. Nay, they are desirous of making you understand the cultivation of the earth, and teaching you how much better it is for human kind to have comfortable houses, to have plenty to eat and drink, and to be well clothed, than to be exposed to all the calamities belonging to a savage life. The offer of peace now made to you is for your good, and the Great Spirit above will approve it. Reflect that this is the last offer that can be made; that, if you do not embrace it now, your doom must be sealed for ever. Receive, then, the bearers, Colonel Procter, Captain Houdin, and our Indian allies who accompany them, with open arms. After having pondered well upon the contents of this address, and what may be further said to the same purpose, call in your parties, and fly, with all your head-men, to fort Washington, at the Miami of the Ohio. Also, send messengers to all the neighboring tribes to come to the same place, and there make and ratify a firm peace with General St. Clair, the great officer of the United States on the Western waters. You will find the terms he shall dictate will be full of justice, no taxation, and humanity. You are now the only tribes with whom the United States have any disputes. The powerful Indian nations south of the Ohio, are our allies; the Six Nations of Northern Indians are at peace with us, and we are desirous of receiving you into the number of our friends, and to forget all the evil which has passed. If you refuse, all the nations will approve and justify your punishment. Given at the War Office of the United States, this 11th day of March, 1791.

H. KNOX, Secretary of War.

Message from the Secretary of War to the Senecas.

BROTHERS: Upon a late visit of the Comptroller, and others of your nation, to the President of the United States, the Great Chief of the Thirteen Fires, it was agreed, that some of the chiefs of the Six Nations should repair immediately to the Miami and Wabash Rivers, in order to explain to them the danger of their situation. That it would be well-pleasing to the President of the United States, to embrace all the surrounding Indian nations as brothers, and to promote their happiness by acts of kindness. That, while this was the sincere desire of the President of the United States, he was determined, that all future murders and invasions of the Indians should be punished severely. The President of the United States is persuaded, that, if the Indians generally could see the kindness of his heart to them, and of his intentions to do them justice, they would, one and all, bury the red hatchet forever. He will, therefore, be obliged to chastise the disorderly Indians, feel all the pain that a kind father feels in chastising his disobedient children. In order, therefore, that the Miami and Wabash Indians shall be without excuse, in the minds of the Six Nations, and other Indian tribes, the President of the United States has determined to send them a solemn warning of their fate, in case they continue their hostilities; and he has, for this purpose, sent Colonel Procter, the bearer, with whom you are acquainted. The President requests that you will immediately set out with Colonel Procter, either by land or water, as shall be judged best. That you would call upon the Wyandots, and Delawares, our friends, and take some of them along with you to the Miami and Wabash Indians. That you would endeavor to persuade the said Miami and Wabash Indians to General St. Clair, the great chief of the United States on the Ohio, and there settle all disputes, on terms of reciprocal justice and humanity. That, on your faithful performance of this business, you will be entitled to the approbation, friendship, and rewards, of the United States. Given at the War Office of the United States, in the city of Philadelphia, this 10th of March, 1791.

H. KNOX, Secretary of War.

Message from Governor St. Clair to the Half-King, and the Chiefs of the Wyandots.

BROTHERS: When I was last at fort Harmar, I left a message for you, and one for the Ottawas and Chippewas. I hope you have received them, and found an opportunity to send them forward. BROTHERS: It would have given me great pleasure to have seen you at fort Harmar, and to have taken you by the hand, in testimony of that friendship which the United States bear to your nation. BROTHERS: I informed you last summer, that the continual depredations of the Shawanese, and the Miamies, had roused the resentment of the United States, and that they would no longer bear them. You know, my brothers, that evil did befall them. But because they were not destroyed entirely, it has had no effect upon them; and they have since done mischief, and killed a number of defenceless women and children. BROTHERS: The United States did not wish to destroy them; why should they? Is not the country large enough for both of us? But they hoped a little correction would have brought them to their senses, and that they might again have been received into friendship. BROTHERS: Notwithstanding all the mischief those foolish nations have done, and some of those on the Wabash, they do not wish to destroy them now, and, upon proper submission, we might still be friends; and it is to let them know precisely the situation in which they stand, and the disposition which the United States are in towards them, that Colonel Procter, who will deliver this to you, is now sent to them. If they will hearken to him, well; if they will not, their blood be upon their own heads. The United States will no longer suffer their depredations, and, if they bring utter destruction upon them, they will be justified before the Great Spirit, and all the world. BROTHERS: Colonel Procter is the messenger of peace to all nations. If they hearken to him, the tree we planted at the Muskingum will grow and flourish, and they may sit under its shade. If they will not hearken to him, keep yourselves at a distance, for ruin will surely overtake them. BROTHERS: I recommend Colonel Procter to your friendship and good offices, and request that you will send some of your discreet people with him, and to interpret for him, if he should be in need of an interpreter. Farewell: I am your assured friend, AR. ST. CLAIR, Governor of the territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio.

PHILADELPHIA, March 8, 1791.

Message from Governor St. Clair to Capt. Pipe, and the other Chiefs of the Delaware Nation.

MY FRIENDS AND BROTHERS:

Conformably to the engagement we mutually entered into at Fort Harmar, to give notice to each other of any hostile parties entering our respective countries, I informed you last summer, that a force would march against the Shawanese and Miamies.

BROTHERS: You very well know, that these nations had been doing us continual mischief; that we had borne them (in hopes that, through good counsel, they would come to their senses) as long as it was possible to bear them; but those hopes were disappointed: the longer that revenge was delayed, the worse they became.

BROTHERS: You know how they suffered last fall, but it has not had the proper effect upon them. They still continue to do mischief, and have since killed a number of defenceless women and children.

BROTHERS: In the last message I sent you, you were told that the United States did not hate the Shawanese and Miamies; that if they would return to their senses, and do what was just and right, they would be taken into friendship. I now tell you again, that the United States are not averse to them; they do not wish to destroy them, well; the evil that it is to carry that information to them, that Colonel Procter is now going. If they listen to him, they will hearken to him. The United States, my brothers, hold fast by the chain they made with you, and as long as you hold it fast, neither spot nor rust shall be suffered to appear upon it.

Farewell: I am your assured friend,

AR. ST. CLAIR,

Governor of the Territory of the United States Northwest of the Ohio.

PHILADELPHIA, March 8, 1791.

That, in pursuance of these instructions, Colonel Procter and Captain Houdin departed from Philadelphia on the 12th of March; that he arrived at the Complanter's the sixteenth day of April; that the Complanter conceiving, according to custom, that he must consult the rest of his nation, Colonel Procter and Captain Houdin, with the Complanter and his Indians, accordingly repaired to Buffalo creek, near Fort Erie, on the 22d of that name.

That, after various councils and difficulties, from the twenty-seventh of April, to the twenty-first of May, the council agreed to send a deputation of Indians with Colonel Procter, provided he could obtain a vessel; that he accordingly applied to Colonel Gordon, the commanding officer of Niagara, to be permitted to freight a vessel to transport himself, and the Indians who should accompany him, to Sandusky, on the west side of Lake Erie.

That copies of his letters and the answers thereto, are as follows:

SIR:

Although I have not the honor of a personal acquaintance, I am, notwithstanding, emboldened to address you by letter, and through the same, to inform you, that I am the person charged with certain messages, from his Excellency the Secretary of War for the United States, to the Six Nations and other tribes of Indians, residing near Lake Erie, &c. One of those messages is particularly sent to the tribes now unhappily at war with the Americans, and with whom it is the ardent desire of General Washington, the President, that peace should be established, on the most lasting terms of equity and justice to them. My mission is, therefore, to invite them to a treaty with Governor St. Clair, on the Ohio, not far from the country they inhabit. The better to effect so desirable an object, proposals were made to the President, in January last, by certain chiefs, who came, on business of the Six Nations, to Philadelphia, viz: that they would appoint in their councils, certain of their head-men, to accompany such gentle-men as might be sent into the country of those misguided people, to bring them to terms of amity with the thirteen States. This, sir, you will discover, on reading the Secretary of War's letter to the Six Nations, and committed to my care. It will be handed you by the Young King, with other public papers, which were delivered Captain O'Beel, for the better information of the nations concerned.

I have therefore to entreat you to conceive the most favorable sentiments on the meaning and intent of those public instruments of writing, as they are founded on the principles of humanity, and a regard for the well doing of our fellow men.

And I cannot doubt, but the same motives will invite you to assist in so laudable an undertaking. The effects of which will establish happiness to the British subjects of Canada, &c. as well as to the United States. The favor that I who may accompany me to Sandusky, on Lake Erie. So far as my request meets your approbation, I shall receive here request at your hand, is to permit me to charter one of your vessels in the lake, for such number of Indians, &c. much pleasure by your signifying the same by a few lines to, sir.

Your most humble servant,

THOMAS PROCTER.

Colonel A. Gordon, Commandant of Fort Niagara, &c. &c.

BUFFALO CREEK, 15th May, 1791.

SIR:

The fifth instant I had the pleasure of addressing my first letter to you, and delivered the same to the care of Captain William Print, an Indian, to be presented by him; but having received no answer since, I presume it has miscarried through neglect.

The purport of it was, to be permitted to have a passage in one of the vessels on Lake Erie, for such number of Indians and white men, destined to accompany me to some convenient port on the west end of the lake. The mission that I am charged with, is directed to the Indians now unhappily at war with the United States, with desires to reclaim them to a peaceable demeanor, before that certain destruction overtakes, which is now pending over them. Mr. Horatio Jones will deliver you my letter, and wait your answer, which I hope will be the granting of my request; and whatsoever expenses may accrue upon this occasion, I shall most cheerfully satisfy the same with the commanders, and subscribe myself, sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

THOMAS PROCTER.

Col. A. Gordon, Commandant at Fort Niagara, &c.

NIAGARA, May 18, 1791.

SIR:

A few days ago, I had your letter of the 5th instant, to which I should have returned an immediate answer, had I not waited for some public papers, which you wrote were to be handed to me by the Farmer's Brother, and other chiefs, who were to wait upon me, to receive my advice on business of importance.

I think it but proper to give you this explanation of my not having sooner replied to your letter; but, as there is no document, which places you in any other light than a private agent, I cannot enter on any discussion of a public nature. Whenever any of the chiefs of the Seneca, or others of the Six Nations, apply to me for counsel, I shall give them such advice as I conceive best suits with the present state of affairs. As to that part of

Your letter, which requests to be permitted to freight one of the vessels on lake Erie, to carry you, and such Indians as may be inclined to accompany you, to Sandusky, on the west side of the lake. I beg leave to inform you that I am not authorized to comply with your request.

I am, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

A. GORDON.

That thus failing in obtaining a vessel, the object of his mission also failed, and he returned to Philadelphia, after having exerted himself honorably to proceed forward.

His report is lengthy, and minute, according to his instructions.

NARRATIVE OF COLONEL THOMAS PROCTER.

PHILADELPHIA, July 9th, 1791.

Sir:

In the following narration, I fear to have transgressed, in blending any matters of opinion or of observation out of that which immediately had relation to business committed me to transact. I have, therefore, to request that you will pass over such parts as are *light* and *immaterial*—this being the only copy taken from the original entry, and, when you may think proper to return the same, I will, with pleasure, transcribe the most material parts, and present it as my report, should you think proper to lay the same before his Excellency the President.

I am, your Excellency's most obedient servant,

THOMAS PROCTER.

To the Hon. Secretary of War.

To the Hon. Major General H. Knox, Secretary of War.

The following Diary is respectfully submitted for his inspection, being transcribed under his commission, granted to Thomas Procter, Esq., of the city of Philadelphia, bearing date March 10th, 1791, accompanied with a vash. The same being intended to the establishment of peace and friendly intercourse between the said nations and the United States of America.

March 11th.—Received a draft from the Secretary of War, on Joseph Howell, Esq., paymaster, for the sum of 600 dollars. Purchased a horse from Richard Hunt, for the use of Captain Houdin, sent as my companion into that country—price \$25 4s. Purchased saddlery from I. Polk, the equipment of two horses, as per bill rendered, \$16 11s. Money advanced Captain Houdin, to be accounted for by him, \$16 17s. 6d. McCadden's draught of North America, &c. 12s. 6d.—pocket compass, best kind, 16s. 8d.—tin box and oil case, 11s. 3d. as also two small books and one quire of paper, 9s. 4½d.

March 12th.—Left the city of Philadelphia, accompanied by Captain M. G. Houdin, under a heavy rain, fully evidencing our intention to stop at no difficulties, until we should gain the head waters of the Alleghany river. Our first setting out was big with difficulties, and foreboded some extraordinary events; for, on crossing the Perkiomen, Captain Houdin's horse, after tasting of the water, (which is customary with him,) lay down in the same, and were both nearly covered. On the horse's rising immediately afterwards, the Captain's foot being fast in the stirrup, the horse made several lashes at him with his hind feet, before he could disengage himself, but happily received no other injury. Dined this day at Northampton—paid 9s. 9d.—other contingent expenses, 12s. Staid this night with Major Swaine.

March 13th.—Laying on double soles on a pair of boots, 4s. 9d.—shoeing a horse, 4s.—horse feed, wine, and biters, 4s. 6d.—dinner, &c. at Pottsgrove, 9s. 4½d. Halted for the night at Cimlesse's tavern, 13s. 10d. Proceeded from thence to Caraher's town, in company with Mr. Potts and Mr. Baird, the latter of which gentlemen informed me, that he was engaged to attend General St. Clair to Fort Washington, whither the General was immediately to proceed, in order to prepare for a campaign against the Miami and other Indians, who are daily committing murders on the defenceless inhabitants on the frontier settlements.—Expenses this night, 15s. 10d.

March 15th.—Set forward this morning on our journey by daylight: breakfasted at Orwick's tavern, 6s. 9d.—Halters do, refreshment, 5s. 7½d. Halted for the night at Freshers' tavern—expense 13s. 6d. The roads from Philadelphia hither, nearly impassable, occasioned by the heavy rains that had fallen for several days past; and with some danger we forced the little Schuylkill; and, on this day's journey, we crossed the Blue mountain.

March 16th.—Dined at Leidenburg's tavern, and was informed, that the 1,200 acre tract of land that I purchased of Daniel Rees, in Northumberland, was situated three miles from his house, watered by the Catwasey, and joining lands of Captain Mason, of Philadelphia. Dinner, and for horses, 11s. 3d. Lay this night at Hughsburg, at the house of George Knechtelberger. By him I was informed of twenty-five tracts of land I have on Big Fishing creek, which empties into the east branch of the Susquehanna, about two miles above Hughsburg. Expenses this night 18s. 10½d.

March 17th.—Crossed the east branch of the Susquehanna, fed our horses, &c. at Miller's tavern, and paid, including ferriage over Fishing creek, and shoeing a horse, 17s. 3d. Lay this night at Berwick, a small town, situated on the west side of the Susquehanna. Expenses of the night, 17s. 10d.

March 18th.—Proceeded on our journey up the west side of the Susquehanna, above twelve miles; and, in endeavouring to go through the narrow, the river being exceeding high and rapid, had a narrow escape of drowning myself and horse, as was the case with Captain Houdin. With great difficulty we mounted the summit of a steep precipice, being unable to return by the same defile we had attempted to pass through. From this, I endeavored to go round the mountain, and seeing no end to the ridge of mountains, we shaped our course through the woods, to the place from whence we departed in the morning; and, by the entreaty of our host, the ferryman, on the opposite shore of the Susquehanna, was prevailed upon to venture over the river with his hat, which he did, with the assistance of four other men, and conducted us across, for which I paid him 15s. Dinner, and putting one new shoe on a horse, with other repairs, 13s. 1d. From thence we proceeded on the road for Wilksburg, by the way of the mountain path, as dangerous for man and horse as was possible to encounter with; and at 9 o'clock in the night we reached the first house in the settlement of Wyoming; but, there being no feed for our horses, I hired a guide to conduct us to a place to lodge in. Paid for a night's fare, 15s. 6d.

March 19th.—Arrived at Wilksburg about eleven o'clock; halted here for the night, in order to rest our horses, which were much fatigued and jaded. I should have mentioned in its place, that I did not open the instructions I had received from the Secretary of War, before my arrival at Reading, owing to an intention with me, that no person—not even any of my family—should know what errand I was sent upon. This threw me exceedingly out of my lodgings with Colonel Butler and Captain Grubb. The former was an officer in the Connecticut line, and stationed here during the late war, for the protection of the frontier inhabitants against the British and Indians, in which station he proved to be a vigilant and brave officer. The latter part of the evening I accompanied Colonel Pickering.

prothonotary of the county, and late adjutant general of the armies of the United States. Here we equipped ourselves with a tinderbox, flint, steel, &c., paid 4s. 6d.; and for helving a tomahawk, and leather sling for the same, 4s. 9d. Expenses at Mr. Fell's, part of two days, 41s. 8d.; and for powder and horn, 5s. 7½d. Much snow fell while we remained at this place. Weather extremely cold.

March 20th.—This day we set forward for Captain Waterman Baldwin's, arrived there in the evening, halted for him part of two days, as I had orders to take him with me to the residence of the Comptroller, at which place he was intended to act as instructor of the Indian youth, as also a director in the mode and management of agriculture, for the use and benefit of the Indians. This gentleman was made prisoner by Comptroller, during the late war, and was treated by him with remarkable tenderness, until legally exchanged. Paid for two bushel of oats and two bags, 15s. 1½d.; washing, 2s. 6d.; expense at Baldwin's, 30s.

March 22d.—Ferryage to Captain Jenkins, passing the first narrows of Susquehanna, 7s. 6d. Paid for gammon, bread, and spirits, 32s. 6d. to John Davis. This cataraet has a beautiful appearance from the river. It falls upwards on the waters of the Buttermilk falls. This cataraet has a beautiful appearance from the river. It falls upwards of eighty feet; and the place it issues through, on the top of the mountain, is about six feet in width, and its torrent is so strong that it is sufficient to serve many mills at one time.

This place I had the opportunity of examining minutely, when going on the expedition with General Sullivan against the savages, in the year 1779, at which time I had the command of 214 vessels, on the Susquehanna, taking with me the provisions and stores of 6,000 men. We anchored off this cataraet in the afternoon of the 1st August, and I landed and passed to the top of the mountain to review so great a curiosity.

March 23d.—The Susquehanna being so extremely high, and all the waters leading thereto, compelled us to quit the river road and go by that lately cut (though not cleared) by John Nicholson's, Esq., comptroller general of the State of Pennsylvania. We reached the settlement called the Hawbottom, which consisted of about fourteen families, the land exceeding rich—inferior to none about the city of Philadelphia; but the lands between this place and our last encampment were chiefly covered with hemlock timber, cold soil, and unfit for culture, and one continued rise for nearly thirteen miles, with little intermixture. Took dinner at the house of Ebenezer Stephens, and purchased from him two bushels of oats, which he had for seed; and, having brought it afar off, charged for the same 3s. 9d. per bushel. Paid for three persons eating, and feed for the horses, 12s. 6d.; one horse bell, 4s. 6d.; three cakes sugar, 4s. 6d. Encamped this evening with some sugar boilers, in a hut not finished. The promoter of this manufactory, which appeared to be very extensive, from the number of kettles and apparatus belonging there-to, is the comptroller of the State of Pennsylvania; and the conductor of the works, Mr. John Jones, of Northumberland county. They were unfortunate enough, two days before, to lose most of their provision, by the overturning of a canoe in the main branch of the Lahawanna; but of the provisions we had, we gave to them what we could spare, preserving what we thought would take us to Tioga Point—supposed 86 miles. The taking of this road, which is cut about 20 feet in width, the trees lying across the same, and in every direction, was not a matter of choice, but necessity; for the river road was impassable. By the taking of this we escaped some deep waters.

24th.—We arrived at the cabin of Richard McNemar, fed our horses with the corn that we brought with us, for he had none but about two quarts for his own use: they however provided us with a dish of rye coffee, made fine with the pole of an ax on a smooth stone, and maple sugar as bright and as well tasted as the best 8d. sugar in Philadelphia; and as they deemed it would be charity to us, they gave of the juice of the maple, which appeared as clear as the limpid stream, and pleasant to the taste, and deemed very wholesome: paid for eating, 3s. 9d. We were obliged to encamp early this afternoon under a very heavy storm of rain, thunder, and lightning; and, what is very remarkable, the snow was in general fifteen inches deep on the ground.

25th.—We still travelled by the way of Nicholson's road, till we reached the one cut by Mr. Elliott, geographer to the United States, which leads to the great bend on the east branch of the Susquehanna, and to describe the same, it is hardly possible, but, to say the least of them, there is none can equal them for height of mountains, and swampy valleys. Encamped this night ten miles from Tioga Point: heavy rain as usual, our horses worn down, and ourselves more that commonly fatigued; had naught to eat ourselves or for our horses; and I may say with propriety, that until we arrived at Tioga, to save our horses, we travelled on foot more than half of the way from the town of Reading.

26th.—We arrived at the ferry at Tioga Point, crossed to the flats, paid ferryage 3s. 9d.; the river still very high; took refreshment for ourselves and horses, paid 12s. 9d.; repair of horse shoes, 5s. From thence we proceeded on our way to Newtown Point, and lodged at the house of Mr. William Wynkoop. At Tioga Point I was compelled to purchase a pack horse, as the route we had to take from the Painted Post to the Genesee, was not inhabited, which by computation, was 99 miles. Captain Baldwin also purchased another horse, the better to enable him to carry on the farming business for the Comptroller, and for which I advanced him 75s., to be accounted for by him in his settlement with the Secretary of War. From hence I also took a guide, named Peter, in his own language Cayantha, there being nothing but a blind path to the Genesee river, so that my retinue, at this time, amounted to three white men, one Indian, and five horses. The horse designed as a pack horse, I received on the order of Colonel Hollinbeck, on Mr. Guy Maxwell, his partner in trade at Tioga, for which I drew in favor of them, on my daughter in Philadelphia, £15 for the horse, and for a saddle and bridle, value £3; took up our quarters this night in company with Mr. Jabez Collier, a dissenting minister, at the aforesaid Wynkoop's, with whom we spent a most agreeable evening, and, during our conversation together, he enjoyed me, in a very becoming manner, should I at any time see the honorable Major General Sullivan, late the commander in chief against the Indians, in the year 1779, to tender to him the grateful thanks of himself and his parishioners, inhabitants of the district of Tioga, for opening a way into the wilderness, under the guidance of Providence, to the well doing of hundreds of poor families for life.

Sunday, March 27th.—Dined at Mr. Isaac Baldwin's, and halted for the night, and reviewed the ground on which the British and Indians were entrenched, for better than a mile, against the forces under the command of Major General Sullivan. I also saw many traces made by our round and grape shot against them, and a large collection of pieces of 5½ inch shells, which I had the pleasure of formerly causing to be exploded amongst them. Expenses at Mr. Baldwin's for present diet, provisions, and forage, 53s. 10d.

28th.—Took breakfast at William Dunn's; for four persons, 6s.; oats and spirits, 4s. 7½d.; also one chain halter for a horse, 20s. From thence we proceeded to the Painted Post, or Cohocton, in the Indian language; dined, and refreshed our horses; it being the last house we should meet with ere we should reach the Genesee river; addition of stores for ourselves and horses, 36s. 11d.; present dining, 14s. 3d.; four new horse shoes, &c. 6s. 9d.; spirits, 1s. 10½d. Here I was joined company by a Mr. George Slocum, who followed us from Wyoming, to place himself under our protection and assistance, until we should reach the Comptroller's settlement, on the head waters of the Alleghany, to the redemption of his sister from an unpleasant captivity of twelve years, to which end he begged our immediate interposition. On the leaving the Painted Post, we entered the warrior's path, lying on the northeast side of the Tioga river. We had not gone above five miles up the same, before we fixed our encampment, having completed thirty-five miles this day, which was more than we had done any one day within seventeen days since we left the city, it having rained or snowed every day since, and the worst of roads to encounter with: for, as we passed over mountains and valleys, the frosts were just mellowed enough to admit our falling through in some places, knee depth to the horses: rained this night as usual.

29th.—Continued our route by the aforesaid path this day, through level land, covered chiefly with hemlock timber, and interspersed with sugar tree bottoms, and through which we frequently encountered with deep sloughs and morasses. In one of them, which had the appearance of a long pond, variegated with shrubbery, Captain Baldwin, while leading our forage horse, was, by a sudden check, brought backwards from the horse he was riding, and immersed in the water, so as to be entirely covered. The same fate had nearly happened to myself, by my horse's feet fastening between two trees which lay on the bottom, of which he fell. All this night we had rain, and with much difficulty could light a fire, at the same time piercing cold.

30th.—We began our journey before sunrise, the usual time of our moving, and, on this day, we passed three principal many places, fine land; the timber chiefly sugar tree maple and beech, and on this day, we passed three principal

adoration to the Supreme Spirit, as knowing it hath a form, but not a substance. This day we were compelled to swim our horses three times over the Genesee river; and at one of the crossings, Captain Houdin's horse took down the current with him, and could not steer him to the intended shore, having crossed the reins of his bridle at mounting, and were it not that he had left the horse to his own management, (by our entreaties) and our Indian guide rushing into the water to his assistance, and the horse turning for him, the Captain must have certainly drowned in the current, which was excessively rapid a little lower down.

April 4th.—This morning we again swam our horses over the same river, and had the assistance of a canoe, for which I paid 3s. 9d., and crossed it again 10 miles higher up, near the emptying of a small lake. Here, likewise, we had the assistance of a canoe to carry over our saddles, &c. Paid for the same 3s. 9d. At this village resides a Mr. James Latta, a trader, from whom I purchased bread and sugar, the latter to answer the end of meat, as likewise some spirits, for which I paid him 16s. 11d. From this place we had scarcely the trace of a path, and took up our encampment for the night at an old Indian encampment, where the covering of their wigwams served to shelter us from the inclemency of the weather.

April 5th.—We gained an Indian settlement called Ohishien, situate on the waters of Oil creek, the emptying of which, into the Allegany, about two hundred yards below the huts, in crossing the Oil creek at a very steep shelving place, my horse fell backwards into the water. I happily disengaged myself from falling under him, but got wet through all my clothes. We then entered the cabin of an old Seneca chief, who called himself Captain Joseph Hays. I knew him well, thirty-two years before, at Fort Pitt, and he professed having some small recollection of me. He spoke English well, and finding him to be conversant, I gave him to understand the business I was on to the Six Nations, and of the assistance I expected to receive from them as friends to the Thirteen Fires. He seemed very cheerful upon the occasion, and assured me that I should see him at Buffalo as soon as the council fire should be lighted by O'Beel. From him I bought two hams of fresh venison, and Indian bread without any salt, for we had none in our possession, not dreaming of it being so scarce and precious an article in this country. We encamped this night at the great bend of the Allegany, (so called) on a tract of fine level land, covered with plum trees in abundance. At this place we discovered the ruins of a number of Indian huts, forming regularly with each other like a streetway. This place was formerly called by the Indians Dunewangua.

April 6th.—This morning, having advanced about 4 miles, we met two Indian runners going with belts and speeches from the Cornplanter, alias O'Beel, to the Indians resident in the upper towns, at the head waters of the Allegany, to inform them that several of the Delaware Indians were killed by the white people, said to be a recruiting party of Virginians, near Fort Pitt. The said Indians informed us, that the Indians who had escaped the catastrophe that their brothers had fallen into, turned their resentment for the injury their nation had received on the white inhabitants who resided on the Allegany, some miles above Pittsburgh, and killed and scalped 17 in number; that several of the bodies were partly destroyed by fire; that at the same time this mischief happened, Captain O'Beel, the New Arrow chief, and several other chiefs of the Senecas, as also the commanding officer of Venango, coming up in the garrison boat, and in canoes from Pittsburgh, were overtaken by a party of militia, who threatened them with instant death, which was happily prevented, but forcibly carried back the garrison boat and canoes, with all the property purchased by Cornplanter for his nation.

Having at this time no path to go by, and having to keep by the meanders of the Alleghany, made the way lengthily and disagreeable. I therefore desired my interpreter to request that one of them would return with me to O'Beel's town, and as they would by that means be separated, I would give to each one dollar, as a consideration for their trouble. They having acceded to my desires, I paid them 15s., and our guide conducted us in safety, at about 10 o'clock at night, to O'Beel's town, called, in the Indian language, Tenechahogouchongee, or the burnt house. This town is pleasantly situated on the north side of the river, and contains about 28 tolerable well built houses; and the one which they had selected for me and my followers to reside in, was commodiously fitted up, with births to sleep in, and uncommonly clean, and provided us for the night with plenty of provisions, such as boiled venison and dumplings. Matters were no sooner arranged, than I desired my interpreter to have the chiefs collected where I could speak to them. Upon which we found that all the chiefs and warriors of the town had gone on to Venango, hearing that their head warrior, O'Beel, and their sachem, the New Arrow, were forced to take sanctuary in Fort Franklin, (one of our garrisons) for the protection of their lives; that none remained in the town on this account, but three very old men, the women, and children.

That, such were their fears, as we were approaching this town, of which they had information, that they all assembled to help them. But being happily informed by our guide of the good intentions we were come upon, they came to make us welcome. I then desired that they would furnish me with a canoe and a guide, to conduct me to the place where I could meet with O'Beel and his people, being desirous of going forward immediately; and that I should, without doubt, be the instrument of bringing their chiefs and warriors to them in a few days. Upon which, they sent five miles to procure me a canoe, and by day light, two young Indians attended me, with whom my interpreter and Captain Baldwin went for French creek, distant about one hundred and thirty miles, and arrived on the 8th day of April, about four in the afternoon, as we worked our canoe by turns all night. Cash paid at New Arrow town, corn for horses, fifteen shillings; hire of a canoe and Indians to carry me to French creek, thirty-seven shillings and six pence; provisions, &c. thirteen shillings and one penny.

I no sooner arrived at the garrison on French creek, than I received a visit from Cornplanter, and those Indians who accompanied him at Philadelphia, who professed the greatest happiness to see me, being under the greatest anxiety of mind for the safety of the New Arrow, who was carried in the garrison boat to Pittsburgh, in the forcible manner before related, saying, at the same time, that the whole of their goods were taken from them, which they never expected to recover; that, in this distressed situation, they had not a second shirt to put on. I hereupon, used every argument I was master of, to appease the fears they entertained on account of the absence of the New Arrow, as I could not believe that the inhabitants of Pittsburgh would offend, or suffer him to be ill treated; and should any, or the whole of their goods be squandered, by the unwarranted conduct of the militia, that I should make it my duty to present the same to the Secretary of War, who would cause most ample justice to be done them; that, on the morning, I would write to the commanding officer at Pittsburgh, to have their sachem, the New Arrow, conducted in safety to this place, as, also, their goods, as I could not possess a belief that any waste would be committed upon them. I therefore desired him, without loss of time, to bring with him into the garrison all the head-men of the nations then present, so that I might inform them of the message I was charged with, from his Excellency the Secretary of War to the Six Nations; by which means they would be the better able to understand what I had to say to them, before my meeting them in general council to-morrow. Upon this Captain O'Beel left me, and soon after summoned the chiefs present, eleven in number, who met me in the garrison by permission of Lieutenant Jeffers, and, in the fullest manner, I gave them the necessary information. After some time spent on this business, and of which I desired that they might inform their people, so that none might be absent.

April 9th.—I crossed French creek to their encampment, about eleven o'clock, where I found them prepared to receive me, about seventy-five in number, exclusive of women, children, and youth; in the whole, one hundred and eighty. I read first the message to the Seneca nation, from the Secretary of War, and, after explaining the principles upon which it was founded, I read to them the messages from Governor St. Clair to the Wyandot and Delawares tribes, who were deemed and observed to be friends to the United States. Here I thought it my duty to explain to them the force of my message to the Indians, who were carrying on their wanton depredations and cruel strokes of a superior army, just ready to go forward to conquest, and be rooted out of a country which they might otherwise possess and enjoy in undisturbed tranquillity.

That, with this present council, it rests to save those misguided people on the Miami and Wabash from the destruction that is just ready to fall upon and crush them; and the better to effect so laudable an undertaking.

Let there be selected, from amongst you, any number of your chiefs and warriors, not more than fifteen, nor less than five, to guide and accompany me to the Miamiess, as, by our going from hence, we shall save the distance of four hundred miles, if not compelled to go to Buffalo creek; and, by this act, you will fully complete the end of my message to the Seneca nations, and for your services you shall receive ample rewards from the United States, and due honor to your nation.

Hereupon they requested of me to retire from them, and those white persons who attended me, so that what I had said might be the more fully digested by them. We left them for about one hour and a half, when a chief came to inform me that they were desirous of seeing me again at their fire. I accordingly attended, and Captain O'Beel was appointed to acquaint me with the determination of their council, which briefly was, that they could not agree to my request of going directly to the Miamiess, as they must determine on that business in full council of the Six Nations, at Buffalo creek. Seeing, therefore, that I had no other alternative, but by going to Buffalo, which they readily complied with, and for Cornplanter's address to me, upon this occasion, see subsequent page. I immediately returned to the garrison, to prepare a letter for his Excellency, Governor St. Clair, through which I gave, in detail, a circumspcct account of every material transaction since my arrival in the Indian country, enclosing to him the speeches of Little Beard and Cornplanter, thereby to enable him to judge of the means of exceeding the time limited by the Secretary of War for my meeting him at Fort Washington, on the Ohio, after passing through the country of the Miamiess and Wabash Indians, to which nations my mission was principally intended, to the restoration of peace between them and the United States.

During the time I remained at Fort Franklin, I received every mark of attention and respect from the commandant, Lieutenant John Jeffers, of the Connecticut line; and I think it but proper to name it in this place. A few days previous to my arrival at this fort, the inhabitants, resident at Conneaut, and on French creek, were driven into the garrison, as also those at Cassawaga, and obliged to leave behind them their habitations and effects, possessed of every requisite for the comforts of life. David Mead, Esq. formerly of Wyoming settlement, with three of his brothers, and their families, were of the number of these unfortunate people. At Venango I was called upon by a white prisoner, named Nicholas Deamholt, to give him a blanket, as he wanted one much. I did so, and paid for the same, \$18. 9d. He was dressed in the Indian garb, and, what I was grieved to see, his ears were cut round, and each hung with a considerable weight of lead, designed to stretch them to a proper length. He acquainted me that his friends lived in Schenectady, his father lately dying, left him a considerable sum of money. I urged him to go round with me on my tour, and, on our arrival in Philadelphia, would give him a decent apparel, and subsistence, while going to his relatives; but he declined it, saying, that he could not live so agreeable with the white people as with the Indians. Continuing expenses, meaning my sword, two pair moccasins, washing bill, &c. \$34. 4d. he of two Indians, from hence to O'Beel's town, 45s.

Agreeably to the arrangement made by me at the general council yesterday, we set out from French creek, to go up the Alleghany river, with thirty canoes, leaving, at the same time, with Lieutenant Jeffers, for the defence of the garrison, fifteen Indians, to act as scouts for the garrison, as occasion should require—the garrison being very weakly manned at this time, only for the addition made to it by the inhabitants, neither had they any flour, on account of the detention of the garrison boat, before spoken of, but what was supplied by David Mead, Esq. who had brought from his mills at Conneaut a sufficient quantity, as they required it, as, likewise, some hundred gallons of whiskey, which he dealt out to the garrison and inhabitants, as they required it. Halted this night at Oil creek, about eight miles from the garrison. Lieutenant Jeffers came to us at this place, about twelve o'clock at night, and brought with him certain letters that he had received from Pittsburgh that evening, with verbal messages, he had received through the express, by which means the Indians were informed, that some of their canoes were plundered of what they contained, but that the garrison boat was returning with their chief, the New Arrow, &c. under the escort of Major Hart, with a proper guard. The news of the canoes being plundered, gave rise to apparent disgust in most of the countenances of the Indians, saying that of Cornplanter's, who received it with that composure that he was usually wont to do. Upon the whole it gave me to fear, that this rude piece of conduct of our militia had damped the zeal of those whom I yesterday conceived were engaged to serve agreeable to my desires. I, however, undertook to give them assurances, that, even should their goods have been plundered, as verbal report gave it, I would use every possible means to have every article replaced; and that, therefore, I earnestly entreated them to dispel those fears for a few days, having, in their presence, enjoyed Lieutenant Jeffers to forward an express to me, at the castle of O'Beel, and to write me, fully, every matter that took place; and to obtain another letter from Major Hart, with whom they were well acquainted, to authenticate the same; and that, whatsoever the result should prove, I would faithfully communicate the contents to them. Upon this promise, about ten o'clock in the forenoon of Monday, the 11th of April, we silently began to load our canoes, and, shortly after, took up the line of march, O'Beel taking the lead. I held it proper to take my place next to his canoe, to stimulate him to press forward on his journey. Ere we could reach Buffalo creek, we arrived this evening at an old Indian settlement, called Hog's town; we had much rain this night, and very cold.

April 12th.—I was invited this morning to breakfast with Captain O'Beel, his aquaw, &c. Our repast, boiled cheestus, parched meal, sweetened; his daughter made us some tea, also, which she put into an open kettle, when the water was cold, and being boiled in that manner, without any cover to the kettle, it became very dirty, and disagreeable to the taste; but, of the chestnuts, I partook sufficiently. Finding, this morning, by an Indian who had lately left the garrison, that several canoes loaded had deserted our little fleet, the Indians, being under much intoxication, had returned there again; in consequence thereof, I wrote the commanding officer, by an express, requesting him to cause the Indians, who were designed to go forward with O'Beel, to quit the garrison and proceed. To express, 11s. 3d. This day, about one o'clock, we arrived at the Miamiess settlement, where all the canoes came to me, several Indian women came forward with kettles full of boiled corn and bear's meat, and placed it before Captain O'Beel, whom they had heard was approaching with his people. This being done, each family of a canoe, (as in each were women and children) approached with their kettles, without any signal being made, to receive their stews; and, to do so, which, an old aquaw was appointed to act as an issuing commissary, who dealt it out in portions so justly, that each went away fully satisfied. Captain O'Beel requested of my interpreter to inform me, it was expected that I would partake of what was prepared; I did so accordingly, to prevent displeasure, but with the weakest appetite. Expenses at this place for eatables, 22s. 6d.; one gallon of whiskey for O'Beel, and his people who accompanied me, 15s. After the whole had refreshed themselves, O'Beel informing the Miamiess the business I was on, I was invited to their council fire, of which council Captain Snake was the principal; about thirty of the Delawarees were present. I spoke a few words to them, introductory to my reading Governor St. Clair's message to their nation, residing on the waters near Lake Erie; the same message being directed to Captain Pipe, as the principal chief of that tribe. Shortly after this discourse was ended, Captain Snake spoke through his interpreter to mine, as the person I had could not speak the Delaware tongue, and its contents are as follows:

"BROTHER: We are thankful to God for the safe arrival of our brother amongst us; and we are glad to see him with such good intentions, and of the good news he brings. It makes us feel warm in our hearts, and easy in our minds, that such confidence is placed in our nation. But the request he makes of us, to go with him to Buffalo, we cannot give an immediate answer too, as all our head-men are not presently with us all night; and it is likely we shall then help him to the council fire, where he now asks us to go to, and our chiefs shall be sent for." Here O'Beel spoke, and aided my proposition; and, as I was fully sensible of his friendship, I took his counsel, before I should determine on staying in this town. And, finally, judging of it to be a sure means of securing them, to go to Buffalo with us, I consented; and of which they being informed, they sent off runners for their chiefs and warriors, while we still remained in the council-house.

12th.—At 9 o'clock at night, Capt. O'Beel, the Delaware chiefs, and Senecas, called me into council, when Captain Snake, interpreter gave his speech, as follows: "Uncle, (for that is the term given by the Delawares to the Senecas) God has been good to us this day: for we have each heard the good talk sent from the Great Chief of the Thirteen Fires, and we have ever said, that we would advise each other of every thing that we heard that was bad; or that was like to befall either of our nations. Now, uncle, we have determined to go with you, and our brother, who brings us these good tidings, to Buffalo, and there meet our nations at the great council fire. Blood may fall upon us while we are going, but now we give you our hands as we promised, and we will lie down and will rise together." [Here a belt of wampum was given, consisting of five strings, which Capt. O'Beel viewed in his hand a short time, and then presented it to me.] Captain Snake again repeated: "Uncle, in three days we move out women and children, and all that we have, to your towns; they are to remain with your women until our return." In the course of his speech he also mentioned, that their people expected to receive a stroke from the Messasagoes, a part of that nation who were led to war by their brothers.

13th.—Our fleet set out from Hickory town, and reached Log-trap creek, 10 miles distant, and encamped. Rained the whole night, and not a dry thread of clothes on myself or companions.

14th.—Proceeded up the river this day, took up our encampment near the mouth of Casyoudang creek, it being the place where Colonel Broadhead, in the year 1779, had fought against the savages; and, in which action, Joseph Nicholson, his interpreter, was wounded.

15th.—Being very unwell this morning, and overtaken with rheumatism pains, and to such a degree that I was obliged to have assistance to convey me from my canoe to the fire; same time being cold and rainy, I informed Cornplanter that I should leave his feet, after a very laborious day's work to the Indians: the current of the river being so very much against us, at this place, I applied to an Indian doctor, who prepared poultices of roots and herbs, and applied it to my foot, the power of which, over the parts affected, threw it into my knee, which produced the most exquisite pain; and I perceptibly felt that it shortened the snaws under my hair, upon which I applied it no more; fearing the consequences might be fatal to me for life. About eight miles above the encampment, where I left O'Beel, I came to a large river, called the Conawango; and, at its emptying into the Alleghany, is said to contain as much water as flows in the other river, above it. At the confluence of those two rivers, the government of Pennsylvania have laid out a manor of 3,000 acres, and up the said river (Conawango) to an Indian town called Cayayatha, or the Corn-fields, are extraordinary rich lands, of which a survey was made, by David Rittenhouse, Esq. of the city of Philadelphia, some time since. The Indians whom I hired at Venango, to bring me to O'Beel's town, (there being two called by his name) drew so nice a distinction, that they chose the first, or lower town, and insisted that this was the town they intended to come to, and not the other; and should I require their assistance to go to the upper town, I must pay to each one dollar (fifteen shillings). The terms being agreed upon, we proceeded to the upper town as before said, by some called the New-Arrow's town, being the name of the head sachem of that place. At when I departed from thence to Venango, on the 7th of April, and found the Captain in an enfeebled state of health, owing entirely to the hardships he underwent before his arrival at this place.

16th.—At this town I met, in company with Capt. Houdin, a French gentleman from Montreal, by the name of Dominick de Barge, who had followed the Indian trade, in this country, for six years past, and who lost by the same, a considerable fortune, by the credits he had given to some of the Indians, &c.; with them I found, also, a Mr. Culbertson, a trader from Genesee; and it gave me pleasure to find that the Captain was not altogether alone, he seeming to have an aversion, in general, to the company of Indians.

17th.—This day the canoes, which I left on the 15th, arrived here, and brought news which they had received from an Indian runner, that, on Wednesday last, the 13th, the New-Arrow, and his associates, with the garbison boat, arrived at Fort Franklin; having suffered no damage in their persons, nor loss of their merchandise, as was reported, which belonged to Cornplanter, and other Indians, but two or more cases of gin, taken by the militia, for which Squire Wilkins, of Pittsburg, caused restitution to be made them. Settled with Mr. James Culbertson, for supplies for my people and horses, during my absence, 44 shillings York, Pennsylvania, 41 $\frac{1}{2}$.

18th.—An express arrived here from the New-Arrow, advising that they must send down to him, at Fort Franklin, a certain number of canoes, sufficient to carry the goods brought forward by Cornplanter, from Philadelphia. Finding, from experience, that the Indians were exceeding slow in putting matters in motion, which I held to be important, and stoical to the last degree, I wrote immediately by the return of the canoes to Franklin, to request that the commanding officer would lend them every assistance necessary to their being forwarded to this place, as I was well informed, by a person that I employed upon the occasion, to know the general intentions of the chiefs, that not one of them would go for Buffalo, with me, until they should see his safe return. This afternoon the canoes, which had lotted on the way, arrived; and by which I was informed, that the Delaware and Munsee Indians, at Hickory town, were moving with their stock, &c. to Cattaraugus.

19th.—O'Beel and chiefs arrived here from the lower town, and ordered their conch shell to be sounded through the village, to summon their head-men into council. After some time spent therein, the whole of them adjourned to my hut, being confined, to pay me and my friend Capt. Houdin their compliments, as having come to visit them in their settlements, under such friendly intentions. Nothing more material this day. But dancing was carried on the major part of the night, assisted by drumming, songs, &c.

20th.—An express arrived from Buffalo creek, informing, that the fire of the Six Nations had been lighted, by a number of chiefs and warriors, and that they had been sitting it long, to keep it alive, waiting for the sachems of the Senecas, and their brothers, who were sent by the Great Chief of the Thirteen Fires, whom we want to hear speak with us. It is, likewise, our desire, that all writings received at Philadelphia, from the great chief, Honondagamus, (General Washington) may be brought forward with them, so that the great council may hear the contents. On receiving his public message, I was requested by O'Beel, and the other chiefs, to write an answer to this message, on their behalf, as hearing that Colonel Butler and Brandt were at Buffalo, waiting our coming. I complied, agreeable to their request, and directed the same to the Farmer's Brother, Kuyasutta, and Red Jacket, chiefs of the Six Nations, at Buffalo creek.

21st.—This morning, the whole of the town were preparing to have a grand feast, to return thanks to the Great Keeper of all men, for their being spared to meet once more together; several of the chiefs called upon us to give us the invitation to be present, while they should perform divine worship in their way; adding, that Indians worshipped one Supreme head, the Preserver of all, both white and red men. Their speaker advised us, also, to be prudent while they worshipped, and not to be guilty of laughing, or gestures, though the manner of it might differ, widely, from our own mode of worship; he likewise told us, that we must bring with us our ears, (the interpreter) to testify that they taught the true principles, by moral precept, and that their teachers, both men and women, admonished their hearers against the lying, lying, and speaking lightly of one another.

The manner of their preparing for worship is, that, in every house, they provide large quantities of such provisions as they think proper to bring with them, and the more varied the better, so that they may have a little of every sort, and none of the same returns to that house again, their method being to exchange their victuals on the ground, eating that which was brought by their neighbor; thus prepared, they proceed to the statue, which was erected in the centre of the village, bearing some proportion to a man, and justly painted, as the Indians are in common, but having no weapon of war about him; intimating that he was the maintainer of peace. This figure is about nine feet in height, and stood on a pedestal of about twelve feet, having on breech-clout, leggings, and a sash over its shoulders, and a very terrible appearance. Under this statue were placed two chiefs, termed the women's speakers; each of these held in their hands the shell of a large tortoise, the belly part covered with a thin skin, stretched on very tight, having, in the inside, several small stones, which shells being struck upon a deer skin, which is stretched between them, beating time together, accompanied the same with their voices, they made such melody that the whole of the assembly were delighted. The old and the young women dance round in a circle, the image in the centre, the men following them, using gestures that would have made a saint laugh, had he forgotten that he was

in a place of worship; but the women looked meek and humble, while they moved in concert in the dance, sliding their feet sideways, and folding their hands before them, in a half circle, looking, at the same time, steadfastly on the ground, including their heads to the left. The last of worship was performed to what they call a bag dance; the young warriors retire to a house adjacent, where are paints, feathers, and red clay, with the two former they ornament their heads with feathers, and their faces with paint, and their bodies with reddish clay, that give the skins all the same cast; some with one half their face black, and the other red, in order to look the more terrible; for in this manner they go to war. When all matters are thus adjusted, and ready to sally from their show-box, their leader gives a long yell, such as when a scalp is taken; and on the third being given, it is re-echoed by the whole, rushing forward, at the same time, to the place of worship, while they dance round the statue, throwing their bodies and heads in every curious attitude, and bag, alternately, of all the cruelties they had exercised in war, of prisoners taken, and of thefts committed on their enemies, and of many other exploits never performed. In the evening of the day, Captain O'Beel, and other chiefs, told me that they would be ready to go with me to Buffalo Creek in the morning, if I thought proper; the information gave me the most heartfelt satisfaction; and I acquainted him, that I was ready to depart at any hour they should agree to go, as much precious time had been wasted since my arrival at this place from the Genesee country.

22d.—I closed my letters this day for his Excellency the Secretary of War, and a second letter for Governor St. Clair, (having wrote him the first from Venango) and forwarded the same by a white prisoner named Nicholas Deamouth, and for which I drew on the commandant at Fort Franklin to pay him to the value of \$75. 6d. in such articles as could be spared from the garrison; paid Indian Peter for services from Newtown Point to O'Beel's town, \$25. 6d.; to mess expense from the 16th to the 23d, including horse feed, \$6 18s. 3d.; to cash paid Francis Slocum, a white prisoner, 7s. 6d.; do. a white prisoner at Cattaraugus, 11s. 3d.; she informs me that she is a sister to Henry Kipple, in Market street, born in Germany; her husband, a Lieutenant Groves of the Royal Americans, was killed at Venango in the year 1761; had been prisoner ever since, but too old and enfeebled to leave them; she informed me that she was truly poor, which I had apparent reason to believe, and I mean to inform her friends of the same, which is the cause of my making this minute, as knowing her brother was under wealthy circumstances. Hire of a horse for my servant to Buffalo, and loss of a bell, 15s.; to house and fire wood expense, at New Arrows town, 15s.; Indian doctor's bill, 11s. 3d.; one pair old shoes and buckles, 11s. 3d.; cash for an Indian kettle taken away by some of the Indians, 7s. 6d.

23d.—We left O'Beel's town about 12 o'clock, and proceeded with a few chiefs and warriors, (the whole not being ready to depart with us) taking the route for Buffalo, through a village called Cattaraugus, which we did not reach before the 25th, in the evening; and on our way thither passed through a settlement of the Delaware or Munsee Indians, in which was about twenty houses. In this place I saw a number of brave young men, they being playing the game of bandy wicket, gave me the fairest opportunity of judging. The town of Cattaraugus contains in or near about fifty tolerable houses, bordering on a beautiful river, and about two and a half miles from Lake Erie, surrounded by a most beautiful country and excellent land; but the water they have to drink, taken from a pond, is very indifferent. We had arrived but a short time when I caused the chiefs to be summoned into council, and as in other instances, I made them fully acquainted with the business that led me into their country; and in answer thereto, a sentimental speech was delivered by Thyogachee. [See subsequent page.] While we remained in this town, they were preparing to bury the daughter of a great chief, and in the house that I was placed, there was a number of the mourners, who appeared under the greatest distress, by their cries; during which time, all their heads were covered with their shrouds, but when they had uncovered themselves I did not discover that they had shed one tear. This brought to my recollection the manner of attending wakes in the old country, with the native Irish, where the rich hire old women to lament the loss of the deceased, and to recount all the valuable actions of their past life.

26th.—We took up our journey towards Buffalo, and in about five miles going from thence, we came in upon the verge of Lake Erie, which had a beautiful appearance, it being a pleasant morning, and the waters were very serene, and looking over the lake we could just perceive the land at the other side. We travelled along the sandy beach for some miles, but were obliged, at three or four different places, to leave the shore and take to the woods, the rocks having come bluff up to the deep water; from small springs that appeared upon the face of the rocks, it shewed that it passed over bodies of mineral, from the hue that it gave; but the greatest curiosity that I had seen was alum lying on the surface of the rocks, off which we might have gathered a pound in a quarter of an hour.

27th.—We arrived at Buffalo creek, having travelled through a country of exceeding rich land, from our last encampment, the extent of which I had not been able to ascertain. The pre-emptive right to this valuable country was vested in the State of Massachusetts, but at present the property of the Hon. Robert Morris, of the city of Philadelphia, by a late purchase. The principal village of Buffalo belongs to the Seneca nation, and in it the young king, the Farmer's brother, resides, as also Red Jacket, the great speaker, and prince of the Turtle tribe. On entering the town, there were numbers of Indians collected at the hut where we alighted from our horses, and on taking a general view of them, I found that they were far better clothed than those Indians were in the towns at a greater distance, owing entirely to the immediate intercourse they have with the British, being but about thirty-five miles distant from Niagara, and but six miles from Fort Erie, situated on the north side of the lake; from which places they are supplied yearly with almost every necessary they require, so much so as to make them indifferent in their hunting. And the chiefs, who are poor in general, have to look up to them for almost their daily subsistence, not only of provisions, but for apparel: for the Farmer's Brother, the Young King, was fully regimented as a colonel, red faced with blue, as belonging to some royal regiment, and equipped with a pair of the best epaulettes. So that, from his after conduct, it may not appear extraordinary, where the king has thrown in his opposition to my errand, I had not been paid so well for his influence over the Indian nations as to carry his favorite point in question. I had not been long in the village before I was invited to the great council house, with my companion, attended by Red Jacket, O'Beel, and other chiefs. Just as we approached the porch of the council house, they had a two pounder swivel gun, which they had loaded very high, having put into her an uncommon charge, which the acting gunner being sensible of, stood within the door, and fired it from the end of a long stick, which he passed between the logs, which being done, the explosion upset the gun and its fixture. This, they said, was done as a treat for our safe arrival through the dangers that we had encountered, and for which they were thankful to the Great Keeper. The speech, as an introduction, given by Red Jacket, being ended, he came forward to me to the seat I had been ushered to in the centre of the council, and presented me with four strings of wampum, which he held in his hands while speaking; for the particulars of which see another page. Capt. O'Beel having been particularly named by Red Jacket, he rose and returned the compliment, in behalf of us that were strangers. Being at this time just sun setting, I appressed the council, through my interpreter, that I had messages from General Washington, the great chief of the Six Nations, the representatives of which nations I presumed were principally present; but, as it was drawing late, I requested leave to postpone the introduction till the morning, which was consented to. Upon this, Red Jacket rose to remark, that many persons had occasionally come into their country, who said that they had also come in by the authority of the Thirteen Fires, but of the truth of which they were not always convinced. This information opened the door that I expected; being informed by a French gentleman, a trader amongst them, that these sentiments had fallen from Colonel Brant and Butler, about seven days previous to our arrival at this place, as they knew the purport of my mission, from the chiefs whom I had held council with at the Genesee river, the Colonel advised them not to assist me in going to the Miamies, as the consequence would be fatal to those that should attend me, and consequent death to me and my companion. From these suggestions, which had fallen from Red Jacket, I mentioned, in open council, that I was desirous that they might call forward any gentleman of veracity, whom they had condoned in, to be present while I should deliver myself to them, and overlook any writings that I was directed to lay before the Six Nations, as by that means proof would be made, that my commission was founded on the authority of the United States of America. They then agreed upon sending for the commanding officer of Fort Erie, and despatched a runner for the purpose. Soon after

the council broke up, Captain John, of the Onondagos, came to my hut, and informed me, in private conversation, that no service was made of the authority I came under to them, being well informed by the chiefs of the Genesee, who had given that information some considerable time before my reaching Buffalo. Captain John, from his manners, appeared to be a man of veracity, and had received a Mohawk education, and understood himself very well, and during my stay at Buffalo attached himself to me in person, and promoted, all that lay in his power, the business that I had before the council; but the reasons, he said, they were so particular with me, was on account of a certain William Ewing, a resident from the Connedesago lake, who had come in behalf of the Hon. Robert Morris, whom he called the second greatest man in the Union, that he had convened a council the day previous to my arrival, informing those of the Six Nations present, that the pre-emptive right to the lands in this country, as belonging to the State of Massachusetts, were now the property of the said Robert Morris, whereas the Six Nations of Indians produced his instructions, under the hands and seals of the Hon. Robert Morris and the Hon. — Ogden, both of the State of Pennsylvania, adding, that the chain of friendship now stretched between the said gentlemen and the Six Nations, the centre of which was to be supported by him; that in consequence thereof, he desired their permission to traverse the several courses of the lands granted by their agent, — Livingston, of New York, to the said State of Massachusetts.

28th. — The council being convened within the house, there appeared to be about one hundred and fifty in number. Mr. Ewing began to open and continue his business, which he was an interference with my mission, that was of the utmost consequence to the United States, and to the Indian nations in general, and that, as soon as the same was completed, agreeable to the purport of my coming here, that then I would lend him such assistance as was in my power, and through which I would evidence my respect for the gentleman who sent him.

The commanding officer of Fort Erie sent word to the council this morning, that he could not leave his garrison without the express permission of the commandant of Niagara, (Col. Gordon) but that he had sent Captain Powell, of the Indian Department, as a suitable person to superintend their business.

As a proper introduction to my mission, and by the consent and desire of O'Beel, I began by reading his address to the Governor and Council of the State of Pennsylvania, as also his several letters to the President of the United States, and his Excellency's answer to them, in order, and a third letter to the same, from the Secretary of War. The reading of these several papers, and the deed from his Excellency the President, for the restoration of their lands in the Six Nations, and the interpreting the same, took up the whole of the day, upon which I concluded to adjourn till to-morrow, leaving them to digest what had been said, and to judge of the great attention that had been paid to them by the Great Chief of the Thirteen Rites. I thought it proper to give the invitation to Captain Powell, to take up his abode at my hut for the night, which he very willingly accepted of. After we had taken a little refreshment, we entered into a general conversation, and spoke on many matters, the consequences of the late war. The captain, being free in conversation, gave me to understand, that Colonel Butler and Brand, himself, and several other officers from Niagara and Fort Erie, had been at Buffalo some time, waiting my coming, as they had advice that I was on the way. Thence to Detroit. This business, Captain Powell judged, was to carry instructions for the Grand River, and from thence to Detroit. It had the appearance of truth, from what had fallen from the lips of Butler and Brand, some days since, with the chiefs of the Onondagos and Senecas, as it had the tendency of their joint advice, when they spoke in the great council, viz: that they should not determine on any matter of consequence with me without their concurrence. These instructions being laid upon them, (as I received it from my informant) the British officers retired to their different posts.

Friday, April 29th. — The business which I postponed yesterday, I opened in a much larger council than had appeared before, and after I had read the Secretary of War's message by me to the Six Nations, I continued to read those also directed to the Delaware, Wyandots, the Shawnees, and to the Indians inhabiting the Wabash, and closed the whole with an address to them, clearly explaining the greatness and power of the United States, and of their trade and commerce, as also of their being at peace and amity with many of the powerful nations of Europe; and though we were once angry with Great Britain, with whom we had fought for eight returning seasons, and having compelled them by force and arms to quit our country, the red hatchet between them and the United States was buried deep under the earth.

I also went into and explained the treaty, held at New York, between his Excellency the President and Colonel McGilivray, the political chief of the Creek nations, and the most numerous body of Indians on the continent, and at this interview there were thirty-two of the most principal chiefs. Every thing being most amicably adjusted at this treaty, they are now become the established friends of the United States, and have firmly engaged themselves to act as our allies in offensive and defensive wars, as the nature of the case will require. Moreover, as they had journeyed far from their own country, not less than sixteen hundred miles, that, to save them the trouble of return- ing the same way, an American vessel was properly equipped for their accommodation, and conducted them, fully satiated to their own country.

And here I was happy to have it in my power to give a more recent proof to the Six Nations, of the great justice done them, by the President of the United States, in the late negotiation had with him by Complanter, and others, at Philadelphia; to evidence their attachment to the United States, by their speedily proceeding forward with me to the un- friendly Indians, and assisting me by the same to inform their minds, to reclaim them from the murders and thefts which they were daily committing upon the defenceless inhabitants near the Ohio, &c. &c. By this, they might have an early caution what must be the consequence, should they refuse to accept the terms of peace, and the proffered mercy of the United States, before that a decisive blow be levelled at those misguided people, and which cannot be far off, if they persist in their cruelties. Moreover, that it is a business worthy the attention of the Six Nations, nay, of all good men, both of the Indians and of the whites, and the speedier their determination might be made known to me the better, so that we might go on to the accomplishment of this good work, thereby to preserve hundreds of our fellow men on both sides. The reply of Red Jacket to the foregoing, as it will come more proper in this place, I here insert it at its full length:

"BROTHER FROM PENNSYLVANIA:

"We have heard all that you have said to us, and by which you have informed that you are going to the bad Indians to make peace with them, and that you are sent to us to receive our assistance. Now we must consider the matter thoroughly, and to choose which way we must go, whether by land or by water. You likewise tell us, that you have messages to the Wyandots, and to Captain Snake, of the Delaware; and that they are to take hold of you and us by the hands, and go to the bad Indian nations with us; and this, also, we must consider of thoroughly: for we find that all our Six Nations are not present, and as our brother, Captain Powell, of the British, is here, and true to us, for he is with us at every treaty, we must let you know that we shall move our council-fire to Niagara with him, and that you must go with us to-morrow, as far as Captain Powell's house. And, as soon as we can know what time we can reach Niagara, we will send runners off to the fort, to acquaint the commanding officer of the garrison. And now the council want to have your answer."

I did not long hesitate to make answer, in what I deemed a very unwarrantable request, and particularly so from a people that have received so many marks of gratitude and attention from the Government of the United States. I therefore addressed myself to the council, and acquainted them that I had the honor of receiving my instructions and messages for the Six Nations of Indians from the honorable the Secretary of War of the United States of Ame-

by the advice of his Excellency the President thereof; that, by those instructions, I was ordered to proceed to the council-fire of the Six Nations, where it should be deemed proper and advisable to light the same. This is, therefore, the place I have been led to by some of your principal chiefs; and upon my account, and the messages I have for your nations, this council-fire has been lighted; this being truly the case, and that my errand here was to invite you to send with me some of your head-men and warriors into the nation of the unfriendly Indians, as proposed at Philadelphia to the Secretary of War, by your chiefs who are present. That, on my coming thus far, I am certain to be in the line of my duty; but to move from hence, with this council-fire, to Niagara, a British garrison, there to transact important business, in which the United States were concerned, is of such a nature, that neither my principles nor commission would warrant me in such a transaction. Therefore I should decline to accompany them; adding, that, if the Six Nations were so far obliged that they must have the particular consideration might be done openly at this place; and that my desires were, that this fire should not be quenched until the intentions of the person or persons at Niagara, let them be sent for to this council, so that the result of such deliberations might be spoke to the council by turns; the result of it being, that a runner must be immediately sent to Niagara, to request the attendance of Colonel Butler, &c. to meet them in their council as soon as he could make it convenient. The foregoing speech of Red Jacket, as done by the advice of the Young King and Fish Carrier, (for they sat on either side of him, and prompted) plainly demonstrates, that the most of the chiefs of the Six Nations are under the influence of the British; as no business of consequence will be undertaken, to the advantage of the United States, but what must first be sifted by British counsel. These suggestions, which were pressed on my mind at this time, gave me to fear that I should not meet them in my endeavors, till I should gain the summit of difficulty, which I saw arranged but fully determined to persevere in my endeavors, till I should gain the summit of difficulty, which I saw arranged before me.

April 30th.—No business this day, but private counselling among themselves. In the evening, Captain Powell invited me to go with him to a store, about four miles distant, in which he was interested, and his partner who kept it a Mr. Cornelius Winney, of Fish Kill. With the last named gentleman I staid till the Monday following; through a very pressing and polite invitation, which at length I accepted of, being lame, and much indisposed, every necessary, and given with so good a grace that I shall seek occasion to return the compliment.

May 1st.—No further business with me, but the Indians still continue their councils, keeping their fire burning, waiting the arrival of Colonel Butler, and, by information which I received, that leaked out of the cabinet of the Sachems, the council were much divided upon my account. About two in the afternoon, a messenger arrived from Niagara, informing them, that Colonel Butler &c. had set out from Niagara, for this place. Among other circumstances in their private council, by the friends to the British interest, that the place where I was desirous they should accompany me, was on the verge of the ocean; that it would take them twelve months to reach the place of treaty; but those facilities were soon explained to my friends, and through which, I plainly showed them, by my distance we should go by the waters of Lake Erie, and that when I was satisfied of their going with me, I would charter one of the trading vessels on the lake for that purpose.

May 2d.—Finding, upon inquiry, that there was no general council to be held this day, waiting the coming of Colonel Butler, I sent the interpreter to invite the chiefs to my cabin, as I had some matters to communicate to them, previous to their going to general council. They soon attended me, and I took the opportunity to open my map before them, and showed, from our situation at Buffalo, the trace we should make into the Miami nation, from thence to fort Washington, on the Ohio; the first, by a transport on Lake Erie, to the mouth of the Miami, which, with any thing of a fair wind, could be completed in less than two days and two nights. From the mouth of the Miami to the Messasagoe nation, situated on the same, and from thence to the Miami and Wabash tribes, at such place where they might generally be assembled; plainly demonstrating, to their satisfaction, that the whole tour could be performed in a short time; and, therefore, enjoined them, under the friendship which they professed to bear to the Thirteen Fires, that they would, in their next council, promote and further my business, that I came to receive their assistance to perform; so that I might go on my journey, without farther hesitation, as my orders were, not to remain at any council longer than two or three days, if I could possibly do otherwise; so that it might be reasonably expected, that my stay here could not be much longer, as I plainly saw that they were not to exercise their own opinions but on the opinion of the British agent. These remarks I made, with intention that they should feel the force of my observations; upon which, Red Jacket desired that I should hear him speak, as I had been speaking a long time. "Tell him," said he, (speaking to the interpreter) that some of his language is soft, but that other parts of it are too strong; for the danger that is before us is great, and our enemies are drunk; and they will not hear what we say, like a man that is sober, and we consider that whatever number of the Six Nations accompany him, will be in the same danger with himself, and it is likely that we shall not live long, when the bad Indians shall see us. There-fore, as it is a business of such great weight to us, we must take counsel, in order to save ourselves, and him, from falling by their hands. Moreover, the Indians are not like white men: for they must think a great while. He must therefore attend our councils, and look and hear till we shall speak on his business; and to-morrow our head-men will meet together, and try what can be done." While we were in conversation together, a runner came to the Young King, acquainting him that Colonel Butler, with several officers, from Niagara, had arrived at the store house, on Lake Erie, where, Colonel Butler desired, that the Sachems and head-men of the nation should meet him in the morning; but did not advise that I should attend with them. This, the Young King desired, might be told to me, that I might know that Colonel Butler had called them together. The circumstance of their moving the council fire from hence to Lake Erie, had never been attempted before, and may with propriety be said, that, their being called together without my being to be present, was intended to answer some private purpose; perhaps to damp the ardor of such friends as I might have gained among the Indians, through the fair and honorable statements which I had laid before them in their councils. Since the dusk of the night, Captain O'Beel has called a meeting of the chiefs, at the cabin of Cayasutta, as I understood it, to advise them not to do any thing to injure me, in the business I had to do with them. In the course of this day, Captains Half-Town and Big Tree, and several of the head-men and warriors from O'Beel's town, and Cattaraugus, about sixty in number, and Captain Snake, with about forty of the Delaware, arrived, attended by many of the principal chiefs of the Onondago nation, named Big Sky. His castle lay about three miles east of Buffalo, near which were about twenty eight good cabins, and the inhabitants appeared, in general, to be decent, and well clothed, particularly their women, some of which were dressed so richly with silken stroud &c. and ornamented with so many silver trappings, that one suit must be of the value of at least thirty pounds; some of the latter attended the feast, which principally consisted of young pigeons, some boiled, some stewed, and the mode of dishing them up was, that a hawk of six were tied with a deer's sinew round their necks, their bills pointing outwards; they were plucked, but of pen-feathers there plenty remained: the inside was taken out, but it appeared from the soup made of them, that water had not touched them before. The feast being the best I had seen for a long time, I ate of it very heartily, and the entertainment was given with the appearance of much hospitality. Returned about sunset to Buffalo.

May 4th.—The whole of the head-men and warriors repaired to the place, yesterday appointed by Colonel Butler, to open that council they intended holding at the British garrison of Niagara. I pressed my friend O'Beel to go forward with them, by all means, lest the United States should not be represented. About eleven o'clock, an Indian runner delivered me a letter from Colonel Butler, through which Captain Houdin and myself received a polite invitation to dine with him and his officers, viz. Captain Burrows, commandant of fort Erie, Colonel Street, Captain Johnson, Captain Powell, and Captain Butler Shane; most of which gentlemen appeared to speak the

Indian language fluently, and all appeared to be busily engaged with the parties, holding converse with them. The tenor of which was, as I since understood it, that they must be cautious what they should undertake to do, in such matters as I had laid before them; and before they might determine, they must repair to Niagara, and receive the instructions of Colonel Gordon. Colonel Butler speaking to them, in my hearing, to the same effect, also mentioning, that, as Colonel Brandt, of Grand river, and Mr. McGee, agent for Indian affairs for Detroit, were now preparing to go among the Indians at war with the Americans, to know what their intentions were, whether for war or for peace; advising them by all means to wait the information that would be received from them, and, should it not come as early as might be expected, they should not go without it, as thereby they would draw war upon their own nations; for they were very angry with them already, and would be more so on finding an American among them; and that, notwithstanding his going among them, was to establish peace, they would kill them all, without waiting to hear what errand he had come upon. This, and the like conversation, from Colonel Butler, beside what were doing by his officers of the Indian department, then present, lasted till late dinner time, and previous to their going away to their castle at Buffalo. The Young King and Red Jacket remarked to Colonel Butler, that the speech intended for the Miami and Wabash Indians contained threatening sentences, which would be more likely to irritate them, than soften them into a compliance. Upon this information being given, I undertook to show them to Colonel Butler; and others that were present; that, on the same being read publicly, they acknowledged, that they had not understood it so well before, and appeared satisfied that a mistake rested with them. A considerable conversation took place with Colonel Butler and myself, in presence of the Young King and other chiefs, entirely on the subject of a peace, and of my intended progress through the Miami country, which were severally interpreted to them, the tenor of the Colonel's advice being, to leave the whole of the treaty, and adjustment of the same, to the chiefs of Buffalo, Colonel Brandt, and Mr. McGee, whom he should engage for, to accommodate the disputes between the Indians at war and the United States, and on no account to attempt the undertaking myself, as he was well aware what must be the consequence.

Colonel Butler having given his opinion so fully, gave me the opportunity to explain myself, by saying, that, if I possessed weakness enough to submit to a negotiation on the terms he had introduced, that a peace could not be formed with the thirteen States, but with his Britanic Majesty's subjects, in their behalf; that, on the completion of this business, due honor would rest with the negotiators, and by such a passive procedure in me, I should justly entail on myself lasting disrepute. That, for those reasons, the chiefs of the Six Nations must be decisive in their answers to me, within a few days, being compelled, by my duty, to seek assistance by other expedients, which are in my power—perceiving in some of their chiefs, an indifference of conduct in matters which I held to be of the utmost importance. These expressions having been interpreted to them, they severally retired to their villages, and I received the invitation of continuing the night with those gentlemen, and complying with the same, I received the utmost civility and agreeable conversation till one o'clock in the morning.

May 5.—This morning, Col. Butler and his suite took boat from hence, which was rowed by six British soldiers across the lake, for Fort Erie; and previous to their departure, as before mentioned, I saw that each, and every public paper, received by Cornplanter at Philadelphia, together with the message that I brought to the Six Nations, were safely put under the care of Col. Butler, and by him to be presented to the commanding officer of Niagara, as concluded upon by the council of the Six Nations, so that the counsel of Col. Gordon might be obtained by them. In the afternoon of this day, I wrote a letter to obtain permission from the commanding officer of Niagara, to freight one of the schooners upon the lake, to conduct me, and such Indians as were willing to go with me, to Sandusky, in order that no time might be lost, when I should gain their concurrence, and forwarded the same by an Indian, being unwilling to trouble either of the officers with its carriage, to Col. Gordon: paid him 15s. [See the letter to Col. Gordon.]

May 6.—Red Jacket and Captain O'Beal came to see me, when the former acquainted me with the reason why no council would be held this day, to wit: That it was their pigeon time, in which the Great Spirit had blessed them with an abundance; and that such was his goodness to the Indians, that he never failed sending them, season after season; and although it might seem a small matter to me, the Indians will never lose sight of those blessings. This is, therefore, the reason why our men, women, and children, are gone from their towns, but on to-morrow, our head-men will return, and your business again shall be taken up. 'Tis a matter worthy of observation, that at some convenient distance from every of the Indian settlements, the pigeons hatch their young in this season of the year, and the trees which they commonly light on, are low, and of the bushy kind, and they are found in such great abundance, that, exceeding a hundred nests, a pair of pigeons in each are common to be found in a single tree; so that I have seen in one house, belonging to one family, several large baskets full of dead squabs; these they commonly take when they are just prepared to leave their nests, and as far as is possible for them to be made; when, after they are plucked and cleansed a little, they are preserved by smoke, and laid by for use.

May 7.—Captain O'Beal called the chiefs together on business concerning themselves; to take into consideration where land should be selected for the accommodation of certain tribes and families, who had put themselves under the protection of the Six Nations, being compelled to leave their former situations, dreading the rage of the Shawanese and Miami Indians. To Captain Snake, and the Delawares under his immediate care, the place appointed for them to plant in, was near the village of Cattaraugus; to the families of Conondoghta, a chief of the Messasagoes, and to the Bear Oil Chief and his family, who fled from their settlements, Conyarth, all of the same nation, had their planting grounds assigned to them near the village of Buffalo. On the arrival of the Bear's Oil chief and Conondoghta, a chief of the Messasagoes, doctas at this place, they acquainted me, that, from their friends, they had intelligence, that large bodies of Indians were assembled at the Miamis, preparing for a descent on some part of our settlements, or garrisons, on or near the Ohio; and that many white people had lately fallen by the hands of the Indians, in which attack, two warriors were lost; and by the same information they received accounts that war traces were seen leading to Fort Pitt. They professed to be very happy in seeing of me, as they had heard it in their own country, the business I had come upon. At this meeting advice was received that the Squawky Indians, those of Cattaraugus, and Hishhne, were in fear of our white people, and about to leave their settlements and repair to Buffalo. This account several of the chiefs came to make me acquainted with. Upon which, I told them that such a report had not the least shadow of truth, for it was a well known subject to the inhabitants of the Genesee, that, by my mission, I was sent to the Six Nations as a pledge for the friendship of the Thirteen Fires to them; that whosoever was the author of this bad report, was a great enemy to the Indians, as well as to the whites inhabiting the frontiers, and that, therefore, with-out loss of time, they should send messengers to advise the Indians of those settlements, not to stir from their property, but to go on with their planting as usual, and that neither our army, nor our militia, dare to disturb the quiet. This my advice was communicated to the council, and Cornplanter was active in forwarding the despatches to them. During this day's business in their council, it was moved that some of their chiefs, attended by the Farmer's Brother, should go to Niagara to obtain the counsel and assistance of Colonel Gordon; but nothing was determined upon. Mr. Joseph Smith arrived this day from the Genesee, with a message from Col. Pickering, intimating to the Six Nations that he had received presents for them from the United States, desiring their attendance at the Painted Post, on the Toga river, on the 16th day of June next. The introductory part of his address pointed out to them the interview that he had had with their chiefs at Toga Point, two years since; that there the mutual friendships between the United States and the Six Nations were entered into; that he was happy to inform them that the chain of peaceable in their towns, and by no means to join the Indians who were carrying on a war against the United States. I seconded the purport of his speech to them, and advised, in a particular manner, that the whole of their chiefs, and warriors, with their women, would present themselves at Cohocton, on the day, or as near it as possible, and receive the benefits which would be bestowed upon them by the Thirteen Fires; and this the chiefs promised should be attended to.

Council this day, as usual, without my meeting amongst them. Nothing more material.

that is the reason why we have come to say something to you, and to tell you, that the Great Spirit hath preserved you, and you ought to hear and listen to what we women shall speak, as well as the sachems; for we are the owners of this land—and it is ours; for it is we that plant it, for our and their use. Hear us, therefore, for we speak of things that concern us and our children, and you must not think hard of us, while our men shall say more to you; for we have told them: "The above speech being ended, I acceded to a request they made, that I would attend their sachems in council this day, and hear what should be said by the women's speaker, the young prince of the Turtle tribe, (Red Jacket.) Soon after their departure the alarm gun was fired, which was their signal to call their head-men into council. They were soon assembled from their adjacent villages, and sent some of their sachems to usher me and my colleague into their assembly. Being arrived, the first matter unusual that presented itself, were the elders of the women seated near their chiefs. When, after a short silence, the speech of the women was continued by Red Jacket, agreeably to the terms entered into between them, and the whole of the leading sachems of the six nations, as follows.

"BROTHER, FROM PENNSYLVANIA:

You that are sent from General Washington, and by the Thirteen Fires; you have been sitting side by side with us every day, and the Lord has appointed us another pleasant day to meet again. Now, listen, Brother: You know what we have been doing so long, and what trouble we have been at; and you know that it has been the request of our head warrior (O'Beel) that we were left to answer for our women, who are to conclude what ought to be done by both sachems and warriors. So hear what is their conclusion. Brother, the business you have come on is very troublesome, and we have been a long time considering on it, ever since you came here; and now the elders of our women, considering the greatness of your business, have said that our sachems and warriors must help you over your difficulties, for the good of them and their children. Moreover, you tell us, since the treaty at Tioga with us, the Americans are strong for peace. Now, all that has been done for you has been done by our women, and the rest will be a hard task for us: for the people at the setting sun are bad people, and you have come on us in too much haste for such great matters of importance. And now, brother, you must look when it is light in the morning until the setting sun, and you must reach your neck over the land, and take all the light you can, to show the danger. And this is the words of our women to you, and the sachems and warriors who shall go with you. And now we shall name them, as they have first presented themselves in this full council, viz: Our first great sachem Kuyasaceta, Red Jacket, the young prince of the Turtle tribe, Captain John, of the Onondagoes, the Grand Carrier, Awangogahne. [The foregoing are four chiefs of six, who were appointed to conduct me into the country of the untutored Indians. The names of the other two grand chiefs were at the same time given, but, by some accident, not inserted.] And now we will name our chief warriors, viz: Sawisna, Cuyanddoo, Unundastheonus, Thénachqua, Conesague, Ténanquachqua, Othanjohngottang, Hotendebawisna, and Attwanika. Now, brother from Pennsylvania and from General Washington, I have told you what has been directed. Let us, therefore, throw all care on the mercy of our Great Keeper, in hopes that he will assist us. You now know that Col. Butler, of the British, told us that he must take our writings down to Col. Gordon, as he is a very wise man, and perhaps he may have something to say to us that is for our good. And we also want his assistance, as he is the man that keeps all the vessels that is on the lake. Therefore, my brother, make your mind easy, for your request is granted, and when we hear from our brothers the British, then we shall know what time we can start. And you must not be uneasy that our brother O'Beel does not go with you, for he is very tired, and he must rest awhile, and take charge of our young warriors while they are playing, (hunting) to keep them in peace, for fear of danger. And now, while we are speaking, more of our young warriors have given their names to go with you."

Having received this welcome information, and so firmly authenticated by so complete a council, I undertook to write a second letter to Col. Gordon, commanding of Niagara, making request of him to grant me a passage in one of the merchant or other vessels on lake Erie, for a certain number of Indians, and others, intended to accompany me to the Miamies, and from thence to fort Washington, on the Ohio; and, the better to prevent any miscarriage or delay, I sent it by Mr. Horatio Jones, my interpreter, on the morning of the 16th, enjoining him by all means to present it to the colonel himself, and to return with an answer to me as speedily as possible. [See the letter.] Early on the morning of the 17th he crossed the river St. Lawrence to Niagara, and, being well acquainted there, he went through any part of the garrison he thought proper, until about ten o'clock, when he went to the commandant to present my letter. Mr. Jones informed me, that, as soon as it was known that he was charged with a public message from me, the town major had ordered to put an orderly non-commissioned officer to attend him, and to prevent his going through the garrison, or of holding any particular conversation with the inhabitants. And, as soon as Col. Gordon sent to him the answer of my letter, he was ordered to return to Buffalo by the same route he had came; and the orderly conducted him to the ferry where he had crossed in the morning, and returned, on the 19th, to me at Buffalo.

The answer which Col. Gordon sent in his letter was, that, as he had not seen those public documents that I had wrote him of, therefore he could not enter into a discussion with me on matters of a public nature, viewing me only in the line of a private agent; nor was he authorized to permit me a passage for the Indians I proposed carrying to Sandusky, in any of the vessels on the lake. [See his letter.] This unfriendly denial puts a stop to the distance attempting to go to the Miamies, as the Indian chiefs who proposed to accompany me were unable to walk the distance required, and it was held by them unsafe to go in a large Albany boat I had contracted for, fearing disappointments; as, to gain a harbor for such a boat in case of rough water, it could not be met with at times, under going the distance of twelve or fifteen miles, and all winds from the northeast and northerly, made the lake very turbulent, and the waters as rough as the ocean. While Mr. Jones continued at Niagara, six engineers and twenty-five or more artificers arrived there from Quebec, being sent by Lord Dorchester for the purpose of carrying on some works of fortifications. He likewise saw that fresh work had been done to the face of the garrison, &c. I have likewise been informed that the British have laid the foundation of a new fortress on the north side of lake Erie, at some distance higher up the rapids, and, I presume, (beyond the range of thirteen inch shells) from the present garrison; it being very evident they cannot, in justice, maintain it much longer. The reason of their establishing of new garrisons on the lakes is very obvious, they being intended for the support of the fur trade, which produces abundance of wealth yearly to Great Britain. But this revenue will, I hope, very soon be decreased, on the surrender of the fort of Detroit, the key of the fur trade by the lakes, and such posts as may be established by the United States in the Western territory, near the Mississippi, and also in the Washash country, and by the Government of Pennsylvania, at the old French garrison of *Presque Isle*, which will invade most of the trade from the Grand river, that empties itself into lake Erie, on the north side, and at a small distance from that beautiful station of as fertile lands as America produces, of a pure air, and a healthful climate. During the absence of my interpreter, twelve of the chiefs, headed by the Young King, came to the store-house on the lake, (at which place I was writing my despatches for the Secretary of War) and informed me that they understood that I had intentions of going away secretly from them in the night, and that I had procured an extra ordinary price for a horse for that purpose, and had likewise offered a large sum of money to an Indian to carry my letters to Pittsburgh. I then inquired who was their informant, that I had communicated these things to. They answered that John Berry, an Indian, who interpreted for Mr. Bwing, had told them so, and they had come to know my reason for so doing. I replied, that such a thought had not passed my mind; and that, if I had had such intentions, why should I have sent my interpreter to Niagara, to obtain a vessel to conduct me and them to the place I so earnestly and so constantly had solicited them to accompany me? And that, were I disposed to leave them in that manner, I should not have sold my horse yesterday to their trader, Mr. Winney, and the sole reason of my having sold him, was, that we could not take a horse by water to Sandusky: for, when there, we should have the

on this point: My intentions of going by water, as above related, prompted me to engage one of O'Beel's Indians, whom I believed to be an honest man, to carry my letters to fort Franklin; and, as well as having offered him certain payment for his services, I had proposed to him a horse to carry him to the New Arrow's town, where the horse belonged, and the rest of the way he might go by water, if he chose to do so. Moreover, to speak in their own language, I was more of a *man* than to leave my friends in that manner; and that, whenever I was about to go from them, I should tell them so, and take my leave of the Six Nations. Having so said to them, I gave them a treat, and they returned to the towns fully pleased and satisfied.

May 17.—Red Jacket and other of the chiefs informed me that my friends in the different towns expected that I would give them something to drink, as they were going to have a great dance before they should leave their women. I readily accepted his proposition, and ordered eight gallons of the best spirits to be presented them for the entertainment, and I desired that the women should be attended to particularly, for their valuable conduct in the last campaign, and I desired that the women should be attended to particularly, for their valuable conduct in the last campaign, and I desired that the women should be attended to particularly, for their valuable conduct in the last campaign.

18th and 19th.—I was engaged in preparing my despatches for the Secretary of War, and other letters of the same import, for Governor St. Clair, and I proposed to forward them by the way of New Arrow's town, thence to fort Franklin and Pittsburgh, and appointed Captain Sunfish, of New Arrow's town, to be the bearer, whose wife was the principal governess and leader of the chiefs among the women, and the principal promoter in gaining the sachems over to my interest. It is well known to every person entrusted with a public commission among the Indians, that they are expected to possess a liberal hand. Red Jacket, whom we have often spoken of, waited on me this morning, to tell me that his house wanted a floor; that, as he was going with me, and desirous to leave his family more comfortable in his absence, he expected that I would have it done for him. Moreover, he wanted some rum for his wife and his mother; and, that he might drink with them before he set out on his intended journey, he wanted a little for himself. The first request, of laying his floor, I promised to have done immediately before our going on board the vessel; and to make him and his wife cheerful at parting, gave orders to present him with one gallon of rum. The Young King was not less pressing in his request for rum, on various occasions; and although he did not behave so well in their councils as I desired, I did not send them away empty handed, sound policy having dictated my motives. And, as I perceived that Captain O'Beel's modesty prevented his calling on me in that way, to him and Cuyatata I was not less liberal. To a Shawanese Indian, named Chaudet, (or Hot Sun) one of the chiefs appointed to conduct me into the Shawanese country, I gave a blanket, being entreated by him in a particular manner to furnish him, for which I gave 18s. 9d. This afternoon, and immediately after Mr. Jones' arrival from Niagara, the Young King, and the major part of the chiefs, came to be acquainted what was the result of Colonel Gordon's answer to me, upon which I informed them to meet me in general council in the morning, being desirous of communicating some matters of consequence to them, and then they should be informed of the contents of his letter. About this time, I received information, that, about eight days since, Colonel Brandt had set out from the Great river, with about forty warriors, to touch at Detroit to take with him Mr. McGee, agent for Indian affairs in that district, from thence, to proceed to the great encampment of those Indians at war with the United States; and by those who are professed friends of the British family, believed that his motives were not to pacify them, but to inflame their minds to a more vigorous opposition.

20th.—According to my proposals of yesterday, I met them in general council, introduced and explained the substance of Colonel Gordon's letter to me, apprising them that I was sensible of the cause that led him to give me such a denial; that it was repulsive with envy in him towards the United States. And it spoke no great affection in him towards the Indians, and that, ultimately, it must reflect on his name and station, the unfavorable epithet of a discreditable public, as preferring to cherish the rage of the desolating sword of war, to the happiness which flows in such abundance through the channels of peace. And perceiving from those causes, that nothing farther can be done by us at this time, I must take my leave of the Six Nations, and return with my information to the chiefs that sent me, to whose attention I will recommend them, seeing that no fault at this time lays at their door. Having placed me, to the whole of our disappointment to the point from whence it came, and to-morrow being the day I propose moving hence, I have now to desire that the chiefs will prepare to deliver me their farewell speech, which I will duly communicate to the Great Chief of the Thirteen Fires, and hope that it may be done soon to-morrow.

21st.—The whole of the chiefs resorted to my cabin, and the Young King, by appointment, gave their farewell speech, but not without the aid of Fish Carrier, whose plying tongue, when speaking, put me in remembrance of the old Roman senators, possessing so much *keen* gravity in his manner. [For the conclusive speech of the Farmer's Brother, see subsequent page.] Settled with Mr. Cornelius Winney, for liquors, &c. had for the Indians occasionally. That lived with said Winney, 9s. 4½d. I delivered to Captain Houdin all the public writings I had prepared for his Excellency the Secretary of War, and sent him by the Genesee, in company with Messrs. Smith and Bwing, residents of said place, (in the several villages adjacent to the castle of Buffalo, to wit: the Senecas, the Cayugas, the Onondagos, &c. there are more than 170 tolerable well-bUILT huts), and proceeded by the verge of the lake for Cataraugus, with my interpreter and servant, where we arrived on the 22d. Paid for the hire of two horses and time for returning, 45s. The reason of my taking the route for Pittsburgh, was, that I was apprehensive that my letters might have been intercepted, had I put them into the hands of the Indian before named, and taken to a British garrison for inspection; and that my conducting them myself, might give me the opportunity of meeting with General St. Clair, or Colonel Butler, and giving them personal information of such matters as might not have been treated on in my letter. Having found myself fully disposed to make a forced march to Pittsburgh, though late in the afternoon, I hired fresh horses, and an Indian, to go to New Arrow's town and to return, for which I paid eight dollars; and for a supply of stores from a British trader, 16s. 10½d. I arrived at the New Arrow's town on the 24th, in the evening, (distance 80 miles) having encamped out in the woods the two preceding nights. I had no sooner arrived, than the chiefs were summoned to council by the sound of a conch shell, which was intended for miles by water) and gained the same in 25 hours, the men having worked hard all night to complete it, and assisted Indians brought from New Arrow's town, pushed off as speedily as lay in our power for fort Pitt, (distance about 156 jetties, had a canoe prepared with four fresh hands put into it, and after having adjusted my engagements with the chiefs to bring them back. I arrived the next morning by daylight at fort Franklin, took breakfast with Lieutenant that fell. I agreed to pay them \$4 30, and a proportion of whiskey, when we should reach the garrison, and provide two Indians this evening, to carry me to fort Franklin, and should have set out immediately, but for a heavy rain head of any of his people hereafter, he would then inform me what he would undertake to do. I hired a canoe and Indians, by taking two prisoners, a woman and a boy, from Conyart, and that, should the hatchet be struck into the yield to him and his people a handsome stipend. He replied that the Senecas had received a stroke from the bad unfriendly Indians, I would use endeavors with the Secretary of War to counterbalance the force that Brandt had taken with him to the sachem, I hinted to Captain O'Beel, that if he would go and join General St. Clair with 35 or 40 of his warriors, as well equipped as he could make them, purely to counterbalance the force that Brandt had taken with him to the sachem, I hinted to Captain O'Beel, that if he would go and join General St. Clair with 35 or 40 of his warriors, and whether the same will be allowed for to me, I must submit to the judgment of the Secretary of War. Being in private conversation this evening with Captain O'Beel, and sitting between him and the New Arrow for him, and at which place he has remained ever since, at expenses. Not having it in my power of doing otherwise, I was obliged to send my own riding horse to the Genesee settlement, it being impossible to procure forage or corn on the Secretary of War, to Joseph Smith, Indian interpreter. Previous to my leaving this town, 23d of April last, Holmbeck & Maxwell, for a small horse received of them at Toga Point, and \$27 10s. to the payment of my draft settlement with the paymaster-general of the United States, I left the same, together with \$18 payable to Messrs. in his favor of \$24 13s. 1½d. I gave him my obligation to pay the same at eight, in Philadelphia; and at a late accounted with him for sixty-one days services, allowing him six days to return, at 10½s. per day, a balance appeared. Here I parted with my interpreter, for him to return to the Genesee country, the place of his residence, and nothing more than to take their leave of me.

myself, for which I paid extra to each, one dollar, and one dollar for entertainment at Pittsburgh, having completed in five days and two nights, going by land and water from Buffalo to this place, 411 miles. Expenses at Pittsburgh is \$9 15c. To Horatio Jones, expenses going to Niagara with my letter, and returning, 46s. 10½d. Set out from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia, on the evening of the 29th of May, and arrived the 7th day of June. Expenses from Pittsburgh hither, \$7 14s. 3d.; and for the keeping of a horse employed in public service, and for stabling in Philadelphia, and returning the horse to James Smith, Esq. Cumberland county, 40s.

PHILADELPHIA, June 8, 1791.

SIR:

I left the castle of the Six Nations of Indians, at Buffalo creek, the 21st of the last month, in the afternoon, the forepart of the day being spent in council with the chiefs of the above nations, of which there were a full representation; and, by the following, as delivered by the Young King and the Farmer's Brother, will evidence their friendly disposition towards the United States, in maintaining with them an inviolable peace; as, also, with the British, as, from the situation of their nations, they are centrally placed between them.

The same day I sent forward my despatches for your Excellency, under the care of Captain Houdin by the route of Wyoming, while I should proceed by the way of Forts Franklin and Pittsburgh, with the letters I had written for the information of General St. Clair, and arrived here yesterday afternoon. It is also with pleasure I inform you that, as to the several posts on the Alleghany river, &c. they were under no apprehensions of danger from the unfriendly Indians, and were in good health and high spirits.

I am your Excellency's most obedient servant,

THOMAS PROCTER.

The Honorable SECRETARY OF WAR.

The speech of Little Beard, April 1st, 1791.

BROTHER OF THE THIRTEEN FIRES, HEAR WHAT WE HAVE TO SAY TO YOU: The Lord has spared us this day to meet together, and for you to let us know what has been done at Philadelphia, a few days ago, for our nation. You say our lands are secured for us, and that the grant given by the Great Chief, General Washington, will last as long as the sun goes over us.

That is the reason why we give you great thanks, our lands being secured to our children's children. And great reason we have for doing so.

Every one of us will wish well to your Great Chief Honandagamus, (or General Washington) and our women and our children will thank him, and will look up to him as a strong sun for protecting of the right of their lands and our children forever. And you tell us that there is a great paper in the hands of O'Beel for us. Now we want you to shew with your finger how large the lands are which are given to us. [Here I named to them certain grants to lands which they had made to the States of Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania, &c.]

Captain O'Beel's speech at Fort Franklin, April 9th, 1791.

We have met our brother here, and I believe he remembers what we said at Philadelphia: that we would try our friends once more, viz. the Wyandots; as there were bad people among them, advising to use the hatchet. There we said it would be well for one man to go with us from the United States, in order to hear what we should say to them.

Now the Lord has spared us to this day, to meet our brother, that has been sent from the Thirteen Fires, and to join our hands with his to have justice done. And we should have been glad that he were with us on our way to Pittsburgh, for then our wagons would not have been stopped, our goods taken, and our liquors drank, and that by people whom we thought to be our friends.

And when we had got to Pitt, more and great trouble began on us by the bad men of the Big Knife. For when we had started from Pitt, with all our goods and writings with us, to shew what we had done for our nation, the white people and our friends seized upon the garrison boat, belonging to French creek, which had our goods in, and several canoes, and forcibly took them back to Pittsburgh, and there deprived us of all that was necessary for the comfort of our women and children; and we are sick for them. And now we wait here to know from our runners, if any thing is left for us; and then we are ready to shew you the road.

In one part of General Washington's speech to us, he gives us to choose whether we will go by land or water; and it affords us great pleasure, as we shall choose for the best and safest, as there are bad men on the way. Now the chiefs of our nations here have made their choice, and we must go to Buffalo, where our head-men are waiting for us, and where the council fire has been long lighted and put out again. And we must light it the next, and that will be soon.

There we shall finish our minds, and have good plain faces whosoever we turn against those bad men, and we shall be strong. Our friend sent by General Washington must not think hard by our requesting of him to wait for us. For this is the last speech the unfriendly people can have. And it is a heavy matter. And we must take time to do the business well and sure.

Now we shall send a runner right off, where the great fire is to be lighted at Buffalo, so that our great men of the different tribes may assemble all their people. And when there, we shall be able to tell you what number of Indians are going to accompany you to the Miamies. And he can write to General Washington of every particular of which our brother wishes to send.

And now we have determined to start from here in the morning, although we have left all our papers behind us. But we shall leave some of our young men to bring them after us to the council at Buffalo creek.

This is all we have to say at this time, but to leave the business we have here to do with our brother and the commanding officer of the fort, to obtain our goods, &c. which your people have deprived us of. And we hope you will now send for them, as we are now going away.

Now we want to know if our speech is pleasing to our brother, who will shew what we have said to General Washington: for we again say we must go by water. And with all our friends being with us we shall be strong.

BUFFALO CREEK.

Speech of Thyogasa, Chief of the Senecas, at Cattaraugus, near Lake Erie, as delivered 25th April.

Some time ago there came messages into our country, that our people should meet at Buffalo creek, and then they should hear of our head-men from Philadelphia, what they had from the council of the Thirteen Fires.

About this time they had got to Fort Pitt. And we heard there was a great man, and a Frenchman coming, also from Philadelphia, in great fear, trying to make peace. Then we thanked God. The next express said that our head-men and those from Philadelphia were coming on the waters together, to have the great council fire lighted at Buffalo, and we that live here sent on the express, and gave great thanks to our Great Keeper.

Now that you and they have arrived here, and have shewed your faces at our council fire in trouble and fear, we give great thanks again to the Great Spirit for keeping you and our chiefs from the trouble that befel others coming to this place. Now tell the man from Philadelphia to pity us children, for we are fearful. And we say to you, that

will open your throats, that you may speak fair and clear to us without any hard thoughts, when you get to our great council fire of the full nations, that you may deliver any message you are sent upon, from the great chiefs at Philadelphia. Besides, now we open your ears to hear any thing which may be said by us, and give thanks to God for our safe journey. These are the few words we have to make known to you. And give thanks to God for our safe meeting this day together, our brothers and our chiefs. [This speech being ended, Thyogasy handed to me a belt of wampum of three strings, and then continued his discourse as follows:]

BROTHERS: This is our custom, to make a small speech on seeing our friends, but Buffalo is the place where you must speak, and at that place matters must be talked over in peace and quietness, and of which tell all people to be careful. Now wipe the tears from your eyes, and make your throat clear, so that you may be understood.

The speech of Red Jacket before the Great Council at Buffalo, April 27th, as an introduction to the business of the day, addressing himself to me.

BROTHERS: Listen! It is usual for us to speak; and to you we do it as to a brother that has been absent a long time. Now we all speak to you, and to our head warrior that left us last fall: and we thank the Great Spirit for his and your safe arrival here, as you are together, hand in hand, from Honandaganius, (General Washington) upon great business.

You have travelled long, with tears in your eyes, upon account of the bad roads, and bad season of the year. Besides the disturbances between the bad Indians, and our brothers, the white people, every thing has been trying to prevent your coming, and to stop your business, and to lose the way.

Thus the big waters might have stopped your coming, and the wars might have stopped you, and sickness might have stopped you: for we cannot know what is to happen us until it comes upon us. So, therefore, we thank the Great Spirit who has preserved you from such dangers that might have hindered us from hearing of the good news which you and our head warrior have opened to us. But how could it be that any thing bad could have happened to you, while you have such important business to transact, as we understand you have come on?

You must now wipe away those fears occasioned by all the great dangers you have come through. And now we set you upon a seat where you can sit up straight—on a seat where you are secure from the fears of your enemies; where you can look round and see all your friends and brothers in peace. Besides, you have come along, with your heart and your throat stopped up, to secure all that you had to say in your body. But now we open your heart with your brother's hands, and we run our fingers through to open your mouth, to speak clear, and not to be molested. Your ears also have been stopped by Honandaganius until you should see your brothers at this place, being spared by the Great Spirit to arrive safe.

Now open your ears to hear what your brothers may say after you have made your speech. This is, therefore, the complement of the chiefs and head-men of Buffalo creek, to you and our great warrior (O'Beel) and you may, each of you, go on safely with your business.

Monday, May 8th.—In full council. The speech of Fish Carrier, a chief of the Cayugas, and the right hand man of Butler and Brandt, as may appear from the following, addressed to me:

BROTHERS: This day you have met again with your brothers in peace; a day provided by the Great Spirit for you and them to sit together, and talk over the business you have been sent to perform by General Washington, the thirteen Fires, and for which you are to come to our council; and likewise, to hear us with regard to the people (the bad Indians) on the other side of your body, toward the setting sun.

Here you have made your business known, and to all the chiefs and warriors, who met every day; and now they understand the same, because they have taken due notice. Therefore, you shall hear what we have determined upon by all of us, for we all had a hand in it, or it would not be strong.

Now, BROTHERS: We shall say more to what General Washington sent you for, and to tell you, that our head warrior (O'Beel) our nephew, has done things which we know nothing of; and it seems to us, that he has requested that this business should go forward without our consent. Neither do we know you in this matter; and were we to undertake to help you, we do not know what might happen before we went far with you, as that might be the cause of our country being destroyed, or broken up by the mad people.

Now we tell you, as we told you before, that we have met on your business, and that the one-half is not for peace. So we look at the man that has been sent to the Shawanese (Brandt) and we have sent to see how matters go at their council fire. We must, therefore, see his face, for we can't determine until we know what they are about.

So we beg of you to grant our request; to keep your mind easy; for we who do this business, look on you, and hold ourselves to be slaves in making of peace. Now we all say, you must look for C. Brandt's coming, to hear So we beg of you to grant our request; to keep your mind easy; for we who do this business, look on you, and have to say to you at this time.

Upon this I told the council, that, in the morning, I would give them my talk, in answer to what had been said this day, and immediately return, with what they had spoke in their council, to the Great Chief that had sent me. Captain O'Beel then told them, in council, what would be the consequence to the Five Nations, and publicly declared to accompany me, if no other chiefs would attempt it. For further particulars, I beg leave to refer to the continuation of my letter of the 4th of May.

The speech of Conandocia, an Onondago Chief, addressed to the council of the Six Nations, through which he explained the dangers which attended on him and his people, should they remain at Coneyat.

BROTHERS: There is a great deal of danger at this place, for we are told by the enemy, the Missesagoes, that we must come to their side, or else we won't live long. But, said I, we turned our face once, and you did not pay us the compliment to call us to council with you, or even to shake hands with us. Now, we turn our face to this council, and you must prepare a place for us when we come; for we mean to be true to the promise we make to you. [On the close of this speech, four strings of wampum were presented, a mixture of black and white.]

The speech of Bear's Oil, a Chief, to the same effect as the above, who, with his people, are in danger of the Missesagoes.

BROTHERS: Now hear me a little. I am a Missesago chief, belonging to the Six Nations. I, and my people, are in great danger, because I have been the entire instigator of saving the white settlers at Coneyat and Cassago: for I told them of the danger they were in, as I heard the Red Indians say they were bound for that place, and that they intended to murder them. Moreover, that if I did not come away to them, I should die, for that was the only way to save my life; and that, should I attempt to go to the Six Nations, they would meet me on the way and kill me. For they say, if they meet with any of the Six Nations, they will strike them. But I have not listened to them. I have come to you, and you must have a place ready for me to sit down when I come with my people.

These matters, I take the liberty of communicating to your Excellency, in order to shew you, the Six Nations themselves profess, that they are not secure from the anger of the Indians who are unfriendly to the United States.

Sir:

Although I have not the honor of a personal acquaintance, I am, notwithstanding, emboldened to address you, by letter, and through the same to inform you, that I am the person charged with certain messages from his Excellency the Secretary of War, for the United States, to the Six Nations, and other tribes of Indians, residing near Lake Erie, &c. One of those messages are particularly sent to the tribes now unhappily at war with the Americans, and with whom, it is the ardent desire of General Washington, the President, that peace should be established, on the most lasting terms of equity and justice to them. My mission is, therefore, to invite them to a treaty with Governor St. Clair, on the Ohio, not far from the country they inhabit.

The better to effect so desirable an object, proposals were made to the President, in January last, by certain chiefs, who came on business of the Six Nations to Philadelphia, viz: That they would appoint in their councils, certain of their head-men, to accompany such gentlemen as might be sent into the country of those misguided people, to bring them to terms of amity with the thirteen States. This, sir, you will discover, on reading the Secretary of War's letters to the Six Nations, and committed to my care. It will be handed to you by the Young King, with other public papers, which were delivered Captain O'Beel, for the better information of the nation concerned.

I have, therefore, to entreat you, to conceive the most favorable sentiments on the meaning and intent of those public instruments of writings, as they are founded on the principles of humanity, and a regard for the well-doing of our fellow men; and I cannot doubt, but the same motives will invite you to assist in so laudable an undertaking: the effects of which, will establish happiness to the British subjects of Canada, &c. as well as to the United States.

The favor that I here request at your hand, is to permit me to charter one of your vessels, in the lake, for such number of Indians, &c. who may accompany me to Sandusky, on Lake Erie. So far as my request meets your approbation, I shall receive much pleasure, by your signifying the same by a few lines to,

THOMAS PROCTER.

Col. A. Gordon, Commandant of Fort Niagara.

May 14th, 1791. *The Speech of the Turner Brother, or the King.*

BROTHER:

The last summer was the time we had our last talk with the Shawanese, and then we tried to make peace in their minds, but they would not listen to us. They named to us their great chief of the Shawanese, called the Little Hoopoe, who told them, that all the nations beyond them to the setting sun, being in number forty-eight large towns, were all under arms, and that Little Hoopoe said they would be at peace with the Long Knife. So that when peace was put in their heads, and that we had returned home, then the great fight was had between them and the Virginians, the Long Knife, and that made their determinations stronger for war than ever, because they had killed many of their people, and hurt their nations. And after this, we tried and told the Americans to be at peace and quietness. So we concluded to send some body again, to know what they were doing among the bad Indians, so that we might judge, and we consented to send a chief to them, with whom they were acquainted. And upon that determination, as we told you before, we sent Capt. Brandt, so that he might judge whether it was worth while to try again to make peace. That is the reason why we asked you, the other day, to attend our council fire, until you should see his mouth your- self, when he should tell us all that was doing in that country. And that is the reason why we are afraid of our brother, for we know that they won't receive you in peace, for it is their determination as we hear. We tell you again, that one of the same mind with us is gone to speak to those people, and we want to hear him as much as General Wash- ington does, and we pay all attention to what he has laid before us, and now our opinion is, we must go alone and try to make peace ourselves; and that is the reason we don't want you to go with us, for this is the outermost edge of the bad people's settlement; and were we to take you by the hand, and go together, we must instantly meet with a great loss, which would make war on both sides, and we should be killed. Now we will tell you the reason why they refuse to make peace, is, that General St. Clair struck the bad Indians, while they were thinking of making peace with the Americans; and this is the reason to try ourselves, to make them hear by our chief, that is gone before us; and that will be the time for General Washington to light his fires, when he knows they are determined for peace, and we, the Six Nations, are strong for it. Therefore, tell General Washington to hold back his warriors a little, and let his intention be strong for peace, and God will assist the Americans to make it up.

Now the Six Nations give great thanks to General Washington, that his mind is so strong for peace, and the Six Nations look to him for peace. Therefore, the sachems and head-men of our nations have come to you this evening, to tell you that you shall not go with them into the towns of the enemy Indians.

Sir:

The 5th instant I had the pleasure of addressing my first letter to you, and delivered the same to the care of Capt. W. Pryn, an Indian, to be presented by him, but having received no answer since, I presume it has miscarried through some neglect. The purport of it was, to be permitted a passage in one of the vessels on Lake Erie, for such number of Indians and white men, destined to accompany me to some convenient port on the west end of the lake. The mission I am charged with, is directed to the Indians, now unhappily at war with the United States, with desires to reclaim them to a peaceable demeanor, before certain destruction overtakes, which is now pending over them.

Mr. Horatio Jones will deliver you my letter, and wait your answer, which I hope will be to the granting of my request. And whatsoever expense may accrue upon this occasion, I shall most cheerfully satisfy the same with the commander; and subscribe myself,

Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant,

THOMAS PROCTER.

Col. A. Gordon, Commandant of Fort Niagara, &c.

NAGARA, May 18, 1791.

Sir:

A few days ago I had your letter of the 5th instant, to which I should have returned an immediate answer, had I not waited for some public papers, which you wrote were to be handed to me by the Farmer's Brother, and other chiefs, who were to wait upon me, to receive my advice on business of importance. They have, however, as yet, never made their appearance at this post.

I think it but proper to give you this explanation of my not having sooner replied to your letter; but as there is no document which places you in any other light than a private agent, I cannot enter into any discussion of a public nature. Whenever any of the chiefs of the Senecas, or others of the Six Nations, apply to me for counsel, I shall give them such advice as I conceive best suits with the present situation of affairs.

As to that part of your letter which requests to be permitted to freight one of the vessels on Lake Erie, to carry you, and such Indians as may be inclined to accompany you, to Sandusky, on the west side of the lake, I beg leave to inform you, that I am not authorized to comply with your request.

I am, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

A. GORDON.

Colonel PROCTER.

The speech of the Young Kings of the Six Nations, on my leaving of Buffalo Creek, May 21, 1791.

BROTHERS: We are called together this day by the appointment of yesterday, to hear what answer has been sent to your letter, from the commanding officer of getting a vessel, in which we were to go with you toward the unfriendly Indians; and that, therefore, you would return by the way of Fort Pitt.

You have also said, that you do not blame the British; and that, therefore, we should be easy in our minds, and be at peace with the United States.

You have also mentioned a letter, which came from General St. Clair to us, and what answer we should give to the same, so that Colonel Butler, at Pittsburgh, might be informed by you.

The answer of our fighting, as requested by General St. Clair: On seeing how your troops should act against the enemy Indians, you must listen, and hear what is the full determination of all the sachems and warriors of the Six Nations; what they have determined upon, and that in a few words, for Col. Butler, to be sent to General St. Clair.

Now, the answer is, that we are desirous of complying with the instructions of his first letter, sent to Cuyasata, our great chief for the Six Nations; namely, that we must sit still, and not to mind any other business but peace, and those were the words of his letter. Moreover, last fall it was told to us by Col. Pickering, that the Six Nations must take no notice of any thing, but what tended to be peaceable; for that would be an advantage to our nations, and nothing else. So that, ever since, we have conformed to these instructions, in not interfering in any matter that has another tendency: for with the British we are at peace, according to their request of us; and we are the same with the Americans. And should the unfriendly Indians come forward to seek peace by us, we will help to do so; and we are desirous ourselves of remaining peaceable.

The reason why we now tell you these things, is, that we are neither on the one side, or on the other; whether of the British, or of the Americans; for we desire to be still, and to be at peace with both.

Here, brother, we speak to you on another matter, that has respect to the Six Nations. General Washington, called all the nations, from the Grand river to the Onondas. And it is our desire to attend the same, at the time the great chief, has kindled a fire at the Painted Post; and this, we expect, is done for the sake of peace; for he has proposed, therefore, tell Colonel Butler, at Pittsburgh, that we cannot attend, according to the request of General St. Clair: for we shall attend the treaty at the Painted Post, where the fire is lighted by General Washington, and at that place all matters we here related shall then be talked over again. In this, brother, you have heard the sense of the Six Nations, and our sentiments are firm and strong: for, amongst us, there is not one deficient. This is, therefore, the close of this speech, as we want to talk over other matters which concern the errand that you have come to us upon, and which we can't go through with, because we can't speak to the Indians, that reside towards the setting sun. But we have told you, that we have sent Captain Brandt, to know what is the minds of those people towards the Thirteen Fires.

We have also told you, that we shall take the same into consideration, as we want to speak to them once more, on terms of peace: for our mind is the same as when you first came amongst us, and we are desirous of seeing the same to effect. And should Captain Brandt be here before we go for the Painted Post, whatever their intentions are, we shall make the same known; and if for peace, the one half of our chiefs shall go to the unfriendly Indians, and the other half, with our women and children, shall attend the treaty before named; and the same information shall be sent to Fort Pitt, for the information of Col. Butler, as you have requested of us.

Thus far, I have attempted to delineate the several events and progress of my tour, among the Six Nations of Indians, &c. And although the commissions you were pleased to honor me with were not so completely accomplished as wished for, I nevertheless enjoy a conscious evidence, that, in no instance, have I omitted to put in practice such means as I conceived to be the most conducive to that end.

THOMAS PROCTER.

I have the honor to be, your Excellency's most humble servant.

Major General H. Knox, Secretary of War.

Instructions to Colonel Timothy Pickering.

Sir: The Vice President of the United States, and the Heads of the Departments of State, who are empowered thereto by the President of the United States, having determined it to be expedient, at this time, that the Six Nations of Indians, so termed, should be assembled together, for the purpose of cementing the existing friendships, and that this business should be performed by you, I have the honor of giving you the instructions herein contained, which are to serve as the general rules of your conduct.

In order that you may comprehend clearly the present relative situation of the United States with the Six Nations, I herewith deliver you copies of certain written speeches which were delivered by the Comptroller, a chief of the Senecas, and his companions, who were lately on a visit to this city, to the President of the United States, and the answers thereto. I wo of these answers were signed with due form by the President of the United States, and the first engrossed on parchment, and also the instructions to Colonel Thomas Procter, and a letter to Governor Clinton.

It would be proper that you should repeat to the said Six Nations, all that has been stated by the President of the United States, as the foundation of their future expectations.

It being the sincere desire of the General Government that the Indians, on all occasions, should be treated with entire justice and humanity, you may give the strongest assurances on this point.

The great object of the proposed meeting will be, to impress on the minds of the Indians that their interest and happiness depend upon the protection and friendship of the United States, and to conciliate their affections, for which purpose you will use your highest exertion.

That the war in which we are involved with the Western Indians is highly disagreeable to the United States, and would be speedily terminated, were the Indians to manifest pacific dispositions; but, if they persist in hostilities, their destruction must be the consequence, as may be easily proved to them by a comparative view of the respective force.

That, if the Six Nations shall be convinced that the United States are desirous of peace, on terms of moderation and justice, and that any further opposition of the Western Indians, after receiving information of the humane disposition of the United States, will be entirely unjustifiable; in this case, it is the expectation of the President of the United States that the Six Nations do not only abstain from joining the enemy, but that they manifest their friendship by sending their young warriors to join our army, for which they shall be well paid.

It will be important to dwell much upon this point. It will be difficult, if not impracticable, for the chiefs to restrain the young men from indulging their passion for war. They will, therefore, probably join the Western Indians, unless they join us. If this should be the case, the United States will consider the Six Nations as responsible for the conduct of their young men. To avoid, therefore, so dangerous a situation, they had better join our

send you copies of the several species. The Complainter may be depended upon, through all the changes of policy, with great kindness, and attached to us if possible. But the Complainter is our friend from the solid ties of interest, and we must rivet them by all ways and means in our power. Houdin's receipt will be credited to your account. I am, &c. &c.

Colonel TIMOTHY PICKERING.

Letter from the Secretary of War to Governor Clinton.

WAR DEPARTMENT, 12th April, 1791.

Sir: I have the honor to inform your Excellency in confidence, that the present view of affairs upon the frontiers indicates strongly, that all the Indian tribes northwest of the Ohio, will, in the course of the ensuing campaign, be combined in hostilities against the United States. The President of the United States has been exceedingly desirous of avoiding an Indian war, and to establish a general peace with all the tribes, on liberal terms, and measures have been taken for that purpose, but the effect is extremely doubtful. The involved state of things, arising from circumstances not under the control of the General Government, have proceeded from one stage to another, until it seems but too probable that force only can decide the contest. As it is to be apprehended that the Six Nations may be brought to act against us, it has been conceived important to assemble them together, particularly the Senecas, at as early a period as possible, in order to brighten the chain, and to remove all causes of discontent. Accordingly, Colonel Timothy Pickering, who resides at Wyoming, and who had a meeting the last autumn with the Senecas at Tioga Point, has been requested to invite the Six Nations generally, to a meeting at such place as shall be most convenient to them, and at as early a period as they could conveniently be assembled. A view of your Excellency's influence over Captain Joseph Brandt, I have conceived the idea, that you might induce him, by proper arrangements, to undertake to conciliate the Western Indians to pacific measures, and bring them to hold a general treaty. This measure would be abundantly more compatible with the feelings and interest of the United States, than to expatriate the Indians, which seems to be the inevitable consequence of a war of long continuance with them. You are entirely able to estimate Brandt's talents, and the degree of confidence which might be placed in him on such an occasion. It ought not, however, to be concealed from your Excellency, that Captain Abel on the Complainter, has undertaken this object, and that, most probably, he is actually employed at this time on the business with Colonel Procter, who was sent from this city for the purpose. And it is also proper, that you should understand, that a mortal enmity exists between Brandt and the Complainter.

In this situation of things, if your Excellency should entertain the opinion strongly, that Brandt might be used with good effect, and consistently with the Complainter's mission, and that they would not clash in the business, I earnestly request that you would take the necessary measures for the purpose, according to your own judgment. Perhaps Colonel Willet, of whose talents in managing the minds of men I have a high opinion, might accept of an agency on this occasion, as it might respect Brandt. He will be on the spot, and if you should consider the idea practicable, you could give him such information and instructions as would tend to success. After which, the Colonel might repair to this city, in order to make the further necessary arrangements. Your Excellency could despatch an express to Brandt, to meet Colonel Willet, either at Colonel Pickering's place of meeting, or such other as you should judge proper. Your Excellency will please to hold out such inducements to Brandt as you may judge most proper, with respect to money. The arrangement for Colonel Willet's services should be made satisfactory to him. Any sum of money which you should conceive necessary to put this affair in motion, shall be paid to your order. I beg your Excellency to be persuaded, that nothing but a solid conviction of your regard for the public welfare, could have constrained me to trouble you on this occasion; and I take the liberty of requesting a line from you immediately, in answer to these suggestions: for, should you judge them practicable, not a moment's time should be lost. With great respect &c.

His Excellency Governor CLINTON.

The Secretary of War to Governor Clinton.

WAR DEPARTMENT, April 28th, 1791.

Sir: Having had the honor to write to your Excellency, on the 12th instant, upon a subject of considerable importance to the welfare of the United States, and not having received an answer thereto, I am induced to believe, that my letter may, by some accident, have miscarried; I therefore transmit your Excellency a copy of it, and as Colonel Pickering is now in this city, I beg the favor of an answer as soon as possible.

His Excellency Governor CLINTON.

Copy of a letter from the Governor of the State of New York to the Secretary for the Department of War.

NEW YORK, 27th April, 1791.

Sir: I have received the letter, which you did me the honor to write on the twelfth instant, and by the tenor of the communication therein contained, I am led to conclude, that the President has given you discretionary powers in regard of the objects upon which you have been pleased to confer with me. I observe, with some regret, that the measure of attempting a convention of the whole six nations, hath been resolved and acted upon. It cannot be unknown to you, that those nations are at present disunited by private animosities; that there subsists not among them, mutual intercourse and confidence, sufficient to lead to a general combination, or to effect (without the interposition of the agents of the United States) a general congress of those nations, even for the purpose of deliberation; that this disposition produces impotency and secures inaction, and that, if we should revive their importance, by renewing their union, we may give power and vigor, which we cannot with certainty direct, and over which we shall, with much trouble and expense, have an uncertain control. But, having heretofore communicated to the President my sentiments upon the policy of that measure, I shall not now further obtrude them upon you; and I entreat you to be assured, that, how muchsoever I may differ as to the means, I will, with the utmost cheerfulness and assiduity, concur with you in endeavors to attain the ends, which you justly consider as momentous and interesting to the Union. I have communicated to Colonel Willet, your confidence in his talents, and desire for the interposition of his influence with Brandt, but have it not in my power to inform you of his explicit answer; I could wish that your application might be made to him directly, if you should continue in the opinion of the importance of his personal exertions on this occasion. I had, in June last, appointed an interview with Brandt, contemplating the danger you appear to apprehend from his address and his influence with several of the Indian nations, (which I am persuaded is very considerable) and from different letters I have since received from him, I have reason to hope he will give me the opportunity of a personal conference with him at this place, the beginning of the ensuing summer, if the proposed convention, which I will not venture to say he may not be opposed, should be held.

friendly and familiar intercourse I have successfully endeavored to preserve, will, I doubt not, predominate over any transient disgust that the measures of the Union may have heretofore excited in his mind, and enable me to procure an interview with him, at any time and place not particularly inconvenient. To accomplish this, however, with certainty, it may require the personal application of some one expressly delegated, and in whom he will confide. As your wishes appear to be confined to Colonel Willet, I shall not, without your farther advice, undertake to exercise a discretion on this subject. Your knowledge of the views of government enable you to determine the importance of this measure. I can only add, that the most perfect reliance may be had in my exertions to carry those views into effect, when the particular mode of co-operation shall be defined, and connected with competent authority.

GEO. CLINTON.

The Honorable HENRY KNOX, Esq.

Copy of a letter from the Secretary of War to the Governor of the State of New York, in answer to his Excellency's of the 27th of April.

WAR DEPARTMENT, 11th May, 1791.

SIR:

I had the honor, on the fifth instant, to receive your Excellency's favor, dated the twenty-seventh ultimo, being an answer to my letter of the twelfth of the same month.

I am sorry that you do not approve the convention of the Six Nations, at this particular crisis. The measure appeared highly expedient, in order not only to prevent their joining the Western Indians, but, if possible, to induce them, as a security to the continuance of their friendship, to join some of their young warriors to the troops of the United States.

Although the Senecas were the principal object of the meeting, that tribe constituting the main body of the Six Nations resident within the general limits of the United States, yet it was conceived that it would have been impolitic to omit inviting the other tribes, eastward of the Senecas, to the meeting.

My having seen your letter to the President of the United States, relative to Captain Brandt, and knowing also from repeated personal communications with your Excellency, the confidence Brandt reposed in your character, together with a persuasion of your cordiality to pacific measures with the Indians, were my inducements to address you on the twelfth ultimo.

My authority on the occasion, was founded on the circumstances, that the business of Indian affairs had been established by law, as a branch of the Department of War, and that the President of the United States had instructed me upon the objects of the Department during his absence.

I am not enough acquainted with the character or views of Captain Brandt, to be able to conclude whether he would work cordially in the design of peace, upon such principles as may not hereafter create greater embarrassments. This was a point which I submitted to your Excellency's decision.

I am fully possessed with the information of his enmity to the Corplanter, who, I am of opinion, is greatly attached to the United States, upon the solid conviction of the measure being the only one by which he and the other Indians shall be secured from utter destruction.

The Corplanter has been actively employed to persuade the Senecas to send forward a powerful deputation, under his direction, to escort Colonel Procter to the Miami Indians, in order to induce them to peace. This information has been lately received, and from circumstances, I am inclined to believe, that Colonel Procter, protected by the Senecas, may be at this time, either actually with, or very near the hostile Indians.

Your Excellency may remember Captain Brandt's exertions, in the year 1786, to form a grand confederation of all the Indians northwest of the Ohio, the Six Nations included.

By a late letter which he has written to Mr. Kirkland, and which I received yesterday, it appears that he still should like that measure, if he could find it practicable. But such an event could not be for the interest of the United States; for, although justice, policy, and humanity, dictate a liberal treatment of the Indians, it cannot be for the public interest to consolidate them in one body, which would be liable to a single impulse.

Therefore, although it would be wise to conciliate Captain Brandt, and if within the power of a reasonable sum of money, to attach him warmly to the United States, yet, considering the train of the business, under the Corplanter's management, and the designs of Brandt relative to a general confederation of Indians, it would not, probably, be good policy to employ him actively, at present, with the Western Indians.

It appears to me, judging from experience, that the United States may entirely depend on the Corplanter's abilities, fidelity, and his active exertions. Brandt's attachment may be doubted, and his views may be dangerous. But, as it may be concluded that Brandt's visit to your Excellency ought to be encouraged by all means, and that the result of the impressions you may make upon him, would be highly favorable to the public interest, I shall instruct Colonel Pickering not to obstruct, but facilitate his visit.

Colonel Pickering has appointed the Painted Post as the place, and the 17th of June next as the time, of his meeting with the Indians.

I am persuaded that the President of the United States, upon his arrival in this city, about the beginning of July, would be much gratified to receive a visit from Captain Brandt.

It may be proper, also, to intimate to your Excellency, that any pecuniary engagements you shall judge proper to enter into with Captain Brandt, to secure his attachment to the United States, will be paid without delay by the General Government.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, your Excellency's obedient humble servant,

H. KNOX.

His Excellency the Governor of the State of New York.

Letter from the Secretary of War to the Honorable General Schuyler.

WAR DEPARTMENT, 11th May, 1791.

DEAR SIR:

I was in hopes to have heard from you relative to your idea of employing the chief Old Peter, of the Oneidas. Mr. Kirkland has written relative to the same objects, for Captain Hendricks, of whom he speaks well. The Corplanter continues firm, and most probably has gone forward to the hostile Indians before this time. If you think proper to employ Captain Hendricks, and Peter, whom you mentioned, and furnish them with the necessary means for the purpose, I will instantly make the re-imbursments to your order.

I request the favor of you to forward the enclosed letter to Mr. Kirkland.

I am, sir, &c.

The Honorable General SCHUYLER, Albany.

Letter from the Secretary of War to the Rev. Samuel Kirkland.

WAR DEPARTMENT, May 11th, 1791.

Sir:

I have just received your letter of the 22d of April, for which I sincerely thank you. I highly approve of Captain Hendricks being employed, and will make good any reasonable allowance to him for his services. Let him call on Colonel Pickering, at Wyoming, who will furnish him with clothing and necessaries for the purpose. General Schuyler also mentioned an Onondaga chief of great respectability, who I wish would also accompany the others. But I imagine the Cornplanter has already anticipated the others, and gone forward. Colonel Brandt is right as to the principles of the boundaries. The idea, in future, of conquest, ought to be relinquished, and fair purchase and optional sale take place.

I shall be glad to hear that you have pushed forward Captain Hendricks, and the Chief Peter.

I am, sir, &c.

To the Rev. SAMUEL KIRKLAND.

Letter from the Secretary of War to Governor Clinton.

WAR DEPARTMENT, August 17th, 1791.

Sir:

The President of the United States has commanded me to transmit to your Excellency, an extract of the report of Colonel Timothy Pickering, who acted as the commissioner of the United States, at a late council held with the five nations of Indians at the Painted Post, on the Susquehanna.

The object of the said council was, to conciliate the said Indians, and attach them to the United States; to prevent them listening to, or being combined with, the Western hostile Indians. The more effectually to carry this design into execution, it was thought proper to draw them to a greater distance from the theatre of war, and at a critical period to hold out an object of employment for the minds of their young men, who are with difficulty restrained from indulging their ruling passion for war.

These objects appear to have been executed with ability and judgment, and good consequences may be expected to flow from the council.

But it appears, that the commissioner's desire to accomplish the objects of his commission in the greatest degree, has led him incautiously, at the earnest request of the Cayugas present, to ratify and confirm a certain lease of lands, belonging to the Cayuga nation of Indians, to John Richardson, and to certify that a certain assignment of the Seneca Indians, to the daughters of Ebenezer Allen, was done at a public treaty, held under the authority of the United States. No copies, however, of either instruments, have been retained, or produced by the said commissioner.

The right of the State of New York, to the pre-emption of the Cayuga lands, is unquestioned, and also, that the said right embraces all possible alienations of said lands by the Indians, with the concurrence of the United States, according to the constitution and laws.

Therefore, I do, by command of the President of the United States, hereby transmit to your Excellency an explicit disavowal of the conduct of the said commissioner, relative to the said lease of the Cayuga lands to John Richardson, and also of the certificate relative to the Senecas' assignment of lands, to the children of Ebenezer Allen; and I am further ordered to inform your Excellency, that the said acts of the said commissioner were unauthorized by his instructions, and will be considered as entirely null and void by the United States.

But if, however, the State of New York should judge that it would derive any benefit from the due execution of said lease, the Executive authority of the United States will do every thing which may be proper, upon the occasion.

Colonel Pickering, who is going to New York, will personally wait upon your Excellency, to give you any further explanations which you may request.

I have the honor to be, &c.

H. K.

Queries proposed by Captain Hendrick Aupamut, Chief of the Muhheconuck (or Stockbridge) tribe of Indians, and the answers to those queries, by Timothy Pickering, Commissioner in behalf of the United States for holding a treaty with the Six Nations of Indians, at Newtown, in the State of New York, June 27th, 1791.

1st. Query.—Whether, if he makes a visit to the hostile Indians, he may assure them that the United States are sincerely desirous of making peace with them?

Answer.—The most solemn assurances may be given: for the United States are sincerely desirous of making peace; and I have received pointed orders to give every possible facility to the messengers of peace.

2d. Query.—Whether, if the Western Indians consent to make peace, the United States will not, as a condition of peace, oblige them to give up part of their lands?

Answer.—The United States will require no such condition. The Western Indians will retain all their lands, agreeably to the treaties of peace subsisting between them and the United States, until of their own will and choice they shall fairly sell them; unless they should obstinately persevere in their hostilities, until the United States shall drive them from their country; and, in that case, their lands will never be restored to them.

3d. Query.—If the hostile Indians should be disposed to make peace, and be willing immediately to commence the negotiation, how shall the knowledge thereof be communicated so speedily as to suspend the operations of the army of the United States? Should messengers from those Indians, or he himself, attempt to go directly to the nearest post of the United States, they might be in the utmost danger of being killed by the scouting parties of white men.

Answer.—Should the hostile Indians be sincerely disposed to make peace, I have no doubt but they will hit on proper means of communicating a knowledge of it to General St. Clair, or the commanding officer of the troops of the United States in the Western territory; perhaps by sending some of their warriors, accompanied by one more of the white men living among them, with a white flag, or by getting some of those white men to come along with their message, and a letter from you. A direct communication in some such way is most to be desired; lest, if a circuitous route be pursued, our troops should begin to operate before the messengers of peace should meet them; and that a letter from you (who are not known to the officers commanding the troops of the United States) may be properly received. I will write to General St. Clair, informing him of your character and business, and assuring him that he may perfectly rely on the intelligence you shall give him; and that General St. Clair, or the commanding officer, may distinguish your letter of intelligence from a counterfeit, it may be proper for you, with your own hand, to write me a request to communicate a specimen of it to him, and underneath I will write the letter above proposed. This specimen I will transmit to General St. Clair, and a duplicate to the Secretary of War, to forward to General St. Clair without delay, so that when your letter of intelligence shall reach him, a comparison of the hand-writing may supersede or remove all doubts of its authenticity; and as you may be obliged, or find it expedient, to send runners to the Alleghany river with your intelligence for General St. Clair, I will write to Lieutenant Jeffers, or officer commanding at Fort Franklin, (which is near the junction of French creek with the Alleghany river) desiring him to forward, without delay, any letters which you shall transmit to his care. This letter I will send by Captain Baldwin, who is now here, but who resides with the Cornplanter, in the neighborhood of Fort Franklin.

4th. Query.—What treaties have been made with the Western Indians, relative to their lands? Answer.—For your full information on this subject, and other concerns with the Western Indians, I will furnish you with copies of the treaties made by the United States, with the Wyandots, Delaware, Shawanese, Ottawas, and Chippewas, in the years 1785 and 1786. I will also give you a copy of the treaty made last year with the great Creek nation of Indians, by which you will see, strongly manifested, the good will of the United States towards the Indian nations: for, the benevolent spirit conspicuous in that treaty truly marks the kind disposition of the United States towards all the Indian nations within their limits.

These queries and answers I will transmit to the Secretary of War, and request him to give the necessary orders corresponding with these arrangements. With the same view, I will write to General St. Clair, by the way of Fort Franklin.

Copy of a letter from Colonel Timothy Pickering to the Secretary of War.

PHILADELPHIA, 16th August, 1791.

Sir:

In addition to the information given in my report of the proceedings at the late treaty with the Six Nations of Indians, relative to the land assigned by the Seneca nation to the children of one of their women, by Ebenezer Allen, and to the Cayuga reservation, leased to John Richardson for twenty years, it may be expedient for me to mention more particularly the grounds and inducements to a public ratification of both at that treaty.

It appeared to be understood by the Senecas, that Messrs. Morris and Ogden, as the grantees of Massachusetts, had the right of pre-emption of all their lands. But, at the same time, there existed nothing to bar a division of their whole country among themselves; and if they could divide the whole, they could certainly set off a part to two individuals of their nation as their share. This is the object of their deed to Allen's children, whom they called their children, agreeably to the rule of descent among them, which is in the female line; and in this deed, the land assigned is declared to be in full of those two children's share of the whole Seneca country. Here was the ground of my ratification.

Now, you will be pleased to recollect, that before this matter was opened in council, I had repeated the law of the United States relative to the Indian lands, and the solemn declaration of the President, last winter, to the Comptroller, that they (the Indians) had the right to sell, or to refuse to sell, their lands, and that, in respect to their lands, they might depend on the protection of the United States; so that on this head they had now no cause of jealousy or discontent. This being by them well understood, I saw no way of avoiding the ratification of the assignment to their two children, without reviving, or rather exciting, their utmost jealousy, as it would have been denying the free enjoyment of their own lands, by some members of the nation, according to the will of the nation; and a denial, I was apprehensive, would lead them to think that the solemn assurances of the President were made but to amuse and deceive. Here you see my great inducement to the ratification. Let me now remark, that every proposition made by me to the Six Nations, for introducing among them the primary and most useful improvements of civil life, (propositions grounded on the President's declaration to the Comptroller, which I was enjoined to repeat, and on your particular instruction on this point) leads to a separate occupancy and enjoyment of land. The introduction of the art of husbandry, in its improved state, was the great object, but improvements in husbandry could not take place without exclusive property, that the improver might enjoy the fruit of his labor. Neither could the improving husbandman exist without the mill and the carpenter; and his *haz and wood* would furnish employment to the spinner and weaver. These were all the manual arts I mentioned. Instruction in the arts of *reading* and *writing* was at least equally desirable to the Indians; some of the chiefs have even manifested an anxiety to obtain such instruction for their children; and on this head the President was explicit, that they should receive the necessary aid. The obvious consequence of such improvements is the *separate enjoyment of lands*; the nature and advancement of such improvements were explained, and appeared to have been fully understood by the Five Nations, and they have explicitly agreed to adopt them. They only wait for that assistance which they were assured the United States were ready to afford them. Should that assistance prove successful, (for at this stage of the business I cannot entertain a suspicion that such assistance will not be furnished) it will tend to defeat the pre-emption right altogether, unless those improvements, by showing the Indians how small a portion of their lands, under proper cultivation, will suffice for their ample support, should induce them to part with the residue in exchange for a full supply of domestic animals, implements of husbandry, and other necessities adapted to their improving condition; and this, as I some time ago intimated to Mr. Morris, appeared to me to afford the only chance of extinguishing the Indian title to any of the lands he had bought of Massachusetts.

With respect to the Cayugas' reservation, I had determined to give no countenance to a lease of it. John Richardson applied to me about it before the Indians arrived. I told him that the pre-emption right was with the State of New York; that, if the Cayugas could lease it for five years, they might for ten, twenty, a hundred, or a thousand, and thus defeat the pre-emption right of the State. I heard no more of it until a few days before the treaty was closed. Then the Cayuga chiefs and Richardson made their applications, and then I was informed that a law of the State (passed as suggested, in consequence of the long lease obtained of the Indians by John Livingston and others) allowed of leases for any term not exceeding twenty-one years; and that, at the treaty last year, at Fort Stanwix, Governor Clinton expressly assured the Cayugas that, if they pleased, they might lease their lands. The chiefs discussed much anxiety, and were importunate (the Fish-carrier, their head chief, in particular) to have the lease accomplished. I asked for the law referred to; the statutes were produced, but those at Newton did not reach down to that session of the Legislature in which it was said the law had been enacted. I was further informed, that, at a late session of the York Legislature, (I think the last winter) a petition had been preferred in behalf of a lease from the same Cayugas, for the ratification of a lease of a small tract of land lying on the water communication of the Seneca and Cayuga lakes, for the term of fifteen years, and that the Assembly said a Legislative sanction was not necessary, the lease being for a term less than twenty-one years. All this information was repeated to me in such a manner as to afford a strong presumption of its truth; yet, that I might have all the evidence which the case would then admit of, I made inquiry of Colonel Britton Paine, one of the judges of the county court at Newton, and he generally confirmed the information above recited. I then ratified the lease, as stated in my report, grounding the date on the information, and expressly referring to it. I have not a copy of the lease or of the ratification; the latter I wrote when I was in a very great hurry, I believe the last day I was on the ground; and, in transcribing it from my rough draught, I made divers alterations, which rendered the rough draught useless. The inducements to this ratification were similar to those in the case of the assignment to Allen's children. The ratification of that assignment I copied from my rough draught, in which I do not remember that any alterations were made. The foregoing detail I have given as the matters rest upon my mind. I wished to have avoided meddling with them, but I could devise no way of doing it without exciting or confirming jealousies, which it was the great object of my mission to prevent or remove.

I have the honor, &c.

TIMO. PICKERING.

P. S. I might have mentioned, that Mr. Allen declared that he would make to Messrs. Morris and Ogden a reasonable compensation for their pre-emption right to the lands assigned to his children.