

POST'S SECOND JOURNAL, 1758.

THE SECOND JOURNAL* OF THE CHRISTIAN FREDERICK POST, ON A MESSAGE FROM THE GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA, TO THE INDIANS ON THE OHIO, IN THE LATTER PART OF THE SAME YEAR CONTAINING HIS FURTHER NEGOTIATION WITH THESE PEOPLE AND TO ACCOMPLISH THE DESIGN OF HIS FORMER JOURNEY, AND PROCURE A PEACE WITH THEM; IN WHICH HE MET WITH FRESH DIFFICULTIES AND DANGERS, OCCASIONED BY THE FRENCH INFLUENCE, &C., BUT THE INDIANS BEING ACQUAINTED WITH HIS HONEST SIMPLICITY, AND CALLING TO MIND THEIR FORMER FRIENDSHIP WITH THE INHABITANTS OF PENNSYLVANIA, SO FAR PAID A REGARD TO HIS SINCERITY, AS TO LISTEN TO THE TERMS PROPOSED; AND IN CONSEQUENCE THEREOF THE FRENCH WERE OBLIGED TO ABANDON THE WHOLE OHIO COUNTRY TO GENERAL FORBES, AFTER DESTROYING, WITH THEIR OWN HANDS, THEIR STRONG FORT OF DUQUESNE.

OCTOBER 25, 1758. Having received the orders of Honorable Governor Denny, I set 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 traveled all 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. Pisquetomen 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. Weisers's house, and read a letter to them which I had received from the Governor, which is as follows, vis:

"To Pisquetoman and Thomas Hickman, to Yotiniowtonna and Slickalamy, and to Isaac Still:

"BREETHERAN: 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 route 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 safely.

"WILLIAM DENNY.

"EASTON, Oct. 23rd, 1758."

To which I added, "Brethern, 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. Hay immediately set out with them. After which, having with some difficulty

* His first journal gives an account of his message to the Delawares, Shawanese and Mingo Indians settled on the Ohio, and formerly in alliance with the English; in order to prevail them to withdraw from the French interest, in the year 1758.

Christian Frederick Post was an unassuming, honest German, a Norwegian. He came from Germany to Pennsylvania in 1742. In 1743 he accompanied some missionaries (Pyrlaens and Senseman) to Shekomeko, an Indian town bordering on Connecticut, where he married a baptized Indian woman. Having preached the gospel among the Indians for several years, and after much persecution and personal abuse, having been arrested at Albany and imprisoned at New York; and on his enlargement preached the gospel to the Indians as Skatlock, Connecticut, and at the same time worked at his trade as a joiner, returned to Europe about 1749. He again visited this country, and while at Bethlehem was prevailed on to carry a message to the Western Indians. Having discharged his duties faithfully as a messenger on both occasions, he again attempted to convert the Indians West of the Ohio. In 1762 he made his residence one hundred miles West of Fort Pitt, in Tuscarora Town. He abandoned this project and went to Honduroras to preach to the Mosenito Indians, who were more tractable.

procured a fresh horse, in the King's service, I set out about noon with Captain Bull; and when we came to Conrad Weiser's plantation,* we found Pisquetomen 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 rose early, and I spoke to Pisquetomen 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 going to them, I followed their advice, and went. And as the General is, in the King's name, over the provinces, in matters of war and peace, the Indians at Allegheny, want to know whether the English government 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' 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 courage and with hearty resolution," and repeated what I had said to them yesterday, and reminded them, as they were messengers, they should consider what would be 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, Pisquetomen 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 danger." We came that night to Carlisle and found a small house without the fort, for the Indians to be by themselves, and hired a woman to dress the victuals which pleased them well.

30th. Setting out early we came to Shippensburg, 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, 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, inquiring for Bill Sockum, and shewed the pipe they had received from the Shawanese, and gave it, according to their custom, to smoke out of, and said they hoped they were friends of the English. They knew me. Pisquetomen 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 Indians 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 sunrise to sunset; for, as they were in friendship with the English, they would be at peace with all their friend, 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 is distinct places; and they entertained each other with stories of their warlike adventures.

2nd. Pisquetomen said to me, "you have led us this way, through the fire; if any mischief should befall us, we shall lay it entirely to you; for we think it was your doing 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 that it was agreeable to the General's pleasure.

3rd. Pisquetomen 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 always jealous the English will take the land from us. Look, brother, what makes you come with such a large body of men, and make such large roads into our country; we

* Near Womelsdorf, fourteen miles west of Reading.

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 would 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 us 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. Pisquetomen, find Jenny Frazier 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, were displeased.

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

The Cherokees came and told them the English had killed thirty of the 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 heard it happened; upon which our Indians said they had behaved like fools, and brought the mischief on themselves.

Pisquetomen, before we went from hence, made it up with Jenny Frazier, and they parted good friends, and though it rained hard, we set out at ten o’clock, and got to the foot of the Allegheny, 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 traveled, until we reached Stoney creek. Upon the road we overtook a great number of pack horses, whereon Pisquetomen 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 these people on the road, and great mischief would have been done, if you had not stopped, and drawn your people back.” We were informed that the General was not yet gone to Fort Duquesne, wherefore Pisquetomen said he was glad and expressed, “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 Stoney Creek.

7th. We rose 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 sunset, to Loyal Hanning. We were gladly received in 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 of our people, at which they were much 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 knew 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 Catawabas being present. He spoke to them in a kind and loving manner, and bid them heartily welcome to his camp, and expresses 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 that wish well to the English nation. Then he drank King Beaver’s, Shingas’, and all the warrior’s healths, and recommended us (the messengers) to their care, and desired them to give credit to what they should say. After that we went to another house with the General alone, and showed 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. Ad 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 than by faith. Then they asked me if I had faith to venture myself to come safe through with my companions. I told the 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 he wished us good success. We waited till almost noon for the writing of the General. We were escorted by a 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 advance 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 defense; 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 Haslet, he kept the old trading path to the Ohio. Lieutenant Hays was ordered to accompany us to the Allegheny river with fourteen men. We went the path that leads along the Loyal Hanning creek, where 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 defense. Isaac still showed the white token, and Pisquetomen gave an Indian halloo; after which they drew 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 noise this night.

11th. We started early, and came to the old Shawnee town called Keckkeknepolin, grown up thick with weeds, briars and bushes, that we scarcely could get through. Pisquetomen led us up a steep hill that our horses could scarcely get up, and Thomas Hickman’s horse tumbled and rolled down the hill like a wheel, on which he grew angry and would go no further with us, and said he would go by himself. It happened we found a path on the top of the hill. At three o’clock we came to Kiskemenico,* 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 on provisions, we, therefore, gave them a little of ours, which they took very kindly 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 favor against me. Then I said to them: “I am ashamed to see you grumble about presents; I thought you were sent to establish 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 among you at Allegheny you told me that I should not regard what the common people would say, but only hearken to the chief, I should take no bad stories along. I did accordingly; and when I left Allegheny I dropped all evil reports, and only carried the agreeable news, which was pleasing 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 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 prisoners, and have nothing to do with them. Mr. Post, when he was first there, listened too much to the prisoners; the Indians were almost 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 rolled, yesterday, down the hill. At one o’clock we came to the Allegheny, to as old Shawanee 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 clothed ourselves as well as we could in Indian dress. It was about two o’clock in the afternoon before we 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 their. We went up a steep hill, good

* Opposite the present site of Saltsburg.

land, to the creek Cowenanick where we made our fire. We wanted to hunt for meat and look for a road. Captain Bull shot a squirrel and broke his gun. I cut fire wood and boiled some chocolate for supper. The others came home and brought nothing. Pisquetomen 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 a good progress of 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 it Water Buck run. In the evening we heard the great guns fired at Fort Duquesne. Whenever I looked towards that place I felt a dismal impression, the very place seemed shocking and dark. Pisquetomen 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 was the significations 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 get through. We crossed the creek Paquakonink; the land is very indifferent. At twelve o'clock we crossed the road from Venango the Fort Duquesne. We went west towards Kuskushking, about fifteen miles from the fort. We went over a large barren plain and made our lodging by a little run. Pisquetomen 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 three hundred and fifty. We concluded to go within three miles of Kuskushking to their sugar cabins, and to call their chiefs there. In discussion, Mr. Bull told the Indians they 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 Kuskushking; that one hundred and sixty from that town were gone to war against our party. We crossed the above mentioned creed; good land, but hilly. We went down a long valley to Beaver Creek, through old Kuskushking, 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. We found there but two men and some women. Those that were home received us kindly. Pisquetomen desired us to read the message to them that were there.

17th. There were five Frenchmen in the town, the rest were gone to war. We held a council with Delaware George, delivered to him a 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 Keckenepalin 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 burnt, which grieved us. By the prisoners they were informed of my 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 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 have 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 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 Sawkung, where the prisoner was burnt. We promised to one named Compass, five hundred black wampum, and Mr. Hays give him a shirt and a dollar, on which he promised to go. We sent him as a messenger. By a string of wampum I spoke these words: "Brethren, consider 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 against them, that they could not agree, after which they were discovered by the Cherokees and Catawabas, who fled, and left their bundles, where they found the English color. So Kekeusung told them how would go before 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 Loyalhanning. They accordingly did, and as they were driven back they fell in with the party that guided us, which they did not know. They seemed very sorry for it.

18th. Captain Bull acted as commander without letting us know anything or communicating with us. He and George relieved a prisoner from the warriors, by what means I do not know. When the warriors were met, they then called us first to sit down, and 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 Pisquetomen said:

“As the Governor gave these three men 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 Keskenepolin set out for the camp. Towards night they brought in another prisoner. When Mr. Bull and company were gone, the Indians took the same prisoner, whom 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 a confession of the contents of the writing.

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 meantime 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 Frenchman was alive. Thereupon the French said to the Indians:

“Now you see, my children, how the English want to deceive you, and if it would not offend you, I would go and knock the messengers on 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 on the head. If you have a mind to go to war, go to the English army, and knock them on the head, and not these three men that come with a message to us.”

After the speech, the Indians went 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 tell you thousands 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 gathered together, Isaac Still being in company. The young men said: “One that has 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 on 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 have been thirteen nations at Easton, where they established a firm peace with the English, and I have heard that the Five Nations were always called the wisest. Go tell them 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 still, and said not one word more.

20th. There came a great many more together in the town, and brought Henry Osten, the sergeant, who was to have been burnt. They hallooed the war-halloo, and the men and women beat him ’till he came into the house. It is a grievous and melancholy sight to see our fellow mortals so abused. Isaac Still had long discourse with the French captain, who made himself great, by telling how he had fought the English at Loyal Hanning. Isaac rallied him, and said he had seen him 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 least the Cayugas spoke very sharp to him, so that he grew pale and was quite silent.

These three days past was a precarious time for us. We were warned not to go far from the house, because the people who came from the slaughter, having been driven back, were possessed with a murdering spirit; which led them as in a halter, in which they were caught, and with bloody vengeance

was 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. Id 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 that 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 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 him. 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 that 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 counselors were 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. Give it to the others, may be they will go." The messenger again took up the string and said: "He wont go, he has heard of the English." He then threw 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 he saw the French captain mortified to the uttermost: he looked as pale as death. The Indians discoursed and joked till midnight, and the French captain sent messengers at midnight to Fort Duquesne.

21st. We were informed that the General 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 of the river, but we assure you that he will not come to your town to hurt you." I begged them to let the Shawanese at Logstown, know it, and gave them four strings of 300 wampum, and with this message: "Brethren, we are arrived with good news, waiting for you; we desire you to be strong, and remember the ancient friendship your grandfathers had with the English. We wish you would remember it, and pity your young men, women and children, and keep away from the French; and if the English should come to surround the French, be not afraid. We assure you they wont hurt you."

22nd. Kittinskund 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 off the roofs around 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, 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 around 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 displeased that the Indians had brought me away.

23rd. The liar raised a story, as if the English were divided into three bodies, to come on this side of the river. They told us the Cayugas that came with us had said so. We told the Cayugas of it, on which they called their Indians together, denied that they ever said so, and said they were sent to this place from the Five Nations to tell them to do their best endeavors 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 mountain.

I see 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.

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 to his house and saluted us in a 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, while they live and their children after them.”

Then he said, “as soon as I heard of your coming, I rose up directly and come to you.” Then there came another message which called me to another place where six kings and six nations were met together. I sent them work 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. 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 when they hear it.” The French Captain told us that they would demolish the fort, and he thought the English would be to-day at the place.

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 everything 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 anything, we would tell him what friendship we have together.” Accordingly they met together, and the French Captain was present. The number consisted of about 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 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 sorrow 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 oil, our grandfathers 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, that you may speak freely with your brethren, the English, from your 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 grandfathers used to smoke with when they met together in councils of peace, and here is some of that good tobacco, prepared for our grandfathers, 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

* The Quakers of Philadelphia, who first set on foot these negotiations of peace, and for whom the Indians have always had a great regard.

councils your grandfathers used to hold with the English, your brethren, and that ancient friendship they had together.”

King Beaver rose 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 our grandfathers 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, PISQUETOMEN 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 messages shall be presented to keep everything private from the eyes and ears of the French.” A string.

“Brethren: We received your message by Pisquetomen 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 cabins, 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 remain some sparks of love toward us. It is what we believe 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 that you will dig up your end of the chain of friendship that you suffered by the subtlety 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 neighboring 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 favor 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 your for 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 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 Pisquetomen; 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 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 Nations. We will be glad to see you; we desire all tribes and nations of Indians, who are in alliance with you will give us timely notice, we will lay up provisions for you along the road.”

A large which belt, with the figure of a man at each end, and streaks of black representing the road from the Ohio to Philadelphia.

* Sastaghretsy, Anigh Kalicken, Atowateany, Towigh, Towighroano, Geghdageghroano, Oyaghtanont, Sifaghroano, Stiageghroano, Jonontadynago.”

“Brethren: The Six Nations and Delaware Chiefs join with me in those belts, which are tied together to signify our union and friendship with each other; with them we jointly take the towahawks out of your hands and bury them under ground.

“We speak aloud, so as you may hear us; you see we all stand together 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, Pisquetomen, who is now on his return home with some of your uncles of the Six Nations from the treaty of 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 forever 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, 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 smoke 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 existed between you and your brethren, the English; but I must entreat 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 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, brethren and warriors, your friend and brother,

“JOHN FORBES.”

“Brethren, Kings Beaver and Shingas, 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 favored 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 endeavor 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 the river, have lately concluded a treaty of peace with the English, by which the ancient friendship is renewed with their brethren and fixed on a firmer foundation than ever. May it be lasting and unmovable as the mountains. I make no doubt but it gives you equal satisfaction and that you will unite your endeavor with mine, and all the Governors of the 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 cheerful light now again shines upon us and warms 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 belt we let you know that it is agreed by me and all the Governors that there shall be 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 persuasions, many will lay hold on this belt and immediately withdraw from the French. This will be greatly to their own interest and your honor, 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 meantime 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 dispatch.

"I am, Kings Beaver and Shingas, and brother warriors.

"Your assured friend and brother,

"John Forbes.

"FROM MY CAMP AT LOYAHANNON, Nov. 9, 1758."

The message 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 desire us.

We thanked them and wished them good success in their undertaking, and wished 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 meantime Isaac Still demanded the letter which the French had falsely interpreted, that it might be read in public. Then they called us back, and I, 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 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 very sorry, and the tears stand in your eyes. I would open your eyes, and clear your eyes from tears, so that you may see, and hear what your uncles, 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."

Delivered four strings.

Then he showed to them a string from the Cherokees, with these words:

"Nephews, we let you know, that we are exceeding glad that there is such a firm friendship established on so good a foundation with so many nations, that it will last forever; 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. Likewise we let you that the Six Nations gave us a tomahawk, and if any body offended us, we should strike him with it; likewise, they gave us a knife to take off the scalp. So we let you know that we are desirous to hear very soon from you what you determine. It may be, we shall use the hatchet 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 hear that the English had the field, and the French had demolished and burnt the place entirely, and went off; that the Commander has gone with two hundred men to Venango, and the rest has gone down the river in bateaux, to the lower Shawanese town, with the intention of building a fort there. They were seen yesterday, passing the Sawkung.

We ended this day with pleasure, and great satisfaction on both sides. The Cayuga chief said, he would speak further to them to-morrow.

26th. We met together about 10 o'clock. First – King Beaver addressed himself to the Cayuga Chief, and said:

"My uncles, 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 uncles, the Six Nations, to your cousins, I am ready to hear."

Then Petiniontonka, the Cayuga chief, took the belt with eight diamonds, and said:

"Cousins, take notice of what I have to say; we let you know what agreement we have made with our brethren, the English. We had almost slipped and dropped the chain of friendship with our brethren, 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 dropped 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, fling the tomahawk away, it is the white people's, let them use it among themselves; it is theirs, and they are of one color; let them fight with one another, and do you be still and quiet in Kushlushking. 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 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 diamonds, 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 towards the sunset; 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 more over them; and our children and grandchildren will see that there will be an everlasting peace established. We desire you to be still; we do not know as yet, what to do; towards the spring you hear from your uncles what they conclude; in the meantime, do you sit still by your fire as Kushkushking."

In the evening the devil made a general disturbance to hinder them in their dispositions. 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 the world rules over his 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 upon their eyes that they may see what bondage they are in, and deliver them from the evil.

27th. We waited all day for an answer. Beaver came out 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 among themselves; 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 Sawkung 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 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 counselors were together; they said that the French would build a strong fort at the lower Shawanese town. I answered the: "Brethren, 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 endeavor 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 the 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 without being supplied with such goods as you stand in need of; but, brethren, be assured you must entirely quit the French and have no communication with them, else they will always breed disturbance and confusion amongst you, and persuade your young people to go to war against our brethren, the English."

I spoke to them further about Venango, 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 that you have said, it will be so." I found 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 anywhere.

28th. King Beaver arose early before the break of day and bid all his people a good morning, desired then to rise early and prepare victuals, for they had to answer their brethren, the English, and their uncles, and therefore they said to be in a good humor 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 we heard our brethren, the English, and our uncles; and what we have heard of both is very good, and we are all much pleased with what we have heard. Our uncles 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 Canaquais, and said:

“You may hear what I answer; it is good news that we have heard. I have not made myself a King. My uncles 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 endeavor to do and speak what is good, and not let myself be disturbed by the warriors.”

Then he spoke to the Mingoes, and said: “My uncles hear me. It is two days since you told me that you 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 you in the same; and as you said I should let the Shawanese 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 uncles, 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 three strings, I would desire in the 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 of Easton, and that you have put your hands to it, to strengthen it, so that it may last forever. 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 manner, to go back over the mountains, and to stay there; for, if you will do that, I will use it for an argument, to argue with other nations of Indians. Now, brother, you have told me you have made a road to clear, from the sun-set to our first old council fire at Philadelphia, 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, and see nothing in the way; and that is the reason that maketh me tell you to go back over the mountains again, and 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, through 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 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 uncles, 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 forever, 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 grandfathers had between them, so that they could agree as brethren and friends in anything.

“Brother: As you have been pleased to let me know of that good and desirable agreement that you and my uncles 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 uncles, 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 endeavors 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 Sawkung, Netodwehement, and desired they should make all the haste to dispatch us, and we should come to Sawkung, for, as they did not know what become of those

three that went out to our camp, they were afraid the English would keep them till they heard what was become of us, their messengers.

29th. Before daybreak 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 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 nobody, but go myself, to make it known to all nations."

Then we thanked them for their care, and wished him good success on his journey and undertaking, and as this message had such a good effect on them, we hoped it would have the same on all other nations, when they came to hear it. I hoped that all the clouds would pass away and the cheerful light would shine over all nations; so I wished them good assistance and help on their journey. Further he said to us:

"Now we desire you to be strong, because I 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 could never lift up my head and never undertake to speak any word more for the interest of the English."

I told them, "Brethren: You will remember that is 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 their 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 not look upon us and we do not 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 interest."

I told them I would take it to heart and inform the Governor and other gentlemen of it, and speak to them in their favor. 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. "Brothers, it is you who must give us the first notice when you can come; the sooner the better, and as soon as you send us word we will prepare for you on the road." After this we made ready for our journey.

Ketinshund, a noted Indian, one of the chief counselors, told us in secret that all the nations had jointly agreed to defend their hunting place at Allegheny and suffer nobody 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 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 Kushkushking and came at five o'clock to Sawkung in company with twenty Indians. When we came about half way, we met a messenger from Fort Duquesne with a belt from Thomasking inviting all the chiefs to Sawkung. We heard at the same time that Mr. Croghan and Henry Montour would be there to-day. The messenger was one of those 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 the English had kept them as prisoners of killed them. In the evening we arrived at Sawkung, on the Beaver creek. We were well received; the king provided for us. After a little while we visited Mr. Croghan and his company.

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 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.

December 1st. After hunting a great while for our horses, without finding them, we were obliged to give an Indian three hundred wampum for looking for them. We bought corn for four hundred and fifty

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 counselors 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 ancient 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 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 the opportunity to bring them into bondage." They invited me to come and live amongst them, since I had taken so much pains to bring peace about 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 with them."

In the evening arrived a messenger with a string of wampum to a noted Indian, Ketinscund, to come to Venange, to meet the Unami chief, Quitahicung there; he said that a French Mohock had killed a Delaware Indian; and when he was asked why he did it, he said the French bade him do it.

2nd. Early before we set out, I gave three hundred wampum to the Cayugas to buy some corn for their horses; they agreed that I should go before the General and 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, Ketinsicund's son, came to Logstown, situated on a hill. At the east end is a great piece of lowland, 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 cornfield on the south side where the corn stands ungathered. Then we went further through a large tract of fine land, along the river side, and we came within eight miles of Pittsburg, 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. Hay's horse. Between Sawkung and Pittsburgh, all the Shawanese 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 nothing to live on. I thought myself a great deal better off now that at that time, having now liberty to walk upon the Island according to pleasure, and it seemed as if the dark clouds were disappeared.

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 twelve guns, and our Indians saluted again three times round with their small arms. By accident some of the Indians found a small raft 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 threw 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 hallooed till we were tired. Towards noon Mr. Hays came with a raft and the Indian chiefs went over; he informed me of Colonel Bouquet's displeasure with the Indians' answer to the General, and his desire that they should alter their minds in insisting upon the General's going back, but the Indians had no inclination to alter their mind. In the afternoon some provisions was sent over, but a small allowance. When I came over to the fort the council with the Indians was 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 conference. First, King Beaver addresses himself to the Mohocks,

*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 the bad weather and other accidents, they have this custom in such cases, which Post probably learned of them, viz.: girding their abdomens tightly when they have nothing to *put in them*; and they say it prevents the pain of hunger.

desiring them to give their brethren an answer about settling in Pittsburgh. The Mohocks said “they lived at such a distance that they could not defend the English there if any accident should befall them, but you cousins, who live close here, must think what to do.” Then Beaver said by 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 our 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. The Mr. Croghan, Colonel Armstrong and Colonel Bouquet went into the tent by themselves, and I went upon my business. What they have further agreed I do not know; but when they had done, I called King Beaver, Shingas and Kedenscund, and said:

“Brethren: – If you have any alteration to make in the answer to the General, 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 stopping here. If therefore, they will be destroyed by the French and Indians, we cannot help them.”

Colonel Bouquet set out for the Loyal Hannon. The Indians got some liquor between 10 and 11 o’clock. One Mohock died; the others fired guns three times over him. At the 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 9 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 violently. Mr. Croghan told me that the Indians had spoke upon the same string that I had to Colonel Bouquet, and altered their minds, and had agreed and desired that two hundred 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 spoken with the Indians. He said it was a d—d lie, and desired Mr. Hays to enquire of the Indians and take down in writing what they said. Accordingly 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 the other counselor said they had spoken nothing to Colonel Bouquet on the string they gave me, but what was agreed between the Indians and Kushkushking. They said Mr. Croghan and Henry Montour had not spoken and acted honestly and uprightly. They bid us not to alter the least, and said: “We have told them three times to go back, but they will not go, insisting upon staying here. Now you will let the Governor, General, and all people know, that our desire is, that they should go back till the other nations 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, and promised to inform the General, Governor, and all other 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 cabin of hides.

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 Lagonier in the afternoon, about 4 o’clock, where we found the General very sick, and therefore could have no opportunity to speak this 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 fro the provisions 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 Gov. Glen. They took memoranda and went to the General.

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

14th. The General intended to go, but his horses could not be found. They thought the Indians had carried them off. The hunted all day for the horses, but could not find them. I spoke to Col. 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 everything is exceedingly dear. One pound of bread cost a shilling, one pound of sugar four shillings, a quart of rum seven shillings

and sixpence, and so in proportion. Col. 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 everything I should want, and ordered him to give me some money. He said further, that I often should call, and when he was alone he would speak with me.

16th. Mr. Hays, being 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 had been seen in a lost condition; one lying on the hill, and the other standing; they had been hobbled together, but a person told us he had cut the hobbles. 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 further.

The sergeant, Henry Osten, being one of the company that guided us, above mentioned, and was that same prisoner whom the Shawanese intended to burn alive, came to-day to the fort. He was much rejoices 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 life time." He gave us intelligence that the Indians were, as yet, mighty 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, Shingas and Beaver are gone with the message to the natives 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 Kushkushking 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 the intention, that if the French went on their march towards the fort, they would catch them and bring them to the English. They showed Osten the place where eight French Indian spies had lain near the fort. By their marks upon the place they learned that these eight were gone back and five more were to come to the same place again. He told us further 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 Wedderboltz, with fifty men, to reinforce the garrison at Pittsburgh.

25th. The people in the camp prepared for a Christmas frolic, but I kept Christmas in the wood by myself.

26th. To-day an express came from Pittsburgh to inform the General that the French had called 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 among 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. Quicksell 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 as his coming. It was stormy and snowed all the day.

29th. On the road I came up with some wagons and found my horses with the company, who had taken my horses 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. Frazier; 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 further 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 wagon, 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 wagons 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 lodgings in the common house. Mr. Hays arrived late.

3d. We rose early. I thought to travel the nearest road to Shippenstown, 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 and rained and was stormy the whole day. All were exceeding glad that the General arrived safe at Fort London. There was no room in the fort for such a great company. I therefore, and some others, went two miles further, and got lodging at a plantation.

4th. I and my company took the upper road, which is three miles nearer to Shippenstown, where we arrived this evening. The slippery roads made me, as a traveler, very tired.

5th. To-day I staid here for the General. Mr. Hays went ten miles further to see some of his relations. In the afternoon Israel Pemberton came from Philadelphia to wait upon the General.

6th. I came to-day ten miles to Mr. Miller's, where I lodged, having no comfortable place in Shippen's town, all the houses being crowded with people.

7th. They made preparations 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 scarcely 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 on the town, who ought to procure one for me in the province service. According to this order I went, but the justice told me he did not know how to get a 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 traveled along, and came about ten miles that day to a tavern keeper's, named Chestnut.

9th. To-day I crossed the Susquehanna, over the ice, and came with thirteen miles of Lancaster. It was slippery and heavy traveling.

10th. It rained all the day. I arrived at three o'clock in the afternoon in Lancaster, and was quite refreshed to have the favor to see my brethren.”*

* From Provincial Records.