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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 scriveners 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


“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.

Permission to post a transcript of portions of these documents is courtesy of the Library, American Philosophical Society. Permission to publish required.

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


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

FAH  Friendly Association, Haverford

“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, & to and, Philada to Philadelphia, perhaps to perhaps, and liquor 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]).
Sources, cont.

**HSPT**  Historical Society of Pennsylvania, “Tatteweskund”


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**JH**  John Hughes

The John Hugh[es] Account Book, 1714–1762, Am. 0806, HSP, is a small (6 ⅛” x 4 ⅞”) 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
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 Teedyuyscung 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

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.

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:

Great works require strong Hands & many, this 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 on this Occasion for the Govt. of Pens.a & earnestly invite you to use your utmost Endeavours to bring about this great & good Work we have begun.  

---

a good & great one, the Work of Peace, it requires men of strong heads, & Great Works require Strong Hands and 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 have great influence with many who live far distant from us you are esteemed & will be heard we therefore choose you as to be Country where you were born, and to the People Agent & Councillor for this Province: Engage in it heartily. You ought to whom you govern, and by this Belt I appoint you to do it. You owe it to ye Country in which you were born you owe it to yr on this Occasion, an Agent for the Government brethren ye English you owe it to yr Uncles ye Six Nation. You owe it to Pennsylvania, and earnestly invite you to use your own people, of your own preside. We desire you will utmost Endeavours to bring about this great and good Work, We have now Begun.
Other scribes had Governor Morris saying this:

FAH
Brother Teedyscung

Great Works require many & Strong hands to perform the work we are now engaged in as a good one it is the Work of Peace it requires men of strong heads & Sound hearts. We desire many may be join'd together. 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 far 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 your 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. Bro. 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. & we therefore apply to yo. to become our Agent in this Work. you may be heard where we cannot 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. deliv'd 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 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[]

Deliver'd a Large Belt.
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.
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.” 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.

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.”

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.
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 smoking 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.

To which Teedyuscung immediately 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 what will be Said & done at this Councill fire.
HSPRM\textsuperscript{11}

Answer---Last Spring You sent me a String & as soon as I heard the good Words You sent I was glad & it came
now as you told us we believe from your hearts, so we felt it into our hearts & receiv'd what you Said with gladness.

Dr Bror, in answer to ye few Words you Spoke to me, The 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 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 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 Pensylvania, 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

BF\textsuperscript{12}

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.
RPC
Brother
I solemnly & 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 have 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. This you will soon have made evident to you.

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.

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

MA
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.

deliverd a Belt.

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.

HSPRM
Dr Brethren I solemnly declare before you all & do it from ye Sincerity of my ht I am here alone & 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 treat with you.

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 Destration 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 & 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, having the management of Public 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.

We must beseech the most high to scatter the Clouds which have arisen between us that 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 held 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 public 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
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 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, whc have arisen between us, that as our Ancestors had peace we may Settle peace Unity & good will to last forever.

HSPRM
it has been our unhapiness that we have had so many Kings this has this made Confusion in ye transaction Pub buss one appd here & anor undr ye bushes but there are 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 &

In this Para: he said we must apply to ye most high for assistance & that he may dispel ye Clouds.

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. 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.

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 somthing 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. . .
RPC
Brethren the English & particularly ye Govr of Pennsylvania
[An 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 that I am invite me here; I am therefore 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, & pitted 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
 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
Every body know that we have heard your good Words
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
sneak away & hide your Words and Presents in the Bushes, but shall publish them
done. Who find 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 Diahoga you signified to us that you
pitted 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
several Nations in alliance with the Delawares &c
Squares, representing the
Dr. Brethren the English & party: the Governor of PenSilvania.

As you have invited me here, I now Speak
to you, as I am authorize'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 Undes
the Six Nations, the Mohocks & others Sneak away
& Keep them undr. ye. bushes, but shall far & near
acknowledge it, that so all who are willing may join
with us & Lay hold of what you Say.

a String.
With a belt in his hand chiefly white with Squares

Dr. Brn. yo Eng. Govr of Pens a as yo have invd. me here. I now Speak to you, as I am authoriz’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 & 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 that those who please may join & lay hold of what yo. say

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.
RPC
Brother
I have finished my Speech to you at present. I cannot finish the whole Affair, which is a Thing of too 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 the United Nations, and lett 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 Messenger 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 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.

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[?]

HSPRM
Dr. Brn the Conclusion of my words is just this_ I have nothing of grt. Consequence to say to yo. but am only a Messr. to receive what yo. Have to Say if it is good 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 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__

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.
RPC

for ye present, the main thing he added was that it still is 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 the Delaware Word Whish Shicksy, the same with the 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 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 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, 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 get 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] the same with the Mohawk Word [Iago] with great Earnestness and in a very pathetick Tone Mr. Weiser who knew the Word to have a very extensive & forcible Sense 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. Whish 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

He said not to day but clapping his hand on his said 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 rais’d & Carr’d 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-shicksy, 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-Shicksy
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-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 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-shicksy, 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.”
Then taking a large Belt in his hand wherein was a square in the marking ye Land of ye Indians
Bren Middle & at one end a figure of a Man indicating ye English & at ye other end another figure indicating
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 were accounted Women, but now the 6 Nn� have made Men of them & as such he now comes to this Treaty_ Having this Authority as a Man to make Peace he has it in 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 lookg 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 Terms of Peace, the 10 Nations will join agst him & strike him. See the dangerous Circumstc� I am in, Strong Men on both Sides Hatchets 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 Spirit that possess’d the good Man W. Penn who was a Frd to the Indians may inspire the People of this Province at this Time

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 with your last Messages there received This lifting up ye Belt. This belt denotes yt
The Six Nations by their Chiefs have lately renewed their Covenant Chains with us. Formerly we were accounted Women, But now the Six 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 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 holds together ten Nations. We are in ye Middle betwn the French & English. Look at it, and employd only in Womens Business
This Belt I hold 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; Whoever gives the best Assurances does incline to peace
Brother. This belt gives me authority, who will make Peace 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
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 myself according to your Words which I will perform to my Power. I wish the same good Spirit which possessed 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.

Brethren. 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 with 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.
HSPRM
1st. as yo. sent yr. Messr. N. ye last time just abt. that time I had my Comm. from ye 6 Nn. to lett yo. Kno. By this I have recd from our Comon frds. ye 6Ns. 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.

JH
king TatewisCon Answerd & sd I have to tell by the authority of ye 6 nations that the Delawares & Shonees do act as men now although they were formerly [sic] Women he therefore Says he now had peace in his hands & the 10 Nations he mention’d 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

HSPT
Tattewaskund 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 tooken that we 10 Nations stand in the middle & between the French & English, & look about who inclines to make Peace, & who dos not incline to it, but go 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
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 Pennsylvannia & Peace may Prevail and continue in this Land.

gave a Belt

BF

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. 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.
Tedieskunk replied that on the Belt were market 2 Men &c.34

Teedyuskung 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.

Tedyuscung reply'd. That whoever lays hold of it, must be for good & explain'd the Belt to ye Governor, telling him he might see, at each end of it a Man one describing ye English & ye other the French from each 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 aright to the Lands between the English Plantations & Canada & assis Support them in the possession of them.
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.

Teedyuscung said that when he came here to Council all the Indians thereabouts knew of it, and 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, none of these private Deaths ought to affect ye present measure—nor would this make any alteration in his Councils.

To which the King Answer’d that they were French Indians, but if they were frds it was their own fault for acting so but that he as a Counselor Shod. not make himself uneasy and in confirmation of his friendship and integrity he gave the Governor a string & the Governor returned ye string with a declaration of the same sentiments & then kisd. 2 of the Ladies.

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 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 alteration 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-1

Brother

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

RPC-2

There is one of ye 6 nations that came from Diahogo to hear what he had to say.

Upon this he from ye bottom of his heart is glad to hear what you have said.

According to what he has been authorized by his Unckles. He was before
now but a Woman he is put into that attire to be a man to mind good things to do that which
is good.

After this he has given him this Office & Ability to act. he has given him a Pipe
& fill’d it with ye best tobacco that our forefathers have furnish’d to smoak & his br. too?
yt when ye Mohock has told him I filled yr pipe with 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 would not be under stood yt by
this it is a Memorandum a token when he comes to smoak
wth you he will bring wth him those things that you want.
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 smoked 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 Councellor with the Delaware Nation.

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.

After Dinner Teedyuscung voluntarily 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 get home, that it may be spread far & near, & I hope you will hear of no more mischief 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.

FAH

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.
In the Evening the King Declard 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__

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 Sasquehannah 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 Sasquehannah, 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-1**

Desires all that he says & what is said to him may be taken down right

Some speaks in the dark, Candle Light, what is the reason the holds Council in his hands

Some set him out of doors like a Woman. If the 5 Nations make him a Woman, they must but what is the reason,

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 String

**RPC-2**

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.

Some speak in ye dark,烛光，what is the reason ye Govr makes him a Woman.

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 gave a String.

[Morris explaining any wrongdoing, explains the situation.]

Chief. To Morrow will speak to us, what he has to say is from the Six Nations; He that wont make Peace must die——

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 right; 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.

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.  

_A String_
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 Philadelpia,” 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 Logding 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
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 English and Indians. I have now brought down with me as many of the Chiefs of the Several Nations as I could.

4 Strings
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 Encouragement he Recd from the English & this Governmt & has Declared it to the nations Round both Delaware & Mohocks Several of whom are here present & can Declare the Same

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 publishd 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 deliverd 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

Bror: I have with all faithfulness held up to the Indian Nations, the Belt I recieved from this Govermt: 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 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 established among our Ancestors, I give you this Belt & open your Eyes & Ears & remove all Obstructions of your Throats that nothing may impede the attention necessary to be used in a matter of such Importance as is now. 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 reports 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.
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 done [illegible word] of those who are with me [illegible word] 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

4 Strings

No 3
RPC

Brethren

signifies that I have took notice and paid a due regard to every

This Belt assures you yt assures [illegible

words] thing mentioned by the Messengers you sent to

whom 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 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

witness ye Truth of what I say, what was then done,

and proposed put us in mind of ye Actions of our

Ancient people, & as we were only Children in Abilities

we picked 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.

November 9, 1756, pt. 2

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

was said by your Messengers was true. What was then said to me

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, we picked up a few Chips

and put them to the Fire to kindle it, that may blaze up and 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

was said by your Messengers was true. What was then said to me

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, we picked up a few Chips

and put them to the Fire to kindle it, that may blaze up and appear to

Nations afar off.

A Belt of ten rows.
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 Council 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 on the [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

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 the Conversation we had passed among our 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 would then have separated us, and now as you sit in the same Station it is in your power to do the same they would have done [?].

We are now before you, just what you see me a Boy I represent myself no more 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. I have been sorry to see it thus, as far as I know myself I say this is true & that I have endeavoured at the hazard of my Life to bring about a Peace, endeavoured [illegible word] to. As I have already proceeded a great way & prevaild on those who have stepped 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 which 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 separate them. Now as you, Brethren, 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 Bosom 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 have so 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 stept 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 Endeavered all I Can to bring about a peace & I have now 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
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.

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.”

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.” According to some Quakers present, the effect on the Indian delegation was electric:

The Joy wch appear’d in the Countenances of ye Indians canot 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.

The next day, Teedyuscung gives Denny an answer.
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--

Teedyuscung spoke as follows, laying before him the several Strings and 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 but defer’d it on accot. of the Indians whom you expected in. 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 last night, & will deliver myself in the manner I have received my Authority as those who are with me shall witness.

Gave three Strings of black and white Wampum.
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 wn 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.
& 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----

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

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] I will also heal your wound not only at the top but at the bottom I will give you the Plaister which the Great Creator has made for these purposes perfectly that it may never break out more but be completely cured. The Six Nations join with me.

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 Compleatly Cured In this the Six Nations also Join with me.

Gave a Belt of 8 Rows

APS
Brother: 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.

Gave a Belt of eight Rows

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 to heal your wound. So that it may not break out more & in this the 6 nations Join me & 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]
After I have healed ye wound, it is very usual & common when there are 2 Brors & recover is of ye health. yt one has been ye other is glad & as I have curd yt wound I am glad to see face to face as it has pleas'd ye good Spirit to bring us together I am very glad also ye six & ten Nations & ye other nations will put their Seal to what he has said & is still to say.

Belt 11 Rows.

Brother.
Now as I have healed the Wound, it is usual when one of two Brothers 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;

Brother, whereas I now also cur'd the Wounds, we rejoice 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 rejoice 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.
I am now going to tell you some things in few words in answer to your proposal last night. In the beginning of this confusion & war that fell before this I was in the middle of the Road leading from the Six Nations & Philadelphia. When I looked out at Philadelphia I saw my brother everything in peace. When I looked the other way towards my uncles the Six Nations everything was also in peace.

When one of your men Broadhead came & told me that I had murdered the English there were two Kings with me. After I Until a man called Charles Broadhead an inhabitant of this Province came to me at Wyomink & told me as if he had such a message from the Governor that I had struck my brethren the English which I denied. When I could not prevail with him to believe me I took two handfuls of wampum & desired him to go down with them to the Governor & 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 & my brethren 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 Collo Johnson & to my uncles the Six Nations. 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 & I likewise desired the Governor to send me Word what to do for which I waited till I was out of patience & obliged to flee & leave my Inheritance on that Account.

According to Your Question or Proposal You desired of me last night to know why I struck you. I will tell you the Truth since ye Indians struck me unfortunately struck you.
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 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
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 last night, according to what I said before; In the begining 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 Broadhead* an Inhabitant of Pennsylvania came to me at Wyoming
and told me as if authorized by the Government of Pennsylvania 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, 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.
& 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 & I Lookd to ye 5 nations & to the Governor & saw them Sitting but after that Came Charles Broadhead an Inhabitant of this province Came to me at Yioming & Charge me as if he had it from that I had Struck my Brethren the English which I Denied but he wd not believe it but after Some time I Gave him Strings of wampan & Desired him to Inform the Governor that I had not Struck them & that I Desired the Governor to Let 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 the English believe me Guilty although I am not I also weigted untill I was out of patience I then was oblige 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.
RPC-1

Brother

According to your Question or Proposal ye desired 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 my antient kings ever to have this in their mind I now tell you yt it has come from a Great King. The K of E & of F have world this Land so as to coop us in a Pen. My foolish People 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 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 Management has prevaild wth us it is easy for you to look into your hearts wch has given ye great cause. There is some yt have been harder yn it has or than it woud have done but it is not the principal thing. Some things of yt have been passed were not well pleasing to the Indians wch they have thought wrong, in this Govt but in other Governments also.

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 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 Un Fortunately 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 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 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 persuaded 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 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 Principal Cause & Being asked what Other Governments he Mentioned the Province of New Jersey_ now Br I have told you ye truth that you desired me & also ye uneasiness of my Mind because I 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
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 grievances, 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, 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 there what you
Should do:

a Belt of ten Rows ----

†Note ye Jerseys respecting land Affairs, are two Govermts_
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 meaning f___e [illegible word] 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 G: but others have Done wrong as not only this G: but others have Done wrong.

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 from my heart & You may also Look into Your hearts & to know that You have Given the cause for this blow to Come harder 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 heal by our oppenness & freedom

a Belt of 12 Rows
Brother, upon your Question yesterday, I will now tell you the Truth, why 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

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 persuaded 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.
Brother.

When I was here last Treaty
I did according to what I promised
I took ye B from ye Govr of P & putting
it to all ye Nations yt I promisd 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


discharged, --

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) Ohe of Delaware Nations
(meaning ye Indians now about Fort Allen
/meaning ye Minisinks/ gave me this
Belt Saying He was Glad to hear what
I Said and laid hold of the same hand
/meaning he had Accepted ye Invitation
but Said he would Go part of ye Way
no further than to ye Certain
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

Brother,

When 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.*

Gave a Belt
the Governor he then Sd Brother When I was here

Last treaty I then Did as I 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

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

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
be said were Minisinks.
By these Str I let you also know that I would not have you think 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 ye 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 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 suitable Messenger if it be in mid night. I will also take that prudent care to let if there be any Enemies likely to befall you to let you if the Enemy be but a few I may not come know it 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 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 ______

_ _ _ _ _ _ _ Gave a String,

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 Satisfied:

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 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.#

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 delivered 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.

Then laid down the String again.
RPC-1

[Denny asks: What grievances?]§I

You have not so much knowledge of those things as others I have not far meet 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 forgery this is in truth. after he has done so & bore it with patience then they say ye Indians are fools mentioning also many Tracts yt he has disposed to his B ye E they esteem them worse. 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 some others being but lately come in amongst us I have not far to go. This ground yt is under me striking with his foot was my Land & Inheritance & is taken from me by fraud the instancing all ye land from Tohicken to Wyomink. I have not only been served 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 is a Bargain. tho I have Sometimes had nothing for the Lands I have sold but Pipes or Such trifles 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 Account nor be Called a fool for it, but Indians are not such fools as not to bear 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 with Kindness on that Account.

RPC-2

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 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 Tohicken 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 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 Account nor be Called a fool for it, but 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 with Kindness on that Account.

November 13, 1756, pt. 9
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 Governt: but also of Several Tracts in ye Jerseys: Tho’ I have Sometimes Sold Land for a few Trifles, Pipes, or Cloaths, & liquor, & 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;---

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 – 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.
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 Proprietaries 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.

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 Tohiccon Creek and Winning, on the River Sasquebannab. 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.---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.

November 13, 1756, pt. 9
RPC-1
Now Brother hear me
Supposing you had a Pipe in your hand Smoking, tho it is of little Value I pay no regard & you take it & yet if taken away you give an angery look at me & I come visit you some time & when I have forgotten the time you remember me & I have forgot it yet you did not use me well yet perhaps you may remember & know you ask me why I have done it for you have done me not this makes me remember one injury yt [illegible word] & I wonder at ye Cause and ask You Bror: Why have you done So this makes me remember the Injury I did you & makes me more Carefull for ye future Now, altho You have purchased our Land so cheap of our Forefathers you will not now allow us to cut a little Wood to make a Fire, & hinder us from getting our Livelihood by hunting Now Bror: I am pleased you asked me this Question and thereby gave me the Opportunity to speak my Mind fairly as to any Uneasiness I was Under & I am wise enough to see these things & understand how to provide a Remedy for them.

RPC-2
Now Brother hear me
Supposing you had a pipe in your hand Smoking, & I come & take it away, you take no Notice of it now, but by & 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 I have done it for you have done me not this makes me remember [illegible word] & I have forgot it yet you did not use me well yet perhaps you may remember & know you ask me why I have done it for you have done me not this makes me remember one injury yt [illegible word] & I wonder at ye Cause and ask You Bror: Why have you done So this makes me remember the 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 getting our Livelihood by hunting Now Bror: I am pleased you asked me this Question & thereby gave me ye Opportunity to Speak my Mind & declare my uneasyness, you are wise enough to see & provide a Remedy.

APS
Now Bror: hear me, Suppose you had a pipe of little Value in your hand, Smoking, & I come & Take it away, you take no Notice of it now, but by & bye, When you see me again you remember it, and Take a revenge, I have forgot. & wonder & think you have not used me well and ask you, Bror: Why have you done so? This makes me remember the Injury I did you, and 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.

FAH
Now Bror,
hear me; suppose you had a pipe of little value in your hand smoking 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, Bror: 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.

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.

BF
Now, Brother, hear me; supposing you had a Pipe in your Mouth, smoking, 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, Bror: 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.

Deliver’d a Belt

November 13, 1756, pt. 10
being askd what Frauds

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 according to

Agreement 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, are marks

The Proprs yt purchased Lands were very greedy at purchasing lands

Brother, not with an

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 pleased 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

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 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 bounded by Rivers Mountains & Springs wch Cannot be Moved And the Proprietor Greedy to purchase Lands Buys one of the Kings his Tract and by that Purchase claims what belongs to the Other King. This likewise is fraud.
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 the 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;...
RPC-1

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 according to
Agreement it was never run by ye Course of the River, & also I do contend Mr. Peters
gave him writing with a Piece of Paper to anymore of some Land
a Tract of Pine Land.

he did not tell you that 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 Govr's pleasure
to ask him to act an honest part he was very well pleas'd 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 Governor then asked Tedyuscung whether he had ever been used in that Manner. He
Answered Yes. I have been use(d) so in this Part of the Province extending
all the Land from Tohickan Over the Great Mountain to Wyomink has been taken from me by Fraud. For when he had agreed to sell the Old Proprietors the Course of
ye River was never run by the Young Proprietors Came & Got it run by a straight Course by m__[torn] Compass & by that Means took in Double the Quantity Intended. 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 ought to be done is Right & that Do_
The Governor then asked 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 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 13, 1756, pt. 12
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.”

The following day, Teedysuscung makes his reply.
November 16, 1756, pt. 1

RPC-1
I desire you woud hear me a few words with Patience
You remember I told you endeavour to apprehend me
right representing material things. wn you see or chuse a
part a bit of ground in order to bring forth fruit you put ye
Ground & yn fruit into ye Earth. but Wn you do this yet if you do not
take pains you will never get fruit Indian corn. I comonly
put 7 grains in ye Earth in prudence I expect to take
something from it if in ye beginning I take prudent steps but
if I neglect it afterwards it is usual & evident to those yt know
an Ear it will it bring an no fruit otherwise if we use prudent means we must
be sure to have good fruit

RPC-2
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 proper
care of it, it will produce only an husk or Stalk but no good
fruit. tho ye Ground be good.

RPC-3
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 proper Pains afterwards 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 & may ye appearance of Ears there Will Only be
leaves & Cobs__
Then Teedyuscung Addressed The Governor
Bro. 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 a spot 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 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 - - - -

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 begining 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.

King spoke & sd Brother first & foremost the Govir &
his Counsil I Desire You will hear me patiently You may
Remember I told you— Endeaver to Understand me Right
Brother hear me patient in few word Representing in few
words when you Represent a particul 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
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.---

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.
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 & if you look into your as you are favourd 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 not fully . . .

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 shoud not live to see this good fruit, yet his our posterity may if will enjoy it & act for their good

In like Manner as to ye Business under Consideration, you are wise men & have been favourd 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 Occasion of our uneasiness & be able to remedy them & in measure according to what I have spoken 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 favourd 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 their Good_

/The Interpreter was asked what was the meaning of this and he said The King alluded 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 helped 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 improvements 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 call’d 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 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.
therefore You may Look into Your own heart and as You are Endowd from above more then I am therefore Do what You think is Right & if you Do then You will know the Cause of our Uneasiness in Measure but not fully and be able to Judge of matters & I Desire we may both of us Join to keep Clean the Corn & 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------

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 with 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, tho there should be lost without us, we may both with our Endeavour ye 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 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

Bro: I will desire you will attend to these few words and I will with all Diligence Endeav’r to tell You the Truth. The 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, and I desire We may Use Our Utmost Endeavrs to make it kindle & burn up. and Tho What I have told You may relate to Matters disagreeable Yet if we Exert Our Selves & Act according to ye Abilities given from above the Event Will be Agreeable & Pleasing to Our selves & Our Children [illegible word ____at] Brother, tho You are a Governr. Do not put off these things from time to time as our Forefathers did.

APS

Bro: 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 Bro, 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 persuaded 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 Endeavoured 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
In few words wch on ye last request I will answer you now as fit to your Question you desird me to give you an answer to what my uneasiness was I complied with your desire tho 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.

Brother nothing about land said before it is not usual nor proper I think yt I shoud tell you ye balance _ for me to tell you at this time what was ye damage done in former it was delayd, tho many of those who sufferd are in ye Ground yet their Dependants feel ye weight of it and more still.

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 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 answr [sic] to what my Uneasiness & 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 tel[?] 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.
RPC-1

I require you would throw down that fence which confines some of my Brethren or Relations in the Jerseys; they may if they will come & go & see their Relations. I don't want to compel them; they should come & stay contrary to your will, but if they are well pleas'd & live as [illegible word] with their Brethren ye English I am willing yt they should come back again & live with their Brethren ye English I don't request all of them should come but only enough yt it may be Testimony to those who are wth that they are not in slavery but free people among their Brethren. A particular Instance one called Philp, he has Relations above. to my grief I have heard yt he was in Confinement & also worse yt that put to death. I understand is false as to being put to death. I desire he may come & see his Wife. I request your favour yt you would use your diligence & kindness of yr B on ye other Side yt he may give these Indians leave to come [illegible word] more or less this very same Road in wch we travel now Conversation. Tho' you shoud not I will do 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 wth your assistance all that I can collect or scoop together I will bring wth your assistance but they are not in my power.

Also, Bror, I desire you would throw down ye fence which confines 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 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 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 them to come 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 but I declare I have no more than two in my power you may hear otherwise, but I declare I have no 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...
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.

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. 6

RPC-1

The last from ye beginning search & give Liberty to all friends all to look into this matter. as we are 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 wth 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 next Spring to yr Satisfaction if it lies in my power wth all my force of good purpose

FAH

Brother, I have to request you that you would give liberty to all people and *Friends to search into these matters: as we are all Children of the most High we should endeavour 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 I can get which will be to your Satisfaction,

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,

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 Endeaverd 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.
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 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 pleas'd wth his Conduct if we have any Conversation be it [illegible word] to [illegible word] even[?] employd & betwn him & you 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[?] suitable 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].

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, alloted 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 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 myself 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 is 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 Diabogo to Wyoming my young were so discouraged by *122 Alarms 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 String.

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 always take Care of him, that he has a little money in his pocket.

November 16, 1756, pt. 7
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 Teedyuscung 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 Wioaming, 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.

November 16, 1756, pt. 7
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 concedes 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.” 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).


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’ ‘t 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: 725–26)

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

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

In pencil, with revisions in pen.

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.

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

In pencil, with revisions in pen.

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.

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

Boyd, Indian Treaties Printed by Benjamin Franklin, 143.

Here is overwritten with if.

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

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

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.

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).

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

Minutes of Easton Conference, July 25–31, 1756, in Executive Correspondence, Records of the Provincial Council, 1682–
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).
“properly placed between the Governor and the Indians,” gives the governor’s talk, and concludes: “Then the Presents were Delivered.”

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

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.”

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).

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

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.

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.

A String is in Richard Peters’s hand.


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


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

In the margin, at *, in a different hand: “about 160 Indians prepar’d to sett out from Teaogon, but ye night before their setting out rec’d 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 rec’d two several Messages more of the like Tenor whch had deter’d the major part of them from coming to ye End of yr Journey.”

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 order’d the Interpreter to acquaint Teedyuscung that he was ready to hear what he had to say and he deliver’d himselfe as follows.”

Here *those* is overwritten with *these*.

This account begins as follows: “the Secretary 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—”


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 should 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 advisable 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)

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.”

In the margin in the same hand as the main text: “√ He does not mean that he was himself apart [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.”


Ibid.


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 Shawnee 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 Teedyuscung’s relations, of what passed between him and Charles Broadhead, in a light something different from what was set down in the Minutes, viz.: —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 should be judged, he would even go Colonel Johnson [*sic*] and the Six Nation Countrc with any Message the Governor would 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 would 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* 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 admit 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 Cheerfulness 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 Teedyscung’s of the Corn and Fire &ca. 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.
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.

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.)”

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.”

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

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.”

Here was overwritten with is.

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.”

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

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

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

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