

Easton Treaty Texts
July and November 1756
Edited by James H. Merrell

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Introduction

In tracking down what colonial penmen produced, I have not tried to follow the trail of every copy of every version that, after the treaties, scattered to the four winds before coming to rest in various places. My concern has been with variation among texts made as close as possible to the councils, not with the ability of this or that clerk later on to copy verbatim what sat before him. The accounts included merit attention because they usually originated at or near the treaty ground and because they contain variations that probably were not the result of clerical error or a slip of the pen, but rather stemmed from scribal or editorial decisions.

That said, I should also repeat what I wrote in the essay that appears in the *William and Mary Quarterly*: the texts included were not all independently produced; each one does not represent a separate line of transcription. Some scribes copied from others or polished rough notes that are also included here; hence, some of the resemblance is not because different scribes jotted down precisely the same thing during a council session but because one secretary either copied his own notes or shared his notes with someone else.

Though these factors make it challenging to follow the chain of communication from Indian to colonist to paper to us, here is a tentative trace of the transmission lines:

1. At councils in native towns on the Susquehanna River, the Delaware and perhaps other groups (such as the Iroquois) settle what Teedyuscung is to say to colonists at Easton and lodge this rendition in his memory.
2. At Easton before the treaty commences, Teedyuscung's memory is refreshed by others in the delegation.
3. Teedyuscung delivers a speech.
4. John Pumpshire translates the words from Delaware to English.
5. Various scribes write down what they can of Pumpshire's English. These include official secretaries (Richard Peters; his fellow member of the provincial council, Benjamin Chew; unnamed clerks; and, on November 13 and 16, Charles Thomson, master of the Friends' Latin School and scribe for Quakers in November), various Quakers, and a Moravian.
6. Editing of rough minutes proceeds in two main directions that have surfaced: officials (by Peters), and Quakers.
7. Benjamin Franklin publishes the official version, which includes some additional editing and a statement from the Pennsylvania assembly questioning the accuracy of some parts of the minutes.¹

Sources

With the abbreviations used to identify them, the texts are as follows.

Sources included:

APS *American Philosophical Society*

[Typed Card:] Film 1409. 970.4 M415. [John F. Freeman, comp., *A Guide to the Manuscripts Relating to the American Indian in the Library of the American Philosophical Society*, Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society (Philadelphia, 1966), manuscript no. 118.]

“Material Pertaining to Pennsylvania Indian Affairs [1755–1758]. Reports of meetings with the Indians 1755–57, at Philadelphia and Easton; journal of Christian Frederick Post, 1757, and Charles Thomson’s enquiry, 1758.” [Next page, by hand:] “Collection of Treaties between the Government of Pennsylvania, and the Indian Nations Deposited by Joseph Parker Norris.” This bound volume contains a variety of treaty documents from 1756 and other years. The Easton November 1756 minutes follow directly from the July minutes, but are in a different hand. The two treaty texts included are listed in the volume’s handwritten table of content as: “VII At Easton Govr Morris wth Teedyuscung July 1756” and “VIII At Easton Govr Denny wth Teedyuscung Novr 1756 C Thompsons Minutes.” (Possibly in the hand of Charles Thomson.) At the end of the document, in another hand, is the notation: “Copy Feby 1757.” I have worked from a microfilm copy supplied by the American Philosophical Society. The text can also be found in Francis Jennings et al., eds., *Iroquois Indians: A Documentary History of the Diplomacy of the Six Nations and Their League* (Woodbridge, Conn., 1984), reel 17, Aug. 7, 1755, to Dec. 3, 1792.

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BF *Benjamin Franklin*

Franklin, *Minutes of Conferences, Held with the Indians, at Easton, In the Months of July and November, 1756 . . .* (Philadelphia, 1757). Repr. as a facsimile in Julian P. Boyd, ed., *Indian Treaties Printed by Benjamin Franklin, 1736–1762* (Philadelphia, 1938). I have consulted the Boyd volume, and in these posted transcripts cite this text by the page number of the Boyd volume. The manuscript from which Franklin drew might be HEYE (see under *Sources not included*).

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CW *Conrad Weiser*

Weiser, “Remarks on an Indian Conference held at Easton in Novbr. 1756 [in Weiser’s hand].” Endorsed [in Richard Peters’s hand]: “Interpretation of Treaty at Easton Novr 1756.” Original: Records of the Proprietary Government, Provincial Council, 1682–1776, Miscellaneous Papers, 1664–1775, box 1 (series no. 21.9), record group 21, Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg, Pa. Reproduced in Jennings et al., *Iroquois Indians*, reel 19, November 1756. This version is printed, with some variations, in Samuel Hazard, comp., *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser., 3 (1853): 38–39.

Permission to post a transcript of this document is courtesy of the Pennsylvania State Archives.

FAH *Friendly Association, Haverford*

“1756 7 mo. 28. at the Treaty at Easton between the Governor & Council of Pensilvania & Teedyuscung King of the Delawares & his people.” Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Indian Committee Records, ca. 1745–1983, Friendly Association for Regaining and Preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Measures, Quaker Collection, Haverford College Library, 1: AA1, 171–80. Possibly in the hand of Charles Thomson. Reproduced in Jennings et al., *Iroquois Indians*, reel 19, July 24–30, 1756 [the minutes are actually dated July 28–30, 1756].

*Sources, cont.***FAH, cont.**

“Minutes of Conferences Held at Easton in the Forks of Delaware in November 1756. Between the Governor of Pensilvania & the Delaware Indians,” *ibid.*, 5: AA5, 165–86. This manuscript closely resembles the APS version included in the texts (see earlier), with some alterations. First, it polishes the APS, making changes such as *ye* to *the*, *Bror* to *Brother*, *ē* to *and*, *Philada* to *Philadelphia*, *prehabs* to *perhaps*, and *lyquor* to *Liquor*. Second, it occasionally adds, omits, or alters a word or two (*I am come* to *I came*, *grounds was* to *grounds were*, *Slaves to Servants*, *enquire* to *search*). Third, some phrases and passages on November 16 (pts. 1 and 2) seem to be taken from RPC-3 rather than APS (*care it* instead of *care of it*, *Tho’ at* instead of *If at, yet if I* instead of *but, kindle* instead of *kindle & burn up*). Fourth, it adds editorial explanatory notes that give a Quaker perspective on various people and places Teedyuscung mentioned. Finally, at the end of the minutes is the signature of Delaware interpreter John Pumpshire, attesting that “the foregoing Minutes of the Conferences held at Easton between the Governor of Pensilvania and Teedyuscung King of the Delawares having been read to me deliberately by Charles Thomson the Clerk who wrote the same down as they were delivered and each paragraph being duly considered and attended to, I do hereby Certify that they contain just and true Minutes of the said Conferences. Witness my hand [in a different hand] John Pumshare.” This version may have been mentioned on November 20 in the Minutes of the Friendly Association, 1755–1757, 23v (see under FAM), which noted that the minutes “as taken down by Chas. Thomson employ’d as a Clerk with the Governor’s approbation were now produced and read.” Quakers asserted that, beginning on November 8, Richard Peters had “desir’d Cha Tompson to assist in taking Minutes, wch he readily[?] did & continued to the End of the Treaty” (see “The Following Accot. is given by some of the Trustees, who attended the late Treaty with the Indians at Easton,” in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Indian Committee Records, 5: AA5, 150). Five days later, when Peters allegedly put down his pen as Teedyuscung began to accuse the proprietors of land fraud, the Friends noted that “Charles Thomson steadily attending to his Business, the Governor desired him to proceed therein & signify’d that he should consider his Notes as the most Perfect” (Minutes of the Friendly Association, 1755–1757, 20v [see under FAM]).

Permission to post transcripts of portions of these documents is courtesy of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, Quaker Collection, Haverford College Library, Haverford, Pa.

FAM *Friendly Association Minutes*

Friendly Association for Regaining and Preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Measures, Minutes, 1755–1757, Am. 525, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Source document is from the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Permission to post a transcript of portions of this document is courtesy of HSP. Not to be reproduced without express written permission of HSP.

HSPRM *Historical Society of Pennsylvania, “Rough Minutes”*

File: “Indians—Treaty at Easton July, 1756,” in box: “Indians (transferred from the Society Collection).”

Reproduced in Jennings et al., *Iroquois Indians*, reel 19, July 27–28, 30–31, 1756.

Endorsed [in a different hand from the minutes]: “^{Rough}Minutes of Treaty at Easton 28. to 31. 7 mo. 1756.” Five sheets, three of them in one hand, a fourth containing the endorsement, three lines of rough minutes (in the same hand as the three sheets), and (in still another hand) “at a Treaty held at Easton the 28th day 7^{mo}: (July) 1756.” Possibly in the hand of Quaker leader Israel Pemberton. A fifth page contains some minutes in pen in the same hand, and much more in pencil (often faded) by another hand.

Source document is from the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Permission to post a transcript of portions of this document is courtesy of HSP. Not to be reproduced without express written permission of HSP.

*Sources, cont.***HSPT** *Historical Society of Pennsylvania, "Tatteweskund"*

File: "Indians—Treaty at Easton July, 1756," in box: "Indians (transferred from the Society Collection)." Reproduced in Jennings et al., *Iroquois Indians*, reel 19, July 27–28, 30–31, 1756. Scrap of paper, untitled, beginning "Tatteweskund said," then giving a portion of the Delaware's July 29, 1756, speech. Unknown hand. Source document is from the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Permission to post a transcript of portions of this document is courtesy of HSP. Not to be reproduced without express written permission of HSP.

JH *John Hughes*

The John Hugh[es] Account Book, 1714–1762, Am. 0806, HSP, is a small (6 1/8" x 4 7/8") notebook with a leather cover and metal clasp containing miscellaneous accounts from the 1710s and early 1720s along with, in a different hand and (partially) in pencil, accounts of expenses and fragmentary treaty minutes from the 1756 Easton councils. The 1756 Easton entries are in the hand of John Hughes, Quaker leader, assemblyman, and commissioner appointed by the legislature to attend the July and November councils. The notebook's size and the use of pencil rather than pen suggest that these notes were surreptitiously taken. Source document is from the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Permission to post a transcript of portions of this document is courtesy of HSP. Not to be reproduced without express written permission of HSP.

MA *Moravian Archives*

Endorsed [in the same hand as the minutes]: "A Treaty held at Easton the 28th. July 1756" (title on the first page, "At a Treaty held at Easton ye. 28 July 1756"), Moravian Church Archives, box 323, folder 3, item 1. Reproduced in Jennings et al., *Iroquois Indians*, reel 19, July 28–29, 1756.

Endorsed [in a different hand than the minutes]: "Report on the Treaty by Zeisberger, Nov. 10–16, 1756" (title on the first page, "Treaty held at Easton ye 10 of Novembr.—16. 1756"), *ibid.*, box 323, folder 4, item 2. Reproduced in Jennings et al., *Iroquois Indians*, reel 19, Nov. 10–16, 1756. July's minutes are in an unknown hand; the November minutes are probably by David Zeisberger.

Portions posted here courtesy of the Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pa.

RPC *Records of the Provincial Council*

Though I checked the originals of the Records of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, Executive Correspondence, for difficult passages at the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, Pa., I have relied primarily on the microfilm edition: *Records of the Provincial Council, 1682–1776, in the Pennsylvania State Archives* (from record group 21 in the Division of Archives and Manuscripts), ed. George Dailey and George R. Beyer (Harrisburg, Pa., 1966), reels B6–B7, cited by card no. (one card for each document), and, when possible, by page number within the document. These archives include many different treaty minutes in various hands, including: rough minutes by Richard Peters; notes by another councilor, Benjamin Chew (July only); a clerk's copy (probably Charles Thomson on November 13 and November 16, pts. 1–3), with revisions by Peters, apparently on the spot after council sessions; and fair copies.

Portions posted here courtesy of the Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg, Pa.

Sources, cont.
Sources not included:

APS *American Philosophical Society*

- “Minutes of Indian Conferences held at Easton in the month called July 1756.” APS MSS, Class 970.5, M659. Fair copy (incomplete; some speeches omitted, spaces left blank, as if the speeches were to be filled in later). See Freeman, *Guide to the Manuscripts*, 37 (manuscript no. 122), which has this copy “made ca. 1780–1820.” (Reproduced in Jennings et al., *Iroquois Indians*, reel 19, July 15–31, 1756.)
- “Minutes of Indians Conferences held at Easton in the 11th month (called November), 1756.” See Freeman, *Guide to the Manuscripts*, 37 (manuscript no. 123), which has this copy “made ca. 1780–1820.” A fair copy, in a different hand than July’s. (Reproduced in Jennings et al., *Iroquois Indians*, reel 19, Nov. 6–17, 1756.)

FAH *Friendly Association, Haverford*

- Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Indian Committee Records, ca. 1745–1983, Friendly Association for Regaining and Preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Measures, 1: AA1, 227–36, Quaker Collection, Haverford College Library (reproduced in Jennings et al., *Iroquois Indians*, reel 19, Nov. 8–17, 1756). A partial fair copy in an unknown hand of the November proceedings. Concludes, as with HEYE (see under HEYE): “By his Honours Command Richard Peters Secretary” (not in Peters’s hand). The November 8 session has the preliminaries, then notes “Teedyuscung opened the Conference with the following Speech,” and leaves the space blank (*ibid.*, 2). Most of the rest are debates among colonists on what to do about the Indians’ complaints. At the end in another hand (not Peters’s or Thomson’s): “here Comes in ye minutes of ye Grounds of ye Complaints.”

HEYE *Heye Foundation*

- “Conferences held with the Indians, at Easton, In the Months of July & November 1756, with Two previous Messages sent by the Government to the Indians residing on Sasquehannah; and their Answers thereto,” in Library of the Museum of the American Indian/Heye Foundation, Huntington Free Library and Reading Room, Bronx, N.Y. I have consulted the reproduction in Jennings et al., *Iroquois Indians*, reel 19, July and November 1756. Fair copy, in clerk’s hand, with editing in Richard Peters’s hand and signed by him, at the end, “By His Honours Command, Richard Peters Secretary.” Benjamin Franklin may have used this version when printing the treaty minutes, since it is nearly identical to the Franklin folio, save Franklin’s use of italics and occasional differences in punctuation and capitalization. Consider the titles: (Heye) “Conferences held with the Indians, at Easton In the Months of July & November 1756; with Two previous Messages sent by the Government to the Indians residing on Sasquehannah; and their Answers thereto.” (Franklin, with changes noted by strikethrough or italics): “*Minutes of Conferences held with the Indians, at Easton, In the Months of July & November 1756; Together with Two previous Messages sent by the Government to the Indians residing on Sasquehannah; and their Answers thereto the Report of the Committee appointed by the Assembly to attend the Governor at the last of the said Conferences.*” Elsewhere there are occasional variations such as *I return an answer* and *I returned an Answer* (Heye, 12, Franklin, 141), transposed words (*will be done and said* and *will be said and done* [*ibid.*]), changes in spelling such as *smoke* and *smoak* (Heye, 21, Franklin, 146), and even identical errors (*be sure perform every Promise*, Heye, 14, Franklin, 142).

HSP *Historical Society of Pennsylvania*

- A fair copy of the July treaty minutes, labeled at the top: “7 mo 28.1756 No. D,” in file: “Indians—Treaty at Easton July, 1756,” box: “Indians (transferred from the Society Collection).” (Reproduced in Jennings et al., *Iroquois Indians*, reel 19, July 28, 1756 [no. 8].) Four sheets, fair copy, unknown hand, probably Quaker. The Teedyuscung speeches bear a close resemblance to FAH (see under *Sources included*).

*Sources, cont.***MPCP** *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania*

Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, From the Organization to the Termination of the Proprietary Government (Harrisburg, 1851), 7: 207–20, 313–38. Other than Franklin, this source is the most-often cited for these minutes. It might be based on the Pennsylvania Provincial Records (see under PPR, *Sources not included*).

PMIA *Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs*

Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, vol. 2: 97, HSP. A twenty-nine page document, in a clerk's hand, of the July proceedings. The Teedyuscung speeches bear a close resemblance to APS (see under *Sources included*).

PPR *Pennsylvania Provincial Records*

Pennsylvania Provincial Council Minutes, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, vols. O, 197–209, and P, 74–96. I have consulted the reproduction in Jennings et al., *Iroquois Indians*, reel 19, July 28, 1756 (no. 2–3), July 29, 30 (no. 2), 31; Nov. 3, 8–10, 12, 14, 15, 15 (no. 3), 16, 17. A fair copy, in a single hand across time and treaties, with same running header. This document is most likely the source for MPCP (see previous).

PRO *Public Record Office*

“Pennsylvania. Minutes of Council Relating to Susquehannah Indians, in which are the Conferences with Teedyuscung at Easton_ In the Month of July. Anno Domini 1756. V. 192. Recd. Read Febry ye 9th 1757.” Public Record Office, Colonial Office 5/1274, Kew, Eng. Reproduced in Jennings et al., *Iroquois Indians*, reel 19, Sept. 11, 1756. A fair copy, with a copy of Conrad Weiser's September 11 certificate of authenticity at the end.

Editorial Methods

For several reasons I transcribe only texts of what Teedyuscung said during these treaty sessions, not the minutes that scribes took of the corresponding speeches made by Governors Robert Hunter Morris in July and William Denny in November. First, these colonial orations attracted little attention at the time and have drawn little notice since; the focus has always been on what Indians said in council, not what colonists said to them. Second, sources abound revealing the thoughts, tactics, and concerns of provincial officials; not so for Native American leaders. Third, because these speeches were usually prepared ahead of time by colonists such as Richard Peters and Indian agent Conrad Weiser, then read by the governor before being entered directly into the treaty minutes, the published versions often vary little from the official minutes.²

There were certainly variations among notetakers, and even the official minutes were not always polished and carefully considered. Peters, on some days, did plenty of revising and crossing out and rewriting of the Pennsylvania speeches. Consider Governor Morris's final words to Teedyuscung on July 29. Here are two versions in the official record:

a good & great one. the Work of Peace. it requires men of strong heads, & Brother **Great Works require Strong Hands and** ^{[illegible word] sound hearts, & we desire many of such may be joined together} many. This is a / **Great One.** Therefore I desire your Assistance for Pennsylvania in this Matter, ~~You are a great Man and will be heard~~ ^{have great influence with many who live far distant} ~~You owe it to this Country where you were born, and to the People~~ ^{from us you are esteemd & will be heard we therefore chuse you as to be} ~~whom you govern, and by this Belt I appoint you~~ ^{Agent & Councillor for this Province: Engage in it heartily. You ought to} ~~on this Occasion, an Agent for the Government~~ ^{to do it. You owe it to ye Country in wch you were born you owe it to yr} ~~of Pennsylvania, and earnestly invite you to use your~~ ^{brethren ye English you owe it to yr Unckles ye Six Nation. You owe it to} ~~utmost Endeavours to bring about this great and~~ ^{your owne people, of wch you over wch you presidé. We desire you will} ~~good Work, We have now Begun.~~ ^{heartily undertake it and} ³

^{A large}
~~Two large Belts~~

Great works require strong Hands & many, this ^{is} a great One. Peace, I desire your Assistance for Pens. a in this Matter, You're a great Man, & will be heard, convey this what you have heard to the Public, You owe it to this Country where you were born & to the People whom you govern & by this Belt I appoint you ^{an Agent} an Agent on this Occasion for the Govt. of Pens. & earnestly invite you to use your utmost Endeavours to bring about this great & good Work we have ^{now} begun.⁴

Editorial Methods, cont.

Other scribes had Governor Morris saying this:

FAH

Brother Teedyscung

Great Works require many
& Strong hands to perform_
_the work we are now ingag'd
in is a good one it is the Work
of Peace__it requires men of
strongheads & Soundhearts_
We desire Such ^{many} may be join'd
together_ We therefore apply
to you to become our Agent in
this Work, You maybe heard
where we cannot_You have
an interest who live ^{with many} ^{distant} farr from
us; We therefore choose You
for our agent to Act in behalf
of this Governmt. & as one
of the Council of Pensilvania.
We hope you will engage in
it heartily_ You owe this to
the Country in which You
were born; you owe it to your
Brethren the English_ you owe
it to yr Uncles the Six Nations,
You owe it to your own people
of which you are a member,
& we desire you will heartily
undertake it.

Deliver'd a large Belt

HSPRM

Tedg. Bror. Gt. Works require
many & strg hands to Pfm. ye
work we are now engd in as a
good it is ye work of Peace__it
requires men of Strg heads
& good hearts_ we desire
Such may be found togen. &
as we therefore apply to yo.
to become our Agent in this
Work. you may be heard where
we canot you have an Int.[?]
with many we therefore choose
yo. for our Agent to Act in
behalf of this Govt as one of
ye Council of Pensa we hope
yo. will engage in it heartily you
owe it to ye Co. in wch yo. are
born, to ye. Brithn ye En. &
to ye uncles ye 6 nations to yr.
own People of wch. yo. are a
member & we Desire yo. will
heartily undertake it. delivd. ala:
Belt

JH

Brother Tateuscon

Great Works Require many and
Strong hands and we have at
this Time the Great work of
peace before us And I Give
You this Belt and Desire Your
Interest on the behalf of this
province that You Will be Our
and I make you our Agent & Desire
frd and promote the Good
Work of peace You owe it
to your people You owe it to
ye 6 nations to ye people of
pensilvania and to ye Country
You were born And Your
people will hear it from you
who will not hear it from me[.]

MA

Governor: Brother

Tattewekund. great Works
require many and strong hands
to perform the Work we are
now engaged in is a good Work,
it is the Work of Peace. It
requires Men of good Hearts
& strong Heads, and we desire
many such may be joynd
together. And we therefore
apply to you to become our
Agent in this Work, you may
be heard, where we cannot.
you have an Interest with many
who live at a distance. We
therefore chuse you for our
Agent, to act in behalf of this
Government as if you were one
of the Council of Pensylvania.
We hope you will engage in it
heartily.

You owe this to the
Country in which you are born,
you owe it to your Brethren
the English, you owe it to your
Unkles the Six Nations, you
owe it to your own People
of which you are a Member:
and we desire you will heartily
undertake it[.]

Deliver'd a Large Belt.

Editorial Methods, cont.

Careful comparison of the governors' speeches obviously would reveal considerable divergence, confirming the vagaries of inscription noted for Teedyuscung's talk. (They might also illuminate those accounts of the Delaware's speeches, revealing patterns of bias or inaccuracy.) But that is not the project undertaken here.

I have broken each day's texts into component parts for two reasons. First, it is easier to compare them. Second, this procedure conforms to native practice, which had a speaker present an oration in parts, each part marked by a belt or string of wampum. Though I have not always divided sections at the point where Teedyuscung laid down one belt or string and picked up another, the breaks comport well with native oratorical cadence and custom.

My ordering of the various texts is somewhat arbitrary. Each part begins with RPC, usually the roughest of drafts, and concludes with BF, the most polished and most famous. In between these two I present the transcripts in alphabetical order by their designation in *Sources*.

I use *[sic]* sparingly, only where the reader might surmise that the mistake is my own (as in the repetition of a word). In addition I have silently changed the long *s* Franklin used to the standard short *s*, lowered superscript letters to the line, and inserted double letters in words, such as *communicate*, where the original scribe drew a line above the *m* to denote the double letter. A word that I found simply illegible I have rendered as *[illegible word]*; a word that was illegible at least in part because it had been crossed out I have rendered as *[illegible word]*. In both cases, I have offered any letters I could make out.

Several transcription challenges presented themselves. The first is the John Hugh[es] Account Book (JH), where the pencil marks are badly faded. The second is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, "Rough Minutes" (HSPRM), a very rough draft that again includes faded notes rendered in pencil. The third and most significant is the documents penned by Richard Peters. So bad was Peters's handwriting that in September 1754 Benjamin Franklin had jokingly urged him to "take this Opportunity of mending [your] Hand" through lessons in penmanship so that people would no longer "laugh at" his scrawl; "I only think it convenient," Franklin concluded, "that what he [Peters] writes may possibly be read."⁵ If Peters's hand was this illegible in documents he knew others would be reading (or trying to read), it was much worse in rough drafts that he expected he, and he alone, would have to decipher. I have done my best to make sense of his scribbles, but have not denoted each educated guess with *[sic]* lest every Peters passage become a forest of *[sic]*s. I welcome those with greater patience or sharper eyes than I can claim to correct my errors of transcription; anyone who spends much time with those pages will, I think, agree that this scribe's hand is no laughing matter.

Transcripts

July 28, 1756

In attendance are Governor Robert Hunter Morris; Richard Peters and three other members of the provincial council; three commissioners appointed by the Pennsylvania assembly; Conrad Weiser, "Interpreter for the Six Nations"; and Teedyuscung, "the Delaware Chief," along with "14 other Chiefs."⁶ Interpreters for the Delaware people are listed as John Pumpshire, Joseph Peepy, and Ben. The audience included "A large Company" composed of provincial military officers, "Magistrates and Freeholders" from Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and thirty to forty Quakers from Philadelphia.⁷

Governor Morris opens the proceedings by mentioning the messages he sent that spring by the Iroquois go-between, Newcastle (Kos Showweyha), inviting the Indians to a council. He then welcomes the delegation and asks Teedyuscung to go first, hoping that "you Come Prepared to speak to us freely, sincerely, and openly."⁸

The APS manuscript adds a preface, including a charge to the translators, and reveals Teedyuscung's readiness to depart from the script: "Pumpshire, Jo Peepy, and Indian Ben were ordered to interpret and each had it given him in charge to attend and correct what might be said wrong by the other. Agreeable to what passed between the Govr. and Teedyuskung in the Morning it was expected that he would have given Answers to the Messages by Newcastle but instead of doing this he spoke as follows." The RPC manuscript has only the charge to the interpreters: "Pumpshire, Jo Peepy and Indian Benn were ordered to interpret and not to suffer any thing to be said without a full Interpretation, and to be sure, when they should apprehend anything to be forgot or mistaken to set it right." This opening is in a clerk's hand; someone (probably Peters) drew two diagonal lines through this paragraph, omitting it from later, fair copies of the official record, and from Benjamin Franklin's printed volume.⁹

RPC¹⁰

Teedyuscung replied as follows.

Brethren.

The first Messages you sent me came in the Spring; they touched my Heart, they gave me abundance of Joy, I returned an Answer to them and waited for your second Messages, which came after some Time and were likewise very Agreeable. By the last you acquainted me that you had kindled a Council Fire and invited me and my People to it. We accepted the Invitation, and I came here accordingly and staid ^{have} smooking my Pipe with Patience, expecting to meet ^{several days} ~~I am~~ We are ready to hear what you have to say & not only we but five ~~You here, anxious to hear what you have to say to~~ ^{other nations in all ten nations have} me. ~~The Six Nations and many other Indians~~ are now turning their Eyes this Way, and waiting ^{what will be said to me at} to know the ~~Result~~ of this Meeting.

APS

Brethren. The first Messages you sent to me came in the Spring they touched my Heart, they gave me abundance of Joy I returned an Answer to them and waited for your second Messages which came after some Time and were likewise very agreeable. By the last you acquainted me that you had kindled a Council Fire and invited me and my People to it; We accepted the Invitation, and I came here accordingly, and staid smoaking my Pipe with Patience expecting to meet you here, anxious to hear what you have to say to me; The Six Nations and many other Indians are now turning their Eyes this Way and waiting to know the Result of this Meeting.

FAH

To which Teedyuscung imediately answer'd.

Last Spring you Sent me a String & assoon as I heard the good words You sent I was glad & as you told us We believe it came from your hearts, so we felt it into our hearts & receiv'd what you said with joy

Dr. Brother.

in answer to the few words you now Spoke to me & the good words you Sent me to Diaogon I was glad to hear them, & waited till you Sent the Second time & then immediately came away to the Council fire you told me you had Kindled, & assoon as I came I lighted my pipe & sitt down here & have waited several days, & ~~now not only I & my people here with me, but the 6 Nations & 5 other Nations~~ are ready to hear any thing you may have to Say & we intend to wait your time & not only we but 5 other Nations besides the 5 united Nations, in all 10 Nations have their Eyes & ears open & are desirous ^{to hear} what will be Said & done at this Councill fire.

HSPRM¹¹

Answer---Last Spring You sent me a String & as soon as I heard the good Words You sent I was glad_ & ^{it came} ^{are will receiv'd[?]} ~~now~~ as you told us we believe from your hearts, so we ^{felt} ~~put~~ it into our hearts & receiv'd what you Said with gladness.

Dr Bror. in answer to ye few Words you Spoke to me, The ^{good} ~~few~~ words you sent to me to Diaogon was glad to hear & wheated till you sent ye 2d time & then imediately came away to ye Council Fire you told me yo. had Kindled & as soon as I came putt 2 Chunks together & have waited here several ^{lighted my pipe & Sitt down here & not only we but} days, ready to hear any thing you may have to Say & intend to wait yr. time. & not only we but 5 other ^{uncles in all 10 nations Eyes &} Nations besides ye 6 Nations have their Ears open & are desirous to ~~hear See~~ & hear what will be said & done at this Council fire

MA

Tateweskund stood up with a String of Wampom in his Hand and said, I was glad to hear by Capt. NewCastle, your first Messenger: that you had opened the road that we might come with safety into Pennsylvania, when I heard your words, it went to my very Heart: We come now to kindle a fire, and waited for you with a pipe in our hand till you come, and now we are glad to see you here.

deliver'd the String of Wampom

BF¹²

To which *Teedyuscung* immediately answered.

Last Spring you sent me a String; and as soon as I heard the good Words you sent, I was glad; and as you told us, we believe it came from your Hearts, so we felt it in our Hearts, and received what you said with Joy.

Brethren,

The first Messages you sent me, came in the Spring; they touched my Heart; they gave me Abundance of Joy. I returned an Answer to them, and waited for your second Messages, which came after some Time, and were likewise very agreeable. By the last you acquainted me that you had kindled a Council Fire, and invited me and my People to it. We accepted the Invitation; and I came accordingly, and have staid several Days, smoaking my Pipe with Patience, expecting to meet you here. We are ready to hear what you have to say, and not only we, but five other Nations, in all ten Nations, are now turning their Eyes this way, and wait what will be said and done at this Meeting.

RPC¹³

Brother

I solemnly & wth the utmost Sincerity declare that Tho' you may think I am alone here, yet it will not be long before you will be convinced, that ^{am here by} I have the appointment of ten Nations, among which are my Uncles the Six Nations, authorizing me to / ^{treat with you} transact Business for my own Nation; and what I do they will all confirm. ^{The truth of} This you will soon have made evident to you.⁺

APS

Brother. tho' you may think I am alone here yet it will not be long before you will be convinced that I have the Appointment of Ten Nations among which are my Uncles the Six Nations authorising me to transact Business for my own Nation and what I do they will all confirm

FAH

Brethren I solemnly declare & I do it from the sincerity of my heart that I am come by order of our Uncles the Six Nations to treat with you, I am here alone & you have no clear evidence, but you will soon have it made clear to you_

HSPRM¹⁴

Dr Brethren I solemnly declare before you all & do it from ye Sincerity of my ht I am here alone & ^{you} have no clear Evidence but you will soon have it made Clear to yo. that I am come by our Uncles ye 6 Nations to ^{ordr. of} treat with you_

JH

& then added I am now Impowerd to Treat by ye Six Nations

MA¹⁵

I cannot at this time make it so plain to you, but if you will believe it you will find in a short time it is so.
delivered a Belt.

BF

Brother,

I solemnly, and with the utmost Sincerity, declare, that tho' you may think I am alone here, yet it will not be long before you will be convinced that I am here by the Appointment of ten Nations, among which are my Uncles the *Six Nations*, authorizing me to treat with you, and what I do they will all confirm. The Truth of this you will soon have made evident to you.

RPC

Brother,

Hearken to what I am going to say, I declare in the most solemn Manner, that what I now relate is the Truth. Abundance of Confusion, Disorder and Destrution [*sic*] has arisen among the Indians from People taking upon them to be Kings, and Persons of Authority. In every Tribe of Indians there have been such Pretenders, who have held Treaties sometimes publick and sometimes in the Bushes; sometimes what these People did came to be known but frequently it remained in Darkness, or at least no more was imparted to the Publick, than they were pleased to publish. To some they held up their Belts, but Others never saw them; this bred among the Indians great Heart Burnings and Quarrels, and I can assure you, that the present Clouds do in a great Measure owe their Rise to this Wild & irrigular way of doing Business_ The Indians sensible of this Mistake of our Ancestors, are now determined to put an End to this Multitude of Kings, and to this dark Way of proceeding; they have agreed to put the Management of their Affairs into the Hands of a very few, and these shall no longer have it in their Power to huddle up and give partial Representations of what is done. I assure you that there are only two Kings appointed to transact publick Business ~~of which I am one, having the Management of Publick Affairs committed to me by ten Nations, to whom I am accountable.~~¹⁶ For the Future Matters will go better on both Sides, you as well as We will know who We are to deal with. We must beseech the most high to scatter the Clouds wch have arisen between us yt we may settle Peace as heretofore.

A String.

APS

Brother. Hearken to what I am going to say. I declare in the most Solemn Manner that what I now relate is Truth, abundance of Confusion, Disorder, and Distraction has arisen among the Indians from the People taking upon them to be Kings and Persons of Authority; in every Tribe of Indians there have been such Pretenders who have held Treaties sometimes publickly and sometimes in the Bushes; sometimes what these People did came to be known, but frequently it remained in Darkness or at least no more was imparted to the Publick than they were pleased to publish. To some they hold up their Belts but others never saw them, this bred great Heart-burnings among the Indians and Quarrels, and I can assure you that the present Clouds do in a great Measure owe their Rise to this wild and irregular Way of doing Business. The Indians sensible of this Mistake of our Ancestors, are now determined to put an End to this multitude of Kings and to this dark Way of proceeding, they have agreed to put the Management of their Affairs into the Hands of a very few, and those shall no longer have it in their Power to huddle up and give partial Representations of what is done I assure you that there are only two Kings appointed to transact publick Business of which I am one, having the management of publick Affairs committed to me by Ten Nations to whom I am accountable. For the future, Matters will go better on both Sides you as well as we will know who we are to deal with

A String

FAH

one has appear'd here & another there & held treaties under the bushes
it has been our unhappiness, that we have had so many Kings - this has rais'd Clouds &
made Confusion in the transacting of Publick affairs ~~one has~~ but there are now to be only
two Kings & I am now empowered not only by our own Nation but by the others to treat
wth: yo: & we must apply to the most high to dispel the Clouds, wch. have arisen between
us, that as our Ancestors had peace we may Settle peace Unity & good will to last forever

HSPRM¹⁷

it has been our unhappiness that we have had so many Kings this has rais'd Clouds &
in ye transaction Pub buss. one appd here & anor undr ye bushes but there ^{there & held treaties} ~~are~~ ^{is} now to be
only two Kings and & I am now empowrd by ym to treat with yo. not only by our own
Nation but by ye others & as our ancestors had peace to settle ~~& again~~ peace unity &
good will to last forever. In this Para: he said we must apply to ye most high for assistance & that he may dispel ye Clouds.

JH

& that they were formerly many kings & by yt means Matters have been Embarrassd but
now they were of one mind and Matters Should be Carried on more Uniform & that
peace Love & Unity shd be throughly [*sic*] Settled

MA

The reason of the late Confusion was occasioned from this, there being so many Chiefs
amongst us, one here and another there, every one having something to say. Therefore we
held a Council with our Unkles the Six Nations, when we chose two heads or Chiefs over
ten Nations, of which I am one, and one amongst the Six Nations to carry on business. . .

BF

Brother,

Hearken to what I am going to say: I declare, in the most solemn Manner, that
what I now relate is the Truth. Abundance of Confusion, Disorder and Distraction has
arisen among the *Indians*, from People taking upon them to be Kings, and Persons of
Authority. In every Tribe of *Indians* there have been such Pretenders, who have held
Treaties, sometimes publick, and sometimes in the Bushes; sometimes what these People
did came to be known, but frequently it remained in Darkness, or at least no more was
imparted to the Publick than they were pleased to publish. To some they held up their
Belts, but others never saw them; this bred among the *Indians* great Heart-burnings
and Quarrels, and I can assure you, that the present Clouds do, in a great Measure, owe
their Rise to this wild and irregular Way of doing Business.---The *Indians*, sensible of
this Mistake of our Ancestors, are now determined to put an End to this Multitude of
Kings, and to this dark Way of proceeding; they have agreed to put the Management
of their Affairs into the Hands of a very few, and these shall no longer have it in their
Power to huddle up and give partial Representations of what is done. I assure you, that
there are only two Kings appointed to transact publick Business, of which I am one.¹⁸
For the future, Matters will go better on both Sides; you as well as we will know who we
are to deal with. We must beseech the most High to scatter the Clouds which have arisen
between us, that we may settle Peace as heretofore.

A String.

RPC

Brethren the English & picularly ye Govr of Pennsylvania

[A vertical line has been drawn through the following, rendered here as a strikethrough:]

~~I came here to this your Council Fire with all Readiness, as a Messenger from the Six Nations my Uncles, and as a Man authorized by You know you have invited me here I cam therefor My Uncles ye Six Nations will confirm what I say the Six Nations to act in all State Affairs for my People the Delawares~~
 In your message to the Indians at Diahoga you signified to us, ~~That you Distress, wch to be sure we are, & pitied us and our poor Wives and Children. We take it kindly and as a word that came from your Heart. Now is the time for you to look about, & act the part of a charitable and wise man. Be therefore Strong and active_ Be assured, that tho I am but poor, I will do my Share, and whatever Kindness you do to me or my people shall be published to all the Ten Indian Nations in League with us. We wont hide anything or present you give us, it shall be for the use of the publick We will not do as some of our Uncles have done, Who hid the presents you gave them, and to which we had a Right, Therefore We desire you to Exert yourself now in the best manner you can, and you will Obtain your End.~~

APS

Brother,

I came here to this your Council Fire with all readiness as a Messenger from the Six Nations my Uncles and as a Man authorized by the Six Nations to act in all State Affairs for my People the Delawares. In your Message to the Indians at Diahogo you signified to us that you pittied us and our poor Wives and Children, we took it kindly and as a Word that came from your Heart: Now is the time for you to look about and act the Part of a charitable and wise Man, be therefore strong and active, be assured that tho' I am but poor I will do my Share, and whatever kindness you do to me or my People shall be published to all the ten Indian Nations in League with us, we won't hide any thing or Present you give us, it shall be for the Use of the Publick We will not do as some of our Uncles have done who hid the Present you gave them to which we had a Right; therefore we desire you to exert your Self now in the best Manner you can and you will obtain your End.

FAH

Then with a belt in his hands chiefly with black ^{white} several Nations in alliance with the Delawares & Squares, representg the

Dr. Brethren the English & party: the Governor of PenSilvania.

As you have invited me here, I now Speak to you, as I am autoriz'd as you invited me here I am come_ you have Said You have a regard to us & that you are Strong, that is Steady, I hope you are So & desire you may shew yourselves to be Strong_ you have heard we are in want & distress, wch. to be sure we are, then yourselves to be Strong_ & we Shall acknowledge it to all the world & lett every body Know that we have heard your good words_ we Shall not do, as others have done & as our Uncles the Six Nations, the Mohocks & others Sneak away & Keep them undr. ye. bushes, but shall farr & near acknowledge it, that so all who are willing may join with us & Lay hold of what you Say.

a String.

HSPRM

With a belt in his hand chiefly white
with Squares
Dr. Brn. yo Eng. Govr of Pensa as yo
have invd. me here. I now Speak to you,
as I am autoriz'd_ as yo Have invited
me here I am come, yo. have said that
yo. have a regard to us & that yo. are
Strong (that is steady) I hope yo. are
so & desire you may shew yr. Selves
to Be strong you have heard we are in
want & distress wch to be sure we are_
then shew yr Selves to be strong^s & We
shall acknowledge it to all ye World &
lett evry body Know we have heard yr.
good words we shall not do as others
have done & as our Uncles ye 6 Natns
ye Mohocks do sneak away & Keep^{it}
undr. ye bushes, but shall farr & near
acknowledge ^{it} you that those who please
may join & lay hold of what yo. say¹⁹

JH

Tateuscun Continued that he was
Sincere & shd not at any time waver &
therefore advise you to be strong and
Look About You & persue peace and
that he wd Do ye same & publish it to
all the world that those that ^{and have [?]} wd might
^[illegible word] to proposing [?] it [?]
Join I have nothing to say

MA

Tateweskund with a Belt in his
hand said:
you have by the second message told us
we was poor, but that you was Strong
and able. Now we are come to see if
you are Strong, and we hope you will
show us how strong you are, and if we
find you are so Strong as you have told
us, you shall see it shall not be hid under
the Blanket or amongst the Bushes as
it hath in times past been, but all the
World shall see (lifting up his Belt) that
you are strong.

BF

*Brethren, the English, and particularly the
Governor of Pennsylvania,*
You know you have invited me here; I
came therefore; my Uncles, the *Six Nations*, will
confirm what I say. In your Messages to the *Indians*
at *Diahogo* you signified to us, that you heard we were
in Want and Distress, which to be sure we are, and
pitied us and our poor Wives and Children. We took
it kindly, and as a Word that came from your Heart.
Now is the Time for you to look about, and act the
Part of a charitable and wise Man.---Be therefore
strong---be assured that, though I am poor, I will do
my Share. Whatever Kindness you do to me, or my
People, shall be published to ten *Indian Nations*. We
will not hide any Presents you shall give us; every
Body shall know that we have heard your good
Words. We will not do as others, and some of our
Uncles, the *Six Nations*, have done, sneak away, and
hide your Words and Presents in the Bushes, but
shall publish far and near, that all may join with us.
Exert yourselves now in the best Maner [*sic*] you can,
and you will obtain your End.

Governor Morris thanks Teedyuscung for his "Openness." Saying that he has paid careful
attention to these words and "laid them to Heart," he goes on to say that he will meet with his
council and, as soon as possible, offer a reply.²⁰

July 28, 1756, pt. 5

RPC

Brother ^{words is no more than this.} The Conclusion of my Speech is truly this I have nothing ^{of great moment now to say to you, Except The thing matter in hand is} ~~I have finished my Speech to you at present. I cannot finish the whole Affair, which is a Thing of too~~ ^{which I have nothing & great moment} great Moment for one Man I am but a Messenger from the united Nations, Tho I act as a Chief Man for the Delawares. I must now hear what you have to say to my ^{If it be good, I shall lay hold of it &} people at this Council Fire. ~~That I may carry it to the~~ ^{who will smile & be pleased and they will} united Nations, ~~If it be agreeable I shall be very glad, and I will assist you with all my Strength, tho' I am but poor and the united Nations will be very glad to hear good News.~~ If what you will say be disagreeable, I will notwithstanding ^{keep it close (here he closed his Fist)} remember it and deliver it faithfully to the united Nations, ^{as they are my Superiors} and lett them do as they see Cause.

APS

Brother. I have finished my Speech to you at present. I cannot finish the whole Affair which is a Thing of so great Moment for One Man, I am but a Messenger from the United Nations tho' I act as a Chief Man for the Delawares. I must now hear what you have to say to my People at this Council Fire that I may carry it to the United Nations, if it be agreeable I shall be very glad, and I will assist you with all my Strength tho I am but poor, and the United Nations will be very glad to hear good News. If what you will say be disagreeable I will notwithstanding remember it and deliver it faithfully to to [sic] the United Nations and let them do as they see Cause.

FAH

Dr. Brethren The Conclusion of my words is just this; I have nothing of great Consequence now to say to you, I am only a Messen:r to receive what you have to say; if it be good & what I am authoriz'd to lay hold of I shall lay hold of it & receive it with gladness & I shall go home with pleasure & when I communicate what you have to Say to the Six Nations, They will Smile & be glad to hear it, but if on the ^{other hand} ~~Contrary~~ it should not be what is pleasing I will Keep it close (closing his fist) & shall carry it to them & then Lay it open & leave it with my Superiors.

HSPRM

Dr. Brn. the Conclusion of my words is just this_ I have nothing of grt. Consequence to say to yo. but am ^{& what} only a Messr. to receive what yo. Have to Say if²¹ it is good ^{I am authoriz'd to lay hold of} I shall lay hold of it & receive it with gladness, & I shall ^{to ye 6 nations} go home with pleasure & when I comunicate what yo. Say they will Smile & be glad to hear it, but if on ye other hand it shd not be what is pleasg I will Keep it Close & carry it to them & then lay it open & leave it with my Superiors__

JH

but by Authority I am a Messengr & I Shall Carry back what you have to Say to all the Indians in [*illegible word*] & frdship[?]

BF

Brother,
The Conclusion of my Words is no more than this; the Matter in Hand is of too great Moment for one Man. I am but a Messenger from the *United Nations*, though I act as a Chief Man for the *Delawares*. I must now hear what you have to say to my People at this Council-Fire. If it be good, I shall lay hold of it, and carry it to the *United Nations*, who will smile and be pleased to hear good News. If what you will say be disagreeable, I will, notwithstanding, keep it close (*here he closed his Fist*) and deliver it faithfully to the *United Nations*, and let them, as they are my Superiors, do as they see Cause.

July 28, 1756, pt. 6

RPC for ye present, the main thing he added ~~that is still to be said~~ is yet in my Breast laying his hand to his heart but This now depends on Being asked if he had done, he said he had ~~but repeated~~ what words the Govr will speak to us yn ~~[illegible word]~~ repeated the Delaware Word, Whish Shicksy, The same with ~~in Mohock language as the [illegible word] g—t~~ Mohock Word Jago/ with great Earnestness and in a very pathetic Tone. Mr. Weiser, who knew the Word, to have a very extensive and forcible Sense, desired the Interpreter to ask him what he meant by ~~Whish Shicksy~~ Jago on this particular occasion, and he explained himself in the following Manner. Suppose you want to remove a large Logg of Wood, That requires many Hands, You must take pains to gett as many together as will do the Business, If you fall short but One, Tho never so weak an One all the rest are to no purpose, all the rest are to no purpose [sic], Tho this be in itself nothing, yet if you cant move the Logg without it, You must spare no pains to gett it. Whish Shicksy, Be strong, Look round you, Enable us to Engage Every Indian Nation We can, put the Means into our Hands; Be sure perform Every Promise You have made to us, in particular do not pinch Matters neither with us, nor other Indians, We will help you, But We are poor, and you are rich, make us Strong, and We will use our Strength for you; And besides this, What you do, Do quickly. The Times are dangerous; They will not admit of Delay. Whish Shicksy, Do it effectually, and do it with all possible Dispatch.

APS

Being asked if he had done he said he had but repeated the Delaware Word [Whish-Shicksy]*²² the same with the Mohawk Word [Iago] with great earnestness and in avery pathetick Tone Mr Weiser who knew the Word to have a very extensive & forcible Sence desired the Interpreter to ask him what he ment by Iago on this particular Occasion and he explained himself in the following manner Suppose you want to remove a large Log of Wood that requires many Hands, you must take Pains to get as many together as will do the Business, if you fall short but One, tho' never so weak an One, all the rest are to no Purpose tho' this be in it self nothing, yet if you cant move the Log without it you must spare no pains to get it Wish Shickiy be Strong, look round you, enable us to engage ev'ry Indian Nation we can_ put the Means into our Hands, besure [sic] perform every Promise you have made to us, in particular do not pinch Matters neither with us nor other Indians. We will help you but we are Poor and you are Rich, Make us Strong and we will use our Strength for you, and besides this what you do, do quickly. The Times are dangerous they will not admit of delay - Iago - do it effectually and do it with all possible Dispatch.

FAH

Being ask'd, if he had any more to say
^{said} He Said not to day but clapping his hand on his breast The Main thing I am authoriz'd to Say depends on what the Governor may Say & then according to what he Should hear he might Speak further.
 He then explain'd what he Said of being Strong by a Comparison, that if there was a great Logg to be rais'd & Carried, if many would join to Lay hold & assist, it might be soon & easily done.

HSPRM

being ask'd if he had any more to Say,

He said not to day, but clapg his hand on his breast said ye main thing he is authoriz'd to say depends on what ye Govr. may Say & then accordg to what he shd hear he would Speak farther

He then expld. what he said of being Strong by a figure that if there was a great Log to be raisd & Carrd if many wd. join & layhold & assist it might be easily done.

JH

but by way of Example be Strong if ye Log is heavy there is people enough to Carry it if they are willing and in Earnest and then gave the belt

MA

Tateweskund said, I have no more at this time to say, but shall wait the Governor's answer.
gave a String of Wampom.

BF

Being asked if he had done, he said he had for the present; the main Thing, he added, is yet in my Breast, laying his Hand to his Heart, but this will depend on what Words the Governor will speak to us. Then he repeated the *Delaware* Word, *Whish-shick-sy*, the same in *Mohock* Language as *Jago*, with great Earnestness, and in a very pathetick Tone. Mr. *Weiser*, who knew the Word to have a very extensive and forcible Sense, desired the Interpreter to ask him what he meant by *Whish-Shick-sy* on this particular Occasion, and explained himself in the following Manner. Suppose you want to remove a large Log of Wood, that requires many Hands, you must take Pains to get as many together as will do the Business; if you fall short but one, though never so weak an one, all the rest are to no Purpose. Though this be in itself nothing, yet, if you cannot move the Log without it, you must spare no Pains to get it. *Whish-shick-sy*; be strong; look round you; enable us to engage every *Indian* Nation we can; put the Means into our Hands; be sure perform every Promise you have made to us; in particular do not pinch Matters neither with us or other *Indians*; we will help you; but we are poor, and you are rich; make us strong, and we will use our Strength for you; and, besides this, what you do, do quickly; the Times are dangerous; they will not admit of Delay.---*Whish-shick-sy*; do it effectually, and do it with all possible Dispatch.

July 29, 1756

Governor Morris opens the proceedings with a speech recalling Pennsylvania's longstanding "Love and constant Friendship to" Indians, expressing colonists' surprise at what they considered an unprovoked attack on the province the previous year, and recapitulating how the colony, while preparing a counterattack, was also waging peace at the behest of the Six Nations Iroquois, who said that the Delaware and Shawnee peoples now wanted to end hostilities. Morris then recounts the two trips made by Newcastle and other emissaries dispatched from Philadelphia to the Susquehanna Valley, who returned to confirm that Indians there said they were "sorry for what had passed" and sought peace. Assuring Teedyuscung that Newcastle's words of peace did indeed come from Pennsylvania leaders, that they want "to renew the antient Friendship that subsisted between William Penn & the Indians," he insists that the Delaware headman broadcast this news in Indian country, that he return with many more Indians next time, and that, "as an Evidence of your Sincerity to make a lasting Peace," Teedyuscung also bring all the colonists Indians had captured during the last year. Offering a gift as a token of the colony's esteem and sincerity, he asks Teedyuscung's assistance, appointing him "Agent and Counsellor for this Province; engage in it heartily . . .," Morris urges the Delaware leader; "you owe it to the Country in which you was born; you owe it to your Brethren, the English; you owe it to your Uncles the Six Nations; you owe it to your own People over which you Preside. We desire you will heartily undertake it, and use your utmost Endeavours to bring about this great & good work we have now begun."²³

Then taking a large Belt in his hand wherein was a square in the marking ye Land of ye Indians
RPC-1²⁴ Middle & at one end a figure of a Man indicating ye English & at ye other end another figure indicating
 Bren ye French he proceeded I ye & have my
 When N. C. came the last Time he was just in Treaty wth 6 Nations has his authority from
 them

The 6 Nations by their Chiefs had lately renew'd their Cov.t Chain with them.
 Formerly ^{we} were accounted Women, but now the 6 Nn. have made Men of them ^{us} & as such
^{we} he now comes to this Treaty_ Having this Authority as a Man to make Peace he has it in
^{my} his hand but has not open'd it, but will soon declare it to the Other Nations

There are but 2 Chiefs of ye 10 Nations, they are now look on & their Attention is fix'd
 to see who are dispos'd really for Peace_

This Belt I hold denotes that whoever will not comply with ^{ye} Terms of Peace, the 10
 Nations will join agst him & strike him_²⁵ See the dangerous Circumstc. I am in. Strong
 Men are on both Sides hatchies on both Sides whoever gives the best Assurances him I
 will join

Bror. This Belt gives me Authority; who will make peace let him lay hold of it & the
 Nations around shall see & know it. I desire according to your Words, wch. I will perform
 to My Power.²⁶ he wishes the Same ^{good} Spirit that possess'd the ^{old} good Man W. Penn who was a
 Frd to the Indians may inspire the People of this Province at this Time

RPC-2²⁷

Teedyuscung answered, That he had received the Governors Words kindly, and wou'd in a
 few words answer him_ Then taking a large Belt in his hands he proceeded_

Brother

^{At the very time} ~~When~~ Newcastle came ^{with your last Messages} ~~the last Time~~ I was in Treaty with the Six Nations and
^{there received This} ~~lifting up ye Belt. This belt denotes yt~~
~~have my~~ Authority from them.²⁸ The Six Nations by their Chiefs have lately renewed
 their Covenant Chains with us. Formerly we were accounted Women, But now ~~the Six~~
^{they} Nations have made Men of us, and as such we are now come to this Treaty_ Having this

Authority as a Man to make Peace, I have it in my Hand, but have not opened it, But will
 This Belt holds together ten Nations. We are in ye Middle betwn the French & English. Look at it.
 soon declare it to the other Nations. There are but two Chiefs of the ten Nations, They
 are now looking on, and their attention is fixed to see who are dispos'd really for Peace_

This Belt ~~Hold~~ ^{further} denotes, That whoever will not comply with the Terms of Peace, The
 Ten Nations will joyn against him & strike him, See the dangerous Circumstances I am
 in, Strong Men on both Sides Hatchets on both Sides; ^{he who does not incline to peace him I will strike} Whoever ~~gives the best Assurances~~
^{does incline to peace}

him will I joyn_
 Brother: ^{This is a good day} ~~This belt gives me authority, who will make Peace~~ ^{ever} lett him lay hold of it; and
 the Nations around shall see and know it. I desire to Conduct myself according to your
 Words, Which I will perform to my Power. I wish the same good Spirit, That possessd the
 good Old Man William Penn, who was a Friend to the Indians, may inspire the People of
 this Province at this time. ^{Then delivered the Belt}

APS

Teedyuscung answered

That he received the Governor's Words kindly and would answer him in a few Words_ then taking a large Belt in his Hand he proceeded.

Brother when Newcastle came the last Time I was in Treaty with the Six Nations and have my authority from them_ The Six Nations by their Chiefs have lately renewed their Covenant Chain with us_ formerly we were accounted Women but now the Six Nations have made Men of us, and as such we now come to this Treaty, having this Authority as a Man to make Peace I have it in my Hand but have not opened it, but will soon declare it to the other Nations There are but Two Chiefs of the Ten Nations they are now looking on and their Attention is fixed to see who are disposed really for Peace. This Belt I hold denotes that whoever will not comply with the Terms of Peace the Ten Nations will join against him and strike him. See the dangerous Circumstances I am in, Strong Men are on both Sides; Hatchets on both Sides, whoever gives the best Assurances, him will I join
Brother this Belt gives me Authority, who will make Peace let him lay hold of it and the Nations around shall see & know it I desire to conduct my self according to your Words which I will perform to my Power. I wish the same good Spirit which possessed ~~posses~~ the good old Man William Penn who was a Friend to the Indians may inspire the People of this Province at this Time

FAH

Teedyuscung then Said with a Large Belt in his hand.

Bren~~then~~ Just about the time your Messenger Newcastle came the last time, I had my Commission from the Six Nations to lett you Know by this that I have receiv'd Authority from our comon friends the Six Nations by their great Men to inform you what Words we have heard from our Uncles. They have renew'd their Covenants wth: us, & told us that as they formerly call'd us Women & treated us as such they employ'd us only in women's business, they would now putt us in Man's business, & if we can do the business they will make Men of us. Then holding up the Belt, he Said this Belt is a token that We in all 10 Nations Stand in the Middle between the French & English, Look ~~about~~ up & behold it, whoever inclines to make peace, and whoever he is that does not incline to Peace but will go on in that Confusion & cloud of Darkness, him we will Strike
Brethern, this is the good Day, whoso inclines to peace lett him take hold of this belt. And I wish that the Spirit of Wm: Penn may rise again in Pensilvania & the Ancient Friendship & Peace may be restor'd & maintained. then gave the Governor the belt.

HSPRM²⁹

1st. as yo. sent yr. Messr. N. ye last time just abt. that time I had my Comn. from ye 6 Nn. to lett yo. Kno. By this I have recd from our Comon frds. ye 6 Ns. by ye Grt men they had renew'd their Covts. with us & as formerly they used to treat us as Women & employ us in women's business_now they employ us as men in men's buss. now as he has ye auth. of ye 6 Natns.

HSPT

Tatteweskund said

Brethren, we let you know, what Words we have heard from our Oncles the Six Nations. They have told us, you have been Women formerly & not able to do any Business, but now we put you in Mans Business (or, now we make a Man of you, that you can do Business)

This Belt is a token that we 10 Nations stand in the middle & between the French & English, & look about who³⁰ inclines to make Peace, & who dos not incline to it, but go^{will} on in that Confusion & Cloud of Darkness, him we will strike.

Brethren! this is the good Day, who inclines to make Peace, take hold of this Belt.

Further I wish, that the spirit of William Penns may rise again in Pensylvania, & P the old frindship [*sic*] & Peace might be perform'd.

Gave a Belt

JH

king TatewisCon Answerd

& sd I have to tell^{you} by the authority of ye 6 nations that the Delawares & Shonees do act as men now although they were formerly [*sic*]^{were} Women he therefore Says he now had peace in his hands & the 10 Nations he mentiond are now waiting to see who are Inclind to peace they now see 2 Nations with their Tomhock up on both Sides & therefor he Desires to know which of the parties will Give the Most protection and Assurance And he Desires that the peacable Disposition of old Wm pen who was Always a frd to the Indians may now Govern all And bring About a Lasting peace to which he Shd Do his Endeavour

MA

Tateweskund stood up and said: Brethren: we will let you know what words we receive'd from our Unkles the Six Nations: They have told us that formerly we were Women and not able to do business, But now we make Men of you, and enable you to do Business. He then with a large Belt said: This is a token, that We ten Nations of Indians stand between the English and the French, and look about us on each side, to see who inclines for Peace, and they who will go on in that Confusion and Cloud of Darkness, them we will strike. Brethren this is the good Day; whosoever inclines for Peace, I hold it up, take hold of it and hold it fast, further, I desire and wish that the Spirit of old Willm. Penn may revive again in Pensylvania & Peace may Prevail and continue in this Land.

gave a Belt

BF³¹

Teedyuscung answered, that he had received the Governor's Words kindly, and would, in a few Words, answer him. Then taking a large Belt in his Hand, he proceeded.

Brother,

At the very Time *Newcastle* came with your last Messages, I was in Treaty with the *Six Nations*, and then received this Authority from them. [*Lifting up the Belt.*] This Belt denotes, that the *Six Nations*, by their Chiefs, have lately renewed their Covenant Chains with us; formerly we were accounted Women, and employed only in Womens Business; but now they have made Men of us, and as such we are now come to this Treaty.³² Having this Authority as a Man to make Peace, I have it in my Hand, but have not opened it; but will soon declare it to the other Nations. This Belt holds together ten Nations; we are in the Middle, between the *French* and *English*; look at it. There are but two Chiefs of the ten Nations; they are now looking on, their Attention is fixed, to see who are disposed really for Peace.---This Belt further denotes, that whoever will not comply with the Terms of Peace, the ten Nations will join against him and strike him; see the dangerous Circumstances I am in; strong Men on both Sides; Hatchets on both Sides; whoever does incline to Peace, him will I join.

Brother,

This is a good Day; whoever will make Peace, let him lay hold of this Belt, and the Nations around shall see and know it. I desire to conduct myself according to your Words, which I will perform to the utmost of my Power. I wish the same good Spirit that possessed the good old Man *William Penn*, who was a Friend to the *Indians*, may inspire the People of this Province at this Time.

Then delivered the Belt.

RPC-1³³

^{then explain'd ye Belt}
Tadieskunk replied That on the Belt were
markt 2 Men &c.³⁴

RPC-2³⁵

Teedyuscung then Explained
the Belt, saying it was sent him by the Six
Nations and he accepted of it. You see says
he a Square in the Middle, Meaning the
Lands of the Indians, and at One End the
Figure of a Man, indicating the English,
and at the other End another, meaning
the French. Our uncles told us, That both
these Coveted our Lands. But Lett us joyn
together to defend our Lands against both.
You shall be partakers ^{with us} of our Lands.

APS

Teedyuskung then explained
the Belt saying it was sent him by the Six
Nations and he had accepted it_ You see
says he a Square in the Middle (meaning
the Lands of the Indians) and at one End
the Figure of a Man, indicating the English,
and at the other End another meaning the
French_ Our Uncles told us that both these
coveted our Lands, but let us join together
to to [*sic*] defend our Land against both
you shall be partakers with with us of Our
Land

FAH

Tedyuscung reply'd. That whoever lays hold
of it, must be for good & explain'd the Belt
to ye Governor, telling him hee might See,
at Each end of it a Man ^{arm'd} one describing ye
English & ye other the French from each ^{of}
them a Line or road to the Middle, where
was a large Square describing the Indian
Land, & he told the Governor he wanted
to See as that Square was vacant, a man
plac'd in it & who would putt ~~them~~ & Keep
him there, Alluding to the Expectation
the Indians have, that if the English are
Really their Friends they will Assure them
of a right to the Lands between the English
Plantations & Canada & ~~assis~~ Support
them in the possession of them.

BF

Teedyuscung then explained the
Belt, saying, it was sent him by the *Six*
Nations, and he accepted of it: You see,
says he, a Square in the Middle, meaning
the Lands of the *Indians*, and at one End
the Figure of a Man, indicating the *English*;
and at the other End another, meaning the
French; our Uncles told us, that both these
coveted our Lands; but let us join together
to defend our Lands against both, you shall
be Partakers with us of our Lands.

July 29, 1756, pt. 3

After Teedyuscung and his son dine with Governor Morris, more Indians join the gathering. Morris informs the natives that a war party had killed four colonists nearby, and that provincial troops had slain an Indian—whether friend or foe is uncertain.

RPC-1³⁶

Tediesunk said that when he came here to Council all the Indians thereabouts knew of it, & therefore he believ'd it must be the French Indians that killed our People, but that if his People were so foolish as to come on our Borders at this Time they must take the reward of their Folly, ^{& were killed any how} none of these private Deaths ought to affect ye present measure - ~~for his people he shoud think nothing of it now & nor~~ woud this make any alteration in his Councils.

RPC-2³⁷

Teedyuscung said, That when he came here to Council, All the Indians thereabouts knew of it, and Therefore he believed, it must be the French Indians, That killed our people, But that if his people were so foolish as to come on Our Borders at this Time and were killed anyhow, They must take the Reward of their Folly_ None of these private Deaths ought to affect a publick Measure, Nor would ^{this} make any alterations in his Councils._

APS

Teedyuskung said that when he came here to Council all the Indians thereabout knew of it, and therefore he believed it must be the French Indians that killed our People, but if his People were so foolish as to come on our Borders at this Time and were killed any how they must take the Reward of their Folly_ None of these private Deaths ought to affect a publick Measure nor would this make any alteration in his Councils.

JH

To which the King Answerd that they were french Indians, but if they were frds it was their own falt for Acting So but that he as a Counsilor Shod. not Make himself Uneasy And in Confirmation of his friendship and Integrety he Gave the Governor a String & the Governor Returned ye String with a Declaration of the Same Sentiments & then Kisd. 2 of the Ladies-

BF

Teedyuscung said, that when he came here to Council, all the *Indians* thereabouts knew of it; and therefore he believed it must be the *French Indians* that killed our People; but that if his People were so foolish as to come on our Borders at this Time, and were killed any how, they must take the Reward of their Folly. None of these private Deaths ought to affect a publick Measure; nor would this make any Alterations in his Councils.

July 30, 1756

Seeing to it that Pennsylvania's gift to the Indians is placed on the council table, Governor Morris adds that Quakers, "Descendants of those who first came over to this Country with your old friend William Penn," had supplied some of these goods "as a particular Testimony of their Regard and Affection for the Indians" and to promote peace. He then urges Teedyuscung to take to Indian country this tangible proof of the colony's peaceable disposition to end the bloodshed. The Delaware leader promises to do so, and the council adjourns to a dinner for Indians and colonists. Afterward Quakers say their good-byes before heading home to Philadelphia, and Teedyuscung, Morris, and the rest have "a free Conversation." This informal exchange ends when the Delaware leader picks up a string of wampum to make "a Council Speech."³⁸

RPC-1³⁹

Brother

I am now going home to my people and I will return as soon as I can & opening his hand wide said he woud inform all his People. Be careful watch your Frontiers well. be ^{armies Bothe French & or others & Indians} men. There may come some people who may do you hurt If I hear ~~that~~ ^{either come myselfe or} of any mischief coming against you or any people to do you hurt I will send you notice of it.

RPC-2⁴⁰

There is one of ye 6 nations yt ^{I brought along wth me} ~~came~~ from Diahogo to hear what he had to say.⁴¹

Upon this he from ye bottom of his heart is glad to hear wt you have said. according to what he has [*illegible word*] has been authorizd by his Unckles. He was before now but a Woman he is put into yt attire to be a man to mind good things to do that wch is good.

After this he has given him this Office & Ability to act. he has given him a Pipe & fill'd it wth ye best tobacco yt our forefathers have furnishd to smoak & his br. too[?]

yt when ye Mohock has told him I filled yr pipe wth that Tobacco to sit & smoak wth whoever has a mind to smoak wth you they shall feel it shall see ye Sun[?] rise fairly clearly all ye day long

this I tell you You may say it from me.

Brethren we know he begs he woud not be under stood yt by this [*illegible word*] ^{this} [*illegible word* __se], it is a Memorandum a token wn he comes to smoak wth you he will [Sideways, in margin:] bring wth him those things that you want.

APS

You are so good and have received us so kindly I will also give you some of that good Tobacco that the Six Nations have put into my Pipe, you shall smoke it your Selves, you will find it is good and I will give of the same Tobacco wherever I go The same Thing that I have offered to you I will offer to all the Indians and at the same Time tell them that you have smoaked of this Tobacco But to do this requires me to be Rich and yet I am Poor, it will take up a long Time as there are many Nations to send the Pipe to, but in Two Months I hope to go my Round and to be here again with a large Number of different Nations. I say it may be in two Months but it may be longer as the People live at a great Distance from One another. I assure you I will execute every thing you have desired of me and let the Six Nations know all that has passed between us and that I am your Councillor with the Delaware Nation.

a String

Brother

I would not have you mistake me as if I meant that I could prevail on the Ohio Indians, I cannot tell that they will leave off doing Mischief I hope you will strengthen your Selves against them pray make your Selves as Strong as possible on that Side. I must warn you likewise of another Thing: perhaps on the East Side of Susquehanna there may be Mischief done by Indians in my Absence, but be assured it will not be any of my People it will be by the French Indians from Ohio who can easily pass over Susquehanna and do what Mischief they please_ Against those you must be sure to arm yourselves in the best manner you can_ Remember I give you this Warning.

FAH

After Dinner Teedyuscung voluntarily ^{Said to} ~~told~~ the Governor.

Now as we have made this beginning towards restoring peace I hope you will publish it, that it may be generally know[n] thro' your province & the ~~part~~ parts adjacent_ I will do the same, assoon as I gett home, that it may be spread farr & near, & I hope you will hear of no more mischief ^(Meaning on this Side Susquehanah) being done yet I would advise you not to be too secure & neglect Keeping watch, for there maybe some Stragling parties of other Nations may come to your frontiers without our Knowledge, but if we hear of them we will take Care to inform you Speedily.

FAM⁴²

Now we have made this good beginning of the Work of Peace I desire you may let it be known to all your People far and near; I will do the same among our People and I hope you will hear of no more mischief being done. If I should hear of any being intended against you, I will do my utmost to give you Notice of it, but do not let this cause you to be quite off your Guard, perhaps some of the Ohio Indians may come over the River without my knowing of it, but if I do know, you shall certainly be informed of it.

JH

In the Evening the King Declar'd to the Governor he wd Use his Uttermost Endeavors for a Lasting peace & the Sd Come back in about 3 Months with Such Indians as Inclind. to peace & bring Some of ye 6 nation with him__

BF⁴³*Brother,*

You are so good, and received us so kindly, I will also give you some of that good Tobacco that the *Six Nations* have put into my Pipe; you shall smoak of it yourselves; you will find it is good, and I will give of the same Tobacco where I go (meaning the Message from the *Six Nations* to them, to be at Peace with the *English*.) The same Thing that I have offered to you I will offer to all the *Indians*, and at the same time tell them, that you have smoaked of this Tobacco; but to do this requires me to be rich, and yet I am poor.---It will take up a long Time, as there are many Nations to send the Pipe to; but in two Months I hope to go my Rounds, and be here again with a large Number, of different Nations; I say it may be in two Months, but it may be longer, as the People live at a great Distance from one another. I assure you I will execute every Thing you have desired of me, and let the *Six Nations* know all that has passed between us; and that I am your Agent and Counsellor in the *Delaware* Nation.

*A String.**Brethren,*

I would not have you mistake me, as if I meant that I could prevail on the *Ohio Indians*: I cannot tell that they will leave off doing Mischief.---I hope you will strengthen yourselves against them; pray make yourselves as strong as possible on that Side. I must warn you likewise of another Thing; perhaps on the East Side of *Sasquehannab* there may be Mischief done by *Indians* in my Absence; but be assured it will not be by any of my People; it will be by the *French Indians* from *Ohio*, who can easily pass over *Sasquehannab*, and do what Mischief they please: Against these, you must be sure to arm yourselves in the best Manner you can; remember I give you this Warning:

A String.

Later that day Morris meets privately with Peters and other councilors, along with Conrad Weiser and Newcastle, to discuss the belt Teedyuscung delivered and prepare a reply. Advised by Newcastle that Teedyuscung will need large amounts of wampum to lend proper weight to his talk of peace in Indian country, they gather what they can and set some native women to work making a proper belt. At this point the Delaware leader enters the room.

RPC-1⁴⁴

Desires all that he says & what is said to him may be taken down right
Some speaks in the dark, ^{& by} Candle Light, what is the reason the ^{Govr} holds Council in his
hands ^{& by candle Light}
Some set him out of doors like a Woman.⁴⁵ If the 5 Nations make him a Woman,
they must but what is the reason, Gave a String

[Morris, denying any wrongdoing, explains the situation.]

Chief. To Morrow will speak to us, what he has to say is from ye 6. Nations. he
that wont make peace must die

A String⁴⁶

RPC-2⁴⁷

The King who was very irregular in his Visits, as well as in his Discourses, bolted all of a
Sudden into the Room, and with a high Tone of Voice spoke as follows - Vizt.
Brother I I you I have said and you have said to one another Some speak in ye
"That he desires all that he says, and what is said to him may be taken down aright. That some
Dark Do not Let us do so. but all be clear & known. so close
speak in the dark; What is the Reason the Governor holds Councils in his Hands? and by Candle
The five Nations used to make [?] him sitt still
Light? Some set him out of Doors like a Woman. If the five Nations make him a Woman, they
must. But what is the Reason why they
do so what is ye reason ye Govr makes him a Woman. [meaning why does he confer wth Indians wth-out sending for him to be
Gave a String_

[Morris explains.]
thanked the Govr, secmd [illegible word] pleased & said more, & that he was
The Chief said, to Morrow he will speak to us, and what he has to say is from the Six Nations; He
that wont make Peace must die—

A String

July 30, 1756, pt. 2
BF

APS

The King who was very irregular in his Visits, as well as in his Discourses, bolted all of a Sudden into the Room and with a high tone of Voice spoke as follows vizt

That he desires all that he says and what is said to him may be taken down right. That some speak in the Dark, What is the Reason The Governor holds Council in his Hands and by Candle Light, Some set him out of Doors like a Woman_ If the Five Nations make him a Woman, they must, but what is the Reason

gave a String

[Morris explains.]

The Chief said _ To Morrow he Will speak to us what he has to say is from the Six Nations, he that will not make Peace must dye

A String

The King, who was very irregular in his Visits, as well as in his Discourses, bolted all of a sudden into the Room, and with a high Tone of Voice spoke as follows, *viz*:

Brother,

I desire all that I have said, and you have said to one another, may be taken down aright; some speak in the Dark; do not let us do so; let all be clear and known. What is the Reason the Governor holds Councils so close in his Hands, and by Candle Light? The *Five Nations* used to make him sit out of Doors like a Woman.---If the *Five Nations* still make him a Woman, they must; but what is the Reason the Governor makes him a Woman, meaning, Why does he confer with *Indians* without sending for him, to be present and hear what was said?

[Morris explains.]

The Chief thanked the Governor, seemed well pleased, and said, To-morrow he would speak more, and what he had to say was from the *Six Nations*: ---He that won't make Peace must die.

A String.

At the council's conclusion the next day, Governor Morris appoints Teedyuscung and Newcastle as Pennsylvania's peace emissaries. Teedyuscung's reply appears to be summarized rather than presented as his words directly.⁴⁸

November 8, 1756

Little more than three months after adjourning, peace talks resume at Easton on Monday, November 8. Teedyuscung's delegation includes Delaware and Shawnee representatives, along with some Mohicans and several Iroquois. (Newcastle had died of smallpox in Philadelphia only days before.) Governor Robert Hunter Morris has been replaced by William Denny. With Denny at Easton are provincial councilors Richard Peters and William Logan, four commissioners appointed by the assembly (including Benjamin Franklin), Conrad Weiser and several other Pennsylvania militia officers, two "Recruiting Officers, of the Royal Americans," and "A Number of Gentlemen and Freeholders, from the several Counties, and from the City of Philadelphia," including Quakers.

In the morning Denny sends greetings to Teedyuscung, ask him "whether he intended to speak first," and learns that "the King" considers it "his Duty to speak first." At eleven o'clock "the Governor marched from his Lodging to the Place of Conference, guarded by a Party of the Royal Americans in the Front, and on the Flanks, and a Detachment of Colonel Weiser's Provincials in Sub-divisions, in the Rear, with Colours flying, Drums beating, and Musick playing."⁴⁹

RPC⁵⁰

Teedyuscung ^{opened the} agreeable to what had been mentiond in a private Council betwn the Six nation Indians & Coll Weiser opened the Conference with the following Speech
Brother the Governor

May it please your Excellency to hear a few words.

I will put the Govr & Gentlemen in mind that Conferences were held here in the Summer & what passd there is well known.

I have taken all the Pains possible to execute what I then undertook & have brought with me severals of different Indian Tribes Nations as well Delawares as Six Nations Indians.

I held up the Encouragements I receivd from the English, & spread them forth far and near to all the Tribes I promisd to go to as well among the Delawares as Six Nations & assure you I have been true and faithful to my Promises & used all the Diligence in my Power in Testimony whereof I give these

4 Strings /No 1

APS

The king began The Conference, & thus Addressed the Govr
Bror the Govr

I will Just remind you that a Council fire was kindled in this place last Summer. What was then Said I Suppose you well know, I have with ye Utmost Diligence & faithfulness laid before ye Delawares & Six Nations, the Encouragements I recieved from this Government, & have done every thing in my power both for ye Interest of ye English [*illegible word*] & Indians. I have now Brought down with me as many of ye Chiefs of ye Several Nations as I Could _ _ _ _ four strings

FAH

The Conference in Publick was opened by Teedyuscung King of the Delawares
Brother the Governor,

I will just remind you that a Council Fire was kindled in this place last Summer, what was then said I suppose you well know. I have with the utmost diligence and faithfulness laid before the Delawares & Six Nations the Encouragements I received from this Governmt: and have done every thing in my power both for the Interest of ^{the} English and Indians. I have now brought down with me as many of the Chiefs of the Several Nations as I could.

4 Strings

JH

King Tetyuskung Gave a String and Said Please the Governor & Gentlemen to hear a few words & he will Inform them of what past this Summer when he was here he says he has been faithfull & true & held the Encouragemt he Recd from the English & this Governmt & has Declared it to the nations Round both Delaware & Mohocks ^{& other Nations} Several of whom are here present & can DeClare the Same

BF⁵¹

Teedyuscung opened the Conferences with the following Speech.

Brother the Governor,

May it please your Excellency to hear a few Words; I will put the Governor and Gentlemen in mind, that Conferences were held here in the Summer, and what passed there is well known.

I have taken all the Pains possible to execute what I then undertook, and have brought with me several of different Tribes, as well *Delawares* as *Six Nation Indians*.

I held up the Encouragements I received from the *English*, and spread them far and near to all the Tribes I promised to go to, as well among the *Delawares* as *Six Nations*; and I assure you, I have been true and faithful to my Promises, and used all the Diligence in my Power; in Testimony whereof I give these

Four Strings.

RPC

In confirmation that I have faithfully published what was committed to my care several Indians of different Places as well Six nation Indians as Delaware are come along with me & being now present will put their hands and Seals to the Truth of what I say, they have acted upon what I delivered in the behalfe of this Government and their minds are intent on the good Work that is going on. Some of them were here before.

APS

Brother: I have with all faithfulness held up to the Indian Nations, the Belt I recieved from this Governmt: the Mohawks & Delawares present Can Wittness this, & they have believed and taken hold of it, & are ready to Joyn to promote ye Good work that is begun.

FAH

Brother,
I have with all Faithfulness held up to the Indian Nations the Belt I received from this Government. The Mohawks and Delawares present can witness this. And they have believed and taken hold of it, and are ready to join to promote the Good Work that is begun.

JH

he the Gave a belt & sd he had
^{to ye nations & others}
publist what he had promis as
they present Could Witness

BF

In Confirmation that I have faithfully published what was committed to my Care, several *Indians* of different Places, as well *Six Nation Indians as Delawares*, are come along with me, and being now present, will put their Hands and Seals to the Truth of what I say; they have acted upon what I delivered in Behalf of this Government, and their Minds are intent on the good Work that is going on; some of them were here before.

RPC

In conformity to an antient and good Custom establishd among our Ancestors I ^{now proceed to} give you this Belt & open your Eyes & Ears & remove all Obstructions out[?] of your Throats that nothing may impede the attention necessary to be used in a matter of such Importance as is now⁵² Some bad Reports have lately been spread which deserve to be no more minded than the Whistling of Birds -These I would remove by this Belt and take away all bad Impressions that may have been made by them.

Gave a Belt of 8 Rows

No. 2

APS

this Belt I give to wipe ye face of ye English that you may See your Brors: ye Delawares & to Clean your Ears that you may hear, & especially to open ye passage from your heart to your throat_ desiring that you May put away out of your Heart all that Evil Matter, which ye Good Spirit has not put there & remove from you all bad reports which are Spread Abroad, that you may not give any Credit to them, as they are not regarded any more than ye Chirping of birds in ye Woods_

A Belt

FAH

This Belt I give to wipe the face of the English that you may see your Brothers the Delawares, & to clean your Ears that you may hear, & especially to open the passage from your Heart to your Throat that you may put away out of your Heart all that evil matter which the good Spirit has not put there, & remove from you all bad reports⁵³ which are spread abroad, that you may not give any credit to them as they are not to be regarded any more than the Chirping of Birds in the Woods.

a Belt

JH

he also wiped the Englishs Eyes that they might See their brethren the Indians. & he also Removed the bad that had Lately hapend Which ye Great God Above had not put into the heart & that he wd Leave the Good----

BF

In Conformity to an antient and good Custom established among our Ancestors, I now proceed to open your Eyes and Ears, and remove all Obstructions out of your Throats, that nothing may impede the Attention necessary to be used in a Matter of such Importance as is now going on.

Some bad Reports have lately been spread, which deserve to be no more minded than the Whistling of Birds; these I would remove by this Belt, and take away all bad Impressions that may have been made by them.

Gave a Belt of eight Rows.

RPC

Brother

I have ~~now uttered~~ done for the present and another time if God spares Life I will begin the Main Matter ~~of the Treaty~~ I came to do.

JH

and thus far he sd he had now to Say but if he was Spared another Day he shd proceed to treat

BF

Brother,

I have done for the present, and another Time, if God spares Life, I will begin the main Matter I came to do.

November 9, 1756, pt. 1

RPC⁵⁴

Brother.

This is to notify to you, that at the Treaty held here in the Summer I promised to publish what was then deliverd to me to all the Nations I could have any Influence on, and that I have

done ~~illegible words~~ of those who performed all I promised & done My Duty are with me, ~~illegible words~~ now faithfully to to all these Nations I can evidence here at your pleasure, & ready to by some of ~~illegible word~~ of them who are hear what you have to say to us come with me and are now and disposed to do every thing in their Power to ~~illegible word~~ confirmation of what has been done & will be peace what was by us made public among their Nations.

4 Strings

No 3

APS

Bror_ These Strings

are to notify that at the Treaty in ye Summer, I promised That I would Publish to ye Several Nations what was deliverd to me. Now I Can evidence by These with me that I have done my Duty according to my promise & now from Several of ye Nations are Come Down With me to ye Council fire, to hear what you have To Say to us, & we are ready on our part to do every Thing in our power To assist & Confirm it four Strings

FAH

Brother,

These Strings are to notify that at the Treaty in the Summer I promised that I would publish to the several Nations what was delivered to me; now I can evidence by these⁵⁵ with me that I have done my duty according to my promise. And now some from several of the Nations are come down with me to the Council Fire to hear what you have to say to us and we are ready on our part to do everything in our power to assist & confirm it.

4 Strings.

JH⁵⁶

Brethren

this to notifie to You that^{at} ye Treaty here in ye Summer I have Informd all the Nations Round and Can Evidence by Several that are here that I have Done So And we are here now to hear what You have to Say and to Lend a hand to ye Good work which we believe you have in hand at this Time

BF⁵⁷

Brother,

This is to notify to you, that at the Treaty held here in the Summer, I promised to publish what was then delivered to me to all the Nations I could have any Influence on; and that I have performed all I promised, and done my Duty faithfully, with Respect to all these Nations, I can evidence by some of them who are come with me, and are now here, at your Pleasure, ready to hear what you have to say to us, and disposed to do every Thing in their Power, in Confirmation of what has been, or will be, transacted.

A String.

RPC⁵⁸

Brethren

^{signifies that I heard and took notice and paid a due regard to every}This Belt assures you yt assures ~~[illegible]~~

~~words~~] thing mentiond by the Messengers you sent to
^{whom them & I paid a regard to wt they said}
 me at Diahogo and that I receivd it kindly. You may
^{in particular}
 remember that you took hold of my hand, and there
 upon I came down to this Place where the Council
 Fire was appointed to be kindled. When I came there
 I found every thing said by your Messengers was
 true which on my return I made known as well as
 every thing else that was then deliverd to me to Ten
 different Nations Delawares and Six Nations and
^{of them}
 others as many as I have prevailed upon to come with
 me can evidence the truth of this. I

^{We}
 They ~~[illegible word]~~ are all put in mind of
 the antient leagues and Covenants made by our
 Forefathers and of the former Union & mutual kind
 Actions of our & their Ancestors What was proposd
 here renewd the remembrance of these former happy
 times.

^{Though}
 As you know we are but Children in
 comparison of them, and of little Ability as you well
 know yet we have pickd up a few Chips and will ^{add} put
^{and added}
 them onto the Fire & kindle ^{add} make it blaze so high
^{hoped it will grow a}
^{great Fire yt and}
 that it may be seen by all the different Indian Nations
^{Spectators of what we are now doing}
 who are now looking at us

A Belt of 10 Rows

No 4

APS

Bror: This Belt /holding up a Belt/ Signify's what
 ye Messengers you Sent told ye Indians at Diahogo
 & where I was one: I kindly Received what your
 Messengers related to me You then Took hold of
 my hand, & I Came down to ye place appointed
 in ye forks of Delaware to ye Council fire, When
 I Came down I found that what was Said by your
 Messengers was true, what was then Said To me,
 I faithfully Deliver'd back to the Delawares & Six
 Nations, & have prevailed on several of them to
 Come down with me: and they are now present to
 wittness ye Truth of what I say, what was then done,
 and proposd put us in mind of ye Actions of our
 Ancient people, & as we were only Childn in Abilities
 we pickd up a few Chips & put them to ye fire to
 kindle it, that it May blaze up & appear to Nations
 Afar off.

A Belt of Ten Rows.

FAH

Brother,

This Belt (holding up a Belt) signifies what the Messengers
 you sent told the Indians at Diahogo where I was one, I kindly
 received what your Messengers related to me. You then took hold
 of my hand & I came down to the place appointed in the Forks
 of Delaware to the Council Fire. When I came down I found what
^{that}
 was said by your Messengers was true. What was then said to me I
 faithfully delivered back to the Delawares and six Nations, and have
 prevailed on several of them to come down with me, who are now
 present, to witness the Truth of what I say. What was then done and
 proposed put us in mind of the Actions of our ancient People, and
 as we were only Children in Abilities, ⁺⁵⁹ we pickd up a few Chips
^{it}
 and put them to the Fire to kindle it, that may blaze up and appear to
 Nations afar off.

A Belt of ten rows.

JH

he then sd Brethren this Belt Signifies by Your Messengers Even [*sic*] me & Your Messengers Sent to Diahogo You then Remember you took hold of my hand & I Came Down to ye forks of Delaware to ye Counsil fire & found what was said by You was True & I then Deliverd that to ye Mohocks & 10 nations who are here present & it puts us in mind of our Ancesters Lasting peace And we have pickt up Chips we are but Children in Abillities and we will put onthe [*sic*] fire that it may Appear to those that are Round us when the fire burns bright & Gives Light Round About-----
then Gave a Belt which he held in his hand

BF*Brethren,*

This Belt signifies that I took Notice of, and paid a due Regard to, every Thing sent by the Messengers you sent to me at *Diahogo*, whom I received kindly. You may in particular remember, that you took hold of my Hand, and thereupon I came to this Place, where the Council-Fire was appointed to be kindled: When I came here, I found every Thing said by your Messengers true; which, on my Return, I made known, as well as every Thing else that was then delivered to me, to ten different Nations, *Delawares* and *Six Nations*; and as many of them as I have prevailed upon to come with me, can evidence the Truth of this.

We are all put in mind of the ancient Leagues and Covenants made by our Fore-Fathers, and of the former Union and mutual kind Actions of our and their Ancestors; what was proposed here renewed the Remembrance of these former happy Times.

Though we are but Children in Comparison of them, and of little Ability, as you well know, yet we have picked up a few Chips, and will add them to the Fire, and hope it will grow a great Fire, and blaze high, and be seen by all the different *Indian Nations*, Spectators of what we are now doing.

A Belt of ten Rows.

RPC

Brethren

I remember ^{what has passed in discourse &} ~~the~~ Conversation ^{between} wch ~~passed~~ among our ^{[illegible word] old} antient People especially with Govr Penn & ~~them~~ about Govr Penn. What he said to the Indians is fresh in our mind & memory & I believe it is in yours The Indians & Govr Penn agreed well together this we still remember and it was not a small matter that woud then have separated us, and now as you ^{fill} sit ^{he did in this Province as they did} in the same Station it is in your power to ^{act} do the same ^{part.} they woud have done[?]

^{I am} ~~We are~~ now before you, just what you see me a ~~Boy~~ I represent mysele ~~no more~~ ^{to be only} than a Boy, I am really no more; Now as Misfortunes have happened by the bad Spirit, by our Enemy & by some of our foolish People I declare unto you the truth. that I have ever been sorry to see it thus, as far as I know my selfe [&] ~~I say this is true & that I have~~ ^{if it cost me my Life, I woud make it otherwise} ~~endeavoured at the risque of my Life to bring about a Peace, endeavourd~~ ^{I have [illegible word] ed] at endeavoured[?} ~~[illegible word] _____~~ ent] to. As I have already proceeded a great way & prevailld on those who have steppd out of the Way & on many of whom I had no Expectation to enter into peaceable measures, ~~and~~ I now call upon you to use your ability wch is much more than ours, to assist this good Work to encourage it and to confirm it to good Advantage

Belt of 7 Rows No 5

Taking the Belt up again he added. What you have said I have truly imparted to all & what you shall now [sideways, in margin] say I shall likewise hold up, I shall not put it into my Bosom but declare it & distribute it to all that it may have a good Effect

APS

Bror: I remember well ye Conferences that have been held by our ancient people especially with Wm Penn, they are Still fresh in our Memory, & we hope in yours Also, The Indians & people of Pennsylvania then Agreed well, we remember The Same & have kept it in our Memory, it was not a Small matter that Could then Seperate them. Now as you, Brethern, act in ye Same Province it becomes you to endeavour that it Should be So now. Tho I am before you as a Boy in Comparison, yet I will bring a few Chips to add to ye fire, By ye Influence of ye Bad Spirit on our foolish young people, Misfortunes have lately hapened, which (I declare to you ye Truth/ I have been sorry to see, & have endeavoured At ye hazard of my Life that it might be otherwise, I have now prevailed with those who had Stept out of ye way, & even with some I had little hopes of Sometime ago, to Joyn with me. Now you being strong it remains with you to exert yourselves, & especially to pray to ye Good Spirit above to forward the Good work. Bror what you hear me Say, I declare is truth, be you free & answer me with openness, whatever you tell me, I will not hide in my Bosome but will hold it out that all may hear & See it, & that it may have a good Effect

A belt of Seven Rows

Now Said ye king, I have done for ye present, & am Ready to hear what ye Govr. will please to say

FAH

Brother,

I^v⁶⁰ remember well the Conferences that have been held by our Ancient People with Willm Penn. They are still fresh in our Memory and we hope in yours also. The Indians and people of Pennsylvania then agreed well, we remember the same and have kept it in our Memory. It was not a small matter that could then separate them. Now as you, Brother, act in the same Province it becomes you to endeavor that it may be so now, tho' I am before you, but as a Boy in Comparison, yet I will bring a few Chips to add to the Fire.

By the Influence of the bad Spirit on our foolish young People misfortunes have lately happened which (I declare to you the Truth) I have been sorry to see and have endeavoured at the hazard of my Life that it might be otherwise.

I have now prevailed with some who have stepped out of the Way, and even with some I had little hopes of sometime ago to join with me. Now you being strong it remains with you to exert yourselves & especially to pray to the good Spirit above to forward the good Work.

Brother,

What you hear me say I declare as truth; be you free and answer me with openness, whatever you tell me I will not hide in my bosom but will hold it out that all may hear and see it, and that it may have a good effect.

a Belt of Seven rows

Now said the King I have done for the present and am ready to hear what the Governor will please to say.

JH

he then sd Brithren I also Remember the Conversation past between our old people & Governor pin who agreed well and it was not a Small matter that was to Seperate them I now as You See me before You as a boy now as Some misfortunes has happened by Some bad people and the bad Spirit I now Inform You that I have Endeavred all I Can to bring about a peace & I have now ^{if it Cost me my Life} Some hopes of a peace with those of whom we had but Little hopes Some Time Ago Brethren what You now had[?] I Declare to be true and what you have to Say I will hear & Shall not hide them in my Brest but Shall proclaim them Abroad where it may be of Advantage-----

he then sd he had finished & if the Governor had any thing to Say he was Ready to hear him

November 9, 1756, pt. 3

BF*Brethren,*

I remember what has passed in Discourse and Conversation among our old antient People, especially about Governor *Penn*; what he said to the *Indians* is fresh in our Minds and Memory, and I believe it is in yours. The *Indians* and Governor *Penn* agreed well together; this we all remember, and it was not a small Matter that would then have separated us: And now, as you fill the same Station he did in this Province, it is in your Power to act the same Part.

I am now before you just what you see me; I represent myself only to be a Boy; I am really no more. Now as Misfortunes have happened by the bad Spirit, by our Enemy, and by some of our foolish young People, I declare unto you the Truth, that I have ever been sorry to see it thus, and, as far as I know myself, if it costs me my Life, I would make it otherwise.---As I have already proceeded a great Way, and prevailed on those who have stept out of the Way, and on many of whom I had little or no Expectation, to enter into peaceable Measures, I now call upon you to use your Ability, which is much greater than ours, to assist this good Work, to encourage it, and to confirm it to good Advantage.

A Belt of seven Rows.

Taking the Belt up again, he added, What you have said I have truly imparted to all, and what you shall now say I shall likewise hold up; I shall not put it into my Bosom, but declare it, and distribute it to all, that it may have a good Effect.

November 13, 1756

After November 9 the proceedings pause for a few days as a party of colonists and Indians heads to the northern frontier in an attempt to convince some forty natives, hovering there to see how Teedyuscung fares, to join the peace talks. On the morning of Friday, November 12, the party returns to report that, though the natives appear to be friendly, they are going to stay where they are. That afternoon Governor Denny delivers a speech prepared by Peters, Conrad Weiser, and the assembly commissioners. Denny repeats what Teedyuscung covered on November 9, expressing his pleasure at the talk of peace and the warm memories of William Penn and assuring the Indians that “I shall be ready on all Occasions to do the Indians every Service in my Power, and most heartily assist in bringing about a lasting and durable Peace.”⁶¹

After saying “I throw a large Log into the Council-Fire that it may blaze up to the Heavens, and spread the Blessings of Peace far and wide,” Denny—despite strenuous objections from Peters and Weiser—goes on to ask Teedyuscung, point blank, “how that League of Friendship [between Indians and Pennsylvania] came to be broken? Have we, the Governor or People of Pennsylvania, done you any Kind of Injury? If you think we have, you should be honest, and tell us your Hearts.”⁶² According to some Quakers present, the effect on the Indian delegation was electric:

The Joy wch appear'd in the Countenances of ye Indians cannot be express'd on their hearing what ye Governor said—there has not for many Years been a Treaty, in which they have given such full & repeated Expressions of Approbation by their hearty united Yeho at ye End of every Sentence & on breaking up hurry'd across the Benches to offer him the Govr their hands, one of ym cry'd out Oh! he is a good man there is no Evil in his heart Everyone seems pleas'd that if they have any Complaints to make the way is now so fairly opened for their making them Known that the grounds of them may be enquir'd into.⁶³

The next day, Teedyuscung gives Denny an answer.

RPC-1⁶⁴

Teedyuscung Speaker

Bror. I remember you told me yesterday by them
Strings yt you woud ~~not~~ have conference sooner expected
^{had a} ^{had you not}
^{to have seen} ye Indians who were invited.

He thanks you for ye kind things you have spoken
& for reminding of

I will endeavour from bottom of my heart to tell
you ye truth I will deliver it in ye maner in wch I have reced
from[?] my Authority also there are who are with me will
witns it.

A String black &

White 3 Strings

RPC-2⁶⁵

Tedyuscung Spoke as follows laying before him the several
Strings & Belts given him Yesterday by the Governor.
Brother.

I remember you told me Yesterday by these
Strings that You Would have had a Conference Sooner
had You Not Expected that the Indians who were Invited
would have Come to this Council ~~Fire~~ I thank you for the
kind things You then Spoke and for reminding me of what
passed in former Times I will Endeavour to tell You the
Truth from the Bottom of my Heart & hope You will have
Patience to hear me All I shall Deliver shall be ^{according} ~~Agreable~~
to ~~those~~ the Authority I have received As those who are
Now With Me will Witness
Gave three Strings of Blk & Wt Wampum

APS

Bror: I Remember you Told me yesterday, by These
Strings, that you would have had a Conference Sooner, but
defered it on Account of ye Indians, whom you Expected
in I Thank you for puting me in mind of Things of
Importance, I beg you to hear me with patience & I will
from ye bottom of my heart, tell you truth in answer to
what you asked me last night, & will deliver myself in ye
manner I have received my Authority, as those who are
with me Shall wittness:

FAH

Brother,

I remember you told me Yesterday by these
Strings that you would have had a Conference sooner but
defer'd it on accot. of the Indians whom you expected
in.⁶⁶ I thank you for putting me in Mind of things of
Importance. I beg you to hear me with patience, & I will
from the bottom of my heart tell you the Truth in answer
to what you asked me,⁶⁷ last night, & will deliver myself in
the manner I have received my Authority as these who are
with me shall wittness.

JH⁶⁸

King Tateuscung Spoke & sd Brother I remember You
told me Yester Day you were Sorry that he Could not
Speak to You Sooner by Reason of the Indians Expected
in he also thanks the Governor for those kind words he
had put into his mind which were of Great Importance
And he begs the Governor will hear him patiently & he
Shall Declare the truth from his heart as he has it handed
to him

& then Gave a String--

BF⁶⁹

Teedyuscung *spoke as follows, laying before him the
several Strings and Belts given him Yesterday by the Governor.*

Brother,

I remember Yesterday by these Strings that
you would have had a Conference sooner, had you not
expected that the *Indians* who were invited would have
come to this Council.---I thank you for the kind Things
you have spoke, and for reminding me of what passed in
former Times; I will endeavour to tell you the Truth from
the Bottom of my Heart, and hope you will have Patience
to hear me; all I shall deliver shall be according to the
Authority I have received, as those who are now with me
will wittness.

Gave three Strings of black and white Wampum.

RPC-1

You are not ye same as your Grand fathers
 Bror I also now take & wipe ye tears
 from your Eyes as there is a great reason
 of mourning not only I but ye Six na. wth
 me put yr Seal to it. he takes & wipes all ye
 Blood from your Body & clears ye place yt
 you may sit down takes ye Blood from ye
 Leaves yt you may sit down wth quietness
 yt wñ you see ye Day light you may enjoy it
 this he declares not only for him selfe but
 ye Six Nations. for here are at least[?] Ten[?]
 Nations have put our hands to ye same
 words.

A Belt 9 Rows.

RPC-2

Brother.
 The times are not now as they
 Were in the Days of our Grandfathers,
 Then it was Peace But now Wars &
 Distress_
~~I~~ ^{I am sorry for what has happened and I now take and}
~~therefore now take & Wipe~~ the Tears
 from Your Eyes as There is great Reason
 of Mourning This I do not Only On
 my Own Part but On the Part of ye Six
 Nations who Will put their Seal to it_
 I take away ye Blood from Your Bodys
 with Which they are Sprinkled I Clear
 & ye leaves
 ye Ground that You may Sit Down with
 Quietness, And when You See ye Day
 Light You may Enjoy it_ I declare this not
 only for my Self but for ye Six Nations
 who with them make up ten, All which
 have With us put their Hands to these
 Same Words

Gave a Belt of 9 Rows_

APS

Bror: It is not now, as in ye time of our
 forefathers, I See the tears Streaming from
 your Eyes, & ye Blood runing down, Now
 I take & wipe the Tears from your eyes, as
 there is great reason of mourning, & I do
 this, not only in behalf of ye four Nations
 (Viz, the Shawnese, Delawares, Minisinks
 & Mohikons/ but Also ye six Nations put
 their hands to ye Same work & they Take &
 wipe ye blood from your Body, & Clean ye
 place & leaves from ye Blood, that you may
 Sit down in Quietness, & that you may See
 ye daylight & Enjoy it, This I declare not
 only for myself, but also in behalf of my
 Uncles ye Six Nations, & ye four Nations
 which I represent: Gave a Belt,

FAH

Brother,
 It is not now as in the time of our
 Forefathers, I see the Tears streaming from
 your Eyes and the Blood running down;
 now I take & wipe the Tears from your
 Eyes as there is great reason of mourning.
 And I do this not only on behalf of the
^afour nations, but also the ^bSix Nations⁷⁰
 put their Hands and Seals to the same
 Work, and they take and wipe the Blood
 from your Body and clean the place and
 Leaves from the Blood that you may sit
 down in quietness, and that you may see
 the day Light and enjoy it. This I declare
 not only for myself but also in behalf of
 my Uncles the Six Nations & the Four
 Nations which I represent.

JH

& then Sd Brother I also now takes & wipes the Tears from Your Eyes as there is Great Reason for it & not only him but the Six nations put their Seals to it that their places may be Clear & that they may Sit Down in peace & wipe off the blood which is Sprinkled on You which was not the Case with Your fathers And now the whole Ten nations put their Seals to it & then Gave a belt----

MA⁷¹

Tatteyuskund Spoke as follows:

Brethren, some time ago, you was not such people as you are now, because I see Tears in your Eyes & blood on your Body. I therefore wipe of the Tears from your Eyes, & the Blood from your Body; I also clean the place & the leaves of the Blood, that you may sit down again & enjoy the light of the Day. This not only I do, but also the ten Nations with me put our Hands to the Same.

Gave a Belt

BF

Brother,

The Times are not now as they were in the Days of our Grandfathers; then it was Peace, but now War and Distress; I am sorry for what has happened, and I now take and wipe the Tears from your Eyes, as there is great Reason for Mourning. This I not only do on my own Part, but on the Part of the *Six Nations*, who will put their Seal to it.---I take away the Blood from your Bodies, with which they are sprinkled: I clear the Ground, and the Leaves, that you may sit down with Quietness: I clear your Eyes, that when you see the Day-light you may enjoy it.---I declare this not only for the *Indians* I represent, but for the *Six Nations*, who, with them, make up Ten in all, which have with us put their Hands to these Words.

Gave a Belt of nine Rows.

RPC-1

Brother

Wn I have done wiping your Eyes
& Body & cleared ~~the~~ Ground where you
[*illegible word* _ise], I will also heal your
wound not only ye top but ye Bottom I will
apply ^{Creator} give you ye Plaister yt ye ~~Great Being~~ has
made ~~to be~~ for these purposes perfectly
that it may never break out more but be
completely cured. ^{Not only I but} the Six[?] Nations joyn
wth him.

A Belt. 8 Rows

RPC-2

Brother.

Now I have done Wiping Your
Eyes & Bodys and Clear ye Ground where
You Sitt I will also heal Your Wounds not
Only on the Top but to the Bottom I will
apply to them the Great Plaister which the
Great Creator has made for these Purposes.
I Say I will heal the Wounds so as it may
never brake Out More but be Completely
Cured In this the Six Nations also Join with
me

Gave a Belt of 8 Rows_

APS

Bror: When I have done wiping your eyes
& Body, & Clearing ye place where you are
to set down, I will endeavour to heal ye
wound, not ye top only, but to ye bottom;
& I will apply ye Plaister, which the Great
Creator has made for that purpose, To
heal ye wound, that it may never break out
more; & not only I but ye Six Nations Join
me; - -

A Belt;

FAH

Brother,

When I have done wiping your
Eyes and Body and cleaning the place
where you are to sit down, I will endeavour
to heal the Wound, not the top only but
the Bottom and I will apply the Plaister
which the Great Creator has made for that
purpose to heal the wound that it may
never break out any more, and not only I,
but the six Nations join me.

JH

& then sd Brother that when I have Done
wiping Your Eyes & body & the Ground
that You may sit Down in peace I will apply
the plaster which ye Great Creator has mad
So that it may not break out more & in this
the 6 nations Join me & Gave a Belt -----

MA

Brethren, as I now have wipt
the Tears from your Eyes & the Blood
from your body, & have clean'd the place
that you can sit down, I will also cure
the Wounds, & put Plaister's on, & such
plaister's which the great God has created
in such Case. I will not only cure the top or
the outside of it, but from the bottom, that
it never shall breake out again.

Gave a Belt.

BF*Brother,*

Now I have done wiping your
Eyes and Bodies, and cleaning the Ground
where you sit; I will also heal your Wounds,
not only at the Top, but at the Bottom; I
will apply to them the good Plaister which
the Great Creator has made for these
Purposes. I say I will heal the Wound, so
as it may never break out more, but be
completely cured; in this the *Six Nations*
also join with me.

Gave a Belt of eight of Rows [sic]

November 13, 1756, pt. 4

RPC-1

B.

After I have heald ye wound, it is very usual & common wⁿ there are 2 Brors yt one has been ye other is ^{& recovers is [siz] health} glad & as I have curd yt wound I am glad to see face to face as it has pleasd ye good Spirit to bring us together I am very glad also ye Six & 10 Nations & ye other nations will put their Seal to what he has said & is still to say.

Belt 11 Rows.

RPC-2

Brother.

Now as I have healed the Wound ~~It is~~ ^{Greatly[?]} ^{to} Our Case is like that of two Brothers When One has been Sick & has recovered his Health it is usual for the Other be Glad Just So it is with me now Your Wound is Cured__ I am pleased to see You face to face As it has pleased ye Good Spirit to bring us together I also remember Every thing You have said And as to what I have Said or have Still to say, the Other Nations will Confirm_

Gave a Belt of Eleven Rows_

APS

Bror: Now I have healed ye wound, as it is usual when one of two Brors have been Sick, & is recovered The other is glad, I am also glad to See you now well: & now this Goodspirit has again brought us together. I am glad to see you face to face, & not only I, but ye whole Ten Nations are glad, & will put their hands & Seals to what I have Said, & what I have to Say;

A Belt;

FAH

Brother,

Now I have healed the Wound, it is usual when one of two brothers have [siz] been sick and is recovered, the other is glad, I am also glad to see you now well; and now the good Spirit has again brought us together I am glad to see you face to face, and not only I but the whole ten Nations are glad and will put their hands and Seals to what I have ~~to~~ say'd & to what I have to say.⁷²

JH

& then said Brother after I have heald that wound it is a very Common thing when 2 Brothers are Sick when one is Recoverd the other is Glad I also now am Glad to see You here face to face as it has pleasd ye Good Spirit to bring us together & the 6 nations is Glad & will put their Seals to what I say & have to Say then Gave a belt -----

MA

Brethren, whereas I now also cur'd the Wounds, we rejoyce with one another like two Brothers, when one has been sick & is recover'd, of which they are both glad. I hope we shall see each other again and rejoyce together. And I and the ten Nations with me will put our Hands & Seals to what has been said & what shall be said in future.

Gave a Belt.

BF*Brother,*

Now as I have healed the Wound, our Case is like that of two Brothers; when one has been sick, and has recovered his Health, it is usual for the other to be glad; just so it is with me now: Your Wound is cured;---I am glad to see you Face to Face, as it has pleased the good Spirit to bring us together. I also remember every thing you have said; and as to what I have said, or still have to say, the other Nations will confirm.

Gave a Belt of eleven Rows.

November 13, 1756, pt. 5

RPC-1

Bror

I am now going to tell you some things in few words in answer to your proposal last night In ye beginning of this confusion & war fall before this I ^{lived} was in ye middle of ye Road leading from ye Six Nations & Philada Wn I lookd out at Phila I saw my Brn every thing in Peace wth these Wn I lookd ye other way to my Unckles ye Six Nations every thing was also in peace

When one of your men Broadhead came & told me[?] yt I had murderd the English there were 2 Kings wth me after I

Till a man calld Charles Broadhead an Inhabitant of this Province came to me at Wyomink & told me as if he had such message from ye Govr yt I was had struck my Brethren the English wch I denyed⁷³

desird him after a space[?] at home[?] wn they coud not prevail wth him to believe me to taking ^{two Bunches} 3 Strings of Wampum to go down to ye Govr wth them & assure him yt it was not I who struck the English & also desird ye Govr to let me know what further measures I shoud take to give Satisfaction to ^{my} his Brethren ye English also desired ^{by} ye same Messenger of ye Govr woud take all ye prudent methods he coud to relate this to Col Johnson & ^{my} his Uncles ye Six Nations ^{yt} for I was in fear on this charge. That there were two Kings besides me ~~yt were~~ present & ^{who} joynd wth me in the Message. I ^{likewise} desired ye Govr of P. to send me a word what to do upon that I waited till I was out of Patience & was obligd to flee & leave my Inheritance on that Account.⁷⁴

RPC-2

[This paragraph is crossed out:]

~~Brother:~~

~~According to Your Question or Proposal You desired of me last Night to know ye Reason that I Struck You Without first Giving you any Reason for it I will tell You the Truth Since ye Indians struck ^{why I Struck} so Unfortunately Struck you.~~

~~Brother~~

I am now Going to tell You Somethings in a few Words in Answer to Your ^{request} Proposal last Night that I Should give you a true Accot. how I Came to strike You_

In the Beginn of the Confusion & ~~trouble~~ that happened the Fall before this I lived in the middle of ye Road leading from the Six Nations to Philadelphia where I ^{by my Unckles} was ordered to Sett down & ^{and there I sat in profound Peace under no Apprehension of Danger} When I looked towards Philadelphia I Saw my Brother ye Governor ^{and nothing but Peace & friend ship} And ~~Everything in Peace about him~~ & When I looked the Other Way towards my Uncles the Six Nations Everything was also in Peace there. So it Was With me ^{All at once a man came whose name is} Until a Man Called Charles Broadhead an Inhabitant of this Province came to me at Wyomink and told me as if he had such a Message from the Govrnor. that I had Struck my Brethren the English which I denied & When I Could not prevail with him to believe me I took two hand fulls of Wampum and Desired him to go down with them to the Governr. and Assure him that it Was not I who struck the English I also desired the Governr. to let me know What further Measures I Should to Satisfy him & my Brethren ^{take} of ~~Pennsylvania~~ ^{the English} of the Truth of this_ I also desired by the same Messenger that the Governr. would take all the prudent Methods He Could to relate this to Collo Johnson & to my Uncles ye Six Nats. as I was under a Good Deal of Concern that this Charge was made against me_ There Were two Kings present besides me who Joined With me in the Message and I likewise ~~desired~~ desired the Governr. to send me Word what to do for which I Waited till I was Out of Patience and Obliged to flee and leave my Inheritance On that Accot

Gave a String of 2

November 13, 1756, pt. 5

APS

Bror: I am now going To tell you Something in a few words in answer to ye proposal you made last Night, According to what I said before._ In ye begining of this Confusion & war ye fall before This; I was Seting still in ye middle of ye Great Road between Pennsylvania & ye Six Nations, __ When I looked down to Philada. I Saw you seting in peace,_ When I looked To my Uncles ye Six Nations, I saw them also seting Quiet,__ _ Till a Man called Charles Broadhead, an Inhabitant of Pensyl[va.?], Came To me at Wyoming, & told me, as if authorised by ye Govermt. of Pensylva., That I had Struck The English, which I denied: when I could not prevail with him To believe me, I gave him Two bunches of wampum & desired him To go to ~~ye Govr~~ our Bror. ye Govr. & to tell him that it was not I who Struck ye English, & to ask ye Govr. what I should do to ye Satisfaction of ye English; also to desire The Govr. to acquaint Col: Johnson & ye Six Nations, that I was in fear by reason this was laid to my Charge;__ Two kings were then Present at Wyoming, who Joined with me in ye Message; I also Desired him To request ye Govr: to Send me word what To do;--when I waited so long, till I was Out of Patience, I was obliged to flee & leave my Inheritance on that Account--four strings;

FAH

Brother,

I am now going to tell you something in a few Words in Answer to the Proposal you made ^{the} last night, according to what I said before; In the beginning of this Confusion and War, the Fall before this I was sitting still in the Middle of the great Road between Pennsylvania & the Six Nations. When I looked down to Philadelphia I saw you sitting in Peace, when I looked to my Uncles the Six Nations I saw them also sitting quiet_ till a man called *Charles Broadhead⁷⁵ an Inhabitant of Pennsylvania came to me at Wyoming and told me as if authorized by the Government of Pensilvania that I had struck the English, which I denied, when I could not prevail with him to believe me, I gave him two Bunches of Wampum and desired him to go to our Brother the Governor and to tell him that it was not I who struck the English, & to ask the Governor what I should do to the Satisfaction of the English; also to desire the Governor to acquaint Coll. Johnson and the Six Nations that I was in fear by reason this was laid to my charge. Two Kings were then present at Wyoming who joined with me in the Message. I also desired him to request the Governor to send me Word what to do,⁺⁷⁶ when I waited so long till I was out of Patience I was obliged to flee and leave my Inheritance on that account.

4 Strings.

November 13, 1756, pt. 5

JH

& then sd Brother I am now Going to Say Some things in Answer to Your words & I shall say it in few words --

Brother in the beginning of the fall before this I was in the way ^{or middle} & I Lookd to ye 5 nations & to the Governor & saw them Sitting ^{in peace} but after that Came Charles Broadhead an Inhabitant of this province Came to me at Yioming & Charge me as if he had it from⁷⁷ that I had Struck my Brethren the English which I Denied but he wd not believe it but after Some time I Gave him 3⁷⁸ Strings ^{or Bunches} of wampum & Desired him to Inform the ^{there were 2} Governor that I had not Struck them & that I Desired the Governor to Let ^{Kings besides me present} me⁷⁹ Me know what I shd Do to appease my Brethren the English & that the Governor wd Inform the Six nations & Coll Johnson how things Stood. for I am affraid [*illegible word*] the English believe me Guilty although I am not I also weigted untill I was out of patience I then was oblige [*sic*] to fly & Leave my Inheritance & then gave a string-----

BF*Brother,*

I am now going to tell you something in a few Words, in Answer to your Request last Night, that I should give you a true Account how I came to strike you.

In the Beginning of the Confusion and War that happened the Fall before this, I lived in the Middle of the Road leading from the *Six Nations* to *Philadelphia*, where I was ordered by my Uncles to sit down; and there I sat in profound Peace, under no Apprehension of Danger; and when I looked towards *Philadelphia*, I saw my Brother the Governor, and nothing but Peace and Friendship; and when I looked the other Way towards my Uncles the *Six Nations*, every thing was also Peace there; so it was with me, until all at once a Man, whose Name is called *Charles Broadhead*, an Inhabitant of this Province, came to me at *Wioming*, and told me, as if he had such a Message from the Governor, that I had struck my Brethren the *English*, which I denied over and over; and when I could not prevail with him to believe me, I took two Handfuls of Wampum, and desired him to go down with them to the Governor, and assure him that it was not I who struck the *English*. I also desired the Governor to let me know what further Measures I should take, to satisfy him and my Brethren the *English* of the Truth of this.--I also desired, by the same Messenger, that the Governor would take all the prudent Methods he could to relate this to Colonel *Johnson*, and to my Uncles the *Six Nations*, as I was under a good deal of Concern that this Charge was laid against me.----There were two Kings present besides me, who joined with me in the Message; and I likewise desired the Governor to send me Word what to do, for which I waited till I was out of Patience, and obliged to flee, and leave my Inheritance on that Account.

*Gave a String.***MA**

Brother, I will now tell you the truth concerning the late troubles: In the beginning we look'd upon our Brn the English & saw them quiet & in peace, we look'd on the other Side upon the Six Nations our Cousins & saw them at peace also & we sat still and quiet till one named Charles Broadhead came & brought us a Report, that we had struck our Brethren the English, which I denied. I gave him three Strings of Wampum with a Message to the Governor, that he might let us know what we should do, & how we should behave at such a Time, & also that he might send to Mr Johnson & the Six Nations to consult about it but I never had any Answer.

Gave a String

November 13, 1756, pt. 6

RPC-1

Brother

According to your ^{another} Question or Proposal ~~yt~~ you desired^d of me last night what was ye reason yt you struck me without giving me reason first I will now[?] tell you the truth why I have struck you unfortunately.

Bro

In answer to yr Question I will tell you ye truth. I never knew in ^{among} my antient kings ever to have this in their mind I now tell you yt it has come from a Great King ^{I think so} The K of E & of F have workd this Land so as to coop us in a Pen. My foolish [&] People ^{our foolish & young} wn they see yt 1 of this false hearted King ignorant men wn they were shewn ye proceedings of this Enemy & things yt were told by ^{falsehearted King} him they believd & were persuaded to strike our B ye E.

According to yr desire I will now wth an honest heart answer to tell you ye truth You know very well wn this unfortunate ~~[illegible word]~~ ^{yt are English} Managemt has prevaild wth us it is easy for you to look into your hearts wch has given ye great cause. ~~to make~~ There is some[?] and[?] that[?] there reason br this Blow ~~be~~ came harder yn it has or than it woud have done but it is not the principal thing. Some things ~~of to~~ yt have been ^{in former times} passd were not well pleasing to the Indians wch they have though wrong, ^{not only} in this Govt but ^{but this is not ye principal Cause} in other Governments also.

^{being askd what other Govts he mentioned ye Jerseys} Now Br I have told you ye truth that you desired me & also ye uneasiness of my mind. because I verily believe it is our duty to bring up ye bitter be it as bad as it will. and yt it is very necessary yt we shoud both open our minds to one another yt we may agree to heal ye Wound.

Belt of 12 Rows

RPC-2

Brother

According to Your other Question or ^{Request} ~~proposal~~ last Night to know of me why I Struck You without first giving You a Reason for it_ I will tell You the Truth Why I have Unfortunately Struck You I Say Brother I will tell You the Very truth in Answr to Your Question_ I Never knew any of Our Ancient Kings Ever to have this in their Minds I Now tell You that ^{it} Came from a ^{one or other} Great King. at least I think so The King of England and of France have settled Or Wrought this Land So as to Coop us as if in a Penn_ ~~When~~ Our foolish & Ignorant Young Men When they Saw the Proceedings of this Enemy & the things that Were told ~~they~~ Believed them and were ~~perswaded~~ by this falsehearted King to strike our Brethren the English_ According to Your Deisre I will now tell You the Truth with an honest heart as far as is in my Power After this unfortunate Management Once Prevailed It is Easy for You English if You look into Your hearts to find the Cause why the Blow came harder upon You than it Would have Otherwise done.

But ^{this} it is not the Principal Cause, Somethings that have passed in former times both in this & Other Governments were not well pleasing to the Indians Indeed they thought them Wrong But as I Said before they were the ^{not} Principal Cause & Being asked what Other Governments he Mentioned the Province of New Jersey_

Now Brother I have told You the Truth as You desired me & also the Uneasiness of my Mind because I ^{verily} believe it Was our Duty to go to the Very Bottom Be it as bad as it Will and that it is Necessary We Should both Open Our Whole Minds to One Another yt We May Agree to heal the Wound

Gave a Belt of 12 Rows

November 13, 1756, pt. 6

APS

Then Taking up ye Belt which ye Govr. had given him_ _ _ ye king
 Proceeded;

Bror: In Answer to ye Question you asked me last night; why I struck you before I
 gave you Notice, I will tell you ye truth, why I unfortunately Struck you.

Bror: I never knew That any of our ancient kings had This in Their minds, I tell you
 it came from a Great king, I think so, ye king of England & ye king of France have
 so worked our lands, as to Coop us up between Them as in a Penn_ when my foolish
 young People heard & saw what This falsehearted king & his People behind us had
 done, & believed what was told them._ they were persuaded to Strike our Brors. the
 English,___ According to your desire, I will with an Honest Heart, as far as I know
 myself. tell ye Truth, You must know, That when this Unfortunate mismanagment
 prevailed it was easy for you ye Govr: & People of Pensylva. to look into your hearts
 & find a reason why this blow should fall harder upon you Tho This was not ye
 principal thing; Some Things in this Govermt: even in old Times, have not been
 right, & well pleasing To ye Indians; & we have received grievences, not only in this,
 but also in other Govermts_ _ (being asked what Other Govermts, he reply'd ye
 +Jerseys,/
 Bror: I have Told you ye truth according to your desire, & explained fully ye
 uneasyness of my Mind, because I think it right to show ye bottom of my heart, &
 I desire you to open your minds, for we ought to use openness with each other, that
 we may agree To heal ye wond^u, prehaps when you look at what I say, you may soon
 forget this, but if you will look into your own hearts, you must see there what you
 Should do:

a Belt of ten Rows ----

+Note ye Jerseys respecting land Affairs, are two Govermts_

CW

Brother the reason I Strake you I think you must know. It is I think because
 the King of Engd & france made Warr with one another for our lands, and both
 this Nation inroachd upon our lands and Coopd us up as If in a penn, and after
 the france had Such great advantg over the English it was ^{an} Easy Matter for that false
 hearted french King to prevail on our foolish yong men to join them, and take up the
 hatchit against our Brethren the English the french making use of arts and presents.

Brother you desired me to be free & open about every thing that might
 Stick in the Indians mind, or what they might have had to Say against their Brethren
 the English. I will now tell ~~& the~~ you the truth with an honest heart as farr as lies in
 my power, and you may Judge of it yourself What made your Case worse ~~the~~/tho
 what I am going to tell you I is not the principal Cause ^{^/ ^} of the War, some things
 that have passed in former times in this and other Governments &c

November 13, 1756, pt. 6

FAH

Then taking up the Belt the Governor had given him the King proceeded.
Brother,

In answer to the Question you asked me last Night, why I struck you before I gave you Notice? I will tell you the Truth why I unfortunately Struck you. Brother, I never knew that any of our Ancient Kings had this in their Minds, I tell you it came from a Great King, I think so. The King of England & the King of France have so worked our Lands as to coop us up between them as in a penn. When my foolish young People heard and saw what this falsehearted King and his people behind us had done, & believed what was told them they were persuaded to strike our Brothers the English.----according to your desire I will with an honest heart as far as I know my self tell the Truth, you must know when this unfortunate mismanagement prevailed it was easy for you the Governor and people of Pensilvania to look into your hearts and find reason why this Blow should fall harder upon you. Tho' this m^{ing} _____ f^{ce} [illegible words]⁸⁰ was not the principal thing. Some things in this Government even in old times have not been right and well pleasing to the Indians: And we have received Grievances not only in this but also in other Governments, being asked what Governments he replied the Jerseys#⁸¹

Brother,

I have told you the Truth according to your desire & explained the uneasiness of my Mind because I think it right to show the bottom of my heart, and I desire you to open your Minds, for we ought to use openness with each other that we may agree to heal the Wound, perhaps when you look at what I say you may soon forget this, but if you will look into your own hearts you must see what you should do?

a Belt of 12 Rows

JH

and then sd Brother According to Your Question that You propose Last Night why I Struck You without Giving You notice Ill now Give You my Reasons why I un

Brother Ill tell you the truth ~~When~~ it was by means of our Situation I never knew it was in the minds of any of my Ancestors the Country is work by two kings & I am presst on both Sides & my foolish Young people have been perswaded to strike their Brethren ye English I must also Inform ^{you} from my heart & You may also Look into Your hearts & to know that You have Given the cause for this blow to Come harder ^{as not only this G: but others have Done wrong} then it wd have Done but this is not the worst----& then Gave a belt

& Sd I have now told You the truth & I Desire you may Look into it to the Bottom be it as bad as it will that Every thing may be put Right & the wound heald by our oppenness & freedom

MA

Brother, upon your Question yesterday, I will now tell you the Truth, whye [*sic*] I have done so: Br. I had never before any thoughts to do such a thing, & I believe it comes from a great King. The King of England & France took Possession of this Country & we was left in the middle. My young foolish people believed what was told them & was persuaded to strike our Brethren the English.

Gave a Belt

BF

Brother,

According to your other Question or Request last Night, to know of me why I struck you, without first giving you a Reason for it; I will tell you the Truth why I have unfortunately struck you. I say, Brother, I will tell you the very Truth, in Answer to your Question. I never knew any of our ancient Kings ever to have this in their Minds, I now tell you that it came from a great King, at least I think so: The King of *England*, and of *France*, have settled or wrought this Land, so as to coop us up as if in a Pen. Our foolish and ignorant young Men, when they saw the Proceeding of this Enemy, and the Things that were told them, believed them, and were perswaded by this false-hearted King to strike our Brethren the *English*.---According to your desire I will now tell you the Truth with an honest Heart, as far as is in my Power: After this unfortunate Management once prevailed, it is easy for all you *English*, if you look into your Hearts, to find the Cause why this Blow came harder upon you, than it would have otherwise done;--but this is not the principal Cause; some Things that have passed in former Times, both in this and other Governments, were not well pleasing to the *Indians*, indeed they thought them wrong; but as I said before, they were not the principal Cause. Being asked in what other Governments, he answered, in the Province of *New-Jersey*. Now, Brother, I have told you the Truth, as you desired me, and also the Uneasiness of my Mind, because I verily believe it was our Duty to go to the very Bottom, be it as bad as it will, and that it is necessary we should both open our whole Minds to one another, that we may agree to heal the Wound.

Gave a Belt of twelve Rows.

RPC-1

Brother.

When I was here last Treaty I did according to what I promised I took ye B from ye Govr of P & ^{held it} putting it to all ye Nations yt I promised to go. as a Invitation for them to come down to this Council fire

I reced this Belt from one Nation of ye Delawares He told me yt he was glad to hear it & he will go part of ye way & there he will stay. I will agree to what you do [*illegible words*] recd from ye Minisink Indians

Belt 10 Rows

I take hold of ye same hand but I will go no further up to that place. I make you my attorney[?] I am led down by ye same hand I accept of ye Invitation

Belt 10 Rows

RPC-2

Brother.

When I was here at the last treaty I did according to what I promised. I took the Belt I recd from this Government and held it up to all the Nations I undertook to go to and I took them all by the hand (meaning I invited them all to Come to the council Fire) ^{ye Indians now about Fort. Allen} One of Delaware Nations /meaning ye Minisinks/ gave me this Belt Saying He was Glad to hear what I Said and laid hold of the same hand /meang he ~~had~~ Accepted ye Invitation but Said he would ^{only} Go part of ye Way no further thanto ^{a Certain} such a Place and there he Would Stay But that I might proceed for He Would Agree to what Ever I did being led by the same hand and Giving me Authority to Act for him at this Council_

then Delivered ye Belt of 10 Rows ~~which he Said was had been~~ given him by those Indians who he Said were Minisinks

APS

Bror: What I promised when I was here, at ye last Treaty, I have faithfully performed, I took The Belt from ye Govr. of Pensylva. & held it up to all ye Nations I was to go to, & offered Them my hand To lead them down to ye Council fire, one of the kings I Came to took Hold of ye Belt, & Said he was glad To hear ye Good News: & would take hold of ye Same hand, & be led by me a part of ye Way, & Sit down There; you, said he to me, Shall proceed. & whatever you do at ye Councilfire I will agree to; & this is ye Belt I received from ye Minisink Indians, _ _ _ _ Gave the Belt.-

FAH

Brother,

What I promised when I was here at the last Treaty I have faithfully performed. I took the Belt from the Governor of Pennsylvania and held it up to all the Nations I was to go to and offered them my hand to lead them down to the Council Fire. One of the Kings I came to took hold of the Belt and said he was glad to hear the good News, and would take hold of the same hand & be led by me apart of the Way and sit down there. You, said he to me, shall proceed and what ever you do at the Council Fire I will agree to. And this is the Belt I received from the Minisink Indians.*⁸²

Gave a Belt

JH

the Governor he then Sd Brother When I was here
Last treaty I then Did as I ^{held your Belt in my hand} promised I Did Report
it to nations Round a bout & when I Came home
I Receivd this pelt [*sic*] from from [*sic*] another king
who sd he wd was Glad of Your words that he wd
Take hold of the belt & Go part of the way & then
Tateuscung might Go Down & Settle the matter & he
wd Agree to whatever he sd Do who was by that Belt
to be Considrd. as his Attorney -
& then Gave the Belt

MA

Brother, when I was here last, & after I was
gone, I have done according to my promise, & have
publish'd those Words you have told me to the Six
Nations & all the Indians, & I have invited them,
took them by the Hand & desired them to come with
me, they accepted & received these good Words very
kindly & though they are not present, they assured
me, they would come & sit down & wait upon you &
men and hold fast to the Belt

Gave a Belt

BF

Brother,

When I was here at the last Treaty, I did according
to what I promised. I took the Belt I received from this
Government, and held it up to all the Nations I undertook
to go to, and I took them all by the Hand (meaning I invited
them all to come to the Council-Fire.) One of the *Delaware*
Nations, meaning the *Minisink Indians*, now about *Fort Allen*,
gave me this Belt, saying, he was glad to hear what I said,
and laid hold of the same Hand, meaning, he accepted the
Invitation; but said he would only go Part of the Way, no
further than to a certain Place, and there he would stay, but
that I might proceed, for he would agree to whatever I did,
being led by the same Hand, and giving me Authority to act
for him at this Council.

*Then delivered the Belt, of ten Rows, given him by those Indians, who
he said were Minisinks.*

RPC-1

Bror

By these Str I let you also know I woud not have you think yt this is ye last I have also further to tell you if we are spared from above till another day yt is next Spring I will let you know something further I will come to a Treaty you shall also see ye other Chiefs yt make up ye 10. you also know yt we cannot at one time finish a thing yt is of great moment but wth faithful [*illegible word* E__e__ouring] we may accomplish it in time for ye good of both

4³ Strings
a thing forgot.

Conclusion

B. I let you know freely & fully my mind & determination what I do, wn I am in my Country I will also look & will see & hear if I hear any Enemy coming agt you I will send a sutable Messenger if it be in mid night. I will also take that prudent care ~~to let~~ if there be any Enemys likely to befall you to let you know it. ^{if the Enemy be but a few I may not comto know it} perhaps I shall be likelier to know if there be a great number be there more or less I will let you know

RPC-2

Brother

By this String I also let You know that I would not have You think that I have finished Every thing at this Meeting though what I have Now done is of Great Moment__ If we are Spared till another Day that is until Next Spring I will let You know something further in another Meeting, for You must be Sensible We Cannot at one time finish a thing of So great ~~Mom~~ Moment in the mean time I Will use my faithfull Endeavrs. to Accomplish Every thing for the Good of both of us

Gave a String_
then Pausing a While he Said he had forget Something & taking up the string again he proceeded [*illegible word*] I will You_

I Will let You know fully & freely my Mind and What is My Determination to do_ When I return into my Country I Will look about me I will See & hear for You_ If I hear of any Enemy going towards You I Will Send a suitable Messenger to Give You Notice tho it should be at Midnight I Will also take Every prudent Measure to prevent any Danger yt maybe likely to befall You Perhaps if the Enemy be but a few ^a they may not Come to know of it But if there be a great Number I Shall be the likelier to know it However Be they more or less I Will let You know.

then laid Down ye String again_____

APS

Bror: By These Strings I let you know I would not have you Think this is ye last time we Shall see one another, as Tho I Spoke big words only, If I live I will come next Spring, & let you know more; & I hope you shall see with me other kings of ye Ten Nations at ye Council fire; which will be a Satisfaction to us both; you know we Cannot at one time finish a Thing of great moment, but must Take time that it may be done well & all may be Satisfyed:

Bror: I Also assure you when I return To my own country, I will Take all Care, I will look & hearken, & if I see or hear any danger I will let you know, & was it even at mid=night, we Can go by ye light of this Council fire, which is now kindled; prehaps I shall not know When There are only two or Three, as well as when There is a greater number: but more or less, I Shall endeavour to let you know; _ _ _ Gave a String,

FAH

Brother,

By these Strings I let you know I would not have you think this is the last time we shall see one another, as tho' I spoke big Words only if I am spared I will next Spring ^{come} & let you know more & I hope you shall see with me other Kings of the ten Nations at the Council Fire which will be a satisfaction to us both, you know we cannot at one time finish a Thing of great Moment, but must take time that it may be done well and that all may be satisfy'd.^{#83}

Brother,

I also assure you when I return to my own Country I will take all care I will look and hearken, and if I see or hear any danger I will let you know, and was it even at Midnight we can go by the Light of this Council Fire which is now kindled; perhaps I shall not know when there are only two or three as well as when there is a greater Number, but more or less I shall endeavour to let you know. Gave String

JH

& then Sd Brother by this String I have further to tell You that what I have sd although they are Great words they are not all I have to Say if I am permitted to Live till Spring I shall see You Again when I hope Some others of the kings which Compose the 10 nations will be with me & then Gave a String & then Sd Brother I also now will Let You know what I will Do when I am in my Country I will Look about & Enquire and Let you know if there is any thing Designd against my Brethren the English I will send Some proper messenger Even if it be in the night here is the Council fire and they Can See the way---

MA

Brother, by this String I let you know, that it is not the last Time I intend to be here, but we shall see one another again I hope next Spring, when there will be more Cheefs or Kings of the ten Nations present, which will be to your Satisfaction

deliver'd a String

Brother, I will also let you know my whole mind: when I shall come home, I will be carefull & hearken, & if I perceive an Enemy, it may be by Day or Night, I will send a Messenger & give you Warning

gave a String

BF

Brother,

By this String I also let you know, that I would not have you think I have finished every Thing at this Meeting, though what I have now done is of great Moment; if we are spared till another Day, that is, until next Spring, I will let you know something further in another Meeting, for you must be sensible we cannot at one Time finish a Thing of so great Moment. In the mean time I will use my faithful Endeavours to accomplish every Thing for the Good of both of us.

Gave a String.

Then, pausing a while, he said he had forgot something, and taking up the String again, he proceeded.

I will let you know full and freely my Mind, and what is my Determination to do. --- When I return into my Country, I will look about me, I will see and hear for you.---If I hear of any Enemy going towards you, I will send a suitable Messenger to give you Notice, though it should be at Midnight. I will also take every prudent Measure to prevent any Danger that may befall you; perhaps, if the Enemy be but few, I may not come to know of it, but if the Number be great, I shall be the likelier to know it: However, be they more or less, I will let you know it.

Then laid down the String again.

RPC-1

[Denny asks: What grievances?]⁸⁴

You have not so much knowledge of those things as ^{some} others. I have not far ~~not~~ to go

This under me was my Land was my Inheritance
instance this very tract of land from ye Creek to Tohicken is got by a ^{fraud} ~~forger~~ this is in truth. after he has done so & bore it wth patience then they say ye Indians are fools_ mentioning also many Tracts yt he has disposed to his B ye E they esteem them woarse. it is true but not such fools but we have these born in mind.

Bror.

You have not so much knowledge of these things as ^{of your predecessors who have been here for much more} some others being but lately come in amongst us. I have not far to go. This ground yt is under me striking wth his foot was my Land & Inheritance & is taken from me by Fraud. ~~the~~ instancing all ye land from Tohickon to Wyomink. I have not only been servd so in this Govt but as to several Tracts in the Jersey over ye River. When we had used wn I have sold lands fairly I look upon them to be sold. a Bargain[*sic*] is a Bargain. Tho I have had nothing but for them but Pipes ^{or some trifles} yet wn I have sold them yet I look upon ye Bargain to be good. ~~But~~ and I think I shoud not be ill used on this account but sometimes they have sold Bargains why ___ yet they have been called Fools but we are not such Fools as not to beare this ^{in my} ~~in~~ mind.

and further upon some Bitten[?].

The Propr yt purchasd ye Lands from him who has sold them so cheap & he sells them too dear to ye other people yt has occasiond them to use them ill

The Propr who has purchasd ye Lands cheap from ye Indians has sold them so dear to ^{poor} people that the Indians ^{have} ~~much~~ sufferd for it. ~~They~~ [*illegible word*] & it woud have been more prudent for ye Propr ~~& to~~ ^{informd} have sold them cheaper & given them charge to use ye Indians wth kindness on that account

RPC-2

Brother

You have not so much knowledge of things done in this Countrey as others who have lived longer in it being but lately Come amongst us I have not far to go for an Instance This Very Ground that is under Me /Striking it with his foot/ was my Land & Inheritance and is taken from me by fraud When I Say this Ground I mean all[?] the Land lying between Tohickon Creek & Wyomink On the River Sasquehannah I have not only been served so in this Government but ye same thing has been done by me as to several tracts in New Jersey over the River_ When I have sold Lands fairly I look upon them to be Sold_ a Bargain is a Bargain__ tho I have Sometimes had nothing for the Lands I have Sold but Pipes or Such trifles ^{broken} Yet when I have sold them tho for Such trifles Yet I look upon the Bargain to be Good Yet I think I should not be ill Used on this Accot nor be Called a fool for it, ~~but~~ ^{by those Very people who have had Such an Advantage in their purchases} Indians are not such fools as not to hear this in their Minds_ The Proprietaries who have purchased their Lands from Us Cheap have Sold them to Dear to poor People that the Indians have suffered for it And it would have been more Prudent in the Proprietor to have sold the Lands Cheaper and have Given it in Charge to those who bought from him to use the Indians wth Kindness on that Accot.

APS

Bror: You Cannot know these Things, as well as Some of your Predecessors, being but lately come Among us, at your desire, I will tell you. I have not far to go. This Land under my feet (Striking it with his foot/ is mine; & has been taken from me by fraud & forgery, from Tohicon all ye way back as far as wyoming, nor have I been defrauded only in this Governmt: but also of Several Tracts in ye Jerseys: Tho' I have Sometimes Sold Land for a few Triffes; Pipes, or Cloaths, & lyquor, & Such Like trifles, which in a night are broken & gone, yet I look on the Bargain as good; but expect I Should not Therefore be ill used; but when I have Sold great Tracts of Land at unreasonably low rates, to ye English, far below what any person would allow to be their value, & have borne this with Patience, they say ye Indians are fools. but we are not so great fools, as not To bear this in mind; farther I would remind you notwithstanding ye Propriators have purchased ye lands so cheap, yet he Sells them again so dear to[?] The poor people, that they do not use ye Indians well, & think they owe us nothing; Now he has bought ye Lands So Cheap it would be prudent in him To have let ye people know That & to have sold them ye Same lands Cheaper, than he has done, & given it in Charge to ye purchasers to use ye Indians well on that Account;---

CW

This very ground I Stand on was our land & Inheritance Bargains or [*sic*] Bargains and we Stand by them, tho we should have had even only pipes ~~=f=~~ which will be brock tomorrow for Some of our land but we think we Should not be Ill used on this account by those very people who now enjoy the fruit of our lands nor be Called fooles for it the Indians are not such ~~the~~ fooles as not to bear this in their minds.⁸⁵

FAH⁸⁶

Brother,

As you cannot know these things as well as some of your Predecessors being but lately come among us; at your desire I will tell you. I have not far to go, this Land under my feet (striking it with his foot) is mine and has been taken from me by fraud or Forgery, from Tohiccon all the way back as far as Wyoming, nor have I been defrauded only in this Government, but also of several Tracts in the Jerseys. Tho I have sometimes sold Lands for a few pipes, cloaths, Liquor and such like Trifles which in a Night are broken and gone yet I look on the bargain as good, but expect I should not therefore be ill used. But when I have sold great Tracts of Land at unreasonable low rates to the English far below what any person would allow to be the Value, and have borne this with patience, they say the Indians are fools, but we are not so Great Fools as not to bear this in mind. Further I would remind you, notwithstanding the Proprietor has purchased the Land so cheap, yet he sells them again so dear to the poor people that they do not use the Indians well and think they owe us nothing. Now as he has bought the Lands so cheap, it would be prudent in him to have let the people know that and to have sold them the same Lands cheaper than he has done and given it in charge to the purchasers to use the Indians well on that account.

MA

Brother, as you are but lately come into this Country & perhaps don't know much about the Indian Affairs. I must tell you, that all the Land from Tohiccon up to the Mountains formerly belonged to us, out of which we was cheated, for they only gave us a little Cloathing & some pipes & Tobacco, then we got in Liquor & when we was soober [*sic*] again, the pipes was broken & our Cloath torn to pieces, & then we had nothing for our Land. In the Jerseys we sold a piece of Land & was paid for it, and I must also tell you, that we sold some Tracts of Land to the English for a reasonable price. But in general the English buys the Land very cheape & get rich by it, because they sell it again dear enough, but the poor Indians must Suffer by it.

BF⁸⁷

Brother,

You have not so much Knowledge of Things done in this Country as others who have lived longer in it, being but lately come among us.---I have not far to go for an Instance: This very Ground that is under me (striking it with his Foot) was my Land and Inheritance, and is take from me by Fraud; when I say this Ground, I mean all the Land lying between *Tobiccon Creek* and *Wioming*, on the River *Sasquehannab*. I have not only been served so in this Government, but the same Thing has been done to me as to several Tracts in *New-Jersey*, over the River. When I have sold Lands fairly, I look upon them to be really sold.---A Bargain is a Bargain.---Though I have sometimes had nothing for the Lands I have sold but broken Pipes, or such Trifles, yet when I have sold them, though for such Trifles, I look upon the Bargain to be good: Yet I think I should not be ill used on this Account by those very People who have had such an Advantage in their Purchases, nor be called a Fool for it. *Indians* are not such Fools as to bear this in their Minds.⁸⁸ ---The Proprietaries, who have purchased their Lands from us cheap, have sold them too dear to poor People, and the *Indians* have suffered for it. It would have been more prudent in the Proprietaries to have sold the Lands cheaper, and have given it in Charge to those who bought from them, to use the *Indians* with Kindness on that Account.

RPC-1

Now Brother hear me
Supposing yt you had a Pipe
in your hand smoaking, tho it is of
& I take it from you
litle value I pay no regard & you take it
& yet if taken away you grow angr
from me. I come visit you some time
& wn I have forgotten
again & you take some revenge for it
you remind me of a I have forgott
remind of it wn I have forgot it yet you
did not use me well yn perhaps you may
remember & know you ask me why I
have done it for you have done me not
this makes me remember [illegible word] & I
one injury yt [illegible word] time[?]

When ye Propr made
such reasonable Purchase from our
Forefathers you now at length [illegible
word] hindrd me cutting any wood for
making fire & also stopt ye privilege of
getting my Living by killing Creatures.

I am glad you have askd me &
given me ye Liberty to relate my mind
in this manner you are wise enough to
see those things & understand how to
remedy them

MA

Per Instance one Smoaks his pipe, another came &
thrust the pipe out of his Mouth & broke it, he that
had lost his pipe could not revenge himself because
there was to many for him, he must let it go over, &
take no Notice of it at that time, but at another time,
when he finds himself strong enough, he remembers
& takes revenge for it.

Deliver'd a Belt

RPC-2

Now Brother hear me
Now Brother hear me
Supposing You had a pipe in Your
mouth
hand Smoaking and I take it from You
I Come
tho it be of little Value and I take it
from You You may perhaps not Regard
it at the time By & By when You see
me again You remember it I had forgot
& take a Revenge
& Wonder at ye Cause and ask You
Brother why have You done So This
makes me remember the Injury You did
You & makes me more Carefull for ye
future Now altho You have purchased
Our Lands from ^{our forefathers} us on So Reasonable
at
Terms Yet now length You Will not
allow Us to Cutt a little Wood to make
a fire & hinder us from Getting Our
livelihood by hunting Now Brother I
asked me this Question & thereby have given
am pleased You Gave me the Liberty
me an Oppy
of Speaking my Mind freely as to any
Uneasiness I was Under_ You are
wise Enough to see these things &
understand how to provide a Remedy
for them_

BF

Now, Brother, hear me; supposing you had a Pipe in your Mouth, smoaking, of little Value; I come and take it from you; by and by, when you see me again, you remember it, and take a Revenge: I had forgot, and wonder at the Cause, and ask you, Brother, Why you have done so? This makes me remember the Injury I did you, and more careful for the future. Now, although you have purchased our Lands from our Fore-fathers on so reasonable Terms, yet now at length you will not allow us to cut a little Wood to make a Fire; nay, hinder us from Hunting, the only Means left us of getting our Livelihood.

Now, Brother, I am pleased you asked me this Question, having thereby given me an Opportunity of speaking my Mind freely as to any Uneasiness I was under.---You are wise enough to see these Things, and to provide a Remedy for them

APS

Now Bror: hear me, Suppose you had
a pipe of little Value in your hand,
Smoaking, & I come & Take it away,
you Take no Notice of it now, but
bye & bye, When you see me again
you remember it, and Take a revenge,
I have forgot. & wonder & think you
have not used me well, & ask you,
Bror: Why have you done So, you tell
me look into ^{my} your own heart. I do So,
& this makes me remember ye Injury
I did you. & makes me more Careful
for ye future; Besides when you have
bought ye land So Cheap of our
forefathers, you will not now allow us
to Cut a little wood To make a fire, &
hinder us from geting our livelihood by
Hunting;
Now Bror: I am pleased you asked
me ye Question---& thereby gave me
ye Opportunity to Speak My mind, &
declare my uneasyness, you are wise
enough to See & provide a Remedy:

FAH

Now Brother,
hear me; suppose you had a pipe of little
value in your hand smoaking and I come and take
it away, you take no Notice of it now but bye & bye
when you see me again you remember it and take a
revenge. I have forgot and wonder and think you have
not used me well and ask you, Brother why have you
done so? You tell me look into my own heart; I do so
and this makes me remember the Injury I did you, and
makes me more careful for the future.---Besides when
you had bought the Lands cheap of our Forefathers
you will not now allow us to cut a little Wood to make
a fire, and hinder us from getting our livelihood by
hunting.
Now, Brother,

I am pleased you asked me this Question and
thereby gave me the Opportunity to speak my Mind
and declare my uneasiness. You are wise enough to see
and provide a remedy.

November 13, 1756, pt. 11⁸⁹RPC-1⁹⁰

being askd what Frauds

Explanation of Fraud

Make Deeds like ye true ones but include Lands that were never sold

Purchases from Indians who have no right to Sell.

Being askd if he was ever cheated

as far as Wyomink

Yes I can from ye River Tohickan to the great Mountains according to
 Agreement yt ~~it was never run~~ wch has never been paid for by ye Course of the River. & also I do contend Mr.

Peters gave him writg with a Piece of Paper to anymore of some Land
 a Tract of Pine Land.

in order

he did not tell you yt you might purchase them over again nor did he
 come to & leaves it to ye Govr to do what he pleases

[Denny makes a brief reply.]

When a King on the other side, of *[illegible word]* are marks

The Proprs yt purchased Lands were very greedy at purchasing lands

Brother
not with an *[illegible word]*

Brother.

He did not come in order to complain at First but as it was ye Govrs
 pleasure to ask him to act an honest part he was very well pleasd to tell him fully
 what was ye reason. I did not come to make this Complaint nor to tell them but if
 you look into your own heart & what you find to be right do it

RPC-2

[Denny asks what is meant by fraud.]

To Which Tedyuscung Replied__

&

When One man had formerly Liberty to purchase Lands He took ye Deed from the Indians for
 it and then Dies_ After his Death His Children forge a Deed like the true One with the Indians ^{same}

Names to it & thereby take Lands from the Indians which they never Sold__ This is Fraud

Also When One King has Land beyond the River and another King has Lands on this Side ^{Both}

bounded by Rivers Mountains & Springs wch Cannot be Moved And ^{as there are many among you} the Proprietor Greedy to
~~purchase Lands~~ ^{what belongs to the other} Buys one of the Kings his Tract and by that Purchase claims what belongs to the

Other King. This likewise is fraud
and the proprietors greedy to purchase Lands buy of one King

APS

I will tell you (reply'd Teedyscung/ What fraud is: At ye begining when one man has liberty to purchase Lands from ye Indians, & he does it, & takes a Deed for it, & then Dies; if After his Death his Children finding that Deed among his papers, forge a new Deed like the True one, & put ye Same Indian Names to it, & thereby take lands from ye Indians, wch They never sold, & Say Pugh; we bought them; This is fraud; Again when one king has land beyond ye River, & another king has land on this Side, both bounded by Rivers, Creeks, Springs, & mountains, which cannot be moved, and The Propriator, & others, greedy to purchase lands, buy of one of them his tract. & then Claims What belongs to ye other king, or when they purchase lands of those who have no right To Sell them; this is fraud;_ _ _

FAH⁹¹

As King Teedyuscung had said some Lands were taken from him by fraud or Forgery, the Governor asked him what he meant by the word Fraud?

I will tell you (replied Teedyuscung) what Fraud is__ At the Beginning when one Man has Liberty to purchase Land from the Indians, and he doth it and takes a Deed for it, and then dies, if after his death his Children finding that Deed among his Papers, forge a new Deed like the true one with the same Indian Names to it and thereby take land from the Indians which they never sold, and say pugh! we bought them: This is Fraud.

Again when one King has Land beyond the River and another King has land on this side; both bounded by Rivers, creeks, springs and Mountains which cannot be moved, and the Proprietor and others greedy to purchase Lands buy of one of these Kings his tract, and then claim what belongs to the other King, or when they purchase lands of those who have no right to sell them; This is fraud.

BF

The Governor then asked him, what he meant by Fraud; having said his Lands were taken from him by Fraud, what it meant?

To which *Teedyuscung* replied.---When one Man had formerly Liberty to purchase Lands, and he took the Deed from the *Indians* for it, and then dies; after his Death the Children forge a Deed like the true One, with the same *Indian* Names to it, and thereby take Lands from the *Indians* which they never sold---this is Fraud. Also, when one King has Land beyond the River, and another King has Land on this Side, both bounded by Rivers, Mountains and Springs, which cannot be moved, and the Proprietaries, greedy to purchase Lands, buy of one King what belongs to the other---this likewise is Fraud.

November 13, 1756, pt. 12

RPC-1⁹²

being askd what Frauds

Explanation of Fraud

Make Deeds like ye true ones but include Lands that were never sold

Purchases from Indians who have no right to Sell.

Being askd if he was ever cheated

Yes I can from ye River Tohickan to the great Mountains ^{as far as Wyomink} according to
^{wch has never been paid for} Agreemt yt ~~it was~~ never run by ye Course of the River. & also I do contend Mr. Peters
 gave him writg wth a Piece of Paper to anymore of some Land
 a Tract of Pine Land.

he did not tell you yt you might purchase them over again nor did he come to
 & leaves it to ye Govr to do what he pleases

[Denny makes a brief reply.]

When a King on the other side, ~~of~~ *[illegible word]* are marks

The Proprs yt purchased Lands were very greedy at purchasing lands

Brother ^{not with an} *[illegible word]* ___

Brother.

He did not come in order to complain at First but as it was ye Govrs pleasure
 to ask him to act an honest part he was very well pleasd to tell him fully what was ye
 reason. I did not come to make this Complaint nor to tell them but if you look into
 your own heart & what you find to be right do it

RPC-2

The Governr. then asked Tedyuscung whether He had Ever been used in that Manner. _ He
 Answered Yes_ I have been serve so ~~in this Part~~ ^{in this Province} ^{extending} all the Land from Tohicken Over the
 Great Mountain to Wyomink has been taken from me by Fraud. ~~For that he had Agreed~~
~~to sell~~ For when he had Agreed to sell ye Land to the Old Proprietors by the Course of
 ye R___[torn] the Young Proprietors Came & Got it run by a strait Course by m_[torn]
 Compass & by that Means took in Double the Quantity Intended _[torn] be sold

Brother as You have desired me to be Very particular I have told you the Truth
 & have Opened my Mind fully I did not intend now to speak this but I have done it at
 this time at Your request Not that I desire You should purchase these Lands but that You
 Should look in it & Consider what ^{your own hearts} ~~ought to be done~~ is Right & that Do_

APS

The Govr: then asked Teedyuscung; Bror: have you ever been Served So; ___ Yes I Can tell you I have been Served So, The Lands from Tohicon all ye ways beyond ye great mountains as far as Wioming, have been taken from me by fraud; ___ For When Some land was Sold to ye old Propriator according To ye [*illegible words*] Course of ye River, ye young Propriators his Sons Came & run a Strait course by a Compass & took in double ye Quantity of land ever intended to be Sold: Now as you have desired me to be very particular; I have told you ye Truth & opened my mind fully; I did not now Come to make this Complaint, nor had I intended to Speak this now, but I have done it at your request Not that I am Come to Sell ye Lands, or want you at this time to purchase them, but that you may know ye Ground of ye Uneasyness, & look into your hearts, & Consider what is right & that do; (MT's Explanation to come in here/, I have now done;

FAH

The Governor then asked King Teedyuscung: Brother, have you ever been served so? Teedyuscung answer'd. Yes, I can tell you, I have been served so. The Lands from Tohicon all the way beyond the great Mountains as far as Wyoming have been taken from me by fraud. For when some Land were [*sic*] sold to the old Proprietor according to the course of the River, the Young Proprietors his Sons came and run a straight Course with a Compass & took in double the quantity of Land ever intended to be sold.

Now as you have desired me to be very particular I have told you the Truth and opened my mind fully I did not now come to make this Complaint, nor had I intended to speak this now, but I have done it at your request, not that I came to sell the Lands at this time, or want you to purchase them, but that you may know the Grounds of our uneasiness and look into your hearts and consider what is right and that do. I have now done.⁺⁹³

BF

The Governor then asked *Teedyuscung*, Whether he had ever been used in that Manner?

He answered, Yes;---I have been served so in this Province: All the Land extending from *Tobiccon*, over the *Great-Mountain*, to *Wioming*, has been taken from me by Fraud; for when I had agreed to sell the Land to the old Proprietary by the Course of the River, the young Proprietaries came and got it run by a straight Course by the Compass, and by that Means took in double the Quantity intended to be sold.

Brother,

As you have desired me to be very particular, I have told you the Truth, and have opened my Mind fully. I did not intend to speak thus, but I have done it at this Time, at your Request; not that I desire you should now purchase these Lands, but that you should look into your own Hearts, and consider what is right, and that do.

November 16, 1756

On Sunday, November 14, Denny meets with Peters, Weiser, and provincial councilor William Logan to discuss Teedyuscung's speech and prepare a response. After Weiser clarifies what he thinks Teedyuscung said about Charles Broadhead (see November 13, 1756, pt. 5, RPC-1, n. 74), the conversation turns to the Indian leader's charge of land fraud. Weiser asserts that "few or none of the Delawares present" at the treaty have any claim to the lands in question (because they were born in New Jersey) and adds that, as far as he knows, the sales were done fairly. Richard Peters concurs, but since "neither Mr. Weiser, nor he, was concerned in this Transaction, and the Papers to prove it were in Philadelphia," he advises the governor to tell the Indians he will look into the matter after the treaty.

When Denny consults the assembly commissioners, however, they argue that "the Governors of other Provinces" have often pledged to launch an investigation but then never did. If Pennsylvania makes similar promises here, the Indians "might consider them as now made with a Design to evade giving them Redress." Instead, the commissioners suggest, offer the Delaware people immediate payment for any claims, "just or unjust," to show good faith and "effectually remove all their Uneasiness." Denny concurs, and "an Answer to their Complaint was framed accordingly."

At a council the next day, Monday, November 15, Denny delivers that answer, covering all the topics Teedyuscung brought up—from condolences to Charles Broadhead, from the French to the Minisinks—and some that he did not, such as the many colonial captives Indians still hold. Then, turning to the charges of land fraud, he wonders aloud whether the Indians might have forgotten the agreements made ("as you do not understand Writings and Records") but hastens to add that nonetheless, "to shew our sincere Desire to heal the present Differences, and live in eternal Peace with our Brethren, tell me what will satisfy you for the Injustice you suppose has been done you in the Purchase of Lands in this Province; and if it be in my Power you shall have immediate Satisfaction, whether it be justly due to you or not."⁹⁴

The following day, Teedysuscung makes his reply.

November 16, 1756, pt. 1⁹⁵RPC-1⁹⁶

I desire you woud hear me a few words with Patience

You remember I told you endeavour to apprehend me

right representing material things. wñ you see or chuse a
 a Spot to plant corn in [illegible word_sh] prepare ye
 part a bit of ground in order to bring forth fruit you put ye
 Ground & yn
 fruit into ye Earth. but Wñ you do this yet if you do not

take pains you will never get fruit ^{or} Indian corn. I comonly
 on one hill repe by ye use of
 put 7 grains in in ye Earth in prudence I expect to take

proper means & [illegible word_ts] no corn tho I should yet if
 something from. if in ye beginning I take prudent steps but
 it will bring forth an empty grain husk a Stalk if
 neglect it afterwards--it is usual & evident to those yt know

an Ear it will
 it will bring an Ear no fruit otherwise if we use prudent means we must
 be sure to have good fruit

RPC-2⁹⁷

Brother

When you chuse a spot of Ground for planting, in order
 to bring forth fruit, you first prepare the Ground, and then
 put your Grain into ye Earth but notwithstanding this if
 you do not take pains afterwards you will never get fruit.

To instance in the Indian Corn. I make an hill I
 put 7 grains of Indian Corn into it and in the beginning I
 tend it, but if afterwards I neglect it & take no ^{further} proper care
 of it, it will produce only an husk or Stalk but no good
 fruit. tho ye Ground be good.
 & it may rise high & make a promising Appearance of an Ear & Stalk

RPC-3⁹⁸

Brother

I desire You Would hear me a few Words with
 patience_ You may remember I often desired You to
 Endeavour to apprehend me aright when I am speaking of
 matters of Importance

Brother.

Hear me With Patience I am going to use a
 Comparison in Order to represent to You the Better What
 We Ought to do--

When You Chuse a Spot of Ground for Planting You first
 prepare the Ground then You put the Seed into the Earth
 but if You do not take ^{Pains} Papers afterwds You Will never
 obtain fruit_ To Instance__ In the Indian Corn which
 is Mine /Meang. a Native plant of this Countrey/ I, as
 is Customary, Put Seven Grains in One hill Yet Without
 further Care it Will Come to Nothing tho the Ground be
 Good. Tho' at ye Beginning I take Prudent Steps, yet if
 I neglect it afterwards, tho it may Grow up into Stalks &
 leaves & ^{there} may ^{be} ye appearance of Ears there¹⁰⁰ Will Only be
 leaves &
 Cobs_

APS

Then Teedyuscung Addressed The Governer
Bror. I desire you would hear me a few words with
patience, you may remember I often desired You to
endeavour to apprehend me right when I am Speaking
of matters of Importance, - Bror:___ Hear me with
patience, I am going To use a comparison in order To
represent To you ye better what we ought To do___
When you Choose aspot of ground for planting, you first
prepare ye Ground, then put ye Seed into ye Earth, but if
you [do?] Not take pains Afterwards, you will never obtain
fruit, whereas if you Continue to tend and Take care of
it, you with a Blessing from above have a plentiful Crop,
To instance in ye Indian Corn, which is mine, I usually put
Seven grains in one note hill. Yet without further Care of
it will come To nothing, even Tho' ye Ground be good;
If at The begining I take prudent Steps, but neglect it
afterwards, it may indeed grow up into Stalks & Husks,
& may make ye Appearance of Ears but they will only be
Cobs - - - -

FAH

Brother, I desire you would hear me a few Words with
patience, you may remember I often desired you to
endeavour to apprehend me right, when I am speaking of
Matters of Importance.

Brother,

Hear me with patience I am going to use a
Comparison in order to represent to you the better what
we ought to do. When you choose a spot of Ground for
planting, you first prepare the Ground, then put the Seed
into the Earth, but if you do not take pains afterwards you
will never obtain Fruit, whereas if you continue to tend
and take care of it you will with a Blessing from above
have a plentiful Crop. ___ To instance in the Indian Corn
which is mine, I usually put seven Grains into one hill yet
with out farther Care it will come to nothing even tho' the
Ground be good. Tho' at the beginning I take prudent
Steps yet if I neglect it afterwards, it may indeed grow up
into Stalks and Husks and may make the appearance of
Ears, but they will only be cobs.

JH

King spoke & sd Brother first & foremost the Govir &
his Council I Desire You will hear me patiently You may
Remember I told you— Endeavor to Understand me Right
Brother hear me patient in few word Representing in few
words when you Represent a partical Spot of Earth or
spot of Ground the Corn You plant is my Corn but if
the Corn is planted and not taken Care of it will Come to
nothing

MA¹⁰¹

Tatteyuskund said:

Brethren, you know very well when we sow fruit we take all Care & diligence, & spare no labour, that it may bring forth good fruit, & if no Care is taken, it will not bring good fruit, if even the ground is good. We always plant Indian Corn, which is our Corn, & we communly put seven grains into one Hill, after it is planted, & if we then would let it grow as it is, and would take no Care to clean it, the Weeds would spoil it, & it would perhaps grow a little & bring a few Ears but not good Corn, for all the ground may be good, but if Care is taken, & the Ground workt well, it will bring good fruit.

BF¹⁰²

Then Teedyuscung, taking a String of Wampum, spoke in these Words.

Brother,

I Desire you will hear me a few a Words [*sic*] with Patience. You may remember I often desired you to endeavour to apprehend me aright, when I am speaking of Matters of Importance.

Brother,

Hear me with Patience; I am going to use Comparison, in order to represent to you the better what we ought to do.

When you chuse a Spot of Ground for Planting, you first prepare the Ground, then you put the Seed into the Earth; but if you don't take Pains afterwards, you will not obtain Fruit.---To Instance, in the *Indian Corn*, which is mine (meaning a native Plant of this Country) I, as is customary, put seven Grains in one Hill, yet, without further Care, it will come to nothing, tho' the Ground be good; tho' at the Beginning I take prudent Steps, yet if I neglect it afterwards, tho' it may grow up to Stalks and Leaves, and there may be the Appearance of Ears, there will only be Leaves and Cobs.---

RPC-1

Therefore look into your heart you will find ye truth not only we but many different nations therefore as to this present business, you are wise men ^{as I esteem you & preferable to me} & if you look into your as you are favoured from above wth greater abilities yn us if you act agreeable to them you shall certainly know ye Questions wherein our uneasiness lies & in measure according to what I have answered but not fully . . . ¹⁰³

Have you put this in ~~mind of~~

That as we have now made a fair & good beginning & take ye prudent steps so I desire yt we may both keep ye ground free from weeds, & tend it well yt we may in ye End produce good Corn.

When this is done tho we should not live to see this good fruit, yet ^{& enjoy ye blessings we should remember} ~~his~~ our posterity ~~may~~ if will enjoy it & ~~so~~ act for their good

RPC-2

In like manner as to ye Business under Consideration, you are wise men & have ^{been favoured with} ~~receivd~~ from above greater Abilities yn us if then you make use of these abilities and act up to them & look into your hearts you will entirely know the matters which are the ^{Cause} Occasion of our uneasiness & be able to ^{judge of ye Satisfaction} ~~remedy~~ them & in measure according to what I have spoken but not fully. ^{you will know ye grounds of our uneasiness but not fully.}

RPC-3

In like Manner in the present Business, tho We have begun Well, Yet if We hereafter use not prudent Means, We Shall not have Success answerable to Our Expectations._ God that is above hath furnished us both with Powers & Abilities_ As for my Own Part I must Confess to my shame I have not made Such Improvements of the Powers Given me as I ought, but as I look on You to be more highly favoured from above than I am, I would desire you that We Would Join Our Endeavrs to promote the Good Work & that the Causes of Our Uneasiness begun in the times of Our Forefathers may be removed & if You look into Your hearts & Act according to the Abilities given You_ You Will know the Grounds of Our Uneasiness ~~in time and~~ in some Measure. From what I have Said before in the Comparison of the Fire that tho' I was but as a Boy. Yet I would according to my Abilities bring a few Chips, So With regard to the Corn I can do but little You may a Great Deal therefore let all of us Men women & Children assist in pulling up the Weeds that nothing may hinder the Corn from growing to Perfection__ /Note See below Conrad Weisers Explanation of this/

When this is done tho We may not live to Enjoy the fruit Ourselves Yet We Should remember Our Children may live & Enjoy ye Blessings of this Good Fruit, and it is our Duty to Act for their¹⁰⁴ Good_

^{desird to tell in other words} /The Interpreter was ~~askd~~ ^{askd Teedyuscung who said he} what was the meaning of ~~this and~~ ^{what was} he said ^{ye two last articles && he} ~~The King~~ alluded ^{a String . . .} ¹⁰⁵ to the beginning of the War, the Quarrels between the King of France & the King of England, and their people on both Sides and that their Young men were deluded by the French, this was the first & principal Cause, tho' other things helpd to make the Blow fall quicker & heavier

A String

APS

In like manner in ye present Business Tho we have begun well, yet if we hereafter use Not prudent means, we Shall not have Success answerable to our Expectations: -- God that is Above, hath furnished us both with powers & Abilities; for my own part I must Confess to my Shame, I have not made such improvments of ye powers given me as I ought; but as I look on you to be more highly favoured from above Than I am, I must desire you to Join your Endeavours with mine, To promote ye Good work; That ye Causes of our uneasyness begun in ye Time of our forefathers, may be removed, & if you look into your hearts, & act according to ye Abilities given you from above, you will know ye Grounds of our uneasyness, in some measure from what I have Said -- Tho' I have not Spoken fully;_ _ & as I Said before in ye Comparison of ye fire, That Tho' I was but as a boy, yet I would According To my abilities bring a few Chips & add To ye fire, So with regard To ye Corn, I Can do but little, you a great deal; Therefore let all of us, Men, Women, & Children, Assist in pulling up ye Weeds, That nothing may hinder ye Corn from growing To perfection;

(There being Some dispute in ye Evening, about ye Meaning of this Sentence, Col: Weiser was calld in, who Says ye Meaning is This, _ _ _ It is in your Power (meaning ye English/ to bring About This Good work which is So hapily begun, ye Most High gave you more understanding Wealth &c, Than us, you Can, if you will act according To what ye Good spirit puts in your hearts, bring all This about; That There may be a better understanding between ye English & Indians Than has hitherto been; for it is not we, who are at this Spot of ground; are Concerned only, but also our Neighbours as well English as Indians;) - - - - When This is done, Tho' we may not live To enjoy ye fruit ourselves yet we Should remember our Children, may live To enjoy ye blessings of this good fruit, & it is our Duty To Act for their Good,---- A String,

FAH

In like manner in the present Business; tho' we have begun well yet if we hereafter use not prudent means we shall not have success answerable to our Expectations. ___ God that is above hath furnished us both with powers and Abilities. For my own part I must Confess to my shame I have not made such Improvements of the Powers given me as I ought; but as I look on you to be more highly favoured from above than I am, I desire you to join your Endeavours with mine to promote the good work and that the Cause of our uneasiness begun in the time of our Forefathers may be removed; and if you look into your hearts¹⁰⁶ and Act according to the Abilities given you from above you will know the Grounds of our Uneasiness in some measure from what I have said, tho' I have not spoken fully. And as I said before in the Comparison of the Fire that tho' I was ^{as} but a Boy yet I would according to my Ability bring a few chips.¹⁰⁷ So with regard to the Corn I can do but a little you a great deal. Therefore let all of us, men Women and Children assist in pulling up the Weeds that nothing may hinder the Corn from growing to perfection.¹⁰⁸

When this is done tho' we may not live to enjoy the Fruit ourselves yet we should remember our Children may live to enjoy the Blessings of this good fruit and it is our duty to act for their Good.

Gave a String.

JH

therefore You may Look into Your own heart and as You are Endowd from above more than I am therefore Do what You think is Right & if you Do then You will know the Cause of our Uneasiness in Measure ^{sum} but ^[illegible word isto] not fully and be able to Judge of matters & I Desire we may both of us Join to keep Clean the Corn Clean & keep the fire burning other ways the fire will Go out & ye Corn Come to nothing and tho this is Done and we shd not Live to See this Good fruit Yet it is our Duty to Remember our Posterity will Enjoy it & we ought to act for the Good-----

MA

As we now esteem you much, that you are able, you can easily judge what was the Grounds of our Uneasiness. And as we now have kindled this Council fire & every one has gathered some Wood & some Chips to it, we also ought to clean the Corn of the Weeds, & take good Care, that it may bring good fruit. For I will that we shall endeavour [*sic*], that all diligence Shall be used as much as it is in our power, that this may be an everlasting peace with us & our Children as long as Sun & Moon Shines, & as long as the Waters run down the Rivers.

Gave a Belt

BF

In like Manner, in the present Business, tho' we have begun well, yet if we hereafter use not prudent Means, we shall not have Success answerable to our Expectations.---God, that is above, hath furnished us both with Powers and Abilities.---As for my own Part, I must confess, to my Shame, I have not made such Improvements of the Power given me as I ought; but as I look on you to be more highly favoured from above than I am, I would desire you, that we would join our Endeavours to promote the good Work; and that the Cause of our Uneasiness, begun in the Times of our Forefathers, may be removed; and if you look into your Hearts, and act according to the Abilities given you, you will know the Grounds of our Uneasiness in some Measure from what I said before, in the Comparison of the Fire, that tho' I was but a Boy, yet I would according to my Abilities bring a few Chips; so with Regard to the Corn, I can do but little, you may a great deal; therefore let all of us, Men, Women and Children, assist in pulling up the Weeds, that nothing may hinder the Corn from growing to Perfection. When this is done, tho' we may not live to enjoy the Fruit ourselves, yet we should remember, our Children may live and enjoy the Blessings of this good Fruit, and it is our Duty to act for their Good.

A String ...

The Interpreter was desired to tell, in other Words, what was the Meaning of what was said in the two last Articles; and having requested Leave of *Teedyuscung*, he said, he alluded to the Beginning of the War; the Quarrels between the King of *France*, and the King of *England*, and their People on both Sides, and that their young Men were deluded by the *French*; this was the first and principal Cause, tho' other Things helped to make the Blow fall quicker and heavier.

A String

RPC-1

I desire you will look plainly & carefully_ I
 endeavour wth all diligence to till [*sic*] you ye truth
 will of itself not kindle unless wind & air
 The great Log will not Kindle itself unless wind
 & Air. ^{be applyd to it,}
^{tho there should be lost without us} we may both wth our Endeavour yt ye ^{proven[?]} same purpose for
 you & I to try & look for yt aim tho' it be not pleasant
 to us at this time Yet it may be for a lasting peace to our
 Children after us
 dont think to put off these things as our Grandfathers
 have done
 are not ye times difficult. yt you are too blame if
 as you know many to [*illegible word wa*]
 yet if duly regarded they may produce
 no foolish women our yong men have been beguild by ye
^{the King of France} Great King & also many others as are [*illegible word* ____d]
 by the G & his People. this was ye first thing.

RPC-3

Bror. ~~I will~~ I desire you Will attend to these few words and
 I will with all Diligence Endeavr. to tell You the Truth__
 The Great Log you mentioned when kindled Will make
 a Great Flame but it Will not kindle of it ^{nor continue flaming unless} Self there ~~must~~
 be Air & Leaves as Well as Coals to make it kindle. ~~and~~
 I desire We may Use Our Utmost Endeavrs to make it
 kindle ~~and I desire We may use Our Utmost Endeavors. to~~
~~make it kindle~~ & burn up. ~~and~~ Tho What I have told You
 may Relate to Matters disagreeable ^{to you} Yet if We Exert Our
 Selves & Act according to ye Abilities given from above
 the Event Will be Agreeable & Pleasing to Our selves &
^{of service to} Our Children [*illegible word* ____at] ^{Take Pains therefore &} Brother, tho You are a
 Governr. Do not putt off these things from time to time
 as our Forefathers did.

APS

Bror: I desire you would attend To These few words, &
 I will endeavour with all diligence, to tell you ye truth;__
 ye Great log you mentioned, when kindled will make a
 great flame, but it will not kindle of itself, There must be
 air & leaves, as well as coals To make it kindle, & burn
 up, & Tho' what I have Told you may relate To matters
 disagreeable; yet if we exert ourselves, & act according
 to ye Abilities given us; ye Event will be agreeable &
 pleasing to ourselves & Children. But Bror, Tho you are
 a Govr., do not put off These Things from Time To
 Time, as our forefathers did, from whence many bad
 Consequences have arisen To their Children: You See That
 when our foolish young men were deluded by ye French,
 & persuaded To Strike Their Brors. ye English, That what
 I have Complained of, Tho' They were not ye principal
 Thing yet Caused ye blow to fall ye harder:

Gave a string;

FAH

Brother,

I desire you would attend to these few Words & I will endeavour with all diligence to tell you the Truth. The great Log you mentioned when kindled will make a great Flame, but it will not kindle of it self. There must be air and leaves as well as Coals to make it kindle and I desire we may both of us use our utmost Endeavours to make it kindle and burn up. And tho what I have told you may relate to Matters disagreeable, yet if we exert ourselves and act according to the Abilities given us from above the Event will be agreeable and pleasing to ourselves and Children. But Brother tho' you are a Governor do not put off these things from time to time as our Forefathers did from whence many bad Consequences have arisen to their Children. Don't you see our young Men have been deluded by the French and perswaded to strike their Brothers the English & that what I have complained of, tho' they were not the principal Things yet caused the blow to fall the harder?

A String

JH

Brother also according to these few words I have Endeavourd to act with all my Might to Act & as I sd before the Great Log if it Could be Got on the fire wd burn bright & I Desire we may both join heartily in this Good work & not put it off for we now see the Inconveniency which our Grandfathers thought nothing off and you may think it of Your Selves and know the Times are Difficulties & that these Difficulties are from Your selves
Gave String

BF

Brother,

I desire you will attend to these few Words, and I will, with all Diligence, endeavour to tell you the Truth; the great Log you mentioned, when kindled, will make a great Flame, but it will not kindle of itself, nor continue flaming, unless there be Air and Leaves, as well as Coals to make it kindle. I desire we may use our utmost Endeavours to make it kindle, though what I have told you may relate to Matters disagreeable to you, yet if we exert ourselves, and act according to the Abilities given from above, the Event will be agreeable, and pleasing to ourselves, and of Service to our Children.

Brother,

Take Pains therefore, and though you are a Governor, do not put off these Things, from Time to Time, as our Forefathers did . . . ¹⁰⁹

November 16, 1756, pt. 4¹¹⁰**RPC-1**¹¹¹

In few words wch on ye last

We let you know according to yr own request I will answer you now as fit to your Question you desired me to give you an answer to what my uneasiness was
I complied with your desire tho
wch was not ye main thing I came about.

Wn you put me in mind of these things I was well pleasd because I thought it was not proper in these difficult times to mention it myselfe, tho it was ye foundation of our uneasiness but not ye cause of ye Stroke.

on Brother nothing about land said before
nor in my power no [illegible word_se]
It is not usual nor proper I think yt I shoud
just weighing it in ye Scales
tell you ye balance _ for me to tell you at this time
in former
what was ye damage done in formerly it was delayd,
tho many of those who sufferd are in ye Ground yet
their Dependants feel ye weight of it and more still.

APS

Bror:

I will now in a few words, according To my Abilities give you an answer: you desired me To Acquaint you what ye Grounds of my uneasiness was, & I comply'd; Tho' it was not ye main Thing which I Came about; but when you put me in mind, I was pleased, for before I thought it not proper to mention in These difficult Times, It was not ye Immediate Cause of ye Stroke. Tho' it was ye foundation of our uneasiness; Now Bror:, in answer To your Question, what will Satisfy us? It is not usual, nor reasonable, nor Can I now tell you what ye Damage is; & adjust as in a Ballance ye True Value at That Time & These Times; Formerly it might be lighter but being delay'd, it is now heavier: The Interest is To be added: besides There are many more Concerned in This matter. Not now present, & Tho' many who have Suffered are now in ye Grave, yet their descendants feel ye weight, & ye more for ye time they waited;--

FAH

Brother,

I will now in a few Words according to my Abilities give you an answer. You desired me to acquaint you what the Grounds of my uneasiness were, and I complied tho' it was not the main thing which I came about. But when you put me in mind I was pleased, for before I thought it not proper to mention it in these difficult times. It was not the immediate Cause of the Stroke tho' it was the foundation of our Uneasiness.

Now Brother in answer to your Question, what will satisfy us? it is not usual nor reasonable nor can I tell you what the Damage is and adjust as in a Ballance the true Value at that time & these times, formerly it might be lighter, but being delayed it is now heavier. The Interest is to be added besides there are many more concerned in this Matter not now present, And tho' many who have suffered are now in the Grave yet their Descendants feel the weight & the more from the time they have waited.

JH

& then sd Brother in few words I will Now answer You to Your Qestion [*sic*] you Desired. me to Give You aswer [*sic*] to what my Uneasness & I Did it tho not the mean thing of my business but when You put me in mind of it I was well please but thought it was not proper for me to mention it tho it was the foundation of our Uneasiness Yet not ye Cause of the Stroke it is not proper for me to tell You what the Damage is at this time it is not proper nor is it in my power to Tel[?] the value now as we have waited Long & many are in the Ground but many now find it heavy & harder on th

MA

Brother, I will now with a few Words answer your Question, which however is not the Cheef matter what I came here for, to tell you of, but as you brought it in remembrance, it has pleased me well. It is not usual nor proper, nor is it in my power to tell you, what the value is of our Loss, in the beginning it would have been an easy Matter to tell, but now I Can't, & therefore leave it wholly to you

Gave a Belt

BF

Brother,

I will now in a few Words, according to my Abilities, give you an Answer. You desired me to acquaint you what the Grounds of my Uneasiness were, and I complied, tho' it was not the main Thing which I came about. But when you put me in mind, I was pleased, for before I thought it not proper to mention it in these difficult Times; it was not the Cause of the Stroke, tho' it was the Foundation of our Uneasiness. Now, Brother, in Answer to your Question, What will satisfy us? It is not usual nor reasonable, nor can I tell you what the Damage is, and adjust, as in a Ballance, the true Value at that Time and these Times; formerly it might be lighter, but being delayed, it is now the heavier; the Interest is to be added. Besides, there are many more concerned in this Matter, not now present; and tho' many who have suffered are now in the Grave, yet their Descendants feel the Weight, and the more now for the Time they have waited.

November 16, 1756, pt. 5¹¹²

RPC-1

I require yt you woud throw down that fence wch ^{has} is confind some of my Brethren or Relations in the Jerseys yt they may if they wd come & go & see their Relations. I dont want to compell them yt they shoud come & stay contrary to yr will, but if they are well pleasd & live as *[illegible word]* wth their Brethren ye Engs I am willing yt they shoud come back again & live wth their Brethren ye English I dont request all of them shoud come but only enough yt it may be Testimony to those who are wh that they are not in slavery but free people among their Brethren. A pticular Instance one cald Philp, he has Relations above. to my grief I have heard yt he was in Confinement ^{among others} & also worse yn that put to death wch. I understand is false as to being put to death. I desire he may come & see his Wife. I request your favour yt you woud use your diligence & kindness of yr B on ye other Side yt he may give these Indians leave to come *[illegible word]* ^{we come to one another & have opened in} along[?] more or less this very same Road in wch We travl now Conversation Tho you shoud not I will do act my best. There are two Prisoners in my Power I shall bring them you may hear a great many Stories there are but two in my power but I can bring more ^{otherwise} wth your assistance all that I can collect or scoop together I will bring wth your assistance but they are not in my power.

APS

Also. Bror, I desire you would Throw down ye fence which Confines¹¹³ Some of my Brethren & relations in ye Jerseys. That They may, if They think fit Come To see their Relations; I do not want to Compel Them To Come, & stay with me against Their will; If They are inclined To Stay & Live among ye English, I am quite willing They Should Come back Again, But I want They Should Come & See me, That There by I may Convince Their Brethren & ye Other nations afar off, with which I am now Treating, That They are not Servants, but a free people;_ _ I dont request That all, Men, women, & children, Should Come, but Some, or as many as may be Sufficient To Convince Other Nations That They are not Confined but have Liberty as well as we, _ In Particular one Called Philip, He has a Wife & relations Among us; To my grief I heard he was Carried To Trenton Goal, & There Confined with Some others, & afterwards put To death, but I understand ye Account of his death was false, I desire he may have Liberty to Come & See his Wife & relations_ Bror I also request The favour of you That you would Apply to ye Govr: on ye Other Side of ye River (meaning ye Jerseys/ & use your best endeavours with him That They may have his leave to Come, & that They may Come under your Protection, be They more or less; in ye Great Road opened by by This Conference; but Tho' you Should not do This, yet I will use my utmost Endeavours to bring you down your prisoners;_ _ There are only Two in my power, you may hear Otherwise, but I declare I have no more Than Two in my power; There are more in the possession of others, & These with your Assistance I may be able to bring down; I will endeavour to gether & Scoop in as many as I Can; but I Shall want your help to do it;

FAH

Also Brother I ^{desire} require¹¹⁴ you would throw down the fence that confines some of my Brethren and relations in the Jerseys that they may if they see Cause come and see their Relations. I do not want to compel them to come ^{& stay with me.} against their will if they are inclined to stay and live among the English, I am quite willing they should come back again, but I want they should come & see me, that thereby I may convince their Brethren and the other Nations afar off that I am now treating with that they are not Slaves but a free People. I do not request that all, Men, Women and Children, should come but some or as many as may be sufficient to convince other Nations that they are not confined but have liberty as well as we: In particular one called Philip; he has a Wife and Relations among us, To my grief I heard he was carried to Trenton Goal and there confined with some others, and afterwards put to death; But I understand the account of his Death was false. I desire he may have liberty to come and see his Wife and relations. I also request that you would apply to the Governor on the other side the River (meaning Jerseys) and use your best endeavours with him that they may have his leave to come & that they may come under your protection be they more or less in the great road opened by this Conference.

But tho' you should not do this, yet I will use my utmost endeavours to bring you down your prisoners. There are only two in my power ^{my power you may hear otherwise, but I declare I have no} There are more in the Possession of ^{more than two in my power} others and these with your assistance I maybe able to bring down. I will endeavour to gather or scoop in as many as I can but I shall want your help to do this.

JH

also Brother I Require that You through Down that fence in the Jersey that my people may See them & they may Come & See their friend and if they have a mind to Come. I Do not want to Compell them my Desire is they shd Come & Show themselves that the nations may See they are not in Slavery but free people particularly one Phillip who I understood was put to Death I Desire he wd Come and See his wife and Children & I Desire youd Use Your Interest[?] the Governor of the other Side & that he may put them into this Road and I will Use my Endeavour to Release Your people there are Two of them in my power & with Your Assistance I hope by a few presents I may procure more

MA

Brother, I also desire, that you may throw down the Fence, that the Indians who live in the Jerseys may have liberty to go & see their relation. I don't desire, they shall come & stay with us, but that they may be set at liberty to visit, as many as will go. And especially one Philip, of whom I heard to be in Confinement at Trentown, I desire that he might have his liberty to see his Wife & relation. And likewise that the Governor may put those Indians on the Road which we now have opened at this Treaty. There are but two prisoners, which are in my power, who I also will send here, & as there may be a great deal of talk among the people, I know of none but two, & could perhaps bring more with the Governors assistance, but they are not in my power

Gave a Belt.

BF

Also, Brother, I require you would throw down the Fence that confines some of my Brethren and Relations in the *Jerseys*, that they may, if they see Cause, come and see their Relations. I do not want to compel any of them to come, or to stay against their Will. If they are inclined to stay and live among the *English*, I am quite willing they should come back again; but I want they should come and see me, that thereby I may convince their Relations, and the other Nations afar off, that I am now treating with, that they are not Servants, but a free People.

I do not request that all Men, Women and Children should come; but some, or as many as may be sufficient to convince other Nations that they are not confined, but have Liberty as well as we: In particular, one called *Philip*, he has a Wife, and Relations among us; to my Grief I heard he was carried to Goal, and there confined with some others, and put to Death; but I understand the Account of his Death was false. I desire he may have Liberty to come and see his Relations. I also request that you would apply to the Governor on the other Side of the River (*viz.* of the *Jerseys*) and to use your utmost Endeavours with him, that he would give them Leave to come, and that they may come under your Protection, be they more or less, in the great Road to us opened by this Province.

But though you should not do this, yet I will use my utmost Endeavours to bring you down your Prisoners, there are only two in my Power. You may hear otherwise, but I declare I have no more than two in my Power: There are more in the Possession of others, and these, with your Assistance, I may be able to bring down; and I will endeavour to gather and scoop in as many as I can, but I shall want your Help to do it.

November 16, 1756, pt. 6¹¹⁶**RPC-1**

The last
 from ye beginning search & give Liberty to all friends
 to look into this matter. as we are ^{all} Children from on
 high we should make use of one another to see for our
 good. not only so, I really believe by what I have heard
 with my Ears yt there is another future State yn this flesh
 -- I endeavour to act upon both these principles. and
 will according to wh I have promisd come again [*illegible*
word] next Spring to yr Satisfaction if it lies in my power
 with all my force of good purpose

APS

Bror: I have to request you, that you would give a liberty
 to all persons & friends to enquire into These matters:
 As we are all Children of ye Most High, we Should
 endeavour To Assist, & make use of one another, &
 not only so, but I have heard & I believe That There is
 Afuture State besides This flesh; Now I endeavour to
 act on both these principles, & will according To what
 I have promised, if ye Great Spirit Spare my life, Come
 next Spring, with as great a force of Indians as I can
 get, which will be to your Satisfaction;

Gave a String,¹¹⁷

FAH

Brother, I have to request you that you would give
 liberty to all people and *Friends¹¹⁸ to search into
 these matters: as we are all Children of the most most
 [sic] High we should endeavour ^{to assist} and make use of one
 another, and not only so, but I have heard and believe
 that there is a future State, besides that in this Flesh,
 now I endeavour to act on both these principles and will
 according to what I have promised, if the great Spirit
 spares my Life come next Spring with as great a force as
^{of Indians}
 I can get which will be to your Satisfaction,¹¹⁹

JH

Brother I wood have you Look into it that
 is Your heart for as we are Children from on high
 made from on high I believe there is Some State after
 this Flesh & I have Endeavored to Act on both these
 principles to Come in the Spring with all the Strength I
 Can in Your favour

MA

Brother, as we now all together have one Creator, we
 should make use of one another for the best of the publick, & I
 will do all what I can to come here next Spring, If I live, with all
 my force, which will be to your Satisfaction

delivered a String

BF

Brother,

I have to request you, that you would give Liberty to all
 Persons and Friends to search into these Matters; as we are all
 Children of the Most High, we should endeavour to assist and
 make use of one another, and not only so, but from what I have
 heard, I believe there is a future State besides this Flesh; now I
 endeavour to act on both these Principles, and will, according to
 what I have promised, if the Great Spirit spare my Life, come
 next Spring, with as great a Force of *Indians* as I can get, to your
 Satisfaction.

A String.

RPC-1

Brother

The string according to my foolish notion of Indian affairs I declare it by my Interpreter & I think he is honest & I hope you will take some Notice of what I have said

it is a prudent thing to mention in time

what is now past be writn to have ye Copy of what is done before & now tho he shoud not be able to understand it maybe to have Satisfaction to him & others yt ^{can} [illegible word sh—] some read it

If all yt have heard may who may put yr Seals[?] to it it may be of use to us. yt ye be regarded. to be ready agt ye next time he comes

—————
This is not material. wt[?] [illegible word] was doing is a mre of importance tho I may be lookd upon simple yet wn placed[?] in ye main point I do my best endeavour. I will speak in favour of ye Interpreter as he has been Govr Morriss now you use him I am pleasd wth his Conduct

if we have any ^{further} Conversation be it [illegible word] to [illegible word] even[?] employd & betwn him & you yt^h as he lives in another Province & just come express in his Pocket[?] & reward[?] him this I leave to your & [y]our selves./

not of any gt consequence. I will help all yt I can in low circumstance & have not things[?] sutable a few things [Skins?][?] brot here I have 15 deer Skins. There were 80 in ye Woods I [illegible words] there were 80. but they were leaved[?] back again. [illegible words] have[?] some[?] thing [illegible words] yt are [illegible word].

APS

Bror:

The String is now deliver'd & lyes before you; I have Spoken by it, according To my weakness, & Indian manner of Expression; I depend much on my Interpreter. I believe him To be an Honest Man: _ _ _however To prevent misunderstandings, I think it prudent To have a Copy of what is done as well in ye Conferences held last Summer, as at This time; For Tho' I may not be able To read Them myself, yet Others may, & it will be a great Satisfaction To me, To have it in my power to Show To others, what has passed between This Govermt, & me; & I would have ye Names & Seals of all Concerned in Transacting This Business put to it; I do not desire it now, but that it may be ready for me when I come again in ye Spring;--- (The Interpreter informed ye Govr: That what he was going To Say, was not material, or of much Consequence, as it Related To himself, but, Says he. Tho' I may be looked upon as a Simple man, yet in this Whole Affair, I hope I have done my Duty, I am sure I have endeavourd to do it; what ye King Says, is This;) I will Speake in favour of my Interpreter, he acted as Such in Govr Morris' Time, as well as yours. I am pleas'd with his Conduct on both occasions, when we have Business To Transact, I desire he may be employ'd; you know he lives in another province & is at Some expence. I recommend it To you Therefore To reward him for his Services; & to do it well for my Sake: but I Submit it To you;

Bror:

I have a matter of no great importance yet to mention; I am but in low circumstances & have not Things Sutible as I could wish. However I have 15 Deer skins, which as I See you love to have your hands Covered; I make you a present of for gloves, or any other purpose you please; There were at first besides These 80 fine large ones, allotted for This purpose, but on our Journy from Diehogo to Wyoming, my young men were So discouraged by alarms; That They returned, & took Them with Them; So That I have but These 15, of which I desire your Acceptance.

FAH

The String is now delivered and lies before ^{you} I have spoken by it according to my weakness & Indian Manner of Expression. I depend much on my Interpreter and I believe him an honest Man. ___ However I think it prudent to prevent Mistakes to desire you to let me have a Copy of what is done as well in the Conference held last summer as at this time for tho' I may not be able to read them my self yet others may, and it will be a great Satisfaction to me to have it in my power to show to others what have passed between this Government and me, and I would have the #¹²⁰ names and Seals of all concerned in transacting this Business put to it, I do not desire it now but that it may be ready for me when I come again in the Spring.

The Interpreter informed the Governor that what Teedyscung was going to say is¹²¹ not material or of much Consequence as it related to himself, and tho' says he, I may be looked on as a simple Man yet in this whole Affair I hope I have done my duty, I am sure I have endeavoured to do it, What the King says is this,

I will speak in favour of the Interpreter he acted as such in Governor Morris's time as well as yours & I am pleased with his Conduct on both Occasions, if we have any further Business to transact I desire he may be employed, You know he lives in another Province and is at some Expence I recommend it to you to reward him for his Services, and do it well for my sake, but I submit it to you.

Brother

I have a matter of no great Consequence yet to mention I am but in low Circumstances and have not things suitable as I could wish, However I have 15 deer Skins, which as I see you love to have your hands covered I make you a present of for Gloves or for any other purpose there were at first 80 fine large Ones more but on our Journey from Diahogo to Wyoming my young ^{Men} were so discouraged by *¹²²Alarms that they returned and took them all with them so that I have but these 15 of which I desire your Acceptance.

JH

~~one word more~~

Brother this is matter of Great Consequence and although I am a Simpleton but however I hope I have Done my Endeavor in in [*sic*] this [*illegible word*] end as this man John Pomshire was [*illegible word*] Interpreter I do You request[?] as now You I Desire as he Lives in another province You may put a few pennies in his pocket that he may not want in his way home & if we are permitted to meet here again I Desire he may be Interpreter & then Gave a String¹²³

MA

I also desire that you will let me have a full & true Copy of all what is pass't, though the Indians can't reed, there might be one, or also our Children who grow up, that they can see & perhaps reed what we have done

Gave a String

Brother, we brought here a small present of a few Skins along with us for you, & as it now begins to grow cold they will perhaps Serve to make a pair of gloves or the like, though it is but very little, we desire you will accept of it, as a token of our Love. We are poor & Deers are very Scarce, & if we had more, we would give you more, you will be pleased to accept of it as little as it is. Delivered a Bundel [*sic*] of Skins to the Governor.

Brother, as Pompshire has been our Interpreter this & last Treaty & also shall be wanted in the future, I will recommend him to your Generosity & favour, & as he travles [*sic*] a great Deal you will allways take Care of him, that he has a little money in his pocket.¹²⁴

BF*Brother,*

By this String now delivered, and lying before you, I assure you I have spoken on all Matters the best I could, according to my mean Capacity and Abilities. I shall depend on my Interpreter, who I believe is an honest Man, but I think it prudent, in order to prevent Misunderstandings, that I should be furnished with a Copy of what is done, as well in the Conferences held here last Summer as at this Time; for though I am not able to read, yet others may; it will be a great Satisfaction to have it in my Power to shew to others what has passed between this Government and me: What is committed to Writing will not easily be lost, and will be of great Use to all, and better regarded; and I would have the Names and Seals of all that have been concerned in transacting this Business put to it: I do not desire a Copy now, but that it may be ready for me when I come again.---The Interpreter, *Pumpshire*, informed the Governor, that what *Teedynscung* was going to say was not material, or of much Importance, as it related to himself; adding, though he might be considered as a simple Man, yet throughout all this Affair he had acted uprightly and honestly.¹²⁵

Brother,

I will speak in Favour of the Interpreter; he acted as such in Governor *Morris's* Time as well as yours; and I am pleased with his Conduct on both Occasions.---If we should have any further Business to transact, I desire he may be employed.---You know he lives in another Province, and is on that Account at some Expence; reward him well for his Services; and do it well for my Sake; but I shall leave it to you.

Brother,

I have something, though of no great Consequence, yet to mention. I am in low Circumstances, and have not Things suitable; I wish I had---however, I have fifteen Deer Skins, which, as I see you love to have your Hands covered, I present you, to make Gloves of, or for any other Use you shall think proper. Eighty fine large Ones were brought at first, but on our Journey from *Diabogo* to *Wioming*, some of the *Indians* with me were so discouraged by Alarms, that they returned home, and took with them all but the Fifteen, which, I desire your Acceptance of.

Conclusion

Governor Denny thanks Teedyuscung. Then the goods are delivered to the Indians and the day's proceedings come to a close.

At the behest of the assembly commissioners, the next day the governor tries again, through back channels, to persuade Teedyuscung to accept a lump sum payment "in full satisfaction of all Injuries done to the Indians." The Delaware orator again declines. Denny sends for Teedyuscung and one or two more Delaware representatives, along with four Iroquois and two Shawnee, to give his final speech. Those words confirm Teedyuscung's appointment as Pennsylvania's agent, reiterate the colony's determination to repatriate all its people held in Indian country, and invite natives to live among the English. After reaffirming his commitment to keep "the Road" between Indians and colonists open and expressing his delight that "Peace is now settled between us," he condoles the Indians on the recent deaths of Newcastle and several other natives in Philadelphia.

Teedyuscung's reply is summarized, not quoted. In that summary the Delaware leader thanks Denny for the good words, adds his own words to the condolence for Newcastle, then speaks "in a warm and pathetick Manner in Favour of the Peace now settled, and implore[s] the Assistance of the Most High to bring it to Perfection."

Despite the happy sentiments, confusion continues. When Denny, thinking that some Indians now there wish to remain in the province, asks help in drawing up a list of their names, "Teedyuscung, mistaking the Governor, as if he had said they must stay, answered, smiling, he did not understand any Indians were to be forced to stay, but left to their Liberty." Once that gets straightened out, according to the colonial scribe, "Teedyuscung shewed great Pleasure in his Countenance, and took a kind Leave of the Governor and all present."¹²⁶ The 1756 Easton treaties are over.

Notes

1 I thank John T. Juricek for suggesting the inclusion of such a sequence and for proposing a template that I borrow from heavily here.

2 At a meeting of the provincial council on July 26, 1756, for example, Governor Robert Hunter Morris “desired the Council would draw up a Speech to the Indians” (*Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, From the Organization to the Termination of the Proprietary Government* [Harrisburg, Pa., 1851], 7: 206). A draft of the council minutes three days later has the following passage crossed out: “The rough Draught of what was judged proper to be said to the Indians was considered and settled; And then the Governor lett the Indians know he was going to the publick Room in Order to speak to them, and being there with his Council, and the Indians seated, & a large Audience Present, The Governor spoke as follows” (Minutes of Easton Conference, July 25–31, 1756, in Executive Correspondence, *Records of the Provincial Council, 1682–1776, in the Pennsylvania State Archives* [from record group 21 in the Division of Archives and Manuscripts], ed. George Dailey and George R. Beyer [Harrisburg, Pa., 1966], reel B7, card no. 1271 [14–15 of document]). On November 9, again at a meeting only of colonists, “The Minutes of Yesterday’s Conference were read [meaning Teedyuscung’s speech], and the Answer Considered and agreed to” (*Minutes of the Provincial Council*, 7: 318). After assembly commissioners urged him to be direct in asking Indians what caused the war, however, “the Governor, therefore, added to his Answer a Paragraph putting the Question in plain Terms.” For the speech as written out by a clerk, with the addition of a direct question, see Minutes of Easton Conference, Nov. 12, 1756, in Executive Correspondence, *Records of the Provincial Council, 1682–1776*, reel B7, card no. 1354. On November 12, “The Draft of the Governor’s Answer to the Indians, as settled at the last council, was read & some alterations made” before convening with the Indian delegation (*Minutes of the Provincial Council*, 7: 319). Two days later, after a long meeting to consider the best answer to Teedyuscung’s speech of November 13, “The Governor concurring with them [Richard Peters, Conrad Weiser, and the assembly commissioners] in Sentiments, an answer to their complaint was framed accordingly” (*ibid.*, 7: 328).

3 In the superscript passage added, it appears that *were born* is overwritten with *now* [*illegible word*].

4 Minutes of Easton Conference, July 25–31, 1756, in Executive Correspondence, *Records of the Provincial Council, 1682–1776*, reel B7, card no. 1271 [18 of document]; *ibid.*, July 29, 1756, reel B6, card no. 1231.

5 Leonard W. Labaree et al., eds., *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* (New Haven, Conn., 1962), 5: 431.

6 Technically, Robert Hunter Morris’s official title was lieutenant governor, but as he was the chief executive officer in the province the colonial records ordinarily termed him governor.

7 Boyd, *Indian Treaties Printed by Benjamin Franklin*, 141.

8 *Ibid.* See also Pennsylvania Provincial Council Minutes, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, vol. O: 198, reproduced in Francis Jennings et al., eds., *Iroquois Indians: A Documentary History of the Six Nations and Their League* (Woodbridge, Conn., 1984), reel 19, July 28, 1756 (no. 3). This manuscript does not mention that the Philadelphians were Quakers, saying only “about thirty Citizens of the City of Philadelphia.” Benjamin Franklin’s version has it “*about forty citizens of the City of Philadelphia, chiefly of the People called Quakers*” (Boyd, *Indian Treaties Printed by Benjamin Franklin*, 141). On July 27 thirty-three Quakers attended “a Meeting of Friends at Easton, in order to be assistant in the Restoring Peace wth. ye Indians” (file: “Indians—Treaty at Easton July, 1756,” in box: “Indians [transferred from Society Collections],” Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia).

9 “VII At Easton Govr Morris wth Teedyuscung July 1756,” July 28, 1756, in “Material Pertaining to Pennsylvania Indian Affairs [1755–1758]. Reports of meetings with the Indians 1755–57, at Philadelphia and Easton; journal of Christian Frederick Post, 1757, and Charles Thomson’s enquiry, 1758,” American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.; Minutes of Easton Conference, July 25–31, 1756, in Executive Correspondence, *Records of the Provincial Council, 1682–1776*, reel B7, card no. 1271 (11 of document). Clerk’s hand; revisions by Richard Peters.

10 Minutes of Easton Conference, July 25–31, 1756, in Executive Correspondence, *Records of the Provincial Council, 1682–1776*, reel B7, card no. 1271 (11–14 of document). Clerk’s hand; revisions by Peters.

11 This passage is in two hands, one pencil, one pen. Pencil runs from “Answer” through “told,” and from “Dr Bror.” through “putt.” Henceforth HSPRM is in pen unless otherwise indicated. The *Pennsylvania Archives* has minutes of a July 26 speech Teedyuscung made containing some of the same elements as this day’s proceedings, as if he were rehearsing the speech he was to give in the formal sessions. Before dinner that day, Teedyuscung and some other Indians performed the condolence ceremony for the governor.

Then Teedyuscung entered upon a rambling Conversation, saying, that he was made King by Ten Nations. Being asked what ten Nations, he answered, the united Six nations; Mohocks, Onondagoes, Oneidas, Senecas, Cyugas [*sic*], and Tuscaroras, and Four others, Delawares, Shawanees, Mohickons and Munsies, who would all ratify what he should do; He carried the Belt of Peace with him, and whoever would might take hold of it. But as to them that refused, the rest would all join together and fall upon them.

All the Indians, in short, would do as he would have them. He was glad to see his brother, the Governor, behave so kindly. He had been told that the English would not receive the Indians, but he now saw otherwise, every thing was right, and to his satisfaction; and then, giving another string, said, he was a great Man, and it might be depended upon, he would say nothing but the Truth, desiring, at the same time, that the Governor might conceal nothing, but declare all, good and bad, tho’ it should be against them, for he came on purpose to hear Words out of his own Mouth . . . He frequently said he would open all his Soul to the Governor, and tomorrow produce his Authorities, by which it would appear, he did not come of his own Head, but by express Direction of his Uncles, the Six Nations; he did not indeed come to treat, but to look about him, and try what Reception he should meet with, and what would be said to him by this Government of whose sincerity there has been some Doubts; after which, he was ordered by his Uncles to report all he should see and hear, to them. And, as by the Kindness already shewn him, his Doubts were removed, and he saw clearly the End would be good, his Uncles and the Delawares would come together and conclude a firm Treaty. (*Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser., 2 [1853]: 725–26)

12 Boyd, *Indian Treaties Printed by Benjamin Franklin*, 141–42.

13 “I solemnly & wth the utmost Sincerity declare that,” along with the last sentence, is in Richard Peters’s hand.

14 In pencil, with revisions in pen.

15 This text for July 28 gives the speech in a different order than the others. That order, by parts, is roughly: 1–4–3–2–6. There is no equivalent in this text for pt. 5.

16 It is unclear whether this passage has been struck through by an editor.

17 In pencil, with revisions in pen.

18 The other “King” Teedyuscung referred to was probably Iroquois go-between Newcastle (Kos Showweyha). See Francis Jennings, *Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies, and Tribes in the Seven Years War in America* (New York, 1988), 275, n. 58.

19 The next page of this document begins with “a String,” which might belong to the end of this speech.

20 Boyd, *Indian Treaties Printed by Benjamin Franklin*, 143.

21 Here ~~is~~ is overwritten with *if*.

22 Here, in the margin, is added, in another hand: “* Wischixi, be active, nimble. Zeis[erger?].”

23 Boyd, *Indian Treaties Printed by Benjamin Franklin*, 144–45.

24 Minutes of Easton Conference, July 29, 1756, in Executive Correspondence, *Records of the Provincial Council, 1682–1776*, reel B6, card no. 1231. Rough draft in the hand of Benjamin Chew; revisions by Richard Peters.

25 Here the number 6 is overwritten with 10. Teedyuscung offered a variant of this expression in preliminary talks on July 26, 1756: “He carried the Belt of Peace with him, and whoever would might take hold of it. But as to them that refused, the rest would all join together and fall upon them” (*Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser., 2: 725).

26 In this sentence *he* is overwritten with *I* and *My* with *his*.

27 Minutes of Easton Conference, July 25–31, 1756, in Executive Correspondence, *Records of the Provincial Council, 1682–*

1776, reel B7, card no. 1271 (18–19 of document). Draft in clerk's hand; revisions by Richard Peters.

28 Here *his* is overwritten with *This*.

29 This passage is placed on a different sheet, after the governor's speech.

30 Here the *w* has been written over an *b*.

31 Boyd, *Indian Treaties Printed by Benjamin Franklin*, 144–45.

32 On July 31 Iroquois envoy Newcastle (Kos Showweyha), with Conrad Weiser translating (or, as he put it, “in words that are the literal Interpretation of what Newcastle said”), explained this belt, giving the Delaware people less independence than Teedyuscung claimed:

The large Belt given by Teedyuscung was sent to the Delawares by the Council of the Six United Nations with a Message to the following Purport[:] “Cousins the Delaware Indians[:] You will remember that you are our women, our Forefathers made you so, and put a Petty Coat on you, and charged you to be true to us and lye with no other man. But of late you have suffered the String yt tyd your Pettycoat to be cut loose by the French and you lay with them and so became a common Bawd. in which you did very wrong and deserved Chastisement, but notwithstanding this We have still Esteem for you and as you have throwd off your Piece and become stark naked which is a Shame for a Woman We now give you a little Prick & put it in your private Parts and so let it grow there, till you shall be a compleat man. We advise you not to act as a Man yet but be first instructed by us and do as we bid you and you will become a noted man. Cousins[:] The English & French fight for our Land, Let us be strong and lay our hand to it, and defend it. In the mean time turn your Eyes & Ears to us and the English our Brethren & you will live as well as we do[.]” (“Captn Newcastles Explanation of the large Belt given to the Delawares by the Six Nations, 31st July 1756,” *Endorsed* [by Peters] “No. 33,” Minutes of Easton Conference, July 31, 1756, in Executive Correspondence, *Records of the Provincial Council, 1682–1776*, reel B6, card no. 1238; Peters added, at the bottom of the page: “Taken from Captn Newcastles Mouth by Mr Weiser”)

A variant version of this speech is in *Minutes of the Provincial Council*, 7: 217–18 (“literal Interpretation”). The Benjamin Franklin edition bowdlerized this speech, rendering “We now give you a little Prick & put it in your private Parts and so let it grow there, till you shall be a compleat man” as “we now give you a little Power, but it will be some Time till you shall be a complete Man” (Boyd, *Indian Treaties Printed by Benjamin Franklin*, 148).

33 Minutes of Easton Conference, July 29, 1756, in Executive Correspondence, *Records of the Provincial Council, 1682–1776*, reel B6, card no. 1231. Draft by Benjamin Chew; revisions by Richard Peters.

34 Inserted atop this page, in Richard Peters's hand:

Then taking a large Belt in his hand wherein was a square in the Middle & at one end a figure of a Man indicating ye English & at ye other end another figure indicating ye French he proceeded.

35 Minutes of Easton Conference, July 25–31, 1756, in Executive Correspondence, *Records of the Provincial Council, 1682–1776*, reel B7, card no. 1271 (19 of document). Clerk's draft; revisions by Richard Peters.

36 Ibid., July 29, 1756, reel B6, card no. 1231. Draft by Benjamin Chew; revisions by Richard Peters. *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser., 2: 721, has a variant of Teedyuscung's reply: “He said it would make no alteration in the publick measures. He charged ye Indians not to come among ye Inhabitants, if they did & should be killed they would disregard it, &c.”

37 Minutes of Easton Conference, July 25–31, 1756, in Executive Correspondence, *Records of the Provincial Council, 1682–1776*, reel B7, card no. 1271 (20 of document). Clerk's draft; revisions by Richard Peters.

38 Boyd, *Indian Treaties Printed by Benjamin Franklin*, 145–46.

39 Minutes of Easton Conference, July 30, 1756, in Executive Correspondence, *Records of the Provincial Council, 1682–1776*, reel B6, card no. 1237. Rough draft, in the hand of Richard Peters. *Endorsed* [by Peters]: “29.” At the top of the page is: “The King spoke to ye Govr wn Friends came to take their Leave of Him just after dinner.” At the bottom of the page, in Peters's hand, is: “Friday Noon 30th July.” Neither MA nor HSP contains this speech. MA simply mentions that the gifts were

“properly placed between the Governor and the Indians,” gives the governor’s talk, and concludes: “Then the Presents were Delivered.”

40 Ibid., reel B6, card no. 1234. Rough draft, in the hand of Richard Peters. *Endorsed* [by Peters]: “Indian Minutes 30 July 1756. 31.”

41 This Iroquois was probably “an Onondago Indian who would not tell his Name” when colonists drew up a list of the Indians attending the treaty. “Names of ye Indians at Easton,” July 27, 1756, in file: “Indians—Treaty at Easton July 1756,” box: “Indians (transferred from Society Collections).” Boyd, *Indian Treaties Printed by Benjamin Franklin*, 149, has it “Baronet Rewman.”

42 Friendly Association for Regaining and Preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Measures, Minutes, 1755–1757, Am. 525, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 14v (misdated July 31). It is unusual that this document puts these words in quotation marks, as if it were a transcript; ordinarily, these minutes just offer a summary of the proceedings. It is introduced as follows: “most of the People called Quakers intending this afternoon to set out homewards immediately after Dinner took leave of the Governor and Teedyuscung at which time the King addressing himself to us all, said vizt” (ibid., 14).

43 Boyd, *Indian Treaties Printed by Benjamin Franklin*, 146–47.

44 Minutes of Easton Conference, July 30, 1756, in Executive Correspondence, *Records of the Provincial Council, 1682–1776*, reel B6, card no. 1236. Rough draft in the hand of Benjamin Chew.

45 In the previous sentence, Richard Peters altered *he holds to the Govr holds*. In this sentence the scribe originally wrote *We*, then changed it to *Some*.

46 *A String* is in Richard Peters’s hand.

47 Minutes of Easton Conference, July 25–31, 1756, in Executive Correspondence, *Records of the Provincial Council, 1682–1776*, reel B7, card no. 1271 (26 of document). Draft by clerk; revisions by Richard Peters.

48 The APS version, for example, employs quotation marks on every line of speeches by Teedyuscung and Robert Hunter Morris, July 28–30, 1756 (except July 29, 1756, pts. 2–3), as well as the opening of the governor’s speech on July 31, 1756. But for July 31, 1756, it quotes nothing by Teedyuscung or Newcastle. Moreover few accounts contain these texts (JH, MA, and HSPRM lack them). Here is the Benjamin Franklin version:

To which they [Teedyuscung and Newcastle] answered, That they would be mutual good Friends, and lay their Heads together, and do every Thing in their Power to promote the weighty Matters entrusted to them.

Teedyuscung added, If his Memory should not serve him in every Thing committed to his Charge, or Things should be crooked, he would return to us, and make them straight. What he says comes from his Heart, and not from his Lips; his Heart and ours should be one, and be true to one another; for if different Liquors are put in a Cask, and shaked, they will mix, and come out one.

[The governor replies.]

Teedyuscung answered, That he might meet with Difficulties in transacting the important Business committed to his Charge; but as he is now one of the Council of the Province of *Pennsylvania*, he assures his Brethren, that he will exert himself faithfully, and to the utmost of his Abilities, in the Service; and if he meets with crooked Paths, he will endeavour to make them straight.

[Morris gives the two “Agents” two wampum belts tied together “as a Sign or Symbol of that Harmony and Unanimity that ought to subsist between them.”]

Teedyuscung said, that he was pleased with being joined with *Newcastle* in the publick Business; that he hoped Matters would be brought to a happy Issue; that he wished there might be a firm Friendship and lasting Union between the *Six Nations*, the other *Five Nations*, and the People of *Pennsylvania*, and that they might be as one Man. He further said, that he had a large Family, and having a great Way to go, he had no means of carrying any more Provisins than would serve him on the Road; he therefore desired that he might be furnished with a Horse, that he might be enabled to carry Necessaries for his Family. ---Whereupon the Governor promised to let him have a Horse, and he promised to return him again the next Time he came down. (Boyd, *Indian Treaties Printed by Benjamin Franklin*, 148–49)

49 Ibid., 150. *Minutes of the Provincial Council*, 7: 313, has this occurring at three o'clock.

50 Minutes of Easton Conference, Nov. 8, 1756, in Executive Correspondence, *Records of the Provincial Council, 1682–1776*, reel B7, card no. 1340 (2–4 of document). Draft, mostly in the hand of Richard Peters.

51 Boyd, *Indian Treaties Printed by Benjamin Franklin*, 150–51.

52 The bottom of this page is torn and might have contained “as is now going on” (see Nov. 8, 1756, pt. 3, BF).

53 In the margin, at *, in a different hand: “abt. 160 Indians prepar'd to sett out from Teagoon, but ye night before their setting out recd: a Message from the North said that some of the Indians at Mount Johnson had heard from Philadelphia from ye Indians there that the Intention of the Government of Pensilvania by inviting them to a Treaty was to get a Considerable Number of them together & Cutt them off. That at Wyoming or near that place they recd. two several Messages more of the like Tenor wch had deter'd the major part of them from coming to ye End of yr Journey.”

54 Minutes of Easton Conference, Nov. 9, 1756, in Executive Correspondence, *Records of the Provincial Council, 1682–1776*, reel B7, card no. 1344. Rough draft, in the hand of Richard Peters. The passage begins: “The Governor orderd the Interpreter to acquaint Teedyuscung that he was ready to hear ^{him} ~~what he had to say~~ and he deliverd himselfe as follows.”

55 Here *those* is overwritten with *these*.

56 This account begins as follows: “the Secritary Read what was Transacted Yesterday & Pomshil Communicated it to ye Indians who Approved of it__ the Governor then Desired the Interpreter to Let Tadeuscung Know he was Ready to hear what he had to Say__”

57 Boyd, *Indian Treaties Printed by Benjamin Franklin*, 151–52.

58 There are echoes here of a message Teedyuscung sent to Governor William Denny when Denny, trying desperately to avoid traveling to the rude frontier village of Easton, proposed that the Indian delegation, having arrived at Easton, continue on to Philadelphia (though smallpox was then in the city). With John Pumpshire interpreting and Conrad Weiser writing it down, the Delaware leader, on a wampum string,

made answer to the following purport: “Brother, the Governor of Pennsylvania: you remember very well that in time of darkness and Danger I came in here at your invitation, and at this place (meaning Easton) we kindled a small Council Fire, to which I am now returned, and several other Indians of different Nations, and some more are by the way to come, so that if you shou'd put out this little Fire, it will be said of it, that it was only a Jack Lanthorn (what the Germans call Irrwish) kindled on purpose to deceive those that approach it; therefore, Brother, I think it by no means adviseable to put out this little Fire, but rather to put more sticks upon it, and I desire that you will come to it as soon as possible, bringing your Old and Wise Men along with you, and shall be very glad to see you here.” (*Minutes of the Provincial Council*, 7: 310)

59 In the margin sideways, in the same hand as the main text: “+ A metaphor expressing his having Exerted himself as farr as he was able to promote the work of Peace.”

60 In the margin in the same hand as the main text: “√ He does not mean that he was himself aparty [*sic*] to these Treaties, but in this as well as in his Claim to the Lands and other like occasions he speaks in the name of the people he represents tho' he uses the first person.”

61 Boyd, *Indian Treaties Printed by Benjamin Franklin*, 154.

62 Ibid.

63 “The Following Accot. is given by some of the Trustees, who attended the late Treaty with the Indians at Easton,” in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Indian Committee Records, ca. 1745–1983, Friendly Association for Regaining and Preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Measures, Quaker Collection, Haverford College Library, Haverford, Pennsylvania, 5: AA5, 154.

64 Minutes of Easton Conference, Nov. 13, 1756, in Executive Correspondence, *Records of the Provincial Council, 1682–1776*, reel B7, card no. 1360 (1–9 of document). Rough draft, in the hand of Richard Peters.

65 Ibid., reel B7, card no. 1359. Rough draft, in a clerk's hand (probably Charles Thomson); revisions in the hand of

Richard Peters. *Endorsed* [by Peters]: “No 9.”

66 Here *in* appears to have been added.

67 The comma here appears to have been added.

68 Misdated November 14 in the original.

69 Boyd, *Indian Treaties Printed by Benjamin Franklin*, 155–58.

70 In the margin in a different hand is a vertical list of “*a viz the Shawnese Delawares Minisinks & the Mohigons b Onondagoes Oneidas Tuscaroras Senecas Cayuges Mohawks.*”

71 The Moravian text begins at this point, headed “2d. Session.”

72 Here another hand has changed it from *what I have to say* to *what I have say'd & to what I have to say.*

73 Apparently, when writing down “there were 2 Kings with me after I desird him . . . ,” Richard Peters left a space on this page to insert the sentence beginning: “Till a man calld Charles Broadhead.”

74 On November 14, after “The Minutes of Yesterday’s Conference were read over, and then each Paragraph by it self,” Conrad Weiser informed William Denny and Richard Peters that

he apprehended Teedyscung’s relations, of what passed between him and Charles Broadhead, in a light something different from what was set down in the Minutes, vizt.: —That Charles Broadhead had, in the Name of the Governor, charged on Teedyuscung the Murders committed on the Inhabitants of this Province, and demanded satisfaction for them; that the King denied the Charge, and sent a Message by him, with a Bundle of Wampum, to the Governor of Pennsylvania, to assure him of his not having committed Hostilities. And further desired he might receive orders from the Governor what to do, promising to Execute them faithfully; and if it shou’d be judged, he wou’d even go Colonel Johnson [*sic*] and the Six Nation Countre with any Message the Governor wou’d please to send there by him, but desired it might be sent in a Certain Number of Days, after which, if it did not come, he wou’d take for granted the Governor believed the Stories told of him. (*Minutes of the Provincial Council*, 7: 326)

75 At the bottom of the page, in the same hand: “* This is the man mentioned in General Johnson’s Treaties last winter, he never mentioned to this Government any thing of this Message till six weeks after, ~~his purpose being answered, & the Country in Flames~~ ^{yet} afterwards he was entrusted by Governor Morris with a Commission and sent to the Fort at Shamokin where he still remains.”

76 In the margin in the same hand as the main text: “+ Charles Broadhead promised to carry this Message to the Governor and bring me back an Answer.”

77 The word *from* concludes a right-hand page in this notebook, and the first words on the page after the following page are: ~~the Governor~~ (see Nov. 13, 1756, pt. 7, JH). It appears that the phrase was intended to be “had it from the Governor,” but the scribe skipped the intervening page (as I did when going through the notebook), realized his mistake, crossed out “the Governor,” and turned back one page to continue his account.

78 Here the scribe has written 3 over the original 2.

79 Here the scribe has written *Me* over the original *him*.

80 This passage has been thoroughly crossed out, perhaps even erased. *Tho’* has been written over *That* by a different hand.

81 At the bottom of the page, in the same hand: “# Note the Jerseys respecting Land Affairs are two Governments.”

82 In the margin in a different hand: “* these are often called the Memskies: the Indians remaing about Fort Allen are Chiefly of this Tribe or Nation.”

83 In the margin in a different hand: “# it is plain that they did not intend at this Conference any more than to clear the way, for a general Treaty, & in private Conversation Teedyuscung said, the times yet were difficult and the Clouds not so fully dispelled, as to admitt of entering upon the discussing Affairs of a private Nature.”

84 The transcript renders the question thus: “The Govr desird to know what Grievances they are wch he has mentiond

to have received from this & other Govts.”

85 The transcript of this part breaks off here. The next sentence is Conrad Weiser’s: “the rest of that paragraph is no Indian phrase.”

86 In the margin in a different hand, after noting that William Denny poses the question of grievances: “x the Secretary & C. Weiser were much alarmed at the Governors putting this Question and laboured sometime to prevent the Interpreter’s proceeding to interpret it, but the Effect it had on the Indians was very different. They were much pleased with the Governor’s openness and Candor & they discovered it by great Alacrity and Chearfulness from this time to the End of the Treaty.”

87 This passage begins: “Then the Governor desired of *Teedyuscung*, as he had mentioned Grievances received by the *Indians* from this and other Governments, to let him know what they were and to speak his Mind freely and fully without any reserve; upon which *Teedyuscung* spoke as follows.”

88 Apparently a typographical error omits “not” from “as to bear this in their Minds.”

89 I have omitted a brief exchange between *Teedyuscung* and Richard Peters regarding a receipt for a gift of deerskins and a 1755 memorandum regarding a tract of land in New Jersey. Benjamin Franklin’s version has it:

Then *Teedyuscung* produced a Receipt from *William Parsons*, for a Bundle of Deer-skins he had sent from *Fort Allen* as a Present to Governor *Morris*, and desired Mr. *Peters* to let him know if he had received them for the Governor; which he said he had.

He then asked Mr. *Peters* what was done with the Memorandum he gave to Governor *Morris* when he was in *Philadelphia* in *April*, 1755, containing a Claim to a small Pine Tract in *New-Jersey*; to which Mr. *Peters* said, that Governor *Morris* had promised to enquire into the Matter, and the Memorandum would be returned to him at any Time, with Governor *Morris*’s Report on it. (Boyd, *Indian Treaties Printed by Benjamin Franklin*, 157)

90 This text is so confusing and rough that I have reproduced it in its entirety in this part and the next.

91 Regarding the receipt for deerskins and the memorandum about land, this text offers two notes, in the same hand: “[in the margin] * Memo. As they always acknowledge the receipt of any Presents made them they expected tho’ this of theirs was small it would have been acknowledged.” At the bottom of the page, in the same hand: “Memo. At this time they came to *Philadelphia* to complain of Injuries &c. but were put off with a trifling evasive Answer with which they were not satisfied, and *Braddock* soon after being defeated and our Government shamefully neglecting them, the French Influence at last Prevailed. &ca.”

92 This text is so confusing and rough that I have reproduced it in its entirety in this part and the previous one.

93 At the bottom of the page, in the same hand:

+ There was some dispute about the meaning of this Paragraph at the time it was delivered and some difference in the Notes of those who took it down, which induced some persons afterwards to ask one *Moses Tetamy* an Indian of an approved Character who speaks the English Language what the King then meant and from his mouth what follows was taken down. The meaning and indeed what the King said was this; “I had not intended to have mentioned these things now. as I am come about other matters, and designed at this time only to wipe away the Blood and to clear the way; & when this was done then at another time, perhaps next Spring, when many more were present, ~~then~~ these things would have been proposed; but as the Governor has desired me to tell the Cause of our Uneasiness, I have done it and opened my mind fully not with an Intent that we should treat of these things now, but that he may know the Cause of our Uneasiness, & that the English may consider it.”

94 Boyd, *Indian Treaties Printed by Benjamin Franklin*, 158–60.

95 See Minutes of the Friendly Association, 1755–1757, 22–22v, for portions of *Teedyuscung*’s speech on this day that come close to being a transcript akin to those listed. Here is its text of pt. 1:

On the 16th. In the Morning, *Teedyuscung* returned his Answer to the Governor by a metaphor of planting and tending Indian Corn reminding us, if we intended to make a durable Peace not only to begin

but to proceed to the Accomplishment of every Thing necessary for the removing all Obstructions & establishing our Friendship on a right Foundation . . .

In the Evening some Dispute arising about the meaning of Teedyuscung's of the Corn and Fire &c. C Weiser declared the meaning to be—it is in your Power /meaning the English) to bring about this good Work, which is so happily begun. The most High gave you more Understanding Wealth and Abilities than to us. You can if you will act Agreeable to what the good Spirit put into your Hearts, bring all this about that there may be a better understanding between the English and Indians than has been, for it is not we only who are at this Spot of Ground are concerned, but also our Neighbours as well English as Indians.

96 Minutes of Easton Conference, Nov. 16, 1756, in Executive Correspondence, *Records of the Provincial Council, 1682–1776*, reel B7, card no. 1369. Rough draft, in the hand of Richard Peters.

97 A cleaner copy of RPC-1, also by Richard Peters, appears two pages later.

98 Minutes of Easton Conference, Nov. 16, 1756, in Executive Correspondence, *Records of the Provincial Council, 1682–1776*, reel B7, card no. 1370. Draft in clerk's hand (probably Charles Thomson); revisions by Richard Peters.

99 Here *may* has been written over *make*.

100 Here *there* has been written over *they*.

101 Atop this page is the designation “IV Session.”

102 Boyd, *Indian Treaties Printed by Benjamin Franklin*, 162–64.

103 This rough draft is interrupted by a page containing only “The Carriage will be provided” and another page that is a cleaner copy, also in Richard Peters's hand, of these notes, transcribed as RPC-2.

104 Here *ir* has been added to *the* to form *their*.

105 A paragraph belonging to the next pt. comes between the conclusion of this pt. and the explanation, in Richard Peters's hand, given at the bottom of the document page.

106 It appears that *s* has been added to *heart* by another hand.

107 *And add to the fire* is in another hand.

108 At the bottom of the page, in the same hand (except for the opening superscript, which is in a different hand):
In the evening after the Conference

≠ Some dispute arising about this Paragraph Conrad Weiser being called in said and desired this to be put down in his Name, The meaning is, It is in your power (meaning the English) to bring about this good Work which is so happily begun. The most High gave you more understanding, Wealth, &c. than us; you can, if you will Act agreeable to what the good Spirit puts into your Hearts, bring all this about that there may be a better Understanding between the English and Indians than has been hitherto; For it is not we who are at this spot of Ground are concerned only, but also our Neighbours as well English as Indians.

109 A paragraph explaining Teedyuscung's meaning in pt. 1 has been omitted here and moved to pt. 2.

110 For this part, the Minutes of the Friendly Association, 1755–1757, 22, has the following: “As to the Demand they should make for Satisfaction for Lands they intimated that the long continuance of the Injury had increased the Damages, but that the final Adjustment must be refer'd to a future Treaty, it not being their Intention to enter into it at present, many who were concerned in this Matter not being here_”

111 I found no additional texts in RPC for this date.

112 For this part, the Minutes of the Friendly Association, 1755–1757, 22–22v, has the following: “As to the Prisoners He declares there are but two in his Power, but as there were others which he might be able with our Assistance to bring in, he promises to endeavour it, if he had our help therein, by which he seems to intend some Money or Goods should be committed to him particularly for that Purpose.”

113 Here *Confirms* is apparently overwritten with *Confines*.

114 Here *desire* has been written above, in a different hand.

115 This superscript is in a different hand.

116 For this part, the Minutes of the Friendly Association, 1755–1757, 22, has the following: “in divers parts of his speech he intimated his Desire that Friends might have Liberty to search into the Foundation of their Complaints and desires to have a written Copy of the Minutes of this Treaty.” The Quaker minutes clearly take “Friends” to mean Quakers; Richard Peters and Benjamin Franklin subtly altered the word’s meaning to the more generic “friends” of Indian peoples.

117 This passage concludes with a parenthetical sentence: “(Being asked what he meant by force, he reply’d, As many as he Could bring in a friendly manner./”

118 At the bottom of the page, in the same hand: “* They had been cautioned not to name the Quakers yet as they had given full Testimonies of their Confidence in them, they here manifest it by desiring their Assistance.”

119 Here follows, in parentheses: “being asked what he meant by Force he replied as many as he could bring in a friendly manner.”

120 At the bottom of the page, in the same hand: “# Here again he manifests his desire that Friends should be made Parties to the Treaty & of course engaged to assist in the Enquiry into the Foundation of his Claims.”

121 Here *was* is overwritten with *is*.

122 At the bottom of the page, in the same hand: “* Several messages were sent after them with information that by Intelligence the Indians had brought from Fort Johnson, they were assured the Intention of this Government was to cut them off which discouraged many who had set out and they returned back.”

123 This part concludes: “he also Gave 15 Dear Skins to the Governor for which the Governor Return him his thanks.”

124 This part concludes: “Then the Goods was delivered to the Indians.”

125 There is confusion here and in the other texts as to whether “himself” and “he” refers to John Pumpshire or to Teedyuscung.

126 Boyd, *Indian Treaties Printed by Benjamin Franklin*, 164–65.