

Note: In this document an old style of letter -s- is used as in the word - myself = myself. It looks very much like the letter -f-.

T H E
SECOND JOURNAL
O F

Christian Frederick Post,

On a MESSAGE from the
GOVERNOR of PENNSILVANIA to the
INDIANS on the OHIO.

October 25th,
1758. **H**AVING received the Orders of the Honourable Governor *Denny*, I fet out from *Easton* to *Bethlehem*, and arrived there about three o'Clock in the Afternoon; I was employed most of the Night, in preparing myself with Necessaries, &c. for the Journey.

26th. Rose early, but my Horse being lame, though I travelled all the Day, I could not till after Night reach to an Inn, about ten Miles from *Reading*.

27th. I set out early, and about seven o'Clock in the Morning came to *Reading*, and there found Captain *Bull*, — Mr. *Hays*, and the *Indians* just mounted, and ready to set out on their Journey; they were heartily glad to see me, *Pesquitomen* stretched out his Arms, and said, “ Now, Brother, I am glad I have got you in
 “ my Arms, I will not let you go again from
 “ me, you must go with me : ” And I likewise said the same to him, and told him, “ I will
 “ accompany you, if you will go the same way
 “ as I must go.” And then, I called them together, in Mr. *Weiser's* House, and read a Letter to them, which I had received from the Governor, which is as follows, *viz.*

“ To *Pesquitomen* and *Thomas Hickman*, to
 “ *Totiniontonna* and *Shickalamy*, and to
 “ *Isaac Still*.

“ Brethren, Mr. *Frederick Post* is come Express from the General, who sends his Compliments to you, and desires you would come
 “ by the Way of his Camp, and give him an
 “ Opportunity of talking with you.

“ By this String of Wampum, I request of
 “ you to alter your intended Rout by Way of
 “ *Shamokin*, and to go to the General, who will
 “ give you a kind Reception. It is a nigher
 “ Way, in which you will be better supplied
 “ with Provisions, and can travel with less
 “ Fatigue, and more Safety.

Hessen, Oct. 23, 1758.

WILLIAM DENNY.¹

To

To which I added, “ Brethren, I take you
 “ by this String* by the Hand, and lift you
 “ from this Place, and lead you along to the
 “ General.” After which, they consulted among
 themselves, and soon resolved to go with me.
 We shook Hands with each other, and Mr.
Hays immediately set out with them; after
 which, having with some Difficulty procured a
 fresh Horse in the King’s Service, I set off about
 Noon with Captain *Bull*, and when we came to
Coward, Weiser’s Plantation, found *Pesquitomen*
 lying on the Ground very drunk†, which
 obliged us to stay there all Night; the other
Indians were gone eight Miles farther on their
 Journey.

28th. We arose early, and I spoke to *Pesqui-*
tomen a great deal, he was very sick, and could
 hardly stir; when we overtook the rest we found
 them in the same Condition, and they seemed
 discouraged from going the Way to the General,
 and wanted to go through the Woods. I told
 them. I was sorry to see them wavering, and
 reminded them, that when I went to their Towns,
 I was not sent to the *French*, but when your old
 Men insisted on my going to them, I followed

* A String of *Wampum* Beads. Nothing of Importance
 is said, or proposed, without *Wampum*.

† The *Indians* having learned *Drunkenness* of the White
 People, do not reckon it among the Vices. They all, with-
 out Exception, and without Shame, practise it when they can
 get strong Liquor. It does not among them hurt the Cha-
 racter of the greatest Warrior, the gravest Counsellor, or
 the modestest Matron. It is not so much an *Offence*, as an
Excuse for other Offences; the Injuries they do each other
 in their Drink being charged, not upon the *Man*, but upon
 the *Rum*.

their

their Advice and went; and as the General is in the King's Name over the Provinces, in Matters of War and Peace, and the *Indians* at *Allegheny* † want to know, whether all the *Englsh*. Governments will join in the Peace with them, the Way to obtain full Satisfaction is to go to him, and there you will receive another great Belt to carry Home, which I desire you seriously to take into Consideration. They then resolved to go to *Harris's Ferry*, and consider about it as they went; we arrived there late in the Night.

29th. In the Morning, the two *Cayugas* being most desirous of going through the Woods, the others continued irresolute ||; upon which I told them, "I wish you would go with good Courage, and with hearty Resolution," and repeated what I had said to them Yesterday, and re-minded them, as they were Messengers, they should consider what would be the best for their whole Nation; "Consult among yourselves, and let me know your true Mind and Determination;" and I informed them, I could not go with them, unless they would go to the General, as I had Messages to deliver him. After which, having consulted together, *Pesquitomen* came and gave me his Hand, and said, "Brother, here is my Hand, we have all joined to go with you, and we put ourselves under your Protection to bring us safe through, and to secure us from all Danger." We came that Night to *Carlisle*, and found a small House

† The *Ohio*.

|| They were afraid of going where our People were all in Arms, lest some of the indiscreet Soldiers might kill them.

without the Fort, for the *Indians* to be by themselves, and hired a Woman to dress their Victuals, which pleased them well.

30th. Setting out early we came to *Shippensburgh*, and were lodged in the Fort, where the *Indians* had a House to themselves.

31st. Set out early ; in our passing by *Chamber's Fort*,* some of the *Irish* People, knowing some of the *Indians*, they in a rash Manner exclaimed against them, and we had some Difficulty to get them off clear. At *Fort Loudon* we met about sixteen of the *Cherokees*, who came in a friendly Manner to our *Indians*, enquiring for *Bill Sockum*, and shewed the Pipe * they had received from the *Shawanese*, and gave it, according to their Custom, to smook out of, and said, they hoped they were Friends of the *English*. They knew me. *Pesquitomen* begged me to give him some *Wampum*, that he might speak to them: I gave him 400 white *Wampum*, and he then said to them ; “ We formerly had Friendship
“ one with another ; we are only Messengers
“ and cannot say much, but by these Strings
“ we let you know we are Friends, and we are
“ about settling a Peace with the *English*, and
“ wish to be at Peace also with you, and all
“ other *Indians*.” And informed them further, they came from a Treaty which was held at *Easton*, between the eight united Nations and their Confederates, and the *English*, in which Peace was established, and shewed them the two Messengers from the five Nations, who were going with them, to make it known to all the *In-*

* A Calumet Pipe, the Signal of Peace.

dians to the Westward. Then the *Cherokees* answered, and said ; They should be glad to know how far the Friendship was to reach ; they for themselves wished it might reach from the Sunrise to the Sun-set ; for as they were in Friendship with the *English*, they would be at Peace with all their Friends, and at War with their Enemies.

Nov. 1st. We reached Fort *Littleton*, in Company with the *Cherokees*, and were lodged in the Fort, they, and our *Indians* in distinct Places, and they entertained each other with Stories of their warlike Adventures.

2d. *Pesquitomen* said to me, You have led us this Way through the Fire ; if any Mischief should befall us, we shall lay it entirely on you ; for we think it was your own Doings to bring us this way ; you should have told us at *Easton*, if it was necessary we should go to the General.

I told him, that I had informed the great Men at *Easton*, that I then thought it would be best not to let them go from thence, till they had seen the General's Letter ; and assured them they would find it was agreeable to the General's Pleasure.

3d. *Pesquitomen* began to argue with Captain *Bull* and Mr. *Hays* upon the same Subject, as they did with me when I went to them with my first Message ; which was, “ That they should
 “ tell them, whether the General would claim
 “ the Land as his own, when he should drive
 “ the *French* away ? Or whether the *English*
 “ thought to settle the Country. We are al-
 “ ways jealous the *English* will take the Land
 “ from us. Look, Brother, what makes you
 “ come

“ come with such a large Body of Men, and
 “ make such large Roads into our Country ;
 “ we could drive away the *French* ourselves,
 “ without your coming into our Country.”
 Then I desired Captain *Bull* and Mr. *Hays* to
 be careful how they argued with the *Indians* ;
 and be sure to say nothing that might affront
 them, for it may prove to our Disadvantage,
 when we come amongst them. This Day we
 came to *Raystown*, and with much Difficulty got
 a Place to lodge the *Indians* by themselves, to
 their Satisfaction.

4th. We intended to set out, but our *Indians*
 told us, the *Cherokees* had desired them to stay
 that Day, as they intended to hold a Council,
 and they desired us to read over to them the
 Governor's Message, which we accordingly did.
Pesquitomen finding *Jenny Fraser* there, who had
 been their Prisoner, and escaped, spoke to her a
 little rashly. Our *Indians* waiting all the Day,
 and the *Cherokees* not sending to them, they
 were displeased.

5th. Rose early, and it raining smartly, we
 asked our *Indians* if they would go ; which
 they took time to consult about.

The *Cherokees* came and told them, the *Eng-
 lish* had killed about thirty of their People, for
 taking some Horses, which they resented much ;
 and told our *Indians* they had better go Home,
 than go any farther with us, lest they should
 meet with the same. On hearing this, I told
 them how I had heard it happened, upon which
 our *Indians* said, they had behaved like Fools,
 and brought the Mischiefs on themselves.

Pesquitomen, before we went from hence, made it up with *Jenny Fraser*, and they parted good Friends; and though it rained hard, we set out at 10 o'Clock, and got to the Foot of the *Allegheny* Mountains, and lodged at the first Run of Water.

6th. One of our Horses went back, we hunted a good while for him. Then we set off, and found one of the worst Roads that ever was travelled until *Stony Creek*. Upon the Road we overtook a great Number of Pack Horses; whereon *Pesquitomen* said, "Brother, now you see if you had not come to us before, this Road would not be so safe as it is; now you see, we could have destroyed all this People on the Road, and great Mischief would have been done, if you had not stopt, and drawn our People back." We were informed, that the General was not yet gone to Fort *Duquesne*, wherefore *Pesquitomen* said, he was glad, and said, "If I can come to our Towns before the General begins the Attack, I know our People will draw back and leave the *French*." We lodged this Night at *Stony Creek*.

7th. We arose early, and made all the haste we could on our Journey; we crossed the large Creek *Rekempalin*, near *Laurel-Hill*. Upon this Hill we overtook the Artillery, and came before Sun-set to *Loyal-banning*. We were gladly received in the Camp, by the General and most of the People. We made our Fire near the other *Indian* Camps, which pleased our People. Soon after some of the Officers came and spoke very rashly to our *Indians*, in Respect to their Conduct to our People, at which they were much displeased,

displeased, and answered as rashly, and said, They did not understand such Usage, for they were come upon a Message of Peace; if we had a Mind to War, they know how to help themselves, and that they were not afraid of us.

8th. At eleven o'Clock the General called the *Indians* together, the *Cherokees* and *Catawbas* being present; he spake to them in a kind and loving Manner, and bid them heartily welcome to his Camp, and expressed his Joy to see them, and desired them to give his Compliments to all their Kings and Captains: He desired them that had any Love for the *English* Nation, to withdraw from the *French*, for if he should find them among the *French*, he must treat them as Enemies, as he should advance with a large Army very soon, and cannot wait longer on Account of the Winter Season. After that, he drank the King's Health, and all those that wish well to the *English* Nation; then he drank King *Beaver's*, *Shingass*, and all the Warriors Healths, and recommended us (the Messengers) to their Care, and desired them to give Credit to what we should say. After that, we went to another House with the General alone, and he shewed them the Belt, and said he would furnish them with a Writing, for both the Belt and String; and after a little Discourse more, our *Indians* parted in Love, and well satisfied. And we made all necessary Preparation for our Journey.

9th. Some of the Colonels and chief Commanders, wondered how I came through so many Difficulties, and how I could rule and bring these People to Reason, making no Use of Gun or Sword. I told them, it is done by no other Means

Means than by Faith. Then they asked me, if I had Faith to venture myself to come safe through with my Companions. I told them, it was in my Heart to pray for them, " You " know that the Lord has given many Promises " to his Servants, and what he promises, you " may depend upon, he will perform." Then they wished us good Success. We waited until almost Noon for the Writing of the General. We were escorted by an hundred Men, Rank and File, commanded by Captain *Haselet*; we passed through a Tract of good Land, about six Miles on the old trading Path, and came to the Creek again, where there is a large fine Bottom, well timbered; from thence we came upon a Hill to an advanced Breast-Work, about ten Miles from the Camp, well situated for Strength, facing a small Branch of the aforesaid Creek; the Hill is steep down, perpendicular about twenty Feet on the South Side, which is a great Defence; and on the West Side the Breast-Work about seven Feet high, where we encamped that Night. Our *Indian* Companions heard that we were to part in the Morning, and that twelve Men were to be sent with us, and the others, part of the Company, to go towards Fort *Duquesne*. Our *Indians* desired, that the Captain would send twenty Men instead of twelve, that if any Accident should happen, they could be more able to defend themselves in returning back, " For " we know, say they, the Enemy will follow the " smallest Party." It began to rain. Within five Miles from the Breast-Work, we departed from Captain *Haselet*, he kept the old trading Path to the *Ohio*. Lieutenant *Hays* was ordered

ed to accompany us to the *Allegheny River* *, with fourteen Men. We went the Path that leads along the *Loyal-hamming Creek*, where there is a rich fine Bottom, Land well timbered, good Springs, and small Creeks. At four o'Clock we were alarmed by three Men in *Indian Dress*, and Preparation was made on both Sides for Defence. *Isaac Still* shewed a white Token, and *Pesquitomen* gave an *Indian Holloo*, after which they threw down their Bundles and ran away as fast as they could. We afterwards took up their Bundles, and found that it was a small Party of our Men, that had been long out. We were sorry that we had scared them, for they lost their Bundles with all their Food. Then, I held a Conference with our Indians, and asked them, if it would not be good, to send one of our *Indians* to *Logstown* and *Fort Duquesne*, and call the *Indians* from thence, before we arrive at *Kushkushking*. They all agreed it would not be good, as they were but Messengers, it must be done by their Chief Men. The Wolves made a terrible Music this Night.

11th. We started early, and came to the old *Shawanese Town*, called *Keckkeknepolin*, grown up thick with Weeds, Briars, and Bushes, that we scarcely could get through. *Pesquitomen* led us upon a steep Hill, that our Horses could hardly get up, and *Thomas Hickman's* Horse tumbled, and rowled down the Hill like a Wheel, on which he grew angry, and would go no farther with us, and said he would go by

* The *Ohio*, as it is called by the *Sennecaes*. *Allegheny* is the Name of the same River in the *Delaware Language*. Both Words signify, *The fine, or fair River*.

himself: It happened we found a Path on the Top of the Hill. At three o'Clock we came to *Kiskemeneco*, an old *Indian* Town, a rich Bottom, well timbered, good fine *English* Grass, well watered, and lays waste since the War began. We let our Horses feed here, and agreed that Lieutenant *Hays* might go back with his Party; and as they were short of Provisions, we therefore gave them a little of ours, which they took very kind of us. *Thomas Hickman* could find no other Road, and came to us again a little ashamed; we were glad to see him, and we went about three Miles farther, where we made a large Fire. Here the *Indians* looked over their Presents, and grumbled at me; they thought if they had gone the other way by *Shamokin*, they would have got more. Captain *Bull* spoke in their Favour against me. Then I said to them, "I am ashamed to see you grumble about Presents; I thought you were sent to establish a Peace." Though, I confess, I was not pleased that the *Indians* were so slightly fitted out from *Easton*, as the General had nothing to give them, in the critical Circumstances he was in, fit for their Purpose.

12th. Early in the Morning, I spoke to the *Indians* of my Company, "Brethren, you have now passed through the Heart of the Country, back and forward, likewise through the Midst of the Army, without any Difficulty or Danger; you have seen and heard a great deal. When I was amongst you at *Allegheny*, you told me I should not regard what the common People would say, but only hearken to the Chiefs; I should take no bad Stories along."

“ along. I did accordingly, and when I left
 “ *Allegheny* I dropt all evil Reports, and only
 “ carried the agreeable News, which was plea-
 “ sing to all that heard it. Now, Brethren, I
 “ beg of you to do the same, and to drop all
 “ evil Reports, which you may have heard of
 “ bad People, and only to observe and keep
 “ what you have heard of our Rulers, and the
 “ wise People, so that all your young Men,
 “ Women and Children, may rejoice at our
 “ coming to them, and may have the Benefit
 “ of it.” They took it very kindly. After a
 while, they spoke in the following Manner to
 us, and said: “ Brethren, when you come to
 “ *Kushkushking*, you must not mind the Pri-
 “ soners, and have nothing to do with them.
 “ Mr. Post, when he was first there, listened too
 “ much to the Prisoners; the *Indians* were al-
 “ most mad with him for it, and would have
 “ confined him for it; for they said, he had
 “ wrote something of them.”

As we were hunting for our Horses, we found
Thomas Hickman's Horse dead, which rowled
 Yesterday down the Hill. At one o'Clock we
 came to the *Allegheny*, to an old *Shawano* Town,
 situated under a high Hill on the East, opposite
 an Island of about one hundred Acres, very rich
 Land, well timbered. We looked for a Place
 to cross the River, but in vain; we then went
 smartly to Work, and made a Raft; we cut the
 Wood and carried it to the Water Side. The
 Wolves and Owls made a great Noise in the
 Night.

13th. We got up early, and boiled some
 Chocolate for Breakfast, and then began to finish

our Rafts; we cloathed ourselves as well as we could in *Indian* Drefs; it was about two o'Clock in the Afternoon, before we all got over to the other Side, near an old *Indian* Town. The *Indians* told us, we should not call Mr. *Bull* Captain, their young Men would be mad that we brought a Warrior there. We went up a steep Hill, good Land, to the Creek *Cowewanik*, where we made our Fire. They wanted to hunt for Meat, and looked for a Road. Captain *Bull* shot a Squirril, and broke his Gun. I cut Fire-Wood, and boiled some Chocolate for Supper. The others came Home and brought nothing. *Pesquitomen* wanted to hear the Writing from the General, which we read to them to their great Satisfaction. This was the first Night we slept in the open Air. Mr. *Bull* took the Tent along with him. We discoursed a good deal of the Night together.

14th. We rose early, and thought to make good Progress on our Way. At one o'Clock, *Thomas Hickman* shot a large Buck, and as our People were hungry for Meat, we made our Camp there, and called the Water *Buck-Run*. In the Evening we heard the great Guns Fire from Fort *Duquesne*. Whenever I looked towards that Place, I felt a dismal Impression, the very Place seemed shocking and dark. *Pesquitomen* looked his Things over, and found a white Belt, sent by the Commissioners of Trade † for the *Indian* Affairs. We could find no Writing concerning the Belt, and did not know what

† Persons appointed by Law to manage the *Indian* Trade for the Public; the private Trade, on Account of its Abuses, being abolished.

was the Signification thereof: They seemed much concerned to know it.

15th. We arose early, and had a good Day's Journey: We passed these two Days through thick Bushes of Briars and Thorns, so that it was very difficult to come through. We crossed the Creek *Paquakenink*, the Land is very indifferent. At twelve o'Clock we crossed the Road from *Venango* to Fort *Duquesne*. We went West towards *Kushkushking* about sixteen Miles from the Fort. We went over a large barren Plain, and made our Lodging by a little Run. *Pesquitomen* told us we must send a Messenger to let them know of our coming, as the *French* live amongst them; he desired a String of Wampum, I gave him 350. We concluded to go within three Miles of *Kushkushking* to their Sugar Cabins ||, and to call their Chiefs there. In Discourse, Mr. *Bull* told the *Indians*, the *English* should let all the Prisoners stay amongst them, that liked to stay.

16th. We met two *Indians* on the Road, and sat down with them to Dinner. They informed us that Nobody was at Home at *Kushkushking*, that one hundred and sixty from that Town were gone to War against our Party. We crossed the above-mentioned Creek; good Land but Hilly. Went down a long Valley to *Beaver Creek*, through old *Kushkushking*, a large Spot of Land about three Miles long; they both went with us to the Town; one of them rode before us, to let the People in the Town know of our coming;

|| Where they boil it to Sugar the Juice of a Tree that grows in those rich Lands.

we found there but two Men and some Women. Those that were at Home received us kindly. *Paignitomen* desired us to read the Message to them that were there.

17th. There were five *French* Men in the Town, the rest were gone to War. We held a Council with *Delaware George*, delivered him the String and Presents that were sent to him, and informed him of the General's Sentiments, and what he desired of them; upon which he agreed and complied to go with Mr. *Bull* to the General. Towards Night *Kockkenepalen* came Home from the War, and told us the disagreeable News, that they had fallen in with that Party that had guided us; they had killed Lieutenant *Hays*, and four more, and took five Prisoners, the others got clear off. They had a Skirmish with them within twelve Miles of *Fort Duquesne*. Further he told us, that one of the Captives was to be burnt, which grieved us. By the Prisoners they were informed of our Arrival, on which they concluded to leave the *French*, and to hear what News we brought them. In the Evening they brought a Prisoner to Town. We called the *Indians* together that were at Home, and I explained the Matter to them, and told them as their own People had desired the General to give them a Guide to conduct them safe Home, and by a Misfortune, your People has fallen in with this Party, and killed five, and taken five Prisoners, and we are now informed that one of them is to be burnt; " Consider, my Brethren,

" if you should give us a Guide to bring us safe
 " on our way Home, and our Parties should fall
 " in with you, how hard you would take it."

They

They said, " Brother, it is a hard Matter, and
 " we are sorry it hath happened so." I answered,
 " Let us therefore spare no Pains to relieve
 " them from any Cruelty." We could scarce
 find a Messenger that would undertake to go to
Sawcung, where the Prisoner was to be burnt.
 We promised to one named *Compass*, 500 black
 Wampum, and Mr. *Hays* gave him a Shirt and
 a Dollar, on which he promised to go. We
 sent him as a Messenger. By a String of Wam-
 pum, I spoke in these Words, " Brethren, con-
 " sider the Messengers are come Home with
 " good News, and three of your Brethren the
 " *English* with them. We desire you would
 " pity your own young Men, Women and
 " Children, and use no Hardships towards the
 " Captives, as having been guiding our Party."
 Afterwards the Warriors informed us that their
 Design had not been to go to War, but that
 they had a Mind to go to the General, and
 speak with him; and on the Road the *French*
 made a Division among them, that they could
 not agree; after which they were discovered by
 the *Cherokoes* and *Catawbas*, who fled and left
 their Bundles, where they found an *English* Co-
 lour. So *Kekenfchung* told them, he would go be-
 fore them to the General, if they would follow
 him, but they would not agree to it, and the
French persuaded them to fall upon the *English*
 at *Loyal-hanwing*; they accordingly did, and as
 they were driven back, they fell in with that
 Party that guided us, which they did not know.
 They seemed very sorry for it.

18th. Captain *Bull* acted as Commander, with-
 out letting us know any Thing, or communi-
 cating

cating with us. He and *George* relieved a Prisoner from the Warriors, by what Means I do not know. When the Warrior's were met, he then called us first to sit down, and to hear what they had to say. The *Indian* that delivered the Prisoner to *Bull* and *George*, spoke as follows: " My Brethren, the *English* are at such a Distance from us, as if they were under Ground, that I cannot hear them. I am very glad to hear from you such good News, and I am very sorry that it happened so that I went to War. Now, I let the General know he should consider his young Men, and if you should have any of us, to set them at Liberty, so as we do to you." Then *Pesquitomen* said, as the Governor gave these three Messengers into my Bosom, so I now likewise by this String of Wampum, give *Bull* into *Delaware George's* Bosom, to bring him safe to the General. Mr. *Bull* sat down with the Prisoner, who gave him some Intelligence in Writing, at which the *Indians* grew very jealous, and asked them what they had to write there? I wrote a Letter to the General by Mr. *Bull*. In the Afternoon Mr. *Bull*, *Delaware George*, and *Keskenepalen*, set out for the Camp. Towards Night they brought in another Prisoner. When Mr. *Bull* and Company were gone, then the *Indians* took the same Prisoner whom Mr. *Bull* had relieved, and bound him, and carried him to another Town without our Knowledge. I a thousand Times wished, Mr. *Bull* had never meddled in the Affair, fearing they would exceedingly punish, and bring the Prisoner to Confession of the Contents of the Writing.

Nov,

Nov. 19th. A great many of the Warriors came Home. The *French* had infused bad Notions into the *Indians*, by means of the Letters they found upon Lieutenant *Hays*, who was killed, which they falsely interpreted to them, viz. that in one Letter it was wrote, that the General should do all that was in his Power to conquer the *French*, and in the mean Time the Messengers to the *Indians*, should do their utmost to draw the *Indians* back, and keep them together in Conferences, till he, the General, had made a Conquest of the *French*, and afterwards he should fall upon all *Indians* and destroy them. And that if we should lose our Lives, the *English* would carry on the War, so long as an *Indian* or *French* Man was alive. Thereupon, the *French* said to the *Indians* : “ Now you can see, “ my Children, how the *English* want to deceive “ you, and if it would not offend you, I would “ go and knock these Messengers in the Head, “ before you should be deceived by them.” One of the *Indian* Captains spoke to the *French* and said ; “ To be sure it would offend us if you “ should offer to knock them in the Head. If “ you have a Mind to War, go to the *English* “ Army, and knock them in the Head, and “ not these three Men that come with a Message “ to us.” After this Speech the *Indians* went all off, and left the *French*. Nevertheless, it had enraged some of the young People, and made them suspicious, so that it was a precarious Time for us. I said, “ Brethren have “ good Courage and be strong, let not every “ Wind disturb your Mind, let the *French* bring “ the Letter here, for as you cannot read, they “ may

“ may tell you thousand of false Stories. We
 “ will read the Letter to you. As *Isaac Still* *
 “ can read, he will tell you the Truth.”

After this, all the young Men were gathered together, *Isaac Still* being in Company. The young Men said, “ One that had but half an
 “ Eye, could see that the *English* only intended
 “ to cheat them; and that it was best to knock
 “ every one of us Messengers in the Head.” Then *Isaac* began to speak, and said; “ I am
 “ ashamed to hear such talking from you; you
 “ are but Boys like me, you should not talk of
 “ such a Thing. There has been thirteen Na-
 “ tions at *Easton*, where they have established a
 “ firm Peace with the *English*, and I have heard
 “ that the five Nations were always called the
 “ wisest; go tell them that they are Fools and
 “ cannot see; and tell them that you are Kings
 “ and wise Men. Go and tell the *Cayuga*
 “ Chiefs so, that are here; and you will become
 “ great Men.” Afterwards they were all still,
 and said not one Word more.

Nov. 20th. There came a great many more together in the Town, and brought *Henry Osten*, the Serjeant who was to have been burnt. They hallooed the War-Halloo; and the Men and Women beat him till he came into the House †.

* An *Indian* with an *English* Name. An *Indian* sometimes changes Names with an *Englishman* he respects; it is a Seal of Friendship, and creates a kind of Relation between them.

† When a Prisoner is brought to an *Indian* Town, he runs a kind of Gantlet through the Mob, and every one, even the Children, endeavour to have a Stroke at him; but as soon as he can get into any of their Huts, he is under Protection, and Refreshments are administered to him.

It is a grievous and melancholy Sight to see our Fellow-Mortals so abused. *Isaac Still* had a long Discourse with the *French* Captain, who made himself great by telling how he had fought the *English* at *Loyal-banning*. *Isaac* rallied him, and said he had seen them scalp Horses, and take others for Food; the first he denied, but the second he owned. *Isaac* ran the Captain quite down, before them all. The *French* Captain spoke with the two *Cayugas*; at last the *Cayugas* spoke very sharp to him, so that he grew pale, and was quite silent.

These three Days past was precarious Time for us. We were warned not to go far from the House, because the People came from the Slaughter, having been drove back, were possessed with a murdering Spirit, which led them as in a Halter, in which they were catched, and with bloody Vengeance were thirsty and drunk. This afforded a melancholy Prospect. *Isaac Still* was himself dubious of our Lives. We did not let Mr. *Hays* know of the Danger. I said, "As God hath stopped the Mouth of the
 " Lions, that they could not devour *Daniel*, so
 " he will preserve us from their Fury, and bring
 " us through." I had a Discourse with Mr. *Hays* concerning our Message, and begged him he would pray to God for Grace and Wisdom, that he would grant us Peace among this People. We will remain in Stillness, and not look to our own Credit. We are in the Service of our King and Country. This People are rebellious in Heart; now we are here to reconcile them again to the General, Governor, and the *English* Nation, to turn them again from their Errors.
 And

And I wished that God would grant us his Grace, whereby we may do it, which I hope and believe he will do. Mr. *Hays* took it to Heart and was convinced of all, which much rejoiced me. I begged *Isaac Still* to watch over himself, and not to be discouraged; for I hoped the Storm would soon pass by. In the Afternoon all the Captains gathered together in the Middle Town; they sent for us, and desired we should give them Information of our Message. Accordingly we did. We read the Message with great Satisfaction to them. It was a great Pleasure both to them and us. The Number of Captains and Counsellors was sixteen. In the Evening, Messengers arrived from Fort *Duquesne*, with a String of Wampum from the Commander, upon which they all came together in the House where we lodged. The Messengers delivered their String, with these Words from their Father the *French* King: "My Children, come to me, and hear what I have to say. The *English* are coming with an Army to destroy both you and me. I therefore desire you immediately, my Children, to hasten with all the young Men; we will drive the *English* and destroy them. I as a Father will tell you always what is best." He laid the String before one of the Captains. After a little Conversation, the Captain stood up and said, "I have just heard something of our Brethren the *English*, which pleaseth me much better. I will not go; I will not go. Give it to the others, may be they will go." The Messenger took up again the String, and said, "He won't go, he has heard of the *English* *."

* i. e. He has listened to the *English* Message.

Then

Then all cried out, " Yes, yes, we have heard
 " from the *English*." He then threwed the
 String to the other Fire Place, where the other
 Captains were, but they kicked it from one to
 another, as if it was a Snake. Captain *Peter*
 took a Stick, and with it, flung the String from
 one End of the Room to the other ||, and said :
 " Give it to the *French* Captain, and let him go
 " with his young Men ; he boasted much of his
 " Fighting, now let us see his Fighting. We
 " have often ventured our Lives for him, and
 " had hardly a Loaf of Bread when we came
 " to him, and now he thinks we should jump
 " to serve him." Then we saw the *French*
 Captain mortified to the uttermost ; he looked as
 pale as Death. The *Indians* discoursed and jok-
 ed till Midnight, and the *French* Captain sent
 Messengers at Midnight to Fort *Duquesne*.

Nov. 21st. We were informed that the Gene-
 ral was within twenty Miles of Fort *Duquesne*.
 As the *Indians* were afraid the *English* would
 come over the River *Ohio*, I spoke with some of
 the Captains, and told them, that " I supposed
 " the General intended to surround the *French*,
 " and therefore must come to this Side the
 " River ; but we assure you, that he will not
 " come to your Towns to hurt you." I begged
 them to let the *Shawanese* at *Logstown* know it,
 and gave them four Strings of 300 Wampum,
 with this Message ; " Brethren, we are arrived
 " with good News waiting for you ; we desire
 " you to be strong, and remember the antient

|| Kicking the String about, and throwing it with a Stick,
 not touching it with their Hands, were Marks of Dislike of
 the Message that accompanied it.

" Friendship

“ Friendship your Grand-Fathers had with the
 “ *English*. We wish you would remember it,
 “ and pity your young Men, Women and Chil-
 “ dren, and keep away from the *French*; and if
 “ the *English* should come to surround the
 “ *French*, be not afraid. We assure you they
 “ won't hurt you.”

Nov. 22d. *Kitiuskund* came Home and sent for us, being very glad to see us. He informed us, the General was within fifteen Miles of the *French* Fort, that the *French* had uncovered their Houses, and laid the Roofs round the Fort to set it on Fire, and made ready to go off, and would demolish the Fort, and let the *English* have the bare Ground; and saying, “ They are
 “ not able to build a strong Fort this Winter,
 “ and we will be early enough in the Spring to
 “ destroy them. We will come with seventeen
 “ Nations of *Indians*, and a great many *French*,
 “ and build a Stone Fort.”

The *Indians* danced round the Fire till Midnight, for Joy of their Brethren the *English* coming. There went some scouting Parties towards the Army. Some of the Captains told me, that *Shamokin Daniel* who came with me in my former Journey, had fairly sold me to the *French*, and the *French* had been very much displeased, that the *Indians* had brought me away.

23d. The *Liar* raised a Story, as if the *English* were divided into three Bodies, to come on this Side the River. They told us the *Cayugas* that came with us, had said so. We told the *Cayugas* of it, on which they called the other *Indians* together; denied that they ever said so; and said they were sent to this Place from the
 five

five Nations, to tell them to do their best Endeavours to send the *French* off from this Country ; and when that was done, they would go and tell the General to go back over the Mountains. I see that the *Indians* concern themselves very much about the Affair of Land ; and are continually jealous and afraid the *English* will take their Land. I told them to be still, and content themselves, “ for there are some Chiefs of the
 “ five Nations with the Army ; they will settle
 “ the Affair, as they are the chief Owners of
 “ the Land ; and it will be well for you to come
 “ and speak with the General yourselves.” *Isaac Still* asked the *French* Captain, whether it was true, that *Daniel* had sold me to the *French* ? He owned it, and said I was theirs, they had bought me fairly, and if the *Indians* would give them leave, he would take me.

Nov. 24th. We hanged out the *English* Flag in spite of the *French*, on which our Prisoners folded their Hands, in hopes that their Redemption was nigh, looking up to God, which melted my Heart in Tears and Prayers to God, to hear their Prayers, and change the Times, and the Situation which our Prisoners are in, and under which they groan. “ O Lord, said they, when
 “ will our Redemption come, that we shall be
 “ delivered and return Home ? ” And if any Accident happeneth, which the *Indians* dislike, the Prisoners all tremble with Fear, saying,
 “ Lord, what will become of us, and what will
 “ be the End of our Lives ? ” So that they often wish themselves rather under the Ground, than in this Life. *King Beaver* came Home, and called us in his House, and saluted us in a friendly

friendly Manner; which we in like Manner did to him. Afterwards, I spoke by four Strings of 350 Wampum, and said as followeth: "I have
 " a Salutation to you and all your People from
 " the General, the Governor, and many other
 " Gentlemen. Brother, it pleases me that the
 " Day is come to see you and your People. We
 " have warmed ourselves by your Fire, and
 " waited for you, and thank you, that you did
 " come Home. We have good News of great
 " Importance, which we hope will make you
 " and all your People's Hearts glad. By these
 " Strings, I desire you would be pleased to call
 " all your Kings and Captains, from all the
 " Towns and Nations, so that they all may
 " hear us, and have the Benefit thereof, whilst
 " they live, and their Children after them." Then he said, "As soon as I heard of your
 " coming, I rose up directly to come to you." Then there came another Message, which called me to another Place, where six Kings of six Nations were met together. I sent them Word they should sit together a while, and smoke their Pipes, and I would come to them. King *Beaver* said further, "Brother! it pleaseth me
 " to hear that you brought such good News,
 " and my Heart rejoices already at what you
 " said to me. It rejoices me, what I have now
 " heard of you." I said, "Brother! you did
 " well, that you first came here before you went
 " to the Kings; as the good News we brought
 " is to all Nations from the rising of the Sun to
 " the going down of the same, that want to be
 " in Peace and Friendship with the *English*. So
 " it will give them Satisfaction when they hear
 " it."

“ it.” The *French* Captain told us that they would demolish the Fort, and he thought the *English* would be to Day at the Place.

Nov. 25th. *Shingas* came Home, and saluted us in a friendly Manner, and so did *Beaver* in our House, and then they told us they would hear our Message, and we perceived that the *French* Captain had an Inclination to hear it. We called *Beaver* and *Shingas*, and informed them that all the Nations at *Easton* had agreed with the Governor, that every Thing should be kept secret from the Ears and Eyes of the *French*. He said, “ It was no Matter, they were beaten already. It is good News, and if he would say any Thing, we would tell him what Friendship we have together.” Accordingly they met together, and the *French* Captain was present. The Number consisted of above Fifty.

King *Beaver* first spoke to his Men, “ Hearken all you Captains and Warriors, here are our Brethren the *English*; I wish that you may give Attention, and take Notice of what they say. As it is for our Good, that there may be an everlasting Peace be established, although there is a great deal of Mischief done; if it pleaseth God to help us, we may live in Peace again.”

Then, I began to speak by four Strings to them, and said, “ Brethren, being come here to see you, I perceive your Bodies are all stained with Blood, and observe Tears and Sorrows in your Eyes. With this String I clean your Body from Blood, and wipe and anoint your Eyes with the healing Oil, so that you may see your Brethren clearly. And as so

“ many Storms have blown since we last saw one
 “ another, and we are at such a Distance from
 “ you, that you could not rightly hear us as
 “ yet, I by this String take a soft Feather, and
 “ with that good Oyl our Grand-Fathers used,
 “ open and clear your Ears, so that you may
 “ both hear and understand what your Brethren
 “ have to say to you. And by these Strings I
 “ clear your Throat from the Dust, and take all
 “ the Bitterness out of your Heart, and clear the
 “ Passage from the Heart to the Throat, that
 “ you may speak freely with your Brethren the
 “ *English* from the Heart.”

Then *Isaac Still* gave the Pipe sent by the
Friends *, filled with Tobacco, and handed round
 after their Custom, and said: “ Brethren, here
 “ is the Pipe which your Grand-Fathers used to
 “ Smoke with, when they met together in
 “ Councils of Peace. And here is some of that
 “ good Tobacco prepared for our Grand-Fa-
 “ thers from God : When you shall taste of it,
 “ you shall feel it through all your Body, and it
 “ will put you in Remembrance of the good
 “ Councils your Grand-Fathers used to hold
 “ with the *English* your Brethren, and that an-
 “ tient Friendship they had together.” King
Beaver arose and thanked us first, that we had
 cleaned his Body from the Blood, and wiped the
 Tears and Sorrow from his Eyes, and opened
 his Ears, so that now he could well hear and
 understand. Likewise he returned Thanks for
 the Pipe and Tobacco that we brought, which

* The *Quakers* of *Philadelphia*, who first set on foot these
 Negotiations of Peace, and for whom the *Indians* have al-
 ways had a great Regard.

our Grand-Fathers used to smoke. He said,
 “ When I tasted that good Tobacco, I felt it all
 “ through my Body, and it made me all over
 “ well.”

Then we delivered the Messages, as followeth :

Governor *DENNY*'s Answer to the Message of the *Ohio Indians*, brought by *Frederick Post*, *Pisquitomen*, and *Thomas Hickman*.

BY this String, my *Indian Brethren* of the *United Nations* and *Delawares*, join with me in requiring of the *Indian Councils*, to which these following Messages shall be presented, to keep every Thing private from the Eyes and Ears of the *French*.

A String.

Brethren, We received your Message by *Pisquitomen* and *Frederick Post*, and thank you for the Care you have taken of our Messenger of Peace, and that you have put him in your Bosom, and protected him against our Enemy *Onontio* and his Children, and sent him safe back to our Council Fire, by the same Man that received him from us.

A String.

Brethren, I only sent *Post* to peep into your Cabbins, and to know the Sentiments of your old Men, and to look at your Faces, to see how you look. And I am glad to hear from him that you look friendly, and that there still remains some Sparks of Love towards us. It is what we believed before-hand, and therefore we

never let slip the Chain of Friendship, but held it fast on our Side, and it has never dropped out of our Hands. By this Belt, we desire you will dig up your End of the Chain of Friendship, that you suffered, by the Subtilty of the *French*, to be buried.

A Belt.

Brethren, It happened that the Governor of *Jersey* was with me, and a great many *Indian* Brethren sitting in Council at *Easton*, when your Messengers arrived, and it gave Pleasure to every one that heard it; and it will afford the same Satisfaction to our neighbouring Governors and their People, when they come to hear it. I shall send Messengers to them, and acquaint them with what you have said.

Your requesting us to let the King of *England* know your good Dispositions, we took to Heart, and shall let him know it, and we will speak in your Favour to his Majesty, who has, for some Time past, looked upon you as his lost Children. And we can assure you, that, as a tender Father over all his Children, he will forgive what is past, and receive you again into his Arms.

A Belt.

Brethren, If you are in Earnest to be reconciled to us, you will keep your young Men from attacking our Country, and killing and carrying Captive our back Inhabitants. And will likewise give Orders that your People may be kept at a Distance from *Fort Duquesne*, that they may not be hurt by our Warriors, who are sent by our King to chastise the *French*, and not to hurt you. Consider the commanding Officer of
that

that Army treads heavy, and would be very sorry to hurt any of his *Indian Brethren*.

A large Belt.

And *Brethren*, The Chiefs of the *United Nations*, with their Cousins, our Brethren the *Delawares*, and others now here, jointly with me send this Belt, which has upon it two Figures that represent all the *English*, and all the *Indians* now present, taking Hands and delivering it to *Pesquitomen*, and we desire it may be likewise sent to the *Indians* who are named at the End of these Messages *; as they have all been formerly our very good Friends and Allies; and we desire they will all go from among the *French* to their own Towns, and no longer help the *French*.

Brethren on the Ohio, If you take the Belts we just now gave you, in which all here join, *English* and *Indians*, as we do not doubt you will; then, by this Belt, I make a Road for you, and invite you to come to *Philadelphia*, to your first old Council Fire, which was kindled when we first saw one another; which Fire we will kindle up again, and remove all Disputes, and renew the old and first Treaties of Friendship. This is a clear and open Road for you; fear therefore nothing, and come to us with as many as can be, of the *Delawares*, *Shawanese*, or of the *Six Nation Indians*: We will be glad to see you; we desire all Tribes and Nations of *Indians*, who are in Alliance with you, may come. As soon as we hear of your coming, of which you will

* *Sagoyeworth, Auigh Kolichen, Atowateany, Trwigh Townshroano, Gagdazegwano, Oyehtanant, Sifagbrano, Sifagwagwano, Jenuadynago.*

give us timely Notice, we will lay up Provisions for you along the Road.

A large white Belt, with the Figure of a Man at each End, and streaks of Black, representing the Road from the Ohio to Philadelphia.

Brethren, The Six Nation and Delaware Chiefs join with me in those Belts, which are tied together, to signify our Union and Friendship for each other; with them we jointly take the Tomahawks out of your Hands, and bury them under Ground.

We speak aloud, so as you may hear us; you see we all stand together, joined Hand in Hand.

Two Belts tied together.

General FORBES To the Shawanese and Delawares, on the Ohio.

BRETHREN,

I Embrace this Opportunity by our Brother *Pesquitomen*, who is now on his return Home with some of your Uncles of the *Six Nations* from the Treaty at *Easton*, of giving you Joy of the happy Conclusion of that great Council, which is perfectly agreeable to me, as it is for the mutual Advantage of our Brethren the *Indians*, as well as the *English* Nation.

I am glad to find that all past Disputes and Animosities are now finally settled and amicably adjusted, and I hope they will be for ever buried in Oblivion, and that you will now again be firmly united in the Interest of your Brethren the *English*. As I am now advancing at the Head of a large Army against his Majesty's Enemies

mies the *French* on the *Ohio*, I must strongly recommend to you to send immediate Notice, to any of your People who may be at the *French* Fort, to return forthwith to your Towns, where you may sit by your Fires with your Wives and Children, quiet and undisturbed, and smook your Pipes in Safety. Let the *French* fight their own Battles, as they were the first Cause of the War, and the Occasion of the long Difference which hath subsisted between you and your Brethren the *English*; but I must intreat you to restrain your young Men from crossing the *Ohio*, as it will be impossible for me to distinguish them from our Enemies, which I expect you will comply with without Delay, lest by your Neglect thereof, I should be the innocent Cause of some of our Brethren's Death. This Advice take and keep in your own Breasts, and suffer it not to reach the Ears of the *French*.

As a Proof of the Truth and Sincerity of what I say, and to confirm the tender Regard I have for the Lives, and Welfare of our Brethren on the *Ohio*, I send you this String of Wampum.

I am,

CAMP at LOYALTON, Brethren and Warriors,
Nov. 9, 1758. Your Friend and Brother,

JO. FORBES.

Brethren, Kings *Beaver* and *Skingas*, and all the Warriors who join with you.

THE many Acts of Hostility committed by the *French* against the *British* Subjects, made it necessary for the King to take up Arms

in their Defence, and to redress their Wrongs, which have been done them; Heaven hath favoured the Justice of the Cause, and given success to his Fleets and Armies in different Parts of the World. I have received his Commands with regard to what is to be done on the *Ohio*, and shall endeavour to act like a Soldier, by driving the *French* from thence, or destroying them.

It is a particular Pleasure to me to learn, that the *Indians* who inhabit near that River, have lately concluded a Treaty of Peace with the *English*, by which the antient Friendship is renewed with their Brethren, and fixed on a firmer Foundation than ever. May it be lasting and unmoveable as the Mountains. I make no doubt but it gives you equal Satisfaction, and that you will unite your Endeavours with mine, and all the Governors of these Provinces, to strengthen it: The Clouds that for some Time hung over the *English*, and their Friends the *Indians* on the *Ohio*, and kept them both in darkness, are now dispersed, and the chearful Light now again shines upon us, and warms us both. May it continue to do so, while the Sun and Moon give Light.

Your People who were sent to us, were received by us with open Arms, they were kindly entertained while they were here, and I have taken Care that they shall return safe to you; with them come trusty Messengers, whom I earnestly recommend to your Protection; they have several Matters in Charge, and I desire you may give Credit to what they say; in particular, they have a large Belt of Wampum, and by
this

this Belt we let you know, that it is agreed by me and all the Governors, that there shall be an everlasting Peace with all the *Indians*, established as sure as the Mountains between the *English* Nation and the *Indians*, all over, from the Sun-rising to the Sun-setting; and as your Influence on them is great, so you will make it known to all the different Nations that want to be in Friendship with the *English*, and I hope by your Means and Perswasions many will lay hold on this Belt, and immediately withdraw from the *French*; this will be greatly to their own Interest and your Honour, and I shall not fail to acquaint the great King of it. I sincerely wish it for their good, for it will fill me with Concern, to find any of you joined with the *French*, as in that Case you must be sensible I must treat them as Enemies; however, I once more repeat that there is no Time to be lost, for I intend to march with the Army very soon, and I hope to enjoy the Pleasure of thanking you for your Zeal, and of entertaining you in the Fort ere long. In the mean Time I wish Happiness and Prosperity to you, your Women and Children.

I write to you as a Warrior should, that is with Candor and Love, and I recommend Secrecy and Dispatch.

I am,
Kings Beaver and Shingas,
and Brother Warriors,
Your assured Friend and Brother,

From my Camp at Lovelock-mun,
November 9, 1758.

JO. FORBES.

The Messages pleased and gave Satisfaction to all the Hearers, except the *French* Captain; he shook his Head with bitter Grief, and often changed his Countenance. *Isaac Still* ran down the *French* Captain with great Boldness, and pointed at him, saying, "There he sits." Afterwards *Shingas* rose up and said: "Brethren, " now we have rightly heard and understood " you, it pleaseth me and all the young Men " that hear it; we shall think of it and take it " into due Consideration; and when we have " considered it well, then we will give you an " Answer, and send it to all the Towns and " Nations as you desired us." We thanked them, and wished them good Success in their Undertaking, and wished that it might have the same Effect upon all other Nations, that may hereafter hear it, as it had on them. We went a little out of the House. In the mean Time *Isaac Still* demanded the Letter, which the *French* had falsely interpreted, that it might be read in Publick. Then they called us back, and *Frederick Post* found it was my own Letter I had wrote to the General. I therefore stood up and read it, which *Isaac* interpreted. The *Indians* were very well pleased, and took it as if it was written to them; thereupon they all said: "We always thought the *French* Report of the " Letter was a Lie; they always deceived us;" Pointing at the *French* Captain; who, bowing down his Head, turned quite pale, and could look no one in the Face. All the *Indians* began to mock and laugh at him; he could hold it no longer, and went out. Then the *Cayuga* Chief delivered a String in the Name of the

Six Nations, with these words : “ Cousins, hear
 “ what I have to say; I see you are sorry and the
 “ Tears stand in your Eyes. I would open
 “ your Ears and clear your Eyes from Tears,
 “ so that you may see and hear what your Un-
 “ kles the six Nations have to say. We have
 “ established a Friendship with your Brethren
 “ the *English*. We see that you are all over
 “ bloody on your Body; I clean the Heart from
 “ the Dust, and your Eyes from the Tears, and
 “ your Bodies from the Blood, that you may
 “ hear and see your Brethren the *English*, and
 “ appear clean before them, and that you may
 “ speak from the Heart with them.” [*Deliver-*
ed four Strings.] Then he showed to them a
 String from the *Cherokees*, with these Words :
 “ Nephews, we let you know that we are ex-
 “ ceeding glad that there is such a firm Friend-
 “ ship established on so good a Foundation with
 “ so many Nations, that it will last for ever;
 “ and as the six Nations have agreed with the
 “ *English*, so we wish that you may lay hold of
 “ the same Friendship. We will remind you
 “ that we were formerly good Friends. Like-
 “ wise we let you know that the six Nations
 “ gave us a Tomahawk, and if any Body of-
 “ fended us, we should strike him with it;
 “ likewise they gave me a Knife to take off the
 “ Scalp. So we let you know that we are de-
 “ sirous to hear very soon from you what you
 “ determine. It may be we shall use the Hat-
 “ chet very soon, therefore I long to hear from
 “ you.” Then the Council broke up. After
 a little while Messengers arrived, and *Beaver*
 came into our House, and gave us the Pleasure
 to

to hear that the *English* had the Field, and that the *French* had demolished and burnt the Place intirely, and went off; that the Commander is gone with two hundred Men to *Venango*, and the rest gone down the River in Battoes to the lower *Shawana* Town, with an Intention to build a Fort there; they were seen Yesterday passing by *Sawkung*. We ended this Day with Pleasure and great Satisfaction on both Sides: The *Cayuga* Chief said he would speak further to them Tomorrow.

Nov. 26th. We met together about ten o'Clock. First King *Beaver* address'd himself to the *Cayuga* Chief, and said: "My Unkles, " as it is customary to answer one another, so " I thank you that you took so much Notice of " your Cousins, and that you have wiped the " Tears from our Eyes, and cleaned our Bodies " from the Blood; when you spoke to me I " saw myself all over bloody, and since you " cleaned me, I feel myself quite pleasant " through my whole Body, and I can see the " Sun shine clear over us." [*Delivered four Strings.*] He said further, "As you took so " much Pains and came a great Way through " the Bushes, I by this String clean you from " the Sweat, and clean the Dust out of your " Throat, so that you may speak what you " have to say from your Brethren the *English*, " and our Unkles the six Nations to your Cousins, I am ready to hear." Then *Petition-tonka*, the *Cayuga* Chief, took the Belt with eight Diamonds*, and said: "Cousins, take

* Diamond Figures formed by Beads of *Wampum* of different Colours.

“ Notice of what I have to say, we let you know
 “ what Agreement we have made with our Bre-
 “ thren the *English*. We had almost slipped and
 “ dropt the Chain of Friendship with our Bre-
 “ thren the *English*; now we let you know that we
 “ have renewed the Peace and Friendship with
 “ our Brethren the *English*, and we have made
 “ a new Agreement with them. We see that
 “ you have dropt the Peace and Friendship with
 “ them. We desire you would lay hold of the
 “ Covenant we have made with our Brethren
 “ the *English*, and be strong. We likewise
 “ take the Tomahawk out of your Hands, that
 “ you received from the white People; use it no
 “ longer; sling the Tomahawk away; it is the
 “ white People's; let them use it among them-
 “ selves; it is theirs, and they are of one Co-
 “ lour; let them fight with one another, and do
 “ you be still and quiet in *Kushkushking*. Let
 “ our Grand-Children the *Shawanese* likewise
 “ know of the Covenant we established with our
 “ Friends the *English*, and also, let all other
 “ Nations know it.” Then he explained to them
 the eight Diamonds on the Belt, signifying
 the five united Nations, and the three younger
 Nations which join them. These all united
 with the *English*. Then he proceeded thus;
 “ Brethren” [*Delivering a Belt with eight Dia-*
 [*monds, the second Belt*] “ We hear that you
 “ did not sit right, and when I came I found
 “ you in a moving Posture, ready to jump to-
 “ wards the Sun set; so we will set you at ease,
 “ and quietly down, that you may sit well at
 “ *Kushkushking*, and we desire you to be strong,
 “ and if you will be strong, your Women and
 “ Children will see from Day to Day the Light
 “ shining

“ shining more over them; and our Children
 “ and Grand-Children will see that there will
 “ be an everlasting Peace established. We de-
 “ sire you to be still; we don’t know as yet
 “ what to do; towards the Spring you shall
 “ hear from your Unkles what they conclude;
 “ in the mean Time do you sit still by your Fire
 “ at *Kushkushking*.”

In the Evening the Devil made a general Dis-
 turbance, to hinder them in their good Disposi-
 tion. It was reported they saw three *Catawba*
Indians in their Town, and they roved about all
 that cold Night, in great Fear and Confusion.
 When I consider with what Tyranny and Power
 the Prince of this World rules over this People,
 it breaks my Heart over them; and I wish that
 God would have Mercy upon them, and that
 their Redemption may draw nigh, and open
 their Eyes that they may see what Bondage they
 are in, and deliver them from the Evil.

27th. We waited all the Day for an Answer.
Beaver came and told us, “ They were busy all
 “ the Day long.” He said, “ it is a great
 “ Matter, and wants much Consideration. We
 “ are three Tribes, which must separately agree
 “ amongst ourselves; it takes Time before we
 “ hear each Agreement, and the Particulars
 “ thereof.” He desired us to read our Message
 once more to them in private; we told them we
 were at their Service at any Time; and then we
 explained him the whole again. There arrived
 a Messenger from *Saukung*, and informed us that
 four of their People were gone to our Camp, to
 see what the *English* were about; and that one
 of them climbing upon a Tree, was discovered
 by

by falling down ; and then our People spoke to them ; three resolved to go to the other Side, and one came back and brought the News, which pleased the Company. Some of the Captains and Counsellors were together ; they said, that the *French* would build a strong Fort at the lower *Shawanese* Town. I answered them ; “ Bre-
 “ thren, if you suffer the *French* to build a Fort
 “ there, you must suffer likewise the *English* to
 “ come and destroy the Place ; the *English* will
 “ follow the *French* and pursue them, let it cost
 “ whatever it will ; and wherever the *French*
 “ settle, the *English* will follow and destroy them.”
 They said ; “ We think the same, and would en-
 “ deavour to prevent it, if the *English* only
 “ would go back, after having drove away the
 “ *French*, and not settle there.” I said, “ I can
 “ tell you no Certainty in this Affair ; it is best
 “ for you to go with us to the General, and
 “ speak with him. So much I know, that they
 “ only want to establish a Trade with you ; and
 “ you know yourselves that you cannot do with-
 “ out being supplied with such Goods as you
 “ stand in need of ; but, Brethren, be assured
 “ you must intirely quit the *French*, and have
 “ no Communication with them, else they will
 “ always breed Disturbance and Confusion a-
 “ mongst you, and persuade your young People
 “ to go to War against our Brethren the *Eng-
 “ lish*.” I spoke with them further about *Ve-
 nango*, and said, I believed the *English* would go
 there, if they suffered the *French* longer to live
 there. This Speech had much Influence on
 them, and they said : “ We are convinced of all
 “ what you have said, it will be so.” I found
 them

them inclined to send off the *French* from *Venango*, but they wanted first to know the Disposition of the *English*, and not to suffer the *French* to build any where.

28th. King *Beaver* arose early before Break of Day, and bid all his People a good Morning, desired them to rise early and prepare Victuals, for they had to Answer their Brethren the *English*, and their Unkles, and therefore they should be in a good Humour and Disposition. At ten o'Clock they met together. *Beaver* addressed himself to his People, and said, "Take Notice all you young Men and Warriors to what we answer now: It is three Days since we heard our Brethren the *English*, and our Unkles; and what we have heard of both, is very good; and we are all much pleased with what we have heard. Our Unkles have made an Agreement, and Peace is established with our Brethren the *English*, and they have shook Hands with them, and we likewise agree in the Peace and Friendship they have established between them." Then he spoke to the *French* Captain *Canaquis*, and said, "You may hear what I answer; it is good News that we have heard. I have not made myself a King. My Unkles have made me like a Queen, that I always should mind what is good and right, and whatever I agree with, they will assist me and help me through. Since the Warriors came amongst us, I could not follow that which is good and right; which has made me heavy; and since it is my Duty to do that which is good, so I will endeavour to do and to speak what is good, and not let myself be
"disturbed

“ disturbed by the Warriors.” Then he spoke to the *Mingoes*, and said : “ My Unkles hear me : It is two Days since you told me, that you have made Peace and Friendship, and shook Hands with our Brethren the *English*. I am really very much pleased with what you told me, and I join with you in the same ; and as you said I should let the *Shawanees* and *Delamattanoes* know of the Agreement you have made with our Brethren the *English*, I took it to Heart, and shall let them know it very soon.

[He delivered a String.]

“ Look now my Unkles, and hear what your Cousins say : You have spoke the Day before Yesterday to me. I have heard you. You told me, you would set me at *Kushkushking* easy down. I took it to Heart, and I shall do so, and be still, and lay myself easy down, and keep my Match-Coat close to my Breast. You told me you will let me know in the next Spring, what to do : So I will be still, and wait to hear from you.”

[Gave him a Belt.]

Then he turned himself to us, and gave us the following Answers. First to the General.

“ Brother, by these Strings I would desire in a most kind and friendly Manner, you would be pleased to hear me what I have to say, as you are not far off. Brother, now you told me you have heard of that good Agreement, that has been agreed to at the Treaty at *Easton* ; and that you have put your Hands to it to strengthen it, so that it may last for ever. Brother, you have told me, that after

“ you have come to hear it, you have taken it
 “ to Heart, and then you sent it to me, and let
 “ me know it. Brother, I would desire you
 “ would be pleased to hear me, and I would tell
 “ you in a most soft, loving and friendly Man-
 “ ner, to go back over the Mountain, and to
 “ stay there; for if you will do that, I will use
 “ it for an Argument to argue with other Na-
 “ tions of *Indians*. Now, Brother, you have
 “ told me you have made a Road clear from the
 “ Sun-set to our first old Council-Fire at *Phi-*
 “ *ladelphia*, and therefore I should fear nothing,
 “ and come into that Road. Brother, after
 “ these far *Indians* shall come to hear of that
 “ good and wide Road that you have layed out
 “ for us, then they will turn and look at the
 “ Road, and see nothing in the Way; and that
 “ is the Reason that maketh me tell you to go
 “ back over the Mountain again, and to stay
 “ there, for then the Road will be clear, and
 “ nothing in the Way.”

Then he addressed himself to the Governor of *Pennsylvania*, as follows :

“ Brother, give good Attention to what I am
 “ going to say, for I speak from my Heart;
 “ and think nothing the less of it, though the
 “ Strings be small *.

“ Brother, I now tell you what I have heard
 “ from you is quite agreeable to my Mind, and
 “ I love to hear you. I tell you likewise, that
 “ all the Chief Men of *Allegheny* are well pleased
 “ with what you have said to us; and all my

* Important Matters should be accompanied with large Strings, or Belts; but sometimes a sufficient Quantity of Wampum is not at Hand.

“ young Men, Women and Children that are
 “ able to understand, are well pleased with what
 “ you have said to me.

“ Brother, you tell me that all the Governors
 “ of the several Provinces have agreed to a
 “ well established and everlasting Peace with the
 “ *Indians*, and you likewise tell me, that my
 “ Unkles the *Six Nations*, and my Brethren the
 “ *Delawares*, and several other Tribes of *Indians*
 “ join with you in it, to establish it so that it
 “ may be everlasting; you likewise tell me, you
 “ have all agreed on a Treaty of Peace to last
 “ for ever, and for these Reasons I tell you, I
 “ am pleased with what you have told me.

“ Brother, I am heartily pleased to hear that
 “ you never let slip the Chain of Friendship out
 “ of your Hands, which our Grand-fathers had
 “ between them, so that they could agree as
 “ Brethren and Friends in any Thing.

“ Brother, as you have been pleased to let
 “ me know of that good and desirable Agree-
 “ ment, that you and my Unkles and Brethren
 “ have agreed to at the Treaty of Peace, I now
 “ tell you, I heartily join and agree in it, and to
 “ it; and now I desire you to go on steadily in
 “ that great and good Work you have taken in
 “ Hand, and I will do as you desire me to do;
 “ that is, to let the other Tribes of *Indians*
 “ know it, and more especially my Unkles the
 “ *Six Nations*, and the *Shawanese* my Grand-
 “ Children, and all other Nations settled to the
 “ Westward.

“ Brother, I desire you not to be out of
 “ Patience, as I have a great many Friends at a
 “ great Distance; and I shall use my best En-

“ deavours to let them know it as soon as possible, and as soon as I obtain their Answer, shall let you know it.” Then he gave
Six Strings, all White.

In the Evening arrived a Messenger from *Sackung*. (*Netodwehement*), and desired they should make all the haste to dispatch us, and we should come to *Sackung*, for as they did not know what is become of those Three that went to our Camp, they were afraid the *English* would keep them, till they heard what was become of us their Messengers.

Nov. 29th. Before Day-break, *Beaver* and *Shingas* came and called us into their Council. They had been all the Night together. They said: “ Brethren, now is the Day coming you will set off from here. It is a good many Days since we heard you, and what we have heard it is very pleasing and agreeable to us. It rejoices all our Hearts, and all our young Men, Women and Children, that are capable to understand, are really very well pleased with what they have heard; it is so agreeable to us, that we never received such good News before; we think God has made it so: He pities us, and has Mercy on us. And now, Brethren, you desire that I should let it be known to all other Nations; and I shall let them know very soon. Therefore *Shingas* cannot go with you. He must go with me, to help me in this great Work; and I shall send no body, but go myself, to make it known to all Nations.” Then we thanked them for their Care, and wished him good Success
 “ on

“ on his Journey and Undertaking. And as
 “ this Message had such a good Effect on *them* ;
 “ we hoped, it would have the same Effect on
 “ all *other* Nations, when they came to hear it.
 “ I hoped that all the Clouds would pass away,
 “ and the chearful Light would shine over all
 “ Nations; so I wished them good Assistance
 “ and help on their Journey.” Farther, he said
 to us; “ Now we desire you to be * strong, be-
 “ cause I shall make it my strong Argument
 “ with other Nations; but as we have given
 “ Credit to what you have said, hoping it is
 “ true, and we agree to it; if it should prove
 “ the contrary, it would make me so ashamed,
 “ that I never could lift up my Head, and never
 “ undertake to speak any Word more for the
 “ Interest of the *English*.” I told them, “ Bre-
 “ thren, you will remember that it was wrote
 “ to you by the General, that you might give
 “ Credit to what we say; so I am glad to hear
 “ of you, that you give Credit; and we assure
 “ you, that what we have told you is the Truth,
 “ and you will find it so.”

They said further: “ Brethren, we let you
 “ know that the *French* have used our People
 “ kindly in every Respect; they have used them
 “ like Gentlemen, especially those that live near
 “ them. So they have treated the Chiefs. Now
 “ we desire you to be strong; we wish you
 “ would take the same Method, and use our
 “ People well, for the other *Indians* will look

* The Word *Wissichisy*, translated *be strong*, is of a very
 extensive signification, be strong, be steady, pursue to effect
 what you have begun, &c.

“ upon us †, and we don’t otherwise know how
 “ to convince them and to bring them into the
 “ *English* Interest, without your using such
 “ Means as will convince them. For the *French*
 “ will still do more to keep them to their In-
 “ terest.” I told them, “ I would take it to
 “ Heart, and inform the Governor and other
 “ Gentlemen of it, and speak to them in their
 “ Favours.” Then they said, “ It is so far
 “ well, and the Road is cleared ; but they thought
 “ we should send them another Call, when they
 “ may come.” I told them : “ We did not
 “ know when they would have agreed with the
 “ other Nations. Brother, it is you who must
 “ give us the first Notice when you can come,
 “ the sooner the better ; and so soon as you send
 “ us Word, we will prepare for you on the
 “ Road.” After this, we made ready for our
 Journey. *Ketiusbund*, a noted *Indian*, one of the
 chief Counsellors, told us in secret, “ That all
 “ the Nations had jointly agreed to defend their
 “ Hunting Place at *Allegheny*, and suffer no
 “ body to settle there ; and as these *Indians* are
 “ very much inclined to the *English* Interest, so
 “ he begged us very much to tell the Governor,
 “ General, and all other People not to settle
 “ there. And if the *English* would draw back
 “ over the Mountain, they would get all the
 “ other Nations into their Interest ; but if they
 “ staid and settled there, all the Nations would
 “ be against them, and he was afraid it would
 “ be a great War, and never come to a Peace
 “ again.”

† i. e. They will observe how we are dressed.

I promised to inform the Governor, General, and all other People of it, and repeated my former Request to them, Not to suffer any *French* to settle amongst them. After we had fetched our Horses, we went from *Kusbkusbkung*, and came at five o'Clock to *Saccung*, in Company with twenty *Indians*. When we came about half Way, we met a Messenger from Fort *Duquesne*, with a Belt from *Thomas King*, inviting all the Chiefs to *Saccung*. We heard at the same Time, that Mr. *Croghan*, and *Henry Montour*, would be there to Day. The Messenger was one of them three that went to our Camp, and it seemed to rejoice all the Company, for some of them were much troubled in their Minds, fearing that the *English* had kept them as Prisoners, or killed them. In the Evening we arrived at *Saccung*, on the *Beaver Creek*. We were well received. The King provided for us. After a little while we visited Mr. *Croghan* and his Company.

Nov. 30th. In the Morning the *Indians* of the Town visited us. About eleven o'Clock about Forty came together, when we read the Message to them; Mr. *Croghan*, *Henry Montour* and *Thomas King* being present. They were all well pleased with the Message. In the Evening we came together with the Chiefs, and explained the Signification of the Belts, which lasted till eleven o'Clock at Night.

Dec. 1st. After hunting a great while for our Horses, without finding them, we were obliged to give an *Indian* 300 white Wampum for looking for them. We bought Corn for 450 Wampum for our Horses. The *Indians* met together to hear what Mr. *Croghan* had to say. *Thomas*

King spoke by a Belt, and invited them to come to the General; upon which they all resolved to go.

In the Evening the Captains and Counsellors came together, I and *Isaac Still* being present, they told us, that they had formerly agreed not to give any Credit to any Message sent from the *English* by *Indians*, thinking if the *English* would have Peace with them, they would come themselves. “ So soon therefore as you came, it “ was as if the Weather changed, and a great “ Cloud passed away, and we could think again “ on our antient Friendship with our Brethren “ the *English*. We have thought since that “ Time more on the *English* than ever before, “ although the *French* have done all in their “ Power to prejudice our young Men against “ the *English*. Since you now come the second “ Time, we think it is God’s Work, he pities “ us that we should not all die; and if we “ should not accept of the Peace offered to us, “ we think God would forsake us.” In Discourse they spoke about Preaching, and said they wished many Times to hear the Word of God, but they were always afraid the *English* would take that Opportunity to bring them into Bondage. They invited me to come and live amongst them, since I had taken so much Pains in bringing a Peace about between them and the *English*. I told them it might be that when the Peace was firmly established, I would come to proclaim the Peace and Love of God to them.

In the Evening arrived a Message with a String of Wampum, to a noted *Indian*, *Keticuskund*,

kund, to come to *Wenango*, to meet the *Unami* Chief, *Quitabigung* there; he said that a *French* *Mobeck* had killed a *Delaware Indian*, and when he was asked, Why he did it? He said the *French* bid him to do it.

Dec. 2d. Early before we set out, I gave 300 Wampums to the *Cayugas* to buy some Corn for their Horses; they agreed that I should go before to the General, to acquaint him of their coming. The *Beaver Creek* being very high, it was almost two o'Clock in the Afternoon before we came over the Creek; this Land seems to be very rich. I with my Companion, *Kekinscund's* Son, came to *Logstown*, situated on a high Hill. On the East End is a great Piece of low Land, where the old *Logstown* used to stand. In the new *Logstown* the *French* have built about thirty Houses for the *Indians*. They have a large Corn Field on the South Side, where the Corn stands ungathered. Then we went farther through a large Tract of fine Land, along the River Side. We came within eight Miles of *Pittsburgh*, where we lodged on a Hill in the open Air. It was a cold Night, and I had forgot my Blanket, being packed upon Mr. *Hays* Horse. Between *Sacung* and *Pittsburgh*, all the *Sbarvanos* Towns are empty of People.

3d. We started early, and came to the River by *Pittsburgh*; we called that they should come over and fetch us, but their Boats having gone adrift, they made a Raft of black Oak Pallisadoes, which sunk as soon as it came into the Water. We were very hungry, and staid on that Island where I had kept Council with the *Indians* in the Month of *August* last; for all I had

had nothing to live on, I thought myself a great deal better off now, than at that Time, having now Liberty to Walk upon the Island according to Pleasure, and it seemed as if the dark Clouds were dispersed. While I waited here, I saw the General march off from *Pittsburgh*, which made me sorry that I could not have the Pleasure of speaking with him. Towards Evening our whole Party arrived, upon which they fired from the Fort with twelve great Guns, and our *Indians* saluted again three Times round with their small Arms. By Accident, some of the *Indians* found a Rast hid in the Bushes, and Mr. *Hays* coming last, went over first with two *Indians*. They sent us but a small Allowance, so that it would not serve each round. I tied my Belt a little closer, being very hungry, and nothing to eat*. It snowed, and we were obliged to Sleep without any Shelter. In the Evening they throwed light Balls from the Fort, at which the *Indians* started, thinking they would fire at them; but seeing it was not aimed at them, they rejoiced to see them fly so high.

4th. We got up early and cleared a Place from the Snow, cut some fire Wood, and hollowed till we were tired. Towards Noon Mr. *Hays* came with a Rast, and the *Indian* Chiefs went over; he informed me of Colonel *Bouquet's* Displeasure with the *Indians* Answer to the

* As it often happens to the *Indians* on their long Marches in War, and sometimes in their Hunting Expeditions, to be without Victuals for several Days, occasioned by bad Weather and other Accident, they have this Custom in those Cases, which *Poss* probably learned of them, *viz.* Girding their Bellies tight when they have nothing to put in them; and they say it prevents the Pain of Hunger.

General, and his Desire that they should alter their Mind, in insisting upon the General's going back ; but the *Indians* had no Inclination to alter their Mind. In the Afternoon some Provision was sent over, but a small Allowance. When I came over to the Fort, the Council with the *Indians* was almost at an End. I had a Discourse with Colonel *Bouquet* about the Affairs, Disposition, and Resolution of the *Indians*.

I drew Provision for our Journey to Fort *Ligonier*, and baked Bread for our whole Company : Towards Noon the *Indians* met together in a Conference ; first King *Beaver* addressed himself to the *Mohocks*, desiring them to give their Brethren an Answer about settling at *Pittsburgb*. The *Mohocks* said, “ They lived at such
 “ a Distance, that they could not defend the *Eng-*
 “ *lish* there, if any Accident should befall them ;
 “ but you, Cousins, who live close here, must
 “ think what to do.” Then *Beaver* said by a String, “ What this Messenger has brought
 “ is very agreeable to us ; and as our Uncles
 “ have made Peace with you the *English*, and
 “ many other Nations, so we likewise join and
 “ accept of the Peace offered to us ; and we
 “ have already answered by your Messenger,
 “ what we have to say to the General, that he
 “ should go back over the Mountains ; we have
 “ nothing to say to the contrary.” Neither Mr. *Croghan* nor *Andrew Montour* would tell Colonel *Bouquet* the *Indians* Answer ; then Mr. *Croghan*, Colonel *Armstrong*, and Colonel *Bouquet* went into the Tent by themselves, and I went upon my Business. What they have farther agreed I do not know ; but when they had
 done,

done, I called King *Beaver*, *Shingas* and *Kekau-skund*, and said, "Brethren, if you have any
 " Alteration to make in the Answer to the Ge-
 " neral concerning leaving this Place, you will
 " be pleased to let me know:" they said they
 would alter nothing, "we have told them three
 " times to leave the Place and go back, but
 " they insist upon staying here; if therefore they
 " will be destroyed by the *French* and the *In-*
 " *dians*, we cannot help them." Colonel *Bou-*
quet set out for *Loyalbanon*; the *Indians* got some
 Liquor betwen ten and eleven o'Clock. One
Mobock died, the others fired Guns three times
 over him; at the last Firing one had accidentally
 loaded his Gun with a double Charge; this Gun
 burst to Pieces and broke his Hand clean off; he
 also got a hard Knock on his Breast, and in the
 Morning at nine o'Clock he died, and they
 buried them in that Place both in one Hole.

6th. It was a cold Morning; we swam our
 Horses over the River, the Ice running vio-
 lently. Mr. *Croghan* told me that the *Indians*
 had spoke, upon the same String that I had, to
 Colonel *Bouquet*, and altered their Mind, and
 had agreed and desired that 200 Men should stay
 at the Fort. I refused to make any Alteration
 in the Answer to the General, till I myself did
 hear it of the *Indians*; at which Mr. *Croghan*
 grew very angry. I told him I had already spoke
 with the *Indians*; he said it was a d—d Lye;
 and desired Mr. *Hays* to enquire of the *Indians*,
 and take down in Writing what they said. Ac-
 cordingly he called them and asked them if they
 had altered their Speech, or spoke to Colonel
Bouquet on that String they gave me. *Shingas*
 and

and the other Counsellor said, they had spoken nothing to Colonel *Bouquet* on the String they gave me, but what was agreed between the *Indians* at *Cusbkusking*. They said Mr. *Croghan* and *Hendry Montour* had not spoke and acted honestly and uprightly. They bid us not to alter the least, and said, “ We have told them threetimes to go
 “ back but they will not go, insisting upon stay-
 “ ing here. Now you will let the Governor,
 “ General, and all People know that our Desire
 “ is, that they should go back till the other Na-
 “ tions have joined in the Peace, and then they
 “ may come and build a Trading-house.” They then repeated what they had said the 5th Instant. Then we took Leave of them, and promised to inform the General, Governor, and all other gentle People of their Disposition; and so we set out from *Pittsburgh*, and came within fifteen Miles of the Breast-work, where we encamped. It snowed, and we made a little Cabbin of Hides.

December 7th. Our Horses were fainting, having little or no Food. We came that Day about twenty Miles to another Breast-work, where the whole Army had encamped on a Hill, the Water being far to fetch.

8th. Between *Pittsburgh* and Fort *Ligonier* the Country is hilly, with rich Bottoms, well timbered, but scantily watered. We arrived at Fort *Ligonier* in the Afternoon about four o’Clock, where we found the General very sick, and therefore could have no Opportunity to speak with him.

9th. We waited to see the General; they told us he would march the next Day and we should

go with him. Captain *Sinclair* wrote us a Return for Provision for four Days.

10th. The General was still sick, so that he could not go on the Journey.

11th. We longed very much to go farther, and therefore spoke to Major *Halket*, and desired him to enquire of the General if he intended to speak with us, or if we might go, as we were in a poor Condition for Want of Linen and other Necessaries. He desired us to bring the *Indians* Answer and our Journal to the General. Mr. *Hays* read his Journal to Major *Halket* and Governor *Glen*. They took Memorandums and went to the General.

12th. They told us we should stay till the General went.

14th. The General intended to go, but his Horses could not be found. They thought that the *Indians* had carried them off. They hunted all Day for the Horses but could not find them. I spoke to Colonel *Bouquet* about our Allowance being so small that we could hardly subsist, and that we were without Money, and desired him to let us have some Money, that we might buy Necessaries. Provisions and every Thing is exceeding dear. One Pound of Bread cost a Shilling; one Pound of Sugar four Shillings, a Quart of Rum seven Shillings and six Pence, and so in Proportion. Colonel *Bouquet* laid our Matters before the General, who let me call, and excused himself, that his Distemper had hindered him from speaking with me; and promised to help me in every Thing I should want, and ordered him to give me some Money. He said farther,
that

that I often should call, and when he was alone he would speak with me.

16th. Mr. *Hays* being a hunting, was so lucky as to find the General's Horses, and brought them home, for which the General was very thankful to him.

17th. Mr. *Hays* being desired by Major *Halket* to go and look for the other Horses, went but found none.

18th. The General told me to hold myself ready to go with him down the Country.

20th. After we had been out two Days to hunt for our Horses in the Rain, we went again to-day, and were informed that they had been seen in a lost Condition; one laying on the Hill and the other standing; they had been hopped together, but a Person told us that he had cut the Hopples. When we came home we found the Horses, they having made home to the Fort.

22d. It was cold and stormy Weather.

23d. I hunted for our Horses, and having found them, we gave them both to the King's Commissary, they not being able to carry us farther. The Serjeant, *Henry Osten*, being one of the Company that guided us, as above mentioned, and was that same Prisoner whom the *Shavanos* intended to burn alive, came to Day to the Fort. He was much rejoiced to see us, and said, "I thank you a thousand Times for my Deliverance from the Fire; and think it not too much to be at your Service my whole Lifetime." He gave us Intelligence that the *Indians* were as yet mightily for the *English*. His Master had offered to set him at Liberty and bring him to *Pittsburgh* if he would promise him

ten Gallons of Rum, which he did, and he was brought safe to *Pittsburgh*. *Delaware George* is still faithful to the *English*, and was very helpful to procure his Liberty. *Isaac Still*, *Skingas* and *Beaver* are gone with the Message to the Nations living further off. When the *French* had heard that the Garrison at *Pittsburgh* consisted only of 200 Men, they resolved to go down from *Venango* and destroy the *English* Fort. So soon as the *Indians* at *Kushkushkung* heard of their Intention, they sent a Message to the *French*, desiring them to draw back, for they would have no War in their Country. The friendly *Indians* have sent out Parties with that Intention, that if the *French* went on in their March towards the Fort, they would catch them and bring them to the *English*. They shewed to *Osten* the Place where eight *French Indian* Spies had lain near the Fort. By their Marks upon the Place they learnt that these eight were gone back, and five more were to come to the same Place again. He told us farther, that the *Indians* had spoke among themselves, that if the *English* would join them, they would go to *Venango* and destroy the *French* there. We hear that the friendly *Indians* intend to hunt round the Fort at *Pittsburgh* and bring the Garrison fresh Meat. And upon this Intelligence the General sent Captain *Wedderholz* with fifty Men to reinforce the Garrison at *Pittsburgh*.

25th. The People in the Camp prepared for a *Christmas* Frolick, but I kept *Christmas* in the Woods by myself.

26th. To-Day an Express came from *Pittsburgh* to inform the General, that the *French* had called
all

all the *Indians* in their Interest together, and intended to come and destroy them there.

27th. Towards Noon the General set out, which caused a great Joy amongst the Garrison, which had hitherto lain in Tents, but now being a smaller Company, could be more comfortably lodged. It snowed the whole Day. We encamped by a Beaver Dam under *Laurel-Hill*.

28th. We came to *Stony Creek*, where Mr. *Quickell* is stationed. The General sent Mr. *Hays* Express to Fort *Bedford* (*Ray's-town*) and commanded him to see if the Place for Encampment under the *Allegheny* Mountain was prepared; as also to take Care that Refreshments should be at Hand at his coming. It was stormy and snowed all the Day.

29th. On the Road I came up with some Waggons, and found my Horses with the Company, who had taken my Horse up and intended to carry the same away. We encamped on this Side under the *Allegheny* Hill.

30th. Very early I hunted for my Horses, but in vain, and therefore was obliged to carry my Saddle-Bags and other Baggage on my Back. The Burden was heavy, the Roads bad, which made me very tired, and came late to *Bedford*, where I took my old Lodging with Mr. *Frasier*. They received me kindly, and refreshed me according to their Ability.

31st. This Day we rested, and, contrary to Expectation, Preparation was made for moving farther To-morrow. Mr. *Hays*, who has his Lodging with the Commander of that Place, visited me.

January 1st, 1759. We set out early. I got my Saddle-Bags upon a Waggon, but my Bed and Covering I carried upon my Back, and came that Day to the Crossing of *Juniata*, where I had poor Lodgings, being obliged to sleep in the open Air, the Night being very cold.

2d. We set out early. I wondered very much that the Horses in these slippery Roads came so well with the Waggon over these steep Hills. We came to Fort *Littleton*, where I drew Provisions, but could not find any who had Bread to exchange for Flour. I took Lodging in a common House. Mr. *Hays* arrived late.

3d. We rose early. I thought to travel the nearest Road to *Shippens-Town*, and therefore desired Leave of the General to prosecute my Journey to *Lancaster* and wait for his Excellency there, but he desired me to follow in his Company. It snowed, froze, rained, and was stormy the whole Day. All were exceeding glad that the General arrived safe at Fort *Loudon*. There was no Room in the Fort for such a great Company. I, therefore, and some others went two Miles farther, and got Lodging at a Plantation.

4th. I and my Company took the upper Road, which is three Miles nearer to *Shippens-Town*, where we arrived this Evening. The slippery Roads made me as a Traveller very tired.

5th. To-Day I stayed here for the General. Mr. *Hays* went ten Miles farther to see some of his Relations. In the Afternoon *Israel Pemberton* came from *Philadelphia* to wait upon the General.

6th.

6th. I came To-Day ten Miles to Mr. *Miller's*, where I lodged, having no comfortable Place in *Shippenstown*, all the Houses being crowded with People.

7th. They made Preparation at Mr. *Miller's* for the Reception of the General ; but he being so well To-Day, resolved to go as far as *Carlisle*. I could scarce find any Lodging there. *Henry Montour* was so kind as to take me in his Room.

8th. I begged the General for Leave to go to *Lancaster*, having some Business, which he at last granted. I went to Captain *Sinclair* for a Horse, who ordered me to go to the Chief Justice of the Town, who ought to procure one for me in the Province-Service. According to this Order I went ; but the Justice told me that he did not know how to get any Horse ; if I would go and look for one, he should be glad if I found any. But having no Mind to run from one to another, I resolved to walk as I had done before ; and so travelled along and came about ten Miles that Day to a Tavern-keeper's, named *Chefnut*.

9th. To-Day I crossed the *Susquehanna* over the Ice, and came within thirteen Miles of *Lancaster*. It was slippery and heavy travelling.

10th. It rained all the Day. I arrived at three o'Clock in the Afternoon in *Lancaster* ; and was quite refreshed to have the Favour to see my Brethren.

The E N D.