

WEISER'S JOURNAL, 1748

The journal of Conrad Weiser, Esq., Indian Interpreter:

August 11<sup>th</sup>, 1748. – Set out from my house (Heidelberg township, Berks county, Pa.,) and came to James Galbreath's that day, 30 miles.

August 12. – Came to George Croghan's, 15 miles.

August 13<sup>th</sup>. – To Robert Dunning's, 20 miles.

August 14<sup>th</sup>. – To Tuscarora Path, 30 miles.

August 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup>. – Lay by, on account of the men coming back sick, and some other affairs hindering us.

August 17<sup>th</sup>. – Crossed the *Tuscarora Hill*, and came to the sleeping place, called *The Black Log*, 20 miles.

August 18<sup>th</sup>. – Had a great rain in the afternoon; came within two miles of the *Standing Stone*, (*Huntingdon county*), 24 miles.

August 19<sup>th</sup>. – We traveled but twelve miles, were obliged to fry our things in the afternoon, 12 miles.

August 20<sup>th</sup>. – Came to *Frank's Town*, but saw no houses or cabin. Here we overtook the goods, because four of George Croghan's hands fell sick, 26 miles.

August 21<sup>st</sup>. – Lay by, it raining all day.

August 22d. – Crossed the Allegheny hills, and came to the *Clear Fields*, 16 miles.

August 23d. – Came to *Shawanese Cabins*, 34 miles.

August 24<sup>th</sup>. – Found dead man on the road, who had killed himself by drinking too much whisky. The place being very stony, we did not dig a grave. He smelling very strong, we covered him with stones and wood, and went on our journey. Came to the *Ten Mile Lick*, 32 miles.

August 25<sup>th</sup>. – Crossed *Kiskeminetoes Creek*, and came to Ohio† that day, 26 miles.

August 26<sup>th</sup>. – Hired a canoe – Paid 1,000 black wampum for the loan of it to Log's Town. Our horses being all tired, we went by water, and came that night to a *Delaware Town*; the Indians used us very kindly.

August 27<sup>th</sup>. – Set off again in the morning early; rainy weather. We dined in a *Seneca Town*, where an old *Seneca woman* reigns with great authority. We dined at her house, and they all used us very well at this and the last mentioned *Delaware Town*. They received us by firing a great many guns, especially at this place. We saluted the town by firing off four pairs of pistols. Arrived that evening at *Log's Town*, and saluted the town as before. The Indians returned about one hundred guns. Great joy appeared in their countenances. From the place where we took water, i. e. from the *Old Shawanese Town*, commonly called *Chartiers Old Town*, to this place is above sixty miles by water, and but thirty-five or forty by land. The Indian council met this evening to shake hands with me, and to show their satisfaction at my safe arrival. I desired of them to send a couple of canoes to fetch down the goods from *Chartiers Old Town*, where we had been obliged to leave them on account of our horses still being tired. I gave them a string of wampum, to enforce my request.

August 28<sup>th</sup>. – Lay still.

August 29<sup>th</sup>. – The Indians set off in their canoes to fetch the goods. I expected the goods would be all at *Chartiers Old Town*, by the time the canoes would get there, as we met about twenty horses of George Croghan's at the *Shawanese cabins*, in order to fetch the goods that were then at *Frank's Town*.

This day news came to town, that the Six Nations were on the point of declaring war against the French, for the reason that the French had imprisoned some of the Indian deputies. A council was held, and all the Indians made acquainted with the news; and it was said, the Indian messenger was, by the way, to give all the Indians notice to make ready to fight the French.\*

This day my companions went to Cascasky,‡ a large Indian town, about thirty miles off.

August 30<sup>th</sup>. – I went to Beaver Creek, an Indian town, eight miles off – chiefly Delawares, the rest Mohawks – to have some belt of wampum made. This afternoon rainy weather set in, which lasted about a week. Andrew Montour came back from Cascasky, with a message from the Indians there, to desire of me, that the ensuing council might be held at their town. We both lodged at this town, at George Croghan's trading house.

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† Allegheny river, this river being then called "Ohio."

\* Provincial Record Book, L. p. 420.

‡ This town is placed in Hutchen's map, on the west side of Big River, about one mile below where the Shenango and Mahoning unite.

August 31<sup>st</sup> – Sent Andrew Montour back to Cascasky with a string of wampum, to let the Indians there know that it was an act of their own; that the ensuing council must be held at Logstown; they had ordered it so, last spring, when George Croghan was up, and at the last treaty at Lancaster, the Shawanese and Twightwees had been told so, and they staid accordingly for the purpose; and both would be offended if the council was to be held at Cascasky; besides my instructions bind me to Logstown, and could not further go without giving offense.

September 1<sup>st</sup>. – The Indians in Logstown having heard of the message from Cascasky, sent for me to know what I was resolved to do, and told me that the Indians at Cascasky were no more chiefs than themselves, that last spring they had nothing to eat, and expecting that they should have nothing to eat at our arrival, ordered that the council should be held here. Now their corn is ripe, they want to remove the council; but they ought to stand by their word; we have kept the Twightwees here from below on that account. As I told them about the message that I had sent by Andrew Montour, they were content.

September 2<sup>d</sup>. – The rain continued. The Indians brought in a good deal of venison.

September 3<sup>d</sup>. – Set up the union flag on a long-pole; treated all the company with a dram of rum. The king's health was drunk by the Indians and white men. Towards night a great many Indians arrived to attend the council. There was a great firing on both sides. The strangers first saluted the town at a quarter of a mile distance, and at their entry the town's people returned the fire, also the English traders, of whom there were about twenty. The night, being very sick of the cholic, I got bled.

September 4<sup>th</sup>. – Was obliged to keep my bed all day, being very weak.

September 5<sup>th</sup>. – Found myself better. Scaishady came to see me. I had some discourse with him about the ensuing council.

September 6<sup>th</sup>. – Had a council with the Wandats, otherwise called Inontady – Hagas; they made a fine speech to me, to make me welcome, and appeared on the whole very friendly. Rainy weather continued.

September 7<sup>th</sup>. – Being informed that the Wandats had a mind to go back again to the French, and had endeavored to take the Delawares with them to recommend them to the French, I sent Andrew Montour to Beaver creek, with a string of wampum to inform himself of the truth of the matter. They sent a string in answer to let me know they had no correspondence that way with the Wandats, and the aforesaid report was false.

September 8<sup>th</sup>. – Had a council with the chiefs of the Wandats; inquired into their number, and what occasioned them to come away with the French; what correspondence they had with the Six Nations, and whether or not they had ever any correspondence with the Government of New York. They informed me their coming away from the French was because of the hard usage they received from them; that they would always get their young people to go to war against the enemies, and would use them as their own people, that is, like slaves; and their goods were so dear that they, the Indians, could not buy them. That there were one hundred fighting men that came over to join the English, seventy were left behind at another town, a good distance off, and they hoped they would follow them; that they had a very good correspondence with the Six Nations for many years, and were one people with them; that they could wish the Six Nations would act more briskly against the French. That about fifty years ago they made a Treaty of Friendship with the Governor of New York at Albany; and they showed me a large belt of wampum they received there from the said Governor, as from the King of Great Britain. The belt was twenty-five grains wide and two hundred and sixty-five long, very curiously wrought. There were seven images of men holding one another by the hand.

The first signifying the Governor of New York; or rather, as they said, the King of Great Britain.

The second, the Mowhawks.

The third, the Oneidas.

The fourth, the Cajugas.

The fifth, the Onondagers.

The sixth, the Senecas.

The seventh, the Owandats; and two rows of black wampum under their feet, through the whole length of the belt, to signify the road from Albany through the Five Nations to the Owandats. That six years ago they had sent deputies with the same belt to Albany, to renew the friendship.

I treated them with a quart of whisky and a roll of tobacco. They expressed their wishes to King George and all his people, and were mightily pleased that I looked upon them as brethren of the English.

This day I desired the deputies of all the Nations of Indians settled on the waters of the Ohio, to give me a list of the fighting men, which they promised to do. A great many of the Indians went away this day

because the goods did not come, and the people in town could not find provisions enough, the number was so great.

The following is the number of every Nation given me by their several deputies in council, in so many little sticks tied up in a bundle:

The Senecas, one hundred and sixty-three.

The Shawanese, one hundred and sixty-two.

The Tisagechroann, forty.

The Mohawks, seventy-four.

The Mohickons, fifteen.

The Onondagers, thirty-five.

The Cajugas, twenty.

The Oneidas, twenty.

The Delawares, one hundred and sixty-five – in all seven hundred and eighty-nine.

September 9<sup>th</sup>. – I held a council with the Senecas and gave them a large string of wampum, black and white, to acquaint them. I had it in charge from the President and council in Philadelphia to inquire who it is that lately took the people prisoners in Carolina, one thereof being a great man, and that by what discovery I had already made, I found it was some of the Senecas did it. I desired them to give me the reasons for doing so; and they had struck their hatchet into their brethren's body, they could not expect that I could deliver them my message with a good heart, before they gave me satisfaction in that respect; for they mist consider the English; though living in several provinces, are all one people; and doing mischief to the one, is doing it to the other. Let me have a plain and direct answer.

September 10<sup>th</sup>. – A great many of the Indians got drunk. One Henry Noland had brought nearly thirty gallons of whisky to town this day. I made a present to the old Shawanese chief, Cackawatcheky, of a strand, a blanket, a match coat, a shirt, a pair of stockings and a large twist of tobacco; and told him that the president and council of Philadelphia remembered their love to him, as to their old and true friend, and would clothe his body once more, and wished he might wear them out so as to give them an opportunity to clothe his again. There was a great many Indians present, two of which were the Big Hominy and the Pride; those that went off with Chartier, but protested against his proceedings against the Indian traders.

Cackawatcheky returned thanks, and some of the Six Nations did the same, and express their satisfaction to see a true man taken notice of, although he was now grown childish.

September 11<sup>th</sup>. – George Croghan and myself staved an eight gallon keg of liquor belonging to the aforesaid Henry Noland, who could not be prevailed on to hide it in the woods, but would sell it, and get drunk himself.

I desired some of the Indians in council to send some of their young men to meet our people with the goods and not to come back before they heard of or saw them. I began to be afraid they had fallen into the hands of the enemy; so did the Indians.

Ten warriors came to town, by water, from Niagara. We suspected them very much, and feared that some of their parties went out to meet our people by hearing of them.

September 12<sup>th</sup>. – Two Indians and a white man went out to meet our people, and had orders not come back before the saw them, or to go to Frankstown where we left the goods. The same day the Indians made answer to my requests concerning the prisoners take in Carolina. Thanagieson, a speaker of the Senecas, spoke to the following purpose, in the presence of all the deputies of the other Nations:

“We went out doors; brethren, you came a great way to visit us, and many sorts of evils might have befallen you by the way, which have been hurtful to your eyes and your inward parts; for the woods are full of evil spirits. We give you this string of wampum to clear up your eyes and minds, and to remove all bitterness of your spirit, that you may hear us speak a good cheer.”

Then the speaker took his belt in his hand, and said:

“BRETHREN – When we and you saw one another at your first arrival at Albany, we shook hand together, and became brethren, and we tied your ships to the bushes; and after we had more acquaintance with you, we loved you more and more, and perceiving that a bush would not hold your vessel, we then tied her to a large tree, and ever after good friendship continued between us; afterwards, you, our brethren told us, that a tree might happen to fall down, and the rope rot wherewith the ship was tied; you then proposed to make a silver chain, and tie your ship to the great mountain in the Five Nations' country; and that chain was called the chain of friendship; we were all tied by our arms together with it, and we, the Indians of the Five Nations, heartily agree to it, and ever since a very good correspondence has been kept up between us; but, we are very sorry that at your coming here, we are obliged to talk of the accident that lately befel you

in Carolina, where some of our warriors, by the instigation of the evil spirits, struck their hatchets into our own body like: for our brethren, the English, and we are of one body; and what was done, we utterly abhor as a thing done by the evil spirit himself; we never expected any of our people would ever do so to our brethren. We therefore remove our hatchet, which, by the influence of the evil spirit, was struck into your body, and we desire that our brother, the Governor of New York and Onas,\* may use their utmost endeavors that the thing may be buried in the bottomless pit; that the chain of friendship, which is of so long standing may be preserved bright and unhurt.” Gave a belt.

The speaker then took up a string of wampum, mostly black, and said:

“BRETHREN – As we have removed our hatchet out of you body, or properly speaking out of our own, we now desire that the air may be cleared up again, and the wound given may be healed, and everything put in good understanding, as it was before; and we desire you will assist us to make up everything with the Governor of Carolina; the man has been brought to us prisoner, we now deliver up to you; he is yours.”

Then laid down the string and took the prisoner by the hand, and delivered him to me. By way of discourse, the speaker said:

“The Six Nation warriors often met Englishmen trading to the Catawbias, and often found that the English betrayed them to their enemies, and some of the English traders had been spoken to by the Indian speaker last year in the Cherokees country, and were told not to do so; that the speaker, and many others of the Six Nations, had been afraid for a long time, that such a thing would be done by some of their warriors, at one time or other.”

September 13<sup>th</sup>. – Had a council with the Senecas and Onondagas about the Wandots to receive them into our union. I gave a large belt of wampum, and the Indians gave two, and everything was agreed upon about what should be said to the Wandots. The same day a full council was appointed, and met accordingly, and speech was made by the Wandots by Asserhaztuz, a Seneca, as follows:

BRETHREN – The Ionontady-Hagas: Last spring you sent this belt of wampum to us (having the belt in his hand) to desire us and our brethren, the Shawanses, and our cousins, the Delawares, to come to meet you in your retreat from the French; we accordingly came to your assistance, and brought you here, and received you as our own flesh. We desire, you will think, you now join us and our brethren, the English; and you to become our people with us.”

Then he laid that belt by, and gave them a very long string of wampum.

The speaker took up the belt I gave, and said:

“BRETHREN – The English, or brothers, bid you welcome, and are glad you escaped, as it were, out of captivity. You have been kept as slaves by Ononio,† notwithstanding he called you all along his children; but now you have broken the rope wherewith you have been tied, and become freemen; and make you members thereof; and we will secure your dwelling place to you against all manner of danger.” Gave the belt.

“BRETHREN – We, the Six Nations, and all our Indian allies, with our brethren, the English, look upon you as our children, though you are our brethren; we desire you will give no ear to the evil spirit that spreads lies and wickedness; let your mind be easy and clear, and be of the same mind with us. Whatever you may hear, nothing shall befall you but what of necessity must befall us at the same time.

“BRETHREN – We are extremely pleased to see you here, as it happened just at the time when our brother Onas is with us.‡ We jointly, by this belt of wampum, embrace you about your middle, and desire you to be strong in your minds and hearts; let nothing alter your minds, but live and die with us.”

Gave the belt of wampum. The council broke up.

September 14<sup>th</sup>. – A full council was summoned, and everything repeated by me to all the Indians, what passed in Lancaster at the last treaty with the Twightwees.

The news was confirmed by a belt of wampum from the Six Nations, that the French had imprisoned some of the Six Nations deputies, and thirty of the Wandots including women and children.

The Indians that were sent to meet our people with the goods came back, and not seen anything of them, but they had been no further than the old Shawanese Town.

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\* Onas – Penn.

† The French.

‡ That is a representative of Penn.

September 15<sup>th</sup>. – I let the Indians know that I would deliver my message to-morrow, and the goods; and that they must send deputies with me on my return home; and whenever we should meet the rest of the goods I would send them to them, if they were not taken by the enemy, to which they agreed.

The same day the Delawares made a speech to me, and presented a Beaver coat and a string of wampum, and said:

“BRETHREN – We let the president and council of Philadelphia know that after the death of our chief man, Olompees, our grand-children, the Shawanses, came to our town to condole with us over the loss of our good king, your brother, and they wiped off our tears, and comforted our minds; and as the Delawares are the same people with the Pennsylvanians and born in one and the same country, we gave some of the present to our grand-children given us by the President and council in Philadelphia, because the death of their good friend and brother, must have affected them as well as us.”

Gave the beaver coat and a string of wampum.

The same day the Wandots sent for me and Andrew Montour, and presented us with seven beaver skins, about ten pounds weight, and said they gave us that to buy some refreshments for us after our arrival in Pennsylvania, and wished we might get home safe, and lifted up their hands and said they would pray God to protect us and guide us the way home. I desired to know their names – the behaved like people of good sense and sincerity. The most of them were gray headed. Their names are as follows:

Totoznihiades, Taganayesy, Ionachquad, Wandupy, Tazuchionzas, their speaker.

The chiefs of the Delawares, that made the above speech, are Shawanassan and Achamanatainn.

September 16<sup>th</sup>. – I made answer to the Delawares, and said:

“BRETHREN – The Delawares: It is true what you said that the people of Pennsylvania are you brethren and countrymen; we are very well pleased with what you children, the Shawanese, did to you. This is the first time we had public notice given us of the death of our good friend and brother Olompees. I take this opportunity to remove the remainder of your troubles from your hearts to enable you to attend the ensuing treaty, and I assure you the president and council of Pennsylvania will condole with you over the loss of your king, our good friend and brother.” Gave them five strands.

The two aforesaid chiefs gave a string of wampum, and desired me to let their brethren, the president and council know that they intended a journey next spring to Philadelphia to consult with the brethren on some affairs of moment; since they are now like orphan children, they hoped their brethren would let them have their good advice and assistance, as the people of Pennsylvania and the Delawares were like one family.

The same day the rest of the good arrived; the men said they had nine days rain, and the creek had risen, and that they had been obliged to send a sick man back to Frankstown to the inhabitants, with another to attend him.

The neighboring Indians being sent for again, the council was appointed to meet to-morrow. It rained again.

September 17<sup>th</sup>. – It rained very hard; but in the afternoon it held up for about three hours. The deputies of the several nations met in council, and I delivered there what I had to say from the president and council of Pennsylvania, by Andrew Montour.

“BRETHREN – You that live in Ohio, I am sent to you by the president and council of Pennsylvania, and am now going to speak to you on their behalf. I desire you will take notice and hear what I say.” Gave string of wampum.

“BRETHREN – Some of you had been in Philadelphia last fall and acquainted us that you had taken up the English hatchet, and that you had already made use of it against the French; and that the French had very hard heads, and your country afforded nothing but sticks and hickory, which were not sufficient to break them. You desired your brethren would assist you with some weapons sufficient to do it. Your brethren, the president and council, promised you then to send something next spring by Thazachiwagon, but as some other affairs prevented his journey to Ohio, you received a supply by George Croghan, sent you by your said brethren, but before George Croghan came back from Ohio, news came from over the great lake that the King of Great Britain and the French King had agreed upon a cessation of arms for six months, and that a peace was likely to follow.\* Your brethren, the president and council, were then, in a manner, at a loss what to do. It did become them to act contrary to the command of the king; and it was out of their power to encourage you in the war against the French; but as your brethren never missed fulfilling their promises, they have, upon second consideration, thought proper to turn the intended supply into a civil

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\* On the 7<sup>th</sup> of October, 1784, a definite treaty of peace was concluded at Aix La Chapelle, France.

And brotherly present, and have, accordingly, sent me with it; and here are the goods before your eyes, which I have, by you brethrens ordered, divided into five shares, and in five different heaps; one heap whereof your brother, Assaraquoa sent to you to remember his friendship and unity with you; and as you are all of the same nations with whom we, the English, have been in league of friendship, nothing need be said more than this, that the president and council, and Assaraquoa, have sent you this present to serve to strengthen the chain of friendship between us, the English, and the several nations of Indians to which you belong.

“A French peace is a very uncertain one; they keep it no longer than their interest permits; then they break it without provocation given them. The French King’s people have been almost starved in old France for want of provision, which made them wish and seek for peace; but our wise people are of the opinion that after their bellies are full they will quarrel again and raise a war. All nations in Europe know that their friendship is mixed with poison, and many that trusted too much on their friendship have been ruined.

“I now conclude and say that we, the English, are your true brethren at all events. In token whereof, receive this present.”

The goods being then uncovered, I proceeded:

“BRETHREN – You have of late settled on the river of Ohio for the sake of hunting, and our traders followed you for the sake of hunting also. You have invited them yourself. Your brethren, the president and council, desire you will look upon them as your brethren, and see that they have justice done them. Some of your young men robbed our traders, but you will be so honest as to compel them to make satisfaction. You are now become the people of note, and are grown very numerous of late years; and there are, no doubt, some wise men among you; it therefore becomes you to act the part of the wise men, and for the future be more regular than you have been for some years past, when only a few young hunters lived here.” Gave the belt.

“BRETHREN – You have of late made frequent complaints against the traders bringing so much rum to your towns, and desire it might be stopped; and your brethren, the president and council, made an act accordingly, and put a stop to it, and no trader was to bring any rum or strong liquor to you towns. I have the act here with me, and shall explain it to you before I leave you. But it seems it is out of your brethren’s power to stop it entirely. You send down your own skins by the traders to buy rum for you. You go yourselves, and fetch horse load of strong liquors. Only the other day, an Indian came to this town, out of Maryland, with three horse loads of liquor; so that it appears you love it so well that you cannot be without it. You know very well that the country near the endless mountains afford strong liquor, and the moment traders buy it, they are gone out of the inhabited parts, and are traveling to this place without being discovered; besides this, you never agree about it; one will have it, the other won’t (though very few), a third says, he will have it cheaper; this last, we believe, is spoken from your hearts. (Here they laughed.) Your brethren, therefore, have ordered that every — of whiskey shall be sold to you for five bricks in your town, and if a trader offers to sell whiskey to you, and will not let you have it at that price, you may take it from him, and drink it for nothing.” Gave a belt.

“BRETHREN – Here is one of the traders, who you know to be a very sober and honest man. He has been robbed of the value of three hundred bricks, and you all know by whom. Let, therefore, satisfaction be made to the trader.” Gave a string of wampum.

“BRETHREN – I have no more to say.”

I delivered the goods to them, having first divided them into five shares. A share to the Senecas; another to the Cajukas, Oneidas, the Onontagers and Mohawks; another to the Delawares, another to the Quandots, Zisasechroann and Mohickans, and the other to the Shawanese.”

The Indians signified great satisfaction, and were well pleased with the cessation of arms. The rainy weather hastened them away with the goods into the house.

September 18<sup>th</sup>. – The speech was delivered to the Delawares in their own language, and also to the Shawanese in theirs. By Andrew Montour, in the presence of the gentleman that accompanied me. I acquainted the Indians that I was determined to leave them to-morrow, and return homeward.

September 19<sup>th</sup>. – Scaiohdy, Yanughrisson and Oniadazarehra, with a few more, came to my lodging and spoke as follows:

“BROTHER ONAS – We desire you will hear what we are going to say to you, in behalf of the Indians on Ohio; their deputies have sent us to you.

“We have heard what you have said to us, and we return you many thanks for your kindness in informing us of what passed between the king of Great Britain and the French king; and in particular, we return to you many thanks for the large presents; we do the same to our brother Assaraquoa, who joined our

brother Onas in making us a present. Our brethren have indeed tied our hearts to theirs. We at present can but return thanks with an empty hand till another opportunity serves to do so sufficiently. We must call a great council, and do everything regularly, in the mean time, look upon us as your true brothers.

“BROTHER – You said the other day, in council, if anything befel us from the French, we must let you know it. We will let you know if we hear anything from the French, be it against us or yourself. You will have peace; but it is most certain that the Six Nations and their allies are upon the point of declaring war against the French. Let us keep up the correspondence, and always hear of one another.” They gave me a belt.

Scaiohady and the Half-king, with two others, had informed me that they often send messengers to Indian towns and nations, and had nothing in their council bag, as they were new beginners, either to recompense a messenger or to get wampum to do the business, and begged I would assist them with something. I had saved a piece of strand, and half a barrel of powder, 100 pounds of lead, ten shirts, six knives and one pound of vermillion, and gave it to them for the aforesaid use. They returned many thanks and were mighty pleased.

The same day I set out for Pennsylvania, in rainy weather, and arrived at George Croghan’s on the 28<sup>th</sup> instant.

CONRAD WEISER

*Pennsburg*,<sup>1</sup> Sept. 29<sup>th</sup>, 1748.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cumberland county, seven or eight miles east of Carlisle.

<sup>2</sup> Provincial Record Book L. P. 420-437.